

New Testament Textual Criticism: The Application of Thoroughgoing Principles

Essays on Manuscripts
and Textual Variation

J. K. Elliott

SUPPLEMENTS TO NOVUM TESTAMENTUM 137

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New Testament Textual Criticism:
The Application of Thoroughgoing Principles

Supplements to Novum Testamentum

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By

J.K. Elliott



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This volume is dedicated to my wife, Carolyn, on the occasion of our Ruby Wedding. She has been a constant supporter of my work throughout the period when the articles included here were written.

This collection comes with heartfelt thanks.

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2. "The Nature of the Evidence available for restructuring the Text of the New Testament in the Second Century" in Christian-B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott (eds.), *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity: Le texte du Nouveau Testament au début du christianisme. Proceedings of the Lille Colloquium, July 2000. Actes du colloque de Lille, juillet 2000* (Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre, 2003) pp. 9–18.
3. "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism" in Scot McKendrick and Orlaith O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (London: the British Library and New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2003) pp. 139–45.
4. "Singular Readings in the Gospel Text of P⁴⁵" in Charles Horton (ed.), *The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospel: The Contribution of the Chester Beatty Gospel Codex P⁴⁵* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2004) pp. 122–131 (= *JSNT Supplement Series* 258).
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6. "Codex Bezae and the Earliest Greek Papyri" in *Studies from the Lunel Colloquium June 1994* ed. D.C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux (Leiden: Brill, 1996) pp. 162–82 (= *New Testament Tools and Studies* 22).
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9. "Manuscripts of the Book of Revelation collated by H.C. Hoskier" *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1989) pp. 100–111.
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 - c) "τε in the New Testament" *Theologische Zeitschrift* 46 (1990) pp. 202-4.
 - d) "καθώς and ὥσπερ in the New Testament" *Filología Neotestamentaria* 4 (1991) pp. 55-8.
 - e) "Mark and the Teaching of Jesus: an Examination of λογος and ευαγγελιον" in W.L. Petersen, J.S. Vos and H.J. de Jonge (eds.), *Sayings of Jesus, Canonical and Non-Canonical. Essays in Honour of Tjitze Baarda* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) pp. 37-45 (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 89).
 - f) "The Aorist Middle of αποκρινομαι" *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 96 (2005) pp. 126-8.
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 - c) "John 1:18 'God' or 'Son' Stalemate?" *Majority Text Newsletter* (Summer 2003) pp. 1-2.
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 15. "The Position of the Verb in Mark with Special Reference to Mark 13" *Festschrift for Joost Smit Sibinga Novum Testamentum* 38 (1996) pp. 136–44.
 16. "The Last Twelve Verses of Mark: Original or Not?" in David Black (ed.), *Perspectives on the Ending of Mark: 4 Views* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2008) pp. 80–102.
 17. "The Text of Acts in the Light of Two Recent Studies" *New Testament Studies* 34 (1988) pp. 250–8.
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 19. "The Language and Style of the Concluding Doxology to the Epistle to the Romans" *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 72 (1981) pp. 124–30.
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26. "Printed Editions of Greek Synopses and their Influence on the Synoptic Problem" in *The Four Gospels 1992 (Festschrift for Frans Neirynck)* ed. F. van Segbroeck, C.M. Tuckett, G. van Belle, J. Verheyden (Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1992) I pp. 337–357 (= *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* 100).
27. "Resolving the Synoptic Problem using the Text of Printed Greek Synopses" *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 11 (1993) pp. 51–8.
28. a) *Novum Testamentum* 40 (1998) pp. 195–203; "The Petrine Epistles in the *Editio Critica Maior*" *Novum Testamentum* 42 (2000) pp. 328–39; *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 129 (2004) cols. 1068–1071; *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 131 (2006) cols. 1156–9.
 b) i) "The *Editio Critica Maior*: One Reader's Reactions" in Wim Weren and Dietrich-Alex Koch (eds.), *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism: New Testament, Other Early Christian and Jewish Literature* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003) pp. 129–44 (= *Studies in Theology and Religion* 8).
 ii) "Changes in the Exegesis of the Catholic Epistles in the Light of the Text in the *Editio Critica Maior*" in Sang-Won (Aaron) Son (ed.), *History and Exegesis: New Testament Essays in Honor of Dr. E. Earle Ellis* (New York and London: T&T Clark, 2006) p. 324–39.
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 b) "The Twentyseventh Edition of Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*" *Theologische Revue* 90 (1994) cols. 19–24.
 c) "The New Testament in Greek: Two New Editions" *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 119 (1994) cols. 493–6.
30. "The International Greek New Testament Project's Volumes on Luke" *New Testament Textual Research Update* 7 (1999) pp. 1–19 = "A Survey of the International Greek New Testament Project's Work on the Gospel of Luke" in E. Franco (ed.), *Mysterium Regni Ministerium Verbi: Studi in onore di mons. Vittorio Fusco*

- (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 2001) pp. 39–53 (= *Supplimenti alla Rivista Biblica* 38).
31. “The Marc Multilingue Project”, *Filología Neotestamentaria* XV (2002) pp. 3–17 (with C.-B. Amphoux & J.-C. Haelewyck).
 32. “Manuscripts, the Codex and the Canon” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 63 (1996) pp. 105–23.

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INTRODUCTION

This collection of essays represents a selection of fifty seven articles on textual criticism which I published in various journals and books over the past forty three years.

The introductory section (I) includes articles on the methodology I apply. My approach to textual criticism has been dubbed ‘thoroughgoing eclecticism’ and it follows the paths laid by George Kilpatrick and, before him, C.H. Turner and A.C. Clark. The first chapter is for a general readership, possibly new to the field; it is a condensed version of the inaugural lecture I delivered at the University of Leeds on the occasion of my appointment to a personal chair as Professor of New Testament Textual Criticism and, as such, was obviously directed to non-specialists. Chapter 2 is related to it; originally it served as an introduction to a specialist conference in Lille on second-century Christianity. In it I focus on how textual criticism can play its part in providing useful insights into that era. Chapter 3 is more narrowly directed by setting out thoroughgoing eclecticism’s guiding principles. That too came from a conference (in 1998 as one of a number of such events sponsored by the Scriptorium Center for Christian Antiquities at Hampton Court, Herefordshire) during which differing text-critical methodologies were explored. I show awareness there of charges made against thoroughgoing eclecticism.¹

Thoroughgoing eclectic critics are often misrepresented as having little interest in manuscripts, codicology or palaeography. Kilpatrick and I never subscribed to the opinion, still sometimes to be heard, that we treat manuscripts as mere carriers of variant readings. In practice I have been concerned with the age and character of manuscripts as well as their distinctive readings. It is true that thoroughgoing criticism does not favour a reading merely because it occurs in a “superior” witness or comes from a particular group of manuscripts, nor if it appears in an old manuscript, nor as part of the majority of witnesses.

¹ Other examples giving expositions of my methodology appear in the Bibliography at the end of this volume. The most recent is a survey of the discipline in Albert Melloni (ed.), *Dizionario del sapere storico-religioso del Novecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010) pp. 897–907.

Nevertheless, the character of a manuscript may often be determinative: a scribe prone to omission or one given to glosses or the expansion of divine names, for example, would be treated with due caution when one is assessing variants of those types.

In any case, all manuscripts are seen as having been *used* by their original owners as containing the canonical scriptural text, and thus their readings, however maverick a modern critic may brand them, would once have been read as relevant and orthodox. Section II has chapters on some of the popular manuscripts I have examined: P⁴⁵, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Bezae. Chapter 6 on Bezae came from a conference devoted to a study of that manuscript in Lunel in 1994. Chapter 7 contains my edition of a peculiar Greek-Coptic bilingual manuscript (0205), which is still intriguing: the current registry of Greek New Testament Manuscripts is inclined to link it, falsely in my view, with 0129 0203 and lectionaries 1575 1576. More attention to the interrelationship, if any, of all these registered witnesses is needed. Two other articles in this section deal with broader topics: the manuscript heritage of Acts and of Revelation, both those being books with distinctive textual characteristics, setting themselves apart from other New Testament books.

Given the prominence accorded papyri witnesses by many Biblical scholars, I have kept my eye open for publications of further New Testament fragments that may be relevant in an apparatus. Articles I have published on recently edited Oxyrhynchus papyri are included here. (Other discussions, some 'forthcoming', where I have engaged with their alleged importance, may be seen in my Bibliography.)

Inevitably, articles of this sort in section II need frequent updating as more manuscripts are registered, and in some cases my figures and statistics may sometimes be slightly out of date. For the current state of play with the registered manuscripts the electronic list maintained by the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster needs to be consulted via their website links.

When we turn to section III we reach the kernel of thoroughgoing principles and practice. Subsection A deals with textual variants. We start off in chapter 12 with a sequence of short studies of particular grammatical and stylistic features. The influence of G.D. Kilpatrick lies behind the seven articles reproduced here, ordered by date of the original printing. When first published, they were acknowledged to be based on papers I had inherited as Kilpatrick's literary executor and on topics we had discussed together. Those were printed with the

approval of his family. They appear again in recognition of his ongoing inspiration. Elsewhere, I was privileged to reproduce many of the articles Kilpatrick himself had published in a collection that appeared soon after his death,² and references to many of those articles are found in footnotes throughout the present collection as will be clear from the index.

Chapter 13 is a sample of interesting variants that display my methodology. Those are ordered by Biblical sequence. Many other earlier pieces had appeared in a collection I published in 1992.³ Chapters 14–20 contain a series of longer articles on important text-critical cruxes. For example, chapter 16 concerns the endings of Mark, a perennial interest of mine—and indeed of most textual critics. The chapter here came from a symposium held at Wake Forest, NC to highlight differing approaches to the problem of the textual traditions at the end of Mark. The proceedings, which included my contribution, were assessed by Darrell Bock in a concluding section of the published collection and it is gratifying that he found my approach convincing.

Chapter 17 collects together a number of variation units in Acts which I discuss in relation to two then recently published books. A number of these are discussed in relation to Atticism, to author's style and to homoioteleuton—all constantly applied topics in my work on textual criticism. Chapter 18 is related to 17 and also sets out a number of these text-critical topics and adds to those variants relating to Semitisms, to the place of the LXX and to orthography in relation to variants in Acts. Chapter 19 deals with a problem comparable to the variants at the end of Mark, namely the problem of the endings to Romans. Again, language and author's usage are dominant in the discussion.

Subsection B on exegesis and textual criticism is in many respects an unnecessary and false division because all the discussions in section A are concerned with variants found in witnesses that were deemed to be manuscripts of canonical scripture. No variants should be treated as instances where one 'merely' proves the likeliest direction of change from an original to a secondary text. There, as in section B, the concern

² J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G.D. Kilpatrick* (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1990) (= BETL 96).

³ J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

should be to assess the significance of *all* readings, their meaning and the probable motives for change. The discussion of the 'meaning' is, of course, 'exegesis' in the jargon of the discipline. In chapter 21 I assemble three studies on Mark 1:45, representing differing angles on a problematic verse. Chapter 22 is a long study of a particularly problematic textual crux, the Parable of the Two Boys in Matthew 21. The study following, on Hebrews 6, uses my text-critical work on language and style to try to resolve another theological crux, the issue of post-baptismal sin. Chapter 23 on marriage in 1 Corinthians 7 contains a number of exegetical and text-critical issues, which I examined many years ago but which I still stand by. Again, I try to base my arguments on language and author's usage.

Sub-section C brings us to the synoptic problem. Prompted by the stimulating exchanges during the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas'* synoptic problem seminars at its annual meetings, which I regularly attended, I began to examine the rôle of the text printed in many synopses as well as overarching issues of the bias (or otherwise) of published synoptic presentations and, more crucially, my analyses of the decisions reached about the synoptic problem when only one particular Greek text was employed. I was also involved in many of the special conferences convened to assess what is often called the new Griesbach theory propounded by William R. Farmer and Bernard Orchard. Their colloquia reached a climax in a lengthy conference in Jerusalem in 1992. Its proceedings included my piece on the influence of printed editions of Greek synopses on the synoptic problem, included here as chapter 26.

Chapter 24 examines the distinctive text of the synoptic gospels in the synopses edited by Aland, by Orchard and by Greeven and, in the process, notes some corrigenda that were required. In so far as Aland's *Synopsis* is concerned many were attended to after its 12th edition, but most of the general points I made then still apply to the later editions. I note that the term 'Standard Text' to refer to the Nestle text, and to which great objections were raised in many quarters, was quietly dropped. Chapter 25 came from a SNTS seminar held during the Paris meeting in 1978 and chapter 27 from a series of annual seminars I took part in at the Protestant theological faculty in Montpellier, in this instance during the 1992 session. Both show how judgements made on the interrelationship of the gospels are intertwined with the Greek New Testament text being used. The moral in most of these studies is that workers on the synoptic problem must keep a close eye

on textual variation within each synoptic parallel. Textual criticism is crucial throughout any scholarly work on the Greek New Testament but nowhere more so than in the synoptic parallels.

My assessing various printed synopsis editions in section III leads on to articles on other printed editions of the New Testament in section IV. These include some review articles. An analysis of editions has been an important part of my published work.⁴ Many of the opinions I offer here apply to all editions of the various texts. Thus comments on Nestle²⁶ clearly apply to Nestle²⁷ too. Chapter 29 (a) and (b) deal with the latest editions of the UBS text (identical with the equivalent Nestle edition) and 29 (c) considers the need for these two editions of basically the identical text. Chapter 30 treats of the International Greek New Testament Project's (= IGNT) Luke volumes; as the executive editor who brought those volumes to completion and who saw them through the press, I found it chastening to reflect on the history of the project at a conference held at the University of Birmingham in 1999. Birmingham had by then become the centre of the next project commissioned by the international committee, namely the Fourth Gospel. Under David Parker's leadership, work on John started in 1987 and is still in progress, now in association with the *Editio critica maior* (= ECM) in Münster. (That collaboration between IGNT and the Münster Institut is one of the most welcome and healthy developments in the globalisation of work on matters text-critical. It was unthinkable a generation ago despite the paucity of qualified workers in the textual vineyard. The close international links between text-critics of all hues now forged is the most logical and productive liaison that has occurred during the lifespan of the articles collected here.)

The IGNT-ECM partnership will produce an edited text, and we await this edition with interest. Previous volumes produced under the aegis of IGNT (and its predecessor CGNT, the committee for the Critical Greek New Testament) printed an apparatus using the text of Westcott and Hort as a running base (for the volumes on Matthew and Mark) or an edition of the *Textus Receptus* (for the volumes on Luke).

⁴ Details of my other reviews, not reproduced here, are to be found in the Bibliography at the end of this volume, notably items numbered 15, 18, 20, 30, 31, 32, 36 in the section of Articles in Refereed Journals and 9, 23, 27, 29, 31, 43, 190, 266 in the section headed 'Reviews' where my assessments of earlier editions of Nestle, the United Bible Societies' text (= UBS), Metzger's *Textual Commentary* and the first edition of Hodges and Farstad's majority text appear. Some shorter discussions occasionally appear within the ongoing series 'Book Notes' in *Novum Testamentum*.

Since I delivered that paper in Birmingham it needs to be reported that William Petersen, whose work on the Diatessaron was highly commended, died at a comparatively young age, and it also ought to be noted that Carroll Osburn's papers relating to his preliminary work on Acts have now been transferred to Münster.

In this section (Part Four) I concentrate on the current achievements of the *Editio critica maior* and I give this edition prominence by reproducing my articles on ECM at the beginning of the section (chapter 28). Among them I include my reviews of all four of its fascicles containing the Catholic Epistles as well as two assessments; one (chapter 28 (b i)) in the collection of papers from the NOSTER conference of 2001 re-assesses James and 1 and 2 Peter; the other (chapter 28 (b ii)) in the Earle Ellis *Festschrift* assembles my reactions to the text of James, 1 and 2 Peter and 1 John.

In chapter 31 I turn to the Marc multilingue project with which I have been involved over several years. The chapter sets out the principles and purposes of this work. The project aims to present not an edited text but the history of Mark in Greek and in most of the early versions. My chapter gives samples of the Greek and Latin. The current progress can be accessed at www.safran.be/marcmultilingue.

The volume ends with one additional article (on the canon of the Old and New Testaments) as an appendix. That paper arose from a symposium held at the University of Sheffield in 1995 under the aegis of the British Library. The interconnection of canon and text is well established, hence its inclusion now. The article analyses the most significant manuscripts and identifies the major differences between them in respect of their contents and the sequences of the books. It is argued that the reason why the contents of the separate sections of the New Testament became relatively firmly fixed from an early date was because Christianity used the codex form from its beginnings. For the Old Testament the contents were more fluid. The article draws attention to the differences not only between the Hebrew and Alexandrian canons but also between the often fluctuating contents of Hebrew, Syriac, Latin and Greek manuscripts of the Old Testament. It is shown how the main manuscripts, especially within the Greek tradition, have affected modern printed editions of the LXX. A description of how the varying traditions in Latin and Greek have influenced modern versions is also included here. A perennial question is the extent to which the stability of a text was affected by its acceptance in a canon. As far

as the New Testament is concerned, this is a highly relevant question when assessing the textual history of Jude, Revelation and Acts.

Also in the end-matter is a listing of my published writings. This includes not only books and articles but also reviews. In many longer reviews, especially of reference tools, of editions of the New Testament text and of books about textual criticism, I often include text-critical examples and try to further discussion, inevitably from a thorough-going critical standpoint, thus making some issues raised in such reviews relevant to issues discussed in this book as a whole.

Inevitably, when rereading one's own *oeuvre*, one tries to detect changes in approach or opinion. One hopes that readers and reviewers will interpret changes in one's opinions and judgements over the years as signs of progressive thinking rather than as inconsistencies and lapses! Certainly, as time has passed I have adopted a different view of an original text and whether such a thing can be achievable or indeed should be the main aim of a New Testament textual critic. Eldon J. Epp articulated⁵ the concern felt about the use of the word 'original'. I note that many practising text-critics (with the notable exception of those for whom nothing but the Majority text or a form of the Textus Receptus will fit the description, 'original' text) side with Epp's quandary and analyses. I now accept the consensus view that the most that text-critics can hope to achieve is the promotion of the likeliest *Ausgangstext*, that is, the earliest recoverable form of the textual tradition from which all deviant readings can be traced and that what one is mainly concerned to show is the rich variety of plausible and intelligible readings that existed and which may serve to illustrate the multifarious texts of the New Testament in early Christianity.

Another change is that over the years when I (and others) have been writing on textual criticism there is an increasing hesitation to speak confidently about the history of text-types. Watertight categories, proto-Alexandrian, Caesarean etc. and others to which one would routinely try to assign witnesses are now less used. Once again, it is left to Eldon Epp as the doyen of commentators on matters text-critical to articulate that change and to promote in their stead broader categories, such as the 'D' type, i.e. a loose association of manuscripts

⁵ In "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism" reprinted as chapter 20 in Eldon Jay Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Papers 1962–2004* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 116).

that cluster around Codex Bezae or the 'B' type, that may be used of witnesses that share characteristics with codex Vaticanus.⁶ Text-types had already been abandoned by the Münster Institut in their series *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften* and are not used by them in their series *Editio critica maior*. Instead, critics are increasingly unwilling to use the old categories, speaking instead now of family allegiances between manuscripts or of clusters in order to group manuscripts which exhibit shared characteristics.

Older articles in this collection and, of course, elsewhere that speak of text-types need adjustment and nuancing to take account of the current consensus that views the conventional categories as defined in Metzger's handbooks or in Aland and Aland's *Text of the New Testament* as passé.

Another major point of debate in textual criticism is the rôle or relevance of conjectural emendation. In the past I have been of the opinion that the sheer number and variety of extant manuscript witnesses to the New Testament Greek text and the multitude of early versional evidence obviate the need to have recourse to what often amounted to inspired guesswork to restore the wording allegedly intended by the original author. The inclusion of some earlier conjectures by Biblical scholars and exegetes such as those displayed in the apparatus of the Nestle text were seen as quaint historical museum pieces giving an insight into a now outmoded procedure. While that represents my earlier view I now confess to being less sceptical of allowing such intrusions into a text and am more tolerant of the opinion that on occasion it may be necessary to admit that no one manuscript preserves the wording used by our first century author.

* * *

In preparing these reprints silent corrections have been made to the originals. A post-scriptum has been added to some articles to update information. House-style has been standardised; the original page numbers have been added in the outer margins where appropriate.

⁶ In among other places "The Twentieth Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism": reprinted in his *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism* esp. pp. 92–5; "The Papyrus Manuscripts of the New Testament" reprinted as chapter 15 in *ibid.* pp. 422f and "Textual Criticism in the Exegesis of the New Testament" reprinted as chapter 17 in *ibid.* especially pp. 90–2.

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J.K. Elliott

PART ONE

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER ONE

THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT IN THE SECOND CENTURY: A CHALLENGE FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

As is the case with all ancient literatures, the Biblical works have not survived in one immutable, original, inviolate form. Textual critics have to work back from the manuscripts, translations and quotations of those books which we possess. In the case of the New Testament there is a significant gap between the dates of the original compositions and the period in which the earliest, complete, surviving manuscripts begin to emerge. And that gap is the second Christian century. That is the century when most changes occurred to the words that had been composed the century before. [1]

The second century is something of a dark age as far as the history of the New Testament text is concerned, although some attempts to throw light on it may be seen: a conference on gospel traditions in that century took place at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana in 1988;¹ another congress on the New Testament text in the second century took place in Lille, in July 2000.²

All the twenty seven books of the New Testament which we find within a copy of the Bible were composed and originally written down ('published' if you wish) in the first century. These Christian writings, which were accepted into the officially recognised and authorised canon of scripture, only achieved that status within Christendom, East and West, in the fourth century. It is certainly an anachronism to use the umbrella title 'the New Testament' before that time, but I hope I may be forgiven for using that title of a period when technically

¹ The proceedings were published as William L. Petersen (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text and Transmission* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989) (= *Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity* 3).

² The proceedings were published as Christian-B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott (eds.), *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity: Le texte du Nouveau Testament au début du christianisme. Proceedings of the Lille Colloquium, July 2000. Actes du colloque de Lille, juillet 2000* (Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre, 2003) (= *Histoire du texte biblique* 6).

I should speak pedantically of ‘the twenty seven books that were eventually to be accepted as the New Testament’.

- [2] Like all literature composed prior to the invention of printing, the New Testament was disseminated by means of hand-written copies laboriously transcribed by trained copyists sometimes working alone, sometimes as part of a scriptorium responsible for the mass production of copies. Some of these new manuscripts may have been written from dictation. Our knowledge of the text of the 27 New Testament books is ultimately dependent on the manuscript copies that have chanced to survive. The original documents in the handwriting of Paul, Mark, Matthew and the other authors have not survived. What is called the autograph copy of their works is not available. We may try to reconstruct it but to do so means we are working from copies of copies of copies, most many generations removed from these autographs, with all the errors that could be and indeed were introduced at each stage—phenomena that we may appreciate from our experience of proofreading.

The New Testament has been transmitted by means of hand-written copies for over three-quarters of its life. Many manuscript copies of the New Testament books have survived: the latest count is some 5,000 manuscripts which contain all or part of the New Testament in Greek (its original language). Add to that figure all those manuscripts in other languages (Latin, Coptic, Syriac and other Eastern and Western languages) into which these books were translated even within the first millennium, and you will appreciate that we have an enormous number of documents. For instance, there are some 10,000 manuscripts extant in Latin. Work on the Greek New Testament needs to be accompanied at least by comparable work on the Latin, Syriac and Coptic, because these three translations are likely to go back to the second century, even if we lack actual second-century manuscripts of them, because later manuscripts in these traditions can often illuminate the forms of the Greek on which all these versions were originally based.

Our colleagues who work in the classics are not as overwhelmed as New Testament textual critics are by so many manuscripts nor do they possess so many copies written comparatively close to the dates of the original compositions as we do. And it is overwhelming. No one scholar can hope to handle even a portion of this evidence. Yet in many ways these Greek manuscripts and the early versions need to be taken into account if we are to be confident that we can establish

a reliable, printed critical edition of the Greek New Testament—and from its modern vernacular translations.

The majority of our existing manuscripts have come into the scholarly domain only in the twentieth century. The current register of Greek New Testament manuscripts has grown tremendously in the past 100 years as systematic searches of established collections in Rome, Paris, Athens, Jerusalem, Mount Athos, Oxford, Moscow and London as well as smaller libraries in the middle east and in the former Soviet bloc have been undertaken with the subsequent cataloguing and microfilming of most of the New Testament material. Some other manuscripts have come to light through archaeological excavations, especially in Egypt—and again many of these discoveries have been made only in the twentieth century. Not all these manuscripts are complete New Testaments; in fact, only about sixty of the 5,000 were ever intended to include all twenty seven books. Most contain only one or two of the sections into which the New Testament was conventionally subdivided, Gospels, Catholic Epistles and Acts, or the Pauline letters for instance. Several of the earliest manuscripts are, as we might expect, very fragmentary—in some cases containing very few verses. [3]

It has been estimated that no two manuscripts of the New Testament are identical in all respects. Some differences may be orthographical (mere spelling changes), others grammatical, but in the case of these biblical documents some changes are clearly deliberate and often theologically motivated. Only the invention of printing could guarantee that two or more copies would be identical in all respects. The finding, sifting, classifying and registering of these manuscript sources, the gradual and painstaking reading and collation of these manuscripts, the exhibiting of how and where they differ among themselves, the resolution of the differences, the attempt to explain where the original reading occurs and why the variation came about, and the establishing of a critical printed edition that does justice to these conclusions are the life blood of textual criticism.

I must not give the impression that the whole of the New Testament manuscript tradition is so fluid as to be unmanageable or that there is just so much uncertainty and conscious rewriting that a critic's task is unworkable. Nor do I wish to imply that New Testament scholars need to resort to conjectural emendation (often necessary when editing classical texts which are typically less well represented in manuscripts than the New Testament). The bulk of the New Testament can

- [4] be established with a fair degree of confidence, possibly 90–95 per cent. But in that remaining 5 to 10 percent are to be found variants that are not merely grammatical, orthographical or concerned with such matters as changes in word order. Many of our text-critical decisions concern issues of fundamental importance for the interpretation and meaning of the text, and they often impinge on basic issues for Christian doctrine. The wording of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew's Gospel differs within the manuscript tradition; Jesus' words instituting the Last Supper in Luke's Gospel are not firmly established; the well-known story of the Woman taken in Adultery, normally printed within John's Gospel, is absent from some manuscript witnesses. The ending to Mark's Gospel is disputed; manuscripts deemed important omit the last twelve verses. The verses in Luke 22 about Jesus' bloody sweat in Gethsemane are not in all our manuscripts. The Parable of the Two Boys in Matthew 21 circulated in three diametrically opposed forms. We can trace these variants to the second century. At Hebrews 2:9 did the author write that Jesus died 'without God' or 'by the grace of God'? The answer depends on which manuscript one is reading. Likewise did Paul confidently tell the readers at Romans 5:1 that 'we have peace' or was he exhorting them with the words 'let us have peace'? The Greek varies in the manuscript tradition. At 1 Cor 15:51 did Paul write that at the end time 'We shall all die but we shall not all be changed' or 'We shall not all die but we shall all be changed'? Those people preparing to meet their Maker may find it nice to know the answer to this!

These are some of the more striking and important variants, but there are very many others of theological importance which show that it was often in those sensitive areas that did indeed touch on matters of theology and Christology where early readers and copyists made changes to defend orthodoxy as they perceived it.

Many modern English versions of the Bible draw attention to these variants in their margins with notes such as 'Some ancient authorities here add...' or 'Some manuscripts omit these words...'. A scholarly edition of the Greek New Testament has a fuller *apparatus criticus*; the hand edition we commonly use for teaching contains some 10,000 textual variations in its *apparatus*. It is this material that a text-critic handles routinely. There are many tasks to be done, but few workers in the textual vineyard worldwide. But it is an area of expertise that is usually appreciated if not always entirely understood by other biblical scholars, especially when they have occasion to consult their testa-

ments and analyze Biblical passages closely or if they write academic commentaries on the New Testament books.

One of the aims of textual criticism nowadays, and one that is being recognised as increasingly important, is to plot the history of and reasons for the deliberate theological changes in the text. To do this requires an appreciation of the theological debates that we can follow to a certain extent in the writings of the Church Fathers. Patristic use of the New Testament has become an ever more important aspect of textual criticism. What is to be read in the textual *apparatus* can often accompany and illuminate what early church historians and patristic scholars are working on, and *vice versa*. [5]

As well as understanding how theological debate and doctrine in the early church affected the transmission of the foundational documents, textual critics can also plot how and why grammatical and lexicographical changes were deliberately introduced. One of my own research interests over many years has been the history of the Greek language, and the way in which the neo-classical (Atticist) revival which flourished from the second century caused learned scribes to improve on the often crude, Semitic, Hellenistic, unGreek expressions used by the original authors. Another kind of deliberate change, affecting particularly the gospels, may be seen in the critical *apparatus*. Many early readers became aware that parallel passages in the gospels differed in their wording; such inconsistencies were disturbing and as a consequence copyists were tempted to eliminate discrepancies by assimilating the parallels and harmonizing the wording. This obviously had the effect of smoothing away differences and many of these changes are readily seen in the manuscript variants. Attempts to reach a solution to the so-called Synoptic Problem, that perennially exciting conundrum about the literary interdependence of the gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, are, because of the pervasive nature of scribal emendations, intricately bound up with textual criticism. Textual criticism and the Synoptic Problem go hand-in-hand. This is an area to which I have devoted a fair amount of research time and is one that deserves even more attention by textual critics in the years to come. One fascinating, although possibly only tangential aspect of Synoptic Gospel studies is the suggestion that the manuscript copies of Mark that have come down to us are from a second-century reworking of the original, and that a 'purer' Mark can be reconstructed from the words of Mark used by and now found in the gospels of Matthew and Luke. This theory may be worth exploring.

[6] So—many of the alterations in the New Testament text were deliberate and not the maverick aberrations of careless, tired scribes or hack-copyists. There was a continual tendency and temptation to revise the forms in which the original New Testament writings were circulating and increasingly being gathered together. Possibly these revisions resulted in the text-types that have been identified as having emerged in the manuscripts of later centuries.

One of my own main contributions to this vast field has been as the editor who brought to press the work of an international team of scholars who laboured for many years to assemble a full and representative thesaurus of text-critical variants in the Gospel of Luke. This resulted in over 550 quarto pages published by Oxford University Press in 1984 and 1987.³

The assembling of a critical *apparatus*, in which the variants between manuscript witnesses are displayed, is an activity which because it is verifiable may qualify as 'scientific'. But textual criticism is often described as an 'art' as well as a 'science'. The 'art' refers to the judgements made when assessing the relative merits of readings in order to represent which of several variants is likely to be the original rather than the secondary text. Inevitably it is in the 'arts' side of textual criticism, as opposed to the verifiable and scientific side of cataloguing manuscripts and collating readings, where there is most controversy. Nearly all of our textual variants are capable of resolution, but not every proposed resolution meets with universal approval by scholars—that is why there are several Greek New Testament texts on the market all with some differing wording. And this also accounts for some of the differences observable when comparing different modern translations.

[7] Critical judgements can and should be based on objectively defensible principles and criteria. Inevitably it is in such areas where scholarly debate rages. There are those New Testament textual critics (and by extension Old Testament textual critics too) who base their criteria on the alleged reliability of certain manuscripts. Thus you will find one school of textual criticism that favours the cult of particular manuscripts. Another body of scholars favours the ostensibly democratic method of following the majority of manuscripts. My own preferred method has been dubbed 'radical' or 'thoroughgoing' eclecticism and in many articles I have tried to defend the principles which seek to

³ See chapter 30 below for an assessment of this edition.

find the original words of the original first century Biblical authors wherever these may happen to be located within the manuscript tradition. The principles that I try to defend and demonstrate are based on the following:

1. An awareness of the individual authors' language and style in so far as these can be reconstructed from the established usage in undisputed examples in the manuscripts,
2. Our knowledge of the kind of semiticized Greek used by the New Testament writers,
3. An appreciation of the palaeographical changes found in handwritten copying (and here we learn from classical palaeography and papyrology),
4. An awareness of the changes in Christian doctrine particularly in the early centuries that might have been responsible for the deliberate rewriting of the New Testament text in one direction or the other.

These and other criteria are fundamental to a thoroughgoing eclectic approach to textual criticism. They are by no means subjective.

When I first started research along these lines in Oxford working under Professor George Kilpatrick, the then Dean Ireland Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, who had popularised this approach in New Testament studies, I was confident that among the huge quantity of witnesses which New Testament scholarship has at its disposal the original words of the original writers *must* have survived and that these could be uncovered, recovered and discovered by this method, and when asked if we could in effect reconstruct the original words of, say, Paul or John from the morass of varying manuscripts I used to reply: 'Yes, we can'. Perhaps it was the impulsiveness of youthful enthusiasm that made me assert that I could indeed solve every crux, every disputed variation unit, every difference.

But I note that textual criticism, far from being a fossilised or fixed discipline, is on the change. A number of recent publications have shied away from saying that we possess the ability or even have the need to get back to one immutable text. It may be worth discussing if there was ever one definitive, published edition of, say, the Acts of the Apostles in 90 AD: perhaps Luke, its author, issued several differing versions of his own composition. Perhaps we should be alert also to the blurring of *literary* criticism, which looks for the supposed written and oral sources behind a composition and *textual* criticism which

traditionally has assumed that we can reconstruct an author's finished composition.

These are among the issues being debated within the subject nowadays. I am sympathetic to these suggestions because they do justice to each and every single manuscript copy of what became the authoritative canonical text read AND USED by its original owners. It has been said (by Helmut Koester of Harvard) that a 'used text' was the worst thing that could happen in a textual tradition, precisely because these living words would be liable to rewriting as a result of on-going reinterpretation. But we can and should make use of the variety because it enables us to plot the likely direction of change in certain variant readings—especially those with a definite theological tendency—and in those cases one may very often be able to pronounce that reading (A) is earlier than reading (B). But we need to remember that for the individual or church or community which read and lived by the words in its manuscript that text, either (A) or (B), was *the* canonical text. The realisation that the New Testament writings were a living text encourages this historically sensitive approach. We may read church history, Christian doctrine and Christological debate in and from the different manuscripts. A use of manuscripts to establish an original text and to brand all deviations from it as secondary and spurious is to jettison a fund of first-hand evidence of what manuscripts flourished at differing times and places within Christendom, and what these texts actually read. To label the jettisoned readings as mere 'corruptions' is to lose sight of their relevance in any reconstruction of the history, use and influence of the New Testament text.

And this is what brings us to the second century. This was an age prior to the establishment of the canon. Once these Christian writings were given an official status then copyists would be less inclined to introduce deliberate change into texts being promoted as holy writ. However in the second century there were no such constraints. It may well be that the second century is the furthest back we can confidently reach in our attempt to plot the history of the New Testament text. New Testament textual criticism has conventionally divided certain manuscripts into text-types, the so-called Western text, the Byzantine text type, the Egyptian and so on, in order to bring some order into the mass of deviant manuscripts by concentrating on broad categories of manuscripts, grouped together because of certain common features. We may be enabled to get behind the extant forms of some such groupings to reach earlier stages in their life and it may be the case that some of those forms did indeed originate in the second century.

[9]

The second century was a time when matters such as the relationship of Jesus to God was being debated and when pressures from gnosticism and other movements inevitably caused church leaders to defend what they increasingly began to refer to as the traditional faith. It would be surprising if those debates and movements did not leave their fingerprints on the books about Jesus and his followers, because these books were increasingly being used as the foundation documents of the new faith. It is therefore understandable that many of the deliberate changes which we now see in our extant New Testament manuscripts were introduced during the second century and prior to the time when these writings were declared immutable, authoritative, scriptural—in short canonical.

Textual critics need to be alert not only to the influences on the original authors but also to the contemporary issues that surrounded the second-century copyists. These scribes were reproducing their copies in an environment in which Christian groups of various complexions debated the relevance of the Jewish scriptures, defined church discipline, agonized over eschatology and tried to establish the relationship of church and empire, and wrote apologies addressed to Jews and to pagans. This was a century for church self-definition when we can detect an embryonic proto-orthodoxy amid gnosticism, Montanism, Manichaeism, ascetics, Ebionites and other groups, most of whom were affected by, or who claimed to be influenced by, the Christ-event. Textual criticism of the New Testament should never be practised outside church history. The debates and influences of the second century can be detected within the New Testament manuscript tradition. This should not surprise us: it is no wonder that early Christian writings were adjusted to make their wording fit particular party lines.

I shared a broadcast about textual criticism on Deutschlandfunk Professor Barbara Aland of the University of Münster a few years ago. In answer to the reporter's question if we can reach the original words of the New Testament, I was interested to hear her say that the aim of textual criticism was to attain the *Ausgangstext*, that is, the form of the text to which our extant fund of manuscripts and their variants can ultimately be traced, but she was quick to say that this *Ausgangstext* was not necessarily the same as the original text of the original authors. She is one of the editors of the printed edition of the Greek New Testament most commonly used by students, Nestle-Aland 27. This is a critically established text which until recently was being actively promoted as a 'standard text', a new *textus receptus*, by which was meant that the text printed was as close as possible to the [10]

original. I note that that confidence has now gone. In her latest preface to this Greek New Testament she claims only to have produced a 'working text' which is open to changes. In fact a recently published edition of the Epistle to James, also prepared under the auspices of Barbara Aland's institute in Münster, has already introduced certain changes to its Greek text of this epistle.

I have referred to the *Ausgangstext*, the text from which later deviations can be traced. I wonder if we should not now speak in the plural, *Ausgangstexte*, and argue that all the varying text-types of the New Testament could go back to forms already in existence in the second century.

I have been encouraged to reach this conclusion because of work on several fronts, not only on the history of the canon. I give another example: an international project with which I am involved is an Anglo-French attempt to trace the textual history of Mark's Gospel. The aim here is to plot how the text in Greek, Latin, Coptic and in other versions developed. For the Greek we are producing not an eclectic or critically edited new text but printing out six of the earliest forms in which Mark has been transmitted in the manuscript tradition. We are setting out the actual words of certain key manuscripts displayed with the subjoined variants found in their closest allies. My French collaborator on the Greek text, C.-B. Amphoux of CNRS in Aix-en-Provence is convinced that several of our lines of text-types found now in manuscripts of a later date would have originated in the second century.⁴

* * *

The nineteenth century was the age when our knowledge of the New Testament text was taken back to the fourth century after the discovery of the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus and the publication of its near contemporary, Codex Vaticanus—the two most influential New Testament manuscripts extant. The twentieth century has taken the quest for New Testament manuscripts and our knowledge of the text into the second century. One result is that many distinctive readings known from fourth-century witnesses are now being located in the manuscripts of two centuries earlier. These resources have been accompanied by other spectacular twentieth-century discoveries—the Persian Diatessaron,

⁴ See Chapter 31 below.

Ephraim's Commentary on the Syriac Diatessaron, the Nag Hammadi Library (about which more later) and the publishing of better-edited, critical editions of the writings of the church fathers. All these resources enrich the textual critics' access to the second century.

It is at this point that we ought now to take stock about what we know about the second-century Greek text and the environment in which the manuscripts were copied. We encourage students not to treat the New Testament writings in a vacuum, but to examine them in their Jewish and also in their Graeco-Roman contexts, so that not only is the influence of the Old Testament brought to bear on New Testament exegesis but also that of other types of Christian and pagan literature written in the first and second centuries. [11]

Our oldest *complete* manuscripts of the New Testament are fourth century, but there are several substantial older sections and fragments that have come to light, mainly in the past 100 years, thanks to archaeological digs in Egypt. One or two of the earliest fragments on papyrus from among the Oxyrhynchus collection have been published only in the past three years. Some ten or so of our early manuscripts have been dated as having been copied in the second century. Two, dated c. 200 AD, contain sizable portions of text; one, now in Geneva, contains most of John's Gospel, another, now in Dublin, a goodly part of the Pauline corpus. New Testament colleagues will recognise that I speak of P66 and P46. None of our manuscripts belongs to the first century, despite exaggerated claims reported in the press a couple of years ago that a first century fragment of Matthew was housed in Magdalen College, Oxford. What these second-century manuscripts reveal is a very free tradition, that is to say that the bulk of these early witnesses, all of which were inevitably found in Egypt, although not necessarily originally written there, contain a vast number of significant variants previously only known from manuscripts of varying text-types of later dates. Quite how these early papyri relate to each other, or relate to a supposed original or originals, and how they gave rise to the more identifiable text-types of succeeding centuries are questions to exercise textual critics. *En passant* I note that the history of early Christianity in Egypt still awaits the telling.

Apart from primary witnesses, that is the manuscripts of the New Testament in Greek as well as manuscripts in the early translations, another source of information about the text of the New Testament used by text-critics is the Biblical quotations found in the commentaries, sermons and letters of the church fathers. These ancient Christian

writers often liberally peppered their works with scriptural citations and allusions. A judicious analysis of their quotations can tell us much about which author knew which texts and in which form at known periods and in definite locations. Work on the second-century writers still needs to be systematically analyzed. There are influential figures here such as Justin Martyr, Marcion, Irenaeus and, at one remove, Heraclion. Biblical quotations occur in their works. In so far as Jesus' words are quoted there we need to examine if these are likely to have

[12] come from written sources (as opposed to oral traditions) and, if so, how they relate to our knowledge of the same words from New Testament manuscripts.

Some work has been done on Justin's scriptural citations. We see that when Justin seems to be quoting from the gospels he combines his sources so that a quotation may be an amalgam of Matthew and Luke. This feature may be comparable to the conclusion reached by some scholars working on the Synoptic Gospels who argue that Matthew wrote his Gospel by amalgamating two earlier written sources, Mark and Q. This amalgam makes it difficult to use Justin as a witness to the New Testament text, although his quotations may well be evidence of an early attempt to harmonise the New Testament Gospels. We have already referred to the fact that scribes often assimilated the text in parallel passages in the gospels. Another way to avoid the embarrassment felt by some Christians that their early documents occasionally contained discrepancies was to merge the four original gospels into a single harmonized account. Justin may show an early form of such a harmony. Later in the second century Tatian has been credited with the production of the *Diatessaron*, a harmony made out of the four separate gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John hence the Greek name given to it, *dia tessaron* '(one) through four'. The *Diatessaron* was originally written in Syriac. That Justin inaugurated a similar harmony is not improbable as he had been Tatian's teacher. Work on the *Diatessaron* is a highly complex and complicated business but research is progressing.

More needs to be done on Justin's citations. Work on the other second-century fathers, Latin and Greek, is less developed and we ought to work more systematically on the writings of Marcion and Irenaeus to learn what they can reveal about the Biblical texts and specifically the New Testament text-types which they were using and quoting.

We may even be able to detect if certain textual variants in the *apparatus* in our Greek New Testament originated with a particular writer. The puzzling place-name 'Bethabara', found in some manuscripts at John 1:28, may have come from a conjecture made by the famous church father, Origen. Likewise Origen may also have been the originator of the geographical name 'Gergesene' found instead of the name 'Gadarene' or 'Gerasene' found in many manuscripts at Matthew 8:28 and parallels. Certain other variants, such as the widespread deletion of Jesus' saying about the man working on the sabbath found in Codex Bezae in Luke 6, or the addition of the request for the Holy Spirit in Luke's version of the Paternoster found in some manuscripts may have originated, so it has been argued, with Marcion.

Another group of mainly second-century writers are the so-called [13] Apostolic Fathers, writers and writings such as the Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas, 1 and 2 Clement, the Shepherd by Hermas, and the seven letters of Ignatius. These writings often quote what they call 'scripture', by which they mean what we name the Old Testament. They seldom quote Christian words in this same way, and it is unlikely they used a written form of New Testament works. Nevertheless, they occasionally cite words of Jesus, but apparently in a free and paraphrastic way. Their attitude to and use of the Christian tradition, especially where their words parallel the New Testament, may be instructive to textual critics of the Greek New Testament.

Some of these Apostolic Fathers were on the fringes of the New Testament: the letters known as 1 and 2 Clement for instance are found in Codex Alexandrinus—a New Testament manuscript. Barnabas and the Shepherd are found in the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus following Revelation. Obviously readers of those manuscripts accepted these non-canonical works within their Bible.

One second-century text that has much material in common with the New Testament is the Gospel of Thomas. This is a text that contains 114 sayings of Jesus, some of them close to a New Testament parallel, others quite new and alien. This text, the whole of which is in Coptic, was discovered in the mid-1940s at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in what was in effect the remains of a Gnostic library. (Some portions in Greek had previously been found.) The discovery was made roughly at the same time as the Dead Sea Scrolls were found but news about it was overshadowed by publicity given to the Scrolls. Nevertheless, the Nag Hammadi library contains many manuscripts of texts, most

of which had not been previously known. Its contents tell us much about Gnosticism, a form of belief which in its Christian guise was branded a heresy by mainstream Christians. This movement was very strong in the second century and could have become the dominant form of Christianity not only in Egypt but also in Rome and elsewhere. Until the discovery of this library much of our knowledge of second-century gnosticism was dependent on the counterattacks by writers such as Irenaeus. Just as the use of terms like 'New Testament' and 'canonical' is anachronistic when applied to the second century, so too are terms like 'orthodox' and 'heretical': both Gnostic Christians and non-Gnostic would have thought of themselves as orthodox. One never brands oneself a heretic!

[14] This Gospel of Thomas has been subjected to vigorous scholarly examination in the past fifty years. Not being a copy of a New Testament book as such, its readings have not been added to the critical *apparatus* of the canonical gospels by textual critics, but in any examination of the way in which the sayings of Jesus circulated in the second century we need to subject the forms of those sayings found in the Greek fragments and in the newly discovered Coptic manuscript of the Gospel of Thomas to a comparison with parallels in the New Testament books.

The Gospel of Thomas was obviously read sympathetically by those whose library it was found among even if the Gospel of Thomas as a totality was perhaps not a fully-fledged gnostic creation. Normally this book is labelled as one of the New Testament apocryphal texts.⁵

These words 'apocryphal texts' encourage me now to declare that I have been at work over the past fifteen years or so on the body of extra-canonical early Christian texts known as the 'New Testament apocrypha'. After Oxford University Press asked me to edit a collection of these texts in an English translation I became immersed in a world of strange texts with names such as the Protevangelium of James and the Apocalypse of Peter. Many of these apocryphal texts are from the second century.

I may perhaps be forgiven for mentioning a couple of other New Testament apocryphal writings, because of their bearing on the text of the New Testament proper. A fragment of the second-century Gospel

⁵ For a recent collection in English see J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

of Peter came to light only at the end of the nineteenth century. This fragment tells of Jesus' passion using a mixture of the wording known to us from the canonical gospels. Although some, mainly American, scholars have recently tried to argue that the Gospel of Peter is independent of the canonical Gospels, in effect a fifth Gospel, most experts would now see it as a mere rewriting of the earlier accounts. The Gospel of Peter may even be yet another attempt to harmonise disparate earlier accounts into a single narrative. Nevertheless, the text of the Gospel of Peter needs to be seen in parallel to the New Testament accounts, and this has already been done in some printed editions of the New Testament gospels when the parallels are set out in five contiguous columns per page.

A similar situation pertains to Egerton Papyrus 2 in the British Library, which are second-century fragments containing gospel-type material. These fragments contain stories that are parallel to, but are not scribal copies of, the New Testament accounts. We may again be looking at an independent apocryphal gospel or a free rendering of oral and/or written New Testament stories. Either way this evidence ought to be considered by those investigating the nature of the New Testament in the second century. Finally I refer also to the three early Jewish-Christian gospels also to be found in a collection of New Testament apocrypha and these display similar characteristics.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE FOR RECONSTRUCTING THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE SECOND CENTURY

The conference in Lille at which this paper was first published («Le [9]
texte du Nouveau Testament et ses témoins avant 200 A.D.») was in
July 2000, in other words in the closing months of the 20th century.
It might seem somewhat perverse that the conference was looking
backward to the 2nd century rather than forward to the approaching
millennium. But for those engaged on the New Testament manuscript
tradition the challenge for our new century is to try to understand
better the influences on the church, its texts and its traditions in the
period before the canon was fixed—specifically in the period of the
2nd century.

The 19th century was the time when our knowledge of the text and
our confidence in being able to establish an older, some would say
a more reliable, form of the New Testament text reached back from
the Byzantine age to the 4th century. The discovery in St Catherine's
monastery of the Codex Sinaiticus, and the publication of Codex
Vaticanus Greek 1209 also of the 4th century were revolutionary for
Biblical studies. As far as the text of the New Testament is concerned,
these manuscripts had the effect of toppling the Textus Receptus from
its pedestal and with it the majority, Byzantine text that had held sway
for over 300 years. Westcott and Hort's *The New Testament in the
Original Greek* published in 1881 was dependent on the recent pub-
lication of Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲁ) and Codex Vaticanus (B). Textual
criticism and the printed text of the Greek New Testament have never
been the same again. All critical editions of the New Testament in
Greek owe a huge debt to the pioneering work of Westcott and Hort,
whether or not that debt is acknowledged.

Yet since Westcott and Hort's day there has been a spectacular [10]
increase in the number of manuscripts of the Greek New Testament
available to scholars. Some of the manuscripts registered by the likes
of von Soden and by Gregory and his followers came into the public

domain thanks to methodical and intensive Handschriftenreisen. The travels around the libraries, museums and monasteries of Asia Minor, Greece and the Middle East had of course begun with Tischendorf and Porphyry (Uspensky), but in the 20th century, thanks to easier and better forms of transport, many more expeditions were organised. Photographic plates of manuscripts were taken and microfilms made. The enterprises undertaken by Hatch, the Lakes, the Library of Congress and more recently and more extensively by the Institute for New Testament Textual Research in Münster have resulted in the cataloguing and classifying—if not the thorough reading—of 5,000 or so continuous text and lectionary manuscripts of the Greek New Testament now listed in the officially recognised register. Some 95% of those manuscripts are readily accessible to scholars on microfilm.

But what is important is not so much the sheer numbers of manuscripts added to the register over the last 100 years but the fact that many more witnesses older than the 4th century have been recovered. This has meant that whereas the 19th century may be dubbed the age of the 4th century parchments, the 20th century may justly be called the era of the 2nd and 3rd century papyri. A graph showing the introduction of newly recovered papyri of the Greek New Testament displays spectacular leaps and bounds. Some recently published Oxyrhynchus papyri and a newly discovered fragment of Hebrews in Vienna now bring the highest numbered papyrus to \mathfrak{P}^{116} . Not that all 116 merit a separate number but we do now have around 100 separate papyri manuscripts, several dated by their editors as having been written before 300 A.D.

We note the following manuscripts, dated by the experts as having been written before 200 A.D.:

\mathfrak{P}^{32} ,
 \mathfrak{P}^{46} with its substantial portions of the Pauline corpus,
 \mathfrak{P}^{52} ,
 \mathfrak{P}^4 incorporating \mathfrak{P}^{64} and \mathfrak{P}^{67} ,
 \mathfrak{P}^{66} , with a good part of the Fourth Gospel,
 \mathfrak{P}^{90} ,
possibly \mathfrak{P}^{98}
and two or three of the recently published Oxyrhynchus manuscripts,
 $\mathfrak{P}^{103, 104, 105}$.

Outside the manuscripts on papyrus we could add 0189, possibly a 2nd century fragment of Acts. Helmut Koester¹ was rather too gloomy in stating in 1988 that there is virtually no 2nd century evidence. The important thing to note is that all of the manuscripts which I have listed came to light only in the 20th century. [11]

If we were to extend the scope of this paper to cover the manuscripts dated as 3rd century (and we must always remember that the dating of manuscripts is not an exact science and that at the very least we need to allow a generation's leeway on either side of the suggested date) there are perhaps 60 or so.²

Eldon J. Epp in particular has been assiduous in numerous articles and presentations³ in drawing attention to the riches of the Oxyrhynchus finds in general and to the importance of the New Testament papyri, but has bemoaned the apparent reluctance of editors of the Greek New Testament to take the distinctive contribution of this category into account in the text of the New Testament itself.

I do not share his concerns as I shall mention shortly, but we need to note that the classifying of these papyri and even their inclusion in an *apparatus* is one thing. The rewriting of the history of the text of the New Testament as a result of our possessing these early witnesses or the understanding of the significance of the varying textual character of these papyri are quite another matter.

My disquiet about the papyri is that they are given undue prominence in our critical editions. Their evidence is usually reported extensively and their sigla stand first in the *apparatus*. All of this is due to the bizarre way in which our 5,000 Greek New Testament manuscripts are divided. One subdivision is in accordance with writing material; another is the form of handwriting; a third subdivision is the function of the text, continuous text or lectionary. This has the effect of separating majuscule papyri from majuscule parchments, and

¹ 'The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century' in W.L. Petersen (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1989) pp. 19–37 here p. 19.

² P.W. Comfort – D.P. Barrett, *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*, (Wheaton, Tyndale Press, 2001).

³ For example in 'The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission' in W.L. Petersen (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century* pp. 71–103. Reprinted as chapter 13 in Eldon J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 116).

- [12] gives the unwary the impression that papyri are all earlier than other types of manuscripts. I digress and certainly do not need to labour the problem in the present context, but it does mean that I cannot share Epp's fascination with the New Testament text that happens to be on papyrus.

One often hears that the 2nd century is a comparative dark age for our knowledge of Christianity—even the Christianity of Egypt—and a dark age for the history of the text. That is unduly pessimistic. Not only do we have the number of early witnesses which I have just outlined but other evidence is available to us. It is now readily recognised that three influential versions, the Coptic, the Latin, and the Syriac started in the 2nd century. Work on these versions in recent decades has attempted to recover that 2nd century base. Early evidence of the use of the New Testament in other 2nd century writings is being examined—more on that later. Stuart Pickering of Macquarie University in Sydney is busy working on a hitherto neglected area, the use made of Biblical citations in non-literary sources; much of this is in 2nd century papyri.

The scholar working on the New Testament text in the 2nd century has many other tools at his disposal. Not only is the Nag Hammadi collection to hand, but the Persian Diatessaron and Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron in Syriac came to light this century. Better scholarly editions of the Fathers in the *Sources chrétiennes* and *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* series mean that we are decreasingly dependent on the old editions in Migne.

We need to study further the Biblical text that can be recovered from the work of Celsus, Irenaeus and Justin in as thorough a way as the SBL series on the text of the Greek Fathers⁴ demands; this is a *desideratum* especially as Western and other text-types may now be detected in these early fathers. Some work⁵ has already been done on Justin's New Testament citations, and it seems as if Justin was in effect harmonising Luke and Matthew when he quoted words of Jesus. His method may well parallel the way Matthew a century earlier combined Mark and Q. Whether Justin was consciously trying to assimilate apparently discrepant sources or was treating freely the oral and

⁴ *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers: Texts and Analyses.*

⁵ A.J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (*Novum Testamentum. Supplements* 17) (Leiden, Brill, 1967).

perhaps written sources at his disposal needs to be investigated but all we need to note now is that his attitude to the text betrays a freedom that is of relevance if we are to write the history of the New Testament text in the 2nd century. So that is unfinished business which demands attention.

That Justin, Tatian's teacher, was sympathetic to, even an originator of, a Diatessaronic type of text is not surprising. We may just remark that the Diatessaron and perhaps Justin's combining of Gospels are not our only 2nd century harmonized Gospel texts. The longer ending of Mark (Mark 16:9–20) may in effect be a digest of Easter accounts assimilated from several different sources, some of them canonical Gospels. The apocryphal Gospel of Peter may also have been an attempt to write a Passion Gospel using and thereby making redundant the four canonical accounts. Scribes' attempts to assimilate parallels within the canonical Gospels are yet another way of attempting to avoid apparent discrepancies between different Gospel accounts of the same story or saying. [13]

I extend our trawl beyond Justin and the Church Fathers to the so-called Apostolic Fathers for we see that they too reveal to us how 2nd century authors—quite orthodox Christian writers at that—use and allude to the words of Jesus. Writers and books like 1 and 2 Clement, the Didache, the Shepherd of Hermas and the letters of Ignatius quote words of Jesus but apparently in a paraphrastic way that perhaps shows that they were dependent on the oral tradition or were treating the canonical Gospel text very freely.

And we must not neglect another 2nd century source at our disposal, the Christian apocrypha. In a paper delivered in Geneva in 1995⁶ I investigated if any of the New Testament apocryphal texts had influenced scribes copying the text of the New Testament proper. With one or two notable and famous exceptions I reported that I had not found any direct influences. However, work on these Christian apocrypha may be of significance to the study of the textual criticism of the New Testament because of the way these apocrypha use or quote from the literature that became the books of the New Testament canon. Logia of Jesus in the *Gospel of Thomas* are an obvious example. Very few of

⁶ "The Influence of the Apocrypha on Manuscripts of the New Testament" *Apocrypha* 8 (1997) pp. 265–71.

the logia that have a parallel in a canonical Gospel are exactly the same as the wording in the New Testament textual tradition.

- [14] Other quotations in other apocryphal Acts and Gospels similarly betray a general freedom in quotations. And again this word 'freedom' comes to the fore. The fragments known as Egerton Papyrus 2 is another example of a Christian apocryphon with parallels to the canonical Gospels. Modern printed synopses of the Greek New Testament now often conventionally present the parallels in these and other New Testament apocrypha as extra parallels to the canonical texts. Obviously, as these apocryphal texts are not copies of the canonical books, text-critics cannot use this evidence as if they were manuscript witnesses, but what they can and should do is to see how a particular saying of Jesus (for example) was adjusted in different retellings. The synoptic parallels reveal their own differences and similarities especially if we are alert to the *apparatus criticus*; similarly, the same parallels found in non-canonical sources, apocryphal and in some cases patristic, usually exhibit still further variations. What all this tells the textual critic of the Greek New Testament is that we are dealing with traditions which were transmitted with a relative degree of freedom in the first one hundred years of their existence. Here again that word 'freedom' is used of the 2nd century. All the important variants that we can identify in our manuscripts were in existence in the 2nd century. (We shall elaborate that point shortly.) Perhaps originally there were more in existence. We cannot know. All that one can say is that there was a flexibility, a diversity in that 2nd century text. Perhaps that is why we can speak, with the Alands, of a 'free' text. Once the text became more controlled—certainly from the 4th Century—that freedom disappeared.

These are the sorts of evidence we have at our disposal. We now need to ask: Why is it important to study the 2nd century evidence?

Is it important in recovering the 1st century originals? Is one trying to reconstruct a text that helps us recover the wording of the autographs?

At one time I would certainly have argued that one needs to take into account all evidence—not only early evidence—because the task of the textual critic was the recovery of the original New Testament text. If asked whether our fund of 5,000 manuscripts together with the versional and patristic evidence enabled us to reestablish the original text I always used to answer in the affirmative—and I have writ-

ten extensively along those lines.⁷ Now I am less confident that we can achieve that, or indeed if it is the job of textual criticism to do that. I have been persuaded to change my stance somewhat thanks to the writings of Bart Ehrman⁸ and David Parker⁹ who emphasise that our stock of textual variants may more profitably be harnessed to tell the story of Christian history and the changes in doctrine and Christology. [15]

Variants such as the three forms of the Parable of the Two Boys in Matthew 21, the differing versions of the Paternoster, the accounts of the Institution of the Last Supper in the different New Testament books and the varying textual transmission of those sources, the ways in which Mark's Gospel or Paul's letter to the Romans ended may enable us to plot which readings belong to the first century and which are secondary, but we are now shown by the likes of Parker and Ehrman that to use variants merely to select an original text and to brand the secondary readings as mere corruptions is to jettison a wealth of evidence relevant to the history of these texts and their influence. They were living texts, and as Koester reminds us¹⁰ a text that was a used and living text was the worst that could happen to it from the point of view and perspective of those textual critics determined only to establish the presumed autograph.

In general there was an autograph that the original author published, and it was that which scribes reproduced, but in the case of Acts (most probably), Romans (probably) and Ephesians the originally published work was reissued as a revised edition by their authors. For those books, especially Acts, at least we may find it less easy to pronounce which of more than one edition was the original. In any case we admit that the search for one original is less the aim of textual critics than once it was. As an example of this tendency we may quote Koester once again; he investigates whether the 'original' form of Mark may be found in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke rather than in manuscript copies of Mark itself.¹¹

⁷ For example in *Theology* 77 (1974) pp. 338–52; *Revue Biblique* 74 (1977) pp. 5–25; *Restoration Quarterly* 21 (1975) pp. 95–115; *ZNW* 82 (1991) pp. 34–41.

⁸ *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁹ *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁰ *Art. cit.* p. 20.

¹¹ *Art. cit.* pp. 20–25.

[16] Kenneth Clark was calling the search for the original a ‘retreating mirage’ as early as 1966.¹² More recently another perceptive commentator on matters text-critical, Eldon Epp, has presented a detailed analysis on what this quest for an ‘original’ text means under the title ‘The Multivalence of the Term “Original Text” in New Testament Textual Criticism’, in which he finds several dimensions to the term ‘original’—a predecessor text-form, an autographic text-form, a canonical and then an interpretative form, each of which may be recoverable from our fund of manuscripts. The fluidity in text carries over into a fluidity regarding canon. His paper was originally delivered to the SBL meeting in 1998 in the incongruous setting of DisneyWorld, Florida but has now been published in the more fitting and august pages of the *Harvard Theological Review*¹³

As most of our deliberate changes are likely to have been made to the text of the New Testament in the 2nd century and before the establishing of the universally recognised canon, those interested in plotting church history in that century have virtually all existing variants of a deliberate character at their disposal to use as material originating in the 2nd century—regardless of the age of the document now bearing that reading. Copyists were less likely to have introduced new readings deliberately into the text once these books were authorized as Holy Writ. Vogels was, in my opinion, quite right to pronounce¹⁴ that all the *deliberate* alterations to the New Testament text would have been introduced by 200 A.D. It is interesting to note that in the hundreds of new variants that have come to light this century, especially in the early manuscripts, hardly any new variants have emerged that had not been reported in the *apparatus* in von Soden’s or Tischendorf’s editions. Obviously, new orthographical variants have been logged but there are hardly any genuine, new readings in the 2nd and 3rd century witnesses. Some readings previously located in only a few medieval witnesses now benefit from having an early papyrus in support; other

¹² ‘The Theological Relevance of Textual Criticism in Current Criticism of the Greek New Testament’ *JBL* 85 (1966), here p. 15.

¹³ “The Multivalence of the Term ‘Original Text’ in New Testament Textual Criticism” *HTR* 92 (1999) pp. 245–81 reprinted as chapter 20 in Eldon J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 116).

¹⁴ In his *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Bonn: Hanstein, ²1955) p. 162.

readings, deemed to be weakly attested, now have additional manuscripts as allies.

And we ought to add here that it is not only those whose interests are Christological or theological that are catered for by our stock of deliberate changes to the New Testament text emerging from the 2nd century, but those who look to the New Testament in their study of the history of the Greek language. Many variants of a grammatical, orthographical and linguistic nature may be found to have occurred in the 2nd century with the rise of the neo-Atticist movement.¹⁵ Although it may well be that our evidence is found in manuscripts of dates later than that of the 2nd century, nonetheless it is important to plot such deliberate changes back to this century, and recognise that that is when Atticizing readings began to emerge in the manuscript tradition. [17]

From my own perspective as a so-called thoroughgoing textual critic I recognise the importance of being able to plot the history of variants from the 2nd century. I am less convinced that merely because a reading is found in a manuscript itself of the 2nd century makes that reading more reliable and significant.

Another motive for working on the 2nd century is one that is dear to Christian Amphoux who has regularly argued that the text-types known from manuscripts of a couple of centuries later than the 2nd century can in fact be located in witnesses and events (including deliberate revisions to the text of the Gospels) in the 2nd century. From the 3rd century onwards it is clear that we may assign New Testament quotations in the Church Fathers to certain text-types attested in extant manuscripts. It is instructive to test how far back we can take the evidence. Eldon Epp in his Notre Dame paper¹⁶ in 1988 argued that certain text-types which he labelled anew 'A' (the majority type), 'B' (including \mathfrak{P}^{75} and Codex Vaticanus), 'C' (\mathfrak{P}^{45} , W and others), 'D' (including Codex Bezae) were in existence in the 2nd century. Amphoux would be sympathetic to such a view. The work on the history of the text of Mark 'Marc multilingue' a project with which I am

¹⁵ J.K. Elliott, 'Moeris and the Textual Tradition of the Greek New Testament' in idem (ed.), *Studies in New Testament Text and Language* (*Novum Testamentum. Supplementa* 44), (Leiden: Brill, 1976) pp. 144–52; idem, 'Phrynichus' Influence on the Textual Tradition of the New Testament' *ZNW* 63 (1972) pp. 133–138 both reprinted in a revised form under the combined title 'The Atticist Grammarians' in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (*Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3) (Cordoba: El Almendro, 1992) pp. 65–77.

¹⁶ *Art. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3).

proud to be associated, is a way of demonstrating that general thesis. And we have the opportunity to read of the on-going work of the team of 'Marc multilingue' in this volume, in chapter 31 below.

Kurt Aland attempted to identify the textual character of certain 2nd Century manuscripts in two articles.¹⁷ I attempted in my Lunel paper to see what support distinctively Western readings had in early papyri.¹⁸ My results were modest but nonetheless there is such evidence there of early Western-type readings. Neville Birdsall's piece in the Kilpatrick *Festschrift*¹⁹ worked on the character of two 3rd century manuscripts, P⁴⁵ and P⁷⁵, but his results have a relevance to the 2nd century background to manuscripts such as those. These conclusions need to be set alongside the textual character of the New Testament material in the versions and the Church Fathers.

The 2nd century was the time of the Christian church's self-definition, when its status *vis-à-vis* the Empire was hammered out. Its relations with the pagan world encouraged apologetic writings—and apocryphal novels. It was an age when the Jewish origins of Christianity were debated, and when the authority of the church was being established and its hierarchical structures developed. This was a century when many who claimed to be Christian promoted the writings and teachings of Gnosticism or Montanism; this was a time of ascetic teachings. It was a century when Christianity in Rome flourished under various banners sporting the names of Marcion, or Valentinus and Justin—and (from the evidence of the New Testament apocrypha) Peter. In this century we have writers like Celsus, and Heracleon but also Irenaeus, whose defence of a proto-orthodoxy is significant. Irenaeus' defence of the Four-fold Gospel canon was not only exclusive

¹⁷ 'Der Text des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert' in W. Schrage (ed.), *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments* (BZNW 47) (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986) pp. 1–10; 'Alter und Entstehung des D-Textes im Neuen Testament: Betrachtungen zu P⁶⁹ und 0171' in S. Janeras (ed.), *Miscel·lània Papirologica Ramon Roca-Puig* (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1987) pp. 37–61 reprinted in K. Aland, *Supplementa zu den neutestamentlichen und kirchengeschichtlichen Entwürfe* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1990) pp. 72–96.

¹⁸ 'Codex Bezae and the Earliest Greek Papyri' in D.C. Parker – C.-B. Amphoux (eds.), *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium June 1994* (New Testament Tools and Studies 22), (Leiden: Brill, 1994) pp. 161–82. Reprinted here as chapter 6.

¹⁹ 'Radical Eclecticism and the Oldest Manuscripts: A Comparative Study of the Bodmer and Chester Beatty Papyri of the Gospel of Luke' in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *Studies in New Testament Text and Language* (Novum Testamentum. Supplements 44) (Leiden: Brill, 1976) pp. 39–51.

in that thereby he was excluding apocryphal and Gnostic and *recent* Gospels but also inclusive in that he was attempting to unify a church previously separated, adhering to the traditions of, say, Alexandria or of Syria or of Rome.

POSTSCRIPTUM

The current list of Greek New Testament papyri reaches 127 (as of May 2010).

CHAPTER THREE

THOROUGHGOING ECLECTICISM

All modern printed critical editions of the Greek New Testament are eclectic editions, that is to say their editors have selected the text from a number of manuscripts at their disposal. No single manuscript is followed throughout. The printed text thus produced is the creation of the modern editors and does not reproduce in its entirety the actual wording of any one particular manuscript. [139]

In most cases the text in our printed editions follows the reading of the majority of extant manuscripts; where variation occurs certain manuscripts are commonly relied on, typically Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus together with other early witnesses. Whenever these favourite manuscripts are divided over a particular variant, then most editors have to resort to principles based on internal evidence or intrinsic probability before reaching their decision what to print.

The *Textual Commentary* edited by Bruce Metzger to accompany the 3rd. edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*¹ and, later, revised for the 4th edition, gives us an insight into the decision-making process in only a small part of the Greek NT, but at least this shows us how its committee functioned. We see that the editors, although basically wedded to the originality of the Westcott and Hort type of text, nonetheless had to cope with several difficult textual problems. Sometimes the text printed is described in the *Commentary* as the "least unsatisfactory reading".

What has been said so far shows how the majority of textual critics grudgingly apply principles of intrinsic probability to text-critical problems only when their preferred external evidence is unhelpful or ambiguous. Thoroughgoing eclecticism, by contrast, operates the other way round, that is to say the initial questions asked when variants need to be resolved are: Which reading is in accord with our author's style

¹ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft and the United Bible Societies, 1994).

or language or theology? and Why and how did the alternative readings occur?

“Thoroughgoing eclecticism” is one of the names given to the procedure for dealing with textual variation that prefers to debate each and every variant wherever these arise and to reach a decision not only on the reading most likely to represent the original words of the original author but also on the motives why the variant(s) arose. These decisions are reached largely independently of the manuscript support for the variants.

[140] Thoroughgoing eclecticism is not the only term used to define this process. “Rational criticism” was once used² but it gives the unfortunate impression that alternatives are less than rational! “Radical eclecticism” is another way of describing the process, but again that may be unfortunate in implying that it is irresponsible and extreme. “Rigorous criticism” has also been coined. In recent years this methodology has been associated with the name of G.D. Kilpatrick, in whose footsteps I proudly walk. Kilpatrick himself preferred the term “consistent eclecticism” and that has much to commend it. It means that there is a consistent application of text-critical principles based on internal criteria and intrinsic probability.

Kilpatrick stands in a line of text critics such as C.H. Turner, A.C. Clark and A.E. Housman and others. Although we are seemingly in a minority among text-critics (itself a minority discipline within biblical studies), many modern scholars seem to respect or follow, sometimes unconsciously, the position we uphold and promote. Many biblical scholars inevitably find themselves confronted with textual variation in their studies. Those who write commentaries regularly address such matters. I note that the recent ICC commentaries on Matthew³ and Acts⁴ pay due attention to matters text-critical and in many instances adopt a reading at variance with current printed Greek testaments and in favour of a reading preferred on internal grounds.

Thoroughgoing eclecticism applies certain criteria to assist its decision-making process. It is not subjective as some detractors might

² Following M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle II La critique rationnelle* (Paris: Gabalda, ¹1935), but what he was advocating is not what is now understood by thoroughgoing criticism.

³ W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* 3 volumes (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–97).

⁴ C.K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles* 1 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994).

erroneously suppose. The criteria are generally principles known to and applied (when forced to do so) by most textual critics. They are indeed the principles that editors look at when a cult of the best manuscripts founders if their favourites disagree. Even the majority text adherents have to look to other solutions to variants when the majority itself is divided. Thoroughgoing critics would broadly support lists of principles such as those found in the *Textual Commentary*⁵ and in many handbooks on textual criticism.⁶ I have set out the working principles on several occasions including the 1995 Metzger *Festschrift*.⁷ These include: a recognition that parablepsis can cause the accidental shortening of the text being copied, that scribes were often prone to harmonize parallel texts which seemed to be divergent, and that scribes tended to improve upon perceived breaches of acceptable standards of language.

All such criteria are usually hedged around with qualifying comments such as 'other things being equal'. For instance, I often wish to defend the principle (at variance with that found in many of the textbooks) that a reading giving the *longer* text is more likely to be original than a shortened version, and this is based on the argument that scribes often accidentally, but sometimes deliberately, reduced the text that they were copying. Such a principle would not be applied mechanically. One would not defend the originality of a longer reading if its language or style or theology were at odds with the context. (Examples of the reverse i.e. the lengthening of a text, can of course

⁵ *Op. cit.* 2nd. ed. pp. 12*-14*.

⁶ Keith Elliott and Ian Moir, *Manuscripts and the Text of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995) esp. ch. 3; B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) pp. 195-206; Josep O'Callaghan, *Introducció a la Crítica Textual del Nou Testament* (Barcelona: Claret, 1997) esp. ch. VI.

⁷ "Rational Criticism and the Text of the New Testament" *Theology* 75 (1972) pp. 338-43. "Can we Recover the Original New Testament?" *Theology* 77 (1974) pp. 338-53. "Plaidoyer pour un éclecticisme intégral appliqué à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament" *Revue Biblique* 74 (1977) pp. 5-25. "In Defence of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism" *Restoration Quarterly* 21 (1978) pp. 95-115. "An Eclectic Textual Commentary on the Greek Text of Mark's Gospel" in *New Testament Textual Criticism: its Significance for Exegesis* (Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger) ed. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) pp. 47-60. "Textkritik Heute" *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 82 (1991) pp. 34-41; "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism" in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Questionis. A Volume in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger* ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) pp. 321-335. (= *Studies and Documents* 46).

also be found where it seems that a gloss has been incorporated into the text being copied, or that there has been harmonizing to a longer parallel.)

So what is it that makes thoroughgoing critics differ from others who are prepared to recognise the validity of internal principles?

Put simply, it is that the thoroughgoing critic applies the criteria in a consistent, thoroughgoing (but not doggedly mechanical) way. In theory this means that if the arguments on style, usage and other internal criteria point to a reading that may be supported by only a few manuscripts then that reading should nonetheless be accepted. In practice I must now admit that one feels more comfortable with the favoured reading if it is not found only in a solitary late minuscule or in only a versional witness.⁸ But we may note that certain readings lacking the support of normally favoured manuscripts are to be found in even the critical editions themselves, e.g. in UBS⁴ one may [141] note at random the text printed at Acts 4:33 (supported by P⁸ maj.); at Heb. 7:1 (C* maj.); at Heb. 12:3 (the reflexive with A P 104 pc); and at Rev. 18:3 (with 1006^c 3239 virtually alone). See also Hodges and Farstad's Majority Text edition⁹—especially in Revelation.

The UBS text still persists in printing a conjecture at Acts 16:12 supported (perhaps) by some versional evidence.¹⁰

If the arguments based on accepted principles lead to the apparent originality of an allegedly weakly attested reading so be it; I would still

⁸ C. Landon, *A Text Critical Study of the Epistle of Jude* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1996 = *JSNT Supplement* 135), is prepared, on grounds of thoroughgoing textual criticism, to promote as original several readings in Jude that have only meagre external attestation.

⁹ Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad, *The Greek New Testament according to the Majority Text* (Nashville, Camden, New York: Nelson, ²1985).

¹⁰ Thoroughgoing critics see no reason to resort to conjectures. That the original text has survived in our 5,000 extant Greek manuscripts and in the numerous versional manuscripts is a cornerstone of the method. Conjectures seldom achieve scholarly consensus. They are a free rewriting of the New Testament and thoroughgoing critics would not resort to conjecture as a way of removing firm examples of, say, a grammatical feature that appears to sit uncomfortably within an otherwise coherent feature in the corpus being examined. By contrast, G.D. Fee, a onetime vehement opponent of thoroughgoing criticism, is prepared to argue in his *New International Commentary on I Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) that the verses commonly numbered I Cor. 14: 34–5 are not original to Paul's letter, but were added later—and that in the face of the fact that there is no manuscript evidence in favour of the shorter text. (But now see C. Niccum, "The Voice of the Manuscripts on the Silence of Women: the External Evidence for I Cor. 14: 34–5" *New Testament Studies* 43 (1997) pp. 242–55.)

like that reading to be given a fair hearing. And in these days when an increasingly larger representation of Byzantine minuscules are being collated and these collations published¹¹ a reading once thought to be read only by a single minuscule may find itself supported now by other manuscripts.

Thoroughgoing textual criticism has been accused of betraying a cavalier attitude to manuscripts, of treating manuscripts as mere carriers of variants or of not appreciating the history of the text. Such criticisms are unjustified. Thoroughgoing eclecticism is alert to the maxim that knowledge of manuscripts must precede knowledge of readings. We would be unwilling to accept the originality of a reading found in a manuscript whose known proclivities made certain of its readings improbable as the original text of the New Testament author. For example, a manuscript with a proven track record for expanding the divine names with a liturgical formula would be an unreliable witness in favour of a variant giving a longer, as opposed to a shorter, form of a divine name. Similarly, a manuscript whose scribe was regularly erratic in its spelling or another whose scribe exhibited conspicuous carelessness in word order would not be relied on when supporting, perhaps uniquely, an orthographical variant or a reading offering a changed sequence of words, even where in other circumstances such a variant might be seen as theoretically acceptable as the original.

We are also alert to the history of the text. Kilpatrick in particular made great play of the history of the Greek language in the early Christian centuries. He was ready to argue that scribes, influenced by stylistic guidelines about what was and what was not considered acceptable standards of Greek, such as those published by the neo-Atticists, would adjust elements in New Testament manuscripts whose Greek did not conform to these standards. He was also fond of recalling Vogels' observation that all the genuine (i.e. meaningful) variants in our *apparatus* were known from before 200 AD—in other words, virtually the whole fund of our known variants was in existence prior to the date of the overwhelming number of extant manuscripts. This is in a sense a negative fact in that it denies the validity of attempts to seek a purer text in older existing witnesses, the bulk of which are not earlier than the 4th century, and it renders external evidence of

¹¹ For example in the series *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter).

secondary importance to internal evidence, but it is nonetheless a position that does pay due attention to verifiable observations concerning the history of the text. Kilpatrick too was prepared to accept the broad lines of textual divisions, Alexandrian, Western, Byzantine and the like, because these are largely irrelevant to attempts to seek the original text. Codex Washingtoniensis or Codex Bezae are sometimes the bearers of the original text; likewise the Byzantine text is sometimes correct against the Alexandrian tradition.

[142] I am nevertheless aware of problems in the method. To express it at its crudest: thoroughgoing eclectic critics when confronted by a variant look at all the appearances of the feature, grammatical, linguistic, theological, stylistic and so on, as appropriate; they then sort out the non-conformist items with the aid of the *apparatus*; they finally produce a generalised statement concerning the writer or the problem. The snag is that conformity is recognised in firm examples, and one needs to be aware that hitherto unknown variants can suddenly be produced that make firm instances into new variation units. But, in reality, the principles seem to yield results. One example I regularly cite is at Mark 10:1 where our critical texts print *συμπορευονται...οχλοι* thereby giving a unique instance of the plural of *οχλος* in Mark against forty or so firm instances of the singular. While exegetes dependent on the printed text may seek possible reasons for this unexpected plural, thoroughgoing critics will note from a full apparatus the *v.l.* *συμπορευεται...ο οχλος* and will accept it as the original reading here because it is a text consistent with Mark's practice, and may argue that the aberrant plural noun was introduced as a harmonization to the Matthaean parallel. The manuscripts reading the plural (Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and the bulk of Byzantine witnesses) and the manuscripts reading the singular (mainly 'Western') are of marginal importance in the editing of Mark 10:1 if the premises are consistently applied by thoroughgoing critics.

The oft-heard criticism of deductions such as the above is that the opposite could also occur, namely that authors are not necessarily consistent and that Mark, in this example, was as capable of writing a plural as a singular. In other words, the argument goes that it is conceivable that scribes, alert to an author's prevailing characteristics, restored to his text a rigidity not originally there if he noted that the manuscript being copied moves away from the author's habitual style. For this to be put into effect requires our accepting a great perspicacity on the part of a copyist, who, unlike modern scholars, would not

have access to concordances, statistical word lists and grammars which allow us to identify and monitor features of the biblical authors' styles. I find such reasoning improbable not only in relation to the example given in Mark 10:1 but to other comparable places, although I concede that it is a counter-argument which needs to be kept in one's sights.

Another example I have used elsewhere¹² is at Mark 6:41 where Metzger's *Commentary* tells us that μαθητης is more likely to be followed by a dependent genitive than not, and that when variation occurs between the inclusion and exclusion of the possessive, the former is likely to be original. With that reasoning I agree, because various groups and individuals in the early church had their own disciples, but as Christianity developed the word "disciples", unless further distinguished, tended to mean *Jesus'* disciples. Scribes, finding what they would consider to be redundant possessives after the word "disciples" when referring to Jesus' disciples, often felt able to delete the pronoun, a practice consistent with a general tendency to restrict the allegedly excessive use of post-positional possessives in Koine Greek. There is thus much variation in our manuscripts in this matter. As far as αὐτοῦ with μαθηται is concerned, variants occur at, among other places, Matt. 8:21; 15:36; 16:5; 17:10; 19:10; 20:17; Luke 12:22; 20:45; John 20:30. The UBS committee was unprepared to follow its own principle at Mark 6:41 or at these other verses. There the UBS text either omits or brackets the possessive, often because the characteristic brevity of the Alexandrian text commended itself to the committee.

Jakob van Bruggen's plea that the Byzantine text-type be allowed an unprejudiced hearing when one is assessing textual variation is welcomed by thoroughgoing eclecticism. As far as his examples are concerned, I accept his arguments in favour of the longer text at Luke 24:42. I am less convinced by his arguments at Luke 2:33, 43 where he is favourably disposed to the originality of the readings found in the majority text. (I would consider it more likely—and in accord with the development of the virgin birth tradition—that Luke's glaringly conspicuous references to Jesus' father at 2:33, and to Jesus' parents at

[143]

¹² J.K. Elliott, "Mathetes with a Possessive in the New Testament" *Theologische Zeitschrift* 35 (1979) pp. 300–4. Reprinted as chapter 11 in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

2:27, 41,¹³ 43 are original, and that all the variants at these verses are secondary, even if scribes were not always consistent in eliminating other, less obvious, references to Joseph as Jesus' father elsewhere in the context.) Again we are confronted by questions of who is likely to be the more consistent—Luke or the scribes; and, again, I prefer to grant that a creative author rather than a mere copyist will demonstrate the greater degree of stylistic consistency. But the important point to note is that van Bruggen agrees with the principles of thoroughgoing textual criticism in assessing the variation units along the lines of Lukan style and scribal tendencies. His argument is not predetermined by a defence of a particular text-type; his conclusions merely confirm his observations that the Byzantine text-type may sometimes support the original reading, and that therefore its voice and contribution are worthy of being listened to. I may beg to disagree with some of van Bruggen's textual decisions—but open debate is encouraged by thoroughgoing eclecticism.

* * *

Perhaps I have been too defensive—even negative—about thoroughgoing eclecticism in the light of misgivings that have been readily expressed about the method. I should now end by indicating just five of its positive benefits:

1. It looks at textual problems independently of the manuscript support, and that can be refreshingly open and instructive.
2. It identifies an author's style, or first century usage, and can help us catalogue distinctive linguistic features, as C.H. Turner did with Mark.¹⁴ Such approaches sit comfortably with more recent investigations into narrative and audience-reception theories.
3. It takes seriously transcriptional probability. It makes readers aware of the reasons why and how scribes altered the texts they were copying.

¹³ Jakob van Bruggen, "The Majority Text: Why not reconsider its Exile?" in Scot McKendrick and Orlaith O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (London: The British Library and New Castle DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2003) pp. 147–53 does not discuss these two verses.

¹⁴ In his "Notes on Markan Usage" in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, reprinted in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark* (Leiden: Brill, 1993) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 71).

4. It not merely seeks the original text, a will o' the wisp according to some like Amphoux, but, perhaps more importantly, it also tries to find likely motives for the perceived changes throughout the tradition, a view compatible with Ehrman's¹⁵ or Parker's¹⁶ recent views on the validity of *all* variants as part of the living text.
5. Evidence is produced before conclusions are drawn over a variation unit.

* * *

Even text-critics unsympathetic to thoroughgoing eclecticism recognise that such investigations enhance our knowledge and understanding of the language, and style of the biblical authors, and of the pressures on scribes that encouraged their changing the text of their exemplars, even if these critics are unwilling to accept the text-critical conclusions which such investigations logically lead them to.

¹⁵ Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁶ D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

PART TWO

MANUSCRIPTS

CHAPTER FOUR

SINGULAR READINGS IN THE GOSPEL TEXT OF PAPYRUS 45

As a hand-written copy P.Chester Beatty I (P⁴⁵) is by definition unique. [122]
Unlike multiple copies of a modern book reproduced by printing manuscripts are distinctive. No two manuscript copies of the Greek New Testament agree in all particulars—idiosyncratic errors and peculiar orthography as well as more significant textual variation separate one manuscript from another.

Although we know that scholars such as Origen¹ and Jerome² were occasionally alert to textual differences in the manuscripts they had access to, few ordinary readers and users of the books that came to be known as the Christian scriptures would in antiquity have been in a position to compare their church's or monastery's copy of the Bible with another manuscript. Such scholarly exercises would presumably have been possible in an academic centre such as Caesarea or Alexandria. But, in general, multiple versions of the same text would not have been readily accessible. In any case the average Christian was not concerned with the niceties of textual variation—for him it was sufficient to be told that book 'a' was approved reading, whereas document 'x' was apocryphal.³ To read Matthew, Mark, Luke or John was all that was important. Those defining the extent of the canon as such did not specify that the copy of, say, Mark had to be the one that contained (or did not contain) the last twelve verses of Ch. 16, for example.

¹ See B.M. Metzger, 'Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts' in J.N. Birdsall and R.W. Thomson (eds.), *Biblical and Patristic Essays in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (Freiburg: Herder, 1967) pp. 78–95. Reprinted in B.M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish and Christian* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) (= *New Testament Tools and Studies* 8).

² See B.M. Metzger, 'St. Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament' in E. Best and R. McL. Wilson (eds.), *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) pp. 179–90. Reprinted in B.M. Metzger, *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional and Patristic* (Leiden: Brill, 1980) (= *New Testament Tools and Studies* 10).

³ As in lists such as those found in the Gelasian Decree, the List of the Sixty Books or the Stichometry of Nicephorus.

Readers and users of the Gospels in a particular ancient Christian community accepted the version of those books, which happened to be in their personal or local copy. We may compare this to a modern situation where Christians hear and accept as canonical the distinctive text of a particular translation of the New Testament being read, be it the AV, RV, or a more recent version. For instance, worshippers at a modern wedding service are likely to hear without questioning in 1 Cor. 13:3 the words ‘...I give (up) my body to be burnt’ or ‘...I hand over my body so that I may boast’ which depends on the translation being read (cf. Good News Bible and REB or NRSV).

[123] Similarly, the users of the Gospel text of P⁴⁵, the Chester Beatty Papyrus I (= PCBI hereafter), are unlikely to have indulged themselves with a comparison of their manuscript with any differing wording remembered from another manuscript. The copyist of that manuscript (or a predecessor) may of course have consciously altered the wording of the exemplar he was copying from when transcribing this text. Much deliberate alteration took place in effect to assimilate parallel texts, the commonly recognised harmonising of Gospel parallels especially to conform Mark and Luke to the wording in Matthew being the most frequent. (Examples of this cause for textual variation may be seen throughout PCBI.)

We now turn to PCBI. As we read through the remaining pages of its Gospel text⁴ we are first struck by the fact that this is a perfectly acceptable copy of these books. It reads well and logically, there being only a couple of places where the sense is obscured by an unusual wording. Readers familiar with the Gospels will identify some places where PCBI supports a reading differing from another text; at other times the alert reader may see a form of words hitherto unknown from other Gospel manuscripts. It is those unique readings that form the basis of the current investigation. I shall concentrate on the distinctive readings of PCBI.

Text critics dub such distinctive readings ‘singular’. I shall also refer to some so-called ‘sub-singular’ readings too, where the distinctive text of PCBI is shared by one or two other manuscripts. ‘Sub-singular’ seems a strange and self-contradicting term but by its use text-critics are pointing to a distinctive text that, probably coincidentally, is shared by another manuscript, usually without their having any recent

⁴ I leave aside the pages of this manuscript containing Acts.

common close ancestry or their ever having been influenced by the other. ‘Singular’ (or even ‘sub-singular’) are dangerous words. What we mean by these terms is that these are readings not found in the bulk of other manuscripts, but we must remember that the vast majority of other manuscripts, especially minuscules, have not been read in their entirety. So, it may be argued, today’s singular reading could tomorrow turn into a reading shared by other recently read manuscripts. That may indeed be a working possibility, but for most practicable purposes we may accept that, as the singular readings of an early manuscript like our PCBI are not shared with other early manuscripts (and most of the manuscripts written up to the 9th. century have been read in detail by modern scholars), they are for the most part unique to that manuscript. The other thing that must be said at the outset is that even if the currently extant fund of manuscripts reveals that a reading in one manuscript is unique, singular and distinctive, that does not of course mean that it was ever thus. The sheer chance of survival may deny our ever knowing if that distinctive reading was once shared (commonly) in its own day. All we may do is to say that of the manuscripts that happen to be extant today we have at this or that verse a text otherwise unattested elsewhere.

Obviously when trying to fit PCBI into the overall picture of the history of New Testament manuscripts, the distinctive readings are only one part of the evidence. One needs of course to see how its text compares with representatives of the generally agreed text-types into which the NT text has been divided, although Epp’s warning that it is somewhat anachronistic to make the text-type of a third century manuscript fit categories of text derived from manuscripts of later centuries is fair.⁵ One may, however, see which readings it shares with say D or with \aleph or with W or the Majority text. Kenyon⁶ made a preliminary investigation in his introduction. Others have refined this work. [124]

⁵ E.J. Epp in, among other places, ‘The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission’ in W.L. Petersen (ed.), *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century* (Notre Dame, Indiana, and London: Notre Dame University Press, 1989) pp. 71–103. Reprinted as chapter 13 in E.J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays, 1962–2004* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) (= Supplements to Novum Testamentum 116).

⁶ Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible II The Gospels and Acts. Text* (London: Emery Walker, 1933). Introduction pp. xi–xx.

It may be that the conclusion is that PCBI is a 'free' text, to use the Alands' term.⁷ But whether it is concluded that the manuscript cannot be classified or could perhaps be an early representative of a particular text-type is not our concern now.

Those who aspire to a so-called thoroughgoing solution to text-critical problems⁸ would put into the melting pot the readings of all manuscripts before deciding where the original reading of the original author lies. Those who convince themselves that they know which manuscripts are more reliable than others are obviously prejudiced in favour of readings found in their favourite manuscripts. As far as PCBI and other early papyri are concerned there has been a certain prejudice in favour of their readings especially if B also supports them.⁹ We see in our most frequently consulted Greek New Testament (Nestle-Aland)²⁷ that occasionally PCBI and a few others have influenced the text printed especially if those few others are favoured manuscripts. The papyri have not influenced textual decisions as much as one could have imagined given the early date of many of them¹⁰ but there are places where PCBI and a few allies (notably B) have influenced the 'original' text in the modern printed editions, as may be seen in the *apparatus* of NA e.g. Luke 9:62 [προς αὐτου] where the words are omitted by P⁷⁵ B and our manuscript. See also Luke 6:34 [εστιν]: the verb is also absent from P⁷⁵ B; Luke 10:35 word order with P⁷⁵ B; Luke 10:38 αὐτον *sine add.*; Luke 11:11 shorter text after υιος with P⁷⁵ B At Luke 11:22 our text with P⁷⁵ and D (against B) omits αὐτου; that reading is not accepted by NA. In general though our manuscript and other early papyri have not influenced modern editors of the Greek NT as much as some would have expected.

[125] I am interested here in trying to appreciate what the original users of PCBI would have read. To identify the singular and sub-singular

⁷ Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* 2nd. English edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, 1989) esp. pp. 56–64.

⁸ See J.K. Elliott, 'Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism' in B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) pp. 321–35 (= *Studies and Documents* 46).

⁹ Martini's work on P⁷⁵ and B comes to mind: C.M. Martini, *Il recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966).

¹⁰ E.J. Epp, 'The New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts in Historical Perspective' in M.P. Horgan and P.J. Kableski (eds.), *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer SJ* (New York: Crossroad, 1989) pp. 261–88 esp. pp. 56–64. Reprinted as chapter 12 in Epp, *Perspectives*.

readings I have access of course to modern tools such as printed *apparatus* and collations which readily enable me to see where the readings of PCBI have not been repeated in any other manuscript (or which are different from over 99% of all other known manuscripts).¹¹ Do those readings make a substantial difference to the type of Gospel text they read, heard and lived their Christian lives by?

The first thing that must be concluded is that the text of this early manuscript, 'free' though it may be dubbed, is no aberrant text like Codex Bezae is often said to be. There are no real surprises, no startling deviations or unusual glosses.

There are however a few places where PCBI gives us a shorter text than that found elsewhere. Sometimes the shortening of the text is probably due to the accidental omitting of the words because of an optical reason such as hom. and our scribe like many another is prone to parablepsis.

Occasionally our manuscript has a longer text than any others. We shall look at some of the most significant of these, but, before we do so, I should say something about nomenclature. Words like 'add' or 'omit' are loaded in favour of the view that we know precisely what the original text contained. That is not certain. All we can note by comparing one manuscript with another is that one has a longer or a shorter text. Nevertheless I do draw attention to the Synoptic parallels because those readings need to be taken into account when assessing the reasons for all types of change within manuscripts of the Synoptic Gospels. (We should of course bear in mind that because of its fragmentary nature it is not usually possible to compare many Synoptic parallels within the manuscript itself.)

Among shorter readings PCBI has the following absences:

Mark

6:40 *κατα*¹...*πεντηκοντα* (absent from the Synoptic parallels)

6:41 *πεντε* (in the Matthaean and Lukan parallels)

6:41 *δυο* (in the Matthaean and Lukan parallels)

6:48 *της νυκτος* (in the Matthaean parallel)

¹¹ PCBI like most other papyri is regularly cited in the apparatus of modern critical editions, such as Nestle-Aland²⁷ but not consistently (e.g. Mark 6:37 (word order); 6:39 (omit def. art.); 8:11 (omit *ζητουντες παρ' αυτου*); 8:19 (om. *τους*) are absent from NA²⁷).

8:11 ζητούντες παρ' αὐτοῦ (an omission through hom. seems likely here: αὐτῶ...αὐτοῦ) but this makes nonsense of the verse

9:25 τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ with W (cf. Lukan parallel)

9:25 αὐτῷ with Θ Fam1

Two other shorter readings in Mark are at 8:38 (where the lacunae in the manuscript make it unlikely that the words *λογους* and *ταυτη* could have been there. These variants happen—coincidentally—to agree with the readings in W).¹² The *apparatus* in Kenyon, *Text* does not note these variants.

[126] Luke

In Luke 6 it seems from the space available in v. 48 that our manuscript has a shorter text than in other manuscripts, all of which have either (a) *τεθεμελιωτο γαρ επι την πετραν* or (b) *δια το καλως οικοδομησθαι αυτην* after *σαλευσαι αυτην*. There is a good and clear example of hom. if the exemplar had (b). The readers of this parable in PCBI lack an apparently otiose explanation why the flood failed to shake this house. Thus its readers may gain a rather different impression of the storyteller's skill than readers of other accounts.

12:2 PCBI lacks *και κρυπτον ο ου γνωσθησεται* (also probably an omission due to hom. -θησεται....-θησεται) without any significant loss of meaning or sense. (The words occur in the Matthaean parallel.)

12:9 PCBI lacks the verse.

John

Folios 16–17 contain a good portion of John 10–11. Reading through the remains of these chapters in PCBI an observant reader, familiar with a printed Greek New Testament text, would note the absence of *και η ζωη* at 11:25. Knowledge of this unique reading has had a great impact. Among modern English versions NRSV has this shorter reading in its margin. Barrett's commentary¹³ refers to this variant and he is prepared to argue for the originality of the shorter text.

¹² PCBI agrees with W elsewhere in this verse in the sub-singular reading *και* for *μετα*. Cf also at Mark 9:2 + *ο Ιησους* with W.

¹³ C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St. John* (London: SPCK, second ed. 1978).

11:7 There is no reference to the disciples after ειπεν.

As far as *longer* readings are concerned, we note the following:

Mark

6:47 + παλαι with D Fam13, a reading found in the WH margin (cf. Mark 15:44).

7:5 + κοινας χερσιν και ανιπτοις, which looks like a conflation of the readings κοινας χερσιν and ανιπτοις χερσιν. Fam13 has a similar longer text: κοινοις χερσιν ανιπτοις.

9:19 + και διεστραμμενη (in the Matthaean and Lukan parallels).

Luke

11:15 PCBI reads ελαλησαν οχυροι λεγοντες instead of ειπον *cett.*

A reading in PCBI which modern critics would dub a conflate reading is the longer reading at Luke 21:24: before τους κορακας the manuscript has τα πετεινα του ουρανου which agrees with the Matthaean parallel.

John

10:34 + εν τη γραφει

11:43 + ελθε (apparently) after δευρο.

We may conclude this survey by stating that by comparison with other manuscripts, singular readings in PCBI that offer a shorter text do not generally remove the sense from the passage. We could deduce either that the scribe was responsible from pruning what [127] may have been seen as redundant expressions or that later scribes of other manuscripts added to the short original text (unnecessary) detail.

* * *

Let us now read through more consistently the remains of the Gospel text of PCBI and see what its readers would have encountered that would make their reading and understanding of the text differ from the text encountered by readers of other manuscripts.

MATTHEW

Very little remains, but we have parts of chapters 20–21 and (together with the Vienna fragments of folio 2r. in the Austrian National Library Pap. G 31974) parts of 25–26.

In the story of the two blind men in Jericho PCBI has ηκολουθησαν οχλοι πολλοι and no αυτω at 20:29. That makes this reading differ from that in D (and a few others) which also have the plural but with αυτω. The rest of the manuscript tradition has the singular. Commentators may wish to explain the significance of these differences and text-critics may wish to discuss which reading gave rise to the other(s), but all that we wish to do now is to point out that the reading of our manuscript gives a picture (uniquely so it seems) of various groups of people with Jesus. Also in this story at 20:31 PCBI has the aorist εκραυγασαν against the more common εκραζον, εκραζαν (cf. v. 30) or εκραυγαζον. A change of verb could suggest a more sensitive literary style or that a stronger verb was needed to express a louder, more dramatic cry (as μειζον implies). We do however note that the Lukan and Markan parallels to this verse have forms of κραζω. It is not our intention here to pronounce on the originality or secondariness of the different readings but merely to note the distinctiveness of PCBI.

In the verses extant from Mt. 25 in the manuscript in fol. 2r. (not fol. 2v. as shown in the Text volume)¹⁴ there is a higher incidence of the particle και than in other manuscripts (see vv. 42–44). Readers of PCBI here would thus gain a different impression of the author's style than readers of other manuscripts of Matthew.

In the Vienna fragments of this section at Matt. 26:7 the rare word order αλαβαστρον εχουσα μυρου may, as in many a differing sequence of words, merely be the result of a scribe's having memorised a run of words which he then transcribes in a slightly different order which does not alter the overall meaning of the passage. [We note many such changes of sequence when comparing singular readings in PCBI with other manuscripts: e.g. Mark 6:37; 9:1 (where ωδε now has a less prominent position); 9:3; Luke 10:35, 38, 41 (to emphasise κυριος perhaps); 11:19, 44; 12:7, 11, 28, 36, 52–53 (where there are many variations in sequence throughout the manuscript tradition); 13:10, 15, 24, 31; 14:5; John 10:18 *bis*, 41; 11:9, 33.]

¹⁴ Correction noted in Kenyon, *op. cit.*, *Plates* p. v.

The extant fragments of Mark are more extensive than those containing Matthew. They contain parts of Mark 6–8 including the stories of John the Baptist's death, the Feeding of the 5000 and its aftermath, the Qorban question, the Healing of the Deaf-mute, the Transfiguration and the Healing of the Epileptic Boy.

There are some oddities in the Story of the Baptist's death. The reading *αυτου γυν[αικα* at 6:17 is puzzling. So too is *η]ρωδιας δε* which suggests that this proper name is anarthrous. A minor difference at 6:21 is the addition of the preposition *εν* but whether such redundancy implies an original or a secondary reading is an open question. A fuller investigation into the use of prepositions in the manuscript is needed—cf. in this context Luke 14:1 (+ *εν*). At 6:22 is a rare instance when our scribe has provided a correction or maybe an addition above the line of the text. *Ειπεν ο Ηρωδης* (a singular reading) stands in the text with *βασιλεως* added above the proper name; that longer text—if that is what is intended—is also a singular reading. Another unique longer reading adds *αιτησαι* at 6:24, presumably to the mother's otherwise verbless reply.

The observant reader of 7:8 will miss the familiar *την παραδοσιν των ανθρωπων* (which balances *την παραδωσιν των πρεσβυτερων* in v. 5). Readers of PCBI have *εντολην* instead of *παραδοσιν* which repeats this noun in v. 8a.

In the Healing of the Deaf-mute PCBI has the compound *ενεβαλεν* at 7:33 instead of the usual simple verb (but cf. *επεβαλεν* in Fam13).

At 8:12 the generation asks for (*αιτει*) a sign in PCBI. Other manuscripts read *επιζητει* or *ζητει*. The former parallels Matthew *bis*. *ζητει v.l. επιζητει* is in the Lukan parallel.

At Mark 9:6 PCBI (with W) reads *λαλει*. This tense seems odd. The imperfect *ελαλει* in Θ, *λαλησει* in A D fam13, and *λαληση* in Byz. make better sense. This verb is preferable to forms of *αποκρινομαι* (X reads *απεκριθη* *pace* Kenyon's *apparatus*); B reads *αποκριθη* (printed as the current Nestle text). Its very difficulty may make the PCBI text original.

9:19 ο ΙΗ ειπεν: the addition of the subject—a singular reading—may be contrasted to Luke 13:12 where PCBI lacks the name 'Jesus', thus showing that we cannot argue that our scribe consistently adds or omits proper names, or that these changes are inspired in one particular direction from the liturgy.

9:19 προς εμε cf. the same stylistic feature at Luke 14:26.

9:23 has given rise to a variety of text forms but our manuscript with ει δυνη is the most compact and is to be understood as a simple quoted repetition of the words preceding. It gives his rendering of the verse a dramatic impact.

LUKE

Of all the Gospels Luke's has survived best in PCBI. Seven folios contain extensive portions of Luke 6–7 and 9–14. We can therefore gain a good impression of the text its original readers accepted as one of their Christian writings.

9:29: προσ]ευξασθαι (with \aleph^*) as in v.28; προσευχεσθαι *cett.*

9:31 εμελλον—this creates a difficult reading but could it be that it was one that perplexed the original readers? Certainly all other manuscripts have a 3 p.s. (μελλει, ημελλε, εμελλεν).¹⁵

[129] An interesting sub-singular reading in PCBI (shared with X) is at Luke 9:33, which has Peter address Jesus as διδασκαλε. Other manuscripts read πιστατε here. The parallels are κυριε (Matthew) and ραββι (Mark).

9:36 + της εγενετο after και¹. That verse also lacks ουδεν and the emphatic αυτοι after και² in our manuscript.

9:37 της ημερας in PCBI gives a different meaning from 'on the next day' (in various forms of wording) in other manuscripts, but note δια της ημερας in D.

9:40 αυτον (for αυτο) suggests it is not the spirit but the man (!) who is cast out (cf. D: απαλλαξωσιν αυτον).

9:48: By placing an article before μεγας our manuscript balances better ο μικροτε[ρος] earlier.

9:50 A difficult reading—ου γαρ εστιν καθ' υμων ουδε υπερ υμων. The following verses also reads awkwardly and are also likely to have confused the readers of this manuscript: 9:52 προσωπου (*sine add.*); 9:53 προσωπον ην αυτου πορευομενου!

9:62 The sequence of words following ουδεις differs in various manuscripts. The sequence in PCBI is shared with only D.

¹⁵ On the related issue of the orthography see J.K. Elliott, "Textual Variation involving the Augment in the Greek New Testament" ZNW 69 (1978) pp. 247–52 esp. pp. 249ff.

11:13 πνα αγαθον (with L) against πνευμα αγιον *cett.*; other readings are αγαθον δομα D; δοματα αγαθα Θ. (cf. 10:21 πνευματι without qualification.) Also at 11:13 note that PCBI has Jesus address God as ο πρ υμων ο ουρανιος (against ο πατηρ [ο] εξ ουρανου); ουρανιος is a hapax in Luke.

11:19 The absence of τα δαιμονια is characteristic of our scribe's having avoided words clearly understood from the context.

11:42 has ανηθον which parallels Matthew. Other manuscripts in Luke have πηγανον, but note Fam13 has *both* nouns.

12:4 When analysing questions of Lukan style it is to be noted that Luke according to PCBI has πτοηθητε, possibly to avoid an excess number of examples of φοβεισθαι in this context.

13:32 ποιουναι, a singular reading; the alternatives are επιτελω/αποτελω/αποτελουμαι.

JOHN

As far as word-order is concerned our manuscript's reading ο καλος ποιμην *bis* at 10:11 instead of the more Semitic order ο ποιμην ο καλος may be significant when one assesses the style used either by the original author or by copyists. Similarly on stylistic grounds we see that PCBI follows the neuter plural τα προβατα with ηκουσεν at 10:8—all other witnesses read a plural form. Our manuscript uniquely has και before καθως at 10:15 thereby reading και seven times in vv. 14–16 (or eight times if we include κακεινα). Note also the use of the relatively uncommon απερ for α at 10:16. [130]

Although not qualifying as a singular or sub-singular reading we note also in the Good Shepherd passage that the shepherd *gives* (διδωσι) his life at 10:11 (with \aleph^* D) and at 10:15 (διδωμι with P⁶⁶ \aleph^* DW). Most other manuscripts read τιθησι or τιθημι in these verses.

10:39 δε is read instead of και/ουν/anacolouthon (cf. also + δε at John 10:22; γαρ at Luke 11:11). Particles are an obvious area for scribal preferences in a 'free' text.

11:4 ο υιος αυτου (against the 'normal' reading ο υιος του θεου), possibly to avoid a repetition of του θεου earlier in the verse.

11:43 We merely speculate on the significance of the *v.l.* εωρακοτες in PCBI with D; και θεασαμενοι *cett.*

11:52: εσκορπισμενα. All other manuscripts have the form compounded with δι—. The simple verb is found elsewhere in John at 10:45 (a reading extant in PCBI).

11:57 PCBI refers to πρεσβυτεροι. No other manuscript refers to ‘elders’ in this context. The standard reading is ‘Pharisees’ and our manuscript recognises this group at 11:47. Nowhere else in John (outside the disputed Pericope Adulterae) are ‘elders’ mentioned.

CONCLUSION

All manuscripts have their share of singular readings (often nonsense readings) but the meaningful singular and sub-singular readings of this early papyrus manuscript deserve our attention. These distinctive readings—readily culled from a good *apparatus criticus* or from the edition by Kenyon (even though neither source gives every example, as we observed above)—ought not be dismissed as aberrant. All the readings deserve our attention if we are to understand what the readers of as important an early witness as PCBI were confronted with as they heard and studied their Gospels.

EXCURSUS

One place in Luke where it would have been of interest to see what a 3rd. century reader would have found in PCBI is the Paternoster. Unfortunately our manuscript is deficient here. At the bottom of fol. 11r. the words visible come from Luke 11, then Kenyon estimates that seven lines are missing from the manuscript: fol. 12r. begins with isolated words from vv. 6, 7. That is a disappointment because the text of the Lord’s Prayer in Luke in some manuscripts has the longer readings paralleling the Matthaean form of the Paternoster (notably in Luke 11:2 + ημων ο εν τοις ουρανοις, + γενηθητω το θελημα σου ως εν ουρανω και επι της γης and 11:4: αλλα ρυσαι ημας απο του πονηρου). These longer readings are found in manuscripts from the 4th. century onwards. P⁷⁵ of the 3rd. century supports the shorter form of the Paternoster in Luke. A rough calculation of the amount of text contained originally in the lacunae in fol. 11r. suggests (on the basis of the average number of letters per line and the average number of lines per page) that there was space in PCBI for some but not all three of these longer readings (which total c.86 letters in all). But I doubt if we can go further along this line of enquiry with any confidence to reconstruct the missing text here or to pronounce on which form of the Paternoster was known to this 3rd. century witness other than to conclude that its text is unlikely to have been the same as that found in P⁷⁵.

[131]

CHAPTER FIVE

T.C. SKEAT ON THE DATING AND ORIGIN OF CODEX VATICANUS

Biblical scholars are used to working with the text of Codex Sinaiticus [281] and Codex Vaticanus. We sometimes need to remind ourselves just how unique these manuscripts are.

Both are codices on parchment that originally included the whole of the Bible. Even complete copies of the New Testament are rare: my count is only sixty-one manuscripts out of 5,000 New Testament manuscripts and not all those were originally composed as complete manuscripts; in some cases one of the sections was added by a different and later hand. Then the age of these manuscripts is remarkable—they are our oldest Bibles in Greek. (Their dates will be considered shortly.) The fact that they contain not only the New Testament but the complete Bible in Greek makes these, together with Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus exceptional. Even Latin pandects are rare. The fifty Bibles ordered by Constantine (about which more below) must therefore have been a very high proportion of all the complete Bibles written during the fourth century or, indeed, ever written.

The commonly agreed dates for Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus are fourth century; Alexandrinus and Ephraemi Rescriptus are from the fifth century. Cavallo¹ suggested dates of 350 for Codex Vaticanus and 360 for Codex Sinaiticus—those suggestions by a famed expert ought to be weighed carefully. Kenyon² gives the date as “early fourth century” for both.

We ought to remind ourselves what was happening in the Christian world at that time.

There was a growing consensus about the content of the Christian [282] scriptures—the finally agreed canon was being shaped. It may plausibly be argued that texts like Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus

¹ G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967 = *Studi e testi di papirologia* 2) pp. 52–6, 60–1.

² F.G. Kenyon, *The Text of the Greek Bible* 3rd. ed. by A.W. Adams (London: Duckworth, 1975) esp. pp. 78, 85.

were written precisely as templates to show which books ought to be included within one set of covers, and thus to provide concrete examples of the lists that were being produced by the likes of Athanasius in his 39th Festal Letter of 367. In this letter (written in Alexandria) we have a very early example of a listing of the books of the Old and New Testament. We shall return to that letter soon.

We are informed that the sequence of the New Testament books in the Festal Letter bears a close resemblance to Codex Vaticanus. In the Old Testament the order of the canonical books in Athanasius' letter agrees with that in Vaticanus,³ but the form in which the New Testament books appear in the manuscript of Codex Vaticanus agrees with the sequence in only the Greek form of the Festal Letter. In the Sahidic Coptic (and hence an Egyptian) form of Athanasius' letter Hebrews comes between 2 Corinthians and Galatians. That is close to, but not identical with a form known to a scribe who copied a series of marginal numerations into Vaticanus. This chapter numbering in Vaticanus is illogical because Ephesians begins at number 70 yet follows Romans-Galatians which ends at 58, but it implies that its predecessor, in Alexandria (so it is often argued), had Hebrews (numbered 59–69) after Galatians and before Ephesians, and thus bears comparison with the order in the Sahidic version of the Festal Letter. However, it is not exactly the same. The important point about these numbers is that they are not the work of either of the scribes of the manuscript but were added later, possibly in Constantinople.

[283] Some deduce from these facts that Codex Vaticanus may have been written in Alexandria but, as we shall see below, if Codex Vaticanus shares a common provenance with Codex Sinaiticus, which is certain, the completely different order of not only the New Testament but also the Old Testament books in Codex Sinaiticus must mean that they cannot be from Egypt as Sinaiticus does not share common sequences with Athanasius' lists. The contents of Sinaiticus also differ

³ Vaticanus has none of the books of Maccabees; Sinaiticus has 1 and 4 Maccabees, Alexandrinus has 1–4 Maccabees. Then there is the different order: B has the poetic books of the Old Testament preceding the prophetic as in the Festal Letter and Codex Vaticanus ends the Old Testament with Daniel, Sinaiticus ends with the poetic books concluding with Job, Alexandrinus also has the poetic books after the prophetic books but ends with Sirach. The textual character of the manuscripts differs both within the manuscript (cf. Vaticanus in Ezekiel and Isaiah), and between Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, because the writers of the manuscripts used a variety of different exemplars. See further chapter 32.

from Vaticanus. Thus the argument used to imply an Egyptian origin of Vaticanus based on the Festal Letter cannot be made to apply to Sinaiticus. The Festal Letter may have been reproducing what by 367 had become established practice, at least in Egypt, but it ought to be considered that the letter may be defending the *contents* of the canon rather than a particular sequence of those contents.⁴

The different sequences in Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus, and the different contents alert us to the fact that these were pioneering times when books and collections of books were being gathered together from previously independent and isolated codices to form what was intended to be an authoritative and demonstrable assemblage of books that defined the compass of the Christian canon in Greek.⁵

About the same time Jerome was at work doing a similar thing for the Latin Bible by assembling previously separate Old Latin texts of the Old Testament and the New Testament (and in his case, of course, by also translating several of them) to form a definitive Bible for distribution to Latin-speaking Christendom, just as Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus could have had the effect of convincing the Greek-speaking churches to accept their library of texts.

The other events that come to mind—and are often referred to in discussions about the provenance of these two manuscripts, Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus—are significant:

1. The Emperor Constantine sometime between 331–335 wrote to Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea asking for fifty copies of the Bible for the new churches in his recently founded capital. [284]

⁴ The earliest New Testament witnesses show scant regard for any one agreed sequence. For example, compare the sequence of the Gospels Matthew John Luke Mark in the fifth century manuscripts D W with the order Matthew Mark John Luke in the Curetonian Syriac, and Matthew Luke Mark John in the Ambrosiaster. Hebrews follows Romans in papyrus 46 c. 200.

⁵ Athanasius permitted the inclusion of the Didache and the Shepherd of Hermas in his list. Hermas and the Epistle of Barnabas are included in Codex Sinaiticus suggesting it was written in an area *not* influenced by Athanasius. Codex Alexandrinus of the following century contains 1 and 2 Clement. Therefore a direct influence of the Festal letter on these early manuscripts seems unlikely, and indeed would of course have been impossible if the dates for the writing of Sinaiticus and of Vaticanus, argued for in this paper, are correct. All we may say is that these sources bear witness to a gelling of ecclesiastical opinion in the fourth-fifth centuries, although the situation remained fluid.

2. The doubtlessly imitative request to Athanasius by Constantine's son Constans for copies of the scriptures. Athanasius could have acceded to such a request between 23 November 337, after having returned to Alexandria in triumph following his first exile from Trier, and 16 April 339, when he fled from Egypt for his long second exile in Rome.⁶ It would certainly have been impossible for him to have found two expert calligraphers⁷ in Rome had he already started that second exile, or to have had appropriate texts to hand in Rome for those scribes to have worked from. He could easily have furnished Constans with manuscripts from Alexandria and had them sent to Constans, whose headquarters at that time were probably in Naissus (modern Niš in Serbia)⁸ Wherever Athanasius wrote or found the manuscript(s) he makes it clear that he complied with the request and eventually sent them off to Constans.

The records of both events have survived⁹ and we note the following points from them. In Athanasius' case he confirms that he sent these Bibles. As far as Eusebius is concerned, the precise details of the request by Constantine and the processes for its execution and delivery seem historically accurate; his account does not read like an exaggerated fiction encouraged by Eusebius' hero-worship of Constantine. Devreesse¹⁰ suggested that the supposedly enigmatic τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ διαπεμψάντων ἡμῶν (meaning 'in dispatches of threes and

⁶ Cf. T.D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) pp. 36, 46.

⁷ There were two hands responsible for the writing of Vaticanus, scribes A and B. Scribe A wrote Gen 46:28–1 Kingdoms 19:11 (pp. 41–334) and Psalms–Tobit (pp. 625–944). In prose passages he began each new paragraph on a new line with the initial letters intruding into the left margin. Scribe B wrote 1 Kingdoms 19:11–2 Esdras and Hosea–Daniel and the New Testament: for the New Testament and in the prophetic books this scribe sometimes but not always began a new paragraph on a new line. There are other differences between scribes A and B. For example, both had different ways of drawing decorated tailpieces and of filling up short lines. Both had some distinctive spelling and punctuation. See T.S. Pattie, "The Creation of the Great Codices" in J.L. Sharpe III and Kimberley van Kampen (eds.) *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition* (London: The British Library and New Castle DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998) pp. 61–72, based on H.J.M. Milne and T.C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of Codex Sinaiticus* (London: The British Museum, 1938) pp. 87–90.

⁸ See Barnes *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁹ Athanasius *Apologia ad Constantium* 4.2; Eusebius *Vita Constantini* IV 36–37 cf. F. Winkelmänn GCS (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975) pp. 133–5.

¹⁰ R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1954) p. 125.

fours') was probably an excuse to explain that he (Eusebius) had not been able to fulfil Constantine's original demand for the fifty Bibles to be sent as a single consignment.

It is tempting to try to discover if the manuscripts referred to in these sources have survived. Are any of our extant codices examples of the manuscripts sent by Eusebius or by Athanasius?

* * *

The recent revival of interest in Codex Vaticanus may justifiably be due to the splendid new facsimile edition. But scholarly circles have also been confronted by a magisterial article by the veteran papyrologist T.C. Skeat that appeared in the centennial number of *JTS*.¹¹ In it he argues that Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus are indeed two sole surviving examples of the manuscripts copied in the 330s to comply with Constantine's order (even though Skeat argues that Codex Sinaiticus itself was never actually sent, not only because it was a copy full of faults but because its format proved impracticably huge to serve as a model). Skeat also argued, as Kirsopp Lake had originally done, that both were manuscripts written in Palestinian Caesarea.

Theodore Cressy Skeat was an assistant keeper at the British Museum in 1933 when Codex Sinaiticus arrived there following its purchase by the British government and people. It was he and his colleague H.J.M. Milne who published the long-lasting and much-quoted *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London, 1938). Then in 1984 he published his article "The Codex Vaticanus in the Fifteenth Century" in *JTS* 35 pp. 454–65 (reproduced as chapter B3 in *Collected Biblical Writings*).

So, for over a period of nearly sixty years Skeat has been working on and with two of our most famous Greek Bibles, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus. And it is his latest thinking on one of these manuscripts that I am promoting here, although lacking his eloquence and depth of learning and experience. The bulk of this paper is based substantially on his 1999 *JTS* piece and on some further thoughts that he has shared with me in the lively exchange of correspondence that we have engaged in for many years.

¹¹ "The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine" *JTS* 50 (1999) pp. 583–625. Reprinted as chapter B7 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 113).

[286] Skeat had sent a draft of that article to the Vatican library in 1996 and had been in contact with the library since that date, so he was somewhat surprised and disappointed that a promotional brochure issued in 2000 by the Vatican to announce the forthcoming facsimile states that Vatican Gr 1209 had been written much later than the 330s¹² and specifies that “Il codice fu *probabilmente* trascritto in Egitto (italics mine)”.

The Vatican’s view may be traced to Devreesse who, referring to the Bibles ordered by Constantine, says:¹³ “Il est infiniment probable que de ces Bibles de Césarée rien n’existe plus. Le Vaticanus et le Sinaiticus seraient, en tout cas, seuls à considérer, mais leur date est vraisemblablement postérieure au premier tiers du IV^e siècle... quant au Sinaiticus, il semble égyptien d’origine”.

The introductory matter to the new facsimile is in three parts each by a different author. In Pierre-Maurice Bogaert’s introduction to the Old Testament we read “on tiendra... *pour possible* (italics mine) une origine alexandrine et égyptienne de B” and he agrees with the consensus date of the 4th century. Stephen Pisano’s introduction to the New Testament agrees that “It is the most commonly accepted opinion that Codex Vaticanus is Egyptian, and was most likely produced in Alexandria itself”. Commonly held opinions are not by definition correct opinions.

Even though those views are against Skeat’s position we note the authors’ modest and often nuanced opinions about the date and provenance of the manuscript.

In the newspaper *Osservatore Romano* of Feb. 27th., 2000 an article written by Paul Canart, Vice-Prefect of the Vatican Library, on the occasion of the presentation of a copy of the facsimile to His Holiness, gives Skeat’s *JTS* article very full and sympathetic treatment. The article notes Skeat’s arguments favouring the provenance of Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus in Caesarea and their early dates.

[287] Among Skeat’s persuasive arguments is the constant message that no-one working in this area should forget that Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus are from the same scriptorium. The common origins of Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus have been regarded as axi-

¹² The brochure as originally distributed specified “...risalente a circa il 380 d.C”. We were subsequently informed that this was a typographical *erratum*!

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 125, cf. p. 153.

omatic from the days of Tischendorf through Lake to the present and no responsible New Testament scholar should ignore this fact. Among his proofs are:

- i) The very close resemblance of the colophon design at the end of Deuteronomy (in Codex Vaticanus) with that at the end of Mark in Codex Sinaiticus.¹⁴ [This Skeat identifies as his strongest argument and one which must be understood and recognised.]
- ii) Possibly Codex Sinaiticus shares a scribe with Codex Vaticanus. Two of their hands may be identical. This is a disputed point because the re-inking of Codex Vaticanus at a later date (probably ninth-tenth centuries) makes it difficult to examine carefully the hand of the original scribes. Tischendorf thought hand D of Codex Sinaiticus was the same as hand B of Codex Vaticanus but Milne and Skeat argued¹⁵ that the closest resemblance was between scribe D of Codex Sinaiticus and scribe A of Codex Vaticanus and that, even if they are not the same, “the identity of the scribal tradition stands beyond dispute”. Cavallo agreed with Milne and Skeat. However, this is not a point Skeat himself would now wish to dwell upon.
[We must remember that the colophon designs were not re-inked, although the lettering was.]
- iii) Another relevant consideration is the fact that Vaticanus and Sinaiticus both end their text of Mark with the same verse. One of the features of Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus is that they, virtually alone among New Testament manuscripts, end Mark at 16:8 (even though it is plausible that the scribe of Codex Vaticanus was hesitant to do so).¹⁶ Sinaiticus does not provide any evidence for the continuing of the text after verse 8, and did not do so even before the re-writing of the bifolium, the error which provoked the re-writing being in the text of Luke 1.

¹⁴ Parts of the relevant pages are reproduced by Skeat in his *JTS* piece as Plate 1.

¹⁵ *Scribes and Correctors* Appendix I (pp. 87–90) “Scribes of the Codex Vaticanus” headed “Have B and Aleph a Scribe in Common?”.

¹⁶ He left an uncharacteristically large space after Mark 16:8 before resuming with Luke at the beginning of the next column but one. The intervening space would not actually have sufficed to be filled with the section commonly numbered 16:9–20 but it is in fact symbolic of the fact that this text has been reluctantly omitted.

[288] If these two manuscripts were among the fifty written for Constantine we need to ask if this shortened text of Mark, ending at 16:8, was a common feature of all of these specially commissioned codices and, if so, why this textual variant did not influence the subsequent manuscript tradition more decisively than the mere addition in a handful of manuscripts of obeli or asterisks or notes alongside vv. 9–20 to the effect that some ancient authorities lacked the passage. As we know, nearly all manuscripts of Mark include 16:9–20. Possibly the other forty-eight or forty-nine copies differed from Vaticanus and Sinaiticus in this regard, or possibly other text types came to dominate the traditions even in Constantinople. Early readers may also have recognised the difficulty of accepting the originality of a text of Mark that terminated in verse 8 in such an abrupt and strange way.

Streeter,¹⁷ albeit in the context of his now generally discredited theories about the Caesarean text-type, notes that when Jerome was in Constantinople (c. 380) he found that the authorities there advocated the text of Lucian—in effect the Byzantine text type—precisely because this included the longer ending to Mark. The discredited fifty copies would then, according to Streeter, have been despatched for use in provincial monasteries and churches. In any case, complete Bibles did not become fashionable until the invention of printing, possibly because such bulky volumes proved themselves impracticable. That may explain why these fifty manuscripts (assuming they resembled Vaticanus at the end of Mark) exerted no influence on other manuscripts over the ending of Mark.

But, the important point of all this is that whatever we say about the provenance of Codex Sinaiticus must also apply to Codex Vaticanus and *vice versa*. The similarity of their scripts also makes their dates of writing remarkably close to one another. [If two of the hands in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus are the same then, of course, that confirms a similar date and place of composition too.]

Obviously when we look at the text of Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus it is clear that they are no mere *Abschriften* of the same exemplar, or copies one of the other:

¹⁷ B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (London: Macmillan, 1924) p. 103.

1. The difference in their contents and the differences in the sequence of the texts have already been referred to but need not militate against a common scriptorium.
2. The texts are not identical. There are many differences apparent when these two manuscripts are collated against each other or against a common base text. This suggests that, if Skeat is right in saying that they were originally composed in compliance with Constantine's request, the method of production was not the simultaneous mass production of copies from dictation.¹⁸ If Caesarea were the place in which this work was undertaken, individual scribes doubtless used the many manuscripts available. Some of these may well have shared common textual characteristics with Egyptian manuscripts. Zuntz¹⁹ accepts this point in defending the argument that the two manuscripts were written in Caesarea to fulfil Constantine's request by saying that many different manuscripts would have been assembled for the task and that it would have been unlikely that all the fifty manuscripts would have been copied from the same exemplars in a short duration.
3. The layout differs (three columns per page for the non-poetic books in Codex Vaticanus and four columns per page in Codex Sinaiticus) but such a difference may merely be a result of Codex Sinaiticus having been designed as a larger format book. [That overambitious scale resulted in its having been abandoned as the model for subsequent copies written to satisfy and fulfil Constantine's request for fifty copies.]

So, the physical differences between the two codices and their differing contents need not argue against their common origin in the same scriptorium.

¹⁸ This does not imply that individual scribes did not dictate the words of the exemplar to themselves *sotto voce* or that public dictation never took place. Skeat makes a strong case for the use of dictation in his article "The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book Production" in *The Proceedings of the British Academy* XLII (1956) pp. 179–204 (reprinted as chapter A1 in *Collected Biblical Writings*) and see G. Zuntz, "Die Überlieferung der Evangelien" in B. Aland and K. Wachtel (eds.), *Lukian von Antioch und der Text der Evangelien* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse 2 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1995) pp. 26–55 here note 134.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

Now we turn to the likely provenance of these manuscripts and the case that they were both written in Palestinian Caesarea.

- [290] 1. Sinaiticus seems to have been in Caesarea in the sixth century when parts of it were collated against a Biblical manuscript used by Pamphilus and Antoninus which, before their martyrdom in Palestine in 309, they had corrected against the Hexapla of Origen. Notes in Sinaiticus at the end of 2 Esdras and at the end of Esther explain this. The sixth century corrections were presumably executed in the library of Pamphilus in Caesarea.
2. Codex Sinaiticus has links with the sixth century manuscript 015 (H^{Paul}). 015 at the end of Paul notes that this manuscript too was corrected against the copy (in Caesarea) of the manuscript used by Pamphilus.
3. Codex Sinaiticus and Vaticanus share a distinctive chapter division in Acts related to the so-called Euthalian material, found in certain other codices. Euthalian material was associated with Caesarea, and this implies that our two codices spent some time there.²⁰ The Armenian tradition contains Euthaliana and that version also has strong links with Caesarea.
4. More importantly, Codex Sinaiticus has certain readings that are strongly suggestive of Palestinian provenance. The reading Ἀντιπατρίδα for πατρίδα at Matthew 13:54 suggests that a Caesarean-based scribe erroneously wrote the name of a nearby town. The reading Καισαρίας at Acts 8:5 is even stronger evidence that the writer was in Caesarea. There is another similar variant: Ἰππον replaces Joppa at 1 Macc. 14:5. Here the Palestinian scribe may have been thinking of the nearby town Hippos on Lake Galilee.
5. The Eusebian section numbers in Codex Sinaiticus were added by the original scribes (initially by scribe A, then by scribe D, but Luke was never completed), and it is more likely that these were known and copied in the early 4th century in Caesarea than in, say, Alexandria.

As far as Vaticanus is concerned, it was bound in red when the manuscript reached Rome in the fifteenth century, and is so described in the

²⁰ Pace J.H. Ropes in F.J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity Part I The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan, 1926) p. xliii.

Vatican Library's 1475 catalogue ("Biblia. Ex membr(anis) in rubeo") and in its 1481 catalogue ("In primo banco bibliothecae graece. Biblia in tribus columnis ex membranis in rubeo"). It seems that this leather binding has not survived: had it done so it may have been possible to prove if that type of binding was distinctive and characteristic of fifteenth-century Constantinople. Such a proof would clinch the argument where and when it was covered and where it came to Rome from. A possible rewarding line of investigation is to link the additions to Vaticanus with a scribe from Constantinople. A recent attempt to identify the fifteenth-century hand as that of a known Constantinopolitan calligrapher, John Eugenikos, has not convinced Canart and we have yet to find our man—further attempts to search for the identity of this scribe continue. Canart in his prolegomenon to Codex Vaticanus in the introductory booklet to the new facsimile states that the "motifs [des bandeaux colorés et les initiales qui marquent le début de chaque livre] sont ceux de *la décoration constantinopolitaine* du X^e siècle, mais dans un traitement abâtardi et une exécution maladroite qui seraient plus explicables au XI^e ou au XII^e siècle, voire plus tard (*italics mine*)". So, if Vaticanus was in Constantinople in the fifteenth century and if it also betrays characteristics of tenth- to eleventh-century Constantinople as well, it is plausible that it had been there ever since Eusebius despatched it from Caesarea. [291]

As far as competing places of origin for the composition of the two manuscripts are concerned, the strongest alternative (and the one favoured in the introduction to the new facsimile) is Alexandria. That is often based on the several grounds. These are noted below with counter-arguments attached:

1. The suggestion has been made that Codex Vaticanus was one of the Bibles sent from Alexandria by Athanasius to Constans has already been referred to. But if Vaticanus had been sent from Alexandria to Niš we need to ask how, when and why it got to Rome in the fifteenth century.
2. The text of Vaticanus resembles the text-type of certain third century Egyptian manuscripts, notably P75. But this need not be a decisive argument in favour of Alexandria and against Caesarea. As Zuntz reminds us,²¹ Caesarea was a centre of Alexandrian scholarship—the two cities were not so far from each other: we need

²¹ *Op. cit.*, especially p. 40.

[292] think only of the link from Origen through Pamphilus to Eusebius himself. Also to be remembered is the fact that manuscripts older than Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are papyri, which virtually all come from Egypt. We do not have comparable third century witnesses from other places, such as, for example, Caesarea.

3. Hexaplaric influences in Vaticanus such as the addition of obeli and asterisks in Isaiah, Zechariah, Malachi and Jeremiah are sometimes given as evidence of an Egyptian provenance. But they reflect only Egyptian *influence* that could plausibly have reached Caesarea through the person of even Origen himself.
4. Earlier arguments, by Lake and others, emphasise that certain features of the script of Codex Sinaiticus are Egyptian (the alleged Coptic mu, a cursive xi and a strangely formed omega) but these have been dismissed by no less an authority than Cavallo²² and by Milne and Skeat²³ as not decisive.

So, the arguments for Alexandria are not watertight. Another of the arguments against Alexandria as the place of writing for Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus is, as we have already noted, the continuing presence of Codex Sinaiticus in Caesarea in the sixth century, a presence which Skeat explains as its having been there since its composition, because it was never completed and therefore not included among the manuscripts sent to Constantine.

As a curiosum we ought to mention a third contender as the place of composition of Vaticanus, namely Rome. This was put forwarded by Hort and by Wettstein but has found little favour. More recently Hahneman has repeated this extraordinary suggestion.²⁴ Arguments based on alleged Latinisms in the manuscript are not persuasive. In any case it is the essential *Greek* character of Vaticanus which requires it to have been written in—and then used in, and preserved in—a Greek-speaking milieu. Among these distinctively Greek features are:

1. A Greek autograph by a monk named Clement was written on pp. 238 and 624, possibly as late as the fifteenth century.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

²³ *Scribes and Correctors* pp. 24–7 and see plate 31.

²⁴ G.M. Hahneman, *The Muratorian Fragment and the Development of the Canon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992) pp. 164–5.

2. Tremas and iotas were added later, when the manuscript was re-inked.
3. Extended scholia in a twelfth- to thirteenth-century Greek hand were added on, *inter alia* pages 1205, 1206 and 1239.
4. At Hebrews 1:3 there is an amusing note in Greek against the variant reading φανέρων found only in B* B² (plus coincidentally Serapion):²⁵ ἀμαθέσθε καὶ κακέ, ἄφεξ τὸν παλαίον, μὴ μεταποίει. [293]
5. The text of the manuscript was re-inked (as we have noted earlier). This occurred in perhaps the tenth century or slightly earlier and implies that the text was still being used and read by Greek speakers or readers. Apparently Byzantine scribes continued to use majuscule even for non-liturgical works.
6. In a gloss the word sophia is explained in Greek at the beginning of Proverbs.
7. Section numbers have been added and these are Greek numerals. There is no evidence that a Greek manuscript would have been so treated in a church like Rome that had abandoned Greek by the beginning of the fourth century.

All those points would need to be addressed by anyone with the temerity to propose a provenance such as Rome.

* * *

To conclude we merely summarize Skeat's views on the later history of the two manuscripts:

CODEX SINAITICUS

This was not sent to Constantinople. It was abandoned after the format of the Bibles was reduced. It therefore remained in Caesarea. Having been corrected in the sixth century it was sent to the newly founded monastery of Saint Catherine's on Mount Sinai where it remained until Tischendorf rescued it in the nineteenth century.

²⁵ This ought not to be used as an argument in favour of an Alexandrian provenance for Vaticanus.

CODEX VATICANUS

The manuscript, having at some stage been neglected and having lost pages, lay abandoned in Constantinople, possibly because its text did not conform to the ecclesiastically approved norm. Then in the fifteenth century it shows signs of having been hastily reconditioned. Among the additions required in the New Testament and written in a cursive hand the Pastoral Epistles were inexplicably left out. But the whole of the codex was rebound and sent to Rome, perhaps in time for the Council of Florence (1438–9). The publicity brochure for the new facsimile admits that “La storia di questo codice resta comunque avvolta nel mistero, fino alla sua prima sicura attestazione presso la Bibliotheca papale, nella seconda metà de secolo XV” but goes on to say “Secondo un’ipotesi piuttosto suggestiva, il Codice Vaticano B giunse in Occidente nell’anno 1438, durante il Concilio di Firenze, come dono dell’ imperatore bizantino Giovanni VIII al pontifice Eugenio IV”. That had been Skeat’s position in his 1984 article in *JTS* and is also approved of in Canart’s article in the *Osservatore Romano*, where the hypothesis is described as ‘seducente’—although that seductiveness is described in Canart’s introduction in the booklet accompanying the facsimile as lacking any objectivity.

CHAPTER SIX

CODEX BEZAE AND THE EARLIEST GREEK PAPYRI

“Tatsächlich steht D einsam in der griechischen neutestamentlichen Textlandschaft”. So stated Kurt Aland in his influential article “Alter und Entstehung des D-Textes im Neuen Testament” in the Roca-Puig *Festschrift*,¹ although he noted that D is not entirely “einsam”: there are some Greek papyri dating from the third century that show some similarities with the D text-type. Those manuscripts belong to the second half of the third century, which is when Aland concludes that the D text-type itself arose. We shall of course be looking at these manuscripts shortly. Our task, however, is to investigate the relation of D with all the early papyri and not just with the ones isolated by Aland. [161]

In another influential article, Barbara Aland investigated the origin of the Western text in Acts,² not merely the text of Codex Bezae. These articles by Kurt and by Barbara Aland will be referred to throughout this paper.

Obviously, when investigating the influence of the D text-type we need to look beyond the Greek area and turn to the Old Latin and the Old Syriac. Citations by Irenaeus and others also require close examination in this context. However, the title I have been asked to address restricts my research to the Greek papyri that may be dated prior to the likely composition of Bezae. That means I am not concerned with the development of the Western text, nor with the links between D and the early versions. In any case, Ropes³ and Hatch⁴ among others

¹ *Miscel·lània Papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig* (ed. S. Janeras) (Barcelona: Fundacio Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1987) pp. 37–61. Reprinted in K. Aland, *Supplementa zu den Neutestamentlichen und den Kirchengeschichtlichen Entwürfen* (Berlin und New York: de Gruyter, 1990) pp. 72–96 here p. 75.

² “Entstehung, Charakter und Herkunft des sogenannten Westlichen Textes untersucht an der Apostelgeschichte” *ETL* 62 (1986) pp. 5–65.

³ J.H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts* (London: Macmillan, 1926).

⁴ W.H.P. Hatch, *The ‘Western’ Text of the Gospels* (Evanston: Seabury-Western Seminary, 1937).

have ploughed that furrow. Likewise, I am not concerned here with the originality of one reading over another.

[162] These exclusions should have had the effect of making my task light, but that is not so, because the very narrowness of the title means I am responsible for providing only a partial view. However, as long as that is understood, I shall now proceed to my investigation into what is undoubtedly an important, albeit restricted, aspect of the character of D. When Neville Birdsall wrote his magisterial essay "The New Testament Text" in the *Cambridge History of the Bible* (at a time when only two papyri of Acts had been identified as of a D-type) he concluded: "No full enquiry has been made into the gospels to determine whether we have a Greek text extant which exactly represents that of which Bezae is a contaminated example".⁵ I cannot pretend that what I plan to do here in any sense qualifies as a full enquiry, but it may offer a few pointers and relevant observations. All I have done is to make use of the variants in Nestle-Aland²⁷; this is obviously convenient, although not particularly scientific or thorough. It is those variants, supplemented occasionally with variants in the *apparatus* of UBS⁴, that I quote in the examples cited below. They give a partial picture of how D relates to the papyri, but other investigations suggest it is a proper representation and should allow a correct judgement of where D has allies in the early papyri.

THE PAPYRI⁶

2nd cent:	P ⁵² P ⁹⁰
2nd–3rd:	P ⁷⁷
3rd:	P ⁴ P ⁵ P ²² P ²⁸ P ²⁹ P ³⁹ P ⁴⁵ P ⁴⁸ P ⁵³ P ⁶⁴ P ⁶⁶ P ⁶⁹ P ⁷⁰ P ⁷⁵ P ⁸⁰ P ⁹¹ P ⁹⁵
3rd–4th:	P ⁷ P ³⁷
4th:	P ⁶ P ⁸ P ²⁵ P ³⁵ P ³⁸ P ⁶² P ⁷¹ P ⁸⁶ P ⁸⁸
4th–5th:	P ¹⁹ P ²¹ P ⁵⁰ P ⁵⁷
5th:	P ⁹³
c.500:	P ⁶³

⁵ P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible* Vol. 1 *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) pp. 308–377, 354.

⁶ Dates are taken from NA²⁷.

There are thus some thirty-seven papyri to be considered if P⁶³ and P⁹³ are not deemed to be too late.

Early uncials not written on papyrus ought to be considered in a thorough investigation into the friends and allies of D. The earliest seem to be: 0162 third to fourth century (John); 0171 c.300 (Matthew/Luke); 0189 second to third century (Acts); and the Diatessaronic fragment 0212 (third century), but if we include all manuscripts dated to the fifth century or earlier there are some thirty-six such uncials that could qualify. Aland and Aland note only two uncials of the 'D' type, namely 0165 and 0171.⁷ 0171 is certainly worth investigating here, and we shall return to it later. 0165 is fifth century and therefore marginal to our interests. [163]

In many of the places where D agrees with the early papyri there is no significance whatsoever in those agreements where D and the papyri agree with the bulk of all other witnesses against a variant which displays a maverick reading of an isolated manuscript. At other times D may agree with the early papyri together with many other manuscripts in a variation unit in which the total number of manuscripts and/or text-types divide. Here it is worth watching to find whether D and the papyri regularly coincide. Obviously the most telling places are where D and an early papyrus stand alone, or virtually alone, against the rest of the manuscript evidence. There are examples of this type, and we shall be highlighting these as we go through, although it needs to be emphasised at the outset that even such examples need not be evidence of a direct link between the papyrus and D or of an obvious relationship.

But first comes the evidence from the five books (the four Gospels and Acts) where we have examples of D together with the papyri.

Matthew

I note that there are a number of places where many of the early manuscripts support D. A short selection follows. (One can easily check the precise details in the apparatus of the printed editions.)⁸

⁷ K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, 2nd ed. 1989).

⁸ D and P¹ of the third century are not extant at the same places in Matthew. P⁴⁴ P⁷³ P⁸³ P⁹⁶ are all later than D.

	P ¹⁹	(4th–5th century)	10:33 ⁹
	P ²¹	(4th–5th)	12:25
	P ²⁵	(4th)	19:10
	P ³⁵	(4th)	25:13 (in UBS ⁴), 21
	P ³⁷	(3rd–4th)	26:34, 44
	P ⁴⁵	(3rd)	20:29 ¹⁰
[164]	P ⁵³	(3rd)	26:39
	P ⁶²	(4th)	11:25, 27
	P ⁷⁰	(3rd)	11:27 (UBS ⁴); 12:4
	P ⁷¹	(4th)	19:17 (in N-A ²⁶ not NA ²⁷)
	P ⁷⁷	(2nd–3rd)	23:37

Most of these are not significant and do not tell us much about the relationship of the two. In most cases all that is being recorded in the apparatus is that some manuscripts or a group of manuscripts have a different text and that D, an early papyrus and other manuscripts do not support the aberrant text, e.g.

- 1) P⁷⁷ at 23:37 with most manuscripts read *ορνις επισυνάγει* against the word order in C W 0102 Maj.¹¹
- 2) 11:27 where P^{62vid} P^{70vid} support all manuscripts except N.

But the readings of P³⁷ seem more significant. Note the following two readings:

At 26:34 P³⁷ D alone omit the preposition in the phrase *εν ταυτη τη νυκτι* (N.B. the preposition is absent in D from the Markan parallel), and at 26:44 where P³⁷ A D K f¹ 565 1424 delete *εκ τριτη* (although P³⁷ unlike D does not delete the second *παλιν* in the sentence). This latter is a more significant variant and may suggest the longer text was introduced to make the threefold pattern of events in the Gethsemane story more striking and consistent.

Also, the reading of P²¹ at 12:25 may be of more than passing interest. Here the printed text in NA reads *ειδως δε*. There is one main variant *ιδων δε* read by P²¹ supported by *κ* D 892, and by 0281^{vid} 33 892^c pc, which add *ο ιησους*. The only other variant supported by P²¹

⁹ Textual variants noted are taken from NA²⁷ or UBS⁴ unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰ Note that the major addition in D at 20:28 is not supported by P⁴⁵.

¹¹ Maj = the Majority Text (sometimes known as the Byzantine text) comprising the bulk of medieval manuscripts.

in the NA edition is its support for D (and many others) against \aleph B by reading $\beta\epsilon\lambda\zeta\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ at 12:24. The support of P⁴⁵ for D (and 1424 with a few others) in reading the phrase $\eta\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\eta\varsigma\alpha\nu\ldots\omicron\chi\lambda\omicron\iota\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ at Matthew 20:29 against the bulk of witnesses reading the singular may be of significance. Notwithstanding 20:28, in general P⁴⁵ D stand together in those chapters of Matthew where P⁴⁵ is extant.

But there are many examples where the papyri listed above disagree with D:

P ²⁵	18:33; 19:3	[165]
P ³⁵	25:22	
P ⁴⁵	20:30 (first variation unit in NA ²⁷); 26:7	
P ⁵³	26:34, 36	
P ⁷⁰	2:23	
P ⁷¹	19:18	
P ⁷⁷	23:30	

P⁶⁴ dated c.200 is not shown in agreement with D at all in NA²⁷. Likewise the fourth century P⁸⁶ is shown in only one variant at 5:13 and its first hand is against D. Even P³⁷ goes against D at 26:28 in omitting $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\eta\varsigma$. See also 26:42 where P³⁷ and others read $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$ against D and many others which read $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$. In several places, ignored for the purpose of this exercise, D is unique. There is clearly no significance in such places if an early papyrus is against D—all manuscripts are against D! To include such references would of course distort our statistics.

As I mentioned above, one ought not to be too mesmerized by the writing material of our evidence. The parchment majuscule 0171 dated c.300 needs to be considered and highly significant it is too!¹² It is extant in Matthew 10:17–23, 25–32 and displays the following readings that we need to ponder:

¹² P.L. Hedley, “The Egyptian Texts of the Gospels and Acts” CQR 118 (1943) was, however, rather too optimistic in declaring 0171 to be a pure D text! For further information on this manuscript, see J.N. Birdsall, ‘A Fresh Examination of the Gospel of St. Luke in ms. 0171 and an Attempted Reconstruction with Special Reference to the Recto’, R. Gryson (ed.), *Philologia Sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Freiburg: Herder, 1993) pp. 212–27.

- 10:17 εις τας συναγωγας D 0171 only
 10:18 ηγεμονων σταθησεσθε D 0171 only
 10:23 αλλην D 0171 against ετεραν but some other manuscripts are with D 0171 here so this variant is less significant.
 10:23 εαν δε D 0171^{vid} only; καν in all other manuscripts having the longer reading here.

But note that 0171 seems to be with \aleph B against D at 10:19 reading παραδωσιν against the variant παραδωσουσιν.

The full display may be seen in the following table (pp. 85–86).¹³

Mark

- [168] In Mark a similar state of affairs exists, although only two relevant papyri are involved: P⁴⁵ again and the fourth century P⁸⁸. (P⁸⁴ is too late.) P⁴⁵ agrees with D at, among other places, 8:34 and 8:35. In verse 34 P⁴⁵ agrees with D, reading ακολουθειν against ελθειν in \aleph B. Although we are not concerned here with the original reading, it is tempting to see \aleph B's text as secondary and due to harmonisation with the Matthaean parallel. At 8:35 P⁴⁵ agrees with D with, it seems, only 28 700 among Greek witnesses in omitting εμου και. This is not especially important: other manuscripts delete εμου and both variants reading the shorter text may be due to mere carelessness.¹⁴ The double expression ενεκεν εμου και του ευαγγελιου is characteristic of Mark (cf. 10:29). In this second example we are noting a place where P⁴⁵ and D depart from Mark's original reading. This is more likely than that εμου has entered the text of some manuscripts from the parallels in Matthew or Luke.

P⁸⁸ regularly supports D, as for example at 2:5, 22. But neither of these places is especially significant. At 2:5 the variant concerns the perfect αφεωνται with P⁸⁸ D and others including Maj against the present αφιενται, so characteristic of Mark. At Matthew 9:2 D reads the present! Metzger's *Commentary* considers the perfect in Mark to have been introduced from the Lukan parallel (Luke 5:20).¹⁵ At 2:22

¹³ Adapted from Aland, 'Alter und Entstehung', pp. 80–1.

¹⁴ According to B.M. Metzger's judgement in *Textual Commentary*, *ad loc.* (This variant is not discussed in the second edition (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1994).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *ad loc.*

- 17 ... των ανθρώπων παραδώσουσιν
 γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ ἐν ταῖς
 συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαρτυρήσουσιν
- 18 ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμονίας δὲ καὶ βασιλείας
 ἀχθήσεσθε ἐνεκὲν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτυρίον
- 19 αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐθνέσιν· ὅταν δὲ
 παραδώσιν ὑμᾶς μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς
 ἢ τί λαλήσητε· ὁδοῦσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν
- 20 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσητε· οὐ γὰρ
 ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ
 πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλῶν
- 21 ἐν ὑμῖν· παραδώσει δὲ ἀδελφός
 ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέ-
 κνον καὶ ἐπανάσσει αὐτούς
- 22 γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς
- 22· καὶ ἐσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων
 ὅρα τὸ ὄνομα μου ὃ δὲ ὑπομένει
- 23 εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται· ὅταν δὲ
 δώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ
 φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἐστέραν

- [... των ανθρώπων παραδώσουσιν]
 γὰρ ὑμᾶς[εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς τὰς]
 [συναγ]ωγὰς αὐτῶν [μαρτυρ]ήσουσιν
 ὑμᾶς· [καὶ ἐπὶ ἡ] γεμονων καὶ [βασί]λεωv]
 σταθήσεσθε [ἐνεκὲν] ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρ[τυρίον]
 αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς [ἐθνέσιν]· ὅταν δὲ
 παρα[δώ]σιν ὑμᾶς μὴ μεριμν[ή]σητε
 [τί] λαλήσητε [ε]δοῦσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν
 [ἐν ἐ]κείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσητε· οὐ γὰρ]
 ὑμεῖς ἐσ[τε] οἱ λαλοῦν[τε]ς ἀλλὰ τ[ὸ]
 [πν]ῆμα τοῦ πατρ[ὸς] ὑμῶν [τὸ λαλῶν]
 [ἐν ὑμῖν]· παραδώσει δὲ ἀδελφός
 [ἀδελφ]ον εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τε-]
 [κνον] καὶ ἐπανάσσει αὐτὸν[ς]
 [γονεῖς καὶ θανατ]ώσουσιν αὐτὸν[ς]
 [καὶ] ἐσεσθε μισο[υ]μένοι ὑπὸ πάντων]
 ὁρα τὸ ὄνο[μα] μου ὃ δὲ ὑπομένει]
 [εἰς] τέλος οὗ[τος] σωθή[σεται]· ὅτ[αν] δὲ]
 [δώκ]ωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει[ταύτῃ]
 [φεύγε]τε εἰς [τὴν ἀλλήν] ἐστέραν[δε ἐν τῇ]
 [ἀλλή] ἐκδίω[ξ]οῦσιν ὑμᾶς φεύγετε [εἰς]
 [τὴν ἀλλήν]...
- ... των ανθρώπων παραδώσουσιν
 γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς τὰς
 συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν μαρτυρήσουσιν
 ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμονων
- 5 σταθήσεσθαι ἐνεκὲν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτυρίον
 αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐθνέσιν· ὅταν δὲ
 παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς
 ἢ τί λαλήσητε
- 10 ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ
 πνῆμα τοῦ πατρὸς το λαλῶν
 ἐν ὑμῖν· παραδώσει δὲ ἀδελφός
 ἀδελφον εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τε-
 κνον καὶ ἐπανάσσει αὐτούς
- 15 γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς
 καὶ ἐσεσθαι μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων
 ὁρα τὸ ὄνομα μου ὃ δὲ ὑπομένει]
 εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται· ὅταν δὲ
 δώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ
 20 φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἀλλήν ἐαν δὲ ἐν τῇ
 ἀλλή διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς φεύγετε εἰς
 τὴν ἀλλήν...

- 25 ... ο διδασκαλος αυτου και ο δουλός
ως ο κυριος αυτου ει τον οικοδεσπο-
την Βεελζεβουλ επεκαλεσαν ποσω
26 μαλλον τους οικιακους αυτου· μη
ουν φοβηθητε αυτους ουδεν γαρ εστιν
κεκαλυμμενον ο ουκ αποκαλυφθησεται
27 και κρυπτον ο ου γνωσθησεται· ο λεγω
υμιν εν τη σκοτια ειπατε εν τω φωτι
και ο εις το ους ακουετε κηρυξατε επι
28 των δοματων· και μη φοβεισθε απο
των αποκτενοντων το σωμα την δε
ψυχην μη δυναμενων αποκτειναι
φοβεισθε δε μαλλον τον δυναμενον
και ψυχην και σωμα απολεσαι εν γεννη
29 ουχι δυο στρουθια ασσαριου πωλειται
και εν εξ αυτων ου πεσειται επι την
30 γην ανευ του πατρος υμων· πασαι
και αι τριχες της κεφαλης υμων πασαι
31 πριθιμηναι εισιν· μη ουν φοβεισθε
πολλων στρουθιων διαφερετε υμεις
32 πας ουν οστις ομολογησει εν εμοι εν-
προσθεν των ανθρωπων ομολογησω ...
33 υστις δ αν αρνησηται με εμπροσθεν
των ανθρωπων αρνησομαι καγω αυτον
εμπροσθεν του πατρος μου του εν τοις
ουρανοις

0171 (Verso)

- [... ο διδασκαλος αυτου] και ο δουλός
[ως ο] κς αυτου[ει τον ο]ικοδεσπο-
την [Βεελζε]βουλ εκαλε[σαν ποσ]ω
μαλλον [τους οικια]κους αυτου· [μη]
[ουν φο]βηθητε [αυτους ουδεν γαρ ε]στιν
[κεκαλυ]μμενον [ο ουκ αποκα]λυφθη[σεται]
[και κρυ]πτον ο [ου γνωσθη]σεται· ο λεγω
υμιν εν] τη σ[κοτια ειπατε εν τω φωτι]
[και ο εις το ους ακουετε κηρυξατε επι]
[των δοματων· και μη φοβεισθε απο]
[των αποκτενοντων το σωμα την δε]
[ψυχην μη δυναμενων αποκτειναι]
[φοβεισθε δε μαλλον] τον δυνα[μενον]
[και ψυ]χην και σ[ωμα αποκτε]λναι εν γεν[νη]
[ουχι δυο] στρουθ[ια ασσαριου πω]λουνται
[και εν εξ αυτων] ον πεσειται επι την
[γην] ανεν του πα[τρος υμων· υ]μων αλλα
[και αι τριχες] της κε[φαλης υμων] πασαι
πριθιμηναι εισιν· μη ουν φοβ[εισθε]
πολ[υ]ων στρουθ[ων] δι[ι]αφε[ρετε υμ]εις
[πας ουν οσ]τις ομολογησει εν εμοι εν-
π[ροσθεν των αν]θρωπων ομολογησω ...
[οστις δ αν] αρνηση[σεται με εν]προσθεν
των [αν]ων αρ[νησομαι καγω αυτον]
εμπροσθεν του πατρος μου του εν
[ουνοις]

D

- ... ο διδασκαλος αυτου και ο δουλός
ως ο κς αυτου ει τον οικοδεσπο-
την Βεελζεβουλ καλουντιν ποσω
25 μαλλον τους οικιακους αυτου· μη
ουν φοβηθητε αυτους ουδεν γαρ εστιν
κεκαλυμμενον ο ουκ αποκαλυφθησεται
και κρυπτον ο ου γνωσθησεται· ο λεγω
30 υμιν εν τη σκοτια ειπατε εν τω φωτι
και ο εις το ους ακουετε κηρυσσεται επι
των δοματων· και μη φοβηθητε απο
των αποκτενοντων το σωμα την δε
ψυχην μη δυναμενων σφαζται
35 φοβηθητε δε μαλλον τον δυναμενον
και ψυχην και σωμα απολεσαι εις γενναν
ουχι δυο στρουθια του ασσαριου πωλουνται
και εν εξ αυτων ου πεσειται επι την
γην ανευ του πατρος υμων· αλλα
40 και αι τριχες της κεφαλης υμων πασαι
πριθιμηναι εισιν· μη ουν φοβεισθαι
πολλων στρουθιων διαφερετε υμεις
πας ουν οστις ομολογησει εν εμοι εν-
προσθεν των ανθρωπων ομολογησω ...
45 οστις δ αν αρνησηται με εμπροσθεν
των ανθρωπων αρνησομαι καγω αυτον
εμπροσθεν του πατρος μου του εν
ουρανοις
- I. 34: αποκτιναι added above the line by a later hand
I. 37: του deleted by a later hand

P⁸⁸ D and others including \aleph B read ρηξει ο οινος against the Majority ρησσει ο οινος ο νεος. These therefore do not tell us much about D and the early papyri. And there are many places where D and P⁸⁸ are on different sides e.g. 2:12, 14, 22 (second variation unit in NA²⁷). Likewise, P⁴⁵ is against D in readings at 6:45; 7:4 *bis*, 7–8 (in UBS⁴), 31, 35 *bis* etc.

As far as uncials are concerned, only 0212 may be used but because this has a Diatessaronic text it is not clear if it is based on Mark 15:40, 42 or on the parallels in Matthew 27:56–7; Luke 23:49–51, 54 or John 19:38. But if it is closer to Mark, as many editors of the critical apparatus assume, then all we need note is that 0212 is against D (with its unique reading πρὶν σαββατον) at Mark 15:42.

Luke

As we all know, D is more distinctive in the Lucan writings, so we may be on a more rewarding investigation when we turn away from Mark to Luke's Gospel. Certainly we have a higher number of papyri to look at. There are five: P⁴, P⁷, P⁴⁵, P⁶⁹, P⁷⁵. (These are all third century although P⁷ may be slightly later.) Other papyri containing Luke are either too late for our survey (P³, P⁴², P⁹⁷) or (in the case of the fourth to fifth century P⁸²) lack any relevant variants in NA²⁷. Of the five relevant papyri P⁶⁹ will be worth exploring, since Alands, *Text* lists it as a 'D'-type manuscript. But before we turn our attention specifically to that papyrus, let us work our way through the gospel picking out significant variants:

- 1) 3:36 omit του καιναν(μ) P^{75vid} D but hom is likely to have created the shorter text independently in both manuscripts.
- 2) 9:34 επεσκιασεν P⁴⁵ D and others including Maj against P⁷⁵ \aleph B επεσκιαζεν. (P⁷⁵ \aleph B agree with the Matthaean parallel (Matt. 17:5) where the text is firm.)
- 3) 9:48 omit αυτοις P⁴⁵ D 2542 only (cf. omission in the Matthaean parallel (Matt. 18:5); αυτοις in the Markan parallel).
- 4) 9:48 τουτο το παιδιον] το παιδιον τουτο P⁷⁵ D f¹ 579 *pc*.
- 5) 9:57 υπαγης P⁴⁵ D *pc* against απερχη.
- 6) 10:14 omit εν τη κρισει P⁴⁵ D 1241 *pc*; (cf. 11:31 below).
- 7) 11:15 βεελζεβουλ P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ D and many others; (cf. Matthew 12:25 above).

- 8) 11:24 + δε P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ D W 1241 2542 against almost all other manuscripts (δε occurs in the Matthaean parallel, 12:43).
- 9) 11:29 P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ & B D omit του προφητου.
- 10) 11:31 P⁴⁵ D only omit εν τη κρισει. The words occur in the Matthaean parallel (12:42) and in Mark 11:32 (verse *om.* D); (cf. 10:14 above).
- 11) 11:34 παν P⁴⁵ D only; ολον *cet.* occurs in the Matthaean parallel (6:22). As with the previous example, we may prefer as the original reading the text that makes the parallels dissimilar, but such pronouncements about the original and secondary texts are not germane to our discoveries here—tempting though such judgments are! The combination of P⁴⁵ D alone is what is significant for our present purpose.
- 12) 12:47 ετοιμασας η ποιησας all manuscripts except L W (ετοιμασας) and P⁴⁵ D *pc.* (ποιησας).
- [170] 13) 12:56 πλην τον καιρον P⁴⁵ D *pc.* against τον καιρον δε P⁷⁵ B.
- 14) 13:13 εδοξαζεν *v.l.* εδοξασεν P⁴⁵ D 2542.
- 15) 14:23 add αυτου P^{75*} D.
- 16) 14:26 P⁴⁵ D and others ψυχην εαυτου against εαυτου ψυχην P⁷⁵ & B.

There is no evidence of support by P⁴ for the longer reading by D following 6:4 or by P⁴⁵ for the addition by D at 9:55, or by P⁷⁵ for the significant readings by D in chapters 22–24.

Of these sixteen readings, numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 seem significant. In these D is allied closely with P⁴⁵ virtually on their own some seven times and with P⁷⁵ twice, although as far as P⁷⁵ is concerned we note that in the examples above the reading of P⁷⁵ with others stands against D (and P⁴⁵!) twice. P⁷⁵ supports D also at 5:2 *bis*, 3, 9; 6:23, 25, 45 but there are many other instances where this manuscript is against D. P⁶⁹, allegedly a manuscript of the ‘D’ text-type according to the Alands’ classification is extant in Luke 22:41, 45–48, 58–61. At 22:58 P^{69vid} D read ο δε ειπεν against *v.l.* ο δε πετρος εφη *cet.*, but generally P⁶⁹ does not support D in the other variants displayed in NA²⁷. For P⁶⁹ see the following table (pp. 90–91).

But P⁶⁹ is a small manuscript and its relationship to D need be no different from that of P⁴⁵ which has extensive remains of Luke (some seven chapters in whole or in part). Thus statistically P⁶⁹ with the four recorded variants (one agreement of P⁶⁹ and D; one reading where P⁶⁹

and D support different readings; and two where P⁶⁹ has an idiosyncratic text) need be little different from P⁴⁵ where we noted readings in which D and P⁴⁵ are very close and a good number where they differ.¹⁶

¹⁶ Aland *op. cit.* 94 working from the full apparatus of P⁶⁹ notes three agreements of P⁶⁹ and D and eleven where P⁶⁹ is against D. Table from "Alter und Entstehung", pp. 92–3.

p⁶⁹: Luke 22:41–48, 58–61NA²⁷p⁶⁹ (Recto)

D

41	... ὥσει λιθοῦ βολην	... ὥσει λιθοῦ β[ολην]	
42	καὶ θεὸς τα ῥονατα προσευχετο· λεγων	[καὶ θεὸς τα ῥονατα προσ ευ χετο]	
	πατερ εἰ βουλει παρενεγκε τουτο το		
43	ποτηριον απ εμου πλην μη το θελημα		
	μου αλλα το σον γινεσθω [ῶφθι δε		
44	αυτου· καὶ γενομενος εν αῤωνια εκτε-		
	νεστερον προσευχετο καὶ εγενετο ο		
45	ιδριωσ αυτου ὥσει θρομβοι αιματος		
	καταβαινοντες επι την γην· καὶ ανα-		
46	στας απο της προσευχης ελθων	[καὶ ελθων]	
	προς τους μαθητας ευρεν κοιωμενους	[προς τους μαθ] η τας ευρεν αυτους κα-]	
47	αυτους απο της λυπης	[θ]ευδοντας κοι ωμε νους απο τη ς λυπης	
	καὶ ειπεν αυτοις τι καθευδετε ανα-	[κ] αι [ειπεν αυτοις δια] τι καθευδε τε ανα-]	
48	σταντες προσευχεσθε ινα μη εισελθη-	[σαντες προ σευ χεσθε [ινα μη εισελθη-	
	τε εις πειρασμον· ετι αυτου λα-	[τε εις πει ρασ μου· [ετι δε αυτου λα-]	
	λουντος ιδου οχλος καὶ ο λεγομενος	[λουντος ι]δου [οχ λος καὶ ο λεγομενος]	
	Ιουδας εις των δωδεκα προηρχετο	[Ιου]δας [εις των ιβ προηρχετο]	
	αυτους καὶ ηγγισεν τω Ιησου φιλη-	[α]ν[τ]ους [καὶ εγγισας επι η σε]ν τον	
	σαι αυτον	ιην	
48	Ἰησους δε ειπεν αυτω Ιουδα φιλημα-	[ι]ης δε ειπεν αυτω Ιουδα φι λη μα-]	
	τι...	[τι ...]	

... ὥσει λιθοῦ βολην
καὶ θεὸς τα ῥονατα προσευχετο· λεγων
πατερ μη το θελημα μου αλλα το σον
γενεσθω εἰ βουλει παρενεγκε τουτο το
ποτηριον απ εμου· ὥφθι δε
αυτω αγγελος απο του ουρανου ενισχυων
αυτον· καὶ γενομενος εν αῤωνια εκτε-
νεστερον προσευχετο εγενετο δε ο
ιδριωσ αυτου ὥς θρομβοι αιματος
10 καταβαινοντες επι την γην· καὶ ανα-
στας απο της προσευχης ελθων
επι τους μαθητας ευρεν κοιωμενους
αυτους απο της λυπης
'καὶ ειπεν αυτοις· καθευδετε ανα-
15 stanτες προσευχεσθε ἵνα μη εις πειρα-
σμον εισελθητε· ετι δε αυτου λα-
λουντος ιδου οχλος πολυς καὶ ο κολουμενος
Ιουδας Ἰσκαριωθ εις των ιβ προηγεν
αυτους καὶ εγγισας ἐφιλησεν τον
20 ιην· τουτο γαρ σημειον δεδωκει αυτοις
ον αν φιλησω αυτος εστιν
'ο δε ιης ειπεν τω Ιουδα φιλημα-
τι...

αυτον
 59 εφη και συ εξ αυτων ει ο δε Πητρος
 επην ανθρωπε ουκ ειμι 'και διαστα-
 σης ωσει ωρας μιας αλλος τις δι-
 ιοχυριζετο λεγων επ αληθειας
 και ουτος μετ αυτου ην και γαρ
 60 Γαλιλαιος εστιν' ειπεν δε ο Πητρος
 ανθρωπε ουκ οιδα ο λεγεις και
 παραχρημα επι λαλουντος αυτου
 61 εφωνησεν αλεκτωρ' και στραφεις
 ο κυριος ενεβλεψεν τω Πητρω
 και υπεμνησθη ο Πητρος του ρηματος
 του κυριου ως ειπεν αυτω οτι πριν
 αλεκτορα φωνησαι σημερον ...

αν[τ]ω
 ε[ι]πεν και συ εξ αυτων ει] ο δε
 ειπεν [ανε ουκ ειμι 'και δι]αστα-
 σης ω[φ]ει ωρας αλλος]
 [ισχυ]ριζετο λεγω[ν] επ αληθειας]
 [και] ουτος ην με[τ] αυτου και γαρ
 [Γα]λι[ι]λαιος εστ[ι]ν' ειπεν δε ο Πητρος]
 α[ν]ω ουκ οιδ[α] ο λεγεις και
 [επι]αυτου λαλου[ν]τος παραχρημα]
 εφωνησεν [αλεκτωρ' και στρα]φεις
 ο Πητρ[ο]ς ενεβλεψεν αυ[τω]
 τοτε [υπεμνησθη ο Πητρος] του ρημ[ατος]
 [του κυ ως ειπεν] αυτω π[ρι]ν
 [αλεκτορα φωνησαι ση]μερον ...]

αυτον
 25 ειπεν το αυτο
 ειπεν ανθρωπε ουκ ειμι 'και διαστη-
 σας ωσει ωρας μιας αλλος τις δι-
 ιοχυριζετο επ αληθειας λεγω
 και ουτος μετ αυτου ην και γαρ
 30 Γαλιλαιος εστιν' ειπεν δε ο Πητρος
 ανθρωπε ουκ οιδα τι λεγεις και
 παραχρημα επι λαλουντος αυτου
 εφωνησεν αλεκτωρ' στραφεις δε
 ο κυριος ενεβλεψεν τω Πητρω
 35 και υπεμνησθη του λογου
 του κυ ως ειπεν αυτω πριν
 αλεκτορα φωνησαι ...

[173] P⁴ supports D at 3:14; 4:1, 29; 5:34; 6:3 *bis*, 4 among others but, as with P⁷⁵, one finds many readings where the manuscripts stand on different sides of the fence e.g. 3:9; 5:33, 38, 39; 6:1.

P⁷ agrees with D at 4:1, the only example cited in the NA apparatus.

As with Matthew, the link in Luke between D and the uncial 0171 is strong. 0171 contains Luke 22:44–56, 61–4. The following table gives the complete picture:¹⁷

¹⁷ Taken from Aland, “Alter und Entstehung”, pp. 84–5.

0171: Luke 22:44–56, 61–64

NA²⁷

0171 (Verso)

D

44 [...] θρομβοι αιματος καταβαινοντες
45 επι την γην] 'και αναστας απο της προσ-
ευχης ελθων προς τους μαθητας
ευρεν κοιμωμενους αυτους απο της
46 λυπης' και ειπεν αυτοις τι καθευ-
δετε ανασταντες προσευχεσθε ινα
47 μη εισελθите εις πειρασμον' ετι
αυτου λαλουντος ιδου οχλος
και ο λεγομενος Ιουδας
εις των δωδεκα προηρχετο αυτους
και ηγγισεν τω Ιησου φιλησαι αυτον

... θρομβοι αιματος κατ[α]βαι[νοντες]
[ε]πι την γην' και αναστας απο της προσ-
ευχης και ελ[θων] προς τους μαθητα[ς]
[ευ]ρεν κοιμωμενους α[υ]τους απο της
λυπ[ης]' και ειπεν αυτοις τι καθευ-
δετε ανασταγ[τες] προσευχεθε ιν[α]
[μη] εισελθите εις πειρασ[μον]' ετι
δε αυτου λαλουντος ιδου οχ[λος]
και ο καλουμε[νος Ιο]υδ[ας] Ισκαριωθ[ι]
[εις των δωδεκα προηρχετο αυτους]
[και ηγγισεν τω Ιησου φιλησαι αυτον]

... θρομβοι αιματος καταβαινοντες
50 επι την γην' και αναστας απο της προσ-
ευχης ελθων επι τους μαθητας
ευρεν κοιμωμενους αυτους απο της
λυπης' και ειπεν αυτοις καθευ-
δετε ανασταντες προσευχεσθε ινα
55 μη εις πειρασμον εισελθите' ετι
δε αυτου λαλουντος ιδου οχλος πολυς
και ο καλουμενος Ιουδας Ισκαριωθ
εις των ιβ προηγεν αυτους
και εγγισας εφιλησεν τον ιην τουτο
60 γαρ σημειον δεδωκει αυτοις ον φι-
λησω αυτος εστιν
ο δε ιης ειπεν τω Ιουδα φιλη-
ματι τον υιον του ανθρωπου παρα-
διδως' ιδοντες δε οι περι αυτον το
65 γενομενον ειπαν τω κω ει παταξομεν
εν μαχαιρη' και επαταξεν εις τις εξ
αυτων τον δου-

48 Ιησους δε ειπεν αυτω Ιουδα φιλη-
ματι τον υιον του ανθρωπου παρα-
49 διδως' ιδοντες δε οι περι αυτον το
εσομενον ειπαν κυριε ει παταξομεν
50 εν μαχαιρη' και επαταξεν εις τις εξ
αυτων του αρχ-

[Ιησους δε ειπεν αυτω Ιουδα φιλη-]
[ματι τον υ]ιον του αν[θρωπου πα]ρα-
διδως '[ιδοντες]δε οι περι αντ[ρον το]
[γε]νομενο[ν] ειπαν αυ[τω] ει παταξομεν'
[εν] μαχα[ιρη]' και επαταξεν[εις τις εξ]
[αυτων τον δου-]

There are spectacular similarities at verses 47 *bis*, 49 *bis*, 53 and 54. [176]
Let us detail these:

22:47 καλουμενος Ιουδας Ισκαριωθ D 0171^{vid} alone. The other reading in this verse (+ δε) is obviously less telling, because D 0171 have support from a range of other witnesses.

22:49 γενομενον D 0171 *pc*.

22:53 + το D 0171 only.

(22:54 + αυτο απο D cf. + απο 0171)

But also note the virtually unique reading of 0171 at 22:45 + και and at 22:49 αυτω.

John

Before we turn to the second of the Lukan writings let us complete the survey of the gospels with an examination of the Fourth Gospel.

Fourteen papyri are of the right date although P⁶³ dated c.500 and P⁹³ of the fifth century are marginal. P⁶⁰ is too late. They are:

- P⁵ third century
- P⁶ fourth century
- P²² third century
- P²⁸ third century
- P³⁹ third century
- P⁴⁵ third century
- P⁵² second century
- P⁶³ c.500
- P⁶⁶ c.200
- P⁷⁵ third century
- P⁸⁰ third century
- P⁹⁰ second century
- P⁹³ fifth century
- P⁹⁵ third century

Some of these can be dismissed: P⁸⁰ has no variants shown in NA²⁷ or UBS³ or UBS⁴. P⁹⁰ is extant only where the text of D has been supplemented. D is not extant where P⁶³ survives in John 3 but the two are extant in John 4:9–10. Throughout the apparatus no consistent pattern emerges for most of these manuscripts.

P⁵² (our earliest New Testament manuscript) is very small and is extant only where D has been supplemented.

[177] For the uncials the only sufficiently early manuscript is the third to fourth century 0162, but this survives only in 2:11–22 where D is not extant.

There are several significant readings to which we must turn our attention. It is worth noting that it is P⁶⁶ that seems to have the greatest affinity with D, although the Alands do not categorize P⁶⁶ as one of their 'D'-type manuscripts. It is one of their 'free texts'. That is a wise decision and should warn us not to expect too much from P⁶⁶: there are many places where P⁶⁶ disagrees with D. Nevertheless there are numerous and significant agreements between them.

- 5:18 P⁶⁶ D only agree in word order
- 6:53 P⁶⁶ D only agree in word order
- 7:31 P⁶⁶ & D *pc* agree in word order
- 9:10 ειπαν P⁶⁶ D only
- 9:19 επηρωτησαν P⁶⁶ D *pc*
- 10:10 P^{66*} D *pc* omit (? through hom) και περισσον εχωσιν
- 10:16 + δε P⁶⁶ D *pc*.
- 10:19 P⁶⁶ D Maj. + ουν (against P⁷⁵ & B)
- 10:20 + οτι P⁴⁵ D
- 10:25 omit αυτοις P⁶⁶ & * D
- 11:6 επι τω P⁴⁵ D
- 11:7 ειτα P⁶⁶ D
- 11:32 omit αυτω P⁶⁶ D 579 (cf. 10:25 after verb of speech)
- 11:37 P⁶⁶ D only agree in word order
- 11:45 εωρακοτες P⁴⁵ P⁶⁶ D only
- 11:51 omit εκεινου P⁶⁶ D only
- 12:3 omit (? through hom) ναρδω P^{66*} D only
- 12:30 ηλθεν P⁶⁶ D only
- 15:17 omit ινα P^{66*} D only
- 15:24 omit και P⁶⁶ D only
- 16:21 ημερα P⁶⁶ D
- 17:14 omit (? through hom) καθως... κοσμου P^{66*} D

It will be noted how many of these concern agreement in a variant involving word order. To those we could add comparable readings at 7:35; 8:44, 52; 9:28; 10:32; 11:17; 12:26 where P⁶⁶ agrees with D and 15:2 where P⁷⁵ agrees with D. It is certainly striking to see how frequ-

endy P⁶⁶ and D stand together. In a few cases of hom their agreement may be coincidence, but the word order variants where they agree seem particularly important. The message is clear. A fuller collation and analysis into the complete text of P⁶⁶ and D than my current sample allows is required.¹⁸ [178]

P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ do not support the significant readings by D at 5:3 concerning the stirring of the water. Similarly these two papyri do not agree with D in including the pericope of the adulteress.

Acts

It is to Acts that we shall devote a major section of this paper—for two obvious reasons. It is the book where D is at its most distinctive, so if we discover any places where an early manuscript shares with D that distinctiveness this would be telling. Secondly, the most recent volumes in the *Text und Textwert* series are devoted to Acts.¹⁹ That means we have the fullest display of textual evidence available for the *Teststellen* included there.

The early papyri containing Acts are:

- P⁸ fourth century
- P²⁹ third century
- P³⁸ c.300
- P⁴⁵ third century
- P⁴⁸ third century
- P⁵⁰ fourth to fifth century
- P⁵³ third century
- P⁵⁷ fourth to fifth century
- P⁹¹ third century

P²⁹, P⁴⁸ and P⁵³ contain only portions of Acts where D is no longer extant. P³³, P⁴¹, P⁵⁶ and P⁷⁴ are too late, although it is worth noting that P⁴¹ is regularly close to D in Acts 20–21.

¹⁸ See G.D. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P66): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics* (Studies and Documents 34, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968).

¹⁹ K. Aland, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. III Die Apostelgeschichte* (ANTF 20 and 21, Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1993).

P⁸ agrees with D at 4:34, 36 with many others; the two disagree at 4:33; 5:3. P⁵⁷ agrees with D and others at 4:37. This also is not very significant, because many other manuscripts are in support too. P^{91vid} is shown against D at 2:47–3:1 and with D at 2:31.

We need to look at P⁴⁵, P⁵⁰ and especially P³⁸.²⁰ The following passages seem significant:

- [179] 5:37 omit παντες P⁴⁵ D only (cf. verse 36)
 7:17 επηγγειλατο P⁴⁵ D E
 8:26 αναστας πορευθητι P⁵⁰ D only
 10:28 + ανδρι P⁵⁰ D only
 10:30 νηστευων (και) την ενατην (τε) προσευχομενος P⁵⁰ D
 11:12 omit μηδεν διακριναντα P^{45vid} D only (cf. μηδεν ανακριναντα P⁷⁴)

But it is in Chapter 19, where P³⁸ is extant, that the most spectacular similarities are shown. Boismard-Lamouille describes the manuscript as an “excellent témoin du TO (i.e. Texte Occidental) dans une section où les variantes sont nombreuses et importantes”.²¹

- 19:1 P³⁸ D contain the long addition θελοντος δε του Παυλου κατα την ιδιαν βουλην πορευεσθαι εις Ιεροσολυμα ειπεν αυτω το πνευμα υποστρεφειν εις την Ασiam διελθειν δε τα ανωτερα μερη ερχεται εις Εφεσον (cf. 18:21 δει με παντως την εορτην την (ημεραν) ερχομενην ποιησαι εις Ιεροσολυμα D Maj (!))
 19:2 λαμβανουσιν τινες P³⁸ P⁴¹ D*
 19:3 ελεγον P³⁸ D
 19:5 Χριστου εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων P^{38vid} D 614 only
 19:14 εν οis και υιοι Σκευα (Ιουδαιου) τινος (αρχ)ιερεως ηθελησαν το αυτο ποιησαι εξορκιζειν τους τοιουτους και εισελθοντες προς (τον) δαιμονιζομενον ηρξαντο επικαλεισθαι το ονομα λεγοντες παραγγελιομεν σοι εν Ιησου ον Παυλος (ο αποστολος) κηρυσσει εξελθειν P³⁸ D only

²⁰ Barbara Aland, ‘Entstehung, Charakter und Herkunft’, deals fully with these three early “Western”-type papyri and concludes that these tend in the direction of a Western-type text (i.e. a D-type text) but that the main Western type redaction did not emerge until the second half of the third century.

²¹ Boismard and Lamouille, p. 21.

To balance the picture it must be pointed out that P³⁸ seems to have unique readings at 19:2, 3 and that it reads against D at 19:4.

As for the early uncials, 0189 of the second-third century supports D in readings at 5:10, 18 but there the situation is that all the early manuscripts stand together against the reading of the majority of manuscripts, and in other variation units displayed by NA²⁷ 0189 is against the reading of D, e.g. at 5:8, 12, 16.

As we have the *Text und Textwert* volumes on Acts to hand we can broaden our search away from the NA²⁷ apparatus to the exhaustive apparatus there. What do we find?

There are 104 *Teststellen* in the Acts sample. The selection of *Teststellen* identifies 31 singular readings by D confirming Aland's observation in the volume that D is "völlig isoliert". There are no *Teststellen* for the portions of text where P²⁹, P⁵³ and P⁵⁷ are extant. That means only five papyri of the right date are involved: P⁸, P³⁸, P⁴⁵, P⁵⁰ and P⁹¹.²² The following is a list of the *Teststellen* (giving the sequence number) where one of these papyri is cited:²³ [180]

18. (4:33) P⁸ = Maj. against D (+ Χριστου)
19. (4:34) P⁸ = D Maj.
22. (5:34) P⁴⁵ against D
23. (6:8) P⁸ P⁴⁵ = D (χαριτος)
24. (7:11) P⁴⁵ against D (but both omit γην)
25. (7:17) P⁴⁵ = D E 1884 only (see above)
27. (8:18) P⁴⁵ = D Maj. (το πνευμα το αγιον)
37. (10:30) P⁵⁰ = D (see above)
38. (10:32) P⁴⁵ (shorter text) against D
40. (11:2) P⁴⁵ against D
41. (12:3) P⁴⁵ against D but D has a unique reading
45. (12:33) P⁴⁵ against D (unique reading)
51. (15:23) P⁴⁵ against D (unique reading)
55. (16:33) P⁴⁵ unique reading
56. (16:35) P⁴⁵ against D (unique reading)
57. (17:13) P⁴⁵ against D (D* unique reading)

²² P⁹¹ is illegible for the two *Teststellen* where it is extant.

²³ One needs to remember that in these volumes minute differences are recorded and that only where there are exact agreements are manuscripts listed together.

67 and 68 and 69. (19:1–2, 3, 14) P³⁸ has unique readings, although in *Teststelle* 69 P³⁸ and D virtually agree in the distinctive longer text.²⁴

P⁸ appears relatively high in the *Ergänzungsliste* in relation to D (67%) but in the *Hauptliste* the percentage agreement is only 50%. Numbers need to be high in both listings before one can begin to investigate family dependence. As a result of the statistics thrown up by the *Teststellen* Kurt Aland, the editor of the *Text und Textwert* volumes, writes on D within the tradition of only Greek manuscripts: “05 hat im griechischen Bereich keine Nachfolge gefunden, der Codex Bezae hat in der Folgezeit keine Wirkung geübt. Mit ihm ist ein Höhepunkt einer Entwicklung erreicht, die gleichzeitig mit ihm abbricht”²⁵ and [181] “Der Text von 05 bedeutet den Höhepunkt des ‘paraphrasierenden Textes’ der sich in der Frühzeit unabhängig voneinander entwickelt... als Unterabteilung der letzten genannten Kategorie” [i.e. the ‘free’ text]”.²⁶ We do not always find ourselves in agreement with Aland’s assessment of the history of manuscript tradition, but here in the case of D what he says of the influence of D is undoubtedly true, even though it has allies outside the Greek field and support from a couple of minuscules, notably the thirteenth century 614 or even the twelfth century 2412. He is also correct in his comments on D’s predecessors. Aland was speaking of Acts. Our own assessment confirms that the same is true for the Gospels too.

D seems not to have been the representative of a type of text that gained or maintained influence in the Greek church. That of course need not diminish our regard for this manuscript as a witness to an important text-type or rule it out of court for its eligibility to preserve on occasion even uniquely the original text. Even the Alands in their textbook admit that D, when it supports early tradition, has a genuine significance.²⁷ D is a milestone along the path of the New Testament textual tradition. Its place in the history of the text is recognised in the history of Mark’s Gospel currently being compiled by C.-B. Amphoux and myself; in our presentation of Mark’s Gospel the text of D will stand as one of the separate lines of text we are printing. (See chapter 31.).

²⁴ This is the longer reading at 19:14 discussed above.

²⁵ Vol. 1 pp. 710–19, citing p. 710.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 719.

²⁷ Alands, *Text*, p. 110.

Seventy years ago J.H. Ropes in the third volume of *The Beginnings of Christianity* Part 1 indicated that one of the *desiderata* awaiting further research was the origin of the readings in D (especially the non-Western readings).²⁸ Some progress has been made in that direction. We began by quoting Kurt Aland who argued that the D text-type (in distinction to the Western text as a whole) originated in the third century. Our enquiry does not contradict that. Our investigations here also confirm Birdsall's statement that "D cannot be identified with any entity of the second century *tout simple*; if Western text means the text of Codex Bezae then it is not to be found in the second century".²⁹ There may be some unfinished business in this direction dotting some 'i's and crossing some 't's, but we can add little to those judgements. [182]

Our investigation may be said to have been negative in its results. The increased number of early papyri has not yet enabled us to point to any significant corpus of Greek material that seems to have been a precursor of the D-type text. Only P³⁸ and 0171 deserve some recognition in this context. But these manuscripts survive in only sixty five verses and these may be labelled, to use Barbara Aland's preferred designation, "proto-D" manuscripts. Nevertheless, research that has negative results is often valuable to colleagues working in the field of the applied sciences and medicine. I hope the generally negative results in this paper will also be seen to have some positive benefit. All we can do is to repeat Ropes' words: "It must not be forgotten that the basis of the 'Western' revision was a text far more ancient than any manuscript now extant",³⁰ and it is here that we conclude with those words of seventy years ago ringing in our ears.

POSTSCRIPTUM

A new and significant papyrus containing Acts is P¹²⁵ published by D.C. Parker and S.R. Pickering in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXXIV (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2009) (= *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 95).

²⁸ Ropes, *op. cit.* p. ccciv.

²⁹ J.N. Birdsall, "The Western Text in the Second Century", in W.L. Petersen (ed.) *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century* (Notre Dame: University Press, 1989) pp. 3–17, p. 16.

³⁰ As quoted by F.G. Kenyon, *The Text of the Greek Bible* 3rd ed. revised by A.W. Adams (London: Duckworth, 1975) p. 240.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A GREEK-COPTIC (SAHIDIC) FRAGMENT OF TITUS-PHILEMON (0205)

The MS. numbered Or. 1699 II x in the University Library in Cambridge is part of the Thompson donation. It consists of a bifolium written on parchment. The folios have been flattened out so that one sees the verso of folio 2 with the recto of folio 1 and, on the other side, the verso of folio 1 adjoining the recto of folio 2. The colour of one side of the parchment differs from the other. Erosion has taken place. The original dimensions were probably 32 cm. × 22.5 cm. The contents (most of the last two chapters of the Epistle to Titus and the whole of the Epistle to Philemon) are remarkable because of the way that the two languages, Greek and Sahidic Coptic, are recorded. Each page contained two parallel columns with 35 lines of 12–13 letters on average. On the recto proper of the first folio the first column and the first seven lines of the second column contains Titus 2: 15b–3:7 in Greek. At this point the Coptic text begins with Titus 2:11 and continues throughout the rest of the MS. to the end of Philemon. The impression is that one scribe was responsible for the whole. [183]

The Greek in the MS. represents but 15% of the total. It is unlikely that we have here a genuine bilingual MS. in the making because of the lack of further Greek in the other folio where we might reasonably expect to see it. What seems to have been intended was the production of a Coptic text of Paul's letters. Since the top and bottom margins of the folios are missing, it is not possible to say if there were pagination numbers that might have indicated the size of the volume from which this bifolium was once a part. As it is, what has survived is probably the end of a collection of the Pauline epistles.

Our problem is: Why is there an intrusion of a section of Titus in Greek? The nature of the errors suggests that the text was copied, not dictated. If the copy was made in a scriptorium, it is possible that not all the scribes would have been able to read intelligibly. [184]

One factor which may have facilitated the accidental copying of a portion of Greek into a MS. intended to be monoglot Sahidic is the

close similarity between the written forms of the two languages, the Coptic alphabet being modelled on the majuscule form of the Greek. For a scribe copying mechanically, it would not have been impossible to continue for some time reproducing a Greek text (from his bilingual exemplar) in the belief he was reproducing Coptic.¹ Possibly what happened is that on an earlier page, now lost, he finished his copying of Titus in Coptic at chapter 2 verse 10. On resuming his task at the beginning of a new page he started copying the Greek text. Seven lines down the second column he noticed the error. Rather than take a new sheet of parchment, or create a palimpsest, he went back to where he had finished the Coptic beforehand and proceeded to copy from the Coptic in the exemplar at Titus 2:11 beginning at the point where he abandoned the intrusive Greek. Thereafter he continued correctly copying the Coptic of Titus and then the whole of Philemon ending on the last page of the two folios. It is noticeable that no attempt was made to expunge or delete the Greek. Two modifications of the above explanation are a) our folios were identified as flawed and excluded from the bound copy for which they were intended (and a correctly transcribed monoglot Sahidic text substituted) and b) the error was not made by the scribe who wrote Or 1699 II x but was a much earlier error that he followed slavishly.

Whatever the history of this peculiar text, what we have is a fragment that contains Greek and Sahidic Coptic, but it is not truly a bilingual MS. as conventionally understood. Nevertheless it merits inclusion in the register of NT Greek uncials where it has the number 0205. It is not included in the *apparatus* of any printed Greek New Testament to my knowledge,² although the *apparatus* in Nestle 26 at Philemon 2 may be referring to the Coptic text of our MS. when it records the support of one Coptic MS. in support of ἀδελφῆ. The Alands³ allocate 0205 to their Category 2 MSS., meaning a MS. of special quality but distinguished from their preferred Category 1 because of the contamination of Byzantine text-type readings. But this seems unwarranted.

¹ It is significant that in the first proofs of this article the typesetter printed the Greek text in the manuscript in Coptic letters!

² See my *A Survey of Manuscripts used in Printed Editions of the Greek New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1987). In stating erroneously there that the MS. was lost I was relying on K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste* p. 53.

³ In K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament ET* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, 1989) p. 160.

The *apparatus* below shows that 0205 does not agree with Byzantine readings at Titus 3:1,5,7.

The consensus of scholarly opinion is that the MS. is 8th century, but Professor J.M. Plumley of Cambridge, whose help in the preparation of this article I gratefully acknowledge, prefers an earlier date (7th or even 6th century) because of Coptic palaeographical reasons, including the use of the square M. In the Coptic it is noteworthy that Greek uncial M is used throughout the Coptic text although not in the superscription or ascription to Philemon where we find Coptic mu. Such an early date would be compatible with the absence of distinctively Byzantine readings in the Greek.

The textual *apparatus* following the diplomatic transcript excludes purely orthographical variants, of which there are some in the Greek (e.g. εαυτου, αναγενωσεως Titus 3:5) as well as in the Coptic. There are some obsolescent spellings in the Coptic (e.g. Philemon 13: ϣⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓ which encourages a date earlier than that of sa 4 [7th century] which reads ϣⲁⲧⲏⲓ).

Supplementary text has been added in square brackets in the transcription where the original is deficient. At Philemon 18 the text is assumed to read ⲁϣⲁⲓⲧⲉ with sa 4 against Horner and M.

The photographs of the MS. are reproduced here with kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. I also wish to thank the Rev. J.I. Miller and Dr. Belinda Wassell in the preparation of the transcript and *apparatus*.



Figure 1: 0205 fol. I recto

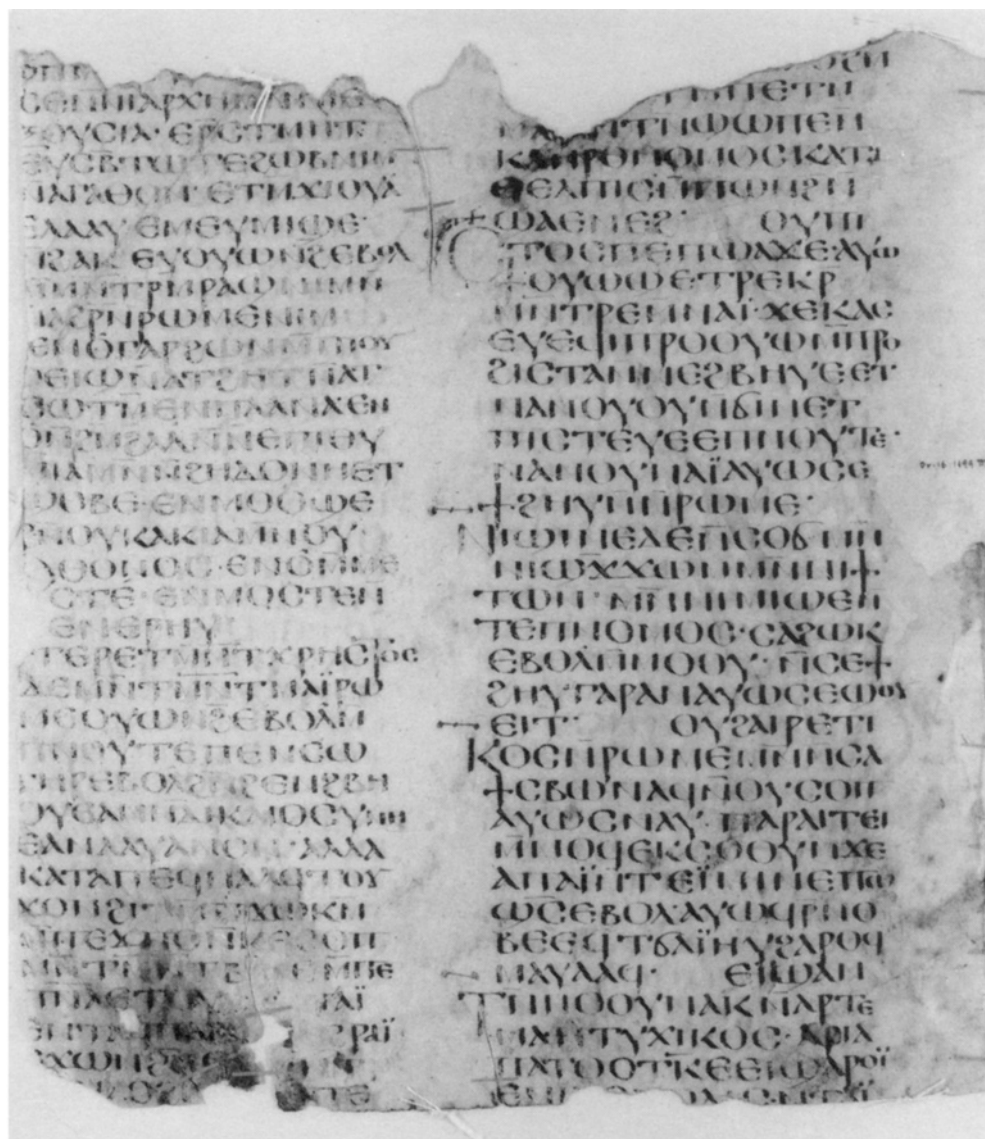


Figure 2: 0205 fol. I verso

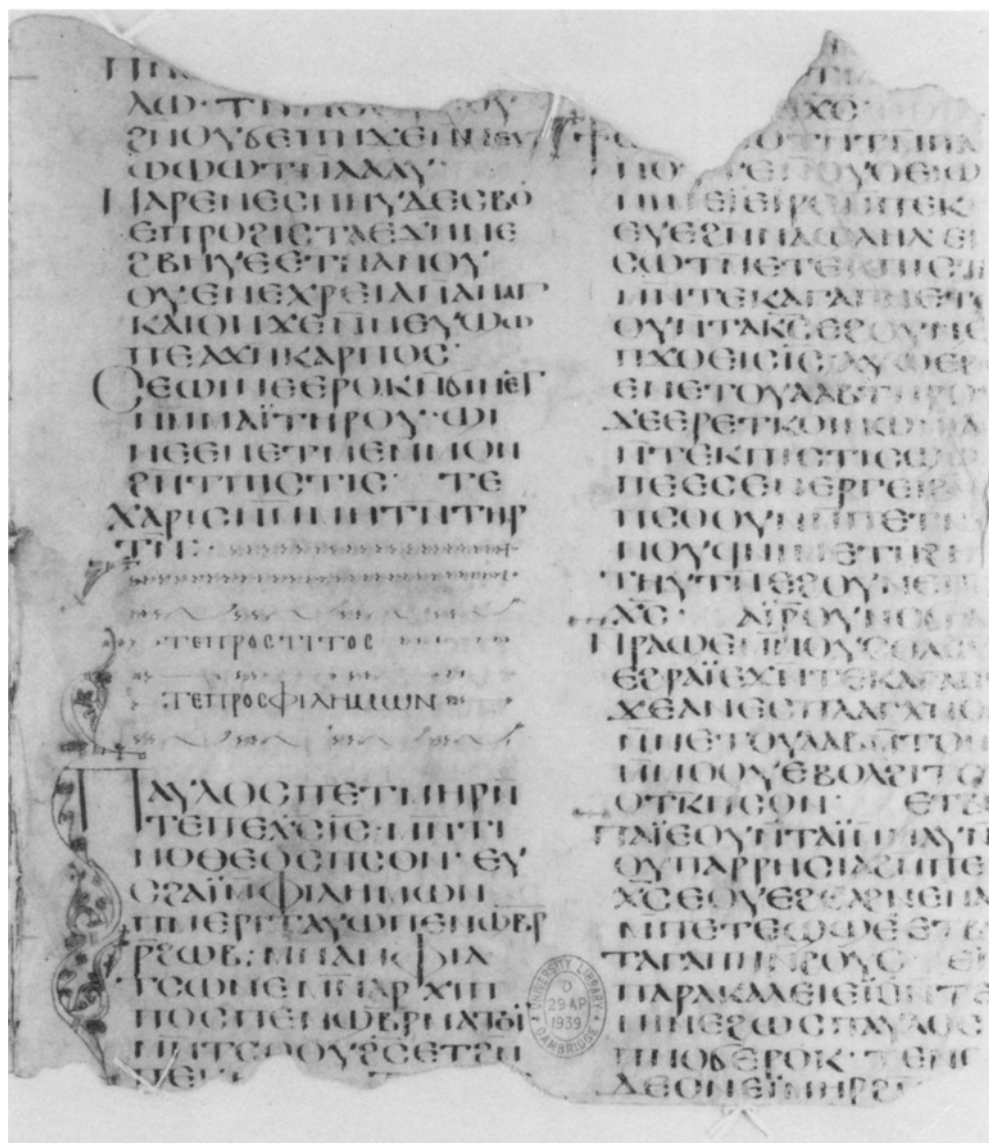


Figure 3: 0205 fol. II recto

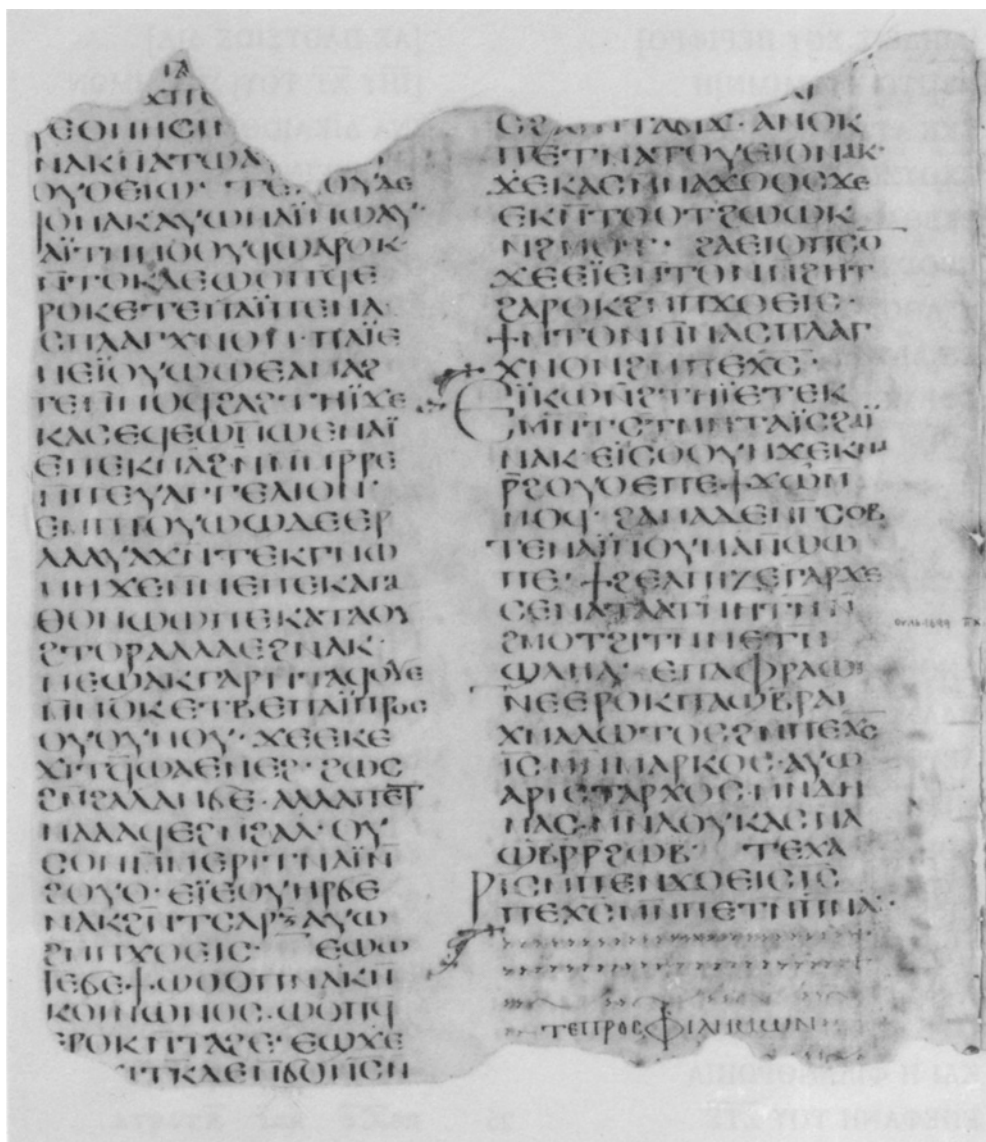


Figure 4: 0205 fol. II verso

TRANSCRIPT OF 0205

Fol. I recto: Titus 2:15–3:7 (Greek); 2:11–3:1 (Coptic)

Verse	Column One	line no.	Column Two	Verse
2:15	[ΜΗΔΕΙΣ ΣΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΦΡΟ]		[ΑΣ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΣ ΔΙΑ]	
3:1	ΝΕ[ΙΤΩ ΥΠΟΜΙΜΝ]Η		[ΙΗΥ ΧΥ ΤΟΥ] ΣΤΣ ΗΜΩΝ	
	ΣΚΕ ΑΥΤΟΥ[Σ ΑΡΧΑΙ]Σ		ΙΝΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΘΕΝΤΕ[Σ]	7
	ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΙΣ ΥΠΟΤΑΣ		ΤΗ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΙ·	
	ΣΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΕΙΘΑΡΧΕΙΝ	5	ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΙ ΓΕΝΗ	
	ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ		ΘΩΜΕΝ ΚΑΤ ΕΛΠΙΔ[Α]	
	ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΥΣ		ΖΩΗΣ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΥ:	
2	ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΒΛΑ		ΛΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΓΑΡ ΠΠΝΟ[ϥ]	2:11
	ΣΦΗΜΕΙΝ ΑΜΑΧΟΥΣ		ΤΕ ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ Οϥ	
	ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΠΙΕΙΚΕΙΣ ΠΑ	10	ΩΝϥ ΕΒΟΛ ΠρωΠε	
	ΣΑΝ ΕΝΔΕΙΚΝΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ		ΝΠΠ ΕC†CΒΩ ΝΑΝ	12
	ΠΡΑΨΤΗΤΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑ		ΞΕΚΑC ΕΔΗΚΩ ΠC[ΩΝ]	
3	ΤΑΣ ΑΝΘΥΣ· ΗΜΕΝ		ΠΤΠΠΤΨΑϥΤΕ Π[Ν]	
	ΓΑΡ ΠΟΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ		ΠΕΠΙΘΨΙΑΔ ΠΚΟC[ΠΠ]	
	ΑΝΟΗΤΟΙ ΑΠΕΙΘΕΙΣ	15	ΚΟΝ. ΠΤΠΩΝϥ ρΠ	
	ΠΑΛΑΝΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΟΥ		ΟΨΠΠΤΡΠΠϥΗΤ Π[Π]	
	ΛΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΠΙΘΥ		ΟΨΠΠΤΔΙΚΑΙΟC Π[Π]	
	ΜΙΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΔΟΝΑΙΣ		ΟΨΠΠΤΕΨCΕΒΗC	
	ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑΙΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΚΙΑ		ϥΠΠΕΨΔΙΩΝ ΕΝ6[Ω]	13
	ΚΑΙ ΦΘΟΝΩ ΔΙΑΓΟΝ	20	ΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ ρΗΤC Π[ΕΕΛ]	
	ΤΕΣ· ΣΤΥΓΗΤΟΙ ΜΙ		ΠΙC ΠΠΑΚΑΡΙΟC Π[Π]	
	ΣΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ		ΠΟΨΩΝϥ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΠε	
4	ΟΤΕ ΔΕ Η ΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΗΣ		ΟΟΨ ΠΠΠ6 ΠΠΟΨ[ΨΕ]	
	ΚΑΙ Η ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΑ		ΠΠ ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΠC	
	ΕΠΕΦΑΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΣ	25	ΝΕΧC ΠΑΨ ΠΤΑϥΤΑ	14
5	ΗΜΩΝ ΘΥ ΟΥΚ ΕΞ ΕΡ		Αϥ ρΑΡΟΝ ΞΕΚΑC Εϥ[Ε]	
	ΓΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΔΙΚΑΙ		CΟΤΠ ΕΒΟΛ ρΠΔΠΟ	
	ΟΣΥΝΗ Α ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑ		ΠΙΑ ΝΠΠ ΔΨΩ ΝΨΤΒ	
	ΜΕΝ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑ		ΒΟΝ ΝΑϥ ΠΟΨΛΑΟC	
	ΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΛΕΟC	30	ΕϥΤΟΨΗΤ ΠΡΕϥΚΩ[ϥ]	
	ΕCΩCΕΝ ΗΜΑC ΔΙΑ		ΕΡΕΝϥΒΗΨΕ ΕΝΑΝ[ΟΨ]	
	ΛΟΥΤΡΟΥ ΠΑΛΙΝΓΕ		ΟΨ. ΨΩ ΠΠΑΨ ΔΨΩ	15
	ΝΕCΙΑC ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΓΕΝΩ		ΝΠΠΑ[ΡΑ]ΚΑΛΕΙ ΠCΞΠ[ΙΟ]	
	ΣΕΩC· ΠΠΝC ΑΓΙΟΥ		ϥΠΟΨΕΡCΑΡΠΕ ΝΠΠ	
6	ΟΥ ΕΞΕΧΕ[ΕΝ Ε]Φ Η[Μ]	35	ΠΠ[ΡΤΡΕΛ]ΑΔΑΨ Κ[ΑΤΑ]	3:1
			[ΦΡΟΝΙ ΠΠΟΚ ΠΑΡΟΨ]	

Fol. I verso: Titus 3:1–13 (Coptic)

Verse	Column One	line no.	Column Two	Verse
	ⲣⲡⲓⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲉϣⲟⲡⲟⲧⲁⲥ] ⲥⲉ ⲛⲏⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲡⲏⲏⲓⲉ ⲉⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ.ⲉⲣⲥⲧⲡⲏⲧ ⲉⲟⲥⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲉϣⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲡ 2 ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲑⲟⲛ.ⲉⲧⲡⲱⲧⲓⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲡⲓⲱⲉ. ⲛⲟⲗ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲓⲛⲧⲣⲓⲣⲁⲱ ⲛⲓⲡ ⲛ ⲛⲁⲟⲣⲏ ⲣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲓⲡ 3 [ⲛ]ⲉⲛⲟ ⲗⲁⲣ ϣⲱⲛ ⲡⲓⲡⲓⲟⲩ ⲟⲉⲱⲱ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲧ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲉⲛⲡⲁⲁⲛⲁ.ⲉⲛ ⲟ ⲛⲟⲗⲁⲗ ⲛⲏⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩ [ⲡ]ⲓⲗⲁ ⲡⲏⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲧ ⲱⲃⲉ ⲉⲛⲡⲓⲟⲩⲱⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲡⲏⲟⲩ ⲫⲑⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲟ ⲡⲓⲡⲉ ⲥⲧⲉ ⲉⲛⲡⲓⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ [ⲛ]ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟ. 4 [ⲛ]ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲧⲡⲏⲧⲭⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲏⲧ ⲧⲡⲏⲧⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲡ ⲡⲏⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱ 5 ⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϣⲏⲟⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲟⲛⲏ ⲉⲁⲛⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ.ⲁⲗⲁⲗ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉⲣⲛⲁ ⲁⲣⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲟⲛ ϣⲓⲧⲡⲡⲗⲱⲕⲡ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲡⲟ ⲛⲏⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ ⲡⲏⲧⲡⲏⲧⲃⲓⲣⲓⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲉ 6 ⲡⲏⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲗⲃ] ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲣⲡⲁ[ⲗⲧⲣ] ⲉϣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲱⲛ ϣⲏⲟ[ⲩⲡ]ⲏⲧ [ⲣⲡ]ⲡⲁⲟ ϣ[ⲓⲧⲏ ⲓⲥ] ⲡⲉ 7 [ⲭⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲧⲉ]	5 		

Fol II recto: Titus 3:13–15; Philemon 1–10 (Coptic)

Verse	Column One	line no.	Column Two	Verse
	πν[οσηκος πñ ἀπολ]		[ρ]ιτππνοϥτε π]	
	λω.τññ[οοϥς]οϥ		[ε]νειω]τ π[ñ πϣ]	
	ρñοϥεπн зε ñνεϥ		[ο]εϥ ις π]εχ̄.	
	ϣωωτ ñλααϥ.		τϣ[πρμ]οτ ñτππα	4
14	μαρεнесннϥ δε σβο	5	νοϥτε ñοτορεϣ	
	επροϣστα εϣñне		нш εἰεῖρε ππεκ[με]	
	ρβнϥε етнаноϥ		εϥε ρñнаϣλнλ.εἰ	5
	οϥ еνεχρελ ñанаг		сωτπ етекписти[с]	
	και οн зε ñνεϥϣω		πñ τεκαгλн ет[ε]	
	πε αϣñκαρπος.	10	οϥñτακς εροϥн е	
15	сеϣнне ерок ñбι нет		пзоεϥ ις.αϥω еρ[οϥн]	
	ñшшαῑ тнροϥ.ϣи		енетоϥααβ тнροϥ	6
	не енетμε πшон		зε еретκοινωнλα	
	ρñтпистις.те		ñтекпистις ϣω	
	χαρις ншштñ тнρ	15	πε есenercei ρπ	
	тñ:.		псооϥн πпетна	
			ноϥч нш етñρн[т]	
			тнϥтñ εροϥн еπε	
	τε прос титос	20	χ̄ς.αῑροϥноб гλ[ρ]	7
			πραϣе πñ οϥϣολςλ	
	τε прос φιλншων		ερραἰ εϣñτεκαгλн	
			зε αнесπλαгчнон	
	παῥλος петшнρ ñ		ñнетоϥααβ.πтон	
1	те πεχ̄ς ις.πñтι		πшооϥ евоλ ριτο	
	ποθεос псон.εϥ	25	οτκ̄ псон.εтв[ε]	8
	сгλἰ̄ πφιλншων		παἰ εοϥñтаἰ̄ шшαϥ ñ	
	пшерит αϥω пенϣβ̄ρ		οϥπαρρнcia ρππε	
2	ρρωβ:πñ αшφια		χ̄ς εοϥερсаρне на[κ]	
	тсωне πñ αρχιπ		шпетεϣϣе етве	9
	пос пенϣβ̄ρшатоἰ	30	тагλн ñροϥο. εἰ	
	πñ тсооϥρς етρπ		паракаλει εἰο ñте[ἰ]	
	пек[нἰ τεχαρ]		шне ρωс παῥλος	
3	[ις ннтñ πñ]		пноб ерок.тен[οϥ]	
	[†ρннн евоλ]		δε οн εἰшнρ ρπ[πε]	
		35	[χ̄ς ις †пара]	10

Fol. II verso: Philemon 10–25 (Coptic)

Verse	Column One	line no.	Column Two	Verse
	[αλει π̄шок ρα]		[οτρωβ η οτ̄ηтак ер]	
	[παψ̄ηρε] πα[ί] εντ]		[ογ παί он̄γ ероί]	
	[αί]απο[γ ρ̄ηναμ̄ρ]		[αнок πασ̄λος] αί	19
11	[ρ]ε он̄сш[ос παί ето]		сραі̄ η̄таβιζ. αнок	
	нак̄ η̄ατ̄ψᾱτ̄ [π̄π̄]	5	пет̄на̄το̄η̄ε̄ιο̄ на̄к̄.	
	ο̄το̄ε̄ῑψ̄.τε[η]от̄ δε		ζε̄ка̄с̄ η̄на̄зо̄ос̄ зе̄	
	[ε]γ̄ο̄на̄κᾱτω̄на̄ί̄η̄ψ̄ᾱτ̄.		ек̄η̄то̄от̄ ρ̄ωω̄к̄	
12	αί̄τ̄η̄η̄ο̄ο̄γ̄ ψ̄ᾱρο̄к̄.		η̄ρ̄ш̄от̄. ρ̄ᾱε̄ιο̄ п̄с̄ō	20
	η̄το̄к̄ δε̄ ш̄ο̄п̄γ̄ ε̄		зе̄ ε̄і̄ε̄π̄то̄η̄ η̄ρ̄η̄т̄	
	ро̄к̄ е̄те̄ παί̄ пе̄ на̄	10	ρ̄ᾱро̄к̄ ρ̄π̄з̄ο̄ε̄і̄с̄.	
13	сп̄ᾱг̄χ̄η̄η̄η̄. παί̄ ε̄		†π̄то̄η̄ η̄на̄с̄па̄г̄	
	η̄ε̄і̄ο̄ш̄ш̄ ε̄ᾱш̄а̄ ρ̄		χ̄η̄η̄η̄ ρ̄π̄ε̄χ̄с̄.	
	те̄ π̄ш̄ο̄γ̄ ρ̄ᾱρ̄η̄і̄ зе̄		ε̄і̄к̄ω̄ η̄ρ̄η̄і̄ е̄те̄к̄	21
	ка̄с̄ е̄γ̄ε̄ш̄ш̄ε̄ на̄і̄		ш̄η̄т̄с̄т̄ш̄η̄т̄ ᾱі̄с̄ρ̄ᾱі̄	
	ε̄πε̄к̄ш̄а̄ ρ̄π̄ш̄ρ̄ре̄	15	на̄к̄. ε̄і̄с̄ο̄ο̄η̄η̄ зе̄ ка̄	
	π̄πε̄σ̄ᾱг̄г̄ε̄ᾱі̄ο̄η̄.		ρ̄ρ̄ο̄ш̄ο̄ е̄не̄†з̄ω̄ π̄	
14	ε̄ш̄п̄і̄ο̄т̄ω̄ш̄ δε̄ ε̄ρ̄		ш̄ο̄γ̄. ρ̄ᾱш̄а̄ δε̄ η̄т̄с̄ο̄β̄	22
	λᾱᾱτ̄ ᾱз̄η̄т̄ε̄η̄г̄η̄ω̄		те̄ на̄і̄ η̄ο̄ш̄ш̄а̄ η̄ш̄ω̄	
	ш̄η̄ зе̄ η̄η̄ε̄πε̄ка̄га̄	20	пе̄.†ρ̄ε̄λ̄п̄і̄з̄е̄ γ̄ᾱρ̄ зе̄	
	θ̄ο̄η̄ ш̄ω̄πε̄ ка̄та̄ ο̄т̄		с̄ε̄η̄ᾱта̄ᾱт̄ η̄η̄т̄η̄ η̄	
	ρ̄то̄ρ̄ ᾱλλᾱ ε̄ρ̄η̄ᾱк̄.		ρ̄ш̄от̄ ρ̄і̄т̄η̄η̄ε̄т̄η̄	
15	п̄ε̄ш̄ᾱк̄ γ̄ᾱρ̄ η̄та̄γ̄ο̄η̄ε̄		ш̄η̄η̄λ̄.ε̄па̄φ̄ρᾱ ш̄η̄	23
	π̄ш̄ο̄к̄ ε̄т̄β̄ε̄πᾱі̄ про̄с̄		η̄ε̄ е̄ро̄к̄ па̄ш̄β̄ρ̄ᾱі̄	
	ο̄т̄ο̄η̄η̄ο̄т̄. зе̄ е̄ке̄		χ̄ш̄ᾱλ̄ω̄т̄ο̄с̄ ρ̄π̄ε̄χ̄с̄	
16	з̄і̄т̄γ̄ ш̄а̄ε̄η̄ε̄ρ̄.ρ̄ω̄с̄	25	і̄с̄ ш̄η̄ ш̄ᾱρ̄к̄ο̄с̄. ᾱт̄ω̄	24
	ρ̄π̄ρ̄ᾱλ̄ а̄η̄ β̄ε̄.ᾱλλᾱ πε̄т̄		ᾱρ̄і̄с̄т̄ᾱρ̄χ̄ο̄с̄ ш̄η̄ δ̄η̄	
	η̄ᾱᾱᾱγ̄ ε̄ρ̄π̄ρ̄ᾱλ̄.ο̄т̄		ш̄ᾱс̄.ш̄η̄ λ̄ο̄т̄ка̄с̄ на̄	
	с̄ο̄η̄ π̄ш̄ε̄р̄і̄т̄ на̄і̄ η̄		ш̄β̄ρ̄ρ̄ρ̄ω̄β̄. т̄ε̄χ̄а̄	25
	ρ̄ο̄ш̄ο̄. ε̄і̄ε̄ ο̄т̄η̄ρ̄ β̄ε̄		р̄і̄с̄ π̄п̄ε̄η̄з̄ο̄ε̄і̄с̄ і̄с̄	
	на̄к̄ ρ̄η̄т̄с̄ᾱρ̄ε̄ ᾱт̄ω̄	30	п̄ε̄χ̄с̄ ш̄η̄п̄ε̄т̄η̄π̄η̄ᾱ:.	
17	ρ̄π̄з̄ο̄ε̄і̄с̄.ε̄ш̄ω̄		те̄ про̄с̄ φ̄і̄λ̄η̄ш̄ω̄η̄	
	пе̄ β̄ε̄ †ш̄ω̄ο̄п̄ на̄к̄ η̄			
	κο̄ῑη̄ω̄η̄ο̄с̄.ш̄ο̄п̄γ̄			
18	ε̄ро̄с̄ η̄та̄ρ̄ε̄.ε̄ш̄зе̄			
	[αγ̄з̄]і̄т̄к̄ δε̄ η̄β̄ο̄η̄с̄ η̄	35		

[194]

CRITICAL APPARATUS

This is not a full collation; only variants of special interest have been included. The references in the *apparatus* to the Coptic text are:

sa 4 = Chester Beatty MS. A. See Sir Herbert Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sathidic Dialect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932).

M = Pierpont Morgan MS. 569. See Thompson *op. cit.*

Till 59 = Vienna Nationalbibliothek K. 2656. See W. Till, "Kleine koptische Bibelfragmente" *Biblica* 20 (1939) pp. 241–63.

Till 60 = Vienna Nationalbibliothek K. 2704. See W. Till, "Kleine koptische Bibelfragmente" *Biblica* 20 (1939) pp. 361–86.

Horner = the text of G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic or Thebaic I–VII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911–24).

fol. I^r

3a αρχαίς; + καὶ D^cKP 81 Byz

28a α: ὡν C^cD^c Byz

5b–6b γεννηθῶμεν: γενωμεθα 01^cD^c Byz

11b ⲉϥⲧⲥⲃⲱ : ⲉϥⲧⲥⲃⲱ sa 4

13b–14b ⲡⲏⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲟⲩⲡⲓⲁ : ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲟⲩⲡⲓⲁ Horner

24b ⲡⲉⲛϥⲱⲧⲏⲣ : ⲙⲱⲣ M⁴

fol. I^v

24a–25a ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲛ : ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲉ
sa 4 : ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ M

35a ⲡⲉⲛϥⲱⲧⲏⲣ : ⲡⲉⲛⲗⲟⲉⲓϥ M

11b ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲉⲛ : ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃⲏⲉⲛ sa 4, Till 59

fol. II^r

2a ⲧⲏⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ : ⲧⲏⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ M, Horner

14a–16a ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓϥ ⲛⲓⲡⲓⲛⲧⲏⲧⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲧ ⲛ : *om.* sa 4

[195] 23a–24a ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ̅ : ⲙⲡⲉⲭⲥ̅ Till 60

19b ⲕⲁⲣ : *om.* Till 60

26b ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ̅ : ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ̅ sa 4: ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲁⲓ̅ Horner

⁴ There are many lacunae in the text of M between lines 12b and 24b.

- 26b–27b Ἰοῦπαρρησία : Ἰοῦνοῖ Παρρησία sa 4, M :
Ἰοῦνοῖ Παρρησία Horner
- 34b Δε : *om.* M.
- fol. II^v
- 6a–7a ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΨΟ : [ΤΕΝΟ]Ψ ΔΕ ΨΟ M Horner
- 13a ΘΑΘΗΪ : ΘΑΤΗΪ sa 4
- 35a–1b Ἰῶοντ Ἰοῦζωβ : Ἰῶοῤῥῥῥῥ ἸλααΨ Ἰοῦζωβ M :
Ἰῶοντ Ἰ[λααΨ] Horner
- 2b–3b εῖοῖ ἀνοκ παῖλος *om.* Horner
- 5b ΝΑΚ : *om.* M
- 11b †ΠΤΟΝ : ΞΕ ΕἶεΠΤΟΝ M
- 16b–17b ΠΠΟΨ : ΠΠΟС M
- 25b ΠἸ ΠΑΡΚΟС : ΠΑΡΚΟС Horner
- 25b–26b αΨω ἀριστάρχοС : ΠἸ ἀριστάρχοС M :
ἀριστάρχοС Horner
- 26b–27b ΠἸ ΔΗΠΔС : ΔΗΠΔС Horner
- 27b–28b ΝΑΨῤῥῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ : ΝΑΨῤῥ[ΑΙΧΠΔ]ῥῥῥῥῥῥ ΠἸ ΝΑΨῤῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ
Horner

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE GREEK MANUSCRIPT HERITAGE OF THE BOOK OF ACTS

The latest register¹ of Greek New Testament manuscripts enables us [37]
to identify manuscripts that contain the Acts of the Apostles (either
in part or in its entirety).

The facts and figures that emerge follow. (I use the conventional
divisions of MSS., i.e. 1. those written on papyrus; 2. parchment MSS.
in majuscule letters (uncials) and 3. those written in minuscule script
(cursives):

Papyri: Total = 13

Uncials: Total = 32

Cursives: Total = 567

Grand total of continuous-text MSS. = 612

Details are set out in the following table. These lists give the officially
recognised numbers of all MSS. that contain Acts complete or in part.
The sign «+» links two MSS. previously registered as separate MSS.,
but where subsequent investigation has identified their being separated
parts of the same. Usually the lower number is preserved, but in their
latest work on Acts² the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung
in Münster has now subsumed 252 under 464³! The sign «=» links two
MSS. This indicates that the same MS. was (unnecessarily) registered
twice, with different numbers. Again, the prevailing number is usually
the lower, but 2466 = 2294 is an exception: that MS. is to be known
by the higher number. (In three instances a minuscule MS. was origi-
nally given a number in the lectionary system: 921 (*l*565), 1885 (now
incorporating *l*1414), 2652 (*l*1306).

¹ K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, ²1994) = ANTF 1 (hereafter = *Liste*²). This list gives details of the contents, dimensions and current location of all MSS.

² K. Aland, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften Neuen Testaments* III, 1 (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1993) = ANTF 20 pp. 684–6 (Hereafter = *Text und Textwert*.) The *Verzeichnis* in that volume has been adapted for the following list.

³ *contra* *Liste*² where 252 subsumes 464!

- [38] I have not included lectionaries. *Liste*² has c.582 lectionaries identified as *l*^a (= “Apostolos”, i.e. Acts and letters) or *l*^{+a} (= lections from the gospels and the Apostolos). I have not been able to check if all these MSS. actually contain readings from Acts, and several of these lectionaries are incomplete. NA²⁷ includes l1575 (*l*^a), l249 (*l*^{e+a}), l44 (*l*^{e+a}). UBS⁴ lists 40 lectionaries that include readings from the Apostolos.

Number	Contents*	Date	Number	Contents	Date
PAPYRI			P ⁷⁴	Act 1:2–28:3 1+; Jas 1:1–5:20+; 1P 1:1–2, 7–8, 13, 19–20, 25; 2:6–7, 11–12, 18, 24; 3:4–5; 2P 2:21; 3:4, 11, 16; 1J 1:1, 6; 2:1–2, 7, 13–14, 18–19, 25–26; 3:1–2, 8, 14, 19–20; 4:1, 6–7, 12, 18–19; 5:3–4, 9–10, 17; 2J 1, 6–7, 13; 3J 6, 12; Jd 3, 7, 11–12, 16, 24	VII
P ⁸	Act 4:31–37; 5:2–9; 6:1–6, 8–15	IV	P ⁹¹	Act 2:30–37; 2:46–3:2	III
P ²⁹	Act 26:7–8, 20	III	UNCIALS		
P ³³⁺⁵⁸	Act 7:6–10, 13–18; 15:21–24, 26–32	VI	801	eapr	IV
P ³⁸	Act 18:27–19:6, 12–16	C. 300	A02	eapr†	V
P ⁴¹	Act 17:28–18:2, 17–18, 22–25, 27; 19:1–4, 6–8, 13–16, 18–19; 20:9–13, 15–16, 22–24, 26–38; 21:1–3, 4, 26–27; 22:11–14, 16–17	VIII	B03	eapr†	IV
P ⁴⁵	Mt 20:24–32; 21:13–19; 25:41–26:39; Mc 4:36–9:31+; 11:27–12:28+; L 6:31–7:7+; 9:26–14:33+; J 10:7–25; 10:31–11:10, 18–36, 42–57; Act 4:27–17:17+	III	C04	eapr† (vac. Act 1:1–2; 4:3–5:34; 6:8; 10:43–13:1; 16:37–20:10; 21:31–22:20; 23:18–24:15; 26:19–27:16; 28:5–fin.)	V
P ⁴⁸	Act 23:11–17, 23–29	III	D05	ea† (vac. Act 8:29–10:14; 21:2–10, 16–18; 22:10–20; 22:29–fin.)	V
P ⁵⁰	Act 8:26–32; 10:26–31	IV/V	E08	a† (vac. Act 26:29–28:26)	VI
P ⁵³	Mt 26:29–40; Act 9:33–10:1	III			
P ⁵⁶	Act 1:1, 4–5, 7, 10–11	V/VI			
P ⁵⁷	Act 4:36–5:2, 8–10	IV/V			

* † denotes that the MS. has gaps; P denotes that the MS. is incomplete; K denotes that the MS. also contains (patristic) commentary; e = gospels; a = Acts and Catholic letters; p = Paul; r = Revelation.

(Cont.)

Number	Contents	Date	Number	Contents	Date
H014	a†	IX	0304	aP (Act 6:5–7:13)	IX
L020	apt (vac. Act 1:1–8:10)	IX		MINUSCULES	
P025	apr†	IX	1	eap	XII
ψ044	eap†	VIII/IX	3	eap	XII
			5	eap	XIII
048	apP (Act 26:6–27:4; 28:3–31)	V	6	eap†	XIII
			18	eapr	1364
049	ap†	IX	33	eap†	IX
056	apK	X	35	eapr	XI
057	aP (Act 3:5–6, 10–12)	IV/V	38	eap†	XIII
			42	apr†	XI
066	aP (Act 28:8–17)	VI	43	eap†	XII
076	aP (Act 2:11–22)	V/VI	51	eap†	XIII
077	aP (Act 13:28–31)	V	57	eap	XII
093	aP (Act 24:22–25:5)	VI	61	eapr	XVI
095	aP (Act 2:22–28, 45–3:8)	VIII	62	ap†	XIV
			69	eapr†	XV
+ [0123]			76	eap	XIV
096	aP (Act 2:6–17; 26:7–18)	VII	81	ap†	1044
			82	aprK	X
097	aP (Act 13:39–46)	VII	88	apr	XII
0120	aP (Act 16:30–17:17, 27–29, 31–34; 18:8–26)	IX	90	eap	XVI
			91	aprK†	XI
0140	aP (Act 5:34–38)	X	93	apr†	XI
0142	apK	X	94	aprK	r:XII ap: XIII
0165	aP (Act 3:24–4:13, 17–20)	V	97	ap	XII
			101	apK†	XI
0166	aP (Act 28:30–31)	V	102	ap	1444
0175	aP (Act 6:7–15)	V	103	apK	XII
0189	aP (Act 5:3–21)	II/III	104	apr	1087
0236	aP (Act 3:12–13, 15–16)	V	105	eap	XII
			110	apr†	XII
0244	aP (Act 11:29–12:5)	V	122	eap†	XII
			131	eap	XIV
0294	aP (Act 14:27–15:10)	VI/VII	133	eap	XI
			141	eapr	XIII
			142	eap	XI

(Cont.)

Number	Contents	Date	Number	Contents	Date
149	eapr	XV	322	ap	XV
172	apr†	XIII/XIV	323	ap†	XII
175	eapr†	X	325	apr†	XI
177	apr	XI	326	ap†	XII
180	eapr	e:XII	327	ap	XIII
		apr: 1273	328	ap	XIII
181	apr†	ap:XI	330	eap	XII
		r: XV	336	apr	XV
189	eap†	e:XIV	337	apr†	XII
		ap: XII	339	eapr	XIII
201	eapr	1357	363	eap	XIV
203	apr†	1111	365	eap†	XIII
204	eap	XIII	367	eapr	1331
205	eapr	XV	378	ap	XII
205 ^{abschrift}	eapr	XV	383	ap	XIII
206	ap†	XIII	384	ap	XIII
209	eapr	eap: XIV	385	apr†	1407
		r:XV	386	eapr	XIV
216	ap†	1358	390	eap	1282
218	eapr†	XIII	393	eap	XIV
221	ap	X	394	eap	1330
223	ap†	XIV	398	ap†	XI
226	eap	XII	400	eapP†	XV
228	eapP	XIV	404	ap	XIV
234	eap	1278	421	ap	XII
241	eapr	XI	424	apr	XI
242	eapr	XII	425	ap	1330
250	aprK	XI	429	apr	XIV
252	(see 464)				r:XV
254	aprK	XIV	431	eap	XII
255	ap	XIV	432	apr	XV
256	apr†	XI/XII	436	ap	X
257	ap	XIV	437	aPK: Act	XI
263	eap	XIII	440	eap	XII
296	eapr	XVI	441	apPK	XIII
302	ap†	XI	444	eap	XV
307	aK	X	450	apP†	X
308	ap	XIV	451	ap	XI
309	apP†	XIII	452	apr	XII
312	ap†	XI	453	aK	XIV
314	aprK†	XI	454	apK	X
319	ap†	XII	455	apPK	XIII/
321	ap†	XII			XIV

(Cont.)

Number	Contents	Date	Number	Contents	Date
456	apr	X	617	aprK†	XI
457	ap	X	618	ap	XII
458	ap	XI	619	apK	984
459	apr	1092	621	apP(K)	XIV
460	ap†	XIII	623	apK†	1037
462	ap	XI/XII	624	apP	XI
463	apK†	XII	625	ap	XII/XIII
464	eap	XI	626	aP:	X
+[252]				Act Jas	
465	ap	XI		1P†	
466	ap†	XI	627	apr†	X
467	apr	XV	628	apr †	XIV
468	apr†	XIII	629	ap	XIV
469	apr†	XIII	630	ap	XIV
479	eap	XIII	632	apr	XII-XIV
480	eap	1366	633	ap†	XIV
483	eap	1295	634	ap	1394
489	eap†	1316	635	ap	XI
491	eap†	XI	636	ap	XV
496	eap	XIII	637	ap	XII
498	eapr†	XIV	638	ap	XI
506	eapr†	XI	639	ap†	XI
517	eapr†	XI/XII	641	apK†	XI
522	eapr	1515/16	642	ap†	XV
536	eaP†	XIII	644	apP†	XIV
547	eap	XI	656	eapP†	XII
567	ap†	XIII	664	eapr	XV
582	eapr	1334	665	ap†	XIII
592	eap	1289	676	eap†	XIII
601	ap†	XIII	680	eapr	XIV
602	ap†	X	699	eapr†	XI
603	ap	XIV	712	eap	XI
604	ap	XIV	+[2164]		
605	apK	X	757	eapr†	XIII
606	apK	XI	794	eap†	XIV
607	apK	XI	796	eap†	XI
608	apK	XIV	801	eap	XV
610	aK†	XII	808	eapr	XII
611	ap†	XII	823	eap†	XIII
612	ap†	XII	824	eapr	XIV
613	ap	XII	876	ap	XII
614	ap	XIII	886	eaprPK†	1454?
616	apr	1434	901	eap	XI

(Cont.)

Number	Contents	Date	Number	Contents	Date
909	ap	1107	1103	ap	XIII
910	ap	1009	1104	ap	1702
911	aprPK†	XII	1105	ap	XV
912	ap	XIII	1106	ap	XIV
913	ap†	XIV	1107	ap	XIII
914	ap†	XIII	1108	ap†	XIII
915	ap†	XIII	1109	ap	XIV
916	aP:	XII	1115	ap	XII
	Act†		1127	eap	XII
917	ap	XII	1140	apr	ap:1242 r: XIII
919	apr	XI			
920	apr	X	1149	eap	XIII
921	ap	1332	1161	ap	1280
= [595]			1162	apK	XI
922	eapr	1116	1175	ap†	XI
927	eap	1133	1240	eap	XII
= [2618]			1241	eap†	XII
928	eap	1304	1242	eap	XIII
+ [2165]			1243	eap	XI
935	eapr	XIV	1244	ap	XI
941	eap	XIII/XIV	1245	ap	XII
945	eap	XI	1246	eap	?
956	eaP†	XVII	1247	eap	XV
959	eap	1331	1248	eapr	XIV
986	eapr†	XIV	1249	ap†	1324
996	eap	XIV	1250	eap†	XV
997	eap	XIII	1251	eap†	XIII
999	eap	XIII	1270	ap	XI
1003	eap	XV	1277	apPK†	XI
1022	ap	XIV	1287	eap	XIII
1040	eapr	XIV	1292	eap	XIII
1058	eap	1145	1297	eap	1290
1066	aK†	X	1311	ap	1090
1067	apP	XIV	1315	eap†	XII
1069	ap	1262	1319	eap†	XII
1070	ap	XIII	1352	eap	XIII
1072	eapr	XIII	= [1352a]		
1073	eaP	X/XI	+ [2163]		
1075	eapr	XIV	1354	eap	XIV
1094	eapr†	XIII	1359	eap	XII
1099	ap	XIV	= [2327]		
1100	ap†	1376	1360	apK	XII
1101	ap	1660	1367	eap	XV/XVI
1102	ap	XIV	1382	eap	XIV

(Cont.)

Number	Contents	Date	Number	Contents	Date
1384	eapr	XI	1637	eapr	1328
1390	eap	XII	1642	eap	1278
1398	eap†	XIII	1643	eap†	XIV
1400	eap	XIII	1646	eap	1172
1404	eap	XIII	1649	eap	XV
1405	ap	XV	1652	eapr†	XVI
1409	eap†	XIV	1656	eapP†	XV
1424	eapKr	IX/X	1668	eapr†	XI+XVI
1425	eap	XII	1673	eapP†	XII
1433	eap†	XII	1678	eaprK	XIV
1448	eap	XI	1702	eap	1560
1456	eap†	XIII	1704	eapr	1541
1482	eap	1404	1706	a† ? Act	XIII-XVI
1490	eap	XII	1717	ap	XIII
1501	eap	XIII	1718	ap	XII
1503	eapr	1317	1719	apr	1287
1505	eap	XII	1720	ap	X
1508	eap†	XV	1721	ap	XVII
1509	eap†	XIII	1722	ap	XIII
1518	ap	XIV	1723	ap†	XIV
1521	eap	1084	1724	ap†	XI/XII
1522	ap	XV	1725	ap	1367
1524	apK	XIV	1726	ap†	XIV
1525	ap†	XIII	1727	ap	XIII
1526	aP:	XII	1728	apr	XIII
	Act Jas		1729	apP†	XVI
1548	eap†	1359	1730	apP†	XI
1563	eapP†	XIII	1731	ap†	XIII
1573	eap†	XII/XIII	1732	apr	1384
1594	eap†	1284	1733	apr	XIV
1595	eap	XII	1734	apr†	1015
1597	eapr	1289	1735	ap†	X
1598	eap†	XIV	1736	ap	XIII
1599	eap†	XIV	1737	ap	XII
1609	eap	XIII	1738	apP†	XI
1610	ap	1463	1739	ap	X
1611	apr†	X	1740	apr	XII
1617	eapr	XV	1741	ap†	XIV
1618	eapP†	XIV	1742	ap	XIII
1619	eapP	XIV	1743	ap	XII
1622	eap†	XIV	1744	ap†	XIV+XVI
1626	eapr†	XV	1745	apr†	XV
1628	eap	1400	1746	apr	XIV
1636	eap†	XV	1747	apP†	XIV

(Cont.)

Number	Contents	Date	Number	Contents	Date
1891	ap	X	2201	eapr†	XV
+ [2162]			2218	ap	XVI
1892	ap	XIV	2221	eap	1432
1893	apr	XII	2225	ap	1292
1894	ap(r)†	XII	2233	ap†	XII
1895	aK†	IX	2242	apPK	XII
1896	ap	XIV/XV	2243	ap	XII
1897	apP†	XII/XIII	2249	ea†	XIV
1899	ap†	XIV	2255	eap	XVI
1902	ap†	XIV	2261	eap	XIV
1903	apr	1636	2279	ap†	XIV
1904	apP	XI	2288	ap	XV
1944			+ [1944]		
(see 2288)			2289	ap	XII
2005	apP†	XIV	2294		
2009	ap†	XVI	(see 2466)		
2080	apr†	XIV	2298	ap	XII
2085	ap	1308	2303	aP†	XIV
2086	ap	XIV	2327		
2088	a	?	(see 1359)		
2093	eap	XIII	2344	apr	XI
2115	ap	XII	2349		
2125	apPK	X	(see 1795)		
2127	eap†	XII	2352	eapr	XV
2131	eap	XV	2356	eap†	XIV
2136	eapr	XVII	2374	eap	XIII
2137	eaP	XVII	2378	ap†	1511
2138	apr†	1072	2385	eapP	XI
2143	ap	XII	2400	eap†	XIII
2147	eap†	XI/XII	2401	ap†	XII
2162			2404	eap	XIII
(see 1891)			2412	ap†	XII
2163			2423	apP†	XIII
(see 1352)			2431	apr(K)	1332
2164			2441	apP†	XIV
(see 712)			2448	ap†	XII
2165			2464	apP†	IX
(see 928)			2466	eap	1329
2175	eapP†	XIV	= [2294]		
2180	apP†	XIII/XIV	2473	a	1634
2191	eap	XII	2475	eap	XI
2194	ap	1118	2483	eap	XIII
2200	eapr	XIV	2484	ap†	1311/12

(Cont.)

Number	Contents	Date	Number	Contents	Date
2488	eaP	XVI	2704	ap	XV
2492	eap	XIII	2705	eap	XIV
2494	eapr	1316	2712	ap	XII
2495	eapr†	XV	2716	aprp†	XIV
2501	ap	XVI	2718	eap†	XIII
2502	eap	1242	2723	apr	XI
2505	ap†	X	2731	ap	XIV
2508	eap†	XIV	2733	apPK	1227
2511	eap	XIV	2737	eaP	1558/59
2516	eap†	XIII	2746	ap†	XI
2523	eap	1453	2772	apP†	XIII
2541	ap	XII	2774	eap	XIV
2544	ap	XVI/XVII	2776	aprK	XVII
2554	eapr	1434	2777	ap†	XIV
2558	ap	XIII	2778	aP†: Act	XII
2570	apP	XII	2797	aP†: Act	XIV
2576	apPK	1287	2799	apP†	XIV
2587	ap	XI	2803	eap†	XIV
2618			2805	ap†	XII/XIII
(see 927)			2815	ap	XII
2619	arP	XVIII	=[2ap]		
2625	aprp†	XII	2816	ap	XV
2626	apr†	XIV	=[4ap]		
2627	ap†	1202	2818	aK	XII
2652	ap	XV	=[36aK]		
=[1306]			2829	aP†: Act	XII
2653	eap†	XIV	=[1755b]		
2671	aP: Act	XII	2833	aP†: Act	XI
2674	ap	1651	=[2306d]		
2675	ap†	XIV	2848	aP: Act	XV
2691	eap	XV	2849	apr	XIV
2696	ap	XIII	2853	ap	X

[45]

DATES

The centuries in which the MSS. were written appear in the following list. If palaeographers offer varying dates I have accepted the earliest date. A MS. number followed by «a» indicates that this MS. contains Acts but not the Catholic epistles. ?a signifies that, although Acts survives without the Catholics, the MS. is very small and we have no clue

about its original contents: it could have once contained the Catholic epistles. «x» preceding the number indicates that the MS., although once registered, is now lost or known to have been destroyed (perhaps by fire or war) . There are 29 such MSS. Numbers in brackets denote MSS. that contain a partial text in Acts.

- 2nd.C.: 0189a? (= 1)
 3rd. C.: P^{29?}a 38?a 45?a 48?a 53?a 91?a ⁴(= 6)
 4th. C.: P^{8?}a 50?a 57?a 01 03 057?a (= 6)
 5th. C.: P^{56?}a 02 04 05a 048 076?a 077?a 0165?a 0166 0175?a 0236?a 0244?a (= 12)
 6th. C.: P^{33/51?}a 08a 066?a 093 0294?a (= 5)
 7th. C.: P⁷⁴ 096?a 097?a (= 3)
 8th. C.: P^{41?}a 044 095?a (= 3)
 9th. C.: 014?a 020 025 049 0120?a 0304?a 33 1424 1841 1862 1895 2464(= 12)
 10th. C.: 056 0140?a 0142 82 175 221 307 436 450 454 456 457 602 605 619 626 627 920 1066 1073a 1611 1720 1735 1739 1756a (x1760) 1829 1845 1851 1871 1874 1875 1880 1891 (2125⁵) 2505a 2853 (= 37)
 11th. C.: 35 42 81 (91) 93 x101 104 133 142 177 181 x241 250 256 302 312 314 325 398 424 437a 451 458 459 462 464 465 466 491 506 517 547 606 607 617 623 624 635 638 639 641 699 712 796 901 919 945 1162 1175 1243 1244 1270 1277 1311 (1384) 1448 1521 1668 1724 1730 1734 1738 1828 1835⁶ 1837 1838 1846 1847 1849 1854 1870 1888 1904 2138 2147 2344 2385 2475 2587 2723 2746 2833?a (= 82)
 12th. C.: 1 3 43 57 88 97 103 105 110 122 189 203 226 242 319 321 323 326⁷ 330 337 378 421 431 440 452 (463 ⁸) 610 x611 x612 x613 618 625 632 637 656 808 876 909 910 911 916a 917 922 927 [46] 1058 1115 1127 1240 1241 1245 1315 1319 1359 1360 1390 x1425 1433 1490 1505 1526 1573 1595 1646 1673 1718 1737

⁴ P³⁸ and P⁴⁸ seem to support the distinctively «Western» text of Acts, most prominently to be found in D 05.

⁵ Cursive 2125 completes the missing portions of uncial 014.

⁶ This MS. is ar, the r section having previously been registered as 2004—that number should appear as p only.

⁷ Dated 10th. C. in Nestle-Aland²⁷.

⁸ To be deleted according to *Liste*².

1740 1743 1752 1754 (1764a) x1795 (x1799⁹) 1853 1863 1867
 1868 1872 1885 1887a 1889 1893 1894 1897 x2115 2127 2143
 2191 2194 x2233 2242 2243 2289 2298 2401 2412 (x2448)
 2541 2570?a 2625 2671?a 2712 2778?a 2805 2815 2818 2829a
 (= 107)

13th. C.: 5 6 38 51 94 141 172 180 204 206 218 234 263 309 327 328
 x339 365 383 384 390 441a 455a 460 468 469 479 483 496
 536a 567 592 601 614 665 676 757 823 912 914 915 941 997
 999 1069 1070 1072 1094 1103 1107 1108 1140 1149 1161
 1242 1251 x1287 1292 1297 1352 1398 1400 1404 1456 1501
 1509 1525 1563 1594 1597 1609 1642 1706?a 1717 1719 1722
 1727 1728 1731 1736 1742 1758 1759 1780 x1785 1827 1839
 1843 1850 1852 1855 1857 1858 1860 1864 1865 1873 x2093
 2180 x2225 2374 2400 2404 2423 2483 2492 2502 2516 2558
 2576a 2627 2696 2713 2733 2772 (= 115)

14th. C.: 18 62 76 131 201 209 216 223 228a 254 255 257 308 363
 367 386 393 394 404 425 429 453 x480 489 498 582 603 604
 608 621 628 629 630 633 634 (644) 680 794 824 913 921
 928 935 959 986 996 1022 1040 1067 1075 1099 1100 1102
 1106 x1109 1248 1249 1354 1382 1409 1503 x1518 1524 1548
 1598 1599 1618 1619 1622 1637 1643 1678 1723 1725 1726
 1732 1733 1741 1744 1746 1747 1753 1761 1762 1765 X1766¹⁰
 x1809 1831 1832 1834 1842 1856 1859 1877 1886 1890 1892
 1896 1899 1902 2005a 2080 2085 2086 2175a 2200 x2249
 2261 2279 2303 2356 2431 2441 2466 2484 2494 2508 2511
 2626 2653 2675 2705 2716 2731 2774 2777 2797?a 2799 2803
 2849 (= 130)

15th. C.: 69 102 149 205 205^{abschrift} 322 x336 385 400 432 444 467 616
 636 642 664 801 886a 1003 1105 1247 1250 1367 1405 1482
 1508 x1522 1610 1617 1626 1628 1636 1649 1650 1745 1750
 1751 1757 1763 1767 1830 1876 2131 2201 2221 2288 2352
 2495 2523 2554 2652 2691 2704 2816 2848a (= 55)

⁹ The MS. is known to have been burned according to *Liste*² and *Text und Textwert* III, 1, where it should be signalled as such in the *Verzeichnis* with the figure (2).

¹⁰ This MS. is lost according to *Text und Textwert* III, 1 p. 15 but *Liste*² locates it in Sofia.

16th. C.: 61 90 296 522 1652 1702 1704 1729 1749 1768 x1833a 1861
1883a 1884a 2009a 2218 2255 2378 2488a 2501 2544 2737a
(= 22)

17th. C.: 956a 1101 1721 1748 1869 1903 2136 (2137a) 2473 2674
2776 (= 11)

18th. C.: 1104 2619a (= 2)

The date of the following three lost MSS. is not known: x1246 x1796?a
x2088 (= 3)

Most MSS. are not found in the critical *apparatus* of printed editions. NA²⁷ gives special attention (i.e. its category I) to all 13 papyri, to uncials 01 02 03 04 05 08 044 048 057 066 076 077 095 096 097 0140 0165 0166 0175 0189 0236 0244 0294 and to cursives 33 and 1739. «Consistently cited witnesses» of their second rank are: 020 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505—all are pre-12th. C. Their «frequently cited» MSS. are: 6 36 104 189 326 424 453 1704 1884 1891 2464 2495. [47]

Bilingual MSS. (in one case trilingual) containing Acts are: P⁴¹ g c; 05 g l; 08 g l; 256 g arm; 460 g l arab; 628 g l; 629 g l; 2136 g slav; 2137 g slav.

(g = Greek; l = Latin; c = Coptic; slav = Old Church Slavonic; arm = Armenian; arab = Arabic.)

CONTENTS

There are 612 MSS. containing Acts. (*Text und Textwert* lists only 607 MSS. containing Acts (0304, 205^{abschrift} 2848 2849 2853 are not included)

Some NT MSS. are complete (see Appendix 1) some contain only Acts (or Acts and Catholics). Others combine Acts (usually plus the Catholics) with p, or with ep, or with pr, or with r, or with e. (p = Pauline Corpus with Hebrews; e = Gospels; r = Revelation.) One may speculate about the motive why certain combinations of books were reproduced in one MS.

a: The following contain a which normally means a = Acts + c = Catholics but in practice most «a» MSS. now contain only Acts: 11 papyri, 20 uncials, 29 minuscules (41 «a» MSS. now lack the Catholics,—very few found in the chronological list above appear without a query. The only MSS. among them that seem to have included a alone without c are 08 437 1764 1796 1833 1883 1884 1887 2848) (= 60)

ap: 5 uncials, 250 minuscules (441 455 1756 2005 2009 2505 2570 2576 2778 lack c) (= 255)

eap: 2 uncials, 145 minuscules (228 2175 2737 lack c) (= 147)

eapr: 3 uncials, 59 minuscules (886 lacks c). See Appendix 1 below. (= 62)

apr: 1 uncial, 75 minuscules (= 76)

ea: 2 papyri, 1 uncial, 7 minuscules. (P^{45,33} 05 536 956 1073 2137 2488 lack c) (= 10)

ar: 2 minuscules (2619 lacks c) (= 2)

[48] The conventional division of MSS. into eapr is not helpful. In so far as «a» covers Acts and the Catholics we need to take care that a MS. said to contain «a» actually includes Acts. It will be seen from the above that there are 63 NT MSS. which are classified as «a» MSS. and which lack the Catholics. These are listed in the chronological table above with a or ?a after the number. The division eapcr would be more useful¹¹. *Liste*² for instance does not enable us to isolate all the MSS. that contain only Acts. Similar ambiguity may result from MS. listings in printed Greek New Testaments too.

56 «a» MSS. (including 2847—not in *Text und Textwert*) contain c but not a. This ambiguity explains some—but not all discrepancies—regarding «a» MSS. in the Alands' *Text*¹² particularly (c), (d) and (e) below. Sometimes the differing totals may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Alands had access to fewer MSS. when their *Text* volume was being prepared in the early 1980s: the judgement might explain the differing totals in (a), (b), (f).

a) The Alands draw attention to 273 MSS. containing ap (8 uncials + 265 minuscules); we have 5 uncials + 250 minuscules (= 255). 4 uncials and 16 minuscules have c not a—018 0209 0285 0296 356 422 615 622 918 1523 1836 1840 1848 1881 1882 2197 2318 2357 2527 2736.

b) The Alands note 2 uncials + 147 minuscules = eap. We have 2 uncials + 145 minuscules. 2310 1661 720 1495a are c.

¹¹ See *Text und Textwert* pp. 684–6.

¹² K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, ²1989) p. 78 (hereafter = *the Alands*).

- c) 2 papyri, 1 uncial, and 8 minuscules = ea according to the Alands (even though we might have expected them to give a total of 9 minuscules including 197ea (actually ec) and 832ea (actually ec)). Our list has 2 papyri, 1 uncial and 7 minuscules.
- d) The Alands identify 3 ar minuscules; we noted 2. They obviously included 2186ar which is in fact cr.
- e) The Alands refer to 18 papyri, 29 uncials and 40 minuscules as Apostolos MSS. alone. We note 11 papyri contain Acts alone: another 7 «a» papyri do not contain Acts. We also count 9 «a» uncials and 7 «a» minuscules that lack Acts. (Incidentally 10 «a» papyri, 18 «a» uncials and 13 «a» minuscules do not contain c. P⁷⁴ is the only «a» papyrus to contain Acts and the Catholics.)
- f) eapr. The Alands have 3 uncials and 57 minuscules (including 205^{abs}); we have 3 uncials and 59 minuscules—see Appendix I.

There is no dispute with the other categories (apr; ear): the Alands say 75 cursives have apr; we give 76 because we included the recently registered 2849.

This survey is concerned only with the continuous-text Greek MSS. that contain Acts. Acts, however, survives in many important early versions, and these of course also need to be taken into account in editing the text or plotting the influence and early history of the book. The Old Latin version in particular is an important source for the so-called Western text of Acts; many Old Latin MSS. are close to the Greek text represented in D 05. Acts is also represented in early Syriac and Coptic MSS.—especially important is the Middle Egyptian. [49]

The earliest Father to cite Acts explicitly seems to have been Irenaeus. (His citations show close allegiances to the «Western» text). Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen and Cyprian quoted Acts in the 3rd Century. Eusebius, Athenasius of Alexandria, Lucifer of Cagliari and Cyril of Jerusalem cited from Acts in the following century.

The allegiances of the MSS., versions and citations of Acts are beyond the scope of this paper, as too is the quest for the original texts of Acts (Alexandrian and «Western»).

APPENDIX 1

Manuscripts containing the whole of the New Testament (eapcr) are as follows¹³:

01 02 04
 18 35 61 69 141 149 175 180 ¹⁴ 201 205 205^{abschrift} 209¹⁴ 218 241 242 296
 339 367 386 498 506 517 522 582 664 680 699 757 808 824 922 935 986
 1040 1072 1075 1094 1248 1384 1424 1503 1597 1617 1626 1637 1652
 1668 1678 1704 1780 1785 2136 2200 2201 2352 2494 2495 2554

APPENDIX 2

Sequence.

The normal order of the gospels in Greek MSS. is Mt Mk Lk Jn. The so-called Western order, found in 05 W X Go Sy (p) OL is Mt Jn Lk Mk. The following sequences are known from versions or catalogue lists:

Mt Lk Mk Jn
 Jn Mt Lk Mk
 Mk Mt Lk Jn
 Mk Lk Mt Jn
 Jn Mt Mk Lk
 Mt Mk Jn Lk
 Mt Jn Mk Lk.

- [50] These final three have the effect of putting Luke and Acts together but only this last sequence is found in a Greek MS (888)¹⁵.

POSTSCRIPTUM

205 *abschrift* is now renumbered 2886.

¹³ Adjustments to my *Survey* p.xiii are: delete 886, add 1040 1248.

¹⁴ 180 eapcr need not qualify as a complete manuscript: e was written in the 12th C, acpr in 1273; 209 likewise was written at different times: 209 eap in the 14th C, r in the 15th C.

¹⁵ See B.M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) Appendix II.

CHAPTER NINE

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION COLLATED BY H.C. HOSKIER

Those who work on the text of the Book of Revelation often have recourse to the valuable apparatus compiled by H.C. Hoskier.¹ The numbers he assigned to the different Greek manuscripts he collated or cited are to a large extent, but not entirely, the same as those used by Tischendorf in his eighth edition or referred to in the Prolegomena.² Although Hoskier in his second volume (pp. 11–21) provided a conversion table from his numeration to that of Scrivener, Tischendorf (= ‘Gregory old’), Gregory (= ‘Gregory new’), and von Soden, this is by no means entirely accurate, and in the case of the ‘new’ Gregory system there are many queried references that have been clarified since Hoskier’s day.³ [100]

Occasionally in the *apparatus criticus* of modern Greek New Testaments and in other writings the old Hoskier numbers are to be found.⁴ As the mixing of differing classifications can be confusing, the subjoined handlist provides a complete list of all the manuscripts included by Hoskier. [101]

In Part One below, Table I gives the conversion from Hoskier to Gregory. Table II gives the conversion from Gregory to Hoskier, which is of special help if one wishes to make use of Hoskier’s valuable remarks about each manuscript in his first volume, or the generally accurate collations in his second volume. In Part Two below are given the conversions for those cursives where the Hoskier number differs from that found in Tischendorf’s eighth edition.

PART ONE

Table I

Hoskier	Gregory
<i>Uncials</i> (including papyri)	
Ⲁ	01
A	02
B	046
C	04
E	051
F	052
P	025
P. Oxy. 848	0163
P. Oxy. 1079	P18
P. Oxy. 1080	0169
P. Oxy. 1230	P24

Table I

Hoskier	Gregory	Hoskier	Gregory
<i>Cursives</i>			
1	1	25	149
2	82	26	506
4	91	27	517
6	314	28	2015
7	104	29	385
8	110	30	429b
9	325	31	2016
10	60	32	2017
12	181	33	218
13	42	34	424
14	69	35	2018
15 ⁵	2087	36	2019
16	336	37	432
17	35	38	2020
18	94	39	1918 ⁶
19	93	40	141
20	175	41	2021
21	2014	42	452
22	632	43	2022
23	367	44	180
24	627	45	459

Table I (*cont.*)

Hoskier	Gregory	Hoskier	Gregory
46	209	96	2041
47	241	97	498
48	242	98	522
49	2023	99	88
50	2024	100	2042
51	18	101	205 ^{abs}
52	337	102	582
53	467	103	2043
55	468	104	680
56	469	106	664
57	296	107	203
58	2025	108	1852
59	2026	109	256
61	2027	110	824
62	2028	111	1611
63 ⁷	2029	112 ⁹	2082
64	1934	113	792
65	2030	114	2060
67	2031	115 ¹⁰	866
68	2032	116 ¹¹	2063
69	628	117 ¹²	886
70	386	118	2066
72	2033	119	2067
73	2034	120	2056
74	617	121	2057
75	456	122	2058
77	2035	123	743+2419
78	1948	124	1828
79	2036	125	919
80	2037	126	920
81	2038	127	1841
82	177	128	1849
83 ⁸	339	129	1795 ¹³
84	368	130	1854
87	172	131 ¹⁴	1857
88	205	132	1862
89	699	133 ¹⁵	1870
90	2039	134 ¹⁵	1872
91	1957	135	1876
92	61	136	2044
93	1955	137	2045
94	201	138	2046
95	911	139	2047

Table I (*cont.*)

Hoskier	Gregory	Hoskier	Gregory
140	2048	184	2083
141	2049	186	1893
142	2004	187	1894
143	2050	188	2084
144	2051	189	2091
145	2052	190	1328
146	2053	191	1384
147	2054	192	1503
148	2055	193	2302
149	808	194	1352 ^b
150	757	195 ¹⁹	1785
151	922 ¹⁶	196 ²⁰	1795
152	2059	197 ²¹	1424
153	935	198 ²¹	1685
154	2061	199 ²¹	1760
155	2062	200	2329 ²²
155A	2350 ¹⁷	201	2351 ²³
156	616	202	2352 ²⁴
157	986	203	1778
158	2064	204	2595 ²⁵
159	2065	205	1806
160	1072	206	2436 ²⁶
161	1075	207	1597
162	2068	208	2186
163	2069	209 = 166	
164	2070	210	1719
165	250	211	1728
166	2305	212	1551
167	2071	213 ²⁷	2259
168 ¹⁸	2072	214	1704
169	2073	215	1006
170	2074	216	2254
171	2075	217 ²⁸	2258
172	2076	218	2256
174	2077	219	1859
176	2078	220	1732
177	2079	221	1733
178	2080	222	1734
179	2081	223 ²⁹	1617
180	620	224 ²⁹	1771
181	1888	225 = 222	
182	1094	226	1626

Table I (*cont.*)

Hoskier	Gregory	Hoskier	Gregory
227	1745	238 ³²	1777
228	1746	240	1678
229	1740	241	2286
230	1637	242	1864
230A = 224		243 ³³	1903
231 ³⁰	1652	244	1865
232	1774	245	2200
233	2196	246	2138
234 ³¹	2114	247	2136
235 ³¹	1668	248 ³⁴	2116
236 ³²	1775	250	1248(!)
237	1776	251	254

Of the above manuscripts the following are (according to Hoskier) copies of printed texts: (Hoskier numbers) 118, 168, 235, 247. His 57, 108, 141 are also possibly copies.

Table II

Gregory	Hoskier	Gregory	Hoskier
1	1	181	12
18	51	201	94
35	17	203	107
42	13	205	88
60	10	205 ^{abs}	101
61	92	209	46
69	14	218	33
82	2	241	47
88	99	242	48
91	4	250	165
93	19	254	251
94	18	256	109
104	7	296	57
110	8	314	6
141	40	325	9
149	25	336	16
172	87	337	52
175	20	339 ⁸	83
177	82	367	23
180	44	368	84

Table II (*cont.*)

Gregory	Hoskier	Gregory	Hoskier
385	29	1352 ^b	194
386	70	1384	191
424	34	1424 ²¹	197
429	30	1503	192
432	37	1551	212
452	42	1597	207
456	75	1611	111
459	45	1617	223
467	53	1626	226
468	55	1637	230
469	56	1652 ³⁰	231
498	97	1668 ³¹	235
506	26	1678	240
517	27	1685 ²¹	198
522	98	1704	214
582	102	1719	210
616	156	1728	211
617	74	1732	220
620	180	1733	221
627	24	1734	222
628	69	1740	229
632	22	1745	227
664	106	1746	228
680	104	1760 ²¹	199
699	89	1771	224
743	123	1774	232
757	150	1775 ³²	236
792	113	1776	237
808	149	1777	238
824	110	1778	203
(886 ¹²)	117)	1785 ¹⁹	195
911	(see 2040)	1795 ¹³	129
919	125	1806	205
920	126	1824	155 ^{abs} (155B)
922	151	1828	124
935	153	1841	127
986	157	1849	128
1006	215	1852	108
1072	160	1854	130
1075	161	1857 ¹⁴	131
1094	182	1859	219
1248(!)	250	1862	132
1328	190	1864	242

Table II (*cont.*)

Gregory	Hoskier	Gregory	Hoskier
1865	244	2043	103
1870 ¹⁵	133	2044	136
1872 ¹⁵	134	2045	137
1876	135	2046	138
1888	181	2047	139
1893	186	2048	140
1894	187	2049	141
1903 ³³	243	2050	143
1918 ⁶	39	2051	144
1934	64	2052	145
1948	78	2053	146
1955	93	2054	147
1957	91	2055	148
2004	142	2056	120
2014	21	2057	121
2015	28	2058	122
2016	31	2059	152
2017	32	2060	114
2018	35	2061	154
2019	36	2062	155
2020	38	(2063 ¹¹)	116)
2021	41	2064	158
2022	43	2065	159
2023	49	2066	118
2024	50	2067	119
2025	58	2068	162
2026	59	2069	163
2027	61	2070	164
2028	62	2071	167
2029	63 ⁷	2072 ¹⁸	168
2030	65	2073	169
2031	67	2074	170
2032	68	2075	171
2033	72	2076	172
2034	73	2077	174
2035	77	2078	176
2036	79	2079	177
2037	80	2080	178
2038	81	2081	179
2039	90	2082	112 ⁹
2040 (= 911)	95	2083	184
2041	96	2084	188
2042	100	2087 ⁵	15

Table II (*cont.*)

Gregory	Hoskier	Gregory	Hoskier
2091	189	2259 ²⁷	213
2114 ³¹	234	2286	241
2116 ³⁴	248	2302	193
2136	247	2305	166
2138	246	2329	200
2186	208	(2349 = 1795)	
2196	233	2350	155A
2200	245	2351	201
2254	216	2352	202 ³⁵
2256	218	2436	206
2258	217 ²⁸	2595	204

PART TWO

For those cursives where the Hoskier numbers differ from both the Gregory system and also the Tischendorf numeration, the following three-fold conversion tables are provided. They occur in the *numerical* sequence of (a) Gregory; (b) Hoskier; (c) Tischendorf.

[108]

Table III

(a) Gregory	Hoskier	Tischendorf
203	107	181
205 ^{abs}	101	109
250	165	121
254	251	122
256	109	102
582	102	103
680	104	107
699	89	108
757	150	110
792	113	111
808	149	112
824	110	113
(866	115	114)
(886	117	115)
922	151	116
986	157	117
1072	160	118

Table III (*cont.*)

(a) Gregory	Hoskier	Tischendorf
1075	161	119
1094	182	120
1611	111	105
1852	108	129
1859	219	371
1865	244	380
1888	181	495
1893	186	500
1894	187	501
1903	243	513
2043	103	101
2056	120	149
2057	121	150
2058	122	151
2060	114	153
(2063	116	157)
2066	118	160
2067	119	161
2082	112	182
2084	188	506
2091	189	511

Table IV

(b) Hoskier	Gregory	Tischendorf
89	699	108
101	205 ^{abs}	109
102	582	103
103	2043	101
104	680	107
107	203	181
108	1852	129
109	256	102
110	824	113
111	1611	105
112	2082	182
113	792	111
114	2060	153
(115	866	114)
(116	2063	157)
(117	886	115)

Table IV (*cont.*)

(b) Hoskier	Gregory	Tischendorf
118	2066	160
119	2067	161
120	2056	149
121	2057	150
122	2058	151
149	808	112
150	757	110
151	922	116
157	986	117
160	1072	118
161	1075	119
165	250	121
181	1888	495
182	1094	120
186	1893	500
187	1894	501
188	2084	506
189	2091	511
219	1859	371
243	1903	513
244	1865	380
251	254	122

Table V

(c) Tischendorf	Gregory	Hoskier
101	2043	103
102	256	109
103	582	102
105	1611	111
107	680	104
108	699	89
109	205 ^{abs}	101
110	757	150
111	792	113
112	808	149
113	824	110
(114)	866	(115)
(115)	886	(117)
116	922	151
117	986	157

Table V (*cont.*)

(c) Tischendorf	Gregory	Hoskier
118	1072	160
119	1075	161
120	1094	182
121	250	165
122	254	251
129	1852	108
149	2056	120
150	2057	121
151	2058	122
153	2060	114
(157)	2063	(116)
160	2066	118
161	2067	119
181	203	107
182	2082	112
371	1859	219
380	1865	244
495	1888	181
500	1893	186
501	1894	187
506	2084	188
511	2091	189
513	1903	243

ENDNOTES

[111]

¹ *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse: Collations of All Existing Available Greek Documents with the Standard Text of Stephen's Third Edition together with the Testimony of Versions, Commentaries and Fathers. A Complete Conspectus of all Authorities*, 2 vols. (London: Quaritch, 1929).

² C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Editio Octavo Critica Maior, vol i and ii (Leipzig: Giesecke and Devrient, 1869–72); vol. iii, *Prolegomena*, by C.R. Gregory (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894). It is to be noted that Hoskier did not collate every manuscript of Revelation available to him.

³ Even the useful 'Sigelkonkordanz 1' in K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, i, *Gesamtübersicht* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1963) pp. 321–33 (= ANTF 1) does not answer all the problems.

⁴ E.g. Souter at Rev. 1:10 (146); 1:14 (8, 200); 1:15 (200); 2:8 (166, 222); 5:17 (105) and Merk⁹ at Rev. 1:6 (24); 6:1 (217); 13:3 (38) and possibly at 19:6 (67) unless ²67 (i.e. 2067) is intended.

⁵ Not a text.

⁶ This incorporates Gregory 866b (= Hoskier 115; Tischendorf 114). See Hoskier i. 388.

- ⁷ Copy of 62 according to Hoskier.
- ⁸ Hoskier claims Hort had collated a few chapters of Revelation before the bulk of this manuscript was destroyed by fire.
- ⁹ Copy of 103.
- ¹⁰ See above, Hoskier 39.
- ¹¹ Not a continuous text manuscript, only a commentary. See also K. Aland *Materialen zur neutestamentlichen Handschriftenkunde*, chap. I 'Korrekturen und Ergänzungen zur Kurzgefassten Liste' (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1969), p. 12 (= ANTF 3).
- ¹² Not a text.
- ¹³ Not 2324 (as predicted incorrectly by Hoskier, i. 440). 1795 incorporates 2349.
- ¹⁴ Ignored by Hoskier.
- ¹⁵ Not available to Hoskier.
- ¹⁶ Not 1380 *pace* Hoskier, i. 515.
- ¹⁷ Not 2325 (ii. 17). Copy of 155 (i.e. 155B) = Gregory 1824.
- ¹⁸ Not used by Hoskier.
- ¹⁹ Not used by Hoskier.
- ²⁰ Cf. Hoskier 129.
- ²¹ Not used by Hoskier.
- ²² Not 2321 which is a gospel manuscript (ii 19).
- ²³ Not 2322 which is a gospel manuscript, (ii: 19). B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1971) at Rev. 18:3; 19:13 refers to 2321 and at Rev. 13:10 to 2322 (cf. also Souter², *Sigla*, p. xviii). Hence my confusion in reviews (see R. Borger, *Th.R.* 52 (1987), pp. 50 f.)
- ²⁴ Not 2323 (ii. 19).
- ²⁵ This is not 598 (Hoskier, ii. 20). 598 = Venice Marciana 494 formerly Gr. 331 (fol. 1–58), and does not contain Revelation. 2595 = Venice S. Marco 331 (fol. 248–63).
- ²⁶ See ZNW xlv (1964), p. 195.
- ²⁷ Not used by Hoskier.
- ²⁸ 217 = copy of 172.
- ²⁹ One is a copy of the other according to Hoskier.
- ³⁰ Neglected by Hoskier because the manuscript contains only the opening verses of Revelation.
- ³¹ Neglected by Hoskier.
- ³² Only a fragment.
- ³³ The first four and a half chapters are a copy of the Aldine edition.
- ³⁴ Inaccessible to Hoskier.
- ³⁵ Gregory 2419 is cited in Hoskier as ms. 123 with no distinction between this portion and the remainder of 123 (= Gregory 743).

CHAPTER TEN

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION

The latest edition of the definitive register of Greek New Testament manuscripts¹ lists about 5000 manuscripts divided into the conventional, although somewhat arbitrary, categories of papyri, uncials, cursives and lectionaries. One obvious unique feature of Revelation is that, because of the history of the canon, readings from this book are not included in the orthodox churches' lectionary calendar and hence there are no lectionaries containing Revelation. [116]

When we turn to the continuous-text manuscripts—papyri, uncials and cursives—we see that there are relatively few manuscripts that contain the entire New Testament canon. I count only 61 such manuscripts: see Appendix 3. Mostly what was produced was only a section of the canon, the gospels or the Pauline corpus for example. The majority of our surviving manuscripts happen to be gospel books.

303 manuscripts contain the Book of Revelation. Some manuscripts contain only Revelation, some contain other portions of the New Testament alongside Revelation. The proportions are as follows:

- (a) 61 eacpr (3 uncials; 58 cursives (minuscules) including 205^{abschrift}).
Note that (i) 1248 does contain r: *Liste*¹ stated that this manuscript lacked r, and (ii) 1040 eacp has been added to this category of complete manuscripts because it seems to incorporate the manuscript listed as 2041 r; this relationship has been suggested in *Liste*.²
- (b) 1 eapr (1 cursive (886) which lacks the catholic epistles).²
- (c) 76 acpr (1 uncial; 75 cursives)
- (d) 3 cpr (cursives)
- (e) 10 er (cursives)

¹ K. Aland (ed.), *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, second edition (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1994) = *ANTF* 1 (hereafter *Liste*²).

² 886 has sometimes been listed as a complete NT manuscript. Hoskier I p. 259 is not prepared to accept that the manuscript contains a proper text of Revelation at all! Nor is it in Schmid.

- (f) 2 ea/cr (cursives)
 (g) 5 a/cr (cursives, including 1835 to which r in 2004 pr belongs)
 (h) 6 pr (cursives, excluding 2004)
 [117] (i) 139 r only (6 papyri; 7 uncials; 126 cursives, excluding 2041 see (a) above)
 (e = Gospels; a = Acts; c = Catholic Epistles; p = Pauline Epistles; r = Revelation; a/c = Acts and/or Catholic Epistles)

Six papyri contain parts of Revelation. That figure accords with comparable support in other parts of the New Testament. When we turn to the category of uncials on parchment, Revelation is poorly represented in our surviving manuscripts. Only 11 uncials contain this book. As Adela Yarbro Collins notes in her article “Book of Revelation” in the *Anchor Dictionary of the Bible* the latest Nestle edition of the critical Greek text of the New Testament claims to include all the uncials among its constantly cited witnesses in its critical apparatus of Revelation: for other books only a selection is regularly cited.

For Revelation the figures are as follows:

- (a) Papyri³
 P¹⁸ Rev 1:4–7 (3rd–4th C)
 P²⁴ Rev 5:5–8; 6:5–8 (4th C)
 P⁴³ Rev 2:12–13; 15:8–16:2 (6th–7th C)
 P⁴⁷ Rev 9:10–11:3; 11:5–16:15; 16:17–17:2 (3rd C)
 P⁸⁵ Rev 9:19–10:1, 5–8 (4th–5th C)
 P⁹⁸ Rev 1:13–20 (? 2nd C)
 (b) Uncials⁴
 01 4th C eapcr
 02 5th C eapcr
 04 5th C eapcr (lacks Rev 1:1–2; 3:20–5:14; 7:14–17; 8:5–9:16; 10:10–11:3; 16:13–18:2; 19:5–end.)
 025A 9th C apcr—palimpsest (Rev 1:1–16:11; 17:2–19: 20:10–22:5)
 046 10th C r

³ K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and London: Brill, 1989) (=A&A *Text*) refers to 5 papyri (P⁹⁸ was not then known to them), of which 4 are fragmentary; in fact all are fragmentary!

⁴ A&A *Text* p. 78 says there are 7 uncials with Revelation of which 3 are fragmentary. The true figure seems to be that 6 are fragmentary.

051A 10th C (Rev 11:15–13:1; 13:4–22:7; 22:15–21)

052A 10th C (Rev 7:16–8:12)

0163 5th C (Rev 16:17–20)

0169 4th C (Rev 3:19–4:3)

0207 4th C (Rev 9:2–15)

0229 8th C—palimpsest (Rev 18:16–17; 19:4–6)

(A = manuscripts whose texts agree with Andreas' commentary—see further below)

The bulk of our witnesses are cursives (see Appendix 1). Another feature of the manuscript inheritance for the text of Revelation is that editors are dependent to a large extent on these medieval manuscripts and have few early texts to use. [118]

It is interesting to note that some of the manuscripts that contain r and another portion of the NT have Revelation by a different hand: 180 (acpr added to the 12th C e in the year 1273), 181, 209 (a century or more separates the writing of Revelation from the rest of the manuscript), 429 (likewise), 1857 (likewise), 1140. 1668 eapc is an 11th C MS. to which a paper copy of Revelation was added in the 16th Century. It is not clear why these additions are not allocated another number, as is the case with 60 and 2821: 2821 is the new number assigned to 60 r—previously 60 er was seen as one manuscript. The gospel section only is now catalogued as 60 e.

All this suggests that the decision to expand a codex by adding Revelation was an afterthought, although in the case of 94 aprc the part with r is 12th C on parchment, bound with a 13th C manuscript on paper. Also 2004 pr has r dated 11th C; this part of the manuscript is now to be catalogued as part of the 11th C 1835 ac (the Pauline section of 2004 is from the 12th C).

Let us now look at the dates of the surviving manuscripts. The oldest fragment seems to be P⁹⁸ in Cairo, which is dated to the 2nd C. P⁴⁷ is 3rd C. P¹⁸ is usually dated 3rd–4th C. The oldest complete text is 01 ⌘ (4th C). Other 4th C manuscripts are P²⁴ 0169 0207. The remaining early manuscripts are:

4th–5th C P⁸⁵

5th C 02 04 0163

6th–7th C P⁴³

8th C 0229

9th C 025 and cursives 1424 1841 1862 (the oldest cursives with Rev).

Dates of later manuscripts, for which only the total numbers are given, now follow. (If there is controversy and two dates are given in *Liste*² I have taken the earlier date):

- [119] 10th C 3 uncials; 11 cursives
 11th C 36⁵
 12th C 27
 13th C 31
 14th C 60
 15th C 56
 16th C 41
 17th C 14
 18th C 5
 19th C 2

We see a significant number of late manuscripts—some written well after the invention of printing. H.C. Hoskier's monumental two-volume work,⁶ in which he analyzed the text of some 200 cursives containing Revelation, gives the opinion that some of these late witnesses were copied from printed editions anyway. Among them he lists 296 1668 1894 1903 2049 2066 2072 2075 2116 2136.

Paper gradually superseded parchment. The oldest manuscripts of Revelation on paper are 13th C (there are eight from that century). Manuscripts on paper were quite common in the 14th C (we have some 35); paper manuscripts were usual in the 15th C. All subsequent manuscripts from the 16th–19th C are on paper.

While looking at the categories of manuscripts of Revelation it may be worth recording that manuscripts on Patmos include eighty New Testament MSS. at St John's Monastery and one (cursive 2639) elsewhere. Those in the monastery include three uncials 022 0150 0151 and 35 lectionaries. It is interesting to see that only two manuscripts on Patmos contain Revelation—2080 2081!

In addition to Hoskier's encyclopedic work, another indispensable reference work on the text of the Apocalypse is Josef Schmid's two-part *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*.⁷ His work

⁵ All manuscripts from this date onwards are cursives.

⁶ *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse* (London: Quaritch, 1929).

⁷ Munich 1955–6. See G.D. Kilpatrick's review article in *Vigiliae Christianae* 13 (1959) pp. 1–13.

drew attention to another distinctive feature of this Biblical book: the frequent addition of commentary with the text. Mostly the commentary is that by Andreas of Caesarea in Cappadocia, written 563–614. In fact another distinctive feature of Revelation is that, unlike most parts of the New Testament, where the majority of medieval witnesses belong to the Koine or Byzantine text-type, here the later manuscripts generally divide into a) the Koine text-type and b) Andreas' text-type.

Schmid enumerates 83 witnesses (including uncials 025 051 052) which he calls Andreas manuscripts. Not all the manuscripts actually contain the commentary (e.g. 35 88 205 205^{abschrift} 209 632).⁸ Another 13 manuscripts have an abbreviated form of the commentary. Fifteen manuscripts give a group of scholia abstracted from it and a few other manuscripts have notes taken from it. All the cursives are shown in Appendix 1 below with A following the number in the list, regardless of the extent of the Commentary contained in the manuscript. [120]

Aland's *Liste* refers to other manuscripts of Revelation that contain a commentary: here any commentary or scholia are by another father. Sometimes 'K' in the *Liste* refers to: a) the earliest surviving commentary—that by Oecumenius, written in the early 6th C (2053 2062 and its duplicate 1824 as well as the sister manuscript 2350);⁹ b) Arethas, whose commentary, written in the 10th C, follows a Koine text although his commentary is based on that by Andreas (91 2075 2077); c) Maximus the Peloponnesian, who wrote a commentary in 1798 A.D. (2114 2402). The following manuscripts contain other, sometimes unidentifiable, commentaries or scholia: 886? 911 (= 2040) 919 1775 1776 1777 1859 2035 (*pace* Hoskier who thought the commentary was Andreas'; it is in fact a Greek translation of the 14th C Italian commentary by Federigo de Venezia) 2072 2116 2351 2402 2403 2408 2419 2434 2594 2638 2743 2759.

Modern scholarship, especially since the time of von Soden and Hoskier, has recognised that in broad terms there are four main text-types in Revelation: 1) AC Oecumenius 2057 2062 2344, 2) \aleph^a Andreas, 3) Koine, 4) P⁴⁷ \aleph^* . These differ from the text-types identified in the rest of the New Testament and is another mark of this book's unique textual history. Another distinction is that, according to Schmid, all

⁸ Manuscripts such as these do not have 'K' (= Kommentarhandschrift) following the contents in *Liste*².

⁹ The commentary by Andreas and the commentary of Oecumenius are both to be found in 1678, 2058 and 1778.

these types can be traced back to at least the 4th C and, unlike the rest of the New Testament, there is no ecclesiastically approved text of Revelation. The main differences in methodology and even in ideology between editions favouring the Textus Receptus and those favouring Westcott and Hort (to simplify the characteristics of the two main sorts of our printed testaments) are less clear cut in Revelation.

As far as the use made of the manuscripts in our printed editions is concerned, we turn first to the Patriarchal edition of 1904. Antoniadis' preface indicates that he used 24 manuscripts in editing Revelation. Of these 14 can readily be identified: 1626 1704 1732 1733 1734 1740 1854 1857 1859 1870 1872 2076 2084 2258. His Koutloumousiou 83 is now identified as cursive 1860—but this is a manuscript lacking Revelation!

- [121] The most popular modern 'critical' edition, Nestle-Aland²⁷ uses all six papyri, all uncials except 052 (which is listed in its appendix, but does not appear in its apparatus), and the following cursives: 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 2329 2344 2351 2377. Other manuscripts appear subsumed beneath the sigla M^A (= manuscripts containing the Andreas commentary) and M^K (= manuscripts of the Koine text-type). Generally speaking, this edition favours—although by no means exclusively—the text of A C Oecumenius. In other parts of the New Testament Nestle-Aland favours **κ** and finds AC inferior witnesses.

The Greek New Testament according to the Majority Text (edited by Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad (Nashville, Camden, New York, ²1985) in an extensive discussion in its Introduction pp. xxxii–xli justifies its preference for Hoskier's Koine group. Its text is based on readings from those manuscripts (some seventy three cursives and uncial 046). This Introduction gives examples why it, in contrast to NA, finds many of the distinctive readings of AC inferior.

The following manuscripts containing only **r** are found in one or more of the following printed editions (Bover-O'Callaghan, Merk⁹, Souter², BFBS², UBS⁴, Nestle Aland²⁷, Vogels⁴): 1773 1775 1778 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022 2023 2026 2027 2028 2029 2030 2031 2033 2034 2036 2037 2038 2039 (2041) 2042 2043 2044 2045 2046 2047 2048 2049 2050 2051 2053 2054 2055 2056 2057 2058 2059 2060 2061 2062 2063 2064 2065 2066 2067 2068 2069 2070 2071 2073 2074 2075 2076 2078 2081 2082 2083 2084 2087 2091 2196 2254 2256 2258 2259 2286 2302 2305 2329 2351 2377 2432 2814.

The following manuscripts that contain Revelation alongside another portion of the New Testament do not occur in the apparatus of any printed edition. (Minor exceptions are noted.) Those marked with an asterisk are listed in NA²⁷ in their category M (= majority) and as such it is arguable that they may have been considered in Revelation; no other edition refers to them. (C indicates that the manuscript is a complete NT but seems not to have been used in any printed edition in any part of the NT): 205^{abschrift} 632* 757* 824* 886 935 (Merk only) 986 (Merk only) 1064 1140 1248* 1328* 1503* 1551 1617* 1652C 1668C* 1685 1719 (Souter only) 1733* 1740* 1745* 1746* 1757* 1771* 1780C 1785C 1795 1857 1864 1865 1870* 1903 1948* 2136C 2201C 2323 2431* 2494* 2619* 2625 2626* 2643 2656 2723* 2776 2794 2847 2849. The following manuscripts containing only r seem not to have been used in the apparatus of printed editions: 1774 1776 1777 1806 1824 2024 2025 2032 2035 2036^{abschrift} 2052 2072 2077 2079 2114 2116 [122] 2350 2361 2402 2403 2408 2419 2428 2429 2433 2434 2435 2436 2449 2493 2594 2595 2638 2648 2663 2664 2667 2669 2672 2681 2743 2759 2821 2824 2843 2845 2846 2855.¹⁰

My searching through the critical apparatuses and my work on the *Liste* are now at an end for the time being. I may perhaps be allowed to reiterate the couplet added by the lazy scribe of cursive 2050. Having written out Revelation, or at least part of it—in the manuscript he seems to have deliberately missed 14 chapters and jumped from the end of 5 to the end of 19—he then added:

ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσι πατρίδα βλέπειν
οὕτω καὶ οἱ γράφοντες τέλος βιβλίου.

APPENDIX 1

These are the 286 cursives containing Revelation (A after the number signifies that the text agrees with Andreas' commentary):

18* 35*A 42*A 61* 69* 82*A 88*A (1:1–3:13) 91* 93* 94*A 104* 110* 141* 149* 172*A 175* 177* 180* 181*A 201* 203* 205*A 205^{abschrift}*A 209*A 218* 241* 242* 250*A 254*A 256* (Greek-Armenian bilingual) 296* 314* 325* 336* (missing) 337* 339* (destroyed by fire) 367* 368*

¹⁰ See my *A Survey of Manuscripts used in Editions of the Greek New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1987) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 57).

[123] 385* 386* 424*A 429* 432* 452* 456* 459* 467* 468*A 469* 498* 506* 517* 522* 582* 616*A 617* 620* (Greek-Latin bilingual) 627* (3:20–4:10) 628* (Greek-Latin bilingual) 632*A 664* 680* 699* 743*A 757*A 792* 808* 824*A 886* 911*A (supersedes 2040) 919* 920* 922* 935* 986* 1006* 1064 1072*A 1075*A 1094* 1140 1248*A 1328* 1384*A 1424 1503*A 1551*A 1597*A 1611* 1617* 1626* 1637*A 1652 (opening verses only) 1668* 1678*A 1685A 1704* 1719* 1728* 1732*A 1733* 1734* 1740*A 1745*A 1746*A 1757 1760 1769 1771 1773A 1774* 1775* (1:1–13; 4:4–7; 19:19–21) [1776* (1:1–3)] [1777*] 1778*A 1780A 1785 1795 (superseding 2349) 1806 1824 1828*A 1841* 1849* 1852* 1854* 1857 1859* 1862*A 1864*A 1865* 1870A 1872 1876*A 1888*A 1893* 1894* 1903* 1918* (incorporating 866b) 1934* 1948* 1955* 1957* (the supplement to B 03) 2004*A (r = part of 1835) 2014*A 2015*A 2016* 2017* 2018*A 2019*A 2020*A 2021* 2022*A (14:17–18:20) 2023*A 2024* 2025* 2026*A 2027* 2028*A 2029*A 2030* (16:20–22:21) 2031*A 2032*A (1:11–2:20; 3:16–6:9; 7:17–9:5; 21:18–22:21) 2033*A 2034*A 2035* 2036*A 2036^{abschrift}* A 2037*A 2038*A 2039* 2041*A 2042*A 2043*A 2044*A 2045*A 2046*A 2047*A 2048* [2049*] 2050* (chapters 6–19 missing) 2051*A 2052*A (1:1–7:5) 2053* 2054*A 2055*A 2056*A 2057*A 2058*A 2059*A 2060*A 2061* 2062* [2063*A] 2064*A 2065*A [2066A] 2067*A 2068*A 2069*A 2070*A 2071*A [2072*] 2073*A 2074*A 2075* 2076* 2077* 2078* 2079* 2080*A 2081*A 2082*A 2083*A 2084*A [2087] (3:3–4:8 written within uncial E 07 cf. 2419 below) 2091*A [2114 in Modern Greek] [2116(lost)] 2136* 2138* 2186*A 2196* 2200* 2201 2254*A 2256* 2258* 2259*A (13:14–14:15) 2286*A 2302*A 2305*A 2323 2329* 2344 2350* 2351* (1:1–13:18; 14:4–5) 2352*A 2361A (4:10–5:6; 6:17–7:2) 2377 [2402 (in Modern Greek)] 2403 2408 (5:1–5) 2419 (3:1–4:8 written within manuscript 743) 2428A 2429A 2431A 2432A [2433A] 2434 2435A (1:1–8:6)* 2436 [2449 (in Modern Greek)] 2493 (1:1–13:5) 2494 2495 2554 2582 2594 2595*A 2619 2625 2626 2638 (1:1–15:7) 2643 2648 (19:11–21:9) 2656 2663 2664 2667 2669 2672 2681 2716 2723 2743 (1:1–6:10) 2759 2776 2794 (1:1–22:12) 2814*A (formerly 1 r) 2821*A (formerly 60 r) 2824* (formerly 1352b) 2843 2845 2846 2847 2849 2855 (12:12–13:13).¹¹ [Schmid also includes BN supp. gr. 475, a manuscript of Revelation with the Andreas commentary written in 1643 on paper. This manuscript does not have a Gregory-Aland number. It seems to have been based on a printed edition].

[Manuscript numbers enclosed in square brackets are said in *Liste*² to be manuscripts whose inclusion as proper New Testament manuscripts in a strict sense is doubtful for varying reasons, some of which are given above].

¹¹ Ox Bodl Barocc gr 212 fl08–130 contains the commentary of Andreas but no text.

Hoskier knew of the following manuscripts:

Papyri: P¹⁸ P²⁴

Uncials: 01 02 04 025 046 051 052 0163 0169

Cursives: asterisked in the list above.¹²

APPENDIX 2

These are the 126 or 127 cursives containing only the Book of Revelation:

1773 1774 1775 1776 1777 1778 1806 1824 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018
 2019 2020 2021 2022 2023 2024 2025 2026 2027 2028 2029 2030 2031
 2032 2033 2034 2035 2036 2036^{abschrift} 2037 2038 2039 [2041]¹³ 2042 2043 [124]
 2044 2045 2046 2047 2048 2049 2050 2051 2052 2053 2054 2055 2056
 2057 2058 2059 2060 2061 2062 2063 2064 2065 2066 2067 2068 2069
 2070 2071 2072 2073 2074 2075 2076 2077 2078 2079 2081 2082 2083
 2084 2087 2091 2114 2116 2196 2254 2256 2258 2259 2286 2302 2305
 2329 2350 2351 2361 2377 2402 2403 2408 2419 2428 2429 2432 2433
 2434 2435 2436 2449 2493 2594 2595 2638 2648 2663 2664 2667 2669
 2672 2681 2743 2759 2814 2821 2824 2843 2845 2846 2855

APPENDIX 3

Manuscripts containing the whole of the New Testament (eapcr) are as follows:¹⁴

01 02 04
 18 35 61 69 141 149 175 180¹⁵ 201 205 205^{abschrift} 209¹⁵ 218 241 242 296
 339 367 386 498 506 517 522 582 664 680 699 757 808 824 922 935 986
 1040 1072 1075 1094 1248 1384 1424 1503 1597 1617 1626 1637 1652
 1668 1678 1704 1780 1785 2136 2200 2201 2352 2494 2495 2554

¹² For a conversion from the Hoskier numbers to the Gregory-Aland numbers and *vice versa* see my "Manuscripts of the Book of Revelation Collated by H.C. Hoskier", *JTS* 40 (1989) pp. 101–11 (Reprinted here as chapter 9, above). Hoskier lists but, for various reasons, did not use 886 1424 1652 1685 1760 1775 1776 1785 1795 1806 1824 1857 1870 1872 2072 2087 2114 2116 2259.

¹³ 2041 r + 1040 eapc = 1040 eapcr.

¹⁴ Adjustments to my *Survey* p. xiii are: delete 886, add 1040 1248.

¹⁵ 180 eapcr need not qualify as a complete manuscript: e was written in the 12th C, acpr in 1273; 209 likewise was written at different times: 209 eapc in the 14th C, r in the 15th C.

POSTSCRIPTUM

205^{abs} is now renumbered 2886; 2036^{abs} is now renumbered 2891.

To the papyri containing Revelation add P¹¹⁵ that contains substantial portions of Rev 2, 3, 5, 6, 8–15 (see *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXVI (1999)).

In addition to those manuscripts containing only Revelation from the New Testament the following lists supplement the figures given in the article:

- b) 78 minuscules (plus majuscule P.025) contain a/cpr: 42 82 88 91 93 94 104 110 172 177 181 203 250 254 256 314 325 336 337 385 424 429 432 452 456 459 467 468 469 616 617 620 627 628 632 911 919 920 1140 1611 1719 1728 1732 1733 1734 1740 1745 1746 1757 1760 1769 1795 1828 1841 1849 1852 1854 1857 1862 1864 1865 1870 1872 1876 1888 1893 1894 1903 2080 2344 2431 2625 2626 2716 2723 2776 2849 2138
- c) 1 minuscule (886) contains eapr not c
- d) 10 minuscules contain er (seen possibly as an unusual pairing, combining two Johannine writings):
792 1006 1014 1328 1551 1685 2643 2656 2794 2323
- e) 2 minuscules contain ea/cr:
368 743
- f) 4 minuscules contain a/cr:
1859 2619 2847 2186
- g) 7 minuscules contain pr:
1771 1955 1918 1957 1934 1948 1835 + 2004

HYBRID MANUSCRIPTS

More work needs to be done on describing the contents of manuscripts containing Revelation (particularly those containing only Revelation from among canonical texts). Again, this may say something about how this manuscript was regarded and used, especially by a Greek church that only belatedly accepted Revelation into its canon and which excludes readings from Revelation in its ecclesiastical lectionary. The following writings occur in manuscripts that also contain only Revelation from the New Testament canon:¹⁶

¹⁶ See B.M. Metzger, "The Future of New Testament Textual Studies" in S. McKendrick and O. O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (London and New Castle, 2003) pp. 201–8 esp. p. 205.

046 (Gregory of Nyssa) 2023 (Gregory of Nazianzus) 2025 (Job, Justin Martyr, *Exhortation to the Greeks*) 2027 (Basil, Maximus the Peloponnesian, Theodoret) 2030 (Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Peter of Alexandria) 2050 (ascetic sermons, writings by Chrysostom and other works) 2054 (Life of St Elias and Life of St Gregory the Armenian) 2055 (Dionysius the Areopagite, Basil, *Contra Eunomium*) 2059 (Dionysius the Areopagite) 2060 (Chrysostom) 2070 (Treatises of Isaac the Syrian, Song of Songs with the commentary of Psellus) 2078 (Chrysostom, John of Damascus) 2329 (Hippolytus on Daniel). The following manuscripts also contain non-Biblical material: 2015 2016 2017 2018 2020 2022 2024 2038 2042 2048 2049 2051 2052 2054 2056 2069 2074 2077 2083 2196 2428 2434 2436 2493 2663.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RECENT OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

A) SIX NEW PAPYRI OF MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

The Oxyrynchus Papyri Volume LXIV edited by E.W. Handley, [105] U. Wartenberg, R.A. Coles, N. Gonis, M.W. Haslam, and J.D. Thomas (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997), ISBN 085698129X (= *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 84), contains the *editio princeps* of fragments numbered 4401–4441. We are concerned here with the six fragments numbered 4401–4406, containing parts of Matthew's Gospel in Greek. They are introduced and edited by Professor J. David Thomas of the University of Durham.

Details about the contents and age of the manuscripts are as follows.

- 4401 Matthew 3:10–12; 3:16–4:3*.¹ 3rd C.
- 4402 Matthew 4:11–12, 22–23*. 3rd–early 4th C.
- 4403 Matthew 13:55–56; 14:3–5*. Late 2nd–early 3rd C.
- 4404 Matthew 21:34–37, 43, 45(?)*. Late 2nd C.
- 4405 Matthew 23:30–34, 35–39. Late 2nd–early 3rd C.
- 4406 Matthew 27:62–64; 28:2–5*. 5th–6th C.

Five of these new papyri are relatively early; previously we knew of twelve papyri and five parchment MSS. of Matthew dated by scholars to pre-400 A.D. Five of those papyri are, in Thomas' view (p. 1), not later than the mid third century: P¹, P⁴⁵, P⁵³, P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷⁺⁷⁴, P⁷⁷. We may perhaps suggest adding to his list P⁷⁰, a papyrus of Matthew also possibly dated to the mid third century.

All the new papyri are from codices.

¹ Asterisks in the list apply to verses not previously found in Greek on papyrus. Matthew 3:10–12 is in Coptic in the bilingual (Greek-Coptic) MS. P⁹⁶. Matthew 4:23 occurs in P. Oxy 1077, an amulet.

4401–4404 = P¹⁰¹–P¹⁰⁴; 4406 = P¹⁰⁵. 4405 is another part of a leaf already published as P. Oxy 2683 (= P⁷⁷).² Thomas (p. 6) alerts us to [106] the possibility that 4403 may also be another part of the same codex.

4406 was used as an amulet: a piece of string is still attached to the papyrus.

As is usual in this series, each text is introduced, is edited and furnished with full critical notes. Photographs of one side of each papyrus appear on one plate (Plate I) at the end of the volume. The other sides are shown in Plate II.

This short article merely highlights the variants in these fragments that have a relevance to our printed critical *apparatus*. I identify either new readings that could be added to NA²⁷ or evidence for existing variants that may be supplemented by the addition of these newly published fragments. In all instances Thomas', often cautionary, notes need to be taken into account.

3:10 εἰς: πρὸς 4401^{vid}—a unique reading.

3:11 υμᾶς βαπτίζω: add 4401 to \aleph B W.

3:11 Omit οπισθῶ μου 4401—a unique reading. There is no Greek evidence, but it may well be that the words were absent from D. (The Greek column is missing but d omits the words.) NA²⁷ shows the omission by a d sa^{mss} Cyp; (Thomas adds Hilarius).

3:11 βαστασαι: κυψας λυσαι 4401^{vid} (in agreement with the Markan parallel, Mark 1:7).

3:16 ὡς: add 4401 to D 983.

3:16 Omit καὶ³: add 4401^{vid} to \aleph^* B.

3:17 ηυδοκησα: add 4401 to \aleph^* C L P W.

4:1 Omit ο: add 4401^{vid} to B Δ 700.

4:2 μῆ ἡμερας: 4401—a unique reading in Greek; cf. later in the sentence 4401 and \aleph D 892 support the order τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας.

4:3 ο πειραζων ειπεν αυτω: add 4401 to \aleph B W f¹ f¹³.

4:22–23 Several variants are possible here, but MS. 4402 is so lacunose that no reconstruction should figure in an *apparatus*.

13:55 Ιωσης: add 4403 to K L W.

14:4 Omit αυτω: add 4403 (a “guaranteed” reading, according to Thomas (p. 7))—to 565 pc.

² 4405 adjoins a few lines of 2683 and helps confirm or contradict assumptions made about the contents of the lines when 2683 was published. In 1.10 (Matt. 23:34) read εγω; 11.25–26 read επισυναγειν with \aleph^* or (better) επισυναξαι, as in the Lukan parallel, Luke 13:34.

21:44 Because of the tentative reconstructions, little can be used confidently for text-critical purposes, but Thomas is inclined to the view that 4404 did not contain Matthew 21:44 (that is, in support of the reading of D 33 OL), although he warns (p. 9) that “. . . it (is) hazardous to use this papyrus as evidence in support of the omission of the verse”.

23:30 P⁷⁷ is already (correctly) in the *apparatus* of NA²⁷ in favour of the sequence κοινωνοι αὐτῶν (with \aleph C L).

23:34 Omit καὶ (before ἐξ αὐτῶν): add 4405 (P⁷⁷) to \aleph B W f¹ f³ [107] (v.l. καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν: C D L maj.).

23:37 See fn. 2. Add v.l. ἐπεισυναξαί: 4405 (P⁷⁷)—a unique reading.

23:37 τα νοσσια αὐτης:³ add 4405 (P⁷⁷) to \aleph^* B¹ D W.

23:37 ὀρνιξ ἐπισυναγει: 4405 (P⁷⁷)—a unique reading. All other MSS. of Matthew have the Attic ὀρνις but in the Lukan parallel, Luke 13:34, v.l. ὀρνιξ is read by \aleph D W. The sequence has the support of \aleph B D, but C W maj. read 2, 1 (P⁷⁷ is shown in the *apparatus* of NA²⁷ for the v.l. concerning word order.)

23:39 Possibly 4405 (P⁷⁷) supports ἐρημος (as shown in NA²⁷), but it seems to omit either οἶκος or ὑμῶν.

27:62 Add τον (before Πειλατον): 4406—a unique reading.

28:3 ὡς: add 4406 to \aleph B D f¹ 892.⁴

28:4 ἐγενήθησαν: add 4406 to \aleph B C^{*} D.

³ Possibly αὐτης is to be understood.

⁴ Thomas is uncertain if 4406 reads ὡς or ὡσει at Matt. 28:4. Merely because 4406 has ὡς unambiguously in 28:3 is no guarantee that our scribe is consistent. Manuscripts L and W, for example, exhibit one form in 28:3 and the alternative in the verse following.

B) FIVE NEW PAPYRI OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

- [209] The latest volume of Oxyrhynchus papyri¹ contains the *editio princeps* of five New Testament fragments, four containing the Gospel of John and one a portion of the Epistle of James. The John fragments (P. Oxy. 4445, 4446, 4447, 4448) have been edited by W.E.H. Cockle; the James fragment (P. Oxy. 4449) has been edited by R. Hübner. As is usual in these publications, the transcript is accompanied by an introduction and textual and palaeographical notes. Supplementary text in the transcriptions has been taken from Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* 27th edition (= NA²⁷); the *apparatus criticus* has been assembled from NA²⁷, Tischendorf⁸, Jülicher IV and the IGNTP volume on the papyri of John. Photographs of both sides of these five papyri are published on Plates II and III, and Plates IV and V.

The International Greek New Testament Project published an edition of all the papyri containing the Fourth Gospel known in 1995.² At that time there were twenty three (counting P⁴⁴ as two separate MSS., P^{44A} and P^{44B}). With the four new Oxyrhynchus fragments the total number of papyri containing John rises to twenty seven, of which nine are certainly from Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 208 + P. Oxy. 1781 = P⁵; P. Oxy. 1228 = P²²; P. Oxy. 1596 = P²⁸; P. Oxy. 1780 = P³⁹; P. Oxy. 3523 = P⁹⁰, and the new MSS.). The contents, age and Gregory-Aland numbers assigned to the new fragments of John are as follows:

- [210] P. Oxy. 4445. John 1:29–35; 40–46. Third century. (= P¹⁰⁶)
P. Oxy. 4446. John 17:1–2; 11. Third century. (= P¹⁰⁷)
P. Oxy. 4447. John 17:23–24; 18:1–5. Third century. (= P¹⁰⁸)
P. Oxy. 4448. John 21:18–20; 23–25. Third century. (= P¹⁰⁹)

¹ M.W. Haslam *et al.* (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXX (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1998) ISBN 0856981303 (= *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 85). The volume contains papyri numbered P. Oxy. 4442–P. Oxy. 4493. Three are fragments of the LXX (P. Oxy. 4442: Exodus 20:10–22; P. Oxy. 4443: Esther E16–9:3); P. Oxy. 4444: Sapientia Salomonis 4:17–5:1). Also of interest to readers of *NovT* is P. Oxy. 4469, an amulet of the apocryphal letter of Abgar to Jesus in Greek.

² W.J. Elliott and D.C. Parker, *The New Testament in Greek IV The Gospel according to St. John* volume 1 *The Papyri* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) (= *New Testament Tools and Studies* 20).

These are among the earliest witnesses to this gospel.

The fragment of James (P. Oxy. 4449) has been assigned the Gregory-Aland number P¹⁰⁰. It contains James 3:13–4:4; 4:9–5:1. P. Oxy. 4449 is dated third or fourth century and is the oldest surviving MS. containing these verses of the epistle. All of its readings are already familiar to us as this papyrus was included at the last minute in the first fascicule of *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* IV (= ECM).³

This review article indicates the extent to which the new fragments of John and of James may influence our printed *apparatus*.

The following readings seem to be confidently read. (I ignore most of those suggested readings that are not secure and which, if placed in an *apparatus*, would need to be suffixed with *vid.* An important exception is at 1:34 (sec.) I include a selection of the MS. witnesses cited in the volume.

1. P. Oxy. 4445

- John 1:30 υ]περ with P^{5, 66, 75} **Ⲭ*** B C* W^s
 1:31 εγω ηλθον with C* 157 *pc.*
 1:32 om. λεγων with **Ⲭ*** and Lvt(e) only
 1:32 ως with most MSS. including P⁷⁵
 1:33 εαν: a unique reading. All printed editions consulted by the editor read αν; none notes the existence of *v.l.* εαν
 1:34 εορακα with P⁷⁵ *et al.*; against εωρακα in **Ⲭ** A B C *et al.*
 1:34 Probably our papyrus supports the reading ο εκλεκτος with **Ⲭ*** *alone* among Greek witnesses according to NA²⁷, although the editor knows of “a few minuscules”. The rest read ο υιος
 1:41 om. ουτος. There seems to be no space for ουτος. If this [211] deduction is correct, then this is a unique reading by our papyrus, although there is possibly support from Lvt(b e)
 1:42 ηγαγεν with P^{66*, 75} **Ⲭ** B
 1:42 om. τον before ιησουν—another unique reading
 1:42 εμβλε]ψας with P⁶⁶ **Ⲭ** B against P⁷⁵ *et al.* εμβλεψας δε and W^s *pc* και εμβλεψας

³ Reviewed in *NovT* 40 (1998), pp. 195–203 (Reprinted here as chapter 28a.) See ECM IV, 1 part 1 p. x or p. xii.

- 1:42 ιωαννου with P^{66, 75} **Σ** B* against ιωνα A B² maj.
 1:45 om. τον before υιον with P^{66, 75} **Σ** B
 1:46 ναζα]ρεθ against P⁶⁶ **Σ** A B (ναζαρετ)
 1:46 και¹ against **Σ** pc. Lvt(a b e) (om. και¹)

In general, P. Oxy. 4445 supports the early papyri, **Σ** and B, although not slavishly so. It is therefore a characteristic early Alexandrian witness.

2. P. OXY. 4446

- John 17:1 In the lacuna following επ]αρας the available space does not allow for τους οφθαλμους αυτου in full. The editor suggests αυτου might not have stood in this papyrus. If so, P. Oxy. 4446 would agree with Lvt(aur b e) Lvg om. *suos*
- 17:2 δως with W L against readings found in **Σ***, **Σ**^c, or B maj.
- 17:2 α[υ]τω³ with **Σ*** W 0109 against the reading αυτοις of P⁶⁶ **Σ**² B
- 17:11 An addition is found after επχ[ομαι in ll. 2–4 of which only a little remains. The editor suggests the reading [ουκετι ειμι εν] τω [κοσμω και εν] τω [κοσμω ει]μι reminiscent of the long reading of D Lvt(d r¹) cf. Lvt(c), although he admits that this addition is not certain. The papyrus does not seem to support the long reading found in D after σου.
- 17:11 ω εδωκας with **Σ** W against the readings of P⁶⁰ B, and of D* and of D¹

[The agreements with W and the disagreements with **Σ** and P⁶⁶ are noteworthy.]

3. P. OXY. 4447

There are many ambiguities in the decipherment of this small and lacunose scrap, but the support of this MS. may be added to the following *v.ll.* in an *apparatus*:

- John 17:24 ο] δεδω[κ]ας with P⁶⁰ \aleph B D *al.* against ους δεδωκας [212]
 A C L maj. on the assumption that the preceding πατερ
 (or πατηρ) was written out in full
- 17:24 εδ[ωκας with B K N against δεδωκας² in \aleph A C D *pler.*
- 18:3 Spacing prevents this MS. supporting και εκ των
 φαρισαιων of \aleph^{*2} D L or και των φαρισαιων of B. Thus
 P. Oxy. 4447 seems to agree with \aleph^1 A C W in reading
 και φαρισαιων
- 18:4 δε with \aleph D W fam. 1 (against ουν P⁶⁰ A B)
- 18:4 εξελθων ειπε]ν. The nu indicates the reading supports \aleph
 A C² maj. rather than εξηλθεν και λεγει in B C* D

4. P. OXY. 4448

This is the first papyrus to contain verses 21:24–25. (P⁵⁹ fragment XII contains 21:18–20, 23, but as P⁵⁹ is one of the Nessana MSS. we may state that P. Oxy. 4445 is the first from Egypt to contain this chapter: it is certainly our oldest witness to the verses.)

- John 21:18 αλλοι with P⁵⁹ \aleph D W (and therefore plural verbs following) against MSS. supporting singular verbs following αλλος
- 21:20 om. δε (after επιστραφεις) with A B C W against + δε
 P^{59vid} \aleph
- 21:23 τι] προς σ[ε supporting \aleph^1 A B C* W against \aleph^* C^{2vid} (om.
 τι προς σε) and D (προς σε)

5. P. OXY. 4449

With the exception of James 4:3 (sec.) only readings relevant to the *apparatus* in Nestle-Aland²⁷ are included: a full *apparatus* is of course now to hand in *ECM*.

- James 3:14 om. αρα against A P (add αρα)
- 3:14 τη καρδια with A B C (\aleph *pc* read plural)
- 3:16 om. και (after εκει) with B C, against \aleph A (om. και)
- 3:17 Spacing suggests om. εργων against C (add εργων)

- [213] 3:17 και (before ανυποκριτος) with K L against \aleph A B (om. και)
 4:2 om. και before ουκ εχετε with A B against \aleph (add και)
 4:3 αιτειτε¹ (om. δε) with \aleph A B
 4:3 αιτειτε² with 69 631 (*pace* Hübner *OP* 65 p. 24) and therefore a reading unique in majuscules—all other MSS. read αιτεισθε
 4:4 om. μοιχοι και with \aleph^* A B
 4:9 μετατραπη[τω] with B P against μεταστραφητω in \aleph A
 4:10 του $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ with L 049 056 maj. against \aleph A B (om. του)
 4:11 η κ[ρ]εινων (for και κρινων) with \aleph A B *al.*
 4:12 om. ο (before νομοθετης) with P⁷⁴ B P against \aleph A maj. (+ ο)
 4:13 ποιησομεν with B P against ποιησωμεν in \aleph A
 4:14 γαρ¹ with P⁷⁴ \aleph^2 A maj., but Hübner points out that, with the omission by P. Oxy. 4449 of η before ζωη, its sequence [τοια] γαρ ζωη is unique among Greek witnesses.⁴

The text of P. Oxy 4449 could now be added to *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus* 1 *Die Katholischen Briefe* (= ANTF 6) and to *Text und Textwert* 1 *Die Katholischen Briefe* (= ANTF 9, 10A, 10B, 11).

We congratulate the editors of these fragments, and the editorial board of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, for presenting this material to us with the clarity and precision we expect in this distinguished series. I note only one typographical slip in the material examined here: on p. 11 read *altlateinischer*.

⁴ Hübner may be correct (*OP* 65 p. 25) that P. Oxy. 4449 did not follow \aleph in omitting ατμς γαρ εστε later in this verse, but in view of other variants (e.g. by B, or by 33 shown in NA²⁷) his reconstruction of the missing words in James 4:14 in line 17 is not necessarily correct.

C) SEVEN RECENTLY PUBLISHED NEW TESTAMENT FRAGMENTS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

The series, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (= *OP*) has in three successive volumes (LXIV, LXV, LXVI) substantially increased the number of published Greek New Testament papyri. As a result the highest numbered papyrus is P¹¹⁵. [209]

The latest volume, LXVI, publishes the *editio princeps* of 6 papyri and one parchment manuscript (numbered P¹¹⁰⁻¹¹⁵ and 0305 respectively in the Gregory-Aland listing). The Gregory-Aland numbers are now conveniently printed in the subheadings to each new manuscript described here. *OP* LXVI¹ contains texts from Matthew, Luke, Acts, Romans, Hebrews and Revelation. Although most are small fragments, one of the mss. of Revelation contains a significant amount of text. We are very grateful to the editors of the series for having introduced so many New Testament fragments recently.

The new texts are:

4494 (= P¹¹⁰) illustrated on plates 1 and 2. 4th century. Matthew 10:13–14 (*pace* p. ix), 25–27. Edited by W.E.H. Cockle.

4495 (= P¹¹¹) illustrated on plates 1 and 2. 3rd century. Luke 17:11–13, 22–23. Edited by W.E.H. Cockle.

4496 (= P¹¹²) illustrated on plates 1 and 2. 5th century. Acts 26:31–32; 27:6–7. Edited by T. Finney.

4497 (= P¹¹³) illustrated on plates 1 and 2. 3rd century. Romans 2:12–13, 29. Edited by W.E.H. Cockle. [210]

4498 (= P¹¹⁴) illustrated on plates 1 and 2. 3rd century. Hebrews 1:7–12. Text is found on only one side but the editor suggests the fragment is from a codex; two other mss. of Hebrews come from a roll (P¹² P¹³) although their other sides contain writing. Edited by W.E.H. Cockle.

4499 (= P¹¹⁵) illustrated on plates 3–8, 11–12.² 3rd–4th century. Revelation 2:1–3, 13–15, 27–29; 3:10–12; 5:8–9; 6:5–6; 8:3–8; 8:11–9:5;

¹ N. Gonis *et al.*, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXVI (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1999), ISBN 0856981400, xii + 248 pp. and 20 pages of plates (= *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 86).

² It is strange that these illustrations are interrupted by the illustrations of P. Oxy. 4501 and 4502 as plates 9 and 10!

9:7–16; 9:18–10:4; 10:8–11:5; 11:8–15; 11:18–12:5; 12:8–10, 12–17; 13:1–3, 6–16; 13:18–14:3; 14:5–7, 10–11, 14–15; 14:18–15:1; 15:4–7. There are 26 fragments, labelled by the editor 4499a–4499z, from 9 different leaves. 22 of the fragments come from consecutive pages. Edited by J. Chapa.

4500 (= 0308) illustrated on plates 1 and 2. 4th century. Revelation 11:15–16, 17–18. Edited by W.E.H. Cockle.

As is usual in *OP*, the texts are carefully set out with introductory comments by the editor, and with explanatory notes. The photographs are clear although it would be helpful to have references to the extent of the text given alongside the illustrations.

I shall again attempt to identify readings in the new manuscripts which could appear unambiguously³ as witnesses in an *apparatus criticus*.

1.) P¹¹⁰

Matt. 10:14 ἐξε]ρχομενων υμων a unique reading. All other witnesses read εξερχομενοι.

Matt. 10:14 πο]λεως η κωμης. om. η κωμης B maj.

Matt. 10:14 om. εκεινης with D *lat*.

Matt. 10:14 εκμαξα[τε. A unique reading; all other witnesses read εκτιναξατε.

Matt. 10:14 απο: another unique reading. All other mss. read εκ or have no preposition.

Matt. 10:25 επεκαλεσαν (or εκαλεσαν) βελζεβουλ. Yet another unique reading; all other Greek mss. have the order 2,1.

[211] 2.) P¹¹¹

Luke 17:12 απηντησ[αν with P⁷⁵ A B maj against υπηντησαν & 063 fam¹ fam¹³.

Luke 17:22 του επ[ιθυμησαι with D fam¹³ 157 against οτε επιθυμησετε (or οτε επιθυμησητε) with P⁷⁵ & A B *pler*. But later in the same verse οψ]εσθε is read *with* P⁷⁵ B against οψεσθαι with & A D.

³ Those readings requiring a superscript *vid* after the ms siglum have not been included here.

3.) P¹¹²

Acts 27:6 βρα[δυναλοουντε]ς εν δε ικαν[αις ημεραις. This seems to be a unique reading: all other witnesses support the word order 2,4,3,5,1.

4.) P¹¹³

No readings to be added.

5.) P¹¹⁴

Heb 1:9 the words σου ο Θ̄C are visible, which suggests a unique reading: all other witnesses read σου after θεος².

Heb 1:12 + ως ιμα]τι[ον with P⁴⁶ & A B against om. with D¹ K L P Ψ maj.

6.) P¹¹⁵

On the basis of his preliminary investigations, the editor is of the opinion that his ms. belongs to the AC Oecumenius type of text. In a private communication D.C. Parker, whose advice on the New Testament texts is acknowledged by the editors in their Preface, has calculated on the basis of 165 places of variation that P⁴⁷ differs from P¹¹⁵ in 79 (with lacunae in 34 of the 165); & differs in 84; A differs in 56; and C in 43 (with lacunae in 28 of the 165).

Among the papyri P¹¹⁵ has the most substantial portions of Revelation after P⁴⁷, which contains nearly 8 chapters. There are relatively few papyri containing this book (P⁹⁸ 2nd century is the oldest followed by P⁴⁷ 3rd century; P¹⁸ 3rd–4th century; P²⁴ 4th century; P⁸⁵ 4th–5th century; P⁴³ 6th–7th century cf. 0169 (4th century); 0207 (4th century); 0163 (5th century); 0229 (7th–8th century and 0308 (see below). & is the oldest complete text of Revelation.

Rev 8:5 βρον]ται κα[ι α]φωναι κα[ι α]φ[τραπαι⁴ with & 046 against 1,2,5,4,3 A 052 or 3,4,1,2,5 P maj^A or 1,2,5 1006.

⁴ The sequence of these nouns in this ms. is unique at Rev 11:19 (see *OP* LXVI p. 32 re lines 202–203) and cf. also Rev 4:5.

- Rev 8:13 α]ετου with **Σ** A 046 maj^K against αγγελου P maj^A.
- Rev 9:3 α]υτοις with **Σ** 046 against αυταις A maj.
- Rev 9:20 δυ]νανται with P⁸⁵ **Σ** A C against δυναται P⁴⁷ maj^K.
- [212] Rev 10:1 η with P⁴⁷ **Σ*** **Σ**^c C 046 against om. **Σ**¹ P maj^A.
- Rev 10:9 βιβλαρ]ιδιον with P⁸⁵ A^c C against βιβλιον with P⁴⁷ **Σ**; βιβλαριον A*; βιβλιδαριον maj.⁵ On the strength of the reading]ιδιον here the editor is prepared to read βιβλαριδιον in his reconstructions at verses 2, 8, 10; his notes on 10:8 (at line 127 page 30) state that βιβλιον would be too short for the space (but see notes on line 108).
- Rev 10:10 εγε]μ[ι]σθη with **Σ*** C against επικρανθη in P⁴⁷ A.
- Rev 11:3 περιβεβλημ]ενοι with **Σ**^c C against περιβεβλημενους **Σ*** A P 046.
- Rev 11:12 φω]νην μεγα[λην . . . λεγουσαν with A maj^K against φωνης μεγαλης . . . λεγουσης P⁴⁷ **Σ** C.
- Rev 11:15 λ]εγουσαι with P⁴⁷ **Σ** C maj^A against λεγοντες A 046 maj^K.
- Rev 12:3 πυρ]ρος μεγ[ας or πυ]ρος μεγ[ας with P⁴⁷ **Σ** C 046 against μεγας πυρρος or μεγας πυρος read by A P 051 2351.
- Rev 12:4 ις[τηκε probably intended to be the pluperfect ειστηκει, a tense that commends itself in this context (cf. Rev 7:11 ειστηκεισαν). This unique reading stands against both εστηκεν read by P⁴⁷ **Σ** A 046 and εστηκει read by C.
- Rev 12:9 ο οφης ο μ]εγας ο αρχαιος with 1006 against 3,4,1,2,5,6 A C and 3,4,2 **Σ** and 1-4 P⁴⁷.
- Rev 13:8 εγ τ[ω] ante βιβλ(ι)ω with **Σ**^c A maj against om. def. art. with **Σ*** C.
- Rev 13:18 χις (i.e., *chi*, *iota*, *stigma* used as numerals) with C (and mss. known to Irenaeus) against the numeral 666 with P⁴⁷ **Σ** 051 maj.
- Rev 14:6 κατοι[κουντας with A 051 against καθημενους P⁴⁷ **Σ** C.

⁵ In *NovT* 12 (1970) pp. 391-8 I investigated on p. 396 the variant readings for the various diminutive forms of βιβλος in "Nouns with Diminutive Endings in the New Testament" and favoured the originality of βιβλαριδιον, a form known only in the NT according to Liddell-Scott, in Rev 10:2, 8, 9, 10 against the variants βιβλιον, βιβλαριον, βιβλιδαριον (being, perhaps, an attempt to rewrite the diminutive with an ending known from classical writers), and even βιβλιδιον. In NA²⁷ βιβλαριδιον occurs 3 times (all in Rev 10) and βιβλιον 22 times, including Rev 10:8 (The non-diminutive form βιβλος occurs only twice (Rev 3:5; 20:15), appropriately of the Book of Life).

7.) 0308

Rev 11:16 κα]θημενο[ι with A 051 maj^A against καθηνται P⁴⁷ ²ⲥ C or
οι καθηνται ⲥ^{*} maj^K.

Rev 11:17 + και (after ην) with P⁴⁷ ⲥ^{*} C against om. ²ⲥ A maj.

Rev 11:18 και visible after τοις δουλους σο]υ: a unique reading
(but cf. Rev 10:7 δουλους τους προφητας where P⁴⁷ ⲥ add και after
δουλους).

* * *

As usual we commend the editors, printers and publishers for their [213]
care in preparation and presentation and their clarity in displaying the
inevitably complex details. On pages 20–21, however, the line number-
ing has gone astray. From line 10 to line 222 move the figures up one
line.

D) FOUR NEW PAPYRI CONTAINING THE FOURTH GOSPEL
AND THEIR RELEVANCE FOR THE APPARATUS CRITICUS

- [674] The latest volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*¹ contains the *editio princeps* of four previously unpublished fragments of John's Gospel 4803–4806. These have been registered by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster as P^{119–122}. Thus we now have 118 separate papyri containing parts of the New Testament,² 31 of which contain the Fourth Gospel. Fifty one New Testament papyri have come from Oxyrhynchus and many of these have been published quite recently.

Volume LXXI contains introductions to all four papyri and to each one separately. As is usual, there is a transcription with accompanying textual and palaeographical notes. There is a photographic plate of each side of all four papyri. Each comes from a codex.

The dates of the newly published fragments are:

- 4803 third century
[675] 4804 fourth century
4805 third century
4806 fourth-fifth century?

Because of their early date it is expected that readings from these witnesses will appear in the critical apparatus of the Nestle text and in other editions. Their fragmentary and lacunose character obviously means that their editor, Juan Chapa, has had to reconstruct much of the missing wording. If spacing permits a guaranteed reading, then the evidence can be presented in an apparatus with the conventional superscript *vid* following the ms. siglum. In the following survey I indicate all places where the inclusion of the variants read by the new witnesses may be added with certainty (because the reading is legible) or with near-certainty if the editor's reconstruction is plausible. It must be left to a further enquiry to assess the textual affinities and allegiance of these papyri.

¹ R. Hatzilambrou, P.J. Parsons and J. Chapa (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LXXI (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 2007) = *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* 91.

² The following numbers have been superseded as they belong to another previously registered number. P¹⁴ P⁵⁸ P⁶⁷ and probably P⁶⁴ (=P⁴).

1. POxy 4803 = P¹¹⁹

John 1:21–28; 38–44

[Other papyri containing parts of this chapter are P⁵ P⁵⁵ P⁵⁹ P⁶⁶ P⁷⁶ P¹⁰⁶.]

1:25. αὐτο]ν τι οὖν. This visible text shows that this ms. omits καὶ εἰπον αὐτῷ with P^{5vid} Lvt l.

1:26. Not surprisingly, the papyrus conforms to the normal spelling of the name Ἰωάννης.

1:26. βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς has been conjectured here by Chapa (see P¹²⁰ below).

1:26–27. ο]υκ οἰδατ[ε. The spacing does not allow a reconstruction οὗτος ἐστὶν with G Ψ nor αὐτοὺς ἐστὶν before (ο) οπισθω with A C^c maj. Thus P¹¹⁹ supports P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵.

1:27. Spacing does not allow for the addition after ἐρχομενος of the longer reading (+ (ος) ἐμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν) found in A C^c fam13 maj from John 1:30. Thus the shorter text agrees with P⁵ P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵ ⋈ B C*.

1:27. οὐκ εἰμι ἐγώ is visible making P¹¹⁹ agree with P^{66c} B fam13. The ἐγώ is not omitted (see below P^{120vid}) with P^{5vid} P^{66*} P⁷⁵. ἐγώ οὐκ εἰμι is read by A Θ fam1 maj.

1:27. The initial letter of ἀ[ξίος is visible, showing that our ms. (like P¹²⁰) does not support ἱκάνως, read by P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵.

1:42. Chapa offers a suggested restoration of the missing words in this verse after ἀ]υτον π[ρος that agrees with P^{66*} P⁷⁵ P¹⁰⁶ ⋈ B but it is only speculative. The letters visible make it unlikely that P¹¹⁹ supports either καὶ before ἠγάγεν with A Θ maj or οὗτος before ἠγάγεν with P^{66c} G fam1.

2. POxy 4804 = P¹²⁰

[676]

John 1:25–28; 33–38; 42–44

1:26. There is no λεγὼν before ἐγώ. This means P¹²⁰ agrees with P⁷⁵ fam1.

1:26. Chapa restores by adding ὑμᾶς after βαπτίζω with N Δ Θ 063 086^{vid} 565 1424 and P¹¹⁹ (see above).

1:26. P¹²⁰ omits δε with P⁵⁹ P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵ ⋈ B. Thus it cannot support μεσος δε ὑμῶν (as in A C² W^{supp} Θ maj) found in the reconstruction of this verse in P¹¹⁹ offered by Chapa.³

³ Chapa p. 51. 7 could have referred to the omission of δε by P¹²⁰.

1:27. P¹²⁰ reads ο οπισω with P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵ ⲥ C* maj and does not agree with *om.* ο by ⲥ* B.

1:27. There is no support here for the *v.l.* adding before (ο) οπισω either ουτος εστιν with G Ψ or αυτος εστιν read by A C^c N* fam13 28 maj. Similarly P¹²⁰ does not agree with the reading αυτος εστιν ον ειπον found in S. See P¹¹⁹ above.

1:27. P¹²⁰, like P¹¹⁹, does not support *v.l.* + (ος) εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν after ερχομενος in A C^c fam13 maj.

1:27. αξιος is read here. Like P¹¹⁹ P¹²⁰ does not support ικανος read by P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵.

1:27. P¹²⁰ definitely omits εγω immediately before αξιος with P⁵ P^{66*} P⁷⁵ ⲥ C. P¹²⁰ therefore differs from P¹¹⁹ in this. (The spacing does not allow εγω ουκ ειμι found in A Θ fam1 maj.)

1:28. The α visible before εγενετο in the fragment suggests that P¹²⁰ does not agree with P⁶⁶ ⲥ* (εγενετο εν βηθανια). (Spacing precludes the α being the final letter of ταυτα.) The place name in P¹²⁰ cannot be determined. It could be βηθανια, βηθαραβα or βηθαβαρα, although Chapa is inclined to accept βηθανια. εν βηθανια εγενετο is read by P⁷⁵ A B C; εν βηθαβαρα εγενετο by C² K Π; εγενετο εν βηθαραβα is read by ⲥ².⁴

1:34. P¹²⁰ reads ο υιος ο. The article (if that is what it is) after υιος is not attested by other manuscripts. Could it have read ο υιος ο [εκλεκτος? But even that is a unique reading—although ⲥ* reads ο εκλεκτος instead of ο υιος. The final omicron is however not very clear.

1:35. Spacing suggests P¹²⁰ omits παλιν with P⁷⁵ Ψ.

[677] 1:36. There are several alternative readings in this verse, and it is not clear which *v.l.* P¹²⁰ supports, except to affirm that it does not add ο αιρων την αμαρτιαν τον κοσμου after ο αμνος του Θεου at the end of this verse found in P^{66*} C* 892* 1241.

⁴ Chapa wrongly gives the reading by ⲥ² to be ταυτα εν βηθαραβα εγενετο. Reuben Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: John* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press and Pasadena: William Carey, 1995) and The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, *The New Testament in Greek IV The Gospel according to St. John vol. 2 The Majuscules* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) (= *New Testament Tools Studies and Documents* 37) correctly report the reading.

1:43. Our manuscript does not read ο Ιησους before ἐξελθειν. F G H Θ^c read ο Ιησους at this point.⁵ Most manuscripts have ο Ιησους following αὐτω later in the verse.

3. POxy 4805 = P¹²¹

John 19:17–18; 25–6

[The other papyri containing parts of this chapter are P⁶⁰ P⁶⁶ P⁹⁰.]

19:17. The visible text ε]βραιστι Γ[ολγοθα obviously means that our manuscript does not support δε after εβραιστι found in L Ψ 33.

19:18. Two interesting features in this verse are:

- a) the spacing seems to require εσταυρωσαν to have been written as a staurogram, as in P⁶⁶;
- b) an alpha is visible before εντευθεν. No plausible restoration presents itself for what could have been read here.

19:25. Although the text is not very clear, the reading Κλοπα rather than Κλωπα suggests itself. The spelling Κλοπα is found in H Ψ Ω 69. Chapa does not refer to that reading; he raises the possibility that Κλεοπα may have originally been read here.

19:26. IC is clear (as a *nomen sacrum*). Chapa is not strictly correct to say here (p. 11) that IC is omitted by ⲛ* and introduced by ⲛ^a. The omission by ⲛ* is of the opening phrase that contains IC, and thus is not a straightforward omission of only IC.

19:26. ουν is clear. Thus this manuscript does not agree with ⲛ^c which reads δε.

4. POxy 4806 = P¹²²

John 21:11–14; 22–24

[There are three other papyri that have parts of this chapter: P⁵⁹ P⁶⁶ P¹⁰⁹.]⁶

21:11. ε]ις is visible and thus this manuscript supports ⲛ A B C rather than επι, found in D fam1 maj.

⁵ Chapa wrongly cites maj in support of this reading.

⁶ Chapa p. 11 ignores P⁶⁶.

21:13. P¹²² reads ερχε]αι IHC και λ[αμβανει with B D W. There is no support for either ερχεται ουν ο Ιησους with A Θ maj or ερχεται ο Ιησους found in Ⲙ L Ψ fam1.⁷

[678] 21:13. P¹²² reads κα]ι διδωσιν and thus is not in agreement with ευχαριστησας εδωκεν in D Latin (mss.).⁸

21:14. The manuscript reads εφανερω]θη τοις μ[αθηταις and agrees with L and W only. Other manuscripts have (ο) IC after εφανερωθη. Chapa merely notes *en passant* that W does not read Ιησους here, despite his earlier note that D.C. Parker encourages us (correctly) to identify the link between this manuscript and W. We cannot of course know if P¹²², like L, had ο IC after μαθηταις as the leaf breaks off here.

21:22. There is no support here for the *v.l.* + μοι before εξηλθεν found in C² Θ Ψ maj.

21:23. Spacing does not allow for the reconstruction (αδελφους) + και εδοξαν supported by D.

21:23. P¹²² reads εκεινου, a singular reading being a unique error.

21:23. δε αυτω is visible after ειπε]ν and therefore P¹²² supports Ⲙ C and W and does not agree with και ουκ ειπεν αυτω found in A (D) Θ Ψ maj.

21:23. Chapa suggests that spacing allows P¹²² to read + τι προς σε with most manuscripts (but note that 565 Ⲙ* and, apparently C², omit).

POSTSCRIPTUM

Since these articles were published papyri registered as 123, 124, 125 and 127 have been published in the series *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* volumes LXXII (2008), LXXIII (2009) and LXXIV (2009) and papyrus 126 in *Papiri greci et latini* 15 (2008).

⁷ Plus C according to NA accepted by Chapa but *contra* Swanson who claims C has neither ουν nor ο: The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, *The New Testament in Greek IV The Gospel according to St. John* vol. 2 *The Majuscules* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) (= *New Testament Tools Studies and Documents* 37) has ερχε [3–4] implying that C could have read either ουν or ουν ο.

⁸ Chapa incorrectly has και ευχαριστησας εδωκεν.

PART THREE

STUDIES AND PRAXIS

A. Textual Variation

(a) Short Studies

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE INFLUENCE OF G.D. KILPATRICK

A) ἘΡΩΤΑΝ AND ἘΠΕΡΩΤΑΝ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

When we examine these two words we find that they seem to interchange meaning and often textual alternatives. Can we find any guide to settle text and meaning? [205]

The starting point in our inquiry is the remark of the second century A.D. grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus, ἐρωτῶ σε νῦν ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ παρακαλῶ σε, λιτανεύω, ἱκνοῦμαι: in the Hellenistic Age ἐρωτᾶν meant «to request» rather than «to question». With this agrees its one certain instance in Mark 7:26. It exists as a variant at 4:10, 8:5, but at both places the meaning is «question» and we should probably read ἐπερωτᾶν. In Mark ἐπερωτᾶν always means «question» and with the instances above occurs some twenty seven times. Mark's usual word for request is αἰτεῖν.

The distinction, ἐρωτᾶν «request», ἐπερωτᾶν «question» obtains also in Luke–Acts. First ἐπερωτᾶν always means «question». (Luke seventeen instances, Acts 5:27, 23:34. This involves reading at Acts 5:28, οὐ παραγγελία... τοῦτο;). Secondly ἐρωτᾶν normally means «request». At Acts 1:6 it means «question», but, if we read ἐπερωτᾶν with D *pc* here Acts comes into line. This gives us in Acts three instances of ἐπερωτᾶν «question» and six of ἐρωτᾶν «request».

In Luke, according to our printed editions, the use of ἐρωτᾶν looks more irregular. Its meaning is open to doubt at 4:38, although one could translate «made request to him about her...». At 9:45 it means «question» as it does at 19:31, 20:3, 22:68, 23:3, but there are variants: the variant by CDKII at 9:45, ἐπερωτῆσαι, is probably right. The variant ἐπηρώτησεν at 23:3 by ADLW may also be right. At 20:3 ἐπερωτῆσω is read by DY 713 *pc* at 22:68 by *fam.* 13 *pc* and ἐπερωτᾷ at 19:31 by one cursive (579) which is a ms. of some significance. Thus in Luke ἐρωτᾶν seems to mean «request», the compound «question».

The distinction between the two verbs prevails in the Pauline Epistles. ἐρωτᾶν means «request» Phil 4:3, 1 Thess 4:1, 5:12, 2 Thess 2:1 and ἐπερωτᾶν «question» at 1 Cor 14:35. ἐπερωτᾶν Rom 10:20 «ask for, seek» occurs in a LXX quotation. ἐρωτᾶν 1 John 5:16, 2 John 5 means «request».

This brings us to John where with two exceptions ἐρωτᾶν alone occurs in both senses, «request» and «question». At 9:23 we should probably read ἐρωτᾶν with ADL. At the other exception 18:7 «question», ἐρωτᾶν is read by 33 397 Or and Cyril in his commentary though not in the lemma.

[206] In Matthew there is less consistency, ἐπερωτᾶν (seven times) is «question» except at 16:1 «request» but there is a *v.l.* ηρωτησαν \aleph^{corr} 892. ἐρωτᾶν is «request» at 15:23 but «question» at 16:13; 19:17; 21:24 (*v.l.* ἐπερ- D pc). See also *v.ll.*, concerning αἰτέω e.g. Mk 10:35. (ἐρωτήσαμεν in D *et al.*).

There is one further consideration that we should keep in mind. ἐρωτᾶν «request» is Hellenistic. ἐρωτᾶν «question» should probably be regarded as an Atticism. When therefore we have to choose between ἐπερωτᾶν and ἐρωτᾶν in the sense of «question» in the New Testament, we have to allow for the possibility that ἐρωτᾶν is an Atticizing correction. This will apply to the variations mentioned earlier in this note.

On the other side we may put the appearance of παρακαλεῖν as a variant to ἐρωτᾶν «request». This happens at Lk 7:4 (A Maj) 8:37 (Θ), Acts 10:48 (D), 16:39 (D). We may also note Mk 1:40 παρακαλῶν] ἐρωτῶν D and Rom 16:17 παρακαλῶ] ἐρωτῶ D Lat.

If the Attic ἐρωτᾶν «question» was to be encouraged, the Hellenistic ἐρωτᾶν «request» was to be displaced and παρακαλεῖν was at hand to replace it. See also *v.ll.*, concerning αἰτέω e.g. Mk 10:35. (ἐρωτήσαμεν in D *et al.*).

From this survey of New Testament usage we can see the development in meaning of ἐρωτᾶν and the intrusion of ἐπερωτᾶν. An investigation of these words in the LXX and in the Shepherd of Hennas would yield similar results.

POSTSCRIPTUM

Re 12a I deal only with the verb but note that at 1 Peter 3:21 we have the noun ἐπερωτημα. See F.W. Danker, *Concise Greek-English Lexicon*

2009) who describes the noun as “A rare word, perhaps best understood in sense of pledge”.

It is unlikely that at baptism a convert believed he was accepted as forgiven. Rather, a convert appealed to God for a good conscience. The verb is likely to mean a request (appeal) to God.

B) THE POSITION OF CAUSAL «ὅΤΙ» CLAUSES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

- [155] These clauses normally follow their main clauses. This rule is uniformly true for Matthew, Mark, Ephesians, the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, Jude, 1–2 John. There are no instances in 2 Peter and 3 John.

There are two passages which may seem to be exceptional in Luke–Acts: Lk 19:17; Acts 13:34. At Lk 19:17 the accepted interpretation reads: «Well done, good servant; because you have been faithful in a very small matter, have authority over ten cities.» But we can revise the punctuation as follows: «Well done, good servant, because you have been faithful in a very small matter. Have authority over ten cities.» This requires a colon or full stop after ἐγένου. The asyndeton with the imperative ἵσθι is usual, cf. Mt 2:13; 5:25; Mk 5:34; 1 Tim 4:15.

At Acts 13:34 there are differences of reading and interpretation. ὅτε in D 255 614 2412 *gig* Hil emphasizes our difficulty. This difficulty involved in the tense of ἀνέστησεν is that, as the text stands, it can naturally be held to say that at or after the Resurrection of Jesus, God pronounced the saying from Is 55:3. The reading ὅτι in the sense of «that» eases the difficulty, but, if we translate it «because» or read ὅτε «when», the full force of the difficulty returns. In view of this we should probably either read ὅτε as the harder reading or ὅτι in the sense of «that» as in the Revised English Bible of 1989. If we accept the suggestions for this passage and Lk 19:17, Luke–Acts has no example of causal ὅτι preceding its main clause.

Causal ὅτι nearly always follows its main clause in the Pauline Epistles. The two exceptions are Rom 9:7; Gal 4:6. At Rom 9:7 ὅσοι is read by *dem* vg (DFRU) Or Aug, Arm. As ὅτι replaces ὅστις at Jn 8:53 in \mathfrak{P}^{66*} D *a* it may be argued that it replaces ὅσοι here. If we may leave this possibility open, there is another. The commentators have to assume an ellipse at verse 6 οὐχ οἶον δὲ ὅτι («it is not the case that»). We may assume another ellipse at οὐδ' ὅτι «nor are they Israel because», i.e. οὐδ' (Ἰσραήλ) ὅτι. We can then put a full stop after Ἀβραάμ, and the verse will run: «Nor are they Israel because they are the seed of Abraham. All are children, but etc.» The Apostle goes on to distinguish two kinds of children, the children of the flesh and the

children of the promise. What he has to say relates not to all children [156] but only to the children of the promise. With this punctuation and interpretation, causal ὅτι follows its main clause.

At Gal 4:6 there is a difference of interpretation among commentators. The majority according to H.D. Betz's *Hermeneia* commentary wish to translate «because» but some prefer to suppose an ellipse. This second course avoids causal ὅτι before its main clause and we can for example translate «To show that you are sons he has sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts» (again cf. the Revised English Bible).

The supposition of causal ὅτι before its main clause in these two passages enables us to avoid two ellipses in an author given to ellipses, but requires us to admit two exceptions to the rule supported by at least fifty examples in Paul that causal ὅτι clauses follow their main clause.

In Revelation there are forty or more examples of causal ὅτι following its main clauses but there may be four exceptions, 3:10, 16, 17; 18:7.

At 3:10 there are alternative punctuations. The printed editions put a full stop before ὅτι ἐτήρησας, but it is possible to put a comma here and a full stop before καὶ γὰρ. The rendering of the passage will be: «And know that I have loved you, because you have kept the word of my endurance. I will also keep you.» Here «I will also keep you» connects with verse 9 ἰδοὺ ποιήσω αὐτούς («Behold I will make them»).

There is one other possibility to be considered. For ὅτι A arm have καί and 1678 1778 2020 2080 have καὶ ὅτι. καὶ for ὅτι would solve our problem but we will notice later a difficulty in this solution.

At 3:16 οὕτως ὅτι there is apparently no alternative interpretation. οὕτως is omitted by 2019 2042 2051 Ambst Aug Sal sa eth and by implication by all other Latin witnesses. This omission would make it possible to join ὅτι χλιαρὸς εἶ κτλ. to the preceding sentence. There is however a palaeographical explanation of the omission, as can be seen from ζεστοCOυτωCOτι. This species of homoioteleuton would easily account for the omission. With this explanation our last chance of attaching this causal ὅτι to the preceding sentence disappears. Nor does any other interpretation of ὅτι suggest itself.

At 3:17 ὅτι λέγεις can be attached to the previous verse. The fact that μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι already has one causal ὅτι connected with it need cause us no difficulty. At 15:4 we have three examples of causal ὅτι consecutively in the same sentence. We may therefore regard this instance of causal ὅτι as dubious.

18:7 is also uncertain. The διὰ τοῦτο at the beginning of verse 8 may seem to favour the connexion of causal ὅτι with what follows, but at 7:15; 12:12, the other instances of διὰ τοῦτο in Revelation, it connects with a preceding main clause. Further, to connect 18:7 with what goes before makes good sense.

[157] If at 3:16 we have one firm example and at 3:10, 17; 18:7 three dubious examples of causal ὅτι coming before its main verb in Revelation, in John we have some six instances to consider, 1:50; 8:45; 15:19; 16:6; 19:42; 20:29. Only 15:19 seems at all doubtful. Here D with some other support reads ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦτε for ὅτι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ ἐστέ. This is tautologous but we are dealing with a writer who does not shrink from tautology. We have a following διὰ τοῦτο, but in John too διὰ τοῦτο does not necessarily connect with a preceding causal ὅτι. At 1:30f it clearly does not. We may then admit the possibility that 15:19 is not an instance of causal ὅτι preceding its main clause, but that, if we accept the reading of D, it follows its main clause.

Causal ὅτι was not popular with scribes and some manuscripts avoid it in various ways at the following passages: Mt 14:5 (ἐπεὶ); 23:10 (γάρ); Mk 1:27 (om.); 6:2 (om.); 8:24 (om.); 11:18 (γάρ); Lk 17:10 (om.); Jn 1:16 (καί); 12:41 (ὅτε); Gal 3:13 (γάρ); Jas 1:23 (om.); 1 Pet 5:8 (om.); Rev 22:10 (γάρ). We have noticed readings which avoid ὅτι at Rom 9:7; Rev 3:10. They may be due to the same tendency to eliminate causal ὅτι.

Ὅτι «for» at the beginning of a sentence inevitably refers to what precedes. We have treated examples of this as examples of causal ὅτι throughout the New Testament.

C) TE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

In the Koine τε was steadily falling into desuetude, but the various uses of τε did not become uncommon or obsolete at the same rate. Three such uses can be discerned. First is what may be called «free τε», where either a single τε is used in the sense of «and», or a series, τε.. τε meaning «both...and». Next there is the phrase τε καί, or τὲ... καί «both...and» and thirdly, οὔτε, μήτε, εἴτε singly or repeated. [202]

The word seems to have gone out of use in this order. Free τε is least common. There is one doubtful instance at Mt 28:12 (*v.l. om. D et al.*), none in Mark, none in Luke and none in John. Acts has many, about 100 according to A.C. Clark.¹ There are a few instances in the Pauline Epistles: Rom. 1:26, 2:19, 7:7 (*v.l.*) 14:8 (4), 1 Cor. 4:21, Eph. 3:19. Hebrews has several: 1:3, 6:2, 5, 9:1, 12:2. None of the other works have this usage.

τε...καί is commoner. It occurs at Mt. 22:10, 27:48 (*v.l.*), Lk. 2:16 (*v.l.*), 12:45 (*v.l.*), 15:2 (*v.l.*), 21:11 (2) (*v.ll.*), 22:66 (*v.l.*), 23:12, 24:20 (*v.l.*) and about 60 times in Acts. The Pauline Epistles have Rom. 1:12, 14 (2), 16 (*v.l.*), 20, 27 (*v.l.*), 2:9, 10, 3:9, 10:12, 1 Cor. 1:2 (*v.l.*), 24, 30 (*v.l.*), Phil. 1:7. The formulae of the type Ἰουδαῖος τε καὶ Ἑλλήν are responsible for Rom. 1:16. 2:9, 10, 3:9, 10:12, 1 Cor. 1:24. Hebrews has 2:4 (*v.l.*), 11, 4:12 (*v.l.*), 5:7, 14, 6:2, 4, 19, 7:3, 9:2, 9, 19, 10:33, 11:32(2), fifteen instances in all. There are two examples at James 3:7: Rev. 19:18 is doubtful.

οὔτε and μήτε survive little better. Matthew has οὔτε at 6:20, 12:32, 22:30. Marcan examples are cited at 5:3, 12:25, 14:68: all should probably be rejected as secondary. In Luke there is 14:35. 20:35 and in John 4:11, 21, 5:37, 8:19, 9:3. Acts has surprisingly few: 2:31 (*v.l.*), 15:10, 19:37, 24:12, 25:8, 28:21, not more than six instances. The Pauline Epistles give Rom. 8:38, 39, 1 Cor. 3:7, 6:9 (*v.l.*), 10 (*v.l.*), 8:8, 11:11, Gal. 1:12 (*v.l.*), 5:6, 6:15, 1 Thess. 2:5, 6, perhaps nine examples. Next there are James 3:12 (*v.l.*) and 3 Jn. 10. Revelation gives 3:15, 16, 5:4, 9:20, 21, 21:4, six examples. For μήτε we have the following details:

¹ A.C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), pp. 396f.

[203] Mt. 5:34, 35, 36, 11:18, Lk. 9:3 (not 7:33) Acts 23:8 (*v.l.*), 12, 21, 27:20, 2 Thess. 2:2, 1 Tim. 1, 7, Heb. 7:3, James 5:12, Rev. 7:1, 3.

We can now draw up a comparative table:

	free τε	τε...καί	οὔτε, μήτε
Mark	–	–	–
John	–	–	5
Revelation	–	1?	8
Matthew	– ?	1–2	7
Luke	–	1–8	3
Acts	c. 100	c. 60	8–10
Pauline epistles	8–9	10–14 + 6	9–13
Hebrews	5	13–15	1
James	–	2	1–2
3 John	–	–	1
Pastoral epistles	–	–	1

This table probably gives us a good picture of the use of this particle before Atticist influence began to affect Greek writers. Free τε was almost out of use even in writings like Luke, the Pastorals and James. If we leave Acts aside for the moment, it is rare in the Pauline Epistles and used more freely only in Hebrews...τε...καί is a little more common. For example, it occurs in Matthew, appears eight times in Luke and twice in James. The range of writings which use οὔτε, μήτε is even wider, including John, Revelation and 3 John, in addition to the books which have τε...καί.

These data give us some indications about the style and the pretensions to style of the various writers. First it is clear that Acts is eccentric. In this book the use of τε has become an extravagant abnormality, and must be treated accordingly. It is noteworthy that οὔτε and μήτε have not shared in this extravagance, a feature perhaps comparable to the fact that Hebrews does not use οὔτε at all and μήτε only once. Apart from Acts, the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, James and Luke, make the most use of the word. Its appearance in John and Revelation is modest, and it is not part of the language of Mark or the Pastoral Epistles, except for μήτε once. Of all the writings concerned we would naturally rank John, Revelation, the Pastorals and Mark together, as making the slightest claim to a good Greek style, and this grouping is supported by the evidence of τε.

The New Testament reserve in the use of the word has one important consequence. More work is thrown on to καί and on to οὐ...οὐδέ. We have to remember for example that for most of the new Testament καί...καί is the only way of expressing «both...and», οὐ...οὐδέ is used where earlier οὔτε...οὔτε would have been preferable. [204]

In looking through an apparatus we notice many passages where it is uncertain whether τε is to be read or not: *v.l.* in the above lists means some mss. avoid τε. Does our examination of the use of the word as a whole in the New Testament suggest any principle in dealing with doubtful cases? Apart from the fact that the particle is going out of use there is one other event to keep in mind. From the time of Hadrian onward, Greek writers and writings were subjected to an intensive Atticising influence. In keeping with this, Attic features were inserted into the New Testament writings where they were originally lacking. Information about the use of τε in Greek writers who were trying to Atticise, can be derived from the indices to W. Schmid, *Attizismus*, and details about the use of τε in Longus, from G. Valley, *Über den Sprach-gebrauch des Longus*. We shall then be wise to reject doubtful instances of τε as being due to Atticist correction if other things are equal. To this there is one exception, Acts. Here the writer has carried his cult of τε to such an excess that the frequent presence of the particle must have been an irritant to any Greek reader, even if he were trained in Atticist schools. In this book the tendency seems to have been for scribes to cut down the author's exuberance at all costs.²

² No account is taken of εἴτε. It is frequent in the Pauline Epistles. Otherwise it occurs only at 1 Pet. 2:13, 14.

D) ΚΑΘΩΣ AND ὩΣΠΕΡ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

[55]

1. Καθώς IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A) *Καθώς in the Gospels and Acts*

In Mark (8 instances) and Matthew (21:6, 26:24, 27:10 *v.l.*, 28:6) the καθώς clause follows the main clause. The only instance where this rule is in question is at Mark 1:2.

In Luke the καθώς clause usually follows the main clause: 1:2, 55, 70, 2:20, 23, 5:14, 6:36, 11:1, 19:32, 22:13, 29, 24:24, 39. There are four exceptions (6:31, 11:30, 17:26, 28) where the καθώς clause precedes. In each of these, the main clause is introduced by an expression which refers back to the καθώς: 6:31, καὶ...ὁμοίως; 11:30, οὕτως; 17:26, οὕτως; 30, κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. None of these four instances introduces a biblical quotation.

In John there are nineteen passages where the καθώς clause follows the main clause: 1:23, 5:23, 6:31, 58, 7:38, 10:15, 26 *v.l.*, 12:14, 13:34, 15:10, 12, 17:2, 11, 14, 16, 21, 22, 23, 19:40. The καθώς clause precedes at thirteen places: 3:14, 5:30, 6:57, 8:28, 12:50, 13:15, 33, 14:27, 31, 15:4, 9, 17:18, 20:21. At 3:14, 12:50, 14:31, 15:4 καθώς is resumed by οὕτως at the beginning of the main clause, at 8:28 by ταῦτα, at 13:15, 33, 15:9, 17:18, 20:21 by καί and a pronoun and at 6:57 by καί. At 5:30 καθώς ἀκούω κρίνω the clauses are so short that no resumptive word is needed and at 14:27, οὐ καθώς, a resumptive word would be misleading. Further where καθώς precedes it does not introduce a biblical quotation.

[56]

G.D. Kilpatrick has argued in *JTS* XI (1960), pp. 340–342, for the following punctuation at Jn 7:38: no full stop after πινέτω, and the quotation beginning with Ποταμοὶ. καθώς appears to introduce a scriptural quotation and there is no resumptive word following, two considerations that favour the punctuation adopted.¹

¹ Reprinted as Chapter 53 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) (= BETL 96)

At Acts 2:4, 22, 7:42, 44, 48, 15:8, 14, 15, 22:3 the καθώς clause follows the main clause. At 7:17, 11:29 it precedes but with no resumptive word following. In neither passage does καθώς introduce a biblical quotation.

The following rules emerge from this survey. Normally καθώς clauses follow their main clauses. This rule is followed without exception in Matthew and Mark and least regularly in John. For all five books the figures are fifty three observances against nineteen exceptions. In thirteen of the nineteen exceptions in the following main clauses an expression resumes the preceding καθώς. The two exceptions in John are explicable, the two in Acts are not, although it might be of significance to note that at Acts 7:17 we have an example of καθώς *de tempore*.

Further, none of the nineteen exceptions introduces a quotation from Scripture though there are several instances of καθώς following a main clause introducing a quotation, Luke 2:23; John 6:31, 12:14; Acts 7:42. This reinforces the argument in favour of the punctuation of John 7:38.

We may now return to Mark 1:2. The two considerations which determined the punctuation at John 7:38 operate here also. The rule that καθώς clauses follow the main clauses knows no other exception in Mark. Further καθώς in Mark 1:2 introduces a quotation, and, as we have seen, καθώς introducing a quotation always follows and never precedes its main clause. For these reasons we adhere to the punctuation which joins Mark 1:2f to Mark 1:1 and places a full stop at the end of Mark 1:3.

B) *Καθώς in the Epistles*

The usage of καθώς in the Epistles is similar to but not identical with that of the Gospels and Acts. For analysis the Pauline Epistles and the remainder, including Ephesians and the Pastorals, are treated separately.

a) *Pauline Epistles*

Usually the καθώς clause or phrase follows the main verb: Rom. 1:13, 17^a, 2:24^a, 3:4^a *v.l.*, 8 (2), 10^a, 4:6^a *v.l.*, 17^a, 8:36^a, 9:13^a *v.l.*, 29^a, 33^a, 10:15^a, *v.l.*, 11:8^a *v.l.*, 26^a, 15:3^a, 7, 9^a, 21^a; I Cor. 1:6, 31^a, 2:9^a, 4:17, 5:7, 8:2, 10:6, 7, 8, 9, 10 *v.l.*, 33, 11:1, 12:11, 18, 13:12, 14:34, 15:38; II Cor. 1:14, 3:18 καθώσπερ *v.l.*, 6:16^a, 8:5, 15^a, 9:7, 9^a, 11:12; Gal. 2:7, 3:6^a, 5:21; Phil. 1:7, 3:17; Col. 1:6(2), 7, 2:7; I Thess. 1:5, 2:2, 5, 13, 14, 3:4, 4:1, 6, 11, 13, 5:11;

- [57] II Thess. 1:3, 3:1. The references marked with ^q contain Old Testament quotations.

καθώς precedes at Rom. 1:28; I Cor. 11:2, 15:49*; II Cor. 1:5*, 4:1, 8:6*, 9:3, 10:7*; Phil. 2:12; Col. 3:13*; I Thess. 2:4, 4:1. At the passages marked with an asterisk καθώς is resumed by a suitable expression such as οὕτως.

The figures are: καθώς subsequent sixty eight of which twenty two introduce biblical quotations: καθώς preceding twelve of which five are resumed and none introduce biblical quotations. These figures are comparable with those for Luke and Acts and avoid the rigour of Matthew and Mark and the irregularity of John.

We may notice a tendency for καθάπερ, καθά, to appear as variants to καθώς in the manuscripts. Phrynichus condemned καθώς and these variants may reflect a tendency to improve the style. The principal passages concerned are marked with *v.l.* in the lists.

b) *The Other Epistles*

Ephesians has ten instances of καθώς, all subsequent: 1:4, 3:3, 4:4, 17, 21, 32, 5:2, 3, 25, 29. The only instance in the Pastorals, I Tim. 1:3, precedes. Otherwise it follows at Heb. 4:3^q, 7^q, 5:4 καθώσπερ *v.l.*, 6^q, 8:5, 10:25, 11:12; II Pet. 1:14, 3:15; I John 3:2, 3, 7, 23; II John 4, 6; III John 2, 3, seventeen instances of which three introduce biblical quotations. It precedes at Heb. 3:7, 5:3*; I Pet. 4:10; I John 2:6*, 18, 27, 3:12, 4:17*, eight instances of which four are resumed in the main clause. It is noteworthy that the figures for subsequent and preceding καθώς are more nearly equal in the Johannine Epistles, eight to five, a state of affairs similar to that in the Fourth Gospel.

2. ὥσπερ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The commonest use of ὥσπερ in the New Testament is in the conjunction of two parallel members, be they clauses or phrases. In this construction the member with ὥσπερ precedes and the second member is often introduced by οὕτως. In the Pauline Epistles we find ὥσπερ...οὕτως at Rom. 5:12, 19, 21, 6:4, 19, 11:30, 12:4 *v.l.*, καθάπερ, 1 Cor. 11:12, 15:22, 16:1; Gal. 4:29. At I Cor. 8:5 the ὥσπερ clause is followed by a clause beginning with ἀλλὰ and at II Cor. 8:7 by one beginning with ἵνα.

Exceptions occur at I Cor. 10:7; I Thess. 5:3. At I Cor. 10:7 ὥσπερ introduces a quotation. We would have expected καθώς but καθώς has

been used in the preceding clause. For ὥσπερ, ὥς is read by C D* K P 81 181 *pl* Marcion² and may well be right, as ὥς introduces a quotation at Rom. 9:25. 1 Thess. 5:3 is the one certain exception in the Pauline Epistles. The ὥσπερ clause follows the main clause from which the verb has to be supplied in the ὥσπερ clause. ὥσπερ follows always in Heb. 4:10, 7:27, 9:25, and at Rev. 10:3. At Heb. 4:10, 7:27 the verb has to be supplied from the verb of the main clause. [58]

At John 5:21 (ὥς **℣**), 26 (ὥς **℣*** D W Eus) Jas 2:26 we have the ὥσπερ...οὕτως construction. It appears at Luke 17:24 also, but at Luke 18:11 we should read ὥς. At Acts 2:2, 3:17, 11:15 ὥσπερ follows. At 2:2 a noun has to be supplied from the main clause and ὥσπερ is equivalent to «like,» but at 3:17, 11:15 a verb is wanted.

Matthew has both construction, ὥσπερ...οὕτως at 12:40, 13:40, 24:27, 37 and following ὥσπερ at 6:2, 7, 18:17, 20:28, 25:14, 32. ὥσπερ has its own verb at 6:2, 20:28, 25:32 and the verb of the main clause has to be supplied at 6:7. At 18:17 ὥσπερ is equivalent to ὥς «like.» 25:14 has no main clause: either it has to be supplied or ὥσπερ has to be taken in the sense of «thus.»

Authors seem to prefer either καθὼς or ὥσπερ. καθὼς alone occurs in Mark, Ephesians, Pastorals, I-II Peter, I-II-III John. ὥσπερ alone in James and Revelation. καθὼς predominates in Luke (seventeen against one), John (thirty-two against two), Acts (twelve against three), Pauline Epistles (eighty against fifteen of which one is doubtful), Hebrews (nine against three), but ὥσπερ in Matthew (ten against four). ὥσπερ approximates in meaning to ὥς and καθὼς. There seems to be no substantial difference between ὥσπερ...οὕτως and καθὼς...οὕτως. ὥσπερ with a noun differs little if at all from ὥς.

POSTSCRIPTUM

See further chapter 14.

² At I Cor. 10:7 τινες αὐτῶν ὥσπερ (or ὥς) is omitted by F G f g. This would be more likely to happen if the ancestor of these manuscripts read καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν ὥς γέγραπται like D*.

E) MARK AND THE TEACHING OF JESUS:
AN EXAMINATION OF ΛΟΓΟΣ AND ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

- [37] There are innumerable sayings attributed to Jesus in the New Testament, in the apocrypha and in other sources, patristic and non-Christian. But how does the New Testament refer to the body of Jesus' sayings? In this essay we shall examine two nouns from the standpoint of Mark's gospel that seem to describe Jesus' proclamation. The nouns are λόγος and εὐαγγέλιον. It is commonly thought they are capable of bearing the same meaning, namely "Christian teaching." We shall look at both of them in turn and we shall see that there has been a change in the meaning, introduced by the church—a revolution in vocabulary visible even within one gospel.

First λόγος.

ΛΟΓΟΣ

Among the many dictionary definitions of the word λόγος in the New Testament are "declaration," "speech," "the subject-matter," "revelation." Which if any of these fits Mark's usage and which if any is a description of Jesus sayings?

It seems to me as if λόγος is used in Mark in basically two senses: (1) "saying" or "utterance," and (2) "the Christian message." The word occurs 24 times in Mark. We can eliminate the occurrence in 16:20 as part of the longer ending and therefore not written by the same author as the rest of the gospel.

- In two places in our printed texts λόγος is not firm in the MS. tradition: at 8:38 ℙ⁴⁵ has no space for the word λόγους and it is missing in W k Sah. There is a possibility that the noun is secondary. (The saying would then be concerned with Jesus and his followers. λόγους may have been introduced into the MS. tradition from the Lukan parallel.) At 14:39 the phrase τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν is not found in D and certain Old Latin MSS. Again, the shorter text is likely to be original, and the longer text due to assimilation to the Matthaean parallel (Matt 26:44).
- [38] If one does decide to read the phrase in 14:39, λόγος would have a meaning compatible with Mark's usage elsewhere (*i.e.* Jesus'

utterance), as we shall see below. The usage in 8:38 (if the longer text is read) would refer to Jesus' teachings in general, but that is not a meaning characteristic of Mark, unless 13:31 can be brought in as support—see further on that verse below.

Several of the firm occurrences are in the interpretation of the parable of the sower (4:14, 15*bis*, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20). That interpretation is commonly understood to be a Christian addition to the original words of Jesus, which arose from the church of Mark's day. λόγος here may be seen as equivalent to εὐαγγέλιον. The interpretation follows the introduction (4:11), in which what it is that is to be revealed is the "mystery" of the kingdom of God. The *timing* of the kingdom's arrival is unlikely to be that mystery. The mystery of the kingdom is more likely to be the *manner* of its inauguration in the person of the messiah. To have that aspect of the messiah's work so described is compatible with our understanding of the messianic secrecy in Mark's retelling of the story of the ministry in Galilee. The message is messianic in the sense that it tells of the reception of Jesus, who is the inaugurator of the kingdom as its messiah. The early church knew from its experience that that message was often rejected and choked or brought persecution—hence the interpretation of the parable in those terms.

Seven instances elsewhere in Mark refer to an utterance in the immediate context. Unlike the references in the parable of the sower, these seem to reflect the earliest stratum of Marcan usage. They are:

- 5:36 λόγος = the statement that the ruler's daughter is dead (v. 35)
- 7:13 "word of God" = the citation from the Law in v. 10
- 7:29 λόγος = the woman's reply in the preceding verse
- 9:10 λόγος = Jesus' command to silence in v. 9
- 10:22 the saying of Jesus in v. 21 is what dismayed the man
- 10:24 λόγοι = the words of v. 23
- 11:29 λόγος points forward to the question in the next verse

To these we may add an eighth example (13:31 λόγοι) which, on the basis of the usage we have just identified, is unlikely to refer to Jesus' teaching and authority as a whole but to the immediate context, namely particular eschatological prophecies in the chapter. It may also be correct to add 8:32 as a ninth occurrence of λόγος in the sense of "utterance," the reference here being to the prediction of suffering in v. 31. In that verse παρησίᾳ seems obtrusive if its meaning is "publicly," because Jesus is dealing with his disciples. (Matthew and Luke omit the sentence, possibly because they were both aware of the difficulty.) According to [39]

Bauer, *παρρησία* can mean “boldly,” “confidently” in which case *λόγος* can clearly refer to the preceding prediction and should not be understood as a reference to Jesus’ public teachings. In this context it would be strange if Peter were rebuking Jesus for his overall “message.”

On the basis of the preceding examples, the implication of *λόγος* at 12:13 is that the Pharisees and the Herodians wish to entrap Jesus not in general conversation but with one of his own specific statements (not given in the context).

“The Christian message” is the meaning in the interpretation of the parable of the sower, “utterance” is the sense of most of the other passages we have looked at. We need now to turn to 1:45; 2:2; 4:33. The section 2:1–3:6 stands as a literary unit with its sequence of controversy stories; also in it are to be found explicit messianic statements (2:10, 28) so we may expect a different usage for *λόγος* in 2:2. *λόγος* here could perhaps refer to a specific utterance of a particular body of teaching but it is more likely to mean “the good news of the kingdom,” “the messianic saving event” and thus serve as a résumé of Jesus’ teaching. It may even bear the meaning “the Christian message” or even “the gospel” as it does in, say, Acts 4:29, 31; 8:25; 11:19; 13:46.

At 4:33 the identical form is found as in 2:2 (*ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον*) but there is a textual problem in the phrase.¹ If original, *λόγος* again seems to be the message about the coming kingdom, or even “the Christian gospel.”

[40] In 1:45 *λόγος* occurs in conjunction with *διαφημίζειν*, a verb that is not used elsewhere by Mark. (It occurs twice elsewhere in the gospels, both times in Matthew.) The meaning of *λόγος* is often considered to mean the “event” or “story,” which the leper told. But as I have tried to argue in more than one place,² Mark 1:45 should not be interpreted as belonging to vv. 40–44. The story of the healing of the leper ends with

¹ At 4:33 our oldest witness \mathfrak{P}^{45} is fragmentary, but it looks as if the space available is too small for all the words of v. 33 to fit. *πολλαῖς* may not have been present: that word is absent from several other witnesses including C W *f*¹. *αὐτοῖς* is absent from D 565. *τὸν λόγον* is not present in Old Latin MSS *b c e*. It may be worth bearing in mind that \mathfrak{P}^{45} could be added to that latter testimony in which case the originality of *λόγος* in the verse is less strong. On that argument \mathfrak{P}^{45} could have read *παραβολαῖς ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς* although the reading *παραβολαῖς πολλαῖς ἐλάλει* would have the same result.

² “The Conclusion of the Pericope of the Healing of the Leper and Mark 1:45,” *JTS* 22 (1971), pp. 153–157; “Is ὁ ἐξεληθὼν a Title for Jesus in Mark 1:45?” *JTS* 27 (1976), pp. 402–405; “The Healing of the Leper in the Synoptic Parallels,” *TZ* 34 (1978), pp. 175–176. Reprinted here as chapter 21a.

the command to silence, a command that is obeyed like all such commands, cf. the two stories set in the Decapolis (Mark 5:20; 7:36). There are too many problems in linking v. 45 to the preceding story. αὐτόν in v. 45 is not strong enough to imply a change to “Jesus” as the subject of δύνασθαι. ὁ δέ at the beginning (if it is not ὁ ἐξελθών with the particle interposed) always implies a change of subject in Mark, but the contrast is not with Jesus, the subject of λέγει in v. 44, but with the leper in v. 40. It would be against Marcan practice to have a stranger preach outside the Decapolis: κηρύσσειν is what the Baptist does (1:4, 7) or Jesus (1:14, 38–39) or the apostles (3:14; 6:12; 13:10; 14:9 [16:15, 20]). If κηρύσσειν were to be part of the leper’s activity, then the meaning would not be the preaching of the gospel message—the meaning required would be “relate.” And, as it parallels διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, λόγος would have to bear a meaning (“story”) that it does not have elsewhere in Mark (although Matt 28:15; Luke 5:15; 7:7 have that meaning). So, on various counts, the story of the leper must run from v. 40 to v. 44 only. That is how Matthew understood the climax and conclusion of the pericope (Matt 8:1–4 has no parallel to v. 45). Verse 45 on that argument would be related to vv. 38–39. Jesus intends to preach in vv. 38–39; the consequence of his activity is described in v. 45. These verses would thus “sandwich” 40–44 in the way that other Marcan stories are interrupted by an intervening episode (like 6:6b–13 and 30f., or 11:12–14 and 20ff., or 14:1–2 and 10–11). This is perhaps one further dramatic juxtaposition. Thus we may conclude that λόγος once again is likely to have a meaning similar to 2:2 and perhaps 4:33, namely a particular body of Jesus’ teaching about the coming of the kingdom.

The meaning suggested for 1:45, 2:2, and 4:33 seems to belong to a later stage in the development of Mark’s gospel compared to the meaning in chapters 5–16 “utterance.” λόγος in its meaning of Jesus’ teaching about the kingdom is a creation of Christian theology, and may be compared to the coining of the noun “baptist.” A similar shift in the New Testament is seen in the change in the use of “Lord” meaning God to “Lord” referring to Jesus. The changing meaning of λόγος within Mark is yet another example of the Christianizing of traditional vocabulary. [41]

Even though λόγος in Mark 2–4 represents a later stratum, εὐαγγέλιον throughout Mark seems to maintain its original pre-Christian meaning except in 1:1.

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

There are 76 occurrences of εὐαγγέλιον in the New Testament, most of which are to be found in the Pauline Epistles. Only 12 are in the gospels: 4 in Matthew, the rest in Mark. εὐαγγέλιον occurs in Mark 1:1, 14, 15; 8:35; 10:29; 13:10; 14:9, and there is one occurrence in the longer ending at 16:15. We shall return to 1:1 later, but the meaning there is different and seems to belong to Mark's redaction. This suggests that 1:14 (on Jesus' lips) is the first non-editorial reference to εὐαγγέλιον in Mark. The meaning is "the divine plan" and it is significant that on this first occurrence εὐαγγέλιον is qualified. The noun is followed by the dependent genitive [τῆς βασιλείας] τοῦ θεοῦ. Elsewhere εὐαγγέλιον is used absolutely although some MSS (A C M) add τοῦτο after τὸ εὐαγγέλιον in 14:9.

At 1:15 we have πιστεύειν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ; at 10:29 ἕνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου; but it is the occurrences at 1:14; 13:10; 14:9 that demand attention because the verb governing εὐαγγέλιον in these three is κηρύσσειν, and this verb helps us locate the meaning and significance. The verb εὐαγγελίζομαι does not occur in Mark—κηρύσσειν does this work. But it is worth noting that in Luke 4:17–19 where Jesus, quoting from Isa 61 states that the "good news proclaimed" (using the verb εὐαγγελίζομαι) and foretold by the prophets is *God's* deliverance and restoration of Israel at the last—it is a divine action, not a messianic one that is preached.

In the Septuagint εὐαγγελίζομαι is used of divine action by God not the messiah (e.g. Psalm 39:9; 67:11; 95:2; Joel 2:32; Nahum 2:1; Isa 40:9; 60:6; 61:1–2). Luke's usage is similar. If these passages speak of salvation it is God's salvation. Similarly in Mark εὐαγγέλιον is not a messianic term (with the possible exception of 1:1 to which we return below). In the epistles εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ occurs (1 Cor 9:12; 2 Cor 2:12; 9:13; 10:14; Gal 1:7, etc.) but such a phrase is not Marcan. Mark's meaning is different. For Paul εὐαγγέλιον has become Christian. The noun has developed in meaning. But Mark, either because of his fidelity to his sources or through a conscious archaizing, uses the noun in its older, Jewish, Old Testament sense even though he, of course, wrote his gospel later than Paul's writing of the epistles.³

[42]

³ Mark deliberately avoids calling Jesus "Lord" in its divine sense and calls Jesus by the simplest title, because he is conscious that to do otherwise would be to use post-Resurrection language of the ministry. (If we think Mark too unsophisticated a writer

How is κηρύσσειν used?⁴ We may learn from the concordance that, with the exception of 1:7, Mark has κηρύσσειν followed by a direct object (e.g. at 1:4, 14; 5:20; 13:10; 14:9) or by a ἵνα clause (at 6:12), or used absolutely (1:38, 39, 45, where πολλά is likely to be adverbial; 3:14; 7:36). (There is no example in Mark of κηρύσσειν followed by the dative as there is in the rest of the New Testament.)

Apart from *preaching* the εὐαγγέλιον how else is κηρύσσειν used in Mark? In 1:4 it is used of John's call to repentance (cf. 6:12). In 5:20 it is used of the demoniac's proclamation that Jesus had healed him. (Likewise I suspect this meaning occurs in 7:36 as well: the people "preach" that Jesus had healed the deaf-mute.) If 1:45 has the leper as subject of ἤρξατο then this example of preaching would be connected with healing too—but, as we have seen, the subject of ἤρξατο is more likely to be Jesus, in which case the *preaching* is equivalent to his spreading the εὐαγγέλιον. [43]

In 1:7 the verb κηρύσσειν introduces the Baptist's warning. Here recitative λέγων depends on κηρύσσειν and direct speech follows. That makes the usage here somewhat different. But there is textual uncertainty over the originality of κηρύσσειν. D and some Old Latin witnesses read ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, and that reading has a good claim to originality.

to distance himself from the subject matter in order to preserve or create the verisimilitude, then I suppose one must consider Mark's archaic usages an indication of his fidelity to his primitive—even pre-Resurrection?—sources.) I prefer to think Mark *was* capable of telling his account of the ministry in as restrained a way as possible. Only the occasional anachronistic elements obtrude, such as the meaning of λόγος as the Christian message. In this context we may consider the textually uncertain words "Son of God" in 1:1. If the longer text is original to Mark, his intention may well have been to show that Jesus Christ, the Son of God was confessed by the Jewish title "Christ" mid-way through the gospel with Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi, a title that was in all sorts of ways inadequate as a description for Jesus in this gospel as is clear even within the story at Caesarea Philippi where the sequel has Peter compared with Satan for misinterpreting Jesus' distinctive mission. Mark later has Jesus confessed by the second of the two titles found in the longer version of the opening verse. Towards the end of the second half of the gospel the centurion at the foot of the cross recognises Jesus as the Son of God, a title favoured among gentiles. (Compare the different words on the centurion's lips in the Lukan parallel. This shows the uniqueness of those words for Mark.) Despite this argument, I think the words "Son of God" are secondary in Mark 1:1 and are more likely to be a later, scribal addition, motivated by pious considerations and perhaps influenced by the liturgy, rather than that the longer words were accidentally omitted by careless copyists.

⁴ The noun "kerygma" is not found in Mark, although it occurs in the gospels twice (in Q).

So, the verb κηρύσσειν is, in general, used in contexts of healing, repentance, and εὐαγγέλιον. How is εὐαγγέλιον used in Mark?

The first thing to note is that it is not followed by a possessive—Jesus does not promote himself as the agent of the εὐαγγέλιον. At 10:29 he distinguishes himself from the gospel. A similar difference occurs in some MSS at 8:35. The noun does not occur on another's lips nor in summaries of the remarks of others.

Matthew agrees with Mark: εὐαγγέλιον and κηρύσσειν occur in Matt 4:23; 9:35; 24:14 where the phrase “gospel of the kingdom” occurs; and 26:13 “this gospel.” Matt 4:23 and 9:35 depend on Mark 1:13, 39; Matt 24:14 depends on Mark 13:10; Matt 26:13 parallels Mark 14:9. (There are no Matthaean parallels to Mark 1:1; 8:35; 10:29.)

So far, εὐαγγέλιον in Mark seems to refer to *divine* action. 1:1 is an exception.

MARK 1:1

The late meaning of εὐαγγέλιον as “a gospel book,” the sense in which we commonly use it, may well have originated in this verse,⁵ but such a meaning would not have been Mark's intention. It was only when a Christian had knowledge of and access to two or more gospels that names or titles would have to be used to differentiate them. It may well have been that Mark's writing was referred to by its opening words, as was the Hebrew practice. Thus it would be “The beginning of the εὐαγγέλιον” book. By extension all comparable literature became known as εὐαγγέλιον books.

But leaving that speculation aside, we note that ἀρχή in Mark is always a temporal expression. This implies that the chronological start of the εὐαγγέλιον of Jesus Christ (equally valid here as a subjective or as an objective genitive) had begun.

- [44] This meaning may make us take εὐαγγέλιον in 1:1 in a different sense from that in the rest of the gospel. In addition there are several peculiar features in this verse.

⁵ Cf. M. Hengel, *Die Evangelienübersetzungen* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1984).

- (a) Only here in Mark do we find the title “Jesus Christ”. This phrase occurs for certain in other gospels only at Matt 1:1; John 1:17; 17:3.
- (b) Elsewhere in Mark, as we have seen, εὐαγγέλιον occurs only with reference to Jesus’ sayings (or as a résumé of Jesus’ teaching).
- (c) Also it is a rare use of a sentence without a verb (if we punctuate with a full stop at the end of the verse).

Because of its differences is the verse likely to be a title? Many would be attracted to such a suggestion, especially as ἀρχή is anarthrous, but there are snags. First Mark does have some verb-less sentences (1:3 (LXX); 1:11 [v.l.: *om.* ἐγένετο]; 13:8), so 1:1 is not unique. Secondly, as I tried to indicate in an article in *Filología Neotestamentaria*,⁶ building on the initial research by G.D. Kilpatrick, καθώς in Mark introducing a quotation follows a main clause (as is the case in Mark 4:33; 9:13; 11:6; 14:16, 21; 15:8; 16:7 and also in the rest of the NT e.g. Luke 2:23; John 6:31; 12:14; Acts 7:42; Rom 1:17; 1 Cor 1:31). That rule obliges us to dispense with the full stop at the end of verse 1, and thus prevents our reading 1:1 as a title.

Where then do we end the sentence that begins in 1:1? If a full stop is to be placed at the end of v. 3 then vv. 1–3 are a unit, and v. 4 is a fresh start. The arrival of the Baptist in the section beginning at v. 4 is shown to be the fulfilment of the prophecy in the introduction. We may paraphrase vv. 1–3 “The beginning of the good news in the life of Jesus Christ is what is written in Isaiah...,” where ἀρχή is the first of a series; this temporal meaning is consistent with Mark 10:6; 13:8, 19. The events run from John to the empty tomb. But the link with the verses following is that the *beginning* of the εὐαγγέλιον was the coming of John. Verses 1–3 lead up to v. 4 but are not part of it. The first three verses are Mark the editor speaking: it is an introduction. He is using the language of 65 A.D. Before he starts the narrative in v. 4 where he consciously aims to use language befitting the pre-Easter setting of the events, Mark as editor uses the language of devotion (including the title Jesus Christ) and the later, Christian, use of εὐαγγέλιον. In 1:1 we thus find the most developed meaning of εὐαγγέλιον in the New Testament, a development that eventually lead to its use to describe a literary genre. [45]

⁶ “καθώς and ὥσπερ in the New Testament,” *FilNeo* 4 (1991), pp. 55–58. Reprinted here as chapter 12 d.

C.H. Turner preferred to put the full stop at the end of v. 4.⁷ He took vv. 2–3 as one of Mark’s parentheses (like 2:15, 22; 12:12; 13:14; 14:36). On this line of reasoning Turner, following Origen, understood the verb following ἀρχή to be ἐγένετο in v. 4, *i.e.* the beginning of the εὐαγγέλιον about Jesus was John’s preaching in the wilderness. But it is abnormal to find Mark’s parentheses separating subject and verb. Turner’s proposal also ignores the rule about καθώς, a feature of Marcan usage that did not enter his “Notes.” So we may reject that proposed punctuation.

Our examination of just two words in only one gospel convinces us that Christianity, while drawing on the language, ideas and background of the Old Testament, succeeded in revolutionising not only theology but also basic vocabulary.

POSTSCRIPTUM

See further chapter 14.

⁷ In “Notes on Marcan Usage IV,” reprinted in *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark*, ed. J.K. Elliott, (= *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 71) (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 23–24.

F) THE AORIST MIDDLE OF ΑΠΟΚΡΙΝΟΜΑΙ

Readers of the Greek New Testament are so used to formulae like [126] ἀποκριθῆεις εἶπεν that it is surprising to learn that the passive aorist ἀπεκρίθην etc. in the sense of to answer or to reply to a question¹ is not good Greek. But that is the case, as may be seen from the pronouncements of the Atticist grammarians and lexicographers, Ammonius² of the 1st–2nd centuries and Phrynichus³ of the 2nd century. Ammonius in *De Adfinium Vocabulorum Differentia* 67 states: ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι διαφέρει. ἀποκριθῆναι μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἀποχωρισθῆναι, ἀποκρίνασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐρωτηθέντα λόγον δοῦναι cf. Phrynichus, *Eclogae* 78 (= Rutherford 86), Ἀποκριθῆναι· διττὸν ἀμάρτημα, ἔδει γὰρ λέγειν ἀποκρίνασθαι, καὶ εἰδέναι, ὅτι τὸ διαχωρισθῆναι σημαίνει, ὥπεροῦν καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, τὸ συγκριθῆναι, τὸ εἰς ἓν καὶ ταῦτὸν ἐλθεῖν. εἰδὼς οὖν τοῦτο ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγε, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ διαχωρισθῆναι ἀποκριθῆναι.

The aorist ‘answered’ in the New Testament is nearly always ἀπεκρίθην etc. but readers of the Nestle text will be surprised to come across a few exceptions where the majority of our mss. read ἀπεκρίνατο. However there are variants, which allow us to avoid printing these unexpected examples of the aorist middle:

- A1. Matt 27:12 v.l. ἀπεκρίνετο D Lat *b d ff² h q r¹ r² vg* (mss.)
- A2. Mark 14:61 v.l. ἀπεκρίνετο 470 Origen (*contra Celsum*); ἀπεκρίθη D
- A3. Luke 3:16 ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων πᾶσιν ὁ Ἰωάννης v.l. ἐπιγνούς τα διανοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν D Lat *d*
- A4. Luke 23:9 v.l. ἀπεκρίνετο L
- A5. John 5:17 v.ll. ἀπεκρίνετο **Ⲅ**; ἀπεκρίθη D W; *respondens* Lat *ff²*
- A6. John 5:19 v.l. ἀπεκρίθη D N W 33 185 713 726 1071 1180 1200
- A7. Acts 3:12 ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν λαόν v.l. ἀποκρίθεις δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς D Lat *d*. There is

¹ The verb is used more freely at e.g. Mark 9:5 ἀποκριθεῖς; 9:6 ἀποκριθῇ v.ll. ἐλάλει, λαλεῖ, λαλήσει. ἀπεκρίθη; Matthew 26:63 v.l. om.

² See E. Nickau’s Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1966) or the earlier: L.C. Valckenaer (ed.), *Ammonius, περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφορῶν λέξεων* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1822).

³ Eitel Fischer, *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1974).

additional Latin evidence here which seems to imply a text at least partly resembling that of D: see e.g. Lat *b* vg (*ait*) or Lat *d g* *dixit* and Lat *h* (*et dixit* (after *populum*)).

[127] From the above note the four occurrences of the imperfect ἀπεκρίνετο as a variant (A1 A2 A4 A5). The imperfect occurs nowhere else as a firmly established reading. Often an imperfect was altered by scribes to an aorist. If that has happened here then the original text is the imperfect (which makes perfectly good sense in all these passages); later copyists then altered this either to the ‘inaccurate’ aorist passive or to the aorist middle (as a stylistic improvement). At A6 *v.l.* reading the passive may well be original. The D-text at Acts 3:12 (A7) may also be original and fits in well with the usage of Luke–Acts.

That stylistic improvements were made may be seen at the following places:

- B1. Mark 15:3 πολλά *v.l.* + αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο W N Σ U Δ fam. 13 33 517 565 1071 *al.* Lat vg (mss.) cf. Lat *a c.* This addition may derive from Matt 27:12 where many mss. read ἀπεκρίνατο.
- B2. Mark 15:5 ἀπεκρίθη *v.l.* ἀπεκρίνατο G^f f³
- B3. Mark 15:9 ἀπεκρίθη...λέγων *v.ll.* ἀπεκρίνατο...λέγων 33 579; ἀποκρίθεις λέγει D 565. (This last reading may well be the original.)
- B4. John 12:23 ἀποκρίνεται P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵ etc.; *v.ll.* ἀπεκρίθη Θ fam 13; ἀπεκρίνατο A D Ψ 0250 fam 1 Maj. Here ἀπεκρίθη looks like a correction to avoid the historic present⁴ and the middle aorist would be a correction of the passive aorist.
- B5. John 18:24 ἀπεκρίθη P⁶⁶Maj.; *v.l.* ἀπεκρίνατο P⁶⁶A D* W *al.*

A careful scrutiny of a full apparatus (such as that in von Soden or Tischendorf) may yield more examples of the aorist middle as a variant for the passive. All the changes above that read the aorist middle are secondary, including the longer reading at B1.

Variant A3 (at Luke 3:16) deserves further consideration. Here ἐπιγνούς τὰ διανοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν may be thought by many scholars to be merely a paraphrase, which we are often told is a characteristic of

⁴ See G.D. Kilpatrick, ‘The Historic Present in the Gospels and Acts’ ZNW 68 (1977) pp. 258–62 reprinted in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G.D. Kilpatrick* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) pp. 169–76 (= BETL 96).

the text of D. But we ought to observe that the reading by D here fits the context: we see from v. 15 that John is already named as the subject. Secondly, the phrase is Lukan cf. Luke 5:22 ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς αὐτῶν (also see Mark 2:8), even though instead of διαλογισμοὺς there we have here διανοήματα (which recurs in early Christian literature only at Luke 11:17). On the other hand the expressions ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων (and ἀπεκρίθη λέγων) do not recur in Luke nor in Matthew and only as a *v.l.* at Mark 15:9, which we argued above is unlikely to be the original reading. We may therefore conclude that at Luke 3:16 D agrees with Lukan style and that the other reading conflicts with the usage of the Synoptic Gospels.⁵

Within the New Testament we may note from our concordances how often the passive aorist ἀπεκρίθη etc. occurs. I count some 200+ examples, a figure that can be increased if we add instances where *v.l.* ἀπεκρίθη etc. should be restored (as at Mark 5:9; 7:6; 8:28; 9: 12, 38, 39; 10:5, 20, 29, 38; 11:29, 33; 12:17, 24; 13:2, 5; 14:20, 29, 62; Luke 13:23 (D); 18:42; 20:24, 34; 23:43 (D); John 9:37; Acts 21:37). [128]

The usage of the NT is also that of the LXX (not surprisingly), although we note that the aorist middle occurs without a variant at Ezek 9:11 and at I Chr 10:13. It occurs as a *v.l.* at Ex 19:19; III King 2:1; Job 40:2 (7). Otherwise all forms of the aorist are passive. (There is one perfect at III King 2:30).

Readers of Josephus, however, observe that he uses the middle forms of ἀποκρίνομαι throughout and are thus surprised at *Antiq* 9:35 to find a stray instance of the passive.

Goodspeed's *Index* to the Apostolic Fathers reveals that the aorist passive is normal. The Martyrdom of Polycarp, however, has two examples of the aorist middle at 8:2; 10:1 but not of any other form of the verb. (Hermas, Mandates 11:3 *bis*, 8, 13 has four instances of the present, which does not occur elsewhere.)

⁵ Other places (among many) where the reading of D may represent the original are Acts 4:19 ὁ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης (*sic* no article) ἀποκρίθεντες where the variant in D ἀποκρίθεις δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης not only correctly avoids the article found in the other mss. before Πέτρος but, more significantly, has the singular ἀποκρίθεις which conforms to the NT practice elsewhere where a verb that precedes a compound subject whose first member is in the singular is itself in the singular (cf. Mark 1:36 *v.l.*; 3:31 *v.l.* and Acts 5:21 (against a 'correction' by B); 14:14; 16:33. Cf. G.D. Kilpatrick, 'An Eclectic Study of the Book of Acts' in J.N. Birdsall and R.W. Thompson (eds.) *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of R.P. Casey* (Freiburg: Herder, 1963) pp. 64–77 reprinted in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *op. cit.* pp. 358–69.

In the Greek Bible and the Fathers the aorist passive is the established form. Only in the Martyrdom of Polycarp and in two passages in the LXX as they now stand do we have the middle.

G) NEW TESTAMENT LINGUISTIC USAGE

Each of the NT authors has his own characteristic style and usage in matters of grammar, vocabulary, and word order. Attempts have been made in recent years, not only in grammars of NT Greek but also in numerous articles and monographs, to isolate and describe some of the distinctive features of several of the writings in the canon. These but seldom take into account the critical apparatus to the printed testament. All too often decisions are reached, rules of usage catalogued, and apparent exceptions to these “rules” noted without taking textual variation into the picture. [41]

The following short studies try to isolate three features of NT usage—the position of ἐκεῖνος in the Gospels and Acts, the position of the dative of αὐτός in John, and the expression πρὸς με/ἐμέ in the NT as a whole. These three serve as examples to show how the use of concordance and text alone—essential though these are in the description of grammatical features in the NT—needs to be supplemented by the evidence of the manuscripts.

For such study I acknowledge the pioneering work of C.H. Turner, who in the 1920s contributed a series of articles to the *Journal of Theological Studies* on Markan usage.¹ I also acknowledge the work of G.D. Kilpatrick, who followed in Turner’s footsteps, and with whom I [42] discussed many aspects of NT style, including the topics below.

ἐκεῖνος IN THE GOSPELS AND ACTS

Matthew

1. pronominal (total: 4 + 2):
13:11; 17:27; 20:4; 24:43; καὶ ἐκεῖνος is always pronominal: 15:18; 23:23
2. adjectival:
 - a. follows its noun (total: 34 + 8 v.ll.):²

¹ These are reprinted in J.K. Elliott, *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark* (Leiden: Brill, 1993) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 71).

² As the 8 variants include the demonstrative in a position compatible with Matthew’s practice in the 34 firm examples, a strong case could be made for accepting as original those variant readings adding the demonstrative, but note that under 2b different conditions may apply at 3:1 or 24:38 in a set phrase following ἐν. In the case of 27:63 the sequence article + noun + demonstrative is to be preferred.

3:1 *v.l.*; 7:25, 27; 8:13, 28; 9:22, 26, 31; 10:14, 15; 12:45; 13:1, 44; 14:35a *v.l.*, 35b; 15:22, 28; 17:18; 18:7 *v.l.*, 26 *v.l.*, 27 *v.l.*, 28, 32; 21:40; 22:7, 10; 24:22 (*bis*), 29, 36, 38 *v.l.*, 46, 48 *v.l.*, 50; 25:7, 19; 26:24 (*bis*), 29; 27:8, 19, 63 *v.l.*

b. precedes its noun:

(i) ἐν + ἡμέρα sing. 7:22; 22:23; but cf. 13:1

ἐν + ἡμέρα plur. 3:1 *v.l.*; 24:19; cf. 24:38 *v.l.*

ἐν + καιρός 11:25; 12:1; 14:1

ἐν + ὥρα 8:13 *v.l.*; 10:19; 18:1; 26:55

(ii) ἀπὸ + ἡμέρα 22:46, but not ὥρα; cf. 9:22; 15:28; 17:18

Mark

1. except for 7:20 (*q.v.*), the variant ἐκεῖνοι at 4:20 and for καὶ ἐκεῖνοι at 12:4, 5, ἐκεῖνος is not used pronominally; contrast Pseudo-Mark 16:10, 11, 13 (*bis*), 20, where it is so used

2. demonstrative adjective:

a. follows its noun (total: 9 + 1 *v.l.*):

3:24, 25; 6:11 *v.l.*, 55; 13:19, 24b, 32; 14:21 (*bis*), 25

b. precedes its noun:

(i) (total: 7):

[43] ἐν + ἡμέρα sing. 2:20; 4:35

ἐν + ἡμέρα plur. 1:9; 8:1; 13:17, 24a

ἐν + ὥρα sing. 13:11

(ii) 4:11 ἐκεῖνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω (the alternative would be τοῖς δὲ ἔξω ἐκεῖνοις)

(iii) 12:7 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ γεωργοί (but D lat read οἱ δὲ γεωργοί, a reading that may be original)

Luke

1. pronominal (total: 2 [+ 3 *v.ll.*] + 4):³

8:32; 9:34 *v.l.*; 12:38 *v.l.*; 18:14 *v.l.*; 19:4; καὶ ἐκεῖνοις is always pronominal: 11:7, 42; 20:11; 22:12

³ Again, the problem of the variants may be resolved by a comparison with the firm examples. At 18:14 the longer reading by D is not consistent with 2a below.

2. adjectival:

a. follows its noun (total: 19 + 3 *v.ll.*)

2:1; 4:2; 6:48, 49; 9:5; 10:12b, 31; 11:26; 12:37, 43, 45, 46; 14:21
v.l.,⁴ 24; 15:14, 15; 17:9 *v.l.*; 18:3; 20:1 *v.l.*, 35; 21:34; 22:22

b. precedes its noun:

(i) ἐν + ἡμέρα sing. 6:23; 17:31

ἐν + ἡμέρα plur. 5:35; 9:36; 21:23

ἐν + ὥρα 7:21

(N.B. ἐκεῖνος *after* ἡμέρα in the phrases ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνη
 in 10:12a and ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις in 2:1; 4:2)

(ii) others: 12:47; 13:4; 20:18

Acts

1. pronominal:

3:13; 10:9 *v.l.*, 10 *v.l.*; 21:6; κἀκεῖνος is always pronominal: 5:37;
 15:11; 18:19

2. adjectival:

a. follows its noun (total: 15 + 1 *v.l.*):

1:19; 2:18 (LXX; *v.l.* omits ἐκεῖνος), 41; 3:23 (OT quotation);
 7:41; 8:8; 9:37; 12:6; 14:21; 16:3, 35; 19:16, 23; 20:2; 22:11; 28:7

b. precedes its noun:

(i) ἐν + ἡμέρα sing. 8:1 (ἐκεῖνος follows ἡμέρα in 2:41 *v.l.*)

ἐν + ὥρα 16:33

(ii) κατὰ + καιρός 12:1 (ἐκεῖνος follows καιρός in 19:23)

[44]

John

1. pronominal:

a. before the verb (total: 26 + 2 *v.ll.*):

2:21; 3:30; 5:19, 35, 37, 39, 43, 46, 47; 8:42, 44; 9:9, 28 *v.l.*, 37;
 10:1, 6, 35; 11:13, 29; 12:48; 13:26; 14:21, 26; 15:26; 16:14; 19:21,
 35 (*v.l.* κἀκεῖνος); 20:15

κἀκεῖνος always before the verb (total: 5 + 1 *v.l.*): 6:57; 7:29;
 10:16; 14:12; 17:24; 19:35 (*v.l.* ἐκεῖνος)

⁴ An original ἐκεῖνοις could easily have been omitted accidentally through homoioteleuton; the same is true of ἐκεῖνον at 17:9 and ἐκεῖνων at 20:1.

- b. after the verb (total: 19 + 5 *v.l.*):
1:8; 3:28; 4:25; 5:38; 6:22 *v.l.*, 29; 7:11, 45; 9:11, 12, 25, 28 *v.l.*, 36
v.l.; 13:6 *v.l.*, 25, 27, 30, 16:8, 13; 18:17, 25; 19:15 *v.l.*; 20:13, 16
- 2. adjectival:
 - a. follows its noun (total: 12 + 1 *v.l.*):
1:18(?), 33, 39; 4:39; 5:11; 11:49, 51; 18:13, 15; 19:31 *v.l.*;⁵ 20:19,
21:7, 23
 - b. precedes its noun (total: 8):
 - (i) ἐν + ἡμέρα 5:9; 14:20; 16:23, 26
ἐν + ὥρα 4:53
ἐν + νύξ 21:3
 - (ii) ἀπὸ + ἡμέρα 11:53
ἀπὸ + ὥρα 19:27
 - (iii) in 7 out of 8 instances where ἐκεῖνος precedes its noun, not merely does the demonstrative precede its noun but the whole phrase precedes the verb; the exception is 5:9: ἦν δὲ σαββάτου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, where ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ is omitted by D, which would give a sentence like 13:30: ἦν δὲ νύξ or 18:28 ἦν δὲ πρωί; the strangeness of the longer text inclines me to favour the reading of D here (the presence of οὖν prevents resolving the problem by repunctuating: Ἦν δὲ σαββάτου. ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔλεγον...)

[45]

Conclusions

- 1. pronominal:
 - a. καὶ ἐκεῖνος is always pronominal
 - b. the authors differ concerning pronominal ἐκεῖνος, which is apparently unknown in Mark but common in John, where (against the dominant practice) it precedes the verb more often than not; it occurs in Matthew, Luke, Acts, but not as often as in John
- 2. adjectival:
 - a. adjectival ἐκεῖνος as a rule follows its noun
 - b. the exceptions are similar; ἐκεῖνος precedes the noun in the following phrases:

⁵ This is a particularly interesting variant, being a choice between ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου and ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη τοῦ σαββάτου. Johannine usage here suggests the latter is likely to be original even (or especially) with ἡμέρα (cf. 1:39, 20:19).

- Mark: ἐν + ἡμέρα (sing. and plur.) and ἐν + ὥρα
 John: ἐν + ἡμέρα (sing.), ἐν + ὥρα, ἐν + νύξ, ἀπὸ + ἡμέρα, and ἀπὸ + ὥρα
 Luke: ἐν + ἡμέρα (sing. and plur.) and four other phrases
 Matthew: ἐν + ἡμέρα (sing. and plur.), ἐν + καιρός, ἐν + ὥρα, ἀπὸ + ἡμέρα
 Acts: ἐν + ἡμέρα (sing.), ἐν + ὥρα, and κατὰ + καιρός

POSITION OF αὐτῷ, αὐτῇ, AND αὐτοῖς IN JOHN, WHEN THE PRONOUN DOES NOT DEPEND ON A PREPOSITION

αὐτῷ

1. usually immediately after the verb:
 1:22 (οὖν +), 25, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46 (*bis*), 48 (*bis*), 49, 50, 51; 2:10, 18; 3:2, 3, 9, 10, 26, 27; 4:9 (οὖν +), 11, 14 (*bis*), 17, 19, 25, 33, 50 (*bis*), 51, 52, 53; 5:6, 7, 8, 14, 20, 27; 6:2, 7, 8, 25, 30 (οὖν +), 65, 68; 7:52; 8:13 (οὖν +), 19 (οὖν +), 25 (οὖν +), 29, 31, 33, 39, 41 (οὖν +), 48, 52 (οὖν +); 9:7, 10 (οὖν +), 26 (δὲ +), 34, 35, 37 (*v.l.* δὲ +), 38, 40; 10:13, 24, 33; 11:8, 12, 20, 24, 27, 30, 32, 34, 39; 12:2 (οὖν +), 6, 16, 18, 34; 13:3, 6, 7, 8 (*bis*), 9, 10, 24, 25, 26, 27 (οὖν +), 28, 29, 36 (*bis*), 37, 38; 14:5, 6, 8, 9, 21, 22, 23; 16:29; 17:2 (*bis*); 18:5, 20, 23, 25 (οὖν +), 30, 31, (οὖν +), 33, 34, 37 (οὖν +), 38; 19:3, 7, 9, 10 (οὖν +), 11, 32; 20:6, 15, 16, 25 (οὖν +), 28, 29; 21:3, 5, 15 (*bis*), 16 (*bis*), 17 (4×), 19, 22, 23
2. after other words:
 1:6; 3:1; 8:29; 9:9; 12:13
3. before the verb:
 7:26; 10:4; 12:29

αὐτῇ

[46]

always immediately after the verb:

2:4; 4:7, 10, 13, 16, 17, 21, 26; 11:23, 25, 31, 33, 40; 20:13, 15, 16, 17, 18

αὐτοῖς

always immediately after the verb:

1:12, 26, 38, 39; 2:7, 8, 19, 24 (ἐαυτὸν +); 4:32, 34; 5:11, 17, 19; 6:7, 20, 26, 29, 31, 32 (οὖν +), 35 (δὲ +), 43, 53 (οὖν +), 61, 70; 7:6 (οὖν +), 9, 16, 21,

45, 47 (οὖν +); 8:12 *v.l.*, 14, 21 (οὖν πάλιν +), 21, 23, 25, 28 (οὖν +), 34, 39, 42, 58; 9:15, 20, 27, 30, 41; 10:6 (*bis*), 7 (οὖν πάλιν +), 25, 28, 32, 34; 11:11, 14, 44, 46, 49; 12:23, 35 (οὖν +); 13:12; 15:22; 16:19, 31; 17:2, 8, 14, 22, 26; 18:4, 5, 6, 21, 31 (οὖν +), 38; 19:4, 5, 6, 15, 16 (αὐτόν +); 20:2, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21 (οὖν +), 22 *v.l.*, 22, 23, 25; 21:3, 5 (οὖν +), 6, 10, 12, 13

Principles governing position

In the main all forms occupy the same position in the sentence. They come immediately after the verb or other word on which they depend. Οὖν intervenes between them and the verb some 27 times, δὲ perhaps thrice. At this point agreement ceases. Αὐτῷ comes before its verb thrice, αὐτῇ and αὐτοῖς never. On the other hand αὐτῷ precedes πάλιν at 9:26 and 21:16, but πάλιν precedes αὐτοῖς 8:21 and 10:7. Αὐτῷ precedes ἐμαυτόν at 14:21, but ἐαυτόν precedes αὐτοῖς at 2:24. Αὐτόν precedes αὐτοῖς at 19:16.

The three instances of αὐτῷ before the verb remain a problem. At 10:4 αὐτῷ is contrasted with ἄλλοτρίῳ at the beginning of 10:5 and this may account for the forward position here, but no such explanation is available for 7:26 or 12:29.

Note on the textual evidence

Words like πάλιν or αὐτῷ are often textually insecure. The variants at the crucial passages are as follows:

2:24	ἐαυτόν	ⲡ ⁶⁶ W Θ P Γ Δ Π
	αὐτόν	Ⲭ A* B L 700
8:21	αὐτοῖς πάλιν	053 517 713 1424 <u>al</u> a c q
	πάλιν omitted	Ⲭ 0141
9:26	πάλιν	ⲡ ⁶⁶ A Θ X Γ Δ Λ
	omitted	ⲡ ⁷⁵ Ⲭ B D W
10:7	πάλιν αὐτοῖς	Ⲭ D L M Θ U Γ Δ
	αὐτοῖς πάλιν	A Π Λ Y
[47]	πάλιν omitted	ⲡ ⁴⁵ ⲡ ⁶⁶ Ⲭ W 0141
	αὐτοῖς omitted	Ⲭ B
21:16	πάλιν before	λέγει Ⲭ C W Θ
	πάλιν omitted	D c e

The longer text is reasonably firm at 8:21 and 9:26. There is a general tendency for scribes to omit πάλιν and the various forms of αὐτός. This

leaves us with the variant at 2:24 and the variations in order at 8:21; 10:7 and 21:16. The evangelist, like other NT writers, uses the uncontracted reflexive ἐαυτόν and not the Attic αὐτόν, which is probably intended by αὐτον at 2:24. Πάλιν αὐτοῖς at 10:7 is compatible with 8:21 (*v.l.*) and should probably be read here as the original text. Πάλιν λέγει at 21:16 likewise is probably the original reading—altered because of its apparent awkwardness.

πρός με OR πρὸς ἐμέ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Blass-Debrunner-Funk §279 states that in oblique cases the accented form of the first-person singular pronoun is used in NT Greek (as in Classical Greek) to denote emphasis and contrast. In the NT, however, there are exceptions after πρὸς, but the printed editions do not give a consistent picture.

While there is no undoubted example of πρὸς ἐμέ in the NT, the manuscripts are unanimously for πρὸς με at Matt 3:14, 11:28; Luke 6:47; John 5:40; Acts 22:10, 26:14; and Titus 3:12. At Matt 3:14 πρὸς με is emphatic, and so we cannot distinguish between πρὸς ἐμέ emphatic and πρὸς με unemphatic. It is probable that position rather than accentuation provided the means of emphasizing in this phrase. Ἐμέ is supported by the following manuscript evidence in the passages listed:

Matt	19:14	ⲛ L A	
	25:36	ⲛ	
Mark	9:19	ⲡ ⁴⁵ ⲛ	
	10:14	N W	
Luke	1:43	ⲛ* B Θ	
	14:26	ⲡ ⁴⁵ ⲛ	
	18:16	W	
John	6:35	ⲛ B D (<i>deest</i> ⲡ ⁶⁶)	
	6:37a	all except L Λ Π (με)	
	6:37b	ⲡ ⁶⁶ ⲛ D E K Λ Θ 047 440 1207	
	6:44	ⲛ D E M U V A Θ 047 471 461 2145	[48]
	6:45	ⲛ B D Θ 1675 Or	
	6:65	ⲛ C	
	7:37	B	
Acts	11:11	ⲛ* 1765	
	22:8	ⲛ* A B	

	22:13	ⲛ* A B
	22:21	C
	23:22	ⲛ B 429
	24:19	ⲛ A B C E 33 81 337 1175 1739
1 Cor	16:11	ⲡ ⁴⁶ B D F G 823 1175 1912
Phil	2:30	ⲡ ⁴⁶ ⲛ
2 Tim	4:9	D

We should probably regard ἐμέ in all these instances as a correction to the grammarians' rules. It is printed in the text of NA²⁷ at Luke 1:43; John 6:35, 37 (*bis*), 45; and Acts 24:19.

From this evidence it is clear that Alexandrian manuscripts have frequently suffered this kind of correction. On the other hand the so-called Byzantine texts are remarkably free. Only at John 6:37 had ἐμέ penetrated both Byzantine texts and the Textus Receptus.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SPECIFIC VARIANTS

A) Ο ΒΑΠΤΙΖΩΝ AND MARK 1:4

In printed editions of the Greek New Testament¹ John the Baptist is [14]
named in two different ways in Mark's gospel. At Mark 6:25 and 8:28
he is ὁ βαπτιστής whereas at 6:14, 24 the form ὁ βαπτίζων is found. In
the rest of the New Testament only baptistées is used.

Mark as a writer is normally insensitive to repetition and it is unlikely
he varied his vocabulary for stylistic effect. Thus it is strange to find
two titles for John in this gospel. It would be difficult—especially in
view of the printed text of 6:24 and 25—to argue that the change in
vocabulary is due to Mark's adoption of two different sources, the first
of which referred to John by one title, the second by the other. The
explanation for the alternatives in the printed text lies elsewhere.

There are textual variants at each point in the text where the name
“Baptist” occurs in Mark:

6:14: βαπτίζων	Sin ABC fam ¹ and most minuscules
βαπτιστής	DSW Theta fam ¹³ (except 124) and a few other minuscules
6:24: βαπτίζοντος	Sin BL Delta Theta 565 1596
βαπτιστοῦ	ceteri
6:25: βαπτίζοντος	L 700 892
βαπτιστοῦ	ceteri
8:28: βαπτίζοντα	28 565
βαπτιστήν	ceteri

In view of the prevailing tendency to call John βαπτιστής in Matthew,
Luke and later Christian writings², it is likely that the direction of change

¹ Such as Souter, BFBS, Merk, Nestle, UBS, von Soden, Tischendorf, NEB Greek
New Testament and Westcott and Hort.

² ὁ βαπτιστής is used only by Christian writers, with the exception of Josephus Ant.
18:116 where he is referring to John.

in the text of Mark is away from an original βαπτίζων. βαπτιστής was introduced into the text by later scribes possibly because of assimilation to parallels at Matt. 14:2, 8, 16:14 and at Luke 9:19. Mark used βαπτίζων throughout as the designation for John. This represents the form of John's name before Christian tradition coined the noun βαπτιστής to describe him.³

Mark's constancy in this regard may help us solve the textual problem at 1:4. There are four main variants in this verse:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| a) βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ | AKPW Pi and the bulk of the minuscules |
| b) ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ | Sin L Delta |
| c) ὁ βαπτιστής ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ | B 33 892 and some Coptic mss. |
| d) ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ βαπτίζων καὶ | D Theta 28 and the bulk of Latin mss. |

Variant a) is the reading followed by UBS¹, von Soden, Nestle¹⁷, Merk⁷ and the AV; b) is followed by Tischendorf⁸, Souter, Tregelles (καὶ bracketed), the RV and RSV; and c) by WH, most editions of Nestle and the NEB.

- [15] Reading c) is the one which explains the origin of the other variants. This reading also conforms to Markan usage. John is here described as ὁ βαπτίζων. Once ὁ βαπτιστής became the normal title for John, the participle would be interpreted as a true verbal form. Thus in readings a) and b) καὶ has been added to make both βαπτίζων and κηρύσσων dependent on ἐγένετο. In a) the definite article before βαπτίζων has been removed, thus preventing the participle being read as a substantive. This process is developed still further in d) where the two linked participles stand closer. Reading b) represents a half-way stage between a) and c) in which ὁ governs both βαπτίζων and κηρύσσων but this does not conform to Markan usage, where καὶ would be possible only if ὁ were absent.

This variant at Mark 1:4 is one of the few listed in the very select critical apparatus in the UBS Greek New Testament.⁴ The explanatory

³ The use of the participle as a substantive is common in the New Testament; e.g. at Luke 3:14 *strateuómenoi* = *stratiῶται*. Cf. also Matt. 2:6, 26:46, Mark 5:15f., John 6:63, 8:18, 50, Acts 17:17, Rom. 2:1, 8:34, Eph. 4:28, Phil. 3:6, 1. Thess. 1:10, 2:12, 4:8, Heb. 7:9.

⁴ First edition (1966), second edition (1968) edited by Kurt Aland and others.

note on this variant found in B.M. Metzger's companion volume to the third edition of this text⁵ is instructive in showing us the methods used in establishing this text. According to Metzger the text of the forthcoming third edition of UBS is to read (ὁ) βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καί, that is a combination of variants a) and b). UBS¹⁻² follow variant a) only. ὁ albeit bracketed, seems to have been added in order to reflect the reading of Cod. Sin.—a manuscript which has greatly influenced the editors of the UBS text.

Metzger's note claims that the original καί was omitted by some scribes because ὁ βαπτίζων was taken as a title, but as we have seen, this is precisely what it was for Mark. Metzger has failed to recognize Markan practice. His note therefore should be seen as a caution against relying on the readings of the so-called "best" mss., or on the weight of ms. support, rather than on the style and usage of the New Testament author himself.

In accepting reading c) as original, ἐγένετο can be taken as a verb with a force of its own ("John the Baptist appeared in the desert preaching...") which conforms to Markan usage elsewhere, e.g. 9:7 (cf. *v.l.* at Mark 1:39 ἦλθε κηρύσσω and to New Testament practice, e.g. John 1:6, 1 John 2:18 (cf. Rev. 3:2 "become watchful", not "be watchful"), although ἐγένετο κηρύσσω could be seen as periphrastic ("John the Baptist was preaching in the desert..."). This use is also paralleled elsewhere in Mark (e.g. at 9:3). Probably the former translation should be accepted here, as there is some significance in the context in John's appearance in the desert as the fulfilment of the prophecy in the preceding verses.

A subsidiary argument in favour of our taking reading c) as original may be found in C.H. Turner's comment that baptizing was not done ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ but ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ (Mark 1:5, cf. Matth. 3:1:6, Luke 3:3) and that therefore ὁ βαπτίζων in 1:4 has to be a title.⁶

⁵ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), p. 73.

⁶ C.H. Turner, "The Text of Mark I" *JTS* 28 (1927), p. 150.

B) JOHN 1:14 AND THE NEW TESTAMENT'S USE OF ΠΛΗΡΗΣ

- [151] Grammars such as Moulton-Howard-Turner¹ and Blass-Debrunner-Funk² inform us that πλήρης in Hellenistic Greek is generally indeclinable only when followed by a dependent genitive, and that when it is not followed by a genitive it is declinable. Although both grammars indicate that textual variation between the indeclinable and declinable forms often exists in the New Testament manuscripts when this word occurs, they do not draw conclusions as to which is likely to be original.

Given the basic rule of thumb that whenever variation occurs in New Testament manuscripts between a Classical and a Hellenistic form the latter is likely to be original (other things being equal), we will accept the Hellenistic indeclinable form of πλήρης and argue that the declinable forms were introduced by scribes influenced by Atticism.³

The same rule could be applied to the LXX, where in over half of the 70 occurrences of πλήρης (outside the nominative singular masculine or feminine where of course there is no problem) the indeclinable form is found in some manuscripts. C.H. Turner in 1899 collected together some examples of non declinable πλήρης in literature outside the LXX and NT.⁴ These include Epiphanius *Haer.* 51:16, MS. B of the Acts of Pilate (ed. Tischendorf in *Evangelia Apocrypha* 1853 p. 253 and 1856 p. 272) and Charles's edition of the Greek fragment of the Book of Enoch XXVIII, XXXI. Other examples of indeclinable πλήρης can be located showing standard Koine practice.

Our main concern is with the New Testament occurrences. In Luke-Acts πλήρης occurs without variant at Luke 4:1; 5:12; Acts 6:8; 7:55; 9:36; 11:24; 13:10; but these are all nominative singular masculine

¹ N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Volume III Syntax (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963) pp. 315 f.

² F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*: English translation of the 9th–10th German edition by R.W. Funk (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

³ See G.D. Kilpatrick, "Atticism and the Text of the New Testament" in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze* edited by J. Blinzler, O. Kuss and F. Mussner (Regensburg: Pustet, 1963). Reprinted as Chapter 2 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) (= BETL 96).

⁴ "On πλήρης in St. John 1:14", *JTS* I, pp. 120–125 and pp. 561–562.

or feminine. All are followed by a genitive. In the oblique cases variants occur. At Acts 6:3 πλήρεις (agreeing with ἄνδρας) occurs in most MSS. but the indeclinable form is found in A E P H 88 431 915 1133 1316 1827 1829 1838 etc. and is followed by a dependent genitive. Similarly at Acts 6:5 πλήρης (read by most MSS.) and πλήρη (read by BC^c 5 383 623 1611 1827 etc.) both exist and a dependent genitive follows. In both verses we should print the indeclinable form as being in keeping with Hellenistic usage. At Acts 19:28 πλήρης occurs in AEL 33 1518 but the declinable form is read by most MSS. Again a dependent genitive follows. Πλήρης should be accepted as original and should appear in our printed editions. As far as Mark is concerned, the only evidence of this adjective followed by a dependent genitive is at 8:19 where **Ⲁ** B C L *et al.* have πλήρεις and A F G M *et al.* read πλήρης. As above, the indeclinable form is likely to be original. At Mark 6:43 most MSS. read πληρώματα against the reading πλήρεις of AD N Γ Θ Π Σ Φ 118 157 565 780 *et al.* The former is likely to be original. The variant could have been introduced by assimilation to 8:19. [152]

All the examples so far would support our opening statement.

The remaining five occurrences of πλήρης in the New Testament are at Matthew 14:20; 15:37; Mark 4:28; 2 John 8; and John 1:14 (which will be discussed later). At Mark 4:28 and 2 John 8 variants exist between the indeclinable and declinable forms:

Mark 4:28	πλήρη	– pl.
	πλήρης	– C* D Σ W 472
2 John 8	πλήρη	– pl.
	πλήρης	– L

N. Turner⁵ states that variants exist also at Matthew 14:20; 15:37; giving the indeclinable form, but no known MSS. have come to light reading πλήρης at either of these places. In a private communication Turner has admitted the statement in his Grammar is incorrect.

Given the development of the Greek language, scribes are more likely to have altered the indeclinable form πλήρης to the declinable than the reverse. Thus we will again read πλήρης at Mark 4:28 and 2 John 8. As far as Matthew is concerned, we note that he alone of the New Testament authors uses the declinable form. Our opening

⁵ Op. cit., p. 316.

sentence dividing this problem into whether πλήρης is followed by a genitive or not is therefore unnecessary. The only division of usage is between Matthew and the rest of the New Testament.

A further variant at Mark 4:28 is of relevance and interest here. Aland's apparatus in his *Synopsis* gives us the following variants:

πλήρη σῖτον	– <i>pl.</i> (inc. Σ A)
πλήρης ὁ σῖτος	– D W
πλήρης σῖτος	– B
πλήρης σῖτον	– C* <i>pc</i>

[153] Our attempts to decide which of the above is likely to represent what the original author wrote are helped not only by the decision to accept πλήρης as original but also by the gender of the noun. Σῖτος was normal in Hellenistic Greek⁶ whereas Attic writers used the neuter. Haplography of *sigma* may have encouraged scribes to write the declinable form. The text most likely to represent the original is πλήρης σῖτον⁷ (πλήρης σῖτος is less likely in the context).

One further occurrence of variants involving πλήρης remains. This is at John 1:14 which is important for exegesis. Πλήρη is read by D and πλήρης by the majority of MSS. If πλήρης (which is likely to be original) is nominative then it must stand at the beginning of a parenthesis and refer back to ὁ λόγος. No doubt many scribes read it as such, hence this form was allowed to stand in the vast majority of MSS. But as we have seen, all New Testament authors (except Matthew apparently) used πλήρης for all cases. If it is indeclinable in John therefore—as we would argue—then it can agree with τὴν δόξαν, with λόγος, with αὐτοῦ, with μονογενοῦς or with πατρός. This freedom of

⁶ In the New Testament the masculine occurs without variants at Matthew 3:12; 13:25, 29, 30; Luke 3:17; 12:18; 16:7; 22:31; John 12:24; Acts 27:38; 1 Corinthians 15:37; Revelation 6:6; 18:13. The neuter plural occurs in HP *et al.* at Acts 7:12 but is unlikely to be original: the diminutive form σιτία should stand in our printed editions. This correction shows not only the change to the Attic neuter but also the avoidance of a diminutive form—many scribes influenced by Atticism removed diminutives from their texts. See J.K. Elliott, "Nouns with Diminutive Endings in the New Testament", *Novum Testamentum XII* (1970), pp. 391–398. Reprinted as Chapter 4 in J.K. Elliott *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

⁷ It is interesting to note that Hort (in Westcott and Hort, *New Testament: Appendix* p. 24) argues for the originality of πλήρης σῖτον with C *vid.* and two lectionaries only!

interpretation has been recognised in both ancient writers and versions and in modern commentaries and translations. The Curetonian Syriac for instance takes πλήρης with either δόξαν or μονογενοῦς, not λόγος; the Palestinian Syriac on the other hand takes it with either πατρός or μονογενοῦς. Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* V xviii 2) seems not to have taken πλήρης with λόγος, Origen similarly (in *Contra Celsum* VI 77) seems to have understood πλήρης with some noun other than λόγος. Athanasius (*de decretis Nicaenae synodi* 15), Cyril of Alexandria (Commentary on St. John) and Theophylact (Commentary on the Four Gospels) connected πλήρης with δόξαν.⁸ All were aware of this indeclinable use of πλήρης.

Among modern writers and commentators Barnabas Lindars⁹ acknowledges that “full” can agree with “his”, McGregor¹⁰ says that πλήρης is to be understood as an accusative agreeing with “glory” (this certainly is how D understood the verse). The Valentinians also adopted this interpretation. Sanders and Mastin¹¹ prefer to take πλήρης with λόγος. Bultmann¹² says that πλήρης is clearly not predicated by δόξα (for it is the Revealer who is being described), and is either related to the dominating term ὁ λόγος (which is especially likely if vv. 14b and 16 are read together) or taken with αὐτοῦ and used without inflection. Modern translations similarly show this breadth of interpretation.

Within the compass of this grammatical note all that need be said at this juncture is that in John 1:14 πλήρης ought not to be read only as a nominative, but being an indeclinable adjective can stand with any case. The solution to the translation must be sought on exegetical grounds: the case of πλήρης does not bind the interpretation.

⁸ For full details see C.H. Turner (op. cit.).

⁹ B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1972) *ad loc.*

¹⁰ G.H.C. McGregor, *The Gospel of John* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928) *ad loc.*

¹¹ J.N. Sanders and B.A. Mastin, *The Gospel According to St. John* (London: A. and C. Black, 1968) *ad loc.*

¹² R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971) pp. 73 f.

C) JOHN 1:18 'GOD' OR 'SON': STALEMATE?

[297] Is Jesus described at the end of the Johannine Prologue as 'God' or as 'Son'? This well-known text-critical problem is drawn to many Bible readers' attention by its being included in the marginal notes to many a modern version. Also, it is thoroughly debated in learned commentaries. The textual evidence is clearly set out in modern critical editions of the Greek New Testament. The apparatus does not need repeating *in extenso* here, suffice it to say that the issue boils down to whether the original reading was 'God' with or without the article as read in our earliest surviving witnesses (P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵ Sin B C) or 'Son' with the majority of manuscripts. The Patristic writers know both readings, and some fathers sometimes use the form with 'God' sometimes the form with 'Son' when citing this verse in their writings. Note that the reading 'Son' is also ancient, being known to Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian, and is behind the Latin and Syriac versions. The reading 'God' at John 1:18 is especially interesting because it is found virtually exclusively in the Alexandrian tradition. We are not dealing, as we sometimes are, with "Maj." versus the rest; here it is "Alex." alone against other readings.

Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, that first port of call for many scholars to help them resolve textual cruxes, shows here that although the majority of its editors favoured 'God' one signed a dissentient comment in favour of 'Son'. Members of the Majority Text Society presumably support 'Son' here, read as it is by the bulk of the Byzantine witnesses and thus follow a reading known to and used by a large swathe of Christian tradition, especially now by Orthodox communities.

The internal arguments are well rehearsed. 'Son', we are told by commentators, seems to be required by the following clause and that it fits Johannine style (Jn 3:16, 18 and cf. 1 Jn 4:9). But that may make it the 'easier' i.e. the secondary reading introduced by scribes. 'God' is certainly the harder reading and one may understand why in certain quarters at certain times readers objected to Jesus being described as the only-begotten God, especially as this uniqueness seems to be contradicted in the context. But the author of the Fourth Gospel may have deliberately returned to 'God' at the end of his Prologue to balance the introductory line where the Logos is described as God, and is identified in v. 14 as the begotten Son.

On the other hand it may have been that some scribes, reflecting the theological concerns of their communities and determined to enhance Jesus' status, altered an original 'Son' (with all the subordinationist baggage that title carries) to 'God', thereby affirming his divinity and deity.

Two minor points are often raised but may be summarily dismissed. One states that stylistically conscious scribes may have bridled at a text that repeated 'God' in the sentence and thus altered the second occurrence. Another minor comment refers to the ease with which careless scribes could have misread the abbreviated form of 'God' as 'Son' or *vice versa*. Arguments having recourse to the claim of carelessness do not help us here, especially as in this case the change could have been made in either direction. Carelessness and change encouraged by stylistic considerations are unlikely to have played a part in what is an obvious and theologically sensitive sentence.

If we cannot resolve the variant using internal or external criteria what is to be done?

Theologians traditionally expect textual critics to pronounce categorically on the originality and secondariness of every variant in the New Testament. That expectation is unrealistic and unachievable. Several readings seem impervious to satisfactory resolution, whatever one's methodological proclivities. In any case it may perhaps be a better function of textual criticism if it alerts readers to the sheer variety of viable options in a text that has had a theologically rich history. Most theologically sensitive readings reflect early Christological debate and thus bear valuable historical testimony. If the results of textual criticism promote only the supposed original reading, the danger is that the secondary readings are jettisoned as flawed and spurious. We thus forget that all readings were once used as canonical by the owners of each manuscript. The pious who had a manuscript of Mark that ended at 16:8 would consider their text canonical, just as another owner whose manuscript ended at 16:20 would also cherish its text as the canonical word of God.

We may compare that to owners of an English version of the Bible, who will regard its text as representing the canonical scriptures. Those favouring the KJV, for instance, accept its text at Acts 9:5–6; 10:6; Rev. 22:19 (not to mention the Comma Johanneum!) without realising that its eccentricities here are the product of early printed editions' including bogus readings from the Latin.

The dilemma of what to do with apparently unresolvable problem cases has encouraged me to suggest—most recently in the Delobel Festschrift in relation to the complex textual tradition of the Parable

of the Two Boys in Matt 21:28–32—that sometimes it may be wisest to print all the viable alternatives, without favouring any one of them as *the* original.¹ To do this at John 1:18 would invite readers to explain both differing meanings of the verse and thereby to appreciate the complex history revealed in the transmission of this gospel.

I leave readers to consider this proposal and to assess the logistics of applying such a suggestion. I note that the new Miinster series *Editio Critica Maior* occasionally signals (by means of a bold dot) words that are offered to readers as equally acceptable alternative readings. Is that the way forward?

¹ Reprinted as chapter 22.

D) IN FAVOUR OF ΚΑΥΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ AT I CORINTHIANS 13:3

This short note is designed to give added support to those commentaries¹ which favour καυθήσομαι at 1 Cor 13:3 by presenting some neglected arguments for this reading. The United Bible Society's Greek New Testament lists three main variants in this verse: [297]

καυχήσομαι (read by P⁴⁶ & A B 33 1739* et al.)
καυθήσομαι (read by K Ψ 181 326 1739c et al.)
and καυθήσομαι (read by CDG 81 436 1985 et al.)

Most of the commentaries are content only to discuss the advantage of one reading over another on grounds of interpretation and meaning, and consequently discussion of how and why the variants arose is usually neglected. The points listed below are attempts to remedy this deficiency.

IN FAVOUR OF ΚΑΥΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ

a) An often neglected point is grammatical. Classical usage always follows ἵνα with the subjunctive (or optative). This is generally true of Koine Greek also, but in the New Testament there are several occurrences of ἵνα + future indicative e.g. at Mt 12:10, Lk 14:10, 20:10, John 7:3, 17:2, Act 5:15, 21:24, 1 Pet 3:1 and frequently so in Revelation. In Paul ἵνα + future indicative occurs at 1 Cor 9:15, 9:18, Gal 2:4, Eph 6:3, Phil 2:11 and 1 Thess 5:10. At all these places textual variation occurs reading the aorist subjunctive.²

The future indicative is likely to be original in all the above and should appear in the printed editions. Many scribes motivated by classical standards have 'corrected' the New Testament text by eradicating the future indicative after ἵνα. At 1 Cor 13:3, the 'incorrect' future

¹ καυθήσομαι is favoured by Barrett, Robertson and Plummer, Allo and by Lietzmann. Hering prefers καυχήσομαι, which is also read by the United Bible Society's Greek Testament. Souter reads καυθήσομαι.

² See Blass-Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, English translation of the 9th–10th German edition by R.W. Funk. (Cambridge and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) § 369: 2, and J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* Vol. III by N. Turner (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963) p. 100.

indicative καθήσονται would encourage scribes motivated by neo-Atticism to alter the text.³

The reverse, i.e. a change to the future indicative, is explicable only on the ground of orthographical carelessness, but the fact there is no known *v.l.* καυχήσονται might suggest scribes did not indiscriminately write 'ο' for 'ω' or 'ω' for 'ο'.

b) καθήσονται is also a difficult reading insofar as the 1 p.s. passive seems to be unexpected following τὸ σῶμα. Some scribes avoid this difficulty by reading καθήσεται (1877 2492 2138). Others may have altered the verb to the more readily explicable καυχήσωμαι. The 1 p.s. καθήσονται can be explained by interpreting τὸ σῶμά μου almost, as a reflexive i.e. 'If I give myself to be burned...'.
[298]

c) καθήσονται creates difficulties in interpretation as can be seen in those commentaries which favour this reading. The problem of the precise meaning may have caused some scribes to substitute the popular Pauline verb καυχάομαι. 'Even if I give my body to be burned' can however be interpreted as the ultimate or superlative act of charity. In giving this as an example Paul is not necessarily to be interpreted literally: martyrdom or even self-immolation are not in mind at this period.

d) Possibly some scribes avoided καθήσονται because they took the reference to Paul's offering his body to be burned literally and not as an hypothetical example. They thus altered the text, because they were aware that Paul did *not* die by burning.

e) The change from καίω to καυχάομαι is more probable than that change from καυχάομαι to καίω. Both are New Testament verbs, but καυχάομαι may have been introduced into the text by scribes through assimilation to e.g. 2 Cor 11:18. There is no obvious reason why καθήσονται would be introduced to the text if καυχήσωμαι were the original reading.

f) παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καθήσονται reflects Daniel 3, which may have influenced Paul.

³ For a discussion of this tendency see G.D. Kilpatrick: 'Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament' in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze—Festschrift* for J. Schmid edited by J. Blinzler, O. Kuss and F. Mussner (Regensburg: Pustet, 1963). Reprinted as Chapter 2 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) (= BETL. 96).

AGAINST *καυχῆσθαι*

a) The motive of self-glorification makes the addition of *ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω* unnecessary as it is obvious that *ἀγάπη* is not the guiding principle behind such a motive.

b) Similarly the adversative *δὲ* is less meaningful if *καυχῆσθαι* is read. *δὲ* is an adversative in verses 1 and 3.

c) If *καυχῆσθαι* is read, *παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου* stands on its own, but *παραδίδωμι τὸ σῶμα* is a far from explicit expression. The nearest equivalent in the New Testament is *παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα* at John 19:30 but this is not instructive here. For the words to be meaningful, the verb would have to be stretched to bear a meaning it has nowhere else in the New Testament. *παραδίδωμι* in Paul is not used in isolation but is usually followed by explanatory clauses or words e.g. at Rom 1:24, 26, 28, 8:32, Gal 2:20, Eph 5:2, 25. It is perhaps conceivable that those scribes who wrote *καυχῆσθαι* understood *παραδίδωμι τὸ σῶμα* in the Gnostic sense of renouncing the body but this is not paralleled in the New Testament.

AGAINST *καυθήσθαι*

This variant marks a half-way stage between *καυχῆσθαι* and the original reading. Scribes concerned to remove an occurrence of *ἵνα* + future indicative have here created a rare instance of a future passive subjunctive. There is no firm example of this form in the New Testament although some MSS. read *ἐκφευξώμεθα* at Heb 2:3 and *κερδηθήσονται* at 1 Pet 3:1.⁴

The above evidence suggests that *καυθήσθαι* is most likely to be the original reading at 1 Cor 13:3. It can be seen that the variants are attempts to 'correct' the difficulties which scribes recognized in this verb. It will also be seen, however, that the difficulties in the variant readings are even greater than in the word Paul used.

⁴ See Blass-Debrunner op. cit. § 28.

E) ΔΙΑΩΜΙ IN 2 TIMOTHY

[621] Three interesting textual variants involving the verb δίδωμι occur in 2 Timothy. They are:

2 Tim. 2:7	δώσει	Ⲭ AC*DFG 6 81 104 462 1022 1245 1739 Lat. (vg.) (vt.) Copt. (boh.) Arm. Goth. Hilary
	δῶη	<i>ceteri</i>
2 Tim. 2:25	δῶη	Ⲭ ACD*FG 81 104 330 547 2004 2400
	δῶ	<i>ceteri</i>
2 Tim. 4:14	ἀποδῶη	D ^C L ^Ψ Textus Receptus and most minus- cules Lat. (vg.) (vt. d) Copt. (sah.) Syr. (hl.) Diodore Chrysostom Pelagius Theodore of Mopsuestia (lat.)
	ἀποδώσει	Ⲭ ACD*G 31 33 424** al. pauc. Lat. (vt. g) Syr. (vg.) Copt. (boh.) Arm. Goth. Eth. Aug. Ambst.Jer.

Δῶη at 2 Tim. 2:7 and 2:25 and the form -δῶη at 2 Tim. 4:14 can be read as the optative δῶη. The Atticist stylist Phrynichus objected to δῶη as an optative form.¹ He preferred the Attic δοίη. Hence scribes influenced by Atticism would have avoided the form δῶη. Theological motives may also have caused scribes to avoid ἀποδῶη at 2 Tim. 4:14. Ἀποδῶη gives the impression that it is an imprecation; the future ἀποδώσει on the other hand gives no offence, and is found in similar contexts at Ps. 61:13 (LXX), Prov. 24:12, Rom. 2:6, and 2 Tim. 4:8. Scribes therefore avoided ἀποδῶη and wrote ἀποδώσει, perhaps by assimilation to Ps. 61:13 (LXX).

The rarity of the optative mood in the New Testament, however, makes it unlikely that δῶη is to be read in the above passages. What we should print in our Greek Testament is ἀποδῶη at 2 Tim. 4:14 and δῶη at 2 Tim. 2:7 and 2:25. The spelling δῶη represents a Hellenistic form of the 2nd Aorist subjunctive. At John 15:16 and Eph. 3:16,

¹ W.G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* (London: Macmillan, 1881), § cccxxv.

where the mood is subjunctive, δῶη occurs as a variant reading for δῶ in some manuscripts. W.F. Howard² cites δῶη as a subjunctive form. Blass-Debrunner³ agrees by saying that until A.D. 300 this subjunctive form was often mistaken for an uncommon optative and that the alleged optative δῶη at Eph. 1:17 is in fact the subjunctive δῶη. That a firm example of the optative mood does occur in the Pastoral Epistles (λογισθείη at 2 Tim. 4:16) does not really affect the issue here, for λογισθείη occurs after μή and this idiom is not unknown to Koine (cf. μὴ γένοιτο). At 2 Tim. 2:7 and 4:14 the wish is not negative, and the subjunctive is required at both places.

The variant at 2 Tim. 2:25 particularly shows that δῶη represents a spelling of the subjunctive. J.H. Moulton (op. cit., vol. i, p. 193) comments that δῶη here is in fact δῶη: the optative would clash with ἀνανήψωσιν and could not be justified syntactically. For parallels to this form, Moulton points to γνώη in Clem. *Paed.* 3:1, and elsewhere in early Christian literature. Some manuscripts read δῶη for δῶ at Plato, *Gorg.* 481 A, where an optative would similarly be out of place. Read δῶη at 2 Tim. 2:25. This reading appears in the United Bible Society text.

It is relevant to inquire at this point what the mood of δῶη is at 2 Tim. 1:16 and 1:18. Should we print δῶη or δῶη? Turner (op. cit., p. 129) says that δῶη at these places can be nothing else but optative. On the previous page of his *Grammar*, however, he states that Atticists often preferred the optative in such sentences. Some scribes, therefore, were content to read δῶη at 2 Tim. 1:16 and 1:18 as δῶη. We, however, may be justified in printing δῶη as the original reading at these places (and also at Rom. 15:5 and 2 Thess. 3:16). These subjunctives would be rare examples of the jussive (see Turner, op. cit., p. 94). If this is so, there are no examples of the optative of δίδωμι in the Pastoral Epistles. [623]

² Vol. ii of J.H. Moulton's *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1929), p. 210. See also vol. iii by N. Turner (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), p. 100.

³ *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* translated from the 9th–10th German edition by R.W. Funk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), § 95:2.

F) WHEN JESUS WAS APART FROM GOD:
AN EXAMINATION OF HEBREWS 2:9

[339] At Hebrews 2:9 the reading χάριτι θεοῦ appears in printed editions of the Greek New Testament such as the United Bible Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, von Soden and Souter. This reading has the support of the vast majority of Greek MSS as well as versional and Patristic evidence. However, χωρὶς θεοῦ is read by M₂ (= 0121b) 424** 1739* Latin (Vulgate G) Syriac (Peshitta), by MSS known to Origen, 4 out of the 6 occurrences of the quotation in Greek by Origen and all the references to this verse in the Latin versions of Origen, and by a significantly large number of other Fathers including Vigilius, Fulgentius, MSS known to Jerome, Ambrose, MSS known to Ambrose, the Ambrosiaster, Eusebius, Theodoret, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Anastasius-Abbot, Pseudo-Oecumenius and Theophylact.

Most commentators favour χάριτι. F.F. Bruce, for example,¹ says 'Whatever may be said of the textual warrant for the phrase "by the grace of God" it is entirely appropriate in the context and makes for a smooth transition to the words which follow'. This is a typical comment.

χωρὶς, however, is favoured by Zuntz.² Following Harnack he argues that χάριτι is a dogmatic correction and that χωρὶς θεοῦ fits the theology of the author of the letter to Hebrews. χωρὶς θεοῦ according to Zuntz has the same meaning as δι' ἑαυτοῦ which appears in KL *et al.* at Heb 1:3.

As far as the ancient commentators are concerned they too are often aware of the variation in MSS at this point. Origen, as can be seen from the *apparatus criticus* to this verse, knows both variants although in his comments he reaches no decision. Theodore of Mopsuestia, however, condemns χάριτι θεοῦ as alien to the argument. Theophylact and Oecumenius also know both readings.

Commentators ancient and modern have usually been preoccupied with theological considerations when discussing this verse and neglect

¹ F.F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New London Commentary) (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1964), p. 40.

² *The Text of the Epistles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 34.

to examine our author's linguistic usage. This is instructive and to my mind is decisive in our reaching a decision on the variants.

χωρίς occurs 13 times in the epistle to the Hebrews compared with a total of only 28 occurrences in the whole of the rest of the New Testament. χωρίς is always followed by an anarthrous noun in Hebrews, and this is true of the New Testament occurrences as a whole. The only two apparent exceptions to this practice are at 2 Cor 2:28 and Philemon 14 where χωρίς precedes the definite article. These are, however, not true exceptions because at 2 Cor 2:28 τῶν is used pronominally, and at Philemon 14 the normal usage has been affected by the presence of the possessive adjective in the attributive position³ which in the New Testament is always preceded by the article. In the latter instance therefore the usage with the possessive adjective has over-ridden the normal usage of χωρίς followed by an anarthrous noun.

χωρίς θεοῦ at Hebrews 2:9, therefore, would conform entirely with New Testament usage in general and with Hebrews usage in particular in this respect. χάριτι θεοῦ on the other hand does not conform with the usage of the article with this noun in either the New Testament in general or Hebrews in particular. χάρις is a common New Testament word occurring over 100 times in Paul alone. It occurs eight times in Hebrews. A close parallel to χάριτι θεοῦ at Heb 2:9 is afforded by Heb 12:13 where the author speaks of the 'grace of God'. Here, however, it is significant that both χάρις and the dependent genitive have the article. This conforms with normal New Testament usage. χάρις is normally arthrous when followed by the *nomina sacra* as dependent genitives. ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (or κυρίου) occurs 34 times in the Corpus Paulinum. In all these places χάρις the divine name are arthrous. There are two exceptions, one at 1 Cor 15:10a and one at 2 Cor 1:12 where both χάρις and θεός are anarthrous. However, at 2 Cor 1:12 the normal usage has been broken in order to parallel 5:12a ἐν σοφίᾳ σαρκικῇ. At 1 Cor 15:10a the normal usage may again have been altered for rhetorical reasons in so far as χάρις occurs three times in this verse. In the rest of the New Testament χάρις is arthrous when followed by the divine name as in the Pauline letters, and the only exceptions are at Lk 2:40 (χάρις θεοῦ) and 1 P 4:10 (ποικλης χάριτος θεοῦ). If χάριτι [340]

³ See G.D. Kilpatrick, "The Possessive Pronouns in the New Testament" *JTS* 42 (1941) pp. 184 f. Reprinted as Chapter 12 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) (= *BETL* 96).

θεοῦ were original at Heb 2:9 this anarthrous usage would disagree not only with Heb 12:15 but with the other instances of ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ (κυρίου) in the rest of the New Testament, where these nouns are, as we have seen, usually arthrous.

It seems therefore that χωρὶς θεοῦ is original to Heb 2:9 but, if so, what is its meaning? Among the ancient writers, Theodore of Mopues-tia argues that the words were intended to show the impassibility of the Godhead. Fulgentius similarly states (*ad Tras* 3:20) that Jesus, in tasting death, was without God (*sine Deo*) only so far as his mortal nature was concerned; the divine part of him was still with God. Cf. also Ambrose (*de Fide*, 5:106). Another possible explanation for χωρὶς θεοῦ which has been put forward is less theologically significant. This says that Christ died for all, *God only excepted*, or that Christ died to bring all (ὑπὲρ παντὸς) under his power but that God is excepted from παντὸς (as in 1 Cor 15:27). This latter is followed by Tasker⁴ although he attributes the reading not to the author but to scribes who changed the original χάριτι θεοῦ to χωρὶς θεοῦ in order 'to exclude God from the inclusiveness implied by ὑπὲρ παντὸς'. Bruce⁵ and Westcott⁶ to some extent offer this same suggestion. Bruce says that χωρὶς θεοῦ was originally a marginal gloss incorporated into the text, then altered to χάριτι θεοῦ 'in time for P⁴⁶ to know this reading'. The subtlety behind this suggestion tells against it, especially as we have no MSS reading the text without the alleged gloss. Bruce is right in saying χωρὶς would be more likely to have been altered to χάριτι than the reverse but is wrong in saying χωρὶς came from a scribe. Westcott on the other hand suggests χάριτι θεοῦ is original and that χωρὶς θεοῦ was a marginal gloss by a scribe, which was later substituted for the original reading. This as we have seen is unlikely to be so.

Far more significant than the above suggestions is the argument that χωρὶς θεοῦ was original to our author and meant that Christ in his death was separated from God. This agrees fully with the theological stance of Hebrews. χωρὶς θεοῦ at 2:9 agrees with the author's view of the Passion, for instance 4:15, 5:7 ff, 12:2, 13:12 f. Jesus at his death is χωρὶς θεοῦ because he entered, albeit temporarily, the realm of Satan which is death (and which according to Paul is the last Satanic enemy

⁴ "The Text of the Corpus Paulinum", *NTS* I (1954–5) p. 184.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶ B.F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Macmillan, 1892), p. 62.

to be overcome, 1 Cor 15:26; cf. also Rom 5:21 in which it is stated that sin rules in death).

The idea of being without God in death is rooted in the Old Testament.⁷ For example, Ps 6:5: 'In death there is no remembrance of you: in Sheol who shall give you thanks?'; Is 38:18: 'The grave cannot praise you, death cannot celebrate you: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for your truth'; cf. also Job 10:22, 14:12–14, Ps 30:9, 49:19, 88:4–5, 115:17. For this reason the dead are ritually unclean because they belong to the sphere of demonic powers. In the later parts of the Old Testament there is sometimes present the hope that YHWH will eventually swallow up death for ever. Meanwhile the living God and the abode of death are mutually exclusive.⁸

In tasting death, by which is meant fully experiencing the alienation from God which the sin of Adam brought to every man, Jesus is without God. The author of Hebrews thus follows the same doctrine of death as Paul in Rom 5:12. This doctrine is entirely consonant also with Heb 2:14 where it is stressed that the fully human Jesus shared death like the rest of mankind, in order to be able (through his resurrection) to break the devil's power over death and thus effect man's ultimate salvation (cf. especially Jn 8:51–52). Salvation means salvation not from sin as such but sin's consequence, *i.e.*, death.

The cry of desolation from the cross (= Ps 22:1, cited at Mt 27:46 and Mk 15:34) may also represent a similar theological position. Commentaries on these 'uncomfortable words' in the gospels reveal the extent to which a lack of appreciation of the Hebrew belief that death meant automatic estrangement from God has created difficulties for modern Christians. But this belief is as crucial to the saying in the crucifixion account as it is in Heb 2:9: it is basic to the Christian belief that resurrection is the only means whereby Christ first and Christians subsequently can be released from the bondage of death (*i.e.*, from being 'without God') and be eternally 'with God', restored in effect to the pre-Fall situation once again (cf. Rom 5:14 in which Adam and those who follow after him lose their potential immortality by allowing death to enter in as a consequence of their sin).

⁷ See further N.J. Tromp, "Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament", *Biblica et Orientalia* 21 (Rome, 1969).

⁸ V. Maag in "Tod und Jenseits nach den Alten Testament", *Schweizerische Theologische Umschau* p. 34 (1964) speaks of Sheol as 'ein aussergöttliches Bereich', p. 20.

[341] The close connexion of the cry of desolation in Matthew's and Mark's Passion narrative with Hebrews 2 may be more than coincidence, and be based on a common Jewish background. It is well known that Ps 22 has influenced the Passion narrative to a large extent especially in Matthew and John. Hebrews has also been influenced by that same Psalm. Having mentioned the death of Christ and his separation from God because of that death (v. 9), the writer goes on to point to Jesus' resurrection and consequent glory. In doing so, he quotes from Ps 22:22, *i.e.*, the verse which begins the second half of the Psalm, the half which is concerned not with the suffering and sense of rejection found in the first half (vv. 1–21) but with the glorious deeds of God who has not 'despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted' nor 'hid his face from him'. Having therefore explicitly quoted from this Psalm in v. 12 it is likely that the author to the Hebrews had the first half of that Psalm in mind when writing v. 9.⁹

Moffatt's suggestion¹⁰ that the author would have conveyed the meaning 'forsaken by God' with ἄτερ rather than χωρίς ignores the frequency with which χωρίς occurs in Hebrews and the fact that ἄτερ is restricted to two occurrences in Luke in the New Testament and is not part of our author's vocabulary.

χωρίς θεοῦ, therefore, means that as a result of death Jesus was automatically separated from God. He was at that point apart from God and in Satan's realm. Unlike 1 Pet 3:18–20 there is no attempt in Hebrews to describe what Christ did in this interval before his resurrection. Hebrews states only that when Jesus was raised he was separated from sinners (7:26) and eternally with God again (7:23–25).

The reason why χάριτι θεοῦ gained in popularity and became the standard reading for the majority of Greek MSS may have been due to Nestorianism. Theophylact and Oecumenius both ascribe the reading to the Nestorians for whom χωρίς θεοῦ would mean that Christ's divine nature had no share in his death. Such condemnation of the reading may well have been sufficient to discredit it in the Church, and thus add to the popularity of the theologically acceptable variant χάριτι θεοῦ. It is not, however, true to say with Theophylact and Oecumenius

⁹ Cf. C.H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, (London: Nisbet, 1952) p. 126, who argues that the principal Old Testament quotations in the New Testament were not thought of in isolation but carried their contexts with them by implication.

¹⁰ *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (International Critical Commentary), (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1924), p. 27.

that the Nestorians invented the reading $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$: what it is true to say is that the Nestorians adopted it. $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ is not a mere Nestorian emendation: it had a wide circulation not only in Greek MSS associated with Syria but appeared also in Latin as the quotations in the western Fathers indicate. It is the appearance of these quotations in Latin which Westcott¹¹ (who accepts $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ as original) is obliged to acknowledge as a 'noteworthy phenomenon'!

$\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ is the *lectio difficilior* and therein lies much of its claim to originality; $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, on the other hand, is a perfectly innocuous phrase familiar to Christians from its frequent appearance in Paul's writings, and is considered by many commentators, ancient and modern, to fit the context of Hebrews 2. Once established in the text $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ would not be a reading demanding alteration, as it is entirely appropriate¹² and therein by comparison lies its weakness as a variant.

$\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota$ is not a mere anti-Nestorian emendation. The variation in the text is older than the fifth century as the presence of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota$ in P⁴⁶ indicates. It was an early variation made by scribes who found the idea that Jesus was 'without God' puzzling, but who were familiar with the doctrine of God's grace. It was an easy orthographical change to alter $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ to $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota$ and one that avoided an apparently difficult phrase by replacing it with a common New Testament idea. As we have seen above though, the 'difficult phrase' $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ is in fact not only consonant with our author's theological position in Hebrews, but also with the New Testament as a whole and with the Old Testament background.

In conclusion therefore we may summarize that on the ground of the author's style and usage the writer to the Hebrews is more likely to have written $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ than $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. On exegetical grounds $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ fits perfectly the theological position of the New Testament regarding the role and significance of death prior to Christ's resurrection. $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ therefore should be restored to the text of the New Testament for in that phrase belongs the depth of theological thought characteristic of the author to the Hebrews. There is thus much buried treasure in the critical apparatus to the Greek New Testament, which reveals the extent to which theological controversy affected the MSS of the Bible.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 62.

¹² *Pace Zuntz, op. cit.*, p. 34, who calls this reading 'preposterous'.

As Zuntz¹³ comments *à propos* this verse, ‘textual criticism here brings out a neglected aspect of the theology of Hebrews’. With this judgment we thoroughly agree.

POSTSCRIPTUM

For 13(d) see further: René Kieffer, “‘Afin que je sois brûlé’ ou bien ‘Afin que j’en tire orgueil?’ (1 Cor. 13:3)” *NTS* 22 (1976) pp. 95–7.

J.H. Petzer, “Contextual Evidence in Favour of *καυχῆσθαι* in 1 Corinthians 13:3” *NTS* 35 (1989) pp. 229–53.

Recent major commentaries on 1 Corinthians include those by Gordon D. Fee in the series *The New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), by Anthony C. Thistelton in the *New International Greek Testament Commentary* series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), as well as those by Christian Wolff in *Theologische Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996) and Wolfgang Schrage in the series *Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament* (Zürich and Düsseldorf, 1991–).

For 13 (a) see recent commentaries on Mark by Adela Yarbro Collins in the *Hermeneia Series* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), by Joel Marcus in the *Anchor Bible* series, now the *Anchor Yale Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1999 and New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), by Robert A. Guelich for chapters 1–8:26 and Craig A. Evans for chapters 8: 27–16 in the *Word Biblical Commentary Series* (Dallas: Word Books, 1989 for the first volume and Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001 for the second half).

For 13 (a) comments relating to UBS³ and the first edition of Metzger’s *Commentary* apply equally to later editions of these works.

¹³ *Op. cit.* p. 44.

(b) Longer Studies

MARK 1:1–3—A LATER ADDITION TO THE GOSPEL?

The exegetical and textual problems in the opening verses of Mark's Gospel are well known. The punctuation of verses 1:1–4 has exercised editors of critical editions as it has translators. Does one, for example, put a full stop at the end of verse 1 or not? How does the quotation of vv.2–3 relate to its context? There are also two main text-critical problems: (a) there is a choice between a longer and a shorter reading in v.1¹ and (b) the mss. are divided between ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα and ἐν τοῖς προφήταις in v.2. [584]

There are theological problems too, because these opening verses (1:1–3), which concern “the beginning of the gospel”, lead us into an account of the coming of John the Baptist: commentators strive to explain the prominence given by Mark to the Baptist and note the contrast with the other gospels, which have already established the priority or preeminence of Jesus (or the Logos) before John is introduced.

These difficulties are compounded if one were to add to them the following list of non-Markan features in these opening three verses:

1. The title Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ occurs in Mark's Gospel only in verse 1:1. Mark commonly uses the name ὁ Ἰησοῦς and he occasionally uses Χριστός where it still has a function as a title. In Mark 1:1 the two names seem to read merely as an extended proper name, which may explain the later additions found in various mss. (υἱοῦ θεοῦ, υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ and υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίου) to provide an appropriate epithet—additions probably influenced by liturgical usage.
2. Εὐαγγέλιον occurs 8 times in this Gospel. In 7 of these instances (Mark 1:14, 15; 8:35; 10:29; 13:10; 14:9; [16:15]) the meaning is the same: εὐαγγέλιον is used of the Divine plan, a meaning consistent

¹ I would argue that the longer reading (+ υἱου [του] θεου) is secondary. It is unlikely that these words would have been deliberately expunged by scribes, although accidental omission encouraged by homoioteleuton is a possibility.

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with εὐαγγελίζομαι in the LXX.² Mark 1:1 is the only exception to that definition: there the meaning refers to messianic action, and is a stepping stone towards the even later change in meaning whereby the noun designates a distinctive genre of literature recounting Jesus' ministry. In all the other 7 occurrences in Mark (including the reference in the disputed longer ending) εὐαγγέλιον refers to Jesus' sayings (not actions) or is a résumé of his teaching. Only at 1:14 is εὐαγγέλιον qualified (by τοῦ θεοῦ or *v.l.* τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ) as befits the first reference on Jesus' lips. The qualification Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ at 1:1 is an exception both in terms of usage and meaning—even if these names are taken as objective genitives. (If they were read as subjective genitives there would be a contradiction with Mark 10:29 where Jesus distinguishes himself from the εὐαγγέλιον, and cf. *v.l.* at Mark 8:35 ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου).³

- 3a. Καθώς in Mark always follows a main clause (4:33; 9:13; 11:6; 14:16, 21; 15:8; 16:7) as in Matthew and in most of the rest of the New Testament.⁴ It is not easy to apply this to Mark 1:2 unless verse one ceases to be a title ending with a full stop (which the anarthrous ἀρχή suggests should be the correct punctuation), and instead becomes linked with the quotation i.e. "The beginning of the gospel... (is) as it stands written in Isaiah..."⁵
- 3b. Such a punctuation is possible but unlikely, and it would not agree with the fact that elsewhere in Mark quotations are used to prove something already stated and not as a pointer forward to something yet to be written.

² This verb is not found in Mark, who prefers to use κηρύσσειν (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον).

³ See J.K. Elliott, "Mark and the Teaching of Jesus: An Examination of ΑΟΓΟΣ and ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ" in William. L. Petersen, Johan S. Vos and Henk J. de Jonge, *Sayings of Jesus: Canonical and Non-Canonical. Essays in Honour of Tjitze Baarda* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) pp. 37–45 esp. pp. 41–5 (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 89). Reprinted here as chapter 12e.

⁴ See J.K. Elliott, "Καθώς and ὥσπερ in the New Testament" *FilNeo* 7 (1991) pp. 55–8 esp. p. 56. Reprinted here as chapter 12d.

⁵ If this is the meaning then one cannot connect *v.l.* with vv.4ff. C.H. Turner's attempt ("Notes on Marcan Usage" IV *JTS* 26 (1925) pp. 145–56, reprinted in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark* (Leiden: Brill, 1993 esp. pp. 23–4 (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 71)) to treat vv. 2–3 as one of Mark's characteristic parentheses does not take account of (a) the usage of καθώς, a usage he failed to include among his many "Notes", or (b) the point raised in 3b (below).

4. Ἀρχή elsewhere in Mark is temporal (10:6; 13:8,19). Commentaries often apply this meaning at 1:1 by connecting it to 1:4 (i.e. the chronological beginning of the gospel is the coming of John the Baptist), but that seems strained, and goes against the points raised above about Mark's use of quotations. The simplest understanding of ἀρχή at 1:1 is that here now is the start of the account of Jesus Christ's ministry. But such a meaning is alien to Markan usage.
5. The scriptural quotation in vv.2b–3 is the only one in this Gospel coming from the narrator. There are relatively few Old Testament citations in Mark's Gospel compared with the other three canonical gospels, but there are a few. All these others come within speech.
6. This is the only place in Mark where a quotation is introduced with the words καθὼς γέγραπται.
7. If v.1 is treated as a separate verse, then we have here a verbless sentence. These are rare in Mark. The only firm example outside a quotation (Mark 1:3 (LXX)) is Mark 13:8, where the verb 'to be' is understood.⁶ [586]

[We may also add: 8. Ἀγγελός in v.2 is the only place in Mark's Gospel where the meaning is 'a human messenger sent by God'. Elsewhere Mark uses the noun to refer to a supernatural being. However, as the noun occurs in a scriptural citation, the difference is perhaps not of relevance in a survey of *Mark's* usage.]

* * *

These unique or non-Markan features are significant. In many ways the non-Markan character of Mark 1:1–3 is more pronounced than that of Mark 16:9–20. Analogies with the opening of Luke's Gospel and its stylised introductory words (Luke 1:1–4) or with the Sepuagintalsms of Luke's opening two chapters are not valid. Mark is not a careful rhetorician or stylistically conscious writer in the mould of a Luke or a Paul. It is improbable that the different features of Mark's language and style in Mark 1:1–3 are due to his own deliberate and sophisticated writing of these opening sentence(s) to strike a particular literary mode. In fact, those opening verses lack any literary flourish or polish.

The logical conclusion is that Mark 1:1–3 is not from Mark.

⁶ I accept the originality of v.1. + ἐγενετο at Mark 1:11.

C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat in their work on the codex⁷ point to the vulnerability of the outer leaves of works written in codex form. For example, the endings of the Epistle to the Romans and the Book of Revelation contain textual problems. It is significant to note that many otherwise relatively complete mss. of the Greek New Testament lack the first few verses of their opening book. A common explanation of the lost ending of Mark's Gospel is that the original conclusion was evulsed, the last leaf or leaves breaking away, with the consequent loss of one or two pages of text. It is futile to speculate what Mark wrote beyond 16:8 where his text ends with its peculiar γάρ except to surmise that he probably recounted a story of the promised Christophany in Galilee.

As the codex form was already being used by Christians from the beginning of the second century, we could even assume that the accidental shortening of Mark's original Gospel occurred within the first fifty years of its composition and publication. The later additions to the end and indeed the beginning of Mark could have been made in the second century. Even though our earliest Greek ms. witnesses of Mark are fourth century, versional and Patristic evidence that verses 1–3 were an integral part of copies of Mark's Gospel is firmly established for the preceding century.

[587] In a codex the loss of the outer sheets affects both the beginning and the end of a book. This may have happened to Mark, but we need not presume that the loss of the beginning and the loss of the end require us to postulate that both losses must have happened simultaneously or in a book made up of a single gathering of sheets.

If the arguments for non-Markan authorship of Mark 1:1–3 are accepted, there are problems for textual critics. In favour of the decision to print an edition of Mark's Gospel which ends at Mark 16:8 and to relegate to the margin the various secondary and later makeshift attempts to make good the unsatisfactory nature of having the Gospel end at Mark 16:8, text-critics for the past century and a half can at least point to manuscript support for the reading, albeit in only a few witnesses. By contrast, a decision to remove Mark 1:1–3 from the printed

⁷ Colin H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983) p. 55 n. 2, picking up a suggestion made by C.F.D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* (London: A. and C. Black, ³1981) p. 131 n. 1) cf. R. Way-Rider, "The Lost Beginning of Mark's Gospel" *Studia Evangelica* 7 edited by E.A. Livingstone (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982) pp. 553–6 (= T&U 126).

text would be without any ms. support. All of our surviving texts of Mark's Gospel (excluding, of course, fragmentary mss.) begin with 1:1; none begins at verse 4.

If one is averse to accepting conjectural emendations into a critically produced text,⁸ then one must print Mark 1:1–3 as part of the Gospel even if one realises its secondary nature. If the aim of textual criticism is to establish the original text of the original author (a claim that is often made), in this instance at least one is unable to print Mark's original opening and has knowingly allowed a secondary reading to appear in its stead. However, if the purpose of textual criticism is to present the earliest available text which one can reconstruct (aware that this will not, in every instance, be the words of the original author), then it may be intellectually honest to print a form of Mark 1:1–3 as the earliest surviving text for the beginning of Mark's Gospel, as long as the distinction is made clear to readers.

Mark 1:1–3 seems therefore to have been added to a version of Mark which had lost its original (Markan) beginning. Readers probably found it difficult to cope with a gospel that began abruptly at 1:4. Mark 1:1 was therefore added as a title, probably intended as an introduction to the whole work. This addition was possibly written under the influence of the opening words of the Fourth Gospel or, more likely, the opening words of Matthew's Gospel, where the name Ἰησοῦς Χριστός appears. Then the citation from Isa. 40:3 was added (from Matthew 3:3) as an introduction to Mark's story of the coming of the Baptist. Probably a different editor was responsible later for adding to that quotation the composite Q citation found at Matt 11:10//Luke 7:27 because that too had been applied by early Christians to the Baptist, albeit in a different context, but that editor failed to adjust the opening attribution to Isaiah.⁹ It was presumably left to pedantic scribes to make the necessary

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⁸ Recently some conjectural emendations have been allowed. The UBS/Nestle text at Acts 16:12 prints a conjecture. G.D. Fee in his commentary on 1 Corinthians (*New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) *ad loc.*) argues in favour of a text of chapter 14 that excludes verses 34–5, even though no ms. witness omits them.

⁹ Vincent Taylor's commentary, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1952) *ad loc.*, ventures the suggestion that 1:2b was probably a later insertion to Mark's Gospel, although he recognises the lack of textual evidence to support his suggestion. (Morna Hooker's commentary (see next note) makes the same point.) The introduction to Heron of Alexandria, *Geometrica* 2 of the first century AD provides an interesting parallel to this later insertion to Mark: Ἡρώνης ἀρχὴ τῶν γεωμετρούμενων. Καθὼς ἡμᾶς ὁ παλαιὸς διδάσκει λόγος, οἱ πλεῖστοι τοῖς περὶ

change to the attribution. (If one wishes to argue that the addition of the Q citation *and* the change from ‘in Isaiah’ to ‘in the prophets’ were made at the same time, one must recognise that the two changes were not maintained in all copies of the ms. tradition).¹⁰

These additions to the beginning of this Gospel were similar to the additions appended as an epilogue to the Gospel, in the sense that they were drawn from other canonical gospels and the common currency of early Christian language.

Morna Hooker’s simple and effective little book *Beginnings: Keys that Open the Gospels*¹¹ in its chapter on Mark takes the opening passage, the key to that Gospel, as Mark 1:1–13. (Some take Mark’s “Introduction” as 1:1–15.) But even if we now strip away from his prologue the first three verses because these are merely a later generation’s attempt to open the door on this Gospel, the opening section now surviving from Mark’s original composition (1:4–13 or 1:4–15) still remains a telling and significant introduction. Mark’s prologue without vv.1–3 lacks the evangelist appearing as the ‘chorus’ introducing his drama, but the opening pericope about the Baptist remains (probably now even more emphatically) as the theologically and historically significant ‘key’ to the opening of this Gospel.

Parallels in Matthew and Luke prior to the account of Jesus’ baptism give little clue as to what either or both of these later evangelists read in their copies of Mark. It is, however, fascinating to speculate what Mark actually composed before 1:4 (a genealogy or a birth narrative of Jesus and even of John) but whatever it was, it was not Mark 1:1–3.

τὴν γῆν μέτροις καὶ διάνομαϊς ἀπασχολοῦντο, ὅθεν καὶ γεωμετρία ἐκλήθη. I thank Prof. Michael Wolter of Bonn for this reference. Cf. also G. Arnold, “Mark 1,1 und Eröffnungswendungen im griechischen und lateinischen Schriften” ZNW 68 (1977) pp. 123–7.

¹⁰ Morna Hooker in her commentary, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark* (London: A. and C. Black, 1991) *ad loc.*, recognises the difficulty for the normal two source solution to the synoptic problem where it would be argued that here Matthew and Luke (independently) had unravell’d Mark’s citations in 1:2–3 and placed one citation in a Markan context and the other, combined, citation in a Q context later. But if the whole of vv.1–3 were post-Markan then the argument need not apply and the combined quotation from Exodus and Malachi could have been introduced from Q, where it was part of the original Q7:24–35.

¹¹ (London: SCM, 1997).

POSTSCRIPTUM

See recent commentaries on the text of Mark by Adela Collins (Hermeneia Series), Joel Marcus (Anchor (Yale) Bible), Robert A. Guelich and Craig A. Evans (Word Biblical Commentary).

For further discussions on λόγος and εὐαγγέλιον see chapter 12e.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE POSITION OF THE VERB IN MARK WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CHAPTER 13

In an essay contributed to the Lightfoot Memorial volume,¹ Kilpatrick [136] referred to the position of the verb in Marcan sentences. He noted that, despite the general freedom in Greek, Mark by and large tends to place his verbs early in the sentence—a feature characteristic of the New Testament as a whole. Kilpatrick quotes figures based on the first five chapters of Mark derived from the work of the German philologist, Kieckers, which suggests, perversely, that Mark preferred the medial position for his verbs rather than initial or final positions. Kilpatrick justifiably casts doubt on Kieckers' figures and states his intention to investigate Mark's word order elsewhere. As far as I am aware, Kilpatrick never completed this planned examination, nor do we find such a detailed study by other scholars (although we shall refer below to some of the pioneering work in this field by C.H. Turner in the 1920s). Such a study still demands attention but space here allows only a sampling of this feature of Marcan style.

We shall therefore restrict ourselves to Mark 13. This is a relatively coherent chapter, and one with a mixture of discourse-types. It also has the benefit of synoptic parallels so that we can monitor Matthew's and Luke's use of Mark here. But, importantly, this is the chapter Kilpatrick [137] was investigating in the essay for Lightfoot. He tells us that a preliminary survey revealed 48 initial, 16 medial and 19 final position verbs. No details are given about how those figures are reached—and I have had problems in seeing how he arrived at them—but, nevertheless, his conclusion that for Mark the normal position for the verb is the initial one seems right.

With that conclusion in mind let us now try to reach a more precise and scientifically based set of figures, and then see what the exceptions

¹ G.D. Kilpatrick, "The Gentile Mission in Mark and Mark 13:9–11," in *Studies in the Gospels*, ed. D.E. Nineham (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957) pp. 145–58. Reprinted in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G.D. Kilpatrick* (Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1990) pp. 284–98 (= BETL 96).

are, why such exceptions exist and the implications of all this for textual criticism, the exegesis of Mark's gospel and the translation and punctuation of problem passages.

First, the figure for the initial position, that is where the verbs are not preceded by any other element in the clause that could grammatically have been placed there, for example the subject, the object or an adverbial/adjectival phrase. For this we are concerned mainly with finite verbs. I include imperatives, although it can be argued that some of these (e.g. in v. 33) stand alone and are therefore not truly verbs in an initial position. Participles and infinitives are excluded. Also we ignore connectives, particles, negatives, interrogatives, temporal and other conjunctions, relatives and the like standing before the verb. I also exclude ἰδοὺ as a verb, it being in effect a mere interjection. I also exclude αὖν at v. 30. With those exceptions I reckon about 60 verbs in initial position in Mark 13, certainly a much higher figure than that quoted by Kilpatrick, who, perhaps, excluded imperatives. Some of the verbs are in disputed longer readings: at v. 11 *v.l.* + μελετᾶτε; at v. 33 *v.l.* + προσεύχεσθε (from 14:38?). There is nothing as far as the position of the verbs in these two *v.ll.* is concerned to disqualify them for consideration as original to Mark's gospel, and so they are added below. Some verbs in vv. 9–10 are in a passage where the punctuation is ambiguous: the passage is discussed later but these verbs occur in the following list. One must recognise that in many cases there is nothing that might be expected to precede the verb.

The details are as follows:

Verb in initial position.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| [138] | Verse 1 λέγει, ἴδε
2 βλέπεις, ἀφεθῇ, καταλυθῇ
3 ἐπηρώτα
4 εἰπόν, μέλλῃ
5 βλέπετε
7 ἀκούσητε, θροεῖσθε, δεῖ
8 ἐγερθήσεται, ἔσονται (<i>bis</i>)
9 ² βλέπετε, παραδώσουσιν, δαρήσεσθε, σταθήσεσθε |
|-------|--|

² The reasons for placing these verbs in our list of verbs in initial position is justified below.

- 10² δεῖ
 11 ἄγωνσιν, προμεριμνᾶτε, λαλήσητε, μελετᾶτε, δοθῇ, ἔστε
 12 παραδώσει, ἐπαναστήσονται, θανατώσουσιν
 13 ἔσεσθε
 14 ἴδητε, δεῖ
 18 προσεύχεσθε, γένηται
 19 ἔσονται, γέγονεν, ἔκτισεν, γένηται
 20 ἐκολόβωσεν (*pr.*)³, ἐσώθη, ἐξέλεξατο
 21 πιστεύετε
 22 ἐγερθήσονται, δώσουσιν (*or v.l. ποιήσουσιν*)
 23 προείρηκα
 26 ὄψονται
 27 ἀποστελεῖ, ἐπισυνάξει
 28 ἐκφύη (*or ἐκφυῇ*), γινώσκετε
 29 ἴδητε
 30 λέγω, παρέλθῃ
 33 βλέπετε, ἀγρυπνεῖτε, προσεύχεσθε, οἴδατε
 34 γρηγορῇ
 35 γρηγορεῖτε, οἴδατε
 36 εὗρη
 37 γρηγορεῖτε

So far we are merely stating what is obvious. Nigel Turner⁴ on Marcan style notes this preference for initial position and attributes it to Hebrew influence.

Now let us set out the apparent exceptions to Mark's preferred, initial, position.

1) Medial position:

Verse 2. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν but note *v.l.* ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν. There is a strong case for accepting the originality of this longer text: it is an unGreek expression, which scribes often tried to eliminate. The same argument applies at v. 5, where we should accept as [139]

³ We accept as original *v.l.* ἐκολόβωσεν κύριος with NA²⁷. Further on this *v.l.* below.

⁴ In J.H. Moulton and N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek IV Style* (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1976) p. 18. The chapter on Mark is reprinted as chapter 12 of J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark. An Edition of C.H. Turner's "Notes on Marcan Usage" together with other Comparable Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1993) see p. 223 (= *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 71).

original ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἤρξατο...⁵ If the longer texts are accepted then εἶπεν in v. 2 and ἤρξατο in v. 5 are not medial but in the initial position after the participial phrase ὁ...ἀποκριθεὶς with αὐτοῖς in v. 5 attached to ἀποκριθεὶς: it is usual for pronouns to follow a verb of speech. We can therefore add εἶπεν and ἤρξατο to our earlier list and thereby reach a total of 64 verbs in initial position. [2. *v.l.* + καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἄνευ χειρῶν DW: unlikely to be original in this chapter.]

- [140] 6 ἐλεύσονται
 14 φευγέτωσαν
 16 ἐπιστρεψάτω
 20 ἐκολόβωσεν (*sec.*)
 (24–25: for the verbs these verses see below)
 28 μάθετε
 29 ἐστιν
 34 ἀφείξ, δούξ

2) Final Position (at the end of either a string of elements or as the second of two elements):

- Verse 4 ἔσται
 5 πλανήσῃ
 6 εἰμί, πλανήσουσιν
 11 λαλεῖτε
 13 σωθήσεται
 14 νοεῖτω

⁵ To widen our search to the whole of Mark's gospel we note that *v.l.* ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν should be read instead ἔφη at 9:12,38; 10:20,29; 12:24; 14:29 against the reading usually preferred by the printed texts. If this is accepted then there is no firm example of φημί in Mark. Both Luke and Matthew write φημί and most examples seem firm, but neither uses ἔφη in the passages it shares with Mark, thus suggesting that in the form of the text of Mark used by Matthew and Luke ἔφη did not occur. In addition to the two verses in Mark 13 in our enquiry, there are other verses where scribes have attempted to eliminate this Semitism. Variants at 5:9; 7:6; 8:28; 9:39; 10:5,38; 11:29,33; 12:17; 14:20,62 read ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν or the like, and these are likely to represent Mark's original text. The more Semitic reading has been corrected out not only in favour of ἔφη but to other forms as well. If we accept variant readings with ἀποκρίνεσθαι there are nearly 50 occurrences in Mark compared with Matthew 56, Luke 47, John 78, Acts 20 as well as Col. 4:6; Rev. 7:13. John and Mark, the two Gospels closest in other ways to Semitic style, have the highest percentage use of the phrase ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν.

- 15 καταβάτω, εἰσελθάτω
 21 εἶπη
 23 βλέπετε
 (24–25: for the verbs in these verses see below)
 28 γένηται, ἐστίν
 29 γινώσκετε
 30 γένηται
 31 παρελεύσονται (*bis*) or *v.l.* παρελεύσεται or *v.l.* παρελθῶσι
 32 οἶδεν
 33 ἐστίν
 34 ἐνετείλατο
 35 ἔρχεται
 37 λέγω (*bis*)

Are there reasons why Mark has changed his normal word-order in these verses?

With the verbs εἶναι and γίνεσθαι we may suspect that as weak, and often dispensable words, they do not always merit the dominant position. Where εἶναι and γίνεσθαι appear in the initial position, e.g. vv. 8 *bis*, 11, 13, 19 (εἶναι); and v. 19 (γίνεσθαι), there is significance in the tense (future) or the finite verb is part of a periphrastic construction. At v. 4 the phrase πότε ταῦτα ἔσται with the emphasis on ταῦτα is paralleled in Matthew and Luke; in v. 6 we are dealing with the set expression ἐγὼ εἰμι, again paralleled in the other two synoptic gospels. In v. 28 the word ἐγγύς deserves pride of place in the context as perhaps do τὸ θέρος. The parallel in Matthew omits the verb (except D which adds ἐστίν after ἐγγύς). Again, in v. 29 ἐγγύς deserves the primary place. The time expression in v. 33 pushes ἐστίν to the end. (In some MSS. ἐστίν is deleted.) As far as γίνεσθαι is concerned, in v. 28 γένηται follows ἀπαλός—the emphasis is thus on ἀπαλός (*v.l.* 2,1 is likely to be an assimilation to the Matthaean parallel). In v. 30 there are several variants concerning ταῦτα πάντα γένηται, but in none does γένηται attain initial position: it is (ταῦτα) πάντα that receives emphasis throughout the MS. tradition.

C.H. Turner⁶ was interested in those places where Mark placed his verb in a position other than initial. Although he did not devote much space in his *Notes* to Marcan word order, in two sections (X 3a and

⁶ J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark*, (see n. 4), pp. 1–139.

[141] X 3b) Turner examines the verb at the end of the sentence, after noun or personal pronoun, in a) with the verb ἄπτεσθαι and in b), more generally, with other verbs. As far as the final position of the verb is concerned, he explains that this phenomenon, fundamentally alien to the Greek language, is due to Latin influence on a gospel composed in Rome. As I hope to demonstrate, other explanations might be more plausible, and they could have a bearing on exegesis and translation.

In some instances it would be unexpected to find the verb in the initial position e.g. in v. 14 ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω or v. 23 with the emphasis on ὑμεῖς (cf. v. 29), but in other places, when different positions would have been possible, the main reason why the verb is not in its primary position is because Mark seems to want to emphasize another word. For example, in v. 5 the emphasis is on μή τις (cf. v. 21); in v. 20 and v. 28 the emphasis is on the prepositional phrase. The dominance of a prepositional phrase is also to be seen in vv. 14–16 where the verbs φευγέτωσαν, καταβάτω...εἰσελθάτω, ἐπιστρεψάτω come after prepositional phrases. A similar reason may account for the word order in v. 32 (where οἶδεν in the initial position would read oddly). In v. 15 the double negative phrase (avoided by Matthew's parallel) has affected the word order: the balance in that sentence is especially noticeable if one accepts the longer text adding εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν after καταβάτω.

Sometimes style may dictate a different word order. Clearly v. 11 where the earlier phrase is picked up with τοῦτο and v. 13 where οὗτος resumes ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας will have dictated the word order following. In v. 6 the balance of πολλοὶ...πολλοὺς is likely to have been determinative. Balance and poetic sense could account for the final position of παρελεύσονται twice in v. 31 and for the position of λέγω...λέγω in v. 37. The late position of ἔρχεται at v. 35 could be due to Mark's desire to place this verb near the three time expressions following, with which it is intimately connected.

One instance does not appear to merit such emphasis and convincing explanations are still sought, namely the position of ἐνετείλατο at v. 34. This is a strange sentence with the odd καί where we would have been expecting a third participle, or ἔδωκεν instead of καὶ δούς.

From our observation of Mark's practice, it would seem that he wishes to draw attention to the word(s) in that dominant, initial position. For instance if one were to accept the order in κύριος ἐκολόβωσεν in v. 20 with the majority text then the emphasis would be placed on

κύριος, cf. 5:19 where κύριος (= God) is in the dominant position but see *v.l.* there σοι ὁ κύριος (or θεός).

If one agrees with the tenor of this paper then we should attempt to repeat the Marcan emphasis in our translations of the gospel, and, where that is not sensible, at least to recognize the emphases in our exegesis of Mark. As far as punctuation and exegesis are concerned [142] our observation that Mark prefers initial position would encourage the division of vv. 9–11 to be:

- a) βλέπετε...ἐαυτούς
- b) παραδώσουσιν...συναγωγάς
- c) δαρήσεσθε...βασιλέων
- d) σταθήσεσθε...ἔθνη
- e) δεῖ πρῶτον⁷

This was the preference of Kilpatrick: his arguments are often referred to in recent commentaries.⁸ He was concerned to show that for Mark Jesus did not intend a gentile mission (εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη belongs with the preceding phrase and is thus not connected with κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), and the arguments from Marcan word-order were contributory to that concern. Although Mark obviously did place his verbs in differing positions in the sentence, the natural place was at the beginning and, unless there are strong arguments to the contrary, we should construe ambiguities to conform with the majority position.⁹ Thus we can justify the verbs in vv. 9–11 in our list of verbs in initial position.

In vv. 24–25 Mark quotes loosely from Isaiah 13:10; 34:4. I have excluded the verbs from the lists above, but it is interesting to note that of the four verbs in that poetic passage none appears in initial position,

⁷ Note also *v.l.* 2,1. πρῶτον elsewhere in Mark follows the verb at 7:27; 9:11,12; [16:9]—an exception occurs at 3:27. Another *v.l.* is δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον. The latter merits attention. As far as the particle is concerned, note *v.l.* δεῖ + γάρ.

⁸ E.g. by Morna Hooker in the Black Commentary on Mark.

⁹ At 2:15f. we can again appeal to the argument about word order to express a preference for the punctuation “For there were many. There followed him...Pharisees. Seeing that he was eating...” As at 13:9 καί...καί seems to have misled translators and exegetes.

possibly two are in medial position (δώσει and ἔσονται)¹⁰ and two in final position (σκοτισθήσεται and σαλευθήσονται).

APPENDIX

[143] It is noticeable that Luke, in using Mark, either fails to appreciate the emphases Mark gives, or deliberately attempts to avoid Mark's use of the medial and, more particularly, final position, by giving a different word-order. In the following sample taken from C.H. Turner's list, which is drawn from the whole of Mark's gospel, we note that Mark puts his verb in a late position in the following places—presumably to allow the stress to fall earlier in the phrase. In verses asterisked below there is a Lukan parallel in which he readjusts the sentence, that has the effect of placing the verb earlier. This proves that word order was of significance to writers. An emphasis important to one writer, Mark, was not always accepted by a later writer, Luke. The existence of variants suggests that such matters were also of concern to scribes. The verses in my sample where the verb in Mark is in final or medial position are:

1:44*. Stress on σεαυτόν.

4:30*. NA²⁷ favours the peculiar order ἐν τίνι αὐτήν παραβολῇ θῶμεν, against which Luke's order places the verb earlier, but note the *v.l.* in Mark ἐν τίνι παραβολῇ παραβάλλωμεν αὐτήν, which could be original. If so, the emphasis is on the prepositional phrase.

4:41*. Accept *v.l.* αὐτῷ ὑπακούει.

5:10*. ἵνα μὴ αὐτὰ (*v.l.* αὐτοὺς; *v.l.* αὐτόν) ἀποστείλῃ.

6:20. Emphasis on ἡδέως (? and αὐτοῦ).

9:18a* and 18b*. αὐτόν καταλάβῃ...αὐτὸ ἐκβάλωσιν.

Luke has the pronoun five times *after* the verb in the parallel to this verse.

¹⁰ The reading in NA²⁷ placing ἔσονται in the medial position seems to be the *lectio difficilior* and likely to be the original. The *v.l.* giving the word order (οἱ ἐκ) τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔσονται (ἐκ)πίπτοντες places the verbs together as in v. 13, but as v. 25 occurs within (an imprecisely quoted) Old Testament passage the parallel may not be strictly determinative for deciding Marcan order here. (Matthew is closer to the LXX and avoids the periphrastic expression, cf. reading πεσοῦνται by W in Mark 13:25.)

- 9:19*. ἔσομαι.
- 9:37*. Accept *v.l.* ἐν τῶν παιδίων τουτῶν δέξεται.¹¹
Matthew and Luke transpose here.
- 11:28*. ἔδωκεν (especially in the reading of the majority text: τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἔδωκεν).
The emphasis throughout is on τίς *and* σοι i.e. "Precisely who gave this authority to you of all people?"
- 12:12b*. εἶπεν. The emphasis is on πρὸς αὐτούς i.e. "...because it was to them especially that he directed the parable."
- 12:13*. ἀγρεύσωσιν. Emphasis on αὐτόν.
(cf. 14:1*. ἀποκτείνωσιν. Emphasis on αὐτόν again.)
- 14:10. παραδοῖ (or παραδῶ). Emphasis on αὐτόν (but note *v.ll* προδοῖ αὐτόν and παραδῶ αὐτόν).
- 14:11. παραδοῖ (*v.l.* παραδῶ). Emphasis on αὐτόν. [144]
(Throughout, the spotlight is on αὐτόν = Jesus).
- 14:12*. To emphasize τὸ πάσχα.¹
(cf. 14:14. To emphasize τὸ πάσχα. Here Matthew (not Luke!) inverts.)
- 14:30*. Emphasis on τρίς (? and με).
- 14:42. Emphasis on ὁ παραδιδούς (? and με).
- 14:63*. τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων.
Note Luke: τί ἔτι ἔχομεν μαρτυρίας χρεῖαν.
- 14:72*. εὐθύς (*v.l.* *om.*) ἐκ δευτέρου (*v.l.* *om.*) ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν.
Luke: ἐφώνησεν ἀλέκτωρ. In Mark, even with the longer texts the emphasis remains on the cock.
- 15:31. According to C.H. Turner the emphasis on ἄλλους and on ἑαυτὸν "seems to justify the order but again Luke's instinct is for change ἄλλους ἔσωσεν σωσάτω ἑαυτόν."
- 16:7. Turner says that the order ἐκεῖ αὐτόν ὄψεσθε "seems indefensible in Greek." There is no Lukan parallel.

¹¹ There is no firm example of τοιοῦτος used as an adjective with a noun in Mark (at 7:13 *v.l.* *om.* τοιαῦτα), which could have a significant bearing on the resolution of the *v.l.* in 9:37.

POSTSCRIPTUM

For further discussion see Keith D. Dyer, *The Prophecy on the Mount: Mark 13 and the Gathering of the New Community* (Bern: Lang, 1998) where full analyses of the vocabulary and syntax (and theology) of the chapter occur.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF MARK: ORIGINAL OR NOT?

Any of us who are writers like to impress our intended readers, first by grabbing their attention immediately with a brisk, appropriate opening paragraph. Similarly, we like to conclude our writings with a satisfying climax or summary that our audience feels rounds off our narrative or arguments. The same applies to the biblical authors. [80]

Matthew starts off in grand style with the genealogy; Luke has an elegantly crafted introductory sentence of four verses in length. Both Matthew and Luke have extensive infancy narratives, which set the scene for their stories of the ministry of the incarnate Jesus. John uses the Prologue, possibly a composition already in existence at the time he began writing, in order to emphasize his belief in the preexistence of Jesus. All of those make splendidly appropriate openings. Matthew ends his Gospel with the risen Jesus' stirring words from the mountain top, dispersing his followers. Luke and John have a satisfying selection of post-Easter appearances that reinforce in a positive way the announcement that the tomb is empty but that he has risen. John has even concocted two endings. John 20 reaches its conclusion in a satisfactory way, but later the author seems to have added chapter 21 as an appendix, again with its own convincing conclusion.

By contrast with these three evangelists, Mark seems rather blunted at both ends. His introduction is very brief, v. 1 looks like a short title, and then immediately after Old Testament citations we are suddenly introduced not to Jesus but to John the Baptist before being taken straight into the baptism story. We shall return to this later. Mark's ending is disputed. Do we end at v. 8? Do we proceed to v. 20, noting the strange jump from v. 8 to v. 9, even if—or especially if—Mark was responsible for those last twelve verses? Verse 8 ends bizarrely, and that is especially significant if this was the intended conclusion to the Gospel. The section following vv. 1–8 does not logically join on; in fact vv. 9ff seem to *parallel* vv. 1ff. Those problems are raised by the textual evidence too. Some MSS have vv. 9–20, others do not. And what do we do about the so-called shorter ending? And what about the longer [81]

text in W with the so-called Freer Logion after v. 14? The whole textual situation looks very unstable.

In this chapter we are looking at the way (or ways) in which one of the evangelists, Mark, closed his Gospel. But I am going to extend my investigation by looking at the opening verses of Mark as well. I shall turn to that beginning section a little later.

But, first, we need to remind ourselves that the beginnings and ends of ancient books were particularly vulnerable. That applies to (sc)rolls and to books in codex format. Obviously an unbound codex was liable to be damaged at both ends, but so, too, was a roll—especially if its ending was occasionally exposed when it was not rewound to the beginning after each consultation.¹ The disputed ending of Mark may be compared with the various endings of Revelation (where there are nine different readings, seven involving Greek MSS), or Romans and the disparate textual support for its alternative endings. Each of these books has suffered and it may well be that we have lost all traces of their original conclusions. The irretrievable loss of some verses is an eventuality we may have to accept. As far as manuscripts are concerned, many otherwise complete MSS have lost their beginnings and endings. Two obvious instances are Sinaiticus that has lost the beginning of the Old Testament, and Vaticanus where the opening to Genesis has disappeared as has the end of the New Testament. Outside the Bible,

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there are numerous instances where manuscripts of literary texts are accidentally truncated. The means to restore such damaged texts were not always to hand, even when the mutilations were conspicuous. We shall turn now to look at the external evidence for the ending of Mark at 16:8, as well as at the linkage of vv. 8–9. Then we shall examine the internal evidence for the Markan authorship of 16:9–20. This means that we shall look at the language and style of those verses, then their theological content. We shall then pose certain questions: How did Mark lose its original ending and thus circulate in some witnesses ending at v. 8? Was it deliberate or accidental? If vv. 9–20 are secondary we need to ask when they were added.

¹ See C.H. Roberts, "The Ancient Book and the Ending of St Mark," *JTS* 40 (1939) pp. 253–57.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

Only two early Greek MSS (actually the earliest we have containing the whole of Mark) and one other, medieval, Greek MS,² from among the thousand or so extant witnesses that contain Mark's Gospel, end Mark at 16:8, and yet it is on the authority given to these two early Greek Bibles that most critical editions of the Greek New Testament and most modern English versions reach their climax to Mark with the cliff-hanging but inconclusive v. 8 that ends with the particle γάρ.

The proverbial man in the street may say that these witnesses could just be unusual copies. And, he may go on to suggest that, surely, democratic principles require our siding with the majority of witnesses that include vv. 9–20.

Most scholars, however, would say that we are dealing not with any two MSS, but with Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, splendidly produced and evidently prepared as *deluxe* editions. Possibly these were written in response to Constantine's request for fifty Greek Bibles for his new capital. What is certain is that they represent attempts to define the Christian canon, as it had by then developed and to show this collection between one set of covers. Those editions did not spawn imitators.³ Generally, what continued to be copied by the church were the Gospels alone, or the Pauline corpus for example; and it was not until the Middle Ages that we again find complete New Testaments being produced. Whole Greek Bibles, Old Testament and New Testament, were not fashionable. One may therefore suspect that not only were these fourth-century witnesses, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, peculiar in their scale and contents but that their texts too were untypical. As far as the endings of Mark are concerned, the examples set by Sinaiticus (Ⲁ) and Vaticanus (B), and possibly the other forty-eight copies also prepared for Constantine,⁴ were not followed. I do not wish to impugn

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² These are Sinaiticus (Ⲁ 01), Vaticanus (B 03) and the twelfth century minuscule 304 (which had presumably been part of a four-Gospel codex). We exclude the twelfth century 2386 that at one time appeared in the apparatus (e.g., UBS¹) in support of Mark ending at 16:8. This MS merely has its last page of Mark missing; it may be used as an example of how the accidental shortening of Mark could have occurred at this exact place.

³ So much for Farmer's opinion that Alexandrian MSS like those two were particularly influential. See W.R. Farmer, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, SNTS Monograph 25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

⁴ If Sinaiticus was held back and not sent to Constantinople, then we must say that only Vaticanus was sent (and we therefore must speak not of forty-eight but of forty-

B or even **Σ** with generic unreliability or to suggest they were maverick copies. B in particular seems to have an ancient pedigree⁵ yet we cannot ignore its or **Σ**'s distinctiveness here at the end of Mark.

But, in reading an apparatus of a critical edition of the Greek New Testament, it is not obvious that these MSS are not straightforward in this matter. Let us take B first.

[84] It is essential to remember that B, uncharacteristically, leaves a blank column following his truncated ending of Mark. Such a gap is exceptional in the New Testament half of this manuscript.⁶ Elsewhere in B the text of each successive book starts at the top of the next column. It is almost as if the scribe hesitated here. Perhaps his exemplar had the so-called longer ending of Mark, i.e., vv. 9–20, and he had instructions not to include it. His hesitation made him leave the gap to allow for second thoughts, even though, as we are often told, the missing verses could not in practice have been inserted in such a gap (the end of one column and the whole of the blank column) if the same sized handwriting was to be employed.⁷ A similar situation is observable in those MSS that include the last twelve verses but who decided (or a later reader decided) to indicate the same hesitation by marking this longer ending with asterisks, obeli or a wavy line or with a note.⁸ A

nine MSS). Other pandects did not survive and we cannot know if they too lacked the last twelve verses of Mark. There is no reason why the text of the fifty sent to Constantinople was identical in each MS, and the probability is that they are unlikely to have agreed with each other textually. Different exemplars would have been employed by the various scribes of each of the fifty copies.

⁵ See C.-M. Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro XIV* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), *AnBib* 26. B has much in common with the third century P⁷⁵, and is unlikely itself to have been due to a recension. This groundbreaking study is ignored by Farmer, who seems to have been influenced by the intemperate opinions of John W. Burgon, the Anglo-Catholic Dean of Chichester, who implies B was maliciously flawed in his *The Last Twelve Verses according to the Gospel of Saint Mark* (Oxford: Parker, 1871).

⁶ In the OT the gap after Nehemiah is explicable: Psalms, written in two not three columns per page, follows; the two-and-a-half column gap after Daniel is the end of the OT; only the gap of one column following Tobit is comparable to that after Mark. Codex L has a blank where the Pericope Adulterae could appear.

⁷ The issue is not clear-cut. One of my students has demonstrated that it is possible to insert vv. 9–20 into the space available; he was concerned not with the average letters per column but the maximum text possible. Several years ago there was much discussion about this topic in the papers circulated by the Majority Text Society, of which I am admitted as a passenger, so I was informed. I have various documents on this issue, written by Mike Arcieri, Thomas Edgar and Maurice Robinson in early 1990s.

⁸ Verses 9–20 are preceded by a critical note in MSS 20 and 22; asterisks follow v. 8 in 137, 138; cp. also 156, 187, 1221. See Joseph Hug, *La finale de l'Évangile de Marc: Mc 16, 9–20* (Paris: Gabalda, 1978) = *Études bibliques*.

splendid Armenian MS in London (Arm. MSS add. 21932), like most early Armenian MSS, lacks the longer ending, but this one has 16:7–8 written in uncharacteristically huge letters that have the effect of using up spaces which had been calculated and left for the inclusion of much more text, presumably vv. 9–20—and this is yet another indication that, regardless of what the scribe chose to do, he was at least alert to the fact that here there was indeed a choice to be made.

A critical apparatus typically fails to note these scribal warning signs either in a MS that chose to omit the verses, or to add them, albeit with hesitation.

Now to Aleph. Here again the evidence is not entirely unambiguous. There are three scribes of this MS—A, B and D. Most of the New Testament was written by scribe A, but occasionally a section was written by scribe D. There are examples of D's work at folio 74:2 and 7 in Matt; 84:3 in 1 Thess; 84:6 in Heb; 89:1 for only Rev 1:1–5. D also wrote parts of Genesis, Tobit, Judith, 4 Maccabees, and Psalms.⁹ As far as we are concerned, the bifolium containing the end of Mark and the beginning of Luke is in the hand of D, who wrote smaller than scribe A did. Milne and Skeat¹⁰ give the average for D throughout Sinaiticus as 692 letters per column and for A as 630–640. This replacement leaf contains the usual four columns per page thus making sixteen columns by D in total here. There are ten columns of Mark and six given to Luke. Column ten at the end of Mark is only partly utilized and the rest of that column is blank. The six columns of Luke are unusually cramped compared with D's usual letter count per column elsewhere. The last six columns of Mark are stretched out, although the opening four columns by D in this replacement are not stretched out; in fact, column four has the second highest letter count of all sixteen columns. The letter count for the last six columns containing Mark is reduced to 598, 556, 605, 598, 560, followed by the concluding column containing the colophon. [85]

Possibly, something went wrong at the beginning of Luke that required the text up to Luke 1:56 to be redone. Skeat argued that the reason for the rewriting was that scribe A had written part of Luke twice, a dittography, hence the rewriting required Mark to be stretched. But why did the stretching of Mark not start until column five? That

⁹ See the Table of Concordance pp. 94–112 of H.J.M. Milne and T.C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum, 1938).

¹⁰ Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*, pp. 9–11.

section obviously includes the ending of Mark, whatever was in the exemplar and whatever A had written in the now discarded pages. As published, Aleph has Mark end at 16:8.

A unique omission in \aleph , due to homoioteleuton, occurs here: Mark 15:47–16:1 is omitted and that amounts to about five lines of text. Our question is whether 16:9–20 could have been fitted in columns five to ten. Again, as with our calculations regarding Vaticanus, the answer is “possibly,” although it would have been *very* tight, especially if the omitted words from 15:47–16:1 had also been reintroduced. The sixteen columns of this bifolium could not easily hold Mark 14:54–Luke 1:56 in D’s hand if 16:9–20 were included. It is even less possible in A’s hand. Luke cannot be written in less than six columns to reach the point at which scribe A’s text continues. The stretching at the end of Mark and the cramping at the beginning of Luke suggest the original calculations by scribe D were unrealistic. Mark 16:9–20 contains somewhere between 966 and 973 letters. That would require one-and-a-half columns in the writing of scribe D and slightly more in scribe A’s writing. All we may conclude is that the strange calculations suggest that the scribes were aware (as was the scribe of Codex Vaticanus) that the ending of Mark was disputed.

[86] Scribe D of Sinaiticus was also very likely to have been one of two scribes of Codex Vaticanus—although not the one who wrote the end of Mark. But, nevertheless, this tells us that we are dealing with two MSS from the same scriptorium. One thus sees that the two pandects, if we may use that word of Greek MSS, were connected. Some have argued that this means we are concerned effectively with only one MS witness to the text of Mark ending at 16:8 rather than with two independent early Greek manuscripts.

Thus the Greek external evidence is not crystal clear in its witness as far as \aleph and B are concerned. However, there are MSS that have the shorter plus the longer endings¹¹ and those MSS may be included as added witnesses to the fact that vv. 9–20 were not regarded as the authoritative and original ending to Mark. (I know of no one who defends the Markan authorship of the shorter ending.)

¹¹ The shorter ending is found between v. 8 and vv. 9–20 in L Ψ 083 099 274mg. 579 l 1602. L has the shorter ending in the column following 16:8 and then has a decoration; following a critical comment comes the longer ending. None of these witnesses is older than the 7th century.

But the early versions support more strongly a text of Mark that ends at 16:8.

Versions

1. The fourth-century Latin MS Bobbiensis (*k*) is textually the oldest witness to the Latin Bible, with a text going back to the early third century. Vv. 9–20 are absent, and are replaced by the shorter ending. (It is therefore not surprising to see there is nothing from this ending quoted by Tertullian or by Cyprian in North Africa.) Lvt (*k*) differs from NA from Mark 15:45 onwards, e.g., at v. 16:1; the additions to v.3: and the absence of v. 8b.
2. The Sahidic Coptic usually ends at 16:8. See especially the Sahidic Barcelona fifth-century MS PPalau Rib. inv. Nr. 182.
3. Most early Armenian MSS lack the longer ending. In fact it has been calculated that some 99 of the 220 registered Armenian MSS lack the verses. The same is true of the oldest Georgian witnesses.
4. The Sinaitic Syriac is also an important witness for the omission.
5. The Byzantine lectionary system seems to have developed into a settled form by the eighth century—only after that time do most lectionaries contain a reading from the longer ending. Certainly the Georgian and Armenian lectionaries, which are dependent on the Jerusalem, not Byzantine, lectionary system, lack this pericope. [87]

Fathers

Eusebius gives us our clearest evidence that most NT MSS known to him ended Mark at v. 8. Jerome repeats Eusebius' observation, although Jerome's Vulgate contains the longer ending; Jerome was also aware of a text we know as the Freer Logion (found in MS W within the longer ending).

We need to recall that Mark was not popular in the second century; hence this Gospel was seldom cited. Westcott and Hort¹² and Cox¹³ and others list fathers who knew 16:9–20, of whom the most significant is Irenaeus. In AD 180 he knew 16:19 to be from Mark. But many

¹² B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (London: Macmillan, 1881), "Notes on Select Readings," pp. 39–41.

¹³ Steven Lynn Cox, *A History and Critique of Scholarship concerning the Markan Endings* (Leviston, Queenston, Lampeter: Mellen Press, 1993).

other fathers did not quote from the longer ending and may therefore not have known it. That is of course an argument from silence.

This external evidence shows quite clearly that from the earliest times we have reliable information that Mark's Gospel circulated in different forms with differing endings.

To summarize, then, in the second century there is evidence that the longer ending was known and quoted; in the fourth century we have evidence that scribes were aware of a problem, the ending at v. 8 was known, as were the shorter ending and the longer ending; by the sixth century there is evidence of the shorter and longer endings together.

So what was it that caused the hesitation over verses 9–20, or their omission? Why do most printed editions and modern versions go with the minority of witnesses, and exclude vv. 9–20?

The answer is that the contents and theology of vv. 9–20 are uncharacteristic of Mark elsewhere. And also there is a significant difference in the language and style in those verses, compared with the rest of his Gospel. Let us look first at the grammar and vocabulary.

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INTERNAL EVIDENCE

Language

This is not the place to indulge in a detailed analysis of the language, style and vocabulary of the longer ending. In 1971 I wrote a study of these features¹⁴ and it is flattering to see that that piece is still quoted with approval. Obviously, I could expand and nuance what I wrote then as a mere tyro.¹⁵

The following strike me as the most important features that are peculiar to the longer ending or are alien to Mark 1:4–16:8:

¹⁴ J.K. Elliott, "The Text and Language of the Ending to Mark's Gospel," *TZ* 27 (1971) pp. 255–62, reprinted as chap. 11 in J.K. Elliott, ed., *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark: An Edition of C.H. Turner's 'Notes on Marcan Usage' together with other Comparable Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1993) = *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 71.

¹⁵ James A. Kelhoffer (*Miracle and Mission* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000] = *WUNT* 112 pp. 65–121) has built on my study and expanded it considerably. Farmer (*Last Twelve Verses*, 83–103) also has a study of the language although he has rightly been criticized for ignoring vital features, e.g., he says nothing about ὅστερον, ταῦτα or σημεῖα and rather disingenuously attributes non-Markan features to the source used by Mark.

- vv. 10, 11, 13, 20: ἐκεῖνος is used as a pronoun.
- vv. 10, 12, 15: πορεύομαι is found as a simple verb. Elsewhere Mark uses it only compounded. I accept the *v.l.* giving the compound in 9:30. In the bulk of Mark πορεύομαι is used in the present and ἐλθεῖν in the aorist: here in the longer ending πορεύομαι is in the aorist.
- v. 10: τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις is used uniquely here of the disciples.
- vv. 11, 14: θεάομαι is not a Markan word.
- vv. 11, 16: ἀπιστέω is not a Markan word (n.b. ἀπιστία in 16:14).
- v. 12: ἕτερος is non-Markan.
- v. 14: ὅστερον is non-Markan. At 12:6 Mark has ἔσχατον where the Matthaean parallel (Mt. 21:37) has ὅστερον.
- vv. 17, 20: σημεῖα is Johannine not Markan. ταῦτα + anarthrous σημεῖα is not usual in the New Testament.
- v. 18: καὶν = 'and if' is non-Markan (at 5:28; 6:56 καὶν = 'even').
- v. 18: ἐπιθήσουσιν ἐπὶ + accusative is only here in Mark. At 5:23 the verb is followed by the direct dative where the Matthaean parallel has ἐπὶ + accusative.
- v. 19: μὲν οὖν is unique.
- vv. 19, 20: ὁ κύριος: this Christological title occurs only here. At 11:3 κύριος = "master."
- v. 19: ἀναλαμβάνω: only here in Mark.
- v. 20: this extended genitive absolute is rare, and here three words peculiar to the Epistles occur within the construction: συνεργέω, βεβαιόω, ἐπακολουθέω.

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(Note how many of the features listed above occur more than once in this longer ending. It is self-deceiving to pretend that the linguistic questions are still "open.")¹⁶

Then, of course, there is the issue of the ending of the paragraph with γάρ. Much of the argument about this feature is well-known.¹⁷ The jury may still be out, but I am not inclined to think Mark intended his writing to end in this way and with a particle to boot, even though

¹⁶ For an unnecessarily cautious view about the validity of the linguistic arguments see M.D. McDill, "A Textual and Structural Analysis of Mark 16:9–20," *FilNeos* XVII (2004) pp. 27–43.

¹⁷ P. van der Horst, "Can a Book End with a ΓΑΡ? A Note on Mark XVI.8." *JTS* 23 (1972) pp. 121–24.

Vaticanus and Sinaiticus seem to have been prepared to let the Gospel end with γόρ. Whatever the scribes allowed, albeit with hesitation, I conclude that no author would have chosen to end a piece of writing, sentence, paragraph and even less a book, with a postpositional particle, and so we must decide that, originally, a continuation of v. 8 existed (alongside a possible Easter appearance) until the final page of the original Gospel of Mark was irretrievably lost.¹⁸

Just an aside: In assessing differences in language in this section, we ought to ask if we should expect authors to be consistent in such matters throughout. Could we perhaps find another passage in Mark of a length comparable to 9–20 and examine if its language and style are equally dissimilar to the rest of Mark? But I doubt if another similar passage betraying such anomalies exists. Yes, obviously, some stories have a higher than average run of different, distinctive vocabulary, [90] but that is often explicable by the requirements of the context. But the nature of the differences between 16:9–20 and Markan usage elsewhere is, as we have demonstrated, more than mere vocabulary.

Turner subjected the whole of Mark (excluding the longer ending) to a closely detailed linguistic analysis. Nowhere does he have to except any pericope because it stands out as markedly different. Mark's fingerprints, i.e., his distinctive style, are recognizable throughout. (We shall shortly turn to Mark 1:1–3 where I detect a significantly high level of non-Markan features, but that is a special case.)

Contents & Theology

Now to turn to the contents. Those have struck many commentators as peculiar, too. For instance, the opening words suggest that it is Jesus who is the subject in the preceding context and Mary is introduced as if for the first time. These verses hardly continue and explain what is written in vv. 1–8. The listing of the Resurrection appearances in a scanty manner in these verses looks more like a summary of Luke and John rather than a catalogue such as is found in the (earlier) 1 Corin-

¹⁸ As far as the verb φοβέομαι in v. 8 is concerned, the imperfect is followed by a direct object four times elsewhere in Mark (6:20; 9:32 11:18, 32) and that is normal in the NT and LXX, but there is no firm example of the imperfect in Mark where φοβέομαι is used absolutely. (At 10:32 *v.l.* by D and others omit the clause containing this verb.) At 16:8 we await a motive for the women's fear. An English rendering that would indicate the interrupted sentence could end as follows: "...because they were fearful of."

thians 15; and it follows a *Jerusalem* tradition, *pace* Mark 16:7, which looks to a Christophany in Galilee. The reference to signs following believers looks more Johannine than Markan. “Tongues” are nowhere else in our Gospels. Drinking poison without harm is nowhere else in the New Testament; this detail seems to belong better in the New Testament apocrypha. The picking up of snakes differs from Luke 10:19. Some of these anomalies can be argued over but cumulatively they tell against Markan authorship.

The Longer Ending is not counted in the Eusebian canon numbers. The canon tables do not allow for Jesus’ appearance to Mary Magdalene found in Mark and John. In some MSS attempts were made to extend the numbering system, without the canon table. These later insertions allow the numbers to reach beyond 233 with the new numbers in some manuscripts alongside vv. 9, 11, 12, 13 and 14.¹⁹

The evidence of the differences in language in the Longer Ending and indeed the problems of the theological contents of it seem to demand an author different from Mark, the author of 1:4–16:8. For readers who are apprehensive about dismissing vv. 9–20 as a later accretion, it may be worthwhile exploring if Mark could have incorporated these traditional verses into the Gospel himself, possibly (according to David Black)²⁰ at a later stage. After all, Luke seems to have taken over half a dozen canticles in chapters 1 and 2 that were probably in existence in Jewish circles prior to the composition of the Gospel. Some of them may even have already been used by John the Baptist’s disciples in telling of his nativity and then were commandeered and incorporated by Christians when they too began telling of their Lord’s birth. [91]

Paul also borrowed hymns that were already in use in the early church, e.g., the *kenosis* hymn in Philippians 2:5–11; the “Christ hymn” in Colossians 1:15–20, and the hymn in 1 Thessalonians 5:16–22. The author of the Pastorals also uses a hymn in 1 Timothy 3:16. So there are adequate precedents in other New Testament writings to show that such things occurred (and we could also easily find similar literary borrowings within the Old Testament). But is Mark 16:9–20 one such literary composition taken over with approval by Mark to conclude his Gospel?

¹⁹ S.C.E. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Evangelium secundum Marcum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1935), after xvi 9.

²⁰ David Alan Black, *Why Four Gospels?* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2001), p. 30.

If it was, then the language, style, vocabulary, and even the theology are different from the undisputed words of the original author, as we have demonstrated. But it is rare (even unknown) for a NT author to lift, lock, stock and barrel, a *narrative* passage as opposed to a saying, a hymn, or a canticle, such as we are asked to believe Mark did when he found 16:9–20. It is an inferior piece of writing, plodding and grey, compared with Mark's racy, simple, and colloquial writing elsewhere. If he did find such a passage already in existence, he certainly did not refashion it in his own style.

I am unwilling to credit Mark with the incorporation of this allegedly previously composed ending into his new Gospel. There is no evidence he has taken over any other comparable portion. Obviously, like all the evangelists, he used materials from the oral tradition. Matthew and Luke took over texts from Mark, but they rewrote them and left their own literary fingerprints on them. I am disinclined to believe that it was Mark, the innovative composer and creative theologian, who [92] took over, unrevised, a paragraph such as vv. 9–20, especially as it may well have disagreed with his own theological stance.²¹

If I am right, then we are left with the argument that it was a later—probably second century—editor who found this paragraph and, despite its imperfections for such a purpose, used it (in time for Irenaeus to know it as part of Mark's Gospel) to round off a dissatisfyingly incomplete Gospel—especially if that Gospel was by then being used to complete a fourfold Gospel canon.

Western Gospel Order

Another point that may be relevant is that in some early MSS Mark appears not as the Second Gospel to which we are accustomed but at the end, that is in the fourth position. This is the so-called Western order—Matthew, John, Luke, Mark—intended to put the writings by the two apostles before the two written by friends of the apostles. We find that sequence in MSS W, D, X,²² “several” of the older Greek minuscules,²³ Gothic, Syriac Peshitta, Old Latin MSS. For them, of

²¹ For instance, the teaching that believers will be granted miraculous powers and that signs will prove the truth of the preaching is against Mark 8:11–13.

²² Early MSS \aleph A B C have Mark second in sequence.

²³ According to B.M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon. 1987), appendix 2 ll 1.

course, 16:9–20 forms the climax of the whole collection.²⁴ Is the summary of the Easter events found in 16:9–20 particularly significant coming in that sequence, summarizing the preceding four Gospels' accounts? May one even suggest that the addition of the longer ending occurred first when the Gospels were collected together and originally published in that sequence? If Mark really was circulating in a form that ended at 16:8 its ending would look even more inappropriate as the conclusion to the four-fold collection.²⁵ The longer ending would then be made the finale to all four Gospels and not just to Mark; its stories of the differing doubters about Jesus' resurrection and its stirring message on Jesus' lips are presumably intended as an appropriately hortatory climax to all four. Once added, this ending was kept even when Mark was placed in a different position among the Gospels. [93]

Concerning Mark's Intent

Before we turn to possible reasons why Mark lost its original ending, let us first ask if Mark really intended his work to end at 16:8. Many commentators and scholars are prepared to defend the version of Mark ending at 16:8 as a viable literary and theological composition. The retired Lady Margaret professor in Cambridge, Morna Hooker, recently published two little monographs.²⁶ In these she showed the effectiveness of the ways in which each of the four evangelists opened and closed their Gospels. She tried to demonstrate that Mark's original

²⁴ See T.C. Skeat, "A Codicological Analysis of the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex of the Gospels and Acts (P 45)." *Hermathena* 155 (1993) pp. 27–43, reprinted as chap. B5 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) = *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 113, pp. 141–57, esp. 146–47, Skeat argued that the Western order was that originally found in the Alexandrian MS \mathfrak{P}^{45} , cp. id., "Irenaeus and the Four-Gospel Canon" *NovT* 34 (1992) pp. 194–99 reprinted as chap. A6 in id., *ibid.*, pp. 73–78, which argues that Irenaeus knew the Gospels (in a codex) in that order. Also, in "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?" *NTS* 43 (1997) pp. 1–34 reprinted as chap. B6 in id. *ibid.*, pp. 158–92 Skeat is prepared to conjecture that the earliest Western order was originally also in \mathfrak{P}^4 - \mathfrak{P}^{64} - \mathfrak{P}^{67} , despite their fragmentary nature.

²⁵ Christian-B. Amphoux ("La 'Finale longue de Marc': Un épilogue des quatre évangiles" in C. Focant, ed., *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism* [Leuven: Peeters, 1993], pp. 548–55 = *BETL* 110) emphasizes the particular links between the longer ending and the language found in some of the distinctive variants by D in Luke as well as the sequence of the summary scenes in the longer ending and the order of the Gospels in D.

²⁶ Morna D. Hooker, *Beginnings: Keys That Open the Gospels* (London: SCM, 1997) and *Endings: Invitations to Discipleship* (London: SCM, 2003).

intended ending was 16:8, which she sought to prove was a proper and significant conclusion. On such a theory, the women's silence must be understood to be temporary and positive.

If Mark was subtly leaving his Gospel with a cliff-hanging ending, emphasized by his deliberate use of the provocative γάρ, then that subtlety was lost on his immediate followers and into the next century. Because his purposes were misunderstood early on, certainly before AD 180, the alternative endings we know today were tacked on. If Matthew and Luke used Mark they also found Mark's ending deficient and added different Easter appearances to conclude their accounts. It seems they did not have anything to use in Mark beyond v. 8.²⁷ Similarly, later scribal copyists of Mark also clearly found a Mark that ended at 16:8 dissatisfying—and wrong.

[94] A sophisticated author could conceivably end his work in such an apparently truncated way in the knowledge that his audience were aware of what happened next, probably that these women, having regained their confidence did, indeed, do as the angel commanded and told the disciples. But to my eye Mark is not that sort of sophisticated author.²⁸

The message that the women disobeyed the angelic command out of fear is a bizarre climax. Such an ending leaves unfulfilled the expectation that Peter and the other disciples will see the risen Jesus in Galilee. Are we to assume that the continuation of the story containing this promised Christophany was so well known that Mark felt he could withhold it? I doubt it: it is not in the nature of this Gospel that Mark points us forward without giving us the completion. His emphasis on Jesus' divine foreknowledge of forthcoming events in the passion nar-

²⁷ On the basis of Markan priority there is no evidence that Matthew and Luke were dependent on Mark's Easter narratives. Both have different Easter stories. We cannot use Matthew or Luke to make claims about what they may or may not have read in their copies of Mark in chap. 16. If Mark was composed in AD 65 then its ending may have been lost before Luke and Matthew in the 70s–80s found it. Mark M.W. Waterman (*The Empty Tomb Tradition of Mark: Text, History and Theological Struggles* [Los Angeles: Agathos, 2006]) is another recent scholar who argues that Mark did not intend to go beyond 16:8 because his main interest was in the empty tomb. He lists (in his chap. 3 and in the Appendix) scholars who have accepted this position and the other main theories about the endings of Mark.

²⁸ N. Clayton Croy (*The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel* [Nashville: Abingdon, 2003]) is particularly good at exposing the weaknesses in arguments that 16:8 was Mark's intended conclusion. He shows that it was the result of new critical methodologies, such as "reader-response" theories and the like, that anachronistic attempts to recruit Mark as a sophisticated author were made.

rative is a significant part of his Christology—for example, his predictions about the preparations in the upper room, the double cock crowing, the desertion of the disciples after the arrest, the betrayal by one of the twelve and so on are all fulfilled in the stories that follow. In all these cases Jesus knows what is to happen and inevitably these things come to pass.

The other Gospel writers show no reluctance to report the announced Christophany. Why should they? Even Paul, who shows little interest in or knowledge of what Jesus said and did during his ministry, is actively aware of the earliest traditions about the end of Jesus' career and its continuation. Post-Easter stories belong to the earliest stratum of the Jesus story, and had been in existence for a generation before Mark wrote. It would be odd if he were the only one to be reluctant to include such incidents. It would be even odder if, by ending at 16:8, he gave the impression that the Resurrection message was not passed on!

Once the original ending beyond v. 8 was lost, an alternative ending that seemed to meet with general approval was concocted—that is to say, the ending known to us in the majority of our MSS. Only [95] then could Mark's composition be accepted unreservedly and read satisfyingly.

Concerning Others' Intentions

Although we have suspected that the original ending to Mark's Gospel was vulnerable to accidental shortening, it is worth asking if the shortening of the now lost ending could have been deliberate.

Could it be that a motive for the deliberate suppression of the original ending of Mark was indeed the very fact that it contained an appearance to *Peter*, as promised in 16:7? As we have it in the longer, spurious ending, *Mary* is specified as the first (πρῶτον) to witness to and believe in the resurrected Jesus. The summaries following emphasize that, by contrast, others, including Peter, are all doubters.

There seems to have been a reluctance from the beginning to tell of Jesus' Christophany to Peter, especially if it was independent of a general appearance to the Eleven or if it occurred first. But some echoes of the tradition have survived. In Luke, Cleopas and his companion are keen to relate to the disciples that they have just witnessed the risen Christ in Emmaus, only to be informed that these two, otherwise unknown, followers, were *not* the first to see him; they are told that he has "already appeared" to Simon (Peter) but the episode itself is

not included. Paul, despite his rivalry with Peter expressed through his letters,²⁹ is also aware of this private Christophany first to Peter (1 Cor 15:5). Obviously, an appearance of the risen Christ to Peter was so well known that reference to it could not have been expunged entirely from the tradition, but it is mysterious that no record of the encounter has survived.

We do not need to be seduced by modern preoccupations with Mary Magdalene and associated alleged conspiracy theories to note the significance that she is credited in this non-Markan ending (16:9) with a private, first, Christophany. That information thus superseded a story of Jesus' appearance to Peter.

[96] There seem to have been rival claims concerning Peter's supremacy. We see this theme of questioning Peter's primacy emerge elsewhere. The idealized Beloved Disciple and Peter are portrayed strangely in the Easter stories of the Fourth Gospel, where the issues are: Who wins the race to the tomb? (The Beloved Disciple): Who looks inside first? (Peter); Who believes first? (The Beloved Disciple). And just who is this rival to Peter anyway, this "beloved" but anonymous, disciple? John's story of the first Easter morning matches the Gospels' uncertainty about the Christophany to Peter; all this is peculiar, given his prominence. (We recall the saying about the keys of the Kingdom in Matthew 16:18–19, and the rehabilitation of Peter in John 21.) The overall picture is ambivalent.

Why, then, is there no surviving story of a Christophany to Peter? My suggestion is that there had been and it stood in the original ending to Mark's Gospel but, because of the later reluctance to credit him with this revelation, that ending needed to be removed.

I leave these interesting speculations to one side now, but merely repeat the questions if the original ending to Mark contained an appearance to Peter and if it was that which was the motive for its deliberate suppression.

Concerning Accidental Removal

Let us now approach the reason why some MSS have Mark end at 16:8 from a different angle. If vv. 9–20 had been written by Mark or even if a different, now lost, ending was there, some have asked how

²⁹ E.g., in Galatians 2.

the ending may have been *accidentally* removed. Burgon and others, reluctant to accredit the loss to mere wear and tear or to carelessness, latched on to the little word τέλος (presumably intended to indicate the end of a church lection) found in some MSS alongside 16:8.

It was therefore said that a scribe, coming across this word at the end at v. 8 thought that he had reached the end not of a lection but of the whole Gospel, and therefore expunged everything written beyond that point. Such an argument strikes me as weak and unnecessary. It is unlikely scribes would have been so deceived or beguiled by such a meaning for τέλος when they could see more was to come.

Additional Considerations

Let us now briefly examine the problems I have detected in the first three verses of Mark and which are more fully expounded in an article.³⁰ First we must note that here there are no complete MSS of Mark that lack the opening verses (although we recall that there are no very early MS witnesses to this Gospel). [97]

The problems are as follows:

1. Punctuation. Where do we print a full stop in these opening verses? It could occur after v. 1 or v. 3 or v. 4.
2. Textual. The text is uncertain, especially in v. 1.
3. Theological. Is the “beginning of the Gospel” the coming of John the Baptist, the forerunner? In the other Gospels Jesus’ pre-eminence is emphasized before John is introduced.
4. Language and style.
 - v. 1: The names Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ occur together only here in Mark.
 - εὐαγγέλιον occurs eight times in Mark, seven of these refer to the divine plan in Jesus’ *teaching*. The one exception is 1:1 where it refers to the messianic *action*. Of the other seven, only at 1:14 is εὐαγγέλιον qualified (by τοῦ θεοῦ or *v.l.* τῆς βασιλείας): that seems particularly appropriate, if this is indeed the first mention (and on Jesus’ lips). The qualification Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in v. 1 is unique.

³⁰ J.K. Elliott, “Mark 1:1–3—A Later Addition to the Gospel?” *NTS* 46 (2000) pp. 584–88. Reprinted here as Chapter 14. See C.F.D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London: Black, 1981), pp. 131–32n1.

- καθὼς always follows its main clause elsewhere and proves something stated; it is not used in anticipation. Even if v. 1 runs on, that rule cannot be made to apply. If v. 1 is a title ending with a full stop then καθὼς is, uniquely, at the beginning of a sentence.
- ἀρχή elsewhere is used temporally. Possibly v. 1 runs onto v. 4 but that is unlikely.³¹
- The quotation from the Old Testament is not only unusually extensive for Mark but this is the only citation from the narrator. Elsewhere a citation is within speech. And this is the only citation introduced by the words καθὼς γέγραπται.
- If it is an independent verse, v. 1 is verbless. Such a practice is exceptionally rare in Mark.

[98] Thus there is a very high density of un-Markan usage—far higher than in 16:9–20, as it happens!

We also ought to note that the citation from Isa 40:3 found in Mark 1:2–3 is in the Matthaean parallel (Matt 3:3). The rest of Mark's citation is found in Matthew 11:10 and paralleled in Luke 7:27. If Mark 1:2–3 were original and read as such by Matthew (and Luke) it is odd that they then unravelled Mark's citation, putting it into two different contexts, one Markan, the other Q.

If these arguments are correct, then we have corroborative evidence that Mark's Gospel was damaged at both ends (although not necessarily simultaneously nor, initially, in the same manuscript).

Let us also return to Kelhoffer. What he tried to do was to investigate where 16:9–20 could have come from, assuming, rightly, that it was not Markan nor traditional material in existence prior to AD 65, found by Mark and used by the evangelist to conclude his own writing. Arguing that it was added to a truncated Mark in the mid-second century, he investigates what its context could have been. He sees these verses almost as floating material, comparable to some of the second century apocryphal fragments that have been discovered. The difference here is that the fragment has been attached to what was soon to be accepted as a canonical Gospel, and as such it has remained. It did not survive independently of Mark. Kelhoffer looks in particular at the miracles referred to in 16:17–18. Those are seen as uncharacteristic

³¹ Croy (*Mutilation*, pp. 124–30) shows how in later MSS this word served as a “marker” to show where a new reading began.

of a first-century writing such as Mark, but are entirely compatible with second-century Christianity, and he finds many parallels in that century's literature.

Kelhoffer has been rightly commended for locating a plausible context for this passage. I find his arguments overwhelmingly convincing. Kelhoffer says that the ending was no hastily compiled epitome, although we must make it clear that it was inappropriately cobbled on as a conclusion that can scarcely be said to develop or belong to vv. 1–8.

Thus 16:9–20 may be compared with additions to some Old Testament writings, e.g., the apparently later additions to Ruth, or to the Psalter, or to Deuteronomy. Those contrast with the abrupt ending to Ezra and the unfinished nature of Jonah, which serve as examples of texts that cry out for additions. Several pieces of literature in antiquity were revisited, edited, shortened, lengthened and (in the case of Acts) reissued in a second edition. What we thus witness with ancient literature shows that texts that were read and used were subsequently liable to reediting. [99]

CONCLUSION

The textual problems at the end of Mark and indeed the fluid text in much of the New Testament as a whole make talk of inerrancy, as narrowly defined by some, indefensible. Realistically applied to the New Testament the term must allow for errors in the transmission of the text. Unfortunately, the misuse of this word is bandied around rather like the use of “infallibility” when applied to *ex cathedra* pronouncements by the Pope.

We may argue that the original authors of the biblical texts were themselves inspired but to pretend that their words were transmitted unchanged is stretching credulity to its breaking point. Further, to argue that a particular strand of the MS tradition, typically the text represented by the Textus Receptus, or the Majority text, uniquely preserves, through “providential care,” those inspired words in their entirety ignores the scientific results of textual criticism as practised in the past century or more, and such preconceived conclusions alienate academic discussion that depends on open and free inquiry. My work on MSS makes it clear to me that the New Testament is nowhere free from accidental and deliberate error and that the text certainly was

never transmitted free from blemishes. It is our task as text critics to identify these secondary accretions, wherever they may occur and in whatever MSS.

[100] The Münster Institut speaks of *Ausgangstext*, a reconstruction as close as scholarship enables one to get to the possible original, authorial wording but one that explains the starting place from which subsequent existing corruptions arose. This they are trying to do in their *Editio Critica Maior* at present containing only the Catholic Epistles. As with other printed critical editions, I have my reservations about the resultant text they produce, but it is differing from NA²⁷—although not enough in my estimation. However, they are arriving at their text independently of any preconceived assessment about the Byzantine text or of any MS, Egyptian or otherwise. As a thoroughgoing text critic, I think that that seems a step in the right direction.

Inerrancy is not coterminous with canonicity. When the fathers promoted certain texts as authoritative for Christians to read, they would accept, e.g., the Gospel of Mark or the Epistle to the Romans. They did not require a particular form of Mark or Romans. They never stated that in commending Mark they had in mind only the version of Mark running up to 16:8 or to 16:20. The Mark accepted as canonical was the form of the text the person, individual church, or monastery happened to possess. We noted earlier that certain MSS containing the Longer Ending do so with a health warning, an obelus, marginal note, or other sign; antiquity was reluctant to omit verses deliberately, especially if the text in question was seen as a part of Jesus tradition. Church usage recognized the Longer Ending since it was of great antiquity, and once it was eventually included in Gospel MSS, it was read in public services. This was pious inclusiveness. Moreover, we cannot nowadays forget that for most of its history the Gospel of Mark was interpreted and used by those who assumed (wrongly, we might say) that vv. 9–20 were part of Mark's original composition.

On the other side, to denigrate the text found in \aleph or B as if these are particularly corrupt specimens fails to recognize that at the very least the users of those MSS in antiquity read them as their form of canonical Scripture. My own approach to textual criticism allows that the correct, original text (or, better, the *Ausgangstext*) has been preserved, by sheer chance, somewhere in our 5,000 surviving Greek witnesses. Sometimes it may well be found in the majority of Byzantine MSS but at other times in \aleph or B (as in the case of the ending of Mark), or at other times in an occasional minuscule or a unique majuscule. I am,

however, reluctant to accept conjectural emendation, and that is why I am cautious in my proposal about the secondariness of Mark 1:1–3, although I am prepared to admit that such a necessity may exist on occasions. The opening of Mark may well be one such occasion.

The word “canonical” does not imply “original” and it certainly does not involve appeals to divine protectionism, inerrancy, or inspiration (whatever those words are said to mean). Such judgments are made about texts by a certain brand of church tradition. The Bible may well be a collection of inspired writings or an inspired collection of writings (i.e., writings not intended by their authors to be so, but deemed to be so by later Christians) but whether those definitions can help to decide on the rough and tumble of textual variation is improbable. The sooner that the language of inerrancy is dropped in the context of textual criticism the better it will be for scholarship. [101]

Obviously, most of our surviving witnesses contain vv. 9–20 and, as such, these verses have been accepted as canonical Scripture, i.e., recognized by the church as definitive for Christian theology and practice. Bridget Gilfillan Upton, in *Hearing Mark's Endings*,³² makes a case for all *three* major endings to Mark. For her each was designed to have an effect on an audience that was hearing them read. She is not concerned with originality but merely to show that each ending known in the MS tradition was usable and could be effective rhetorically—and, of course, the users of the differing MS traditions were obliged to work with the form of Mark that they happened to possess.

But her work does not prove that any one of these texts was the text published by its author. Even the shorter ending would have been accepted as canonical where it appears in a MS. Let us take another example. The saying about the man working on a Sabbath found after Luke 6:4 in Codex Bezae (D) is a logion not accepted as authentic to Luke, but the owners of D would not have known that. There we are dealing with a saying found in a canonical text; other *ipsissima verba* may not occur in a text that became canonical Scripture. Paradoxically therefore, it may happen that a non-authentic saying attributed to Jesus may occur in a canonical Gospel and therefore by definition itself became canonical and authoritative, whereas an authentic saying may have survived only in a church father's writing or in apocryphal

³² B.G. Upton, *Hearing Mark's Endings* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) = *Biblical Interpretation Series* 79.

New Testament texts. The pericope of the adulteress is a floating piece of Jesus tradition (perhaps even an authentic story, and certainly as historically accurate as some other similar episodes), but it is probably a piece of an apocryphal text that never belonged to the original form of Luke or of John. Because it is now found in some MSS of the New Testament, it was not only preserved but branded as a part of canonical Scripture, Holy Writ. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same applies to the differing forms of Mark's Gospel.

I conclude with two citations:

- Samuel Tregelles:³³ "... [T]he remaining twelve verses, by whomsoever written, have a full claim to be received as an authentic part of the second Gospel, and that the full recognition of early testimony on this question does not in the least involve their rejection as not being part of canonical scripture."
- Raymond Brown:³⁴ "...[W]hile New Testament books are canonical, no *particular* Greek text should be canonized; and the most one can claim for a critically prepared Greek New Testament is scholarly acceptance" (*italics mine*).

POSTSCRIPTUM

Other articles on the endings of Mark in the book from which my chapter comes are by Daniel B. Wallace. David Alan Black and Maurice Robinson. All the contributions are assessed in a response by Darrell L. Bock.

³³ S.P. Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament* (London: Bagster, 1854), p. 258.

³⁴ R.E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), p. 52.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE TEXT OF ACTS IN THE LIGHT OF TWO STUDIES

The variants found in the Greek text of Acts that are included in this paper have been selected for three reasons: 1) They all contain readings which have the combined support of the Byzantine majority text and papyri. These have been taken from the lists to be found in Harry A. Sturz, *The Byzantine Text-Type and New Testament Textual Criticism* (Nashville, Camden, New York: Thomas Nelson, 1984).¹ 2) They have a bearing on the study of Acts by M-E. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Le Texte Occidentale des Actes des Apôtres: Reconstruction et Réhabilitation* (Paris: 1984),² to be referred to hereafter as B + L. In their work B + L print as Lucan two versions of Acts, the Alexandrian (TA) and the Western (TO). 3) They show differing types of scribal emendation. [250]

In each variant discussed the texts printed by B + L as either TA or TO are shown. The text printed by Nestle-Aland²⁶ (N-A²⁶) is also shown below, and, when they are available, I have noted the views of the United Bible Societies' Committee as reported by B.M. Metzger in his companion commentary on the UBS text,³ the third revised edition of which is virtually identical with that in N-A²⁶ 7th printing.

The encouragement to those of us practising radical eclecticism in relation to textual variation is clear from both Sturz's book and from the principles applied by B + L. Neither the Western text nor the Byzantine text should be dismissed as containing by definition a suspect text. These two recent studies clearly show the antiquity of these text-types and also that their distinctive readings deserve our close consideration. That having been said, let us now pay some attention to some of these readings. The representative selection of types of variants is set out under separate headings.

¹ See my review in *NovT* 28 (1986) pp. 282-4.

² See my review in *NovT* 29 (1987) pp. 285-8.

³ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London and New York: United Bible Societies 1971).

1. HOM

Some readings in our mss. are likely to have been created accidentally through scribal carelessness. Where *hom* (to use A.C. Clark's word) can be demonstrated to have operated, a useful and basic rule of thumb is that the longer reading is likely to be original—other things being equal.

- [251] The old rule, *brevior lectio potior*, is unlikely to be as helpful to us. When assessing textual variation it is more common to find that an originally longer text was accidentally shortened than that an originally short text was deliberately expanded e.g. out of a desire to add explanatory glosses. The latter did undoubtedly occur, but when a clear palaeographical or optical reason for the former can be demonstrated this can often be a decisive argument in favour of the longer reading. As is well-known, it is within the D form of the Western text and in the Byzantine tradition that the text is, in general, the longer.

Two examples from Sturz's lists will suffice:

a) List I p. 154:

Acts 17:13 σαλευσοντες : P⁴⁵ Byz

σαλευσοντες και ταρασσοντες : P⁷⁴ & B D.

ταρασσω is a word used elsewhere by our author (cf. Acts 15:24; 17:8) and is likely to be original here. The Byz text happens to be the shorter at this point! The accidental shortening can be explained as due to parablepsis caused by the repeated ending οντες.

[N-A²⁶ has the longer text. B + L print the longer text both for the Western Text (TO) and in their Alexandrian text column (TA).]

b) List V p. 203:

Acts 5:32 αγιον ο P⁴⁵ & A Byz

αγιον ον D *

αγιον B

[ο = Westcott and Hort (= WH) text : ο deleted in WH margin]

If ον were in the text originally *hom* would have encouraged its accidental deletion following αγιον. If ον were changed deliberately then the alteration ο could be explained as a grammatical 'correction'. The reading of D * can be justified as *ad sensum* (but not a correct

ad sensum, *pace* Metzger, *Commentary* 333). Other examples of such a practice may be seen in the New Testament at

John 6:9: παιδαριον ος (*v.l.* [= *varia lectio*] ο)

Gal 4:19: τεκνια...ους

Phil 2:15: γενεας...εν οις

Col 2:19: κεφαλη...εξ ου

and indeed in Acts itself at 15:36: πολιν εν αις.

[B + L: TA = [ο]

TO = ο

N-A²⁶: ο]

Another instance of an apparent lack of concord may be seen at Acts 10:37:

Sturz's List I p. 154 includes:

αρξαμενον P⁴⁵ Byz

αρξαμενος Ⲙ B [WH N-A²⁶]

αρξαμενος γαρ P⁷⁴ D

[B + L: TA and TO = αρξαμενος]

[252]

Here αρξαμενος is likely to be original. The form -ον and the addition of γαρ may be seen as grammatical improvements. NT usage seems to allow appositional phrases and circumstantial participles to be in the nominative rather than in the oblique cases, although scribes often avoided such a practice as may be seen by the *v.l.* indicated in the following list: Matt 10:11 (*v.l.*); Luke 20:27 (*v.l.*); 21:6; 24:47 (*v.l.*); Acts 7:40; 2 Thess 1:5 (*v.l.*); Jas 3:8 (but here see the punctuation) and the occurrences in D at Matt 4:16; 5:40; 17:2, 9, 14. According to N. Turner *Syntax* p. 316 the references here to Luke-Acts show that the lack of congruence in participles is not confined to the least educated writers in the NT.

2. FIXED EXPRESSIONS

With theological and other terms, such as 'the grace of God', 'the word of God', one may assume that an author's practice would attain a

fixity of usage. Textual variants deviating from that norm could then be described as due to scribes' having conformed the original expression to a differing version of the formulae, possibly under the influence of liturgical practice. Such scribal alterations were not undertaken consistently throughout the text.

a) 'The holy spirit'

List II p. 170

Acts 8:18 + το ἁγιον P⁴⁵ P⁷⁴ D Byz
om. το ἁγιον ⋈ B [W H, N-A²⁶]

B + L write (Vol II p. 57) 'L'addition de το ἁγιον serait contraire au tendance du TO' and cf. I p. 107 in the context of the Western text as given by them being *shorter*: 'Nombreux sont les passages où le TO ne dit pas 'L'Esprit Saint' comme le TA, mais simplement 'L'Esprit' 2:33; 4:31; 5:32; 7:51; 10:38, 45, 47; 11:15; 13:2; 16:6; 19:2b, 6; 20:23; 21:11; 28:25.' We may suggest a different conclusion.

New Testament usage provides examples of both 'Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit'. The addition of ἁγιον may reflect a pious expansion due to liturgical practice and this could explain *v.l.* + ἁγιον, but in the context of Acts 8:18 'Holy Spirit' occurs three times (cf. vv. 15, 17, 19) and these are apparently textually firm. The removal of ἁγιον at v. 18 may therefore be explained as due to a scribe's having deliberately excised the adjective on stylistic grounds.

[B + L: TA and TO om. το ἁγιον]

b) 'Grace of God'

List IV p. 194

[253] Acts 15:40 θεου : P⁴⁵ C Byz
κυριου : P⁷⁴ ⋈ BD [WH. N-A²⁶]

In their discussion B + L refer us to 13:46 and 14:26 although only the latter is relevant (on 13:46 see below (c)). Metzger's *Commentary* also refers us to 14:26 as the cause of the reading θεου. We could by contrast suggest that the direction of change was the opposite and that, if assimilation were the cause of the scribal alteration, the parallel expression at Acts 15:11 could be adduced. But, as so often in such matters, it seems to me that the author's total practice elsewhere is relevant. 'Grace of God' is our author's stock expression (cf. 11:23;

13:43; 14:26; 20:24 and at Luke 1:30; 2:40).⁴ The phrase 'grace of the Lord' is found at 1 Tim 1:14 but within a context that makes it clear that *κύριος* = *θεός*. The grace of the Lord, defined as Jesus (Christ) is to be found in the New Testament e.g. Rom 16:20, 24; 1 Cor 11:23; 2 Cor 13:13; Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23; 1 Th 5:28; 2 Th 3:18; Phlm 25; 2 Pet 3:18; Rev 22:21, but the significance of these references is that they occur in doxologies and closing greetings. Such a practice in early Christianity doubtless encouraged scribes to alter *θεού* to *κυρίου*. *χαρις* + *κυρίου* *ιησού* (*χριστού*) may be seen in our author at Acts 15:11 (cf. 2 Cor 8:9) but this apparent exception may perhaps prove the rule, because, as in the doxologies, *κύριος* here is unambiguous because it is defined.⁵

[B + L : TA = *κυρίου*; TO = *θεού*]

c) *Λόγος* + *θεού/κυρίου*

As with 'the grace of...' both 'the word of God' and the 'word of the Lord' occur in the New Testament. The apparent ambiguity of the title *κύριος* again tempts us to argue that this alone seems to have been responsible for scribes changing this noun for an unambiguous title such as 'God', or 'Jesus' as appropriate. This sort of temptation (at least!) must be avoided.

With a set expression like 'word of—' we need to assess the validity of other arguments such as those deduced from our author's (or from NT) usage.

Sturz refers us to the *v.l.* at Acts 16:32 because of the support for one of the readings by a combination of Papyri and the Byzantine text type.

List IV p. 194 *κυρίου* : P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ *κ*^c Byz [N-A²⁶]
 θεού : *κ*^{*} B [W H, N-A²⁵]

⁴ Cf. also Rom 5:15; 1 Cor 1:4; 3:10; 15:10 bis, 57; 2 Cor 6:1; 8:1; 9:14; Col 1:16; Eph 3:2, 7; Tit 2:11; Heb 12:15; 1 Pet 4:10; 5:16; Jude 4.

⁵ The *v.l.* at Gal 1:6 (*ἐν χάριτι*: + *χριστού*, + *ιησού χριστού*, + *θεού*; *om.*) require resolution in the light of Gal 2:21 *τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ* and of the repetition of the name *χριστός* in 1:6–10.

[B + L : TA = τον λογον τον θεον

TO = τον λογον (B + L argue that the archetype of D omitted the divine name with some cursives).]

Following is part of the list in B + L Index Ca λαλειν τον λογον του θεου/κυριου where we note:

Acts 4:31 θεου firm

[254] 8:25 (TA) κυριου *v.l.* θεου

13:46 θεου firm

(cf. Phil 1:14 θεου; Heb 13:7 θεου)

Other instances where θεου follows λογος in Acts are:

6:2; 6:7 (*v.l.* κυριου); 8:14; 11:1 (*v.l.* κυριου); 12:24 (*v.l.* κυριου); 13:5 (*v.l.* κυριου), 7, 44, 48 (*v.l.* κυριου); 17:13; 18:11.

Despite the variants, there are sufficient firm examples of λογος του θεου to establish our author's practice.

λογος followed by κυριου is to be found at:

13:49 (*v.l. om.*); 15:35 (*v.l.* θεου); 15:36; 19:10 (*v.l.* ιησου); 19:20⁶ 20:35.

At 20:35 κυριου is defined by ιησου. The firm example of λογος του κυριου at 15:36 makes it more difficult to pontificate on the originality of θεου at 16:32.

The interchangeability of κυριος and θεος may also be seen in three other *v.ll.* in Acts, not included in Sturz's lists, but which are of interest:

- (i) Acts 10:33 θεου² P⁷⁴ D Byz
 κυριου P⁴⁵ **Σ** B [WH. N-A²⁶]
 B + L : TA = κυριου
 TO = θεου

⁶ Here του κυριου probably belongs to the preceding κρατος, but note here the changes in word order in some mss. and also the *v.l.* κρατος/πιστις.

Metzger says κυριου is original because the committee was (as so often) 'overwhelmed' by the mss. supporting it, but here θεου is a strong contender. The repetition of θεος in the verse may have encouraged a stylistically conscious scribe to substitute it for what in the context would be an unambiguous κυριου.

- (ii) Acts 17:27 θεου P⁷⁴ & B
 κυριου E Byz

Again, we may be dealing with a set expression. We have a firm example of 'seeking God' at Rom 3:11. There are no examples of 'seeking the Lord'. (Pace G.D. Kilpatrick who prefers the originality of the ambiguous κυριου⁷)

- (iii) 'Church of God/Lord'
Acts 20:28 κυριου P⁷⁴ A D
 θεου & B [WH. N-A²⁶]
 κυριου και θεου Byz.
 [χριστου] occurs in some versions.

This well-known *v.l.* is not given by Sturz. εκκλησια κυριου occurs seven times in the LXX but never in the NT without *v.l.*: εκκλησια του θεου occurs eleven times in Paul. Do we argue for Pauline usage in Acts? This is not impossible. If so, then κυριου may have been introduced by a scribe familiar with the phrase in the LXX. Or has the opposite occurred? The UBS text committee decided on the originality of θεου (see Metzger's *Commentary ad loc.*) but the argument about κυριου as an ambiguous word may on this occasion encourage us to accept it as original: the unambiguous θεου or [χριστου] look like explanatory secondary readings. Here the Byzantine text looks like a conflate. [255]

[B + L : TA = θεου
 TO = κυριου]

- (d) 'From heaven'

⁷ "An Eclectic Study of the Text of Acts" in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson) (Freiburg: Herder, 1963) 64-77 esp. p. 75. Reprinted as chapter 54 in J.K. Elliott, *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) (= BETL 96).

Would this qualify as a stereotyped formula? Sturz's list I p. 154 includes:

Acts 9:3 *απο του ουρανου* P⁴⁵ Byz
 εκ του ουρανου P⁷⁵ & B [WH. N-A²⁶]
 [B + L : TA = *εκ*
 TO = *απο*]

If this is likely to have become a set expression NT usage and, in particular, the usage in Luke-Acts would favour the originality of *εκ*, cf. Acts 2:2; 11:5, 9; 22:6; Luke 3:22; 10:18; 11:13, 16 etc. *απο του ουρανου* is found at Mark 8:11 (*v.l.* *εκ*); Luke 9:54 (*v.l.* *εκ*). The anarthrous *απ ουρανου* occurs without *v.l.* at Rom 1:18; 1 Tim 4:16; 2 Tim 1:7; Heb 12:29 and in our author at Luke 21:11. (At Luke 22:43 *απ ουρανου v.l. εξ ουρανου* occurs.)

3. AUTHOR'S STYLE

Even though author's style can be determinative in discussing the categories listed above under subheadings (1) and (2) and of course in other matters, I am including here three issues where an individual author in the NT may be shown to apply his own distinctive favourite forms. The first example, taken from Sturz, is easily dealt with:

(i) List II p. 169 Acts 4:34 *υπηρχεν* P⁸ D Byz
 ην P⁷⁴ & B [WH. N-A²⁶]
 [B + L : TA = ην
 TO = *υπηρχεν*]

Of the sixty or so occurrences of *υπαρχω* in the NT about forty occur in Luke-Acts. Thus it seems likely that *υπηρχεν* is original here. This verb may have been altered in v. 34 in particular to avoid three occurrences in three verses.

(ii) The examples given under this number, together with example (iii) below, all taken from Sturz, open wider issues, that, again, may be resolved by an appeal in the first instance to an author's own usage, before we look at the NT practice in general.

List II p. 169

Acts 5:3: *πετρος* P⁸ D Byz
 ο *πετρος* & B

and

Acts 5:8 ο πετρος P⁸ D Byz [256]
 πετρος ⲛ B

[WH and N-A²⁶ follow ⲛ B in both verses and thus print a text which makes the author's practice look inconsistent.

B + L : 5:3 TA = [ο] πετρος
 TO = ο πετρος
 5:8 TA = πετρος
 TO = ο πετρος

At 5:3 B + L II p. 33 states 'L'article devant le nom de Pierre est omis par D avec la *Koinè* contre la tendance du TO; il est attesté en revanche par le groupe Alexandrin également contre sa tendance'.]

A few years ago I dealt with the NT's ways of referring to Peter's names⁸ and devoted some pages to the variants concerning the article with Πετρος (pp. 252 f.). My conclusion there was that, as far as Luke's gospel was concerned, the article should be read as original at 9:20 (*v.l. om.*). In Acts the picture is more confused. Variants concerning the presence or absence of the article with Πετρος may be found at Acts 1:15; 2:14; 3:4, 6, 12; 4:8; 5:29; 9:31; 10:21, 34, 46; 11:4. In the light of the evidence from the gospel, one would be tempted to opt for *v.l.* + article were it not for the firm anarthrous occurrences at Acts 2:38; 3:1; 8:20; 9:38; 10:9; 11:2; 15:7. A final decision on the *v.ll.* at 5:3, 8 is therefore awaited.

But in this context we may also take from Sturz's List II p. 169:

Acts 7:13b του ιωσηφ P⁴⁵ D Byz
 ιωσηφ B C [WH. N-A²⁶]
 (ⲛ A have αυτου)

Here the name 'Joseph' occurs earlier in the sentence, firmly without the article (cf. also v. 14 following for a similar usage). It is tempting to reject the originality of του at v. 13b also.

⁸ 'Κηφας; Συμων Πετρος; ο Πετρος: An Examination of New Testament Usage', *NovT* XIV (1972) pp. 241-56. Reprinted as chapter 10 in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

[B + L : TA = ιωσηφ²
TO = του ιωσηφ]

In this connection we may also add from Sturz's List V p. 203:

Acts 16:17 : τω παυλω P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ & D Byz [N-A²⁶]
παυλω B
[WH hesitatingly print [τω] παυλω.
B + L : TA = παυλω
TO = τω παυλω]

Our author's general practice seems to have been to include the article with Paul's name, but a final decision must await a thorough investigation into Luke's use of arthrous or anarthrous proper names.

(iii) A firmer decision may perhaps be reached with the variants concerning the use of the name Egypt in Acts. Αιγυπτος occurs thirteen times in Acts 7. At 7:15 the inclusion of Egypt is in dispute as it is omitted by B (and as a consequence, bracketed by WH).
[257] This *v.l.* occurs in Sturz's List IV, p. 194.

[B + L : TA = *om.* εις Αιγυπτον
TO = εις Αιγυπτον]

καταβαινω is normally followed by an object e.g. Acts 8:26; 14:25; 16:8 and thus the longer text is likely to be original at 7:15. Another instance involving this noun is at 7:18 where επ Αιγυπτον is in dispute. See Sturz's List II p. 170:

επ Αιγυπτον P⁷⁴ & B [WH.]
om. επ Αιγυπτον (P⁴⁵) D Byz
[The longer text is bracketed by N-A²⁶.
B + L : TA = longer text
TO = omit.]

The omission may have been motivated by scribes wishing to reduce the apparently excessive use of 'Egypt' in this passage, especially in view of the reference occurring at the end of the preceding verse. As 7:18 includes an extract from Ex 1:8 the possibility of assimilation to LXX is present (LXX reads επ Αιγυπτον), but as our author here seems

to be following the LXX closely it is more likely he had the wording of the LXX originally.

Here we can assess the relevance of our author's practice. It is certainly characteristic of Luke to write anarthrous Αἴγυπτος, cf. Acts 7:9, 10 bis, 12, 17, 18, 34 bis, 39. Likewise it is characteristic of him to use the LXX phrase γῆ Αἴγυπτου. There are *v.ll.* at Acts 7:11, 36, 40; 13:7 reading the article, but there are no firm instances of arthrous Αἴγυπτος. To read εἰς Αἴγυπτον at 7:15 and ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον at 7:18 therefore does not violate our author's normal practice.

4. ATTIC USAGE

An issue wider than that of one Biblical author's style and usage is the usage of the NT as a whole. One aspect of this wider question concerns *v.ll.* in which one reading seems to support an Attic word or phrase and another reading supports a Koine equivalent. There have been several studies of Attic/Koine *v.ll.* in relation to the NT text.⁹ In the present context I note that Sturz includes in his list I p. 154:

Acts 11:11 ἡμῶν P⁴⁵ Byz
 ἡμεν P⁷⁴ & BD [WH. N-A²⁶]
 [B + L : TA = ἡμεν
 TO = ἡμῶν]

Many would overlook such a *v.l.* as a mere orthographical slip and opt for the reading found in their favourite mss., as the editors of N-A²⁶ and W + H did. In the context first person singulars regularly occur in verses 5–12 and one such is expected here too. If ἡμῶν were original it could have been altered because of the reference to the men who were with Peter in front of the house. If accidental, the change could have occurred [258] in either direction. Metzger's *Commentary ad loc.* explains that UBS (and N-A²⁶) print ἡμεν as the more difficult reading. But is it?

If Atticism is a relevant consideration here we would note that ἡμεν is Attic and ἡμῶν not, the declension being:

⁹ E.g. G.D. Kilpatrick, "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament" in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze* ed. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss & F. Mussner (Regensburg: Pustet, 1963) 125–37. Reprinted as chapter 2 in *Principles and Practice*.

Attic: ην, ησθα, ην, ημεν, ητε, ησαν

Hell.: ημην, ης, ην, ημεθα, ητε, ησαν

Moeris¹⁰ and Phrynichus¹¹ condemned the use of ημην as non-Attic (cf. Moeris' commendation of ησθα against ης).¹² One way of avoiding ημην would have been to alter it at Acts 11:11 to the 1st p.p. (cf. Acts 10:30 where ημην is also avoided and cf. the *v.l.* concerning ημεθα at Matt 23:30; Gal 4:3; Eph 2:3 or ησθα at Mark 14:67 (but firm at the parallel, Mt 26:69) against seven firm instances of ης).

It is therefore unlikely that ημεν is original at 11:11. There is no firm example of this form in our author (at Acts 20:8 *v.l.* ησαν is probably correct: this verse does not form part of the 'we' passage). At Acts 27:37 ημεν occurs, but note *v.l.* ημεθα. There are, however, some firm instances of ημεν in the NT outside our author, e.g. 1 Th 3:4, 10; Tit 3:3.

An assessment of the relative worthiness of the different texts to represent the original text is inappropriate on the basis of the above sample, but the general tendency reinforces the normal argument of radical eclecticism that the correct, i.e. original, text is to be sought throughout the ms. tradition and not restricted in the way shown in our usual printed editions.

¹⁰ In I. Bekker, *Harpocraton et Moeris* (Berlin: Reimerus, 1883) § 197.32.

¹¹ In W.G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* (London: Macmillan, 1881) § 240.4.

¹² Bekker § 197.34.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

AN ECLECTIC TEXTUAL STUDY OF THE BOOK OF ACTS

The distinctive characteristics of the transmission of the text of Acts are well-known, especially the longer 'Western' text and the alleged tendencies of its main representative, Codex Bezae, when compared with the shorter text in the so-called Alexandrian uncials (normally followed in modern editions and translations). The issues raised by these features, their resolution in terms of establishing a presumed 'original' text and the explanations proffered for the subsequent history of that text are usually readily available in introductions to the New Testament, in commentaries on the text of Acts (recently that by Barrett in his ICC commentary¹ is most helpful in this regard), and, conveniently and succinctly, in Metzger's *Textual Commentary*.² [9]

There is thus no need in the present article to rehearse all the differing views that have been expressed regarding the alleged superiority of one line of transmission to represent Luke's original text, the motives for adapting that text in later mutations of it, the possibility that Luke himself was responsible for *both* main textual forms, or that both main text types represent editions of a now lost original.

In this context 'original' means a form of the text as close as possible to that issued, 'published', by the author.³

Ropes set out two forms of the text as represented by B and D in *Beginnings of Christianity* III.⁴ Boismard and Lamouille printed their

¹ C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, two volumes (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994–1998).

² B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1994).

³ For recent discussion on the term 'original text' see P. Ellingworth, Text, Translation and Theology. The New Testament in the Original Greek?, in: *Filologia Neotestamentaria* pp. 25–26 (2000), 61–74, and E.J. Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism", in: *HThR* 92 (1999), pp. 245–281. Reprinted as chapter 20 in E.J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays, 1962–2004* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 116).

⁴ J.H. Ropes, in: F.J. Foakes Jackson/K. Lake (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity I: The Acts of the Apostles* III (London: Macmillan, 1926).

reconstructed *Texte Alexandrin* and *Texte Occidental* in parallel columns in *Le texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres*.⁵

- [10] The great diversity in the transmitted form of this Biblical book, when compared with that of the Gospels and Epistles may be due to the fact that Acts as a narrative and with comparatively less teaching lends itself to later editorial revision, expansion or contraction. In this respect the textual history of Acts invites comparison to the way in which the apocryphal Acts were treated.

But most commentators, certainly all translators and editors of a printed Greek testament, need to work on only one form, the presumed original from which all subsequent changes are based. They do not have the luxury of using two forms such as displayed by Ropes or by Boismard and Lamouille, however much they choose to use their footnotes to tell us what 'other ancient manuscripts' add or subtract or change from the text they print above.

In choosing to print one and only one form of the text of Acts the editor, translator or commentator must make decisions at each point of textual variation in the manuscript tradition unless he is (rarely) deciding to work from the text of one manuscript only throughout. Ropes argued for the relative superiority of the Egyptian 'Old Uncial' text of Acts. Few now would agree with his view that the Western text is merely a later editor's logical expansion of the original text. Nor would many agree with A.C. Clark⁶ who maintained the superiority of the Western text-type. In practice we may see that Ropes was often prepared to desert B in favour of Western readings and Clark asterisked readings which he accepted from outside the Western tradition.

Even the United Bible Societies' edition which may be seen as a clone of Westcott and Hort's edition and thus heavily dependent on the readings of B adopts a less doctrinaire approach to textual variants when it discusses Acts. This change in policy is expressed by the spokesman for the UBS committee, B.M. Metzger, where he writes in the *Textual Commentary*², p. 235:

⁵ M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Le texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres. Reconstruction et réhabilitation*. (Éditions recherche sur les civilisations. Synthèse 17. two volumes, Paris 1984). A revised edition of the text may be seen in M.-É. Boismard, *Le texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres. Édition nouvelle*. (ÉtB NS 40). (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2000).

⁶ A.C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933).

Inasmuch as no hypothesis thus far proposed to explain the relation of the Western and the Alexandrian texts of Acts has gained anything like general assent, in its work of editing that book the United Bible Societies' Committee proceeded in an eclectic fashion, judging that neither the Alexandrian nor the Western group of witnesses always preserves the original text, but that in order to attain the earliest text one must compare the two divergent traditions point by point and in each case select the reading that commends itself in the light of transcriptional and intrinsic probabilities.

In practice we may see that the resultant text is less eclectic than that statement may lead us to expect but the 'thoroughgoing' text-critical approach espoused here strikes me as the best way—indeed the only way—to proceed with the editing of Acts, given its distinctive and complex textual history.

This article will thus be concerned with how editors and readers may [11] deal with the morass of variants found in a full *apparatus criticus* of Acts by suggesting how the consistent application of criteria concerning intrinsic probability cuts through barriers such as the Western text versus the Old Uncial text and may assist in determining the original text and in explaining (in a way not always commonplace in a discussion predetermined by a prejudice in favour of the Western, Egyptian or Majority text types) how and why the secondary readings arose. In many ways the principles applied below are compatible with many of those to which 'rational' text-critics at least pay lip service and which are set out in various places.⁷ What a more consistent, that is a thoroughgoing, application of such principles can do is demonstrated in my sample below. Obviously in a short article only some examples can be covered, but it is to be hoped that the methodology demonstrated can be applied consistently throughout Acts (and indeed in the rest of the New Testament) to show that principles based on objectively agreed criteria, such as an awareness of the author's style, and of the distinctiveness of the first-century Koine Greek language and an alertness to palaeographical considerations, may enable a resolution of most of the problems caused by variant readings in the manuscripts. I shall not indulge in a discussion of alternative text-critical theories nor shall I review previous literature on the verse or variant currently

⁷ For example, K. Aland/B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans – Leiden: Brill, 1984), pp. 280–282, or in Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, pp. 11*–14*.

under the microscope. Hence footnoting and cross-referencing will be substantially reduced.

To achieve a single version of the text of Acts most 'rational eclectic' textual critics and editors pick and choose among the extant manuscripts, with support from versions and, where available, Patristic citations. They then print what they consider to be the best reading, usually and especially from among the oldest witnesses and with regard to the widest geographical spread. Thoroughgoing eclectic critics are less inclined to be bound by issues concerning the number, weight or alleged quality of particular manuscripts, and thus feel less inhibited in selecting the original reading from among the whole gamut of available variation units, initially regardless of their manuscript attestation. This is the approach I shall adopt here.

For recent discussions of the role of thoroughgoing textual criticism compared to the principles and practice of reasoned eclecticism and other methodological approaches see the recent books edited by Black,⁸ and by Ehrman and Holmes.⁹

- [12] Even those who balk at the application of thoroughgoing eclecticism, claiming it is subjective, liable to support readings found in only a few, or late or potentially maverick witnesses, are in practice less than consistent to their own principles when it comes to readings in Acts. In even the UBS text, used also in the current Nestle edition (hereafter = NA), we find at Acts 16:12 *πρωτης μεριδος της* which represents the Provençal and Old German versions only!

Such a genuinely eclectic approach to variants goes back to the earliest printed Greek testaments. Acts 9:5–6 in Greek was printed by Erasmus as a back translation from the Vulgate. His annotations have: *Durum est tibi. In graecis codicibus id non additur hoc loco, cum mox sequentur, Surge sed aliquanto inferius, cum narratur haec res.* Nevertheless he printed the longer reading. That reading even infiltrated the AV (KJV) and thus has influenced English theology since then.

⁸ D.A. Black (ed.), *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002).

⁹ B.D. Ehrman/M.W. Holmes (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Recent Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (StD 46) (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995). A revised edition is currently in preparation.

Similarly Acts 8:37 is not found in the Greek manuscript (now numbered 2816) used principally by Erasmus for Acts, but was nonetheless translated by him from Latin into Greek. He considered the verse to have been accidentally omitted by scribes (*arbitror omissum librariorum incuria*).

A gloss at Acts 10:6 in the Latin was also translated in Erasmus' Greek. The reading is found in the margin of the 15th-century manuscript 69 and itself may have been added after 1516; it is also in the 11th-century 1611, but that manuscript was not known to Erasmus. So, again, Erasmus was prepared to be swayed by his familiarity with the Vulgate and to include into his supposed original text, reconstructing Acts in Greek, a reading known to him outside his stock of available Greek manuscripts. [Erasmus was certainly alert to textual variation. In his Annotations of 1535 he discussed the reading Καυδα at Acts 27:16, known in his day only in B (recently arrived in the West), although his editions maintain the reading Χλαυδα.]

Let us now come to some examples where textual variation can be discussed not in relation to the manuscripts in support of the alternatives but in terms of which reading is primary (original) and why and how the secondary readings came about. Those who disagree with some of my arguments must either try to bolster those arguments with better or more convincing evidence or propose alternative arguments why X is right and Y and Z wrong. These examples are divided into several sections and subdivisions. The first concerns the language of the first century, mainly Hellenistic usage and Semitisms, including the use of diminutive forms. Secondly we turn to our author's style including his use of periphrastic tenses and his repetitive style, and then to certain distinctive grammatical and syntactical uses, including his practice with proper names, notably 'Jerusalem'. Under 3 we turn to palaeographical considerations, especially *homoioteleuton* and under 4 certain orthographical features, concentrating on the augment with verbs with initial diphthong. Section 5 covers the assimilation of [13] Old Testament citations in the New Testament to the wording found in the Septuagint. 6 deals with a small and random selection of variants, on which modern editors need to reach a decision. Section 7 looks at some variants where Alexandrian witnesses are allied with the Byzantine text-type in certain, set expressions.

1. NEW TESTAMENT USAGE

1.1 *First-Century Language*1.1.1 *Atticism*

When we have a pronouncement from the Atticist grammarians like Phrynichus and Moeris on what was deemed to be good Attic Greek and what, in their day, was identified as Koine, we may often find that the feature commented on, be it vocabulary or syntax or stylistic usage, is subject to textual variation when it occurs in the New Testament. Our criterion for dealing with such variants is to argue for the originality in the New Testament of the non-Attic reading, it being reasonable to assume that scribes in later centuries, influenced by the grammarians' judgements would have altered (albeit not always in a thoroughgoing or exhaustive way) the offending term, and to argue that the direction of change would always be away from an original Hellenistic or Koine expression.

1. Thus Phrynichus CXXX and Moeris η2,¹⁰ preferring the Attic declension ην ησθα ην ημεν ητε ησαν¹¹ over against the Hellenistic ημην ης ην ημεθα ητε ησαν condemn ημην in favour of the Classical ην. It is therefore not surprising to find variation in our New Testament manuscripts over such matters. In Acts 11:11 ημην P⁴⁵ H L P S; ημεν P⁷⁴ A B (cf. 10:30 ημην; εμυ Ψ 1838, and 27:37 ημεθα A B A; ημεν H L P 33 69 *maj.*). Our inclination here is to read the Koine form of the verb as original to our author and to argue that the Attic form is secondary. Note that D alone reads ην (1 p.s.) for εγενομην at Acts 20:18.

2. Moeris α74 (cf. Phrynichus VI) condemns αχρις preferring only the form αχρι. Again there is variation in the New Testament manuscripts. In Acts the following are found:

¹⁰ References to Phrynichus' *Ecloga* are taken from W.G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus* (London: Macmillan, 1881), but see also (with differing paragraph numbering) E. Fischer, *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos (Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker 1)* (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1973). Citations from Moeris come from D.U. Hansen, *Das attizistische Lexikon des Moeris (SGLG 9)* (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1998).

¹¹ As is usual in textual criticism accents and breathings are not printed.

Acts 11:5 *αχρι* **NA** B; *αχρις* *cett.*; 20:6 *αχρι* A B L P; *αχρις* H 049 056 69 614 etc.; 20:11 *αχρι* \mathfrak{P}^{74} **N** A B; *αχρις* *cett.*; 28:15 *αχρι* **N** AB; *αχρις* *maj.* Read *αχρις*. [14]

3. By the same token we will prefer the Hellenistic form *χαριτα* to the Attic accusative *χαριν* because Moeris χ 30 condemns the former. In Acts that means we shall read *χαριτα* at 24:27 against *χαριν* read by **N^c** E L 614. Note here that **N** itself reveals the change, **N^{*}** *χαριτα*; **N^c** *χαριν* thus showing such a change was deliberate, not accidental. At 25:9 A reads *χαριτα*; *χαριν* *cett.* In Paul *χαριν* occurs without *v.l.*

4. Moeris ϵ 20 states that *ευλαβεισθαι* in the sense of *φοβεισθαι* is Hellenistic. It is therefore of no surprise to find the following *v.l.* at Acts 23:10: *ευλαβηθεις* H L P 1854 *maj*; *φοβηθεις* \mathfrak{P}^{74} A B C. We recommend printing the former as the original.

5. Phrynichus CLX tells us that *ουδεις* is Attic and therefore to be preferred, and that *ουθεις* is Koine. Not surprisingly variation over this orthography occurs in our manuscripts. In Acts the following variants are found: 15:9 *ουθεν* B H L P 049; *ουδεν* *cett.*; 19:27 *ουδεν* D L Ψ 33; *ουθεν* \mathfrak{P}^{74} **N** A B P; 20:33 *ουθενος* \mathfrak{P}^{74} **N** A E; *ουδενος* *cett.*; 26:26 *ουθεν* **N^{*}** B; *om.* \mathfrak{P}^{74} **N^c** A33; *ουδεν* *cett.*; 27:34 *ουθενος* A; *ουδενος* *cett.*; cf. also 27:33 *μηθεν* \mathfrak{P}^{74} **N** A B; *μηδεν* *cett.* (UBS/NA follow their favourite manuscripts **N** B and thus print the only occurrence of this spelling in the New Testament!)

6. Away from orthography we see that a matter as significant as a change in gender was commented on by Phrynichus and possibly affected the textual tradition of the New Testament as a consequence of such a ruling. Phrynichus CLXIV tells us that *λιμος* is masculine in Attic usage. This will explain the reason for the changes to the Attic masculine in the following variant: at Acts 11:28 we read *μεγαν*...*οστις* in D H L P but many manuscripts read *μεγαλην*...*ητις* (but see E which reads *μεγαν*...*ητις*!) (cf. Lk 4:25; 15:14).

7. *ερωταν* meant 'to request' in Hellenistic usage rather than 'to question'. (See Mk 7:26.) In Acts we find this verb with the meaning 'request' at 3:3; 18:20; 23:18.20 and that conforms too to Luke (where *επερωταν* is reserved for the meaning 'to question') and it occurs seventeen times. *επερωταν* is found at Acts 5:27 and cf. 23:34 (*v.l.* *επερωσησας* L). At Acts 5:28 the sentence must be punctuated as a question: *ου παραγγελια...τουτω*; In printed editions we find *ερωταν* in the sense 'to question' at Acts 1:6 but the variant *επερωτων* should be accepted as original with D E 33 etc. (against *ερωτων/ερωτουν* in **N**

A B C).¹² At 10:48 ἐρωτήσαν in the sense of ‘request’ obviously caused problems. D here reads παρεκάλεσαν (cf. the longer addition by D at 16:39 which includes παρεκάλεσαν).

[15] 1.1.2 *Semitisms*

At Acts 3:12 we find, ἀπεκρίνατο: ἀποκριθεις ειπεν D. Once we recall that the middle aorist is an Atticism and that the passive aorist of this verb is Hellenistic then this helps us resolve the problem. We should therefore accept ἀποκριθεις...ειπεν as original. In Acts the passive aorist occurs some 19 times against this one disputed occurrence of the middle. The middle also occurs elsewhere in the New Testament six times (Mt 27:12; Mk 14:61; Lk 3:16; 23:9; John 5:17.19 and all are with *v.ll.* avoiding this voice).

The reading by D incidentally betrays a Semitism, which scribes also often tried to remove. The stylistic feature of this Semitism helps us at other places. In Acts 4:19 D reads ἀποκριθεις δε...ειπον. Printed texts give us ἀποκριθεντες...ειπον. Here the question of the agreement of the verb with the subject comes into play. As the subject of this verb is plural, ἀποκριθεντες is grammatically correct, but may be seen as an improvement. New Testament authors sometimes take the person of the verb from the nearest noun even if that is not the only subject. Thus ἀποκριθεις may be doubly right here.

In contrast to this variant at 4:19, at 16:33 D has αὐτος εβαπτισθη και οι αυτοι against the original εβαπτισθη αὐτος και οι αυτοι which makes the inconcinnity less pronounced; cf. 5:21 παραγενομενοι B* against παραγενομενος, and 14:14 ακουσας δε Βαρναβας και Παυλος D against the grammatically correct (and expanded) plural subject ακουσαντες δε οι αποστολοι Βαρναβας και Παυλος.

1.2 *Diminutive Forms*

Diminutive forms of nouns are relatively common in the New Testament. Often the force is not that of a diminutive, and there are then variants removing the diminutive form. Our rule of thumb in such

¹² Support for this meaning comes from the noun. At 1 Peter 3:21 in the context of baptism the *hapax* ἐπερωτημα seems to require the meaning ‘a request (to God for a good conscience)’, rather than, as is it often misunderstood, ‘the pledge (of a good conscience)’.

variation units is to maintain the diminutive as Koine and original and to explain the non-diminutive variant as secondary. There are several instances in Acts. For example, the non-Classical hapax *νησιον* at Acts 27:16 is avoided by 88 915 (*νησον*) which is clearly secondary. See also the *v.l.* *νεανισκος* at 20:9 (by 614 1505 1611 2412 2495 2147); 23:17 (by 2147); 23:18 (by \aleph A E 81 323 547 945 1245 1739 1891 2344); 23:22 (by \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph B E 33 2344) *contra* *νεανιας*. We do however note the firm instance of *νεανιας* at Acts 7:58. Nonetheless the direction of change seems to be away from the diminutive form.

Let us now select certain other diminutives forms from the manuscripts of Acts:

μνημα. Acts 2:29 D reads *μνημειον*.

αργυριον. Acts 17:29 *αργυριω* \mathfrak{P}^{41} \mathfrak{P}^{74} A E etc.; *αργυρω* *cett.* The same manuscripts alter *χρυσιω* to *χρυσω* and we see at Acts 3:6; 20:33 that the diminutive forms of *αργυρον* and *χρυσον* survive unaltered, thus revealing here as elsewhere that change to the text was spasmodic, inconsistent and thus was incomplete. [16]

κλιναρion. Acts 5:15 *κλιναριων* \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph A B D 1739; *κλινων* *cett.* In each instance the variant giving the diminutive form is likely to be original.

2. AUTHOR'S STYLE AND USAGE

Each author has his own distinctive fingerprints. C.H. Turner helped us recognise Mark's characteristic use of Koine Greek. Other authors in the New Testament have not been subjected to such an intense scrutiny, but nonetheless readers can recognize and identify unique traits in all our authors. Assuming that for the most part authors are relatively consistent in their use of certain phrases, grammatical features and vocabulary, we may use such touchstones to recognize variants that conform to our author's known proclivities and to be able to separate these from readings that show a divergence from them. This section includes our author's use of periphrastic tenses, his repetitions, his treatment of certain grammatical features, and his habit with proper names (Jerusalem, Simon Peter, and the Land of Egypt are taken as samples).

2.1 *Periphrastic Tenses*

C.H. Turner¹³ lists some twenty four examples of Mark's preference for the periphrastic tenses. Scribes often tried to eliminate that feature; as a consequence many of these twenty four are not textually secure in our manuscript tradition, there being many *v.ll.* In Acts too periphrastic tenses are found, again with *v.ll.*:

6:4 προσκαρτερησομεν: εσομεθα...προσκαρτερουντες D.

10:6 ουτος ξενιζεται: και αυτος εστι ξενιζομενος 614 1611 2412 *d.*
[Also here note that ουτος is better style than και αυτος and therefore is also likely to be secondary.]

14:4 εσχισθη: ην εσχισμενον D.

17:23 επεγεγραπτο: ην γεγραμμενον D.

Significantly we see at 10:30 the Hellenistic ημην...προσευχομενος; at 20:8 ημεν (ησαν) συνηγμενοι; and at 21:3 ην...αποφορτιζομενος (there are no *v.ll.* for these).

- [17] The periphrastic tenses should be accepted as original in all the above variation units.

2.2 *Repetition*

The author of Luke-Acts (unlike Mark) seems impervious to repetition. Scribes often noticed such repetitiveness and occasionally tried to eliminate it. The following examples in Acts may be places where stylistically conscious scribes attempted to limit repetition:

1:10–11 εις τον ουρανον occurs four times but *v.l. om.* εις τον ουρανον (*sec.*) in v. 11 by D 33 69* 242 323 330 1270 may be seen as a way of reducing the occurrences.

4:34 υπηρχεν Φ^8 D Byz; ην Φ^{74} \aleph B (= NA). υπαρχω occurs some forty times in Acts out of sixty occurrences in the New Testament as a whole. υπαρχω occurs three times in this immediate context and thus may have merited pruning by stylistically conscious scribes.

¹³ Reprinted in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark. An Edition of C.H. Turner's 'Notes on Markan Usage' together with Other Comparable Studies* (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 71) (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 90–93.

7:9–18 ‘Egypt’ occurs six times. In v. 15 B omits εις Αιγυπτον; in v. 18 D E H P *pler. om.* επ Αιγυπτον.

9:12 *om.* εν οραματι \mathfrak{P}^{74} & A. The expression is used in v. 10.

13:41 *om.* εργον D L P 049 88 330 440 at the end of the citation. This is not in the LXX version of Hab 1:5. Assimilation to the LXX (see Section 5) may have encouraged the omission. The longer text also repeats the wording of the previous line and that too speaks in favour of this reading.

23:2 εκελευσεν C 88 945 1739 1891; επεταξεν *cett.*; παραγγειλεν \mathfrak{P}^{74} . κελευειν occurs in 22:30; 23:3 so the avoidance of this repetition may have been a consideration here. επιτασσω is not found elsewhere in Acts so is unlikely to have been original here. Scribes tended to avoid κελευειν followed by the dative. This usage seems to have offended some scribes’ sense of grammatical correctness.

There are many other places where scribes avoided repetition. I note briefly some further examples where our author repeats the same word but where variants avoid the repetitiveness:

6:8 πιστεως *v.l.* χαριτος \mathfrak{P}^{74} & A B (πιστει earlier)

7:49 ποιος D *v.l.* τις *cett.* (ποιον occurs earlier)

8:37 ευνουχος *v.l. om.* (ευνουχος occurs four times in vv. 36–39)

13:23 ηγερεν E C D 104 614 1739 *v.l.* ηγαγεν & B A (ηγειρεν occurs earlier).

The likelihood is that the repetition here, as elsewhere, is original, the reason throughout being that the author of Acts is prone to repetition.

2.3 Grammar

[18]

2.3.1 BDF¹⁴ § 279 states that εμε after prepositions is emphatic in the New Testament as in Classical usage, but προς is an exception and προς με is normal (although προς εμε sometimes occurs in some manuscripts). When we examine our Greek testaments it seems that

¹⁴ F. Blass/A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 9th edition by R.W. Funk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961).

there are no undisputed examples of *προς εμε*. *προς με* is firm at Mt 3:14; 11:28; Lk 6:47; John 5:40; Acts 22:10; 26:14; Tit 3:12. At Mt 3:14 *προς με* is emphatic but not accented.

In Acts there are variants at the following verses where *εμε* is found in some manuscripts:

11:11 **ℵ***; 22:8 **ℵ*** A B; 22:13 **ℵ***A B (nb **ℵ^c** has made the change deliberately); 22:21 C; 23:22 **ℵ** B; 24:19 **ℵ** A B C E 33 81 1739 2344.

NA at Acts 24:19 was swayed by the manuscript attestation and therefore prints *προς εμε* but that must strike its readers as most peculiar. At John 7:37 NA prints *προς με*. *εμε* is in its critical apparatus. NA prints *εμε* at Lk 1:43 (*v.l.* *με* in its apparatus); at 14:26 it prints *με* and ignores *v.l.* *εμε*; the same is true at 18:16; see also John 6:35 *εμε* (apparatus shows *v.l.* *με*); 6:37*bis* *εμε* (bizarrely only the second occurrence has *v.l.* *με* in the apparatus, even though the variant occurs both times!); 6:45 *εμε v.l. με* shown. [As another indicator of inconsistency in NA note that it prints *με* (*v.l.* *εμε* shown) in the previous verse (6:44) as at 6:65 (*v.l.* shown).]

2.3.2 Pronominal *εκεινος* occurs at Acts 3:13; 21:6 (cf. *κακεινος* at Acts 5:37; 15:11; 18:19) but at 10:9,10 there are *v.ll.* At 10:9 *εκεινων* is omitted by **℘⁷⁴** **ℵ** A E L 33 etc.; at 10:10 for *εκεινων* **℘⁷⁴** **ℵ** A B C read *αυτων*. *εκεινων* should be read at both places.

There are some fifteen adjectival uses of *εκεινος* in Acts, where it follows its noun. That seems normal in New Testament usage as at 2:18 (in the quotation from Joel 3:1–5) although here *om.* D; 7:41 (see further Section V below); 9:37 in the expression ‘in those days’ and cf. 12:6 ‘in that night’; 19:23 *εκεινος* follows *καιρος* but at 12:1 it precedes *καιρος* (no *v.ll.*). The expression precedes the singular ‘in that day’ at 8:1 and in D (!) at 2:41. All other manuscripts at 2:41 have *εν τη ημερα εκεινη* cf. *εν εκεινη τη ωρα* at 16:33 (no *v.l.*). That conforms to Lukan usage in his Gospel. There are some nineteen examples of *εκεινος* following its noun and six preceding the noun (when it is either *ημερα* singular or plural or *ωρα*: Lk 5:35; 6:23; 7:21; 9:36; 17:31; 21:23). Other examples of *εκεινος* preceding a noun that is not a time expression are at Lk 12:47; 13:4; 20:18 which are emphatic in their contexts. It is common in the other Gospels too for *εκεινος* to precede the noun in certain time expressions.

2.3.3 Occasionally we find variation in a manuscript and indeed [19] in our printed editions between differing forms of a third declension comparative adjective. Again Moeris may help resolve the variant. Moeris α75 states αμεινω Αττικοι αμεινονα Ελληνες cf. β8; η10; π8. (The New Testament significantly prefers μειζονα to the Classical μειζω. NA prints μειζω at John 1:50; 5:36 in both places showing as a variant the Hellenistic reading.)

Applying that information about the ‘contracted’ comparative forms to πολυς we find that πλειους is Classical, πλειονας Hellenistic. Given our previous examples we should accept πλειονας other things being equal at Acts 13:31 with D* at 19:32 with 1175; at 25:6 with ℣⁷⁴ B 1827; at 27:12 with Ⲙ A B; at 27:20 with all manuscripts except Ⲙ* 049 056 1175. Our printed editions show their inconsistency in that πλειους occurs in all the above places except at 27:12.20 (πλειονες/-ας)! However, other things may not be equal here. At Acts 21:10; 23:13.21; 24:11; 25:14 πλειους is firm. At Acts 28:23 πλειονες is firmly attested. Other criteria need to be investigated. Possibly the presence of πλειους with (επι) ημερας at 13:31; 25:6; 27:20 is due to this being a set expression.

2.3.4 In Hellenistic Greek πληρης is indeclinable only when followed by a dependent genitive (BDF § 137). Otherwise it is declinable. Attic declined πληρης. The form πληρης has no *v.l.* at Acts 6:8; 7:55; 9:36; 11:24; 13:10 (cf. Lk 4:1; 5:12) but these are nominative singular masculine and feminine and so there is no problem. In the oblique cases we find Acts 6:3 πληρεις *v.l.* πληρης A E H P 88 431 915 *alii*. This is followed by a dependent genitive. At Acts 6:5 πληρης is read by most other manuscripts; πληρη B C^c 583 623 etc., again followed by a dependent genitive. At Acts 19:28 indeclinable πληρης is read by A E L 33; the declinable form is read by most other manuscripts—this too is followed by a dependent genitive. Therefore we suggest that one should accept the indeclinable form as the original text in all three passages. NA reads πληρεις πνευματος at 6:3 but πληρης πνευματος at 6:5 (cf. 7:55; 11:24): what are its hapless readers to make of this?

2.4 *Proper Names*2.4.1 *Jerusalem*

There is frequently textual variation over the two forms of this name (Ιεροσολυμα and Ιερουσαλημ) in manuscripts of the New Testament. In Acts editors need to resolve the issue. Most printed editions present a confused picture that renders it well nigh impossible for exegetes and commentators to explain why our author apparently capriciously flits from one to the other without any apparent logic. The confused picture is not resolved by a rigorous application of the cult of the 'best' manuscripts nor by a blind adherence to the majority text type, for all manuscripts seem prone to indiscriminate usage. Nor is an appeal to possible different sources helpful in explaining the change from one name to the other. I have tried to resolve the issue by checking the firm instances of Ιεροσολυμα and the firm instances of Ιερουσαλημ to see if a pattern emerges to enable a pronouncement at those places where the manuscripts divide. The sensitivity and self-conscious usage of place names that differ in different languages or among different cultural groups may have their modern-day counterparts in multilingual Switzerland or Belgium, where writers take care not to offend or cross linguistic boundaries by using the place name inappropriate to the context or audience. This methodology for the variants Ιεροσολυμα (Greek)/Ιερουσαλημ (Hebrew) seems sound and, even if it does not meet with universal approval, it behoves detractors to come up with a comparable scheme that takes account of the undisputed instances and of the variants. (The examples below may be compared to the self-conscious use of the two forms in Paul's letter to the Galatians cf. Gal 1:17f; 2:1 Ιεροσολυμα with 4:25f., concerning the Jewish tale of Hagar where the Hebrew form is found, as is to be expected). We recall Luke's self-conscious use of language for the opening two chapters of his Gospel.

The manuscript evidence summarized briefly below reveals that if one were to follow blindly the text as found in one's favoured manuscript then the resultant text printed would betray a confused and confusing picture. That is indeed the current situation felt by careful readers of our currently available printed editions. My own suggestion to resolve the difficulty is to discover, with the help of the firm examples, if Luke had a reason for using one form of Jerusalem in certain contexts and preferring the alternative in other contexts. ['Firm' here means examples for which no textual variant has been reported to my

knowledge. The reading, collating and publishing of an increasingly larger number of cursives may result in some hitherto firm examples being disputed in the manuscript tradition, and we would then need to adjust these statistics accordingly. I suspect that few of the examples listed here will be affected.]

I note that Ἱεροσολυμα occurs without variant at Acts 1:4; 13:13; 25:1.7.9.15; 26:4.10. In chapters 25–26 Festus would be expected to have used the Greek form (see *v.ll.* below at 25:3.20.24). The name at 1:4 is in an editorial section, addressed to the Greek ‘Theophilus’. 13:13, however, is geographical and in a context in which the Hebrew is expected.

Ἱερουσαλημ is firmly established at Acts 1:8.12b.19; 2:5.14; 4:5.16; 5:16.28; 6:7; 8:26; 9:2.13.21.26.28; 12:25; 13:27.31; 15:2b; 21:11.12.13.31; 22:5.17.18; 23:11; 24:11. Mainly the contexts here apply to Palestine (chapters 1–7) or in Jewish contexts (8–9). 13:27.31 takes place in a synagogue; 15:2 occurs in the reported speech between Paul and Barnabas where it may have been thought that the Hebrew form was natural; chapter 22 is also a special case, v. 2 tells us Hebrew was the language of the speech; 23:11 occurs in angelic speech, which often contains Semitic features (cf. 8:26). The instances in chapter 21 occur in a ‘We’ section that may have originated with a Jewish diarist (but see below). In 24:11 the Jerusalem spoken of here is in the context of the city of the Temple hence the Hebrew form seems most appropriate—even in a speech attributed to the Roman Governor! [21]

All the above suggestions may help us resolve the following places where there is variation:

1:12a. E alone reads Ἱεροσολυμα but the Hebrew form, read by all other manuscripts, seems likeliest here in the context of a description of the Mount of Olives’ being a sabbath day’s journey from Jerusalem. Other geographical references where the Hebrew is found are Acts 2:5; 11:2 but against that see 13:31 above.

8:1 like 1:4 occurs as an editorial addition, and again ‘Jerusalem’ was presumably in Greek as this section tells of the spread of Christianity outside Palestine in chapters 8–15. (Manuscript 2344 reads Ἱερουσαλημ.)

8:14 D reads Ἱερουσαλημ *contra* Ἱεροσολμοις *cett.* Here the apostles from Jerusalem are likely to have been referred to using the Hebrew form (cf. apostles/disciples from Jerusalem at 2:42 D; 6:7 and see 15:4; 16:4 below). But at 11:27 the reference to the ‘prophets from Jerusalem’

has 'Jerusalem' in Greek in all manuscripts except 1175, which may then preserve the original form.

8:25 Ἱερουσαλημ H L P against \aleph A B D. 8:27. Jerusalem here is the city of Jewish worship. Read the Hebrew form with all manuscripts (except 917). In 8:25–27 the Hebrew form should be read three times (the occurrence in v. 26 is firm).

10:39 This occurs in Peter's speech. The Hebrew name is likely to be original and is found in all manuscripts except 33 489 623 927 1175 1270 1872 2344.

11:2 Read Ἱερουσαλημ with \aleph A B against D *maj*. This is a geographical reference; see 1:12 above.

11:22 Φ^{74} \aleph B Ἱερουσαλημ against E H L P 181. The context is geographical.

11:27 Ἱερουσαλημ (the reading of \aleph C D) against Φ^{74} A B occurs in the context of 'prophets of Jerusalem' cf. 8:14.

15:4 Ἱερουσαλημ \aleph C D against Φ^{74} A B 88. (See 8:14 above.)

16:4 Ἱερουσαλημ *maj* against \aleph A B D! (Again, see 8:14.)

19:21 Ἱερουσαλημ H L P against most manuscripts. The Hebrew is arguably original, as Paul's thoughts are being recorded here.

20:22 Paul addresses the Ephesians; many Christians there were Jewish (see Acts 18–19) and so the reading Ἱερουσαλημ of most manuscripts should be read against D Θ 88 Ἱεροσολυμα.

[22] The following four variants occur in one of the so-called 'We' passages in Acts, which may be significant if we consider the source to have been from a Jewish diarist. The Hebrew form is found elsewhere in this section in this chapter. 20:16 Ἱερουσαλημ Φ^{74} \aleph A against B C D; 21:4 Ἱερουσαλημ H L P against *maj*; 21:15 Ἱερουσαλημ H L P against *maj*. (Hellenistic form); 21:17 Ἱερουσαλημ Θ 614 1505 *et al.* against the Hellenistic form in other manuscripts.

25:3 Ἱερουσαλημ against E 618 927 1270 1738 (Ἱεροσολυμα). The Hellenistic form is likely, given the context; 25:20 Ἱερουσαλημ H L P 618 against the Hellenistic form found in other manuscripts. Again the Hellenistic form is likely. (See 25:1.7.9).

25:24 Ἱερουσαλημ E (!) against the Hellenistic form in other manuscripts. Festus is speaking here as at 25:20; likewise in Paul's response the Hellenistic form occurs (26:4.10). Thus here and at 26:20 we should read Ἱεροσολυμα, with all manuscripts except E (Ἱερουσαλημ).

28:17 Here Paul is in Rome speaking to Jews as at 13:27.31. *Ἰερουσαλὴμ* with Θ 614 1505 1518 1611 2138 2414 2495 is to be printed, against the Hellenistic form in other manuscripts.

We note that in the longer readings in D at 2:42; 8:1; 15:2 the ‘correct’, i.e. the Hebrew form appropriate to the context, is found, although on other grounds we may decide that the reading as a whole is secondary. At 18:21; 19:1; 20:23 the ‘wrong’ forms are found for the contexts at 18:21 in the speech to Jews in a synagogue the longer reading has the Greek form; at 19:1 the Greek would give a unique use of *Ἰεροσόλυμα* outside the Festus story in the later chapters; at 20:23 the same may be said.

The above survey shows how the manuscripts divide erratically over this variant. It will be seen how these manuscripts are confused and that it is they themselves who sow that confusion.

Some may disagree over some details in specific verses, but unless one can come up with a better and more convincing alternative reason why Luke uses these two forms deliberately one has to admit that there is anarchy.

2.4.2 *Simon Peter*

Another proper name that caused scribal activity concerns ‘Peter’. Acts names Peter some fifty-six times. In the Cornelius story and the following he is ‘Simon called Peter’ four times (10:5.18.32; 11:13). At 15:14 Peter is called *Συμεών*, possibly indicating a different source for James’ speech and certainly one that gives the speech an appropriate Semitic flavour. Once again, we see that the author was sensitive to the form of proper names.

The concordance and apparatus reveal the following picture:

- (a) Variants add the name Peter at 10:23 in C H L P 440 *pler*, and at 12:7 in 1243 2344 but see D (with 2344!) at 12:16 *om.* ‘Peter’.
- (b) Variation over the inclusion of the definite article with *Πετρος* occurs at the following places (the manuscripts bracketed add the article):

1:15 (D); 2:14 (⌘ A B D etc.); 3:4 (D); 3:6 (D); 3:12 (⌘ A B etc.); 4:8 (547 1636); 4:19 (D 0156 104); 5:3 (⌘ A B etc.); 5:8 (P⁸ 69 104 1739 etc.); 5:29 (056 33 88 429 915 etc.); 9:39 (C 431 440 614 etc.); 10:21 (D [23]

L 440 etc.); 10:34 (241 1646^c); 10:46 (D Θ 326 915 2344 etc.); 11:4 (E H L Θ 522 1739 1891 etc.); 12:14 *sec.* (D).

The following show where the article is firm with ‘Peter’:

1:13; 5:9; 9:34.40; 10:14.17.26; 12:5.6.11.16.18 (nom.)

2:37; 3:11; 9:40; 10:25 (acc.)

4:13; 10:19.44; 12:7.14 (gen.)

but see the firm anarthrous instances at 2:38; 3:1; 8:20; 9:35; 10:9; 11:2; 15:7.

My inclination is to accept the arthrous instances as original and to explain that scribes were tempted to remove the article before the name Peter once its origin and meaning were no longer uppermost in readers’ minds. In some verses that tendency was completely successful in eliminating the article from all extant manuscripts.

2.4.3 *The Land of Egypt*

The issue here is how we decide between *γη* and *τη* (Αἴγυπτος.). The following variants occur in Acts:

7:11 *την* \mathfrak{P}^{45} \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph A B C; *την γην* E A P 056 69; *της γης* D^c; *γην* 945 1505 1739 1891

7:36 *γη Αἴγυπτου* \mathfrak{P}^{74} D Θ 2412; *γη Αἴγυπτω* \aleph A E H P S; *τη Αἴγυπτω* B C 69

7:40 *γης* \mathfrak{P}^{74} etc.; *της* 209 242

13:17 *τη Αἴγυπτου* \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph A B; *γη Αἴγυπτω* C H L P; *γη Αἴγυπτω* Ψ; *τη γη Αἴγυπτω* D

cf. Heb 8:9 *εκ της γης Αἴγυπτου*; Jude 5 *εκ της γης Αἴγυπτου*.

The following verses are relevant: Acts 2:10; 7:9.10 *bis*.12.15.17.18.34*bis*. 39 cf. Mt 2:13.14.15.19; Heb 3:16; 11:26.27; Rev 11:8. An examination of the apparatus for these verses reveals that there is no firm example of the article with Αἴγυπτος. The variant may be explained on palaeographical grounds, THN and ΓHN look similar—one could have been accidentally written for the other. Coupled with that, as *γη Αἴγυπτου* is a fixed expression in the Old Testament the probability is that we should read *γη* above. The question about the dependent genitive Αἴγυπτου or the apposition (Αἴγυπτω) needs to be settled. In the Old Testament the dependent genitive is usual and that should help us to

clinch the originality of Αιγυπτου in the passages identified above in Acts.

3. HOMOIOTELEUTON

Whenever we are confronted by a variant that gives a shorter reading we need to check from the context to see if palaeographical considerations can be legitimately brought into play and ask if homoioteleuton or the like could have been encouraged an accidental shortening. [24] Often the origin of a shorter text may be explained by parablepsis, that optical error where the scribe's eye has jumped forward accidentally from one group of letters to the same or similar set later in his exemplar. Once such an error has occurred, and as long as the shortened text makes sense, such a reading can be perpetuated thereafter. In so far as we are concerned in our earliest Christian centuries with manuscripts that are written in *scriptio continua* then the term *homoioteleuton* need not be applied in its literal meaning. A.C. Clark coined the term *hom* for the phenomenon, because the like letter groups could come at the end, middle or beginning of words or even straddle words. *Hom* may well explain the *v.ll.* at Acts 2:37 *om.* λουΠΙΟΥΣ D (ΤΟΥΣ precedes); 10:5 *om.* τιΝΑ & L P *maj* (ΣιμωνΑ precedes); 12:18 *om.* ουκ ολιγΟΣ D (because of παραχΟΣ); 22:9 *om.* και εμφοβοι εγενΟΝΤΟ & A B (...ΟΝΤΟ precedes); 27:41 *om.* των κυμαΤΩΝ &* A B (...ΤΩΝ). It will be seen that even D, identified as a manuscript prone to longer readings, sometimes accidentally shortened its exemplar! Other examples, chosen at random are: 17:13 *om.* και παρασσΟΝΤΕΣ ℙ⁴⁵ Byz. (...ΟΝΤΕΣ precedes); 5:32 *om.* B; ο ℙ⁴⁵ & A D^c; ον D*, possibly a correction *ad sensum* (cf. αις 15:36 *ad sensum*, although there D reads οις to refer to αδελφους!) If *hom* is not applicable here at 5:32 then deliberate change on grammatical grounds is a possibility.

[Further on Byz-ℙ⁴⁵ alliances see Section 7 below.]

4. ORTHOGRAPHY

The issue of variants related to orthography has been referred to in several examples discussed above. The special case of the temporal augment in verses with initial diphthong merits special mention here. I take just a few examples:

4.1 *ευρισκω*

There are no firm instances of ηυ- but *v.ll.* occur at Acts 7:11 ηυ- B E P 921 1241 2412 only (= NA); ευ- *cett.*; 8:40 ηυ- E only; *v.l.* ευρεθη *cett.* as read by NA. These two variants show the inconsistency of NA in this matter. Read ευ-.¹⁵

[25]

4.2 *ευχομαι*

ηυ- Acts 27:29 in NA with ℘⁷⁴ & B^c *maj.* but ευ- B* C 049. The deliberate change in B is noteworthy.

26:29 ηυξαμην P. All other manuscripts read ευξα(ι)μην.
Read ευ- in both verses.

4.3 *ευφραινω*

Examples at 2:26 and 7:41 again show that the printed editions are inconsistent:

2:26 ηυ- & A B C (= NA); ευ- *cett.*
7:41 ηυ- D P Θ; ευ- *cett.* (= NA).

4.4 *ευκαιρεω*

Acts 17,21 ηυ- (= NA); ευ- H L P *maj.* Read ευ-.

4.5 *ευχαριστεω*

27:35 ηυ- P Θ 69 etc.; ευ- *cett.* (= NA) (and see printed editions including NA at Rom 1:21 (ηυ- *v.l.* ευ-))! Note ευ- at John 6,11 (*v.ll.* ηυ- D only).

4.6 *οικοδομεω*¹⁶

7:47 οι- with B* D Θ and in the printed editions. ω- *cett.*

¹⁵ This issue is discussed in BDF § 67.

¹⁶ We may refer again to the Atticist Phrynichus, who advised (§ CXXXI) that this verb should not be augmented as οι-.

4.7 ανοιγω

5:19 ανοιξας \mathfrak{P}^{74} , \aleph A; ηνοιξεν *cett.*; ανεωξεν D^c; ανεωξαν D*

16:26 ανεωχθησαν H L P Θ; ηνοιχθησαν \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph A E 33 81; ηνεωχθησαν *cett.* (= NA).

No variation concerning the augment occurs at 9:40; 12:10.14; 14:27. All read ηνοι-. We conclude that, as there are no firm examples of ηνεω-/ανεω- and that as there are many firm instances of ηνοι-, therefore ηνοι- is to be printed. The NA text needs to be changed at 16:26. Certainly the issue of the augments needs to be decided if one is to print a consistent and responsible text.

5. THE SEPTUAGINT

Just as in the Gospels variants that make the synoptic (and other) parallels more dissimilar are likely to be original, it being probable that the readings that harmonise the parallels came from later copyists who tried to assimilate the differing accounts, so too variants that make Old Testament quotations in the New Testament dissimilar to the wording of the LXX are likely to be original. If we apply that to the long quotation from Joel in Acts 2:16–21 we see that several variants do indeed agree with the wording that has come down to us independently as the LXX form. The alternative giving a form different to that known in manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament seems to be original. Often, supplementary arguments can buttress a mechanical application of the principle of dissimilarity. [26]

At 2:16 D omits 'Joel'. In other comparable examples in the New Testament the preferred order is name + prophet. To accept the reading with Joel here gives an order inconsistent with New Testament (and, as it happens, Hebrew) usage. In addition, 'Joel' looks like a scribal explanatory addition. D, therefore, may uniquely preserve the original reading.

The following are also to be noted:

2:17 εν ταις εσχαις ημεραις \aleph A D *maj.*; εν ταις ημεραις εσχαις 1175; μετα ταυτα B (= LXX); μετα ταυτα εν ταις εσχαις ημεραις C 467 1319 and 2:17 κυριος D E; θεος *cett.*: κυριος is ambiguous, capable in many contexts of referring to God or to Jesus. Scribes often avoid

the ambiguity. [Many variants concern *Κυριος* when copyists have tried to be precise by altering this to *Ιησους* or to *θεος* as appropriate.] Here, as so often elsewhere, *κυριος* is preferable. The LXX does not have this clause. Cf. 2:18 *om.* *εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις* D: LXX has the words. The reading of *Ⲑ A D* etc. at v. 17 (*εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις*) fits its new context better, allowing the citation to stand away from its original context. The reading *μετα ταυτα* conforms the passage to the LXX. Similar motives may lie behind the reading concerning the pronoun in v. 17. *υμων*^{1,2}; *αυτων*^{1,2} D; *υμων*^{3,4}; *om.* D; *υμων*⁴; *om.* C* E. *υμων*, although conforming to the LXX, is likely to be original at all four places. The ‘Western’ changes could have been theologically motivated to enhance the universality of the extent of salvation (cf. the changing of *κατα σαρκα* to *κατα σαρκας* by D earlier in this verse).

2:18 *om.* *και προφητευσουσιν* D. Here this shorter reading by D conforms the citation to that in the LXX.

2:19 *om.* *αιμα...καπνου* D. The longer reading conforms to the LXX but here we ought also reckon with the possibility that the longer text was original and was reduced accidentally through *hom* (KAT...KAIΠνου).

2:20 *και επιφανη*. These words are as in the LXX. *v.l.* *om.* *Ⲑ* D. Again we need to weigh up arguments based on assimilation with arguments about *hom*. Here *hom* seems to have been responsible for the accidental shortening: *μεγαληνKAIΕπιφανηKAIΕ...*

Cf. 7:18 *ος ουκ ηδει τον Ιωσηφ* = LXX Ex 1:8; *ος ουκ εμνησθη του Ιωσηφ* D E. There Barrett (Commentary *ad loc.*) favours the Western reading, arguing that the alternative is due to assimilation to the LXX.

[27] Barrett is also sympathetic to the variants in Acts 2:17ff. that depart from the wording of Joel in the LXX.

Thoroughgoing eclectic principles need to be carefully evaluated. Occasionally, competing criteria come into the picture. (In some ways we may compare this dilemma with similar problems faced by those who find that their favoured manuscripts, say *Ⲑ* and B, go differing ways at a particular variant.) But textual criticism often involves the evaluation of criteria, and it ought not be concerned with the whole-sale application of principles mechanically.

6. VARIA

Here follows a small selection of variants where modern editors ought to reach a decision.

6.1 Acts 3:21

At 3:21 there are four variants in Greek:

των αγιων αυτου των προφητων D
 των αγιων απ αιωνος αυτου προφητων P⁷⁴ & A B*
 παντων των αγιων αυτου προφητων απ αιωνος P
 παντων των προφητων αγιων αυτου απ αιωνος 614 2412

απ αιωνος seems to have been added from Lk 1:70 although (less probably) the words could have been omitted if the question was raised whether prophets had indeed existed from the beginning. των αγιων was sometimes taken as a noun followed by an appositive, and that may have been the cause of some of the other changes. The Western text seems original.

6.2 Acts 10:30

The longer reading νηστευων και seems original. A shorter reading, omitting the words, makes no sense. The omission may have been occasioned because fasting was not mentioned in vv. 2–3. The meaning seems to be: “Four days ago I was fasting until this hour”, in other words Cornelius’ piety led him to a requisite period of fasting prior to baptism. A full discussion of this intriguing variant is found in Barrett, Commentary *ad loc.* and cf. Acts 9:9 and *Did.* 7:4.

6.3 Acts 13:33

Πρωτω D; δευτερω *cett.* (but in differing positions, a phenomenon that often indicates textual uncertainty); *om.* 1175. In so far as the Psalm from which the quotation comes is always now numbered as the second, πρωτω is the harder reading, and is the one likely to have been altered and therefore is the original. The reading may reflect a time when our first two Psalms were reckoned as one. (There exists some Rabbinic and Patristic evidence to that effect.) P⁴⁵ seems to read εν τοις Ψαλμοις here! [28]

6.4 Acts 13:34

Our printed texts at Acts 13:34 begin with the sentence $\sigma\tau\iota$. This may strike the perceptive reader as strange, because causal $\sigma\tau\iota$ follows the main clause in Mt, Mk, Eph, Pastorals, Heb, James, 1 Peter, 1&2 John. (There are no instances in 3 Jn or 2 Peter) There are exceptions in Jn and two exceptions in Paul out of fifty (Rom 9:7; Gal 4:6), where causal $\sigma\tau\iota$ precedes its main clause. There are exceptions too in Rev (3:10.16.17; 18:7) but all, apart from 3,16, may be punctuated to conform to the norm. As far as Luke-Acts is concerned, the apparent exception (at Lk 19:17) may be avoided. If it is to be read with the preceding then there is no exception. The servant is praised as ‘good’ because of his fidelity. (The asyndeton with $\iota\sigma\theta\iota$ is normal.) At Acts 13:34 the variant $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ read by D 255 614 1175 2412 *gig* Hil merits attention. $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ is the more difficult reading and may well be original here. If so, then there is no exception in Luke-Acts. (If $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ is accepted, then the quotation from Is 55:3 is more closely connected with the resurrection.)

7. READINGS WITH SIGNIFICANT BYZANTINE SUPPORT

7.1 There is an apparent lack of concord at Acts 10:37 if we accept the originality of the *nominativus pendens* $\alpha\rho\xi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ with \aleph B and our printed editions. But we note the existence of the variant $\alpha\rho\xi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ in \mathfrak{P}^{45} Byz that removes the difficulty, but, as a consequence, may therefore be the secondary reading.

Other examples of appositional phrases and circumstantial participles in the narrative in Luke-Acts are at Lk 21:6 and Acts 7:40. There are *v.ll.* over such features at Mt 10:11; Lk 20:27; 24:47; 2 Thess 1:5 and note the readings by D at Mt 4:10; 5:40; 7:2.9.14.

Here at 10:37 we argue that the reading $\alpha\rho\xi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ seems to be a grammatical improvement. It is remarkable that the manuscript attestation combines \mathfrak{P}^{45} and the Byzantine text type.

7.2 Other examples of this are in the following set expressions:

7.2.1 Holy Spirit

The expression ‘Holy Spirit’ is firm at 8:15.17.19 but at 8:18 we have the *v.l.* + $\tau\omicron$ $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ (Alexandrian/Byzantine) \mathfrak{P}^{45} \mathfrak{P}^{74} Byz; *om.* \aleph B alone (and that is the text printed in NA). The longer text is likely to be

original. The deletion was possibly to avoid repetition (see 1.1.2 above [29] for this motive for removing text).

7.2.2 *Grace of God*

The expression is firm at 11:23; 13:43; 14:26. At 15:40 θεου (Alexandrian/Byzantine) \mathfrak{P}^{45} C Byz; κυριου \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph B D cf. 20:24 κυριου Ψ ; θεου *cett.* ‘The Grace of the/our Lord (Jesus Christ)’ is common in doxologies; liturgical practice may have encouraged scribes to alter the reading in this direction.

7.2.3 *Word of God/Lord*

Given the alleged ambiguity of κυριος, we would be inclined to accept the *v.l.* κυριου in the following places, were it not for the fact that λογος θεου is firmly established, as will be seen below. No firm example of λογος κυριου is found in Acts. Therefore θεου is preferred as the original in all the variants:

4:31; 6:2; 8:14; 11:1; 13:46; 17:13 θεου is firm; 6:7 θεου *v.l.* κυριου D E Ψ 614; 8:25 κυριου B C D *v.l.* θεου \mathfrak{P}^{74} A; 21:24 θεου \aleph D^c H L P 33 *v.l.* κυριου B 1837; 13:5 θεου *v.l.* κυριου D 1270; 13:7 θεου *v.l.* κυριου 1739 1891; 13:44 θεου B* C E L P Ψ 049 056 *v.l.* κυριου \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph A B^c D 33 81 2344; 13:48 θεου B D E 049 etc. *v.l.* κυριου *cett.*; 13:49 κυριου *v.l. om.* \mathfrak{P}^{45} ; θεου 927 1270; 15:35 κυριου *v.l.* θεου 88; 15:36 θεου 1505 2495 *v.l.* κυριου *cett.*; 16:32 κυριου (Alexandrian/Byzantine) \mathfrak{P}^{45} \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph^c Byz *v.l.* θεου \aleph^* B (= NA). ‘Lord’ may have been introduced by scribes from v.31; 18:11 θεου *v.l.* κυριου 104; 19:20 κυριου \aleph A B *v.l.* θεου E 88 927. Probably κυριου here belongs with κρατος but *another v.l.* with a changed word order makes κυριου belong with λογος. (At 19:10 and 20:35 κυριου is followed by Ιησου but *v.l. om.* Ιησου \aleph A B D^c.) For the interchanging of κυριος and θεος in the manuscripts see also 10:33; 17:27.

7.2.4 *Church of God*

The famous example is at Acts 20:28, where the following *v.ll.* are related to the meaning of ιδιος at the end verse: θεου \aleph B; κυριου \mathfrak{P}^{74} A D; κυριου και θεου C H L P Byz, an ‘obvious conflate’ declares Metzger in the *Textual Commentary*. εκκλησια του θεου occurs eleven times in Paul; εκκλησια κυριου occurs seven times in the LXX but never without *v.l.* θεου in the New Testament.

7.2.5 *Son of God*

[30] G.D. Kilpatrick¹⁷ championed the reading $\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$ at Acts 7:56. $\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$ is read by \mathfrak{P}^{74} 491 614 Gg boh (2 manuscripts) Macarius (c. 400) and in Latin in the *Vita Patricii*. Thus there is ancient and geographically varied testimony. Given the uniqueness of the term ‘Son of Man’ (especially the *standing* Son of Man) applied to Jesus outside the Gospels, it is improbable that it is original in Acts 7:56. The variant could have been occasioned by scribes sensitive to repetition ($\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ occurs three other times in the immediate context [vv. 55–56]); they then assimilated the passage to Lk 22:69–70 which identifies Jesus, the Son of Man, as the Son of God).

8. CONCLUSION

This very small selection of variants demonstrates how, by applying (thoroughgoing) eclectic principles of textual criticism, conclusions about the likeliest direction of scribal alterations and the likeliest original text can be arrived at. Obviously the study of the textual tradition as a whole needs to be undertaken by editors of a critical edition of the text of Acts. That would require a full *apparatus criticus*, such as we may expect to find in a future fascicle of the ongoing series *Editio Critica Maior*. Certainly a new edition cannot be created from the woefully inadequate apparatus found, inevitably, in a hand edition of the Greek New Testament. But such work, painstaking and long winded though it may be, is necessary if we are to arrive at a satisfactory and satisfying text of Acts.

A preliminary analysis of the way the manuscripts behave may be made from the conclusions reached above, and it will readily be seen just how erratic our extant manuscripts can be: at one point we may be printing the original text with D, at other times with the Byzantine witnesses, while another variant selected as representing the original text may be found in the Alexandrian uncials. But if we are to produce a text that is truly and honestly eclectic then such conclusions are only to be expected.

¹⁷ G.D. Kilpatrick, “Acts vii. 56: Son of Man?”, *TZ* 21 (1965), p. 14, Id., “Again Acts vii.56: Son of Man?”, *TZ* 34 (1978), p. 232. Both are reprinted in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism. Collected Essays of G.D. Kilpatrick* (BETL 96) (Leuven: Peeters, 1990), pp. 415–418.

POSTSCRIPTUM

See further on the text of Acts with special reference to Codex Bezae:

Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts: A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) (= *Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series* 236)

Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition* 4 volumes (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2004–2009) (= *Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series* now *Library of New Testament Studies* 257, 302, 365, 415)

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE CONCLUDING DOXOLOGY TO THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

The conclusion to the epistle to the Romans is a major problem in textual criticism. The benediction (normally numbered Rom 16:24) and the doxology (normally numbered Rom 16:25–27) appear in differing positions in the manuscript tradition or are omitted. Kurt Aland has set out the various positions of these verses in a commendably clear form in “Der Schluß und die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Römerbriefes”.¹ He gives details of at least fourteen differing sequences for these verses in the epistle and offers a convincing reconstruction of the textual history. A simpler exposition of the problem may be seen in Lietzmann’s commentary on Romans.² [124]

Normally Paul ends his letters with a benediction such as that which conventionally appears in the printed editions at 16:20 or 16:24 or at the conclusion to 1 Cor, 2 Cor or Gal. Where a doxology does occur in the authentic Pauline letters it is not normally at the end of the epistle, nor is it as extended as 16:25–27 (cf. Rom 11:36; Gal 1:5 Phil 4:20 and see also Eph 3:20–21; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Tim 4:18).

Many scholars including Frede³ have discussed in general terms the authenticity of the ending in the light of the above considerations. More recently Harry Gamble⁴ has written a monograph on the textual history, aspects of which have been criticised by L.W. Hurtado.⁵ Most commentators argue that the doxology is non-Pauline⁶ although

¹ In K. Aland, *Neutestamentliche Entwürfe* (München: Kaiser 1979) pp. 284–301.

² H. Lietzmann, *An die Römer* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1933) (= HNT 8).

³ H.J. Frede, *Altlateinische-Paulushandschriften* (Freiburg: Herder, 1964) pp. 152–158 (= *Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel* 4) and: *Ein Neuer Paulustext und Kommentar I*, (Freiburg: Herder, 1973), pp. 91–123.

⁴ Harry Gamble Jr, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) (= *Studies and Documents* 42).

⁵ L.W. Hurtado, “The Doxology at the End of Romans,” in: *New Testament Textual Criticism. Its Significance for Exegesis Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, ed. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981).

⁶ For example H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, (Freiburg, Basle, Vienna: Herder, 1977) (= *Herder’s Commentaries VI*) and E. Käsemann, *An die Römer* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973) (= HNT 8).

[125] Sanday and Headlam⁷ and Hurtado⁸ state that the language is not impossible for Paul to have written. The latter are following in the path of Hort⁹ who argued that the language and style of the doxology are consistent both with the epistle (e. g. Rom 11:33–36) and with Paul’s writing elsewhere (e.g. 1 Cor 16:22).

Although Hort attempted a brief analysis of the language and style no thorough examination of either has been undertaken, as G.D. Kilpatrick laments in the Aland Festschrift.¹⁰ The following is an attempt to remedy this. The intention here is to see the extent to which the language and style of the doxology in Rom 16:25–27 are paralleled in or consistent with (a) the authentic Pauline letters and (b) the rest of the New Testament.

LANGUAGE

τῷ δὲ δυνάμει

Participial forms of δύναναι are rare in Paul. They occur at Rom 15:14 and 1 Thess 2:7 (anarthrous nominative plural) and Gal 3:21 (arthrous nominative singular). The doxologies in Eph 3:20 and Jud 24 provide closer parallels to Rom 16:25 in that in all the dative is arthrous and refers to God. (This usage occurs in the doxology of Polycarp Ep Phil 20:2). Elsewhere the arthrous participle of δύναναι is found at Mt 19:12; Hebr 5:2; James 4:12 (nominative); Mt 10:28; Act 27:43; 2 Tim 3:15; Hebr 5:7; James 1:21 (accusative); Act 20:32 (the only occurrence of the dative outside a doxology). The nominative singular appears without an article at Lk 1:20. δυνατός is preferred by Paul as may be seen in this epistle at Rom 4:21 11:23 (cf. 9:22). See also 2 Cor 9:8.

⁷ W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902) (= *International Critical Commentary*).

⁸ *Op. cit.*

⁹ F.J.A. Hort, “The Structure and Destination of the Epistle to the Romans,” in: J.B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1893), pp. 321–51.

¹⁰ G.D. Kilpatrick, “The Text of the Epistles: The Contribution of the Western Witnesses,” in: *Text—Wort—Glaube* ed. M. Brecht (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1980), pp. 47–48 (= *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 50). Reprinted as Chapter 11 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) (= *BETZ* 96).

στηρίζαι

There are three other occurrences of the aorist infinitive of this verb (1 Thess 3:2, 12; 2 Thess 2:17). The aorist passive infinitive occurs at Rom 1:11. In 1 Thess 3:2 the agent of the verb is Timothy; at Rom 1:11 Paul is the agent; at 1 Thess 3:12 the agent is the Lord (Jesus). The verb is used as an attribute of God in the context of a doxology at 1 Petr 5:10.

κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου

This expression occurs elsewhere in Paul (Rom 2:16 cf. 2 Tim 2:8). *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν ἡμῶν* occurs at 2 Cor 4:3; 1 Thess 1:5; 2 Thess 2:14.

τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

κήρυγμα occurs on seven other occasions in the New Testament. It is unqualified at 1 Cor 1:21; 2 Tim 4:17; Tit 1:3 and is qualified at Mt 12:41 (= Lk 11:32) (by Ἰωνᾶ); at 1 Cor 2:4 (by μου) and at 1 Cor 15:14 (by ἡμῶν). Even when it is qualified the content of the *κήρυγμα* is not defined. Here it is defined. It is normally argued that Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ here is an objective genitive in which case the expression is of especial significance insofar as the only other place in the New Testament where *κήρυγμα* is followed by an objective genitive is in the disputed, and later, shorter ending to Mark's gospel.

κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου

κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν occurs at Gal 2:2; Eph 3:3. *ἀποκάλυψις* appears at 1 Cor 14:6, 26; 2 Cor 12:7; Eph 1:17: the noun is unqualified in these verses. In the following *ἀποκάλυψις* is qualified: Lk 2:32 (by ἔθνῶν), Rom 8:19 (τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ) 1 Cor 1:7 (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν) 2 Cor 12:1 (κυρίου) 2 Thess 1:7 (κυρίου Ἰησοῦ) Gal 1:12; 1 Petr 1:7, 13; Rev 1:1 (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). The noun is qualified by a personal attribution at Rom 2:5 (δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ) and 1 Petr 4:13 (τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ). The reference in this doxology is unique in being the only occurrence of *ἀποκάλυψις* qualified by an impersonal noun. The two nouns (*ἀποκάλυψις* plus *μυστηρίου*) do not appear linked elsewhere in the New Testament although the idea that the mystery has been revealed occurs in Paul's writing at 1 Cor 2:6–10 and similar sentiments are to be found at Eph 3:3–9 and Col 1:26–27. Eph 3:9 provides

the closest parallel to the doxology of Romans (... τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου).

χρόνοις αἰωνίοις

αἰώνιος occurs about seventy times in the New Testament: about forty four of these are linked with ζώή. In Paul's writing this combination may be seen at Rom 2:7; 5:21; 6:22, 23; 2 Cor 4:17, 18; 5:1 Gal 6:8. αἰώνιος and χρόνος are not linked in Paul's writings although in the pseudonymous letters πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων occurs at 2 Tim 1:9; Tit 1:2. Elsewhere the plural of χρόνος occurs only at Lk 8:29; 20:9; Act 1:7; 3:21; 17:30 and 1 Petr 1:20. The only place where the plural of χρόνος occurs in the authentic Pauline letters is at 1 Thess 5:1 where specific events are in mind. The singular χρόνος occurs at Rom 7:1; 1 Cor 7:39; 16:7; Gal 4:1, 4. The dative of time is not used by Paul. Outside the Pauline corpus this Hellenistic usage may be found at Lk 1:75 (*v.l.* accusative in accordance with classical usage) 8:27 (*v.l.*) Act 8:11 with χρόνος (*v.l.*) 13:20 (*v.l.*). See also the variants at John 14:9; Act 28:12. In all of these the Koine dative should be read as original.

The idea expressed by χρόνοις αἰωνίοις here is similar to Eph 3:5 ἑτέραις γενεαῖς and Eph 3:9 ἀπὸ τῶν αἰωνίων.

σεσιγημένου

This is the only passive occurrence of the verb in the New Testament although the active of σιγάω occurs in Luke, 1 Corinthians and Acts. The passive has a different meaning from the active and probably has the force 'to keep secret'. This idea is expressed by ἀποκρύπτω in 1 Cor 2:7 cf. Col 1:26; Eph 3:9 or by οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη at Eph 3:5.

φανερωθέντος

This verb is common in Paul with eleven occurrences (Rom 1:19; 3:21; 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Cor 2:14; 3:3; 4:10, 11; 5:10, 11; 7:12; 11:6 cf. also Eph 5:13, 14; Col 1:26; 3:4 (bis) 4:4 and see 1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 1:10; Tit 1:3).

τέ

This particle is absent from some witnesses (including D E 110). There was a tendency in the first century for particles that could not stand first to be avoided and τέ was one of the earliest casualties. Scribes in

later generations sometimes introduced particles such as *τέ* to the texts they were copying. Of the 215 or so occurrences of *τέ* in the New Testament many outside Acts are not firm in the manuscript tradition.

τέ occurs in Romans in conjunction with *καί* at 1:12, 14 (bis) 16 (v.l. omit) 20, 26, 27 (v.l. omit) 2:9, 10 (v.l. *δέ*) 3:9; 10:12 and in 1 Cor 1:24 (v.l. omit) 30 Phil 1:7. *τέ...τέ* occurs at Rom 14:8.

τέ without *καί* or *τέ* following occurs in Paul only at Rom 2:19 and 1 Cor 4:21. The occurrences found in the printed editions at Rom 7:7 and 2 Cor 10:8 are not firm (cf. also Eph 3:19). The same is true outside the Pauline corpus at Mt 28:12 (v.l. omit) Lk 24:20 (v.l. omit) John 4:42 (v.l. *δέ*) 6:18 (v.l. *δέ*).

γραφῶν προφητικῶν

[127]

This phrase is unique in the New Testament. *προφητικός* is found in Philo, Lucian and in Patristic writers but in the New Testament occurs only at 2 Pet 1:19. At Rom 1:2 Paul speaks of the “prophets in the holy scriptures” but not to “prophetic writings”. He often quotes the words of the prophets as at Rom 9:25–28; 11:34–35; 2 Cor 4:13; 6:2, 16–18 but never describes them or introduces the quotation in this way. Mention of prophets in the context of the revelation of the mystery occurs in Eph 3:4–5; Rev 10:7.

γραφή is seldom qualified in the New Testament except by a demonstrative at Lk 4:21; Act 8:35 and by an adjective at 2 Petr 3:16 (*λοιπὰς γραφὰς*) and at Rom 1:2 (*γραφαίς ἁγίαις*). At Rom 1:2 the plural *γραφή* is anarthrous as in the doxology.

καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

This longer text is found in the writings of Origen and mss. containing this text were known to Jerome but it is unlikely that the words were contained in the original form of the doxology. Liturgical expansion of the text of a doxology was natural to certain scribes. *ἐπιφάνεια* is, however, found in the writings of Paul at 2 Thess 2:8 and is frequent in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:10; 4:1, 8; Tit 2:11).

ἐπιταγήν

At 1 Cor 7:6; 2 Cor 8:8; Tit 2:15 *ἐπιταγή* appears unqualified. The noun is qualified at 1 Cor 7:25 (by *κυρίου*) where the command is for a specific example of Christian discipline, and at 1 Tim 1:1 (by *θεοῦ*) and at

Tit 1:3 (by σωτήρ) where the command is to be as the apostles. In contrast to these three examples the reference in this doxology is not to a specific command.

τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ

Attributes of God in the New Testament include (a) ζῶντος at Rom 9:26 (from Hos 2:1 LXX) 2 Cor 3:3; 6:16 cf. 1 Tim 3:15; 4:10, and, outside the Pauline corpus, Mt 16:16; 26:43; Hebr 3:12; 9:14; 10:31; 12:22; 1 Petr 1:23; Rev 7:2 (b) ἄόρατος Col 1:15 (c) ζῶντος + ἀληθινός 1 Thess 1:9 (cf. μακάριος at 1 Tim 1:11 and ἄφθαρτος, ἄόρατος and μόνος at 1 Tim 1:17). Only here is αἰώνιος used of God in the New Testament although it occurs in Bar 4:8, 11; 1 En 75:3; Jub 12:29; 2 Macc 1:25. Similar concepts are found in Paul but are expressed differently as at Rom 11:33–36; 1 Cor 2:7; 10:11 but Paul's ethical teaching elsewhere does not usually include an appeal to God's command.

ὑπακοήν πίστεως

This phrase recurs in Rom 1:5. ὑπακοή occurs in Romans elsewhere at 5:19; 6:16 (bis) 15:18 (with a meaning similar to that in the doxology) and 16:19 (cf. also 2 Cor 7:15; 10:5, 6). Elsewhere ὑπακοή occurs in Hebr 5:8; 1 Petr 1:2, 14, 22; Phm 21.

τὰ ἔθνη

This noun is frequent in Paul's letters and especially in this epistle.

γνωρισθέντος

This verb is used frequently by Paul including Rom 9:22, 23, but this is the only occurrence of the aorist passive participle. "Knowing the mystery" is a familiar idea in Ephesians as at 1:9; 3:3; 6:19 and provides another link between this doxology and the epistle to the Ephesians.

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μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ

μόνος and σοφός are frequently used of God by Philo.¹¹ In the New Testament μόνος occurs in the doxology at Jud 25 and 1 Tim 1:17 (cf. 2 Clem 20:5). Joh 5:44 (μόνου θεοῦ) 17:3 (τὸν μόνον ἀληθινόν

¹¹ See Käsemann *op. cit.*, p. 407.

θεὸν) are the only two occurrences of this adjective with θεός outside a doxology.

σοφός of God is rare although it is found outside the New Testament at 4 Macc 1:12 and 1 Clem 60:1. The occurrences of this adjective in the doxologies at Jud 25 and 1 Tim 1:17 are not textually certain and may be due to the common tendency to expand such formulae—in this instance through assimilation to Rom 16:27. Paul never uses σοφός with θεός although σοφία θεοῦ is found in Rom 11:33 cf. 1 Cor 1:21 (bis), 24; 2:7 (cf. Eph 3:10).

διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

This phrase is frequent in Paul. See especially 1 Cor 15:57.

ὃ

This relative is almost a pronoun and some mss. in fact read αὐτῷ in an attempt to provide a clearer reference to God. The anacolouthon in this sentence is awkward but not uncharacteristic of Paul (cf. Rom 2:12; Gal 2:4, 6 and see also 1 Tim 1:3 ff.).

ὃ is probably original and is likely to refer to God. In other doxologies glory is to God (often through Christ) at Rom 11:36; Gal 1:5; Eph 3:20–21; Phil 4:20; Jud 24; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Tim 4:18; 1 Petr 5:11. Glory is to Christ only at 2 Petr 3:18. The reference at Hebr 13:21 and at 1 Petr 4:11 is ambiguous but probably is to God.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

τῶν αἰώνων is not firm in the mss.: it is omitted by P⁴⁶ B 1739.¹² In the printed editions the other doxologies in the New Testament usually have the longer form (Gal 1:5; Eph 3:21; Phil 4:20; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Tim 4:18; Hebr 13:21; 1 Petr 4:11; 5:11). In all of these however *v.ll.* omit τῶν αἰώνων. (At 1 Tim 1:17 the omission occurs only in 623).¹³

¹² Hurtado (*op. cit.*) states that those mss. which have the doxology twice (i.e. at the end of chapter 14 and 16) have the shorter form twice. Among the mss. he cites is 104 yet its evidence is not obvious from the apparatus to Nestle-Aland²⁶. N-A²⁶ is also unclear whether those mss. (e.g. P) that have the doxology in both places have the same *v.ll.* in 14 as are shown at 16:25–27.

¹³ B.M. Metzger is wrong at Hebr 13:21 to suggest the longer text is firm in the Pastorals in: B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971).

Metzger's Commentary argues in favour of the shorter text at 1 Petr 5:11 and at Rom 16:27 stating that the normal scribal tendency would be to expand the phrase. The shorter form occurs in the printed texts in the doxologies at Rom 11:36 and Jud 25, but in both of these variant readings add τῶν αἰώνων. The same *v.ll.* (and others) occur at 2 Petr 3:18. At Rom 1:25; 9:5 the shorter text is firm in a doxology. This may give us the clue that in all the New Testament doxologies the shorter text is original, and the longer form was caused by scribal expansion, due possibly to liturgical influence.

[129] Outside doxologies the shorter form is firm at Hebr 5:6; 6:20; 7:17, 21 (from Ps 110:4) 24, 28 (all singular) and at Hebr 13:8 (plural). The longer text is found in printed editions at Hebr 1:8 (singular) but some mss. omit τοῦ αἰῶνος. The singular, and shorter, form occurs in Paul's writings outside doxologies at 1 Cor 8:13. See also Mt 6:13; 21:19; Mk 11:14; Lk 1:33, 35; John 4:14; 6:51, 58; 8:35 (bis) 51, 52; 10:28; 11:26; 12:34; 13:8; 14:16; 1 Petr 1:25; 2 Petr 2:17; 1 John 2:17; 2 John 2; Jud 13. These are all firm. At 2 Cor 9:9 the singular and simple form occurs with *v.l.* add τοῦ αἰῶνος. We may conclude that where variation does occur whether in a doxology or elsewhere the shorter text is likely to be original. The exception to this is in Revelation where the position is reversed. Metzger's Commentary p. 732 argues that only at Rev 1:6 is the longer form τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων in question. The occurrences at 1:18; 4:9, 10; 5:13; 7:12; 10:6; 11:15; 15:7; 19:3; 20:10; 22:5 give the longer form. These are all firm and should probably encourage us to accept the longer text at 1:6. Inexplicably Metzger omits from his list Rev 14:11 (with or without the articles, singular or plural) and 5:14 where the Textus Receptus has a longer text including τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. These longer forms should be read at 5:14; 14:11 also.

STYLE

The style of the doxology is elaborate. Three prepositional phrases depend on the infinitive στήριξαι; three participles in apposition qualify μυστηρίου; two prepositional phrases illuminate φανερωθέντος and two amplify γνωρισθέντος. There are three indirect objects including one relative. There is one dative of time. διὰ appears twice, κατά three times and εἰς three times. No finite verb is expressed. All of this occurs within just over fifty words. This suggests a well-rehearsed and liturgically inspired composition possibly used in the earliest days of the church and pre-dating its addition to the epistle to the Romans.

Much of the doxology occurs elsewhere in the Pastoral Epistles especially in 1 Tim 6:14 f.; 2 Tim 1:10; 2:8; 4:18 and may well have originated at a similar date to those books possibly at a time when Paul's teaching was having a revival and his extant writings were being gathered together and imitated. Parallels exist between the doxology and other books that were written among the latest in the New Testament canon e.g. 1 Petr 4:11; 5:10 (cf. Hebr 13:21) and Jud 24–25. There are however echoes of Paul's own writings such as Gal 1:5; Phil 4:20 and to the deuterio-Pauline Eph 3:6–9, 19–21. Links with Romans can be seen at Rom 11:36 and especially 1:5, a verse which seems to have inspired the original author of the doxology and explains why it was chosen as being of particular significance to conclude this epistle. Three phrases in particular brand the doxology as non-Pauline. These are χρόνοις αἰώνις, γραφῶν προφητικῶν and κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ. τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and σοφῶ θεῷ are unique expressions in the New Testament. κήρυγμα and ἐπιταγή seem to bear a more general meaning than is found elsewhere in the New Testament and this possibly indicates a later date when these terms had become less specific. τῷ δυνάμει and στηρίζαι belong to the language of doxologies although the parallels to Paul's writings are not precise. κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου is an expression with differences from the authentic Pauline letters. σεσιγημένου has a different usage from the rest of Paul's epistles.

On the other hand κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, φανερωθέντος, ὑπακοὴν πίστει, τὰ ἔθνη, γνωρισθέντος, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας are found elsewhere in Paul's letters, τέ is unlikely to be part of the original draft of the doxology.

CONCLUSION

Although some of the vocabulary closely parallels Paul's own writings, the doxology is unlikely to be from his pen. Within the fifty odd words of the doxology there is too high a percentage of unusual or unique expressions. An editor later than Paul wishing to provide a suitable conclusion to either a fourteen or sixteen chapter version of Romans used a doxology that had possibly been current in the liturgy as an entirely appropriate climax to the epistle that had to some extent provided the inspiration for some of its formulae. In addition to the precise linguistic parallels to Romans found in the doxology and set out above, the ideas of Rom 1:2; 5:2, 16 and elsewhere find [130]

their counterpart in the doxology. The original author of the doxology however was also inspired by and seems to have relied heavily on the language and style of the doxologies found in the post-Pauline writings. The language of the doxologies in the Pastoral Epistles, Ephesians and the Petrine letters has been adopted. A further similarity to these books is seen in the self-contained nature of this doxology which is closer to the doxologies in Eph 3:20–21; 1 Tim 1:17; 1 Petr 5:10–11; Jud 24–25 than to the doxologies in Rom 11:36; Gal 1:5; Phil 4:20. The doxologies in the latter group develop from and act as a climax to the preceeding sentence(s).

Whoever placed the doxology which we conventionally read at Rom 16:25–27 made it a suitable climax to an epistle where glory is given to God for the salvation of the gentiles. Aland¹⁴ argues that the doxology was in existence in the second century. The parallels to the later New Testament books might suggest a date towards the end of the first century. The Hellenistic temporal dative might lend support to this argument. Thus even though modern printed editions of the Greek New Testament legitimately bracket Rom 16:25–27 as non-Pauline we nevertheless have access here to a very early liturgical formula which has happily and accidentally been attached in most mss. to one of Paul's letters. Our understanding of primitive Christianity's doxologies is enriched by our possession of these verses.

POSTSCRIPTUM

M.-É. Boismard, "Rm 16:17–20: Vocabulaire et Style" *RB* 107 (2000) pp. 548–57 argues that Rom 16:17–18a, 20 belong to Ephesians. V. Mora, "Romains 16:17–20 et la lettre aux Ephésiens" *RB* 107 (2000) pp. 141–7 claims the language of these verses tells against this.

¹⁴ *op. cit.*

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE DIVINE NAMES IN THE CORINTHIAN LETTERS

Many text-critical variants concern the *nomina sacra*. Editors of the Greek New Testament need to resolve these variants when printing a critically established text. Commentators must also heed such matters. [3]

We shall concentrate in this essay on the four names that are invariably contracted in the manuscripts, namely $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\overline{\text{KC}}$ and $\overline{\text{OC}}$. In this context conventional wisdom often informs us that scribes were prone to expand divine names out of piety or under the influence of liturgical practice or the lectionary text, and that therefore the original text of the New Testament authors should be the variant with the simplest form. Conversely, we are told that scribes would be disinclined to omit the *nomina sacra* deliberately from the texts. Another commonly expressed opinion concerns the many variants where the mss. are divided over $\overline{\text{KC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IC}}$ (or $\overline{\text{XC}}$) and $\overline{\text{KC}}$ and $\overline{\text{OC}}$; it is said that the apparent ambiguity of $\overline{\text{KC}}$, which may mean either Jesus or God, encouraged scribes to opt for a more precise name in preference to the original $\overline{\text{KC}}$, and that therefore *v.l.* (= *varia lectio*) $\overline{\text{KC}}$ is to be preferred as the original reading.

It is also pointed out in some introductory guides that the large number of variants involving the exchange of the abbreviated *nomina sacra* especially $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{KC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ and $\overline{\text{OC}}$ was precisely because these contracted forms (typically the initial letter and the last letter) looked alike and one *nomen sacrum* could be accidentally misread as another and therefore be mis-copied. (Such an observation, even if true, would not of course help us to solve the direction of change in textual variants involving the substitution of the one for the other.)

All of those guidelines may be correct in some instances, but none must be applied mechanically without regard to the contexts and the author's discernible preferences. It is Paul's established practice and the context of the variants that will concern us in this essay.

Many variants also concern the sequence of the combined names $\overline{\text{IC}}$ and $\overline{\text{XC}}$. Logic may suggest that the sequence should have $\overline{\text{IC}}$ first with $\overline{\text{XC}}$ as the designation following. Obviously once $\overline{\text{XC}}$ was being seen

- [4] less as a title and increasingly as a proper name then scribes would have less compunction in reversing the names. We shall examine that argument too.

To establish our author's preferences and usage we need to look to firm examples (that is, examples where the recorded manuscript evidence is united and for which no deviation has been reported as yet). Restricting ourselves to examples in the Corinthian correspondence for the purpose of this study, we shall separate the title in which \overline{KC} is present, preceding or following $\overline{IC} \overline{XC} / \overline{XC} \overline{IC}$, from those instances where \overline{KC} is either not present or where its presence is not firm. (Later we examine variants involving other instances of *v.ll.* concerning \overline{KC} and also variants involving $\overline{\Theta C}$.)

A.

Where \overline{KC} is present and firm.

- 1) When '[Our] Lord' precedes 'Jesus Christ' or 'Christ Jesus':
 - i) In the formula $\tau\omicron\upsilon \overline{KY} \eta\mu\omega\nu^1 \overline{IY} \overline{XY}$ (genitive). An asterisk denotes that there are variants involving the presence of 'Jesus' and/ or 'Christ' (see below A3):²

1 Cor. 1:2, 7, 8*, 10 (but D reads $\overline{XY} \overline{IY} \tau\omicron\upsilon \overline{KY} \eta\mu\omega\nu$); 5:4pr.* (and note word-order variant 4–5, 1–3 $\overline{IY} \overline{XY} \tau\omicron\upsilon \overline{KY} \eta\mu\omega\nu$ in minuscule 81), 5:4sec.*, 5:5*; 6:11*; 15:57 (again, note word order 4–5, 1–3 in majuscules 0121 0243 and cf. 1 Cor. 15:31); 16:23*; 2 Cor. 1:3, 14*; 8:9*; 11:31* (a reading not given in the apparatus of NA = Nestle-Aland 27th ed.). [The word order in 81 and in 0121 0243 noted here is unlikely to be original, given the prevalence of the order with \overline{KC} preceding, but see 2 below.]

The phrase in the accusative occurs at 1 Cor. 16:22*.

- ii) In the formula 'Lord Jesus Christ' (nominative or genitive):

¹ $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ is not firm at 1 Cor. 5:4bis, 5; 6:11; 16:22, 23; 2 Cor. 1:14; 11:31. These are discussed below pp. 329–30.

² The apparatus here has been assembled from NA²⁷, UBS⁴, von Soden, Tischendorf⁸, *Text und Textwert* II,2 (ANTF 17), and *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus* (hereafter NTAP) II,2 (ANTF 12)—only a sample of the witnesses appears in this article.

1 Cor. 1:3 (grace, cf. 1 Cor. 16:23; 2 Cor. 1:2; 13:13); 8:6; 11:23*;
2 Cor. 1:2*; 13:13*

2) Where '[Our] Lord' follows 'Jesus Christ':

1 Cor. 1:9 (a sequence demanded in the context)

1 Cor. 9:1 where the inversion may be explained by the unusual word order of the whole sentence. (*v.l.* om. \overline{XV} P⁴⁶ \aleph A B 0150 and cf. \overline{XV} \overline{IV} FG). [5]

1 Cor. 15:31 $\epsilon\upsilon$ \overline{XW} \overline{IY} $\tau\omega$ \overline{KW} $\eta\mu\omega\nu$: $\epsilon\upsilon$ \overline{KW} D*. In view of the fact that the understandable sequence in 1 Cor. 1:9 (and possibly also at 1 Cor. 9:1) are the only exceptions we must consider that here the reading by D* alone could be original.³

3) Where \overline{XC} and/ or \overline{IC} is disputed (i.e. those places asterisked above A 1 i and ii):

1 Cor.

1:8 om. \overline{XY} P⁴⁶ B, a reading that has influenced NA which brackets the name. As \overline{IY} \overline{XY} occurs in vv. 7 and 9 the longer reading could have been due to assimilation to these neighbouring verses but the title 'Our Lord Jesus' is less common than 'Our Lord Jesus Christ.'

5:4pr. om. \overline{XY} A B D* Ψ . 'Our Lord Jesus' follows in the verse in these mss. The shortening of the title could therefore be due to assimilation in order to create an exact parallel. Other mss. read the fuller title '(Our) Lord Jesus Christ' (P⁴⁶ D² F G L P maj). These are mss. that show a tendency to read the full title elsewhere. Fee (*Commentary*⁴ p. 198) says that the later scribal addition of \overline{XY} relates to the syntactical problem of finding which verb the prepositional phrase modifies.

5:4sec. The readings here are a) $\tau\omega\upsilon$ \overline{KY} 630 1739 *pc.*; b) $\tau\omega\upsilon$ \overline{KY} $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ \overline{IY} \overline{XY} P¹¹ D² F G L; c) $\tau\omega\upsilon$ \overline{KY} $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ \overline{IY} *cett.* Only (a) and (b) fit Paul's style. Maybe (a) is correct, the others being expanded forms based on 5:4pr. Zuntz⁵ favours (a). Fee says that if \overline{IY} were original, its omission could only have been accidental through homoioteleuton.

5:5 \overline{KY} : + \overline{IY} P⁶¹ \aleph L Ψ maj.; + \overline{IY} \overline{XY} A D F G P (some of these mss. add $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ —see below, under 'Possessive'). Fee, *Commentary*, thinks

³ On the relevance of the preposition see below.

⁴ G.D. Fee, *The New International Commentary on the New Testament: The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987).

⁵ G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 235

that the shorter reading is the likeliest and states that the expression 'The Day of the Lord' is decisive, drawing attention to that term in 1 Thess. 5:2; 2 Thess. 2:2, although in the latter *v.l.* \overline{XY} is read by D^2 maj. Fee also ignores 1 Cor. 1:8 (see above). Also see 2 Cor. 1:14 following.

- [6] 6:11 om. \overline{XY} A D^2 L Ψ etc. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*,⁶ in a signed dissentient note in his *Textual Commentary*, argues that the shorter reading is original, given the general scribal tendency to expand divine names. This is a constant thesis in his notes and commentary but we need to treat that advice with caution because in certain contexts (such as a formal grace) our author himself may favour a fuller title. Fee (*Commentary*) says \overline{XY} was added for liturgical reasons, then the possessive was added at an even later stage of development. (On the presence or absence of the possessive see further below.)

11:23 $\overline{IC} \overline{XC}$ 2 221 257 314 319^c 378 823; om. $\overline{IC} \overline{XC}$ B 328 383; \overline{IC} *cett.* \overline{XC} here in this narrative looks like a scribal expansion but $\overline{KC} \overline{IC}$ is unusual (see below). The omission of $\overline{IC} (\overline{XC})$ has probably been encouraged by \overline{KC} alone earlier in the sentence.

16:22 \overline{KV} : + ($\eta\mu\omega\nu$) $\overline{IV} \overline{XV} \aleph^2 C^3 D F G K L P \Psi$ etc. This seems to be a good example of a scribal expansion of a title, especially in this context.

16:23 (grace) om. $\overline{XY} \aleph^*$ B 33. Here the longer form seems plausible, appearing as it does in a formal grace (see 1 Cor. 1:3). Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, argues in favour of \overline{IV} , despite the fact that the longer reading is characteristic of the benedictions at Rom. 16:24; 2 Cor. 13: 13 *q.v.*; Gal. 6:18; Phil. 4:23; 1 Thess. 5:28; 2 Thess. 3:18; Philm. 25. Again, he emphasises the tendency of scribes only to increase the divine names.

2 Cor.

1:2 om. \overline{XY} 075. The grace (with \overline{XY}) is firm at 1 Cor. 1:3: this suggests that the same formula should occur here too.

1:14 om. \overline{XY} all except $\aleph^2 D^* F G P$ 0121 0242. 'The Day of the Lord Jesus' may be said to have attracted a growing tradition: first + \overline{XY} then + the possessive, but, as we see below, the combination 'Lord Jesus' is not firm in these letters.

⁶ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft and the United Bible Societies, 2nd ed. 1994).

8:9 om. \overline{XY} B*. See below on 'Lord Jesus'.

11:31 \overline{KY} \overline{IY} : + \overline{XY} H^c K L 049 0150 0151; om. \overline{IY} 216. The context, stating the relationship of God the Father to Jesus, suggests that Paul would have written 'the Lord Jesus Christ' here. For *v.l.* + /- $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ see below, under 'Possessive'.

13:13 om. \overline{XY} B Ψ . Again, the firm example of a grace at 1 Cor. 1:3 [7] may be decisive in favour of the full title here as at the *v.ll.* at 1 Cor. 16:23; 2 Cor. 1:2. Thrall, *Commentary*,⁷ says that B Ψ have the shorter form at 1 Cor. 16: 23 but, according to the apparatus in *NTAP*, Ψ has + \overline{XY} . If it were correct, that would show this scribe's inconsistency of practice at the endings of 1 and 2 Cor.

Were we to accept \overline{KC} \overline{IC} (i.e. without 'Christ') at 1 Cor. 5: 4pr.; 11:23; 16:23; 2 Cor. 1: 14; 8:9; 13:13 this would result in a title of which there are no firm examples in these letters.⁸ So, in none of these places do I advocate reading \overline{KC} \overline{IC} .

POSSESSIVE

The possessive is firm at 1 Cor. 1:8; 2 Cor. 8:9; it is disputed at 1 Cor. 5:4pr. om. \aleph A Ψ a (and, as a consequence, is bracketed in NA); 5:4sec. om. P⁴⁶ P Ψ 629 (but see above, where we accept *v.l.* om. $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ \overline{IY}); 5:5 + $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ A F G P 0150; 6:11 possessive in only B C^{vid} P and, according to Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, is due to assimilation to the possessive following; 16:22 + $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ K P; 16:23 + $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ A L P 056 075 0142; 2 Cor. 1:14 om. P⁴⁶ A C maj. (and bracketed in NA); 11:31 + $\eta\mu\omega\nu$ D P 056 075 *pc*.

On the basis of those places where the possessive is firm (1 Cor. 1:8; 2 Cor. 8:9) I am inclined to accept as original the full title 'Our Lord Jesus Christ' elsewhere. Where the possessive is not firm, the issue is more complex and may suggest an evolution from a simple title to the addition of another name and later the further adding of the possessive. There the original would have been expanded out of piety to conform to the full, firm title. If, however, we think our author would have shown consistency in such matters then we should accept the

⁷ Margaret E. Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994, 2000) (= *International Critical Commentary*) p. 921.

⁸ 1 Cor. 12:3 is clearly different.

variant giving the full title including the possessive at 1 Cor. 5:4pr., 5; 6:11; 16:22, 23; 2 Cor. 1:14; 11:31.

- [8] In all the instances above (even where the names 'Jesus Christ' occur only in disputed readings as at 1 Cor. 5:5; 11:23) the sequence is always 'Jesus' followed by 'Christ'. There is no instance of the reverse. If we argue that the presence of $\overline{K\overline{C}}$ preceding $\overline{I\overline{C}} \overline{X\overline{C}}$ in the formula in the genitive is decisive because it determines unambiguously the case and that is why $\overline{I\overline{C}}$ can precede $\overline{X\overline{C}}$, such an argument is of minimal importance. (As Thrall, *Commentary* p. 81, says, both names would as it were have been read and pronounced in one breath and 'Jesus', whatever the case, would not have been understood in isolation.) Also we see that $\overline{I\overline{C}} \overline{X\overline{C}}$ is the natural order even in those rare instances where $\overline{K\overline{C}}$ follows.

B.

- i) Where $\overline{K\overline{C}}$ occurs as a variant (see also G below):

1 Cor.

1:30 + $\tau\omega \overline{K\overline{W}} \overline{I\overline{Y}}$ (*sic*) 056; + $\tau\omega \overline{K\overline{W}} \eta\mu\omega\nu$ 0142. These readings look like expansions.

4:17 om. $\overline{I\overline{Y}}$ A B D² L P Ψ ($\overline{I\overline{Y}}$ is bracketed in NA); $\overline{K\overline{W}} \overline{I\overline{Y}}$ D* F G; $\overline{X\overline{W}} \overline{I\overline{Y}}$ *cett.* Again, we may be witnessing an expansion from an original $\overline{X\overline{W}}$ to + $\overline{I\overline{Y}}$ and then $\overline{X\overline{W}}$ misread as $\overline{K\overline{W}}$ later. (On the improbability of 'Lord Jesus' being original see above.)

16:24 + $\tau\omega \overline{K\overline{W}} \eta\mu\omega\nu$ lect. 592; om. $\epsilon\nu \overline{X\overline{W}} \overline{I\overline{U}}$ 075 81 and lectt. 597, 598, 895, 1356, 1977. These are interesting readings to find in lectionary texts.

2 Cor.

4:5pr. om. $\overline{K\overline{V}}$ P; om. $\overline{I\overline{V}}$ 913 1610. $\overline{K\overline{V}}$ could have been omitted through hom. There is no obvious reason why $\overline{I\overline{V}}$ was omitted.

4:10pr. $\overline{I\overline{Y}}$ ¹: $\overline{X\overline{Y}}$ D* F G; $\overline{X\overline{Y}} \overline{I\overline{Y}}$ D¹; $\overline{K\overline{Y}} \overline{I\overline{Y}}$ K L Ψ ; $\overline{K\overline{Y}} \eta\mu\omega\nu \overline{I\overline{Y}}$ 0142. The reference here is to the death of Jesus which leads us to favour Jesus *simpliciter* as in the Gospels. Cf. v. 14 following.

4:14 $\tau\omega\nu \overline{K\overline{V}} \overline{I\overline{V}}$: om. $\overline{K\overline{V}}$ P⁴⁶ B 33 (an attestation that results in the word being bracketed in NA); om. $\tau\omega\nu \overline{K\overline{V}}$ 0243 33 640 1739; $\tau\omega\nu \overline{K\overline{V}} \overline{I\overline{V}} \overline{X\overline{V}}$ 056 0142 1845.

Thrall, *Commentary* note 1055, accepts that the shorter reading is an assimilation to Rom. 8:11, referring to Jesus' being raised from the dead. Simple $\overline{\text{IC}}$ has preceded in vv. 10–11 as befits the context.⁹ But Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, argues that assimilation to Rom. 8:11 is not nearly as strong as the ever-present tendency to expand the divine titles.

8:23 $\overline{\text{XY}}$: $\overline{\text{KY}}$ C F; + $\overline{\text{IY}}$ 048. $\delta\omicron\xi\alpha$ + $\overline{\text{KY}}$ occurs at 2 Cor. 3:18; 8:19. [9]
There is no example of $\delta\omicron\xi\alpha$ + $\overline{\text{IY}}$ in the NT. (At 2 Cor. 4:6 $\delta\omicron\xi\alpha$ is followed by $\overline{\text{OY}}$.) Therefore read $\overline{\text{XY}}$.

ii) places without $\overline{\text{KC}}$ but where there are *v.ll.* concerning the presence or absence of $\overline{\text{IC}}$ and/or $\overline{\text{XC}}$:

1 Cor.

1:2pr. om. $\overline{\text{IY}}$ 056 0142. The shortening may have been influenced by $\epsilon\nu$ $\overline{\text{XW}}$ earlier in this verse.

4:15 $\epsilon\nu$... $\overline{\text{XW}}$ $\overline{\text{IY}}$; om. $\overline{\text{IY}}$ B. $\epsilon\nu$ $\overline{\text{XW}}$ stands alone without $\overline{\text{IY}}$ at 1 Cor. 3:1; 4:10 (*v.l.* $\epsilon\nu$ $\overline{\text{KW}}$ P¹¹); 4:15; 15:18, 22; 2 Cor. 3:14; 5:17, 19; 12:2, 19sec. (*v.l.* om. P⁴⁶ 075).

2 Cor.

2:10 $\overline{\text{XY}}$: $\overline{\text{OY}}$ 33; + $\overline{\text{IY}}$ 1149 1872 (cf. 2 Cor. 4:6 under C below).

2:14 $\overline{\text{XW}}$: + $\overline{\text{IY}}$ P⁴⁶ and cf. 3:14 *v.l.* $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XY}}$ 69.

4:5 $\overline{\text{IV}}^2$: $\overline{\text{XY}}$ \aleph^1 ; $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XY}}$ 0186; $\overline{\text{IV}}$ $\overline{\text{XV}}$ 629 630; $\overline{\text{XV}}$ 056 0142 (cf. the reading of these two mss. at 1 Cor. 1:2 above). Metzger, *Textual Commentary* prefers $\overline{\text{IV}}$ or possibly $\overline{\text{IY}}$ but views the longer readings with 'Christ' as pious expansions.

4:10sec. + $\overline{\text{XY}}$ P⁴⁶ D* F G 0186. $\zeta\omicron\eta$ του $\overline{\text{IY}}$ follows showing Paul's practice for this phrase. I am disinclined to see the variant as an assimilation to this occurrence.

4:11 του $\overline{\text{IY}}$: του $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XY}}$ D* F G; $\overline{\text{XY}}$ C; om. 1311. It is interesting to note that D F G here and in the preceding reading show a tendency to favour expanded forms. The omission of $\overline{\text{IY}}$ by 1311 is likely to be a careless error.

⁹ See J. Lambrecht, "The nekrosis of Jesus: Ministry and Suffering in 2 Cor. 4:7–15" in A. Vanhoye (ed.), *L'apôtre Paul: Personnalité, style et conception du ministère* (BETL 73, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 120–43 here 128 note 26.

4:14sec. $\overline{\text{IY}}$: + $\overline{\text{XY}}$ 216 242 326 385 440. This too looks like a later expansion. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ *simpliciter* after a preposition may be seen at 2 Cor. 4:11pr.

5:18 (not shown in the apparatus of NA) $\overline{\text{XY}}$: $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XY}}$ D² K L 049 056 075 0142 0151. 056 0142 seem to be prone to adjusting the *nomina sacra*. $\overline{\text{XC}}$ with $\overline{\text{IC}}$ follows in the next verse—perhaps that shows Pauline usage but may equally show that the reading here was influenced by or assimilated to that later, fuller title.

C.

We may now be in a position to resolve the variants where the order of ‘Jesus’ and ‘Christ’ is disputed:

1 Cor.

- 1:1 $\overline{\text{XY}}$ $\overline{\text{IY}}$ P⁴⁶ B D F G; $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XY}}$ \aleph A L P Ψ
 2:2 $\overline{\text{IV}}$ $\overline{\text{XV}}$: $\overline{\text{XV}}$ $\overline{\text{IV}}$ F G 2 1827 2143
 [10] 3:11 $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$: $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\overline{\text{IC}}$ C² D 0150 (and *v.l.* om. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ C*)
 9:1 $\overline{\text{IV}}$ ($\overline{\text{XV}}$): $\overline{\text{XV}}$ $\overline{\text{IV}}$ F G

2 Cor.

1:1 $\overline{\text{XY}}$ $\overline{\text{IY}}$ A D mins; $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XY}}$ P⁴⁶ B (and *v.l.* om. both names F). Thrall, *Commentary* pp. 81f. accepts $\overline{\text{XY}}$ $\overline{\text{IY}}$.

1:19 $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$: $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\overline{\text{IC}}$ \aleph^* A C 0223 (and *v.l.* om. $\overline{\text{XC}}$ 33). Thrall, *Commentary*, *ad loc* note 219 keeps an open mind on this variant (unlike her comment on 2 Cor. 4:5pr. see below).

4:5pr. $\overline{\text{IV}}$ $\overline{\text{XV}}$ $\overline{\text{KV}}$ P⁴⁶ \aleph A C etc (= NA²⁷); $\overline{\text{XV}}$ $\overline{\text{IV}}$ $\overline{\text{KV}}$ B H maj (= NA²⁵). Thrall, *Commentary* note 855, prefers the order $\overline{\text{IV}}$ $\overline{\text{XV}}$ because that ‘conforms to the confessional formula in Phil 2:11 and Acts 11:17’, although fails to point out that *v.ll.* reverse the order at Phil. 2:11, and that a *v.l.* in A has $\overline{\text{KC}}$ precede at Acts 11:17. On the *v.ll.* omitting $\overline{\text{KY}}$ and $\overline{\text{IY}}$ see above.

4:6 $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XY}}$: $\overline{\text{XY}}$ $\overline{\text{IY}}$ D F G 0243 (and *v.l.* om. $\overline{\text{IY}}$ A B). Metzger and Wikgren in dissenting notes in the *Textual Commentary* prefer the reading by A B; they draw the comparison with 2 Cor. 2:10 where the phrase ‘the face of Christ’ occurs. They claim that the name ‘Jesus’ was added later either before or after and they ask why an original ‘Jesus’ would have been omitted. NA brackets $\overline{\text{IY}}$. Thrall, *Commentary*, *ad loc* note 876 prefers $\overline{\text{XY}}$ arguing that *v.l.* + $\overline{\text{IY}}$ is a pious expansion. (Cf. 2 Cor. 2:10 above, under B ii.)

13:5 $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ B D Ψ maj; $\overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{IC}}$ \aleph A_F G P 0150 0243. Thrall, *Commentary*, *ad loc* note 152, prefers $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$.

Read $\overline{\text{XY}} \overline{\text{IY}}$ at 1 Cor. 1:1; 2:2; 2 Cor. 1:1: $\overline{\text{KY}}$ does not precede, thereby unambiguously showing the case, so $\overline{\text{XY}}$ has to take precedence before $\overline{\text{IY}}$ to show that this is genitive.¹⁰ Read $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ at 1 Cor. 3:11; 2 Cor. 1.19pr.; 13:5 because $\overline{\text{IC}}$ first shows the case unambiguously. Likewise read $\overline{\text{IV}} \overline{\text{XV}}$ at 1 Cor. 9:1; 2 Cor. 4:5pr.

Ev seems to require 'Christ' to precede 'Jesus', a point recognised by Thrall, *Commentary* pp. 81f. 1 Cor. 1:4 serves as a firm example. This usage would rule out the *v.l.* $\text{ev } \overline{\text{IY}} \overline{\text{XW}}$ at 2 Cor. 2:17 by 38. For 1 Cor. 15:31 see earlier.

Obviously an exhaustive survey would ideally look at all comparable examples in the authentic Pauline corpus, but I doubt if such a further study would overturn the conclusions just reached on the basis of examples found in only 1 and 2 Corinthians.

D.

[11]

 $\overline{\text{XC}}$

$\overline{\text{XC}}$ alone is found some 30 times in 1 Cor., and c. 19 times in 2 Cor. excluding the formula $\text{ev } \overline{\text{XW}}$ already covered above, but there are variants at the following:

1 Cor.

1:6 $\overline{\Theta\bar{\text{Y}}}$ B* F G. This reading is likely to be original given the parallel use of $\overline{\Theta\bar{\text{Y}}}$ after $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ at 1 Cor. 2:1 (*v.l.* $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$).

2:16 $\overline{\text{KY}}$ B D* F G due to assimilation to $\overline{\text{KY}}$ preceding.

9:12 $\overline{\text{KY}}$ C* acc. Lyon; $\overline{\Theta\bar{\text{Y}}}$ 056 0142. As we have already noted above the two uncials 056 0142 are often indiscriminate in their treatment of the *nomina sacra*. $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ is often unqualified but where it is qualified it is followed by $\overline{\text{XY}}$ at 1 Cor. 2:12 *v.l.*; 9:13; 10:14 *v.l.*; and see 1 Cor. 9:18 following.

9:18 + $\tau\omicron\upsilon \overline{\text{XY}}$ D² F G K L P Ψ (*pace* NA27) etc. Possibly this reading is the result of assimilation to 1 Cor. 9:21.

¹⁰ As proof of this practice note that at 1 Cor. 1:10 instead of $\tau\omicron\upsilon \overline{\text{KY}} \eta\mu\omicron\nu \overline{\text{IY}} \overline{\text{XY}}$ ms. D reads $\overline{\text{XY}} \overline{\text{IY}} \tau\omicron\upsilon \overline{\text{KY}} \eta\mu\omicron\nu$.

9:21 $\overline{\Theta W}$ 056 0142. Again, we are disinclined to follow the lead of these two mss. in such variants.

10:9 \overline{XV} : P⁴⁶ D F G etc. \overline{KV} \aleph B C P; $\overline{\Theta V}$ A; om. 927 1729 1985 2102 2659. The likeliest reading is \overline{XV} . It is the more difficult reading because readers found the concept of Christ in the wilderness strange. Origen read \overline{XV} and based Christological arguments on it. Marcion also knew \overline{XV} . $\overline{\Theta V}$ seems to be a reading that was assimilated to the LXX.¹¹

10:16sec. \overline{KY} D* F G. \overline{KC} is ambiguous and that may indicate its originality here, $\alpha\mu\alpha$ \overline{XY} however occurs at Eph. 2:13; Heb. 9:14;

1 Pet. 1:2, 19. The rare $\alpha\mu\alpha$ \overline{KY} is not firm at 1 Cor. 11:27.

2 Cor.

2:12 $\overline{\Theta Y}$ 33 38 1912 cf. 1 Cor. 9:12; 2 Cor. 9:13; 10:14 for the author's preference for \overline{XY} with $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$.

4:4 \overline{XY}^1 : \overline{KY} C; $\overline{\Theta Y}$ 255. Pauline practice is varied: $\delta\omicron\xi\alpha$ + $\overline{\Theta Y}$ 2 Cor. 4:6 v.l. \overline{KY} ; + \overline{KY} 2 Cor. 3:18; 8:19; + \overline{XY} 2 Cor. 8:32 (a different idea).

4:4 \overline{XY}^2 : \overline{KY} C; $\overline{\Theta Y}$ 255. Christ is God's $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ at Col. 1:15–20. $\overline{\Theta Y}$ may have come in accidentally on account of $\overline{\Theta Y}$ following.

[12] 5:14 $\overline{\Theta Y}$ C P. $\alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta$ $\overline{\Theta Y}$ occurs at 2 Cor. 13:13 and indicates our author's usage.

5:15 $\kappa\alpha\iota^1$ + \overline{XC} F G 206 823 *pc*. This looks like an explanatory addition.

10:14 \overline{XY} (after $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$): $\overline{\Theta Y}$ Ψ cf. 1 Cor. 9:21 above.

11:2 \overline{KW} 642 1311; $\overline{\Theta W}$ 69. The context needs \overline{XW} —see next verses. $\overline{\Theta Y}$ earlier in the sentence may have caused the change.

11:10 om. D*. This may be a sheer error.

E.

\overline{IC}

\overline{IC} alone occurs at 1 Cor. 12:3pr. in a confessional formula. 1947 reads \overline{IV} \overline{XV} . At 12:3sec. 606, 1718, 1929, 2523 read \overline{IV} \overline{XV} but neither variant is likely to be original, as it is probable that the formula reads

¹¹ For a full discussion on this verse see C.D. Osburn, "The Text of 1 Corinthians 10:9" in E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) pp. 201–21.

only 'Jesus' alone both times. $\overline{\text{IC}}$ is also firm at 2 Cor. 4:11pr. At 2 Cor. 11:4 in the distinctive expression 'another Jesus' the *v.l.* $\overline{\text{XV}}$ occurs in FG (these two mss. are not reliable in this regard).

F.

 $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$

Although this name occurs frequently there are, surprisingly, a large number of variants:

1 Cor.

1:4 om. του $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ A* 056 0142 (056 0142, already noted as unreliable witnesses to the original text of the *nomina sacra*, also omit $\overline{\text{IY}}$ at 1 Cor. 1:2, and see 2:9; 3:10; 4:15 below); cf. 1:14 om. \aleph^* B 424^c. At 1:14 the noun follows ευχαριστεω as at 1 Cor. 1:4; 14:18 where the noun is firm. At 1 Cor. 1:4 the noun qualifies χαρις (cf. 1 Cor. 3:10 below). The noun could have been omitted accidentally at 1:14 through hom: ευχαρισTWTW $\overline{\Theta\text{W}}$. NA inconsistently brackets τω $\overline{\Theta\text{W}}$ at 1:14 because of the external witnesses for the omission.

1:29 $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$: αὐτου C* Ψ. $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$ occurs three times in the context and is probably original here too because εξ αὐτου following needs its antecedent.

2:9 om. ο $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$ 056 0142. See 1:4 where we indicate our reluctance to follow these particular mss.

2:14 om. του $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ 2 216 255 330 440 823 *pc.* (after πνευμα). A careless omission; this noun is commonly—but not invariably—qualified. [13]

3:10 om. του $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ P⁴⁶ (see 8:3 below) 056 0142 (see 1 Cor. 2:9). Although there are *v.ll.* concerning the noun qualifying χαρις; at 1 Cor. 1:4; 3:10, $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ is firm after χαρις at 1 Cor. 15:10; 2 Cor. 6:1; 9:14.

4:4 + $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$ D*. This looks like an addition to explain $\overline{\text{KC}}$ εστιν.

7:40 $\overline{\text{XY}}$ P¹⁵ 33 after πνευμα cf. 1 Cor. 2:14. In the NT πνευμα is qualified by $\overline{\text{IY}}$, $\overline{\text{KY}}$, $\overline{\text{XY}}$, and $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$.

8:3 om. P⁴⁶. This ms. omits υπ' αὐτου later in this sentence. Both the noun (and the pronoun) are needed in the context. The omissions may be mere carelessness.

8:6 om. $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$ \aleph^* . An omission through homoioteleuton: ειC $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$ O.

11:3 $\overline{\text{XC}}$ C (a nonsensical reading here).

12:3 om. $\overline{\Theta\text{Y}}$ P after πνευμα. This reading could be either a careless omission or an explanatory addition.

12:6 \overline{KC} 1738; om. 177 337 618; \overline{XC} 1354 1736 1890; \overline{KC} και \overline{OC} 1943. \overline{OC} makes better sense alongside ο ενεργων.

2 Cor.

1:1 om. 489. Cf. 1 Cor. 1:1 where the noun is firm in the same formula.

2:15 om. τω \overline{OW} K 0151. Possibly scribes found this concept difficult and therefore dropped the name deliberately.

2:17 \overline{OY} : \overline{XY} Ψ. λογος του \overline{OY} occurs at 1 Cor. 14:36; 2 Cor. 4:2. λογος του \overline{XY} occurs only twice in the NT (in Col. and Heb.). \overline{XC} follows and may have influenced the scribe to place it here too.

3:7 θανατου: \overline{OY} ⚡!

4:4sec \overline{XY} 378. The term εικων του \overline{OY} occurs at Col 1:15 and may indicate it is original here too.

4:6 του \overline{OY} : αυτου P⁴⁶ C* D* F G cf. Eph. 1:12, 14: 3:6. After δοξα (as in next variant): this noun is qualified by \overline{OY} at 1 Cor. 10:31; 11:7. Possibly αυτου is original here and \overline{OY} is a later explanatory change. At 4:15 \overline{KY} is read by 056 0142 (and again we are disinclined to accept their reading as potentially original).

5:18 om. του \overline{OY} 0243. One would need good arguments before considering accepting the reading of only one ms. in such a variant. Other such variants may be seen at 2 Cor. 6:16 (\overline{KC} 69); 10:4 (\overline{XW} 0209); 11:2 (om. \overline{OY} 0243).

[14] 9:12 \overline{XW} B 181. For the use of \overline{OW} after ευχαριστω cf. 1 Cor. 1:4 v.l.; 1:14 v.l.; 14:18.

12:19 \overline{OY} : \overline{XY} 436 642. Possibly \overline{XY} has been accidentally written here because εν \overline{XW} follows.

G.

\overline{KC}

\overline{KC} is firm some 79 times in 1 and 2 Cor. In addition to those variants already dealt with (under B i above) there are variants at:

1 Cor.

7:17 \overline{KC} \overline{OC} P⁴⁶ ⚡ A B; \overline{OC} ... \overline{OC} Ψ 629 1881; \overline{KC} \overline{KC} ο \overline{OC} G; \overline{OC} \overline{KC} maj.; \overline{KC} ... \overline{KC} 1319 2004. Fee, *Commentary* says God is the one who assigns in Rom. 12:3; 2 Cor. 10:13 but that theological

subtlety here requires the Lord (= Jesus) to assign and God to call. That subtlety seems to have been lost on scribes.

7:23 \overline{KW} : $\overline{\Theta W}$ F G. The context requires \overline{KC} to be repeated, but that is possibly what a scribe thought.

11:23 $\alpha\pi\omicron$ του \overline{KY} : $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ $\overline{\Theta Y}$ F G. The variant removes the ambiguity because \overline{KC} following = Jesus.

11:27 \overline{KY}^2 : \overline{XY} A 33 489. The sentence as originally constructed is well-balanced, suggesting \overline{KY} is original.

11:29 $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$: + του \overline{KY} \aleph^2 C³ D F G etc; + του \overline{KY} \overline{XY} Ψ . Both variants seem to be explanatory glosses. Fee, *Commentary* thinks that the additions destroy the sense and come from the influence of v.27. There is, as we have noted earlier, no firm occurrence of \overline{KC} \overline{XC} in the Corinthian letters, but see Col. 3:24.

14:37 \overline{KY} : $\overline{\Theta Y}$ A 1739^c 1881. $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$ του \overline{KY} occurs at 1 Cor. 7:19 and may indicate this variant is original.

15:47 $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma^2$: \overline{KC} 630; + ο \overline{KC} \aleph^2 A D¹ K L maj. \overline{KC} is an exegetical addition which makes Paul's original soteriological or eschatological statement Christological. The replacement of $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma^2$ with \overline{KC} loses the balanced structure of the sentence.

2 Cor.

5:6 \overline{KY} : $\overline{\Theta Y}$ D* F G. The addition removes the ambiguity as is also the case at 2 Cor. 5:8 $\overline{\Theta V}$ D* (again); 5:11 $\overline{\Theta Y}$ 1611 1867 2005*; 8:21 του $\overline{\Theta Y}$ P⁴⁶; 11:17 [$\overline{\Theta V}$] a f r t; \overline{KY} 326; 12:1 \overline{XY} F G.

6:17 om. $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$ \overline{KC} K 1739 but cf. 6:18 and the phrase is likely to be there twice in these quotations.

8:5 \overline{KW} : $\overline{\Theta W}$ P⁴⁶ 547 a f r. Scribes have probably been influenced by $\overline{\Theta C}$ following. [15]

The above examination reveals on many occasions the carelessness of scribes concerning the reproduction of the divine names. Some variants, however, are deliberate to provide explanations or to avoid apparent ambiguity. Sometimes an expansion may be due to piety and the influence of liturgical formulae. But in general it is the sheer interchangeability and flexibility of these names that is striking, and it seems to have been there from the beginning of the textual transmission.

B. Exegesis and Textual Criticism

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

A)(I) THE CONCLUSION OF THE PERICOPE OF THE HEALING OF THE LEPER AND MARK 1:45

THE text of Mark 1:45 reads as follows: ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν [153]
πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι
φανερῶς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξω ἐπ' ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν· καὶ
ἦρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν. Many commentators on Mark have
noticed the ambiguity in the verse within the context of the pericope
of the healing of the leper. The ambiguity concerns the identity of the
subject ἤρξατο. Is it Jesus or the leper?

Translations have generally favoured the leper, e.g. the Authorized
Version, Revised Version, Revised Standard Version, and the New
English Bible. As a result, these translations usually add or under-
stand the name 'Jesus' when rendering αὐτόν later in the sentence.
By and large recent commentators have favoured this interpretation
too. Vincent Taylor,¹ for example, argues that although ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν
ἤρξατο could refer to Jesus, 'it is much more probable that Mark meant
the healed leper went out and disobeying the command of Jesus began
to publish his story far and wide'. Similarly Nineham² is aware of the
ambiguity but concludes by writing of 1:45a as follows: 'On balance [154]
St. Mark may be taken to have referred the first half of the verse to the
healed leper.' Cranfield,³ Swete,⁴ Johnson,⁵ and Wrede⁶ hold similar
views. It is assumed that 45 belongs to 44 and that the ὁ δὲ construc-
tion introduces a contrast with the preceding command, i.e. 'but on
the contrary the leper went out...'. It is, however, doubtful whether

¹ Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1952), p. 190.

² D.E. Nineham, *Saint Mark* (Pelican Gospel Commentaries, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 88.

³ C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (Cambridge Greek Testament, Cambridge University Press, 1959).

⁴ H.B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1898).

⁵ S.E. Johnson, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark* (Black's New Testament Commentaries, London: A. and C. Black, 1960).

⁶ W. Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1901).

δέ would be a sufficiently strong adversative for such a meaning to be likely.⁷ The author may not have intended the action in 45 to be a contrast to the command in 43–4.

There are further linguistic details which cause difficulties for the usual translations. Jesus is the subject of the preceding main verb λέγει in 43 and it is plain that Jesus is the intended subject of δύνασθαι... εἰσελθεῖν (45b). There is nothing to indicate a change of subject for ἤρξατο. ὁ in 45 can be seen as a way of resuming the subject of λέγει two verses before. Also, if the leper *were* intended by Mark to be the subject of ἤρξατο, it is unlikely that the subject would become Jesus again in 45b by means of the weak and ambiguous pronoun αὐτόν. This point seems not always to have been recognized by translators and commentators.⁸

There are, however, other linguistic points which help to settle the problem. In two articles several years ago⁹ G.D. Kilpatrick argued that if the leper is the subject of ἤρξατο, then λόγος would mean ‘the story he made known’. This is the interpretation favoured by most of the versions listed above. Swete’s commentary¹⁰ says λόγος means ‘the tale’ ‘the matter’ and cites 1 Macc. 8:10 and Acts 11:22 as examples of this meaning. Kilpatrick, however, shows that λόγος elsewhere in Mark does not bear the meaning ‘the story’, even though this can occasionally be the meaning outside Mark (e.g. Luke 5:15, 7:17, Matt. 28:15). He argues that Mark intends τὸν λόγον here to mean ‘The Christian message’ which is the common meaning in Mark (e.g. 2:2, 4:33, 8:32, and eight times in the Parable of the Sower), and frequently in the New Testament as a whole. It is surprising that this point has not been taken into account by later commentators on Mark. Taylor,¹¹ although writing in 1952 ignores Kilpatrick’s articles and accepts the translation ‘story’, citing with approval Luther’s translation ‘die Geschichte’ for τὸν λόγον here.

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⁷ Pace T. Nicklin on this verse in *Expository Times*, li (February 1940), p. 252.

⁸ One notable exception is W.C. Allen, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (The Oxford Church Biblical Commentary, London: Rivington, 1915).

⁹ G.D. Kilpatrick, ‘Mark 1:45 and the Meaning of λόγος’ in *JTS* xl (1939), pp. 389f., and ‘Mark 1:45’ in *JTS* xlii (1941), pp. 67f. Reprinted as chapter 37 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *Principles and Practice in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) (= BETL 96).

¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 29.

¹¹ Op. cit.

Kilpatrick is mainly concerned with λόγος, but we can take his line of argument a little further and reinforce his conclusions.

If the leper is the subject of ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν this too would be uncharacteristic of Marcan usage. The only people said to preach (κηρύσσειν) in this Gospel are the Baptist (1:4, 7) Jesus (1:14, 38f.) or the apostles (3:14, 6:12, 13:10, 14:9, and Ps.-Mark 16:15, 20). In Mark other *dramatis personae* do not preach the Gospel. There are two apparent exceptions to this at 5:20 and 7:36 (verses which will be considered again later), where strangers are said to preach (κηρύσσειν); but it is clear from the contexts that it is not the gospel message which is preached. This, however, is *not* so in Mark 1:45; in fact the addition of διαφημίσειν τὸν λόγον ('to spread the Christian message') parallels κηρύσσειν πολλά and is a characteristically Marcan example of tautology.

Pierson Parker in his book on Mark¹² shows that ἤρξατο, a characteristically Marcan word, occurs 18 times in this Gospel and that the majority of the occurrences introduce acts or sayings of Jesus, or sayings by or to Peter. If Jesus is the subject of ἤρξατο at 1:45 then 11 of the 18 occurrences of ἤρξατο in Mark introduce words or acts of Jesus.

So far our consideration of the linguistic details gives strong support for the suggestion that there is no change of subject in 1:43–5 and that it is Jesus who is the subject of ἤρξατο; but despite the cumulative strength of the linguistic arguments, the exceptions noted above make us hesitate before we can accept these conclusions with confidence and certainty. To summarize: ὁ δὲ in 1:45 might indicate a change of subject; λόγος in the New Testament sometimes means 'the news'; κηρύσσειν is not always used of preaching the gospel; and the subject of ἤρξατο in Mark is not always Jesus but can be a stranger as at 5:20. It is therefore necessary to consider the context of the verse in the pericope and in the gospel.

First, it is valuable to compare this miracle story with others where there is a command to silence. At 1:34 the demons are ordered to be silent; at 3:12 the unclean spirits are commanded not to make Jesus known; at 5:43 the people in the house are ordered to secrecy; and at 8:26 the blind man is ordered not to tell people about his cure.

¹² Pierson Parker, *The Gospel before Mark* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 56f.

[156] These verses are often considered to be Marcan insertions to show Jesus' concern in preserving the secrecy of his Messiahship. It is not recorded whether the commands for silence are obeyed or not in these stories: one must presume they are unless Mark tells us otherwise. If the leper is the subject of ἤρξατο at 1:45 then this pericope would be an exception to the other miracle stories cited above. But if the paragraph relating the healing of the leper ended at 1:44, the story would then fit in with the general pattern that Jesus' command concludes the pericope. Form critics would presumably approve of this regular and formal climax to such miracle stories. There is, however, one story where Mark records without ambiguity that the command to silence was disregarded—this is in the story of the healing of the deaf-mute where it is reported that the crowd disobeyed Jesus' order (7:36). Also of note is Jesus' departure from normal practice at 5:19 where the Gerasene maniac is commanded to tell of his cure. Once again we find that 7:36 and 5:19 are the exceptions to the rule but, as often, the exceptions could well prove the rule. In both of these stories, the scene is set emphatically in the Decapolis. It is only in Galilee where the Messianic secret is preserved. At 5:18f. the man is prevented from accompanying Jesus and from going to Galilee with him. He is told with some emphasis to stay in his own area with his own people (πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς is absent from the Lucan parallel—Luke 8:39) and Mark records that the man began to preach ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει. Similarly at 7:36 despite Jesus' almost reflex-action command to silence, the people (not the deaf-mute) disobey by going out to preach, but the preaching is again in the Decapolis (7:31). In contrast, the healing of the leper is in Galilee and there is therefore no premature declaration of Jesus' Messiahship. In the Decapolis, however, spreading the news of Jesus' Messianic powers (which is the force of κηρύσσειν at 5:19 and 7:36) is permitted in Mark's Christological pattern. It is noteworthy that in both verses the Greek does not have the ambiguity of subject which 1:45 has. At 5:20 the wording is clear: καὶ ἀπῆλθε, καὶ ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει, ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, as also at 7:36: ὅσον δὲ αὐτοῖς διεστέλλετο, αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον περισσότερον ἐκήρυσσον. Similarly, in neither of these verses is λόγος found. The proclamation in both verses is the news of the cure wrought by Jesus' power. Mark 1:45 does not therefore agree with either 5:20 or 7:36.

If the healing of the leper ends at 1:44 the pericope conforms with the general Marcan pattern of miracle stories in Galilee which reach

their climax with a command to silence that is presumably obeyed.¹³ This leaves 1:45 as an unconnected verse,¹⁴ which forms a characteristically Marcan summary such as is found at 1:39 and 2:13. Many of these summary statements show Jesus' popularity (e.g. 1:28, 2:15) or his need to escape from the crowds following him (e.g. 2:1f., 3:7ff., 3:20, 4:1, 6:31f., 6:54ff., 7:24, 9:30). Mark 1:45 also tells of Jesus' popularity and need to escape from the crowd. All these summaries fit Mark's alleged secrecy motif. Most of the summary statements are either isolated verses or editorial additions to a story. Mark 1:45 is just such an isolated verse and consequently unconnected with the story of the leper. If, as many writers on the synoptic problem admit and argue, many of the pericopes in Matthew and Mark are based on either one another's work or a common source, then the parallel to the story of the healing of the leper in Matthew needs to be taken into account, and it re-enforces our case. The Matthaean parallel is in Matt. 8:1–4 and supports the argument that the pericope in Mark ends at 1:44. There is no Matthaean parallel to 1:45 after this healing.¹⁵ [157]

Thus, consideration of the context re-enforces the general tendency of the linguistic and syntactical arguments, namely that Jesus is the subject of ἡρξάτο in 1:45, that λόγος refers to the gospel message and that the verse is independent of and unconnected with the healing of the leper. This story reaches its climax in a characteristically Marcan way with a command to silence; and 1:45 is a summary statement—a device used often by Mark to provide a link with the next story as well as to give a progress report on the popularity of Jesus' mission.

(II) IS ὁ ἐξελθὼν A TITLE FOR JESUS IN MARK 1:45?

I have argued that the pericope of the healing of the leper occurred in Mark 1:40–4 only and that 1:45 was a separate summary statement [402]

¹³ There is irony in the fact that the post-Resurrection command to proclaim Jesus' power is disobeyed—the women are silent (Mark 16:7–8).

¹⁴ As Kilpatrick suggests at the end of his article 'Mark 1:45 and the Meaning of λόγος', p. 390.

¹⁵ The Lucan parallel (Luke 5:12–16) follows Mark but avoids the ambiguity inherent in Mark 1:45. Luke does not state that the healed leper himself was responsible for spreading the fame of Jesus.

independent of the preceding verse. This would enable the Markan miracle story to conform to the parallel in Matt. 8:1–4, which ends with the command to silence. If the pericope ended at 1:44 it would then conform also to the general pattern of Galilean miracle stories in Mark, which reach their climax with a command to silence.

Such an interpretation makes it possible to argue that Jesus is the subject of ἤρξατο in 1:45 and that λόγον in that verse means ‘gospel message’ which is normal in Mark. The weak and ambiguous pronoun αὐτόν in 45b need not be the first reference to Jesus in the verse (as most translators assume) but be a redundant pronoun picking up ὁ (δέ) at the beginning of the sentence. If αὐτόν is original (DW 478 omit it) then it need not, according to New Testament usage, indicate a change of subject (cf. Matt. 24:4).

Some would wish to speak against this argument by pointing out (correctly) that ὁ δέ in Mark always indicates a change of subject¹⁶ and that as Jesus is the subject of the preceding finite verb (λέγει in 1:44) he cannot therefore be the subject of ἤρξατο. This argument would apply only if ver. 45 belonged to 44. G.D. Kilpatrick¹⁷ argued that ὁ δέ introducing a new paragraph contrasted with the subject of ver. 40 at the beginning of the preceding paragraph. The subject of the finite verb in 40 is the leper and therefore the subject of ἤρξατο should be Jesus.

These arguments about ὁ δέ may, however, be irrelevant as we could be misreading the beginning of ver. 45. We may not be dealing with the frequent ὁ δέ construction here. δέ can of course often stand as a mere connective between article and noun and there are numerous instances of this in Mark, e.g. 6:19 (ἡ δέ Ἡρωδιάς), 15:4, 9, 14, 15 (ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος), 9:23, 27, 39, 10:5, 18, 21, 24, 29, 38 (ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς). ὁ in 1:45 may therefore stand not with δέ but with ἐξελθών as a substantive.

The New Testament often uses participial forms as substantives even when a cognate noun is current. Mark for instance writes ὁ βαπτίζων in preference to ὁ βαπτιστής at 1:4, 6:14, 24, 25, 8:28:¹⁸ cf. βοῶντος

¹⁶ As at Mark 3:4, 5:34, 6:24, 37, 38, 49, 7:6, 28, 8:5, 28, 33, 9:12, 19, 21, 32, 34, 10:3, 4, 20, 22, 26, 36, 37, 39, 48, 50, 11:6, 12:15, 16 (*bis*), 14:11, 20, 31, 46, 52, 61, 68, 70, 71, 15:2, 13, 14, 16:6. Most of the above instances are followed by a finite verb of speaking.

¹⁷ ‘Mark 1:45’, *JTS*. xlii (1941), p. 67.

¹⁸ J.K. Elliott, ‘Ho baptizon and Mark 1:4’, *TZ* xxxi (1975), pp. 14f. Reprinted as chapter 13a.

at 1:3, and δαίμονιζόμενος at 5:15, 16 (where the present participle is used even after the man has been healed, showing that the participle is understood more as a noun than as a verbal form):¹⁹ see also στρατευόμενοι used in preference to στρατιῶται in Luke 3:14.²⁰ [403]

If ὁ ἐξελθὼν stands as an articular participle as such in Mark 1:45, δέ would merely be a connective introducing a new paragraph without necessarily having any adversative force or implying any contrast with the preceding verse or paragraph. Mark usually begins a new pericope with καί, but occasionally δέ is used—for instance at 1:14, 7:24, 10:32, 14:1, 15:6.

Grammatically and stylistically ὁ ἐξελθὼν is possible in Mark. But would Jesus be described in this way?

There are certain indications in Mark and in the New Testament as a whole that this is possible. Several Old Testament texts quoted in the New Testament speak of the Messiah as ‘the coming one’. The famous quotation from Ps. 118:26 (εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου) occurs in all four gospels (Matt. 21:9; Mark 11:9; Luke 19:38; John 12:13) thus showing the wide currency of this prophecy as fulfilled by Jesus. The same quotation is found on Jesus’ lips in the lament over Jerusalem (Matt. 23:39 and Luke 13:35). Jesus is also identified as the ‘one who is to come’ of the Old Testament prophecy in the question from the Baptist in Luke 7:19–20 and Matt. 11:3 (σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἄλλον (ἕτερον Matt.) προσδοκῶμεν). Jesus is seen in the verses as the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy: ‘The Coming One’ has arrived.

We may see this clearly also in the words attributed to the Baptist in his prophecy before Jesus’ ministry in John 1:15 (ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν): here the words of Mark 1:7 have been rephrased to give force to the participle ἐρχόμενος (cf. John 1:27: ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἄξιος...). Paul in Acts 19:4, recalling John’s baptism, reminds his audience that John referred to Jesus as ὁ ἐρχόμενος. In John 6:14 ‘the people’ call Jesus ὁ προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος; and in John 11:27 Martha confesses that Jesus is the Messiah and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενος.

¹⁹ N. Turner in vol. iii of Moulton-Howard-Turner *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), pp. 150f.

²⁰ Other examples may be seen at Matt. 2:6; 26:46; John 6:63; 8:18, 50; Acts 17:17; Rom. 2:1; 8:34; Eph. 6:28; Phil. 3:6; 1 Thess. 1:10; 2:12; 4:8; Heb. 7:9. (See chapter 13a above)

In some later parts of the New Testament, when ideas of a second coming became prominent, ὁ ἐρχόμενος does not refer to Jesus' ministry. For instance, Heb. 10:37 (again quoting from the Old Testament) can speak of Jesus as ὁ ἐρχόμενος still to come.

[404] In Mark, however, thoughts of a Parousia are not paramount.²¹ In this gospel, Jesus, 'The Coming One', *has come*: hence he is ὁ ἐξελθών. For this use of the participle the tense is significant. At Mark. 2:17 Jesus remarks in reference to his mission οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς, and at 10:45 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι...—both passages contain the aorist of ἔρχομαι; and at 1:24 the demons, recognizing Jesus, ask him if he *has come* (ἦλθες) to destroy them. In this, Mark is of course close to Johannine theology where (ἐξ)ἔρχομαι is used always in the perfect or aorist when it refers to Jesus' mission (John 5:43, 7:28, 8:14, 42, 10:10, 12:47, 13:3, 15:3—used absolutely; 3:19, 9:39, 12:46, 16:28, 18:37—used of his having come into the world; 8:42, 13:3, 16:27, 28, 30, 17:8—of his having come from God or the father: cf. also 1 John 4:1; 2 John 7; and (outside the Johannine literature) 1 Tim. 1:15, in the faithful saying which possibly emanated from a Johannine or Markan circle).

Within the context of the verse in question (Mark 1:45) Jesus says immediately before the appearance of the leper that he wishes to preach in the neighbouring country towns (εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξῆλθον, 1:38). Many scholars, including D.E. Nineham,²² argue that this refers not to Jesus' coming from Capernaum (1:21) or out on his ministry, but to his coming from heaven, which, as we have already seen, is a common idea in Mark and John. This line of interpretation is certainly reinforced by the Lucan parallel to Mark 1:38: Luke 4:43 understood the phrase in a theological way by interpreting εἰς τοῦτο ἐξῆλθον as ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην. The close connection between Mark 1:38f. and 1:45 is seen in the parallelism εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἦλθεν κηρύσσων, and ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν. The freestanding pericope of the healing of the leper interrupts this connexion. Such an interruption is typical of Mark (cf. 14:1–2, 10–11 separated by 14:3–9; 11:12–14, 20f. separated by 11:15–19; 6:6b–13 and 30 separated by 6:14–29). The

²¹ It is debated whether Mark's gospel contains any ideas of a Parousia. 14:62 has been interpreted as a return to God rather than a second coming from him. (See T.F. Glasson, *The Second Advent* (London: Epworth, 1945).)

²² In the Pelican Commentary on Mark, ad loc.

irony in 1:45 is that Jesus, ὁ ἐξελθὼν the one who has come (i.e. from heaven), is unable to enter into (εἰσελθεῖν) any town publicly.

It is interesting to note that although ὁ ἐρχόμενος was used as a title of Jesus before and during his ministry as one who fulfilled a Messianic prophecy, and was also used with reference to the Parousia in later New Testament writings, ὁ ἐξελθὼν is found only here to describe the incarnate Jesus. This is possibly due to the fact that the description of Jesus' ministry as completed in his lifetime had only brief and limited [405] circulation. Once concepts of a second coming developed, Jesus had to be referred to as the one still to come and the old prophetic title ὁ ἐρχόμενος remained in current use. The present participle with its timeless form could be used not only in a future, but also in a present and a past sense.

We may therefore be more accurate in describing ὁ ἐξελθὼν in Mark 1:45 not so much as a title of Jesus, which was current as such in Christian circles, but as a description of Jesus coined by Mark on the analogy of ὁ ἐρχόμενος under the influence of εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξῆλθον at 1:38.

(III) THE HEALING OF THE LEPER IN THE SYNOPTIC PARALLELS

I have argued above that the pericope of the healing of the leper in Mark 1 runs from vv. 40–44 and that v. 45 is a separate paragraph. The subject of this paragraph is Jesus and not the leper, as is commonly supposed by those who connect v. 45 to vv. 40–44. I was concerned with the pericope as a type of Galilean healing miracle where silence is characteristic of such stories in Mark. Also I was concerned to deduce from Markan usage that the likeliest subject of ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον was Jesus. [175]

In section (II) I tried to argue that ὁ δέ at the beginning of the verse was not an indication that there was a change of subject from that of λέγει in v. 44 (i.e. Jesus) but either a change of subject from that at the beginning of the preceding paragraph (i.e. the leper of v. 40) or, more likely, should be read as ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν in which the participle as substantive is a way of describing Jesus in the light of v. 38.

Those sections I) and II) referred only in passing to the parallels in the other Synoptic Gospels. A closer examination of a synopsis of the

gospels at this point is helpful and reinforces my earlier conclusions. This is especially so if a suggestion by Frans Neirynck is adopted. In a recent article Neirynck has proposed printing the Sermon on the Mount to follow the parallel to Mark 1:21, and thus to precede the parallel to Mark 1:22.²³ This has the effect, correct in my view, of making Mark 1:35–39 paralleled only in Luke and not, as in Huck’s or Aland’s Synopsis, of making Mark 1:35–38 paralleled in Luke and 5:39 paralleled in Luke and Matthew.

Taking Mark’s order as the basis the parallels to Mark 1:14–45 appear as follows:

Mark	Matth.	Luke
1:14–15	4:12–17	4:14–15
1:16–20	4:18–22	
1:21	4:23	4:31
1:22	7:28–29	4:32
1:23–28		4:33–37
1:29–31	8:14–15	4:38–39
1:32–34	8:16	4:40–41
1:35–39		4:42–44
1:40–44	8:1–4	5:12–14
1:45		5:15–16

Assuming (a) Markan priority and (b) that Matthew and Luke have independently copied from Mark, it would seem that Luke has kept close to Mark’s order and contents and that Matthew has made an editorial selection from Mark inserting into it his own material. Those who adopt other solutions to the Synoptic problem will need to make the necessary adjustments to the arguments presented here.

Matthew appears to have inserted the Sermon on the Mount between the call of the disciples and the healing of the leper preceding the sermon with an introductory link roughly based on an expanded form of Mark 1:21 (and possibly Mark 3:7–10). Having returned to Mark 1:22 to conclude the sermon Matthew then follows Mark in having a healing except that he chooses not the healing of the demoniac in the

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²³ F. Neirynck, “The Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel Synopsis” *ETL* 7 (1976), pp. 350–57.

synagogue (Mark 1:23–28) but the healing of the leper. What is significant is that the verses Matthew lifts from Mark are 1:40–44. Matthew does not take v. 45 as forming part of the healing. This separate linking verse is of no use to Matthew in his reshuffled sequence of Markan pericopes.

Matthew's behaviour may be seen as follows:

Matth.	Mark
4:12–17	1:14–15
4:18–22	1:16–20
4:23–25	1:21
5–7:27	
7:28–29	1:22
8:1–4	1:40–44

Luke 4:14–5:26 has followed Mark 1:14–45 much more closely, as may be shown below:

Luke	Mark	Matth.
4:14–15	1:14–15	4:12–17
4:16–30 (with many Lucan additions)	6:1–6	13:54–58
4:31–32	1:21–22	4:23–25, 7:28–29
4:33–37	1:23–28	
4:38–39	1:29–31	8:14–15
4:40–41	1:32–34	8:16–17
4:42–44	1:35–39	
5:1–11		
5:12–14	1:40–44	8:1–4
5:15–16	1:45	
5:17–26	2:1–12	9:1–8

Luke has kept Mark's contents and order almost exactly, with the exception of (a) 4:16–30 which replaces Mark's call of the disciples and instead parallels loosely Mark 6:1–6, and (b) the addition of the miraculous draft of fishes (taken from a source known to the Fourth Gospel?). The addition of the latter at this point shows that Luke did not see Mark 1:35–39 as having originally been an introduction to the healing of the leper. It was recognised by Luke that Mark 1:40

was separate from 1:39. Matthew's reorganisation of Mark shows even more clearly that the healing of the leper (Mark 1:40–44) was identified as a detachable pericope.

It is significant that Mark 1:35–39 is paralleled only by Luke. Similarly it is significant that Mark 1:45 is paralleled only by Luke. These two facts are connected, and reinforce our argument that Mark 1:38 and 1:45 are bound closely together. Mark 1:40–44 was added by Mark later than the composition of 1:35–39, 45. Similarly Mark 2:1f. which contradicts 1:45 also came in at a different stage in the composition. Matthew recognised that Mark 1:35–39 plus 45 were separable from 1:40–44, and thus felt able to delete these verses from his gospel.²⁴

POSTSCRIPTUM

See recent commentaries on Mark by Adela Yarbro Collins in the Hermeneia Series (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), by Joel Marcus in the Anchor Bible series, now the Anchor Yale Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1999 and New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), by Robert A. Guelich for chapters 1–8:26 and Craig A. Evans for chapters 8:27–16 in the Word Biblical Commentary Series (Dallas: Word Books, 1989 for the first volume and Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001 for the second half).

²⁴ See J. Swetnam, "Some Remarks on the Meaning of ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν in Mark 1:45", *Biblica* 68 (1987) pp. 245–9 for a reply to my articles.

B) ANNA'S AGE (LUKE 2:36–37)

Translations and commentaries vary over Anna's age: some say she was a widow aged eighty-four (e.g. AV, RSV, NEB); others that she had been a widow for eighty-four years (e.g. RV). Some modern English versions (e.g. NIV, GNB) give one in the text, the other as a marginal alternative. [100]

If she had been a widow for eighty-four years then Anna would have been over one hundred years old. We are not told at what age she married but fourteen years would be appropriate. She was married for seven years. This would mean she was about one hundred and five years old.

Not only is the figure 'seven' significant for the number of her years¹ of marriage but the figure 'eighty-four'² is of especial significance, being a multiple of two symbolic numbers, seven and twelve, both of which are made use of in several Biblical narratives. If her total age of one hundred and five is accepted then this would doubtless have reminded Luke's readers of another Jewish prophetess who had an extended period of widowhood, namely Judith who in Jud 16:23 is said to have reached the age of one hundred and five (a multiple of seven). Just as Elizabeth in this infancy narrative is modelled on Hannah, so Anna is a type of Judith whose widowhood is in itself exemplary. Historical and literary associations as well as numerical symbolism thus favour the higher age for Anna.³ The context favours this too.

Luke seems to be preparing his readers for Anna's advanced age in 2:36 by the addition of the pleonastic πολὺς in προβεβηκυῖα ἐν ἡμέραις πολλαῖς when compared with 1:7 προβεβηκότες ἐν ἡμέραις αὐτῶν (of Elizabeth and Zechariah) and 1:18 when Zechariah speaks of Elizabeth as προβεβηκυῖα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῆς. [101]

¹ Sin Syr and Ephr state that her marriage lasted only seven days.

² 01* reads seventy-four but this is a mere error as it is a number of no special significance. A different but nonetheless equally symbolic significance behind the figure eighty-four is seen by E. Nestle (*Ex Tim* 14 (1912–13) p. 43) who finds in Rabbi Eliezar that eighty-four years is equivalent to one hour with God.

³ This identification is often overlooked by commentators on this verse, (e.g. by M.P. John in his short note on this verse in *Bib Trans* 26 (1975) p. 247). Pseudo-Matthew 15 says Anna had been a widow for eighty-four years.

Lukan style may also help us here. When he gives an age or duration of time Luke applies the figure *directly* to the nearest verb (e.g. Luke 13:11, 16). This would encourage our attaching the ‘eighty-four years’ to her period of widowhood rather than our reading it as an amplification of προβεβηκυῖα in the previous verse.

The resolution of the textual variants involving the personal or demonstrative pronoun in the context may be of assistance too. Lukan style seems to make frequent use of the demonstrative οὗτος as a 3rd person pronoun (e.g. Luke 1:32; 2:34; 7:12; 8:41, 42; 19:2 (some with *v.l.*)). Our printed texts often vary, especially with the feminine form. In Luke 2:36 ff. it would seem most probable that the original text intended αὕτη to be read as the demonstrative αὕτη. We should then read αὕτη in v. 36, v. 37 and should add αὕτη before αὐτῇ at v. 38 (where obviously the repetition of the same letters facilitated the haplography). The longer text in v. 38 is supported by Θ, 053, fam. 1, fam. 13, and the Majority Text. There are thus three statements about Anna in vv. 36–38 each introduced by αὕτη.⁴

1. She had been married for seven years.
2. She had been a widow for eighty-four years.
3. She gave thanks to God.

Each statement is thus separate from the other. This text also avoids the clumsiness apparent in some editions of making αὕτη in v. 36 the subject of ἀνθωμολογεῖτο in v. 38.

A subordinate textual problem may be considered here. ἕως in v. 37 would imply the extent of her long widowhood was *as much as* eighty-four years. If the *v.l.* ὥς is original here (with 01^c, W, Θ, 053, fam. 1, fam. 13, Majority Text) this is unlikely to mean ‘about’ or ‘nearly’ as some lexicons state. New Testament practice often uses ὥς before numbers large and small, but always to indicate a precise figure (e.g. the precise ‘five thousand’ at Mt 14:21; 15:38, cf. Mk 5:13; 6:15; Lk 1:56; 8:42; Acts 1:15; 4:4; 5:36; 13:18, 20; 19:34; 27:37, and frequently so in John).⁵ ὥς is likely to be original here and implies a precise fig-

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⁴ Cf. Luke 7:44ff.

⁵ In several of these references *v.ll.* are found in which ὥς is omitted or is replaced with ὡσεῖ.

ure. ἕως followed by numerals in Luke seems to be used of 'until', i.e., 'extent to' as at Luke 23:44; Acts 19:9 (longer text). (In Mt 18:21f. ἕως is used in a special and significant sense of 'up to as many as'.)

A lady's age may be an indelicate subject for enquiry, but Luke wants us to know that his female counterpart to Simeon in the Temple was no ingénue but a centenarian προφήτις of stature and experience who invited comparison with Judith, a character famed for her thanksgiving, and for her nationalistic fervour.

C) IS POST-BAPTISMAL SIN FORGIVABLE?

- [330] Hebrews 6:4–6 is usually quoted as the definitive biblical statement that post-baptismal sin is unforgivable. The New English Bible is typical of modern translations in reading: “For when men have been enlightened, when they have had a taste of the heavenly gift and a share in the Holy Spirit, when they have experienced the goodness of God’s word and the spiritual energies of the age to come, and after all this have fallen away, it is impossible to bring them back again to repentance; for with their own hands they are crucifying the Son of God, and making mock of his death.”

Taking the semi-colon in this translation as a convenient juncture, we note that up to that point the translation is faithful to the Greek and renders accurately the four aorist participles φωτισθέντας, γευσάμενους, γεννηθέντας, and παραπεσόντας. These verbs are followed (significantly) by two present participles: ἀνασταυροῦντας and παραδειγματίζοντας. It is the rendering of these verbs which causes problems. As we have seen, the NEB adds “for”; RSV and Moffatt add “since”; AV and RV add “seeing that”. But is there any need to include these words? Must these two present participles be in a causal clause?

The words after the semi-colon could be translated “while they are crucifying... and mocking...”, taking the participles as temporal. Such a translation is to be commended. It makes sense of the dramatic change to the present participles after the sequence of aorists. But it is not a translation which has commended itself to modern versions. The ARV has “the while (they crucify)...” but only in the margin. F.D.V. Narborough in his 1930 Clarendon Bible¹ places in the margin “the while they are crucifying...” but appears to neglect the significance in the commentary. The Revised Peake² seems only to hint at this translation. Modern commentators prefer to support the causal sense. Manson³ states that the author assumes that there has been a

- [331] falling away and that the crucifying and the mocking are examples of

¹ F.D.V. Narborough, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930).

² *Peake’s Commentary on the Bible* revised, ed. by M. Black and H.H. Rowley (London: Nelson, 1962).

³ T.W. Manson, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951), pp. 63–64.

this falling away. Westcott⁴ says the present participles bring out the moral cause of the impossibility which has been affirmed. Cf. the commentaries by Héring⁵ and Spicq⁶ for similar comments.

The causal sense gives the harder saying. Tertullian (*De pudic.* 20) obviously took a firm line and argued that post-baptismal sin was an irreversible step, and this teaching tended to commend itself to church authorities, although modern preachers seem not to repeat this strong line. But is this a correct reading and interpretation of Hebrews 6? Is it a tenet of New Testament teaching that the baptised Christian is in a sense in a worse position than the unbaptised, insofar as the latter still has the opportunity to repent and be forgiven, but that the former having once been forgiven will never again be forgiven should he subsequently fall?

Hebrews 10 is usually cited as support for the traditional hard line of Hebrews 6, but in 10:26f. a sacrifice for post-baptismal sin is denied only to those who, having received the knowledge of truth, *persist* in sin. The emphasis in this paragraph seems to be on the persistence, not on the fact that a sin has been committed. Biblical teaching elsewhere seems not to support Tertullian's teaching. Romans 6, for example, deals with a similar situation. The Roman Christians are told that because they had been buried (in baptism) with Christ and had therefore died to sin they should no longer sin. Paul says that although it is now illogical for them to sin they *were* still capable of sinning, and he therefore exhorts them not to allow sin to remain in their body (6:12). The *auctor ad Hebreos* is giving similar advice in 6:4–6 (cf. Hebrews 2:14f.).

In the sub-apostolic Similitudes of Hermas 8, a second chance of repentance after post-baptismal sin is permitted.

The suggested translation of Hebrews 6 would agree with this doctrine. The falling away need not be seen as irreversible. Because of the two qualifying present participles, which explain the nature of the falling away, repentance is impossible only while those who sinned are still doing so. The possibility of conversion need not be ruled out. F.F. Bruce⁷ states that such a moderating rendering is a "truism hardly

⁴ B.F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1906).

⁵ J. Héring, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, E.T. (London: Epworth, 1970).

⁶ C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux* (Paris: Gabalda, 1952–1953).

⁷ F.F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1964), p. 124.

worth putting into words". But the words would have had hortatory significance and it may well have been necessary to state even the laxer doctrine in order to stress that baptism, far from ensuring eternal forgiveness automatically, needed to be accompanied by moral behaviour and sinlessness if its effects were to be seen.

As well as being defensible theologically, the suggested translation also suits the immediate context in Hebrews. In the illustration of 6:7–8 the thorns and the thistles (i.e. the sin which parallels the crucifying and the mocking of v. 6) are burned, not the ground (i.e. the sinner). In other words the sinner is left purged and forgiven (cf. 1 Corinthians 3:15).

[332] Our suggested translation also agrees with the use of the present participle elsewhere in Hebrews. The author's usage supports our taking the participles in a contemporary, temporal sense rather than in a causal. In the next verse, 6:7, we have an example of the present participle used temporally. Similarly see Hebrews 1:3–4 where φέρων is temporal and is surrounded by aorists; cf. also ὦν at 5:8, ποιῶν at 13:21, and πειραζόμενος at 11:17. Our author is precise with the tenses of the participles. Note the correct use of the perfect at 7:26, 28; cf. also Heb 6.10 διακονήσαντες followed by διακονοῦντες—the latter having contemporary not causal significance.

Hebrews 6:6 should therefore read: "...it is impossible to bring them back again to repentance while they are crucifying the Son of God with their own hands and making mock of his death."⁸

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See L. Sabourin, "Crucifying Afresh for One's Repentance (Heb. 6:4–6)" *BibTheolBull* 6 (1976) pp. 264–71.

⁸ A recent article in Spanish dealing with, among other matters, the *Nueva Biblia Española* translation of these verses is "Heb 6:4–6: εις μετάνοιαν ἀνασταυροῦντας", by P. Proulx and L. Alonso Schökel in *Biblica* 56 (1975), pp. 193–209.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE PARABLE OF THE TWO SONS: TEXT AND EXEGESIS

Joël Delobel has reminded us on numerous occasions in oral presentations and in published writings of the interaction of textual criticism and exegesis. The editing of a text, the choosing of one textual variant in preference to another, and the discussion of manuscript variants are all concerned with meaning; and meaning gives rise to exegesis. [67]

Whenever a variant makes sense (as most variants do) then the ms(s). which contain(s) that reading would have been used, read and understood by its readers as if all of its distinctive and peculiar readings belonged to the canonical text of sacred scripture. If a church or monastery possessed but one copy of, say, the gospels, then its ms., however flawed some of its readings may be judged to be by textual critics nowadays, would have been interpreted as the *original* gospel text by its users, most, if not all, of whom would have been unaware that its ms. possessed any distinctive or peculiar readings.

The aim of modern text-critics is, of course, to try to produce a text that is as close to the original author's writing as they can, dependent as they always are on the chance survival of a small proportion of all the ms. copies that were ever made, and in recognition of the fact that even our oldest surviving copies are several generations removed from that autograph.

To produce a critically established text is an obligation placed on text-critics by the wider reading public. But that proper, albeit narrow, aim should be accompanied by a recognition that sometimes the alternative 'secondary' text is important and needs to be displayed alongside the supposed original. Textual criticism can plot the history of Christian doctrine or exegesis as much as it can hope to establish an original text.¹

¹ See M.W. Holmes, "Reasoned Eclecticism and the Text of Romans", in S.V. Soderlund and N.T. Wright (eds.), *Romans and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Gordon D. Fee* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 187–202, p. 201: "Obviously one cannot exegete (*sic*) a document until its text has been deter-

[68] Textual variants that affect meaning by definition influence exegesis. That is especially true of those variants which involve a choice between a longer and a shorter text. One's understanding of Mark's intentions differs according to whether his opening verse (possibly its title) includes the words 'Son of God' or not. Similarly, the theology of Mark's teaching on resurrection depends on whether one's text includes the last twelve verses of chapter 16 or not. Likewise, the text-critical crux at Rom 5:1 or the variants at Heb 2:9 are profoundly important for one's exegesis of their context. The way in which one treats the variants at the end of Luke similarly influences the exegesis of that Gospel, not least in the theologically sensitive area of the presence (or not) of the Ascension.

As an example of the need to be aware of and alert to all reasonable alternative readings, the Matthean parable usually known as the Parable of the Two Sons (Mt 21:28–32)² has been chosen for this essay.

The parable may well have had a pre-Matthean origin. As it now stands, the parable is an interruption between vv. 23–27 and vv. 31b–32. The ideas in verses 25 and 26 are picked up in v. 32. The passage 21:23–32 reads well without the parable. (We may compare the insertion of this parable with Luke's addition of the Parable of the Two Debtors into his version of the anointing story.) If Mt 21:28–31a had originally circulated as an independent unit,³ the message would simply be that actions speak louder than words. This parable about saying and doing in the context in which it finds itself is rather strained as an illustration of unbelief and belief in relation to John the Baptist.

mined, and in some cases the choice one makes regarding the text will significantly determine or shape how one interprets the text".

² Although the ἄνθρωπος [τις] seems to be defined as the children's 'father' in Jesus' subsequent question, the children are not called his *sons*. The common description of this parable as the Parable of the Two Sons owes something to a comparison with Luke's Parable of the Prodigal Son. The two boys in that parable are υἱοί. Possibly Matthew avoids υἱός in Mt 21:28–32 because the parable following (Mt 21:33–41) may be read as an allegory, in which the landowner's son is Jesus. In 21:28–32 the author would not wish a reader to identify either son as Jesus. If the 'father' in v. 31 is 'God' and Jesus asks which boy obeys God's will, then there is a difference between the ἄνθρωπος in v. 28 and the πατήρ in v. 31, and the vocative κύριε (rather than πάτερ) in one boy's reply is merely a respectful address within the context of the parable. (If there is a subtext here reminding us of Mt 7:21 then κύριε; = 'Lord': οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι κύριε κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.)

³ Possibly even without the answer to the question—and in many ways the free-standing parable (ending with πατρός;) would be even more effective and characteristic of the gospels as an unanswered question addressed to the readers.

Here, however, we are not concerned with the parable's pre-literary or pre-Matthean origins but with its textual transmission as part of the canonical Gospel of Matthew.

The parable in Matthew appears in three main differing forms, which we label here Form 1, Form 2, and Form 3.

Form 1

ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω, ὕστερον (δὲ) μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν.
ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ, κύριε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν.
λέγουσιν· ὁ **πρῶτος**.

[69]

In the reading of **ⲛ C*** Maj with support from the bulk of Vulgate mss. and OL mss. *c f q* Syr^h Syr^p Copt^{†sah mss} the first child refuses but later changes his mind. The second child agrees to the man's request but reneges on his promise. The child who does his father's will is identified as ὁ πρῶτος. The hearers' judgement appears to agree with Jesus'. This sequence is the reading in the Huck-Lietzmann synopsis and in NA²⁷ (= UBS⁴), which basically agrees with the editions of Tischendorf, Vogels, and Bover. This order is found in the RSV, the Jerusalem Bible and the AV.

Form 2

ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ, κύριε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν.
ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω, ὕστερον μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν.
λέγουσιν· ὁ **ὑστερος**. [B Copt^{both}]

or

ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· **ὕπάγω**, κύριε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν.
ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω, ὕστερον **δὲ** μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν.
λέγουσιν· ὁ **ἔσχατος**. [mss. Θ fam.¹³ Diat^{arm}]

In the reading found in B Θ fam.¹³ Copt^{boh} and Diat^{arm} the first child is the one who promises to work in the vineyard but disobeys; the second child refuses but later obeys. The child who does the father's will is identified in v. 31 as ὕστερος⁴ in B or ἔσχατος in Θ fam.¹³ or δεύτερος (4, 273 according to the apparatus in Legg).⁵ Again, the hearers' judgement

⁴ Although in other contexts ὕστερος could be seen as a grammatical correction for ἔσχατος when only two elements are listed, here this word is possibly original, because of the author's play on words (ὕστερον in v. 29). The change to ἔσχατος could well have been made to avoid repetitiveness.

⁵ Cf. v. 30 where B **ⲛ C** read δευτέρῳ (**ⲛ C*** read ἐτέρῳ with maj. D Θ). The correctors show that the changes were deliberate and self-conscious. The reading of B and the correctors was printed in NA²⁵ and other editions in v. 30 (see NA²⁷ appendix III, *ad loc.*)

seems to agree with Jesus'. This reading, possibly as old as the creation of Tatian's Diatessaron, is found in Westcott and Hort's edition, von Soden, NA²⁵ and is the sequence found in NEB and REB.

That **κ** and B support different readings is the reason why textual critics, especially those who favour readings which have the support of these two mss. together, find this variation unit difficult. On external ground these two readings are equally balanced in the eyes of those who set great store by such attestation.

[70]

Form 3

There is a third reading, supported mainly by D and some Old Latin Mss. (*a aur b d e ff¹ ff² g¹ h l r¹*) and by Syr^c ^s:

ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· οὐ θέλω, ὅστερον δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν
εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα
ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἐγώ, κύριε, ὑπάγω, καὶ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν.
λέγουσιν· ὁ ἔσχατος.

Here the order of the children is as in Form 1 above, but the child who does the father's will is said by the hearers to be the one who agrees to the man's request yet seems to do nothing to fulfil it. In this form the judgement of the hearers and the response of Jesus may be thought to differ.

We may summarize the textual issue as follows: Is the recusant but later obedient boy mentioned first or second? What is the answer to Jesus' question: is it 'the first' or 'the latter'? Two of the forms (1 and 3) have the same sequence but different answers. Two of the forms (2 and 3) have the same answer but a different order.

The UBS text recognizes the complexity of the textual arguments by labelling the reading "C" (which means that the committee had difficulty in deciding which variant to place in the text). Aland & Aland, *Text*, introduce the complexities of this parable in their chapter on the praxis of textual criticism⁶ as "unquestionably" (p. 316) the most difficult problem of textual criticism.

Textual critics (and exegetes) normally assume that the original authors wrote sense. Perhaps that is the correct and wise assumption to make, but it cannot be denied that there are several places in the New Testament manuscript tradition where there is a confused textual position and that where there are many variants at a particular varia-

⁶ K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, ET (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, ²1989) pp. 312–316.

tion unit we are often dealing with either an obscure passage or one which early commentators and readers felt to be in need of interpretation and even rewriting.

Certainly in the parable of the two children the nest of variants (greater than the two main variants involving the sequence of obedient child / disobedient child, as may readily be observed in the *apparatus* of NA) tells us that the early copyists had as much difficulty with the verses as modern commentators.

A. IN FAVOUR OF FORM 2

a) Exegetes take the story within a context in which i) Jesus' audience in 21, 23 comprises "the chief priests and the elders of the people"; ii) the parable follows on from a discussion about the authority of John the Baptist; iii) the parable leads on to Jesus' statement in Mt 21:31b–32. Thus they identify the child who refuses but later changes his mind and goes (presumably to work "in the vineyard")⁷ with the tax collectors and prostitutes; the other child is therefore identified with the chief priests and elders, who had refused to believe John.⁸ Thus the tax collectors and prostitutes (a unique combination in the New Testament) symbolizing those deemed to be 'outsiders' from the Jewish perspective could well be 'Gentiles', and the chief priests and elders, as representatives of the Jewish establishment, could be 'the Jews'—that bloc which so regularly in the New Testament means those Jews who refused to follow Jesus and who were not Christians. [71]

Read this way the parable may be interpreted as a statement of the composition of the Christian community at the time of Matthew's writing—a situation similar to that which Paul had tried to explain several decades earlier, as he observed that the churches around him

⁷ D Lvt (except *aur g' l*) add εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. The verb ὑπάγε in v. 28 is clear; the verb ἀπῆλθεν in vv. 29 and 30 seems to require the meaning "to go off to work in the vineyard". (For an alternative meaning see the discussion of Michaels' explanation, below.) Οὐ θέλω must mean οὐ θέλω ὑπάγειν and ἐγὼ implies ἐγὼ ὑπάγω as the *v.l.* + ὑπάγω in D and *v.l.* ὑπάγω (*pro* ἐγὼ) in Θ (and printed by von Soden) make clear.

⁸ Of course as the father in v. 31 is God, then what is meant is that the chief priests and elders disobeyed not John *per se* but the teachings of God; one of John the Baptist's purposes was to remind such people of God's word (cf. v. 32). Of course, when the parable existed as a free-standing unit, the reference to John in v. 32 would not originally have belonged to the parable.

(many of which had indeed been his creation) were predominantly Gentile and that the bulk of opposition to his Christian message was generated by 'the Jews'. It thus seemed a self-evident fact for Matthew, as for Paul, that the ones previously 'not my people' were now the insiders and that this was indeed 'the will of the father (God)' (Mt 21:31). On such a reading the parable of the two children would then stand as a retrojection into the ministry of Jesus of the situation in the life of the early church. The observable demography and composition of the Matthean and other churches was a surprising turn of events for the earliest apostles, and was in need of explanation (as Paul himself found): one way to resolve the issue, certainly in terms of the narrative genre of a gospel, was to invent a dominical saying to justify the situation with a prophecy.⁹

- [72] This argument would favour the sequence found as Form 2 in which the first child (= the Jewish nation) is the one who is initially compliant but who does nothing, and child number two (the one who was originally an outsider but who is now the beneficiary of the promises of God) represents the Gentiles. (In other words the Parable of the Two Sons is a different way of writing the "parable" of the two olive trees of Rom 11.) That sequence fits in with the way in which Christianity or the history of salvation was perceived. If that was indeed *Matthew's* understanding, then the chronological sequence found in those mss. which support Form 2 is correct and represents what Matthew wrote. We have another piece of early Christian writing about the rejection¹⁰ of the Jews and the acceptance of the Gentiles.

⁹ In v. 31 προάγουσιν may be taken as having a future meaning and therefore be eschatological. But in the context—especially if the kingdom is understood as a present reality (cf. Lk 11:20)—the present tense may be understood as Jesus' divine foreknowledge of the state of affairs in Matthew's church beyond the circumstances of his own ministry.

¹⁰ Whether this was seen as a temporary or permanent rejection of the Jews depends on whether we take this merely as an illustration of precedence or not. At the end of another parable about a vineyard in this gospel (Matt 20:16) comes the saying: οὕτως ἔσονται οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι which is also to be found in Mt 19:30. This implies that the Jews will ultimately be admitted, cf. Rom 11:32: συνέκλεισεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπείθειαν, ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσει. But against such an interpretation see the conclusion to the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen following (Mt 21:43:... ἀρθήσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δοθήσεται ἔθνει ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς.) In 21:45 the chief priests (and Pharisees) recognise that Jesus' parables (the plural there suggests most naturally the two parables of 21:28–31a, 33–41) apply to them. The 'optimistic' interpretation is hardly in keeping with Matthew's view in 21:41–43, and especially if we accept the originality of v. 44 as part of the saying, where the tenants of the vineyard (surely 'the Jews')

b) A different argument in favour of the originality in Matthew of the sequence in Form 2 is found in an article by J.D.M. Derrett,¹¹ who claims that the disobedient but ultimately compliant boy of the parable is parallel to the *younger* son in the Parable of the Prodigal Son of Luke 15:11–32. Hence the designation of him as δεύτερος in v. 30.¹² After the originally free-standing parable of the two boys was inserted into its present context Derrett argues that this son was understood to represent the tax-collectors and prostitutes—sinners who eventually followed the teaching of the Baptist (here understood as the father in the parable) and hence the order in Form 2 was adjusted by scribes to fit the sequence of v. 31 where the tax-collectors and prostitutes precede ‘you’ (the audience of v. 23). This according to Derrett, is why Form 1 was created.

B. IN FAVOUR OF FORM 1

[73]

a) If it is legitimate to interpret the parable as entirely ‘intra-mural’ among Jews and not as a contrast between Jews and Gentiles, we are now dealing here with two types of Jews, the obedient and the disobedient, with the tax-gatherers and prostitutes representing the former. Form 1 matches Jesus’ application in v. 31b where the tax-gatherers and prostitutes *precede* the chief priests and elders into the Kingdom. Once interpreters later than Matthew identified the two types as ‘Gentiles’ and ‘Jews’ the original order (Form 1) was adjusted to fit the chronology whereby the first boy, who says he will obey but disobeys, represents Jews, and the second boy is the recusant who later obeys. If that argument is accepted, then the original in Matthew is Form 1, altered by scribes to Form 2. This explanation is therefore the reverse of Derrett’s argument.

b) The ostensibly more accurate sequence in Form 2 from the Christians’ perspective of salvation history could, however, be the secondary reading imposed by later scribes. On that argument Matthew’s original sequence was that of Form 1.

are thrown out the vineyard apparently irrevocably and irretrievably, and the rejected stone has now become the cornerstone.

¹¹ J.D.M. Derrett, “The Parable of the Two Sons”, in *StudTheol* 25 (1971) pp. 109–116; reprinted in Id., *Studies in the New Testament*, 1, (Leiden: Brill, 1977) pp. 76–84.

¹² Cf. note 5 above.

c) An alternative but weaker argument favouring the originality of Form 1, would be to say that because Form 2 makes the first boy the one who agreed to the command, then the story could read somewhat illogically and be in need of adjustment. This requires readers to have been puzzled why the man should turn to the second son if the first had already agreed to go. Logic would dictate that the man would only turn to the second if the first had refused.¹³ This argument would suggest that if Matthew wrote Form 1 then Form 2 would be a scribal change to improve the logical details in the story. But the argument implies that the man needed only one worker in his vineyard. It fails to recognise a conventional story-telling technique in which the same questions are repeated to more than one person with differing consequences. Also, may it not be that in 21:28ff. the man is testing both boys—he makes the same request of both before waiting to see who obeys? If that is so, then we cannot solve the ‘original’ sequence on grounds of logic.

C. IN FAVOUR OF FORM 3

[74] The reading in D is the one that is most difficult. Often the maxim *difficilior lectio potior* is applied to text-critical decisions, but in this case the reading of the maverick so-called Western text (of which D is one of the earliest representatives) is often deemed to be too difficult by far¹⁴—a *lectio difficilima*. Such is the opprobrium in which many distinctively Western readings are regarded! Nevertheless, the relative consistency with which its interpretation is carried out in certain mss. (especially through to v. 32) suggests that the reading was taken seriously.

The text of D here has been interpreted and made sense of by several scholars. Westcott and Hort treated it seriously and devoted a considerable amount of space to the variants in these verses in their

¹³ We could perhaps equate the story here with that of the Parable of the Wedding Feast (Mt 22:1–14) where the king’s slaves try to find a willing acceptance to the king’s invitation until they succeed.

¹⁴ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary to the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft and the United Bible Societies, 1994) p. 45 calls this reading “not only difficult” but “nonsensical”.

“Notes on Select Readings”.¹⁵ Among their points is that, although the Western text is not original, it stands intermediate between Form 2, the reading of B, and Form 1, the reading of \aleph . They argue that the reading now found in D was understood as a rebuke to the Jewish leaders’ “wilful denial of the truth”.¹⁶

At least one patristic writer read the D type text in that way. Jerome was obviously alert to the reading now known to us from D. In his Commentary on Matthew he writes (*ad loc.*): *si autem novissimum voverimus legere, manifesta est interpretatio, ut dicamus intellegere quidem veritatem Judaeos, sed tergiversari et nolle dicere quod sentiunt, sicut est baptismum Joannis scientes esse de caelo dicere noluerunt* (cf. his comments on v. 27). His argument that the hearers deliberately gave a foolish reply to Jesus’ question “Who did the father’s will?” requires us to understand (prompted by v. 45) that the chief priests and elders recognised that the story was directed at them. B.M. Metzger (*Commentary, ad loc.*) dismisses as overly subtle an explanation attributing to the Jews (or to Matthew) “far-fetched psychological... motives”.

In favour of Form 3 one notes that two chapters further on in this Gospel (Mt 23:3) Jesus castigates other Jewish groups (scribes and Pharisees) as hypocrites who do not practise what they preach: ...κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μὴ ποιεῖτε· λέγουσιν γὰρ καὶ οὐ ποιοῦσιν. That was precisely the fault of one of the children in the parable under our microscope. To have the Jewish groups approve of the behaviour of the hypocrites (as the D text does in v. 31) would not be inconsistent with Matthew’s view of ‘the Jews’, but one can appreciate why such a sophisticated text would not be popular with copyists for whom the moral of the parable would need to be more directly focused for their readers. [75]

This reading would not be untypical of Codex Bezae. Epp’s argument¹⁷ that the theological tendency of many of the distinctive readings in D are anti-Jewish could be reinforced by this interpretation of the reading here.

¹⁵ B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (New York: Harper, 1882) *ad loc.* Westcott and Hort mark this passage with an obelus, meaning that they consider there to be a primitive error in the text behind all extant witnesses.

¹⁶ Cf. the Beelzebul controversy (Mt 12:22–30).

¹⁷ E.J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTS MS, 3) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

The reading of D may explain Jesus' words against the chief priests and the elders in his strongly worded response,¹⁸ prefaced, as his important logia are, with ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν. In Form 3 the judgement of the hearers must differ from Jesus', hence his tirade against their answer; his reaction is more likely in Form 3 than if he were merely responding to a judgement with which he was in agreement, as seems to be the case in Forms 1 and 2.

In more recent times J.R. Michaels treated the reading of D to careful exegesis.¹⁹ Among his conclusions are that the parable in Matthew interprets an earlier parable and turns it into what he calls the Parable of the Regretful Son, of which Form 3 as found in Lvt (*aur g^l l (r²)*) contains our earliest surviving example. That text was later contaminated with additions and changes of order or wording. To reach such conclusions Michaels quite properly makes use of Matthean language and style. In particular he discusses the meaning of a) μεταμεληθεῖς and b) ἀπῆλθεν.

a) μεταμέλεσθαι is taken to mean something less than μετανοεῖν and is best rendered by 'to show futile regret', a comparison being made with the use of this verb to describe Judas in Mt 27:3. In 2 Cor 7:8–10 μεταμέλομαι (and μεταμέλητον) appear alongside μετάνοιαν and could bear a different meaning. The absence of the negative before in μετεμελήθητε in v. 32 (in D) implies that the chief priests and elders were compared to the first boy; the addition of the negative in other mss. contrasts them to that boy. Michaels argues that for Matthew to specify here that the chiefs and elders are to be identified with the boy who showed futile regret confirms that for D at least the verb μεταμέλεσθαι carried an unfavourable connotation. Variation over the negative and variants adding or omitting or repositioning the negative show the confusion among copyists about the meaning and significance of this verb.

- [76] b) ἀπῆλθεν, according to Michaels, implies a mere "slinking off". The boy refuses his father's request, regrets his action "too late" (which is how he translates ὅστερον cf. Mt 25:11) and goes away (but not to the vineyard); the other boy says he will obey the man and does not

¹⁸ Cf. Lk 7:29–30. Unlike the tax-collectors the scribes refused John's baptism—that accusation seems to have been well established.

¹⁹ J. Ramsey Michaels, "The Parable of the Regretful Son", in *HTR* 61 (1968) pp. 15–26.

slink off. One enters the kingdom, the other is excluded; the latter may be compared with those refusing the king's invitation to the wedding feast and are destroyed (Mt 22:7). Michaels notes that those who fail to come to the wedding feast in Mt 22:4 and 5 respond negatively (ἀπῆλθεν in 22:5). He also draws attention to ἀπῆλθεν in Mt 19:22 when the rich young man fails to respond to Jesus' request to follow him.

One major problem in Michaels' interpretation is that the mss. are not consistent. D and its allies but not Lvt (*aur g^l l*) are among the very ones that support the *v.l.* + εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα *post* ἀπῆλθεν in v. 29! Another argument against Michaels is one that he himself acknowledges (his fn. 16), namely that in the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard ἀπῆλθεν expresses *obedience* to the householder's command "Go (ὑπάγετε) into the vineyard" (Mt 20:4) and Michaels therefore has to describe Matthew's usage as 'flexible'.

Michaels' essay is to be commended: it is a fine example of how even the reading all too easily branded as bizarre can be explained. The faithful who owned and read D could well have found a plausible reading within their text of Matthew 21. We may not accept all of Michaels' conclusions (especially his attempt to find an originally oral parable behind the parable written by Matthew seems strained, as too do his arguments showing the parallel growth of an oral and written form of these two, originally, separate parables) but we applaud his attempt to take seriously the exegesis of a version of these verses which circulated not only in D but in the Old Latin, sometimes in slightly differing forms, a fact which allows him to argue that this reading had a certain currency over a long period in different churches. His article of over 30 years ago deserves greater recognition.

C.-B. Amphoux²⁰ identifies Form 3 as the earliest of the three main forms of this parable that have come down to us. He, like Michaels, recognises that the verb ἀπῆλθεν needs attention, but makes much of the fact that the boy who says "yes" stays with the man and that there is therefore no *rupture*: as he takes that to be a favourable state of affairs, it merits the response 'the last'. But the difficulty here is that,

²⁰ C.-B. Amphoux, "La transmission des Évangiles", *Le monde de la Bible*, Janv.-Févr. 1987, pp. 30-47, here 46-47.

- [77] although this boy may indeed remain with the man, it is nonetheless against the command that he leaves him and goes to the vineyard.

The purpose in using the illustration of this particular parable as an example of the dilemma textual critics face if their main purpose is to establish one particular form of the text of the New Testament as the 'original' text is to emphasize that in these circumstances an editor of a critical text or a textual critic has the obligation to present in an even-handed way both or all competing variation units, especially if (as in the case of this parable) plausible alternatives exist. Such viable alternatives mean that each is capable of bearing a legitimate meaning—each carries within it a sense which would have been used by its readers. To deny commentators and exegetes the chance to expound on more than one form of the text by restricting the critical text to only one variation unit, especially in places where the chosen text is uncertain (a "C" or a "D" reading to use the rating system of the UBS text), is indefensible.

Quite how the alternatives ought to be displayed is for discussion by publishers and editors. In some cases a critical apparatus could identify in a distinctive way in the margin those readings which merit consideration.²¹ NA²⁷ alerts its readers (pp. 45*f.) to the fact that the text in NA is a working text, not fixed for all time: "It intends to provide the user with a well-founded working text together with the means of verifying it or alternatively of correcting it". That message needs to be clearly understood by users of that edition. A similar message ought to accompany other comparable editions. For translations the use of marginal notes or sections bracketed off from the main text is tried and trusted, but occasionally, as with the parable discussed here consideration ought perhaps be given to presenting in parallel columns within the body of the text the different forms of the text as genuine alternatives labelled "either/or". These methods would encourage the results of textual criticism to be more immediately available to those whose business is exegesis.

²¹ Something like the 'bullet points' in the *Editio Critica Maior* of James suggests itself.

POSTSCRIPTUM

Further see:

Ron Cameron, "Matthew's Parable of the Two Sons" *Foundations and Facets Forum* 8 (1992) pp. 191–209.

Paul Foster, "A Tale of Two Sons: But which one did the Far Far Better Thing? A Study of Matt. 21: 28–32" *NTS* 46 (2000) pp. 26–37.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

PAUL'S TEACHING ON MARRIAGE IN I CORINTHIANS: SOME PROBLEMS CONSIDERED

I Corinthians 7 deals with marriage and related topics. The chapter [219] may be conveniently subdivided: vv. 1–7 contain Paul's discussion on conjugal rights; in vv. 8–9 Paul gives his famous advice to the unmarried and widows; in vv. 10–11 Paul repeats Jesus' command prohibiting divorce; vv. 12–24 concern the problem of the Christian married to a pagan; vv. 25–38 return to the problem of the unmarried; and vv. 39–40 concern the remarriage of widows. This to-ing and fro-ing is typical of Paul's often irregular method of presenting arguments. Our first problem is the unity of vv. 25–38. We need to ask (a) if the section is connected or whether vv. 36–8 concern a separate problem from vv. 25–35 and (b) which group or groups of persons in the Corinthian church Paul is addressing in these verses.

Commentaries on I Corinthians usually point out the many exegetical problems in vv. 36–8. If one follows the RV and Allo's commentary¹ then one assumes Paul is giving advice to the father of a girl who is beyond marriageable age: if the father thinks he is behaving dishonourably to his daughter in this regard Paul assures him he is not sinning by letting her marry; but if he is resolute to keep her unmarried, his behaviour is even more commendable. Such an interpretation is, however, strange. As Héring points out² there has been no previous mention of parental duties nor is there any explanation why the father should have scruples because his daughter is too old for marriage. The verb γαμεῖτωσαν (v. 36) introduces an abrupt change of subject: a suitor has not been mentioned in the context. The *v.l.* γαμεῖτω read by D* G 1611 and others is clearly secondary to avoid this awkward plural.

The language in these verses is similarly against the traditional interpretation. παρθένος is an unusual word to use for 'daughter'. The RV

¹ E.-B. Allo, *Première Épitre aux Corinthiens* (Paris: Gabalda 1956), pp. 182–7.

² J. Héring, *The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*. Translated by A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock (London: Epworth 1962), pp. 62–4.

for example finds it necessary to add the word ‘daughter’ after ‘virgin’ in both v. 36 and v. 37. The adjective ὑπέρακμος is difficult to translate but the rendering ‘past marriageable age’ ‘past the flower of her age’ required for this interpretation is not necessarily the most natural translation for the adjective (see below) nor is it likely in the context of I Cor. 7 that Paul would urge a scrupulous father to give his daughter in marriage merely because she is advancing in years.

- [220] The reason why this interpretation has been favoured is because of the verb γαμίζω in v. 38 or ἐκγάμιζω which I would wish to argue is the correct reading both here and throughout the New Testament whenever it occurs as a variant. (ἐκ)γάμιζω is usually assumed to mean ‘to give in marriage’ as at Matt. 22:30 and parallels and Matt. 24:38 and parallel. If this is so, then parental duty seems to be implied in the context but it is by no means necessary to translate the verb as transitive. As Lietzmann³ points out, the classical rule whereby -ιζω (transitive) verbs are differentiated from -εω (intransitive) verbs is not always respected in Koine Greek. He points to the examples ὑστερίζω, γνωρίζω, χρονίζω, ὀψίζω, παννυχίζω, ἐλπίζω, ὑβρίζω, and ἐρίζω as indications of the weakening of the transitive -ιζω form in Hellenistic usage.⁴ (ἐκ) γάμιζω could therefore be used by Paul as a synonym for γαμέω.

The RSV assumes a different situation altogether for these verses. The interpretation in this translation is that Paul in v. 36 is speaking of engaged couples. παρθένος in 36–8 therefore means ‘fiancée’. Paul is advising the man to marry his fiancée if his passions are strong although he is specially commended if he refrains from marrying her. In this translation ὑπέρακμος means ‘highly sexed’, a meaning found elsewhere in the second-century medical writer Soranus (see Liddell and Scott). Grammatically ὑπέρακμος could refer either to the man or to his fiancée, but the context makes it more likely that it refers to the man because it is he who is the subject of the nearest finite verb. γαμείτωσαν now appears naturally in its context and refers to the girl and her suitor. This interpretation seems probable and agrees with Paul’s advice about marriage in v. 2, v. 6 and especially v. 9. The phrase

³ H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther 1–11* (*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* 9) (Tübingen: Mohr, 4th edition 1949), pp. 35–6.

⁴ See also J.K. Elliott, *The Greek Text of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus* (*Studies and Documents* 36) (Utah: University of Utah Press, 1968), p. 79.

καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεθαι in v. 36 implying the pressure of society supports this interpretation.

Thus it would seem that vv. 36–8 give Paul's advice to engaged couples. Many commentators agree on this. What I wish to argue here is that the entire section (vv. 25–38) concerns engagement. Much of the argument hinges on the meaning of *παρθένος* in this section. The topic begins in v. 25 with the words *περὶ τῶν παρθένων*. Such a formula is characteristic of this epistle and always indicates that Paul is now turning to a topic raised by the Corinthians. In view of our decision about the meaning of *παρθένος* in vv. 36–8, *παρθένοι* here could mean 'engaged couples'. *παρθένος* in the rest of the chapter refers only to women although in Koine Greek it can refer to men also (cf. Rev. 14:4). *Pace* the NEB, *παρθένων* in v. 25 is unlikely to mean 'celibacy'—for this *παρθενία* would have been appropriate. v. 28 can also support our case: this verse reads 'if you (addressing the man) marry, you have not sinned: and if ἡ *παρθένος* marries she has not sinned'. The context suggests betrothed couples are in mind: couples undecided whether or not to fulfil their promises of marriage in view of the present distress. Paul has been asked about this issue and as so often in I Cor. he carefully and legalistically sets out his arguments: in this particular chapter he attempts to avoid further misunderstanding by presenting his argument from both the man's and the woman's side. The meaning 'virgin' is inappropriate in v. 28. [221]

In the rest of the New Testament *παρθένος* is commonly used of a betrothed girl. In Luke 1:27 Mary is called *παρθένος*—she is engaged: Matt. 1:18, 23 are similar. The parable in Matt. 25:1–13 speaks of the ten girls as *παρθένοι* (vv. 1, 7, 11) which in the context of waiting for their bridegroom most naturally means 'brides' or 'betrothed girls'. Another example of this use of *παρθένος* is at II Cor. 11:2 where again marriage is mentioned in the context, and where the addition of *ἀγνήν* suggests *παρθένος* does not bear the meaning 'chasteness'.

Further evidence that *παρθένος* means 'betrothed girl' is found in the troublesome I Cor. 7:34. Paul here differentiates between the unmarried woman and the *παρθένος*. This is natural in the context: one does not seek marriage, the other is engaged but both are linked because until marriage they are both able to serve the Lord. There is no difficulty in both being linked by the singular verb *μεριμνᾷ*. The text which most naturally allows us to accept this meaning is the reading of Φ^{15} BP 104 181, etc. Here καὶ μεμέρισται belongs to v. 33 (i.e.

the married man is divided in his loyalty to God on the one hand and to his wife on the other). The reading of D^cGK etc. μεμέρισται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἄγαμος is to be rejected: it gives an unnatural force to the verb μερίζω which does not normally mean ‘there is a difference between’. The reading of P⁴⁶ & A etc. while apparently connecting καὶ μεμέρισται with the preceding words, agrees with D^cGK in so far as the word ἄγαμος is added after παρθένος. The scribes who made this addition were unaware of the technical term παρθένος in this section. The reading of P¹⁵ BP etc. preserves the balance in these verses. vv. 32–3 contrast the unmarried man with the married man. This balances v. 34 which contrasts the unmarried woman (including the engaged girl) with the married woman.

In view of the above arguments about the interpretation of παρθένος in the section vv. 25–38, v. 27 should now be translated ‘Are you engaged to a woman? Do not seek a release (i.e. do not break off the engagement). Are you free from a woman (i.e. single)? Then do not seek a woman (as wife).’ Most translations, however, render λέλυσσαι by ‘divorced’ or ‘separated’. This may do justice to the perfect tense but the advice following in v. 28 is inconsistent both with Paul’s advice in v. 11 *a*, and possibly with v. 39 where Paul contemplates the remarriage of widows but not of divorcees. It would seem that first marriages are implied in v. 28.

[222] The suggested translation above of v. 27 demands taking γυνή as ‘woman’ for the first two occurrences of the word in the verse although ‘wife’ is a possible translation for the third occurrence. It is probably better though to translate γυνή as ‘woman’ throughout the verse. Such a meaning is not impossible. Throughout Paul’s writings γυνή is an ambiguous term. It clearly means ‘wife’ in I Cor. 7:3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 33, 39 as the context in all these verses makes plain but in I Cor. 7:1 it clearly means ‘woman’ as it is contrasted with ἄνθρωπος not ἄνθρωπος. γυνή seems only to mean ‘wife’ where the context is clear. Where the context is not clear γυνή is qualified. At I Cor. 7:34 γυνή is followed by ἄγαμος; at Rom. 7:2 the noun is qualified by ὑπανδρος; cf. also Luke 4:26 where χήρα follows in apposition to γυνή.

A further point in favour of the argument that vv. 25–38 concern betrothal and that γυνή can mean ‘woman in general’ in this passage is found in v. 29. Here γυναικας clearly does not mean ‘wives’. If it did, then Paul would be contradicting vv. 3–4 where conjugal rights are encouraged. In v. 29 Paul is still thinking of engaged couples: if he

were thinking of those already married ἔχοντες γυναῖκας would be a strange way of referring to husbands; he would more naturally have addressed them as γεγαμηκότες as in v. 10 or as οἱ γαμήσαντες (cf. v. 33).⁵

To return now to the translation suggested above for v. 27, it will be seen that δέω is understood as 'bound by a promise of marriage'. δέω however means 'bound in marriage' as v. 39 and Rom. 7:2 show, but the context in both is clearly that of husband and wife, and in Rom. 7:2 this meaning is further clarified by the addition of νόμῳ. My suggested translation contrasts v. 27 with v. 28 which speaks of the marriage itself. As one might expect γαμέω is used in v. 28. v. 27 *a*, therefore, speaks to the man who has made a promise of marriage to a girl. Rather than break it off to agree with the teaching in v. 26, Paul tells him that there is no need to break off a contract already entered into: it is no sin to marry.

If δέω means 'to bind by a promise' then λύω in v. 27 must mean 'to break off the engagement' and that to ask (v. 27 *b*) λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός is equivalent to asking if the man is ἄγαμος. The perfect tense balances δέδεσσαι but both perfects are to be thought of as present in force. Even Barrett⁶ and the ICC,⁷ which interpret v. 27 differently, recognize that Paul is unlikely to be addressing just divorcees, which a strict interpretation of this perfect tense might suggest. In support of my translation it will be seen that the compound form ἀπολύω bears the meaning 'to break off a betrothal' in Matt. 1:19 where it is plain that the meaning 'divorce' is wrong because Joseph is not married until encouraged to do so by the angel (Matt. 1:20, 24). When Paul speaks of divorce the verb he uses in this section of I Cor. is not λύω (or ἀπολύω) but ἀφίημι (vv. 11, 12, 13).

Paul is concerned in this section to clarify his own position. If, [223] as has been suggested⁸ καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως εἶναι (v. 26 *b*) is a

⁵ Notice how many difficulties Barrett finds by taking v. 29 to refer to marriage. In C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Black's New Testament Commentaries) (London: A. and C. Black, 1968), pp. 176–7.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 175.

⁷ A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* (International Critical Commentary) (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1911), p. 153.

⁸ For example by C.K. Barrett (*op. cit.* p. 174) and by J.C. Hurd, Jr., *The Origin of I Corinthians* (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 178–9 and see pp. 290–1.

quotation, representing either the Corinthians' attitude or Paul's own previous teaching on this topic, then it would seem Paul is re-defining his position in the light of queries from Corinth. The church there may have asked Paul if as a result of this slogan engaged couples should break off their engagement because marriage would be sinful. This section represents Paul's considered reply. In vv. 1–24 Paul redefines his views on marriage and divorce, in vv. 39–40 he gives his view on remarriage. It is not only in vv. 36–8 he considers engaged couples but in the whole section vv. 25–38. There is a unity in the section. This is shown not only in the use of the term *παρθένος* but also in the consistency of the arguments. Paul's teaching in v. 28 is identical with v. 38. I discount entirely the suggestion that Paul is speaking of spiritual marriage in either vv. 36–8 (cf. NEB) or in vv. 25–38 as a whole. If Paul were encouraging spiritual marriages his teaching in this section would be at variance with 7:2–5. Although spiritual marriages were known to have existed in the time of Irenaeus and Tertullian, who condemn them, there is no evidence that these marriages were practised in the middle of the first century in Christian circles. It is also unlikely that *γάμιζω* could be used in the sense 'to consummate the marriage' in vv. 36 f. if this were the situation Paul was discussing. It is similarly unlikely that levirate marriage was in Paul's mind⁹ because this would presuppose a Jewish milieu.

Hurd¹⁰ recognizes the unity of the section vv. 25–38 but does not decide in favour of either engaged couples or spiritual marriage, as he is doubtful about the validity of the arguments (particularly *à propos* vv. 36–8) in favour of engagement because these assume a sizeable number of engaged couples in Corinth at the time. But this is not necessarily so. Paul has been asked about engagement probably because one or two definite instances were known to the Corinthians. Paul deals with the problem of an individual wrongdoer in I Cor. 5:1 f. who is merely called *τις*; and in 7:36 the engaged man in a quandary is similarly called *τις*. In vv. 39–40 and vv. 8 f. Paul addresses widows: these too like the engaged couples in vv. 25–38 form a separate

⁹ Pace J.M. Ford 'Levirate Marriage in St Paul (I Cor. 7)', *NTS* x (1963–4), pp. 361–5. On the question of *virgines subintroductae* see H. Chadwick, 'All Things to All Men', *NTS* 1 (1955), pp. 267 ff. and M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (London: Nelson, 1961), pp. 84 ff.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 176–80.

category in the Corinth church. Neither group need comprise large numbers.

Another problem in this chapter is Paul's teaching on divorce. It will be seen that Paul uses the verb ἀφίημι to mean divorce in vv. 11, 12, 13 but χωρίζομαι is found in vv. 10, 11, 15 (bis) and this is usually taken to be synonymous with ἀφίημι. In vv. 10–11 Paul quotes Jesus' words on divorce. If ἀφίημι and χωρίζομαι are synonymous then Paul is repeating the prohibition known to Mark 10:11–12, in which a woman can divorce a man as in Roman law. We have already seen above that Paul makes a distinction between ἀφίημι (to break off a marriage) and λύω (to break off an engagement). There may similarly be a deliberate distinction drawn between ἀφίημι and χωρίζομαι. Elsewhere in the NT χωρίζομαι need not refer to legal divorce. The statement in Mark 10:9 where the verb occurs can mean that no one (i.e. an outsider) is to cause a legally married couple to separate. In the context of Mark 10:1–12 it is significant that χωρίζω is used in v. 9 as distinct from the verb ἀπολύω in vv. 2, 4, 11, 12. ἀπολύω there corresponds to ἀφίημι in I Cor. 7. The same distinction in vocabulary is preserved in the parallel to Mark 10:1–11, namely Matt. 19:1–12. Outside the gospels χωρίζω/χωρίζομαι means either 'to separate' (as in Rom. 8:35, 39; Philem. 15; Heb. 7:26) or 'to leave' (as in Acts 1:4, 8:1, 2). If therefore χωρίζομαι in I Cor. 7:10–11 means 'leave', 'separate from' without implying a legal divorce, then Paul's statement on divorce is in line with Jewish practice where a woman cannot divorce a man, and thus Paul is closer to the Matthaean divorce sayings (Matt. 5:31–2, 19:3–9), even though the exception of πορνεία is absent from Paul.

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In vv. 12 ff. the situation is somewhat different: Paul turns from the Christian married to a Christian to οἱ λοιποί. These are Christians married to heathen partners, and as Paul has no command of Jesus to repeat, he speaks on his own authority. Marriage of Christian to Christian is indissoluble, but the marriage of a Christian to a heathen is different. The Christian should not in this instance prohibit divorce, although Paul is plainly in favour of the marriage continuing if possible. He does not approve of divorce. The verb used in vv. 12 and 13 is ἀφίημι and applies to both the Christian husband married to a heathen, and to the Christian wife married to a heathen. Paul has presumably been asked by the Corinthians to clarify the position whether Christians should divorce a heathen partner. He clearly does not

advocate divorce merely on this ground if they are willing to continue the marriage.¹¹

If we can maintain, as I think we can, a differentiation between ἀφίημι and χωρίζομαι, then v. 15 concerns a new problem. Barrett¹² recognizes this. Paul is speaking here of the departure of the heathen partner—not of legal divorce. ὁ ἄπιστος in v. 15 applies to both sexes as v. 15 *b* makes clear. χωρίζομαι therefore applies to either the husband or the wife. Thus the argument in the ICC¹³ that χωρίζομαι in v. 10 differs from ἀφίημι in v. 11 only in so far as the husband sends the wife out of his house (ἀφίημι) when he divorces her, and the woman leaves the home (χωρίζομαι) when she divorces him is destroyed when v. 15 is considered. As in v. 10 Paul in v. 15 is speaking of separation. Paul is happy to allow separation in those situations where the two are not happy to live together since one became a Christian. Paul urges peace.

Commentaries are divided over the interpretation of v. 16: is Paul optimistic or pessimistic? If v. 16 belongs to v. 15 then v. 16 is pessimistic; i.e. Paul is allowing a separation for the sake of peace as there is very little chance of converting one's heathen partner.¹⁴ If v. 16 belongs to v. 14 then Paul is being optimistic; i.e. he is saying it is worthwhile maintaining the marriage as there is always a chance the heathen partner will be converted.¹⁵ If, as I have suggested above, v. 15 deals with a different topic from v. 14 (i.e. separation not divorce) then v. 15 begins a new paragraph and v. 16 belongs with v. 15 to explain why precisely Paul does allow this separation to go unhindered. Therefore both vv. 15 and 16 contrast with vv. 12–14. In vv. 12–14 some good is seen to come from preserving those marriages in which the heathen partner is happy to continue to live with a Christian. It is interesting to note that in both vv. 12 f. and v. 15 the initiative lies with the heathen.

¹¹ If it can be maintained that in II Cor. 6:14–7:1 Paul is speaking not against immorality as such but against mixed marriages (as is possibly indicated by 6:14 and by the addition in 6:18 of καὶ θυγατέρας to the quotation of II Sam. 7:14) then it will be seen that Paul's attitude has hardened. In both letters he speaks against mixed marriages in the future, but in II Cor. 6:14–7:1 he appears to encourage the dissolution of existing mixed marriages.

¹² *Op. cit.* p. 166.

¹³ *Op. cit.* p. 140 (footnote).

¹⁴ So ICC (*op. cit.* p. 144) and Héring (*op. cit.* p. 53).

¹⁵ So Barrett (*op. cit.* p. 167).

POSTSCRIPTUM

Recent major commentaries on 1 Corinthians include those by Gordon D. Fee in the series *The New International Commentary on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), by Anthony C. Thistelton in the *New International Greek Testament Commentary* series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), as well as those by Christian Wolff in *Theologische Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996) and Wolfgang Schrage in the series *Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament* (Zürich and Düsseldorf, 1991–).

C. Text-Critical Issues concerning the Synoptic Problem

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

AN EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT AND APPARATUS OF THREE RECENT GREEK SYNOPSES

Serious study of the synoptic problem can be undertaken only with the aid of a Greek synopsis. At the present time three such synopses are readily available:¹ Aland's *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, the 13th edition of Huck extensively revised by H. Greeven and the recently published text by B. Orchard. In this article these synopses are referred to as follows: Aland as Syn when all editions are intended, otherwise as Syn^{A=1-8} or Syn^{B=9-12} to differentiate between the two major editions of the text, the earlier of which has a text comparable with the twenty-fifth edition of Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (= N-A²⁵) and the later a text comparable with N-A²⁶; Greeven's revision as H-G; and Orchard's text as Orchard. [557]

Syn and H-G print the parallel columns of the synoptic gospels in the sequence Matthew, Mark, Luke. Orchard, whose text was produced in order to assist those scholars who feel such a sequence prejudicial against the neo-Griesbach theory, prints the parallels in the sequence Matthew, Luke, Mark.

It is my task in this article not to discuss these three editions as aids to a particular attempted solution to the synoptic problem but to examine the texts and apparatuses with special reference to H-G and Orchard but with comparisons with Syn also.² What is immediately striking is that each of the three has a different text despite the claim of one of them (Syn^B p. xi) to be the 'Standard Text' of the future.

Inevitably discussion of the synoptic problem involves the close comparison of the text of the gospels and for most students the text itself, rather than the variants to that text printed in an apparatus, is

¹ R.J. Swanson's *Horizontal Line Synopsis of the Gospels* the Greek edition of which at present covers only Matthew and its parallels has been discounted from this article, so too has W.R. Farmer's *Synopticon* dismissed by H.F.D. Sparks in his review in *JTS* 1971 as of use only in conjunction with a conventional synopsis. Farmer's exercise cannot be considered a new synopsis in its own right.

² A full discussion of the text found in Syn^B is to be found in my reviews of UBS³ and N-A²⁶ in *NovT* 20 (1978) pp. 242-77 and *JTS* 32 (1981) pp. 19-49.

of greatest importance (however shortsighted and regrettable such a judgement is). Thus decisions on the synoptic question based solely on the printed text are affected by the text one chooses to work from. This present article is thus intended as a consumers' guide to synopses and tries to indicate the relative merits of the texts printed.

[558] But those whose investigations into the synoptic problem are based only on the printed text and who ignore the apparatus do so at their peril. Unless the editors can convince the readers that the text printed is in all respects virtually identical with the autographs then variant readings must be taken into account as potential contenders to represent the original text. Orchard's apparatus appears as an appendix, which might have the effect of positively dissuading students from consulting it. If so, that would be unfortunate. Thus this article will also consider the relative merits of the apparatuses in Syn, H-G and Orchard.

TEXT

It is well known that the Textus Receptus and the majority of medieval Greek mss. contain a large number of verses subsequently omitted by later editors and translators principally on the evidence of the mss. \aleph and B which read the shorter text. The following table lists these verses and the longer sections that are in dispute in the synoptic gospels and indicates where our editions include / exclude x or bracket [] the longer text:

		<i>H-G</i>	<i>Syn</i> ^B	<i>Orchard</i>
Matt	12:47	/	[]	/
	16:2b-3	/	[]	/
	17:21	x	x	/
	18:11	x	x	/
	21:44	x	[]	/
	23:14	x	x	/ ³
Mark	7:16	/	x	/
	9:44, 46	xx	xx	//
	11:26	x	x	/
	15:28	x	x	/
	16:9-20	/ ⁴	[[]]	[[]]

³ The disputed verse is numbered 23:13 in Orchard.
⁴ Included without brackets but headed 'Der unechte Markusschluss'. (The English translation is neutral.)

(cont.)

		<i>H-G</i>	<i>Syn^B</i>	<i>Orchard</i>
Luke	9:55b–56a	x	x	/
	17:36 ⁵	x	x	/
	22:43–44	/	[[]]	/
	23:17	x	x	/

As far as the so-called Western non-interpolations are concerned Luke 22:19b–20 appears in all three synopses and so too do Luke 22:62 and 24:12. Luke 24:40 appears in *Syn^B* and *Orchard* but is absent from *H-G*.⁶

In John's gospel *Orchard* double-brackets the pericope of the woman taken in adultery and John 5:4 (5:3b is printed as part of the text). *Syn^B* omits John 5:3b–4 and double-brackets the pericope de adultera.

A further list of variants concerning a longer or a shorter text now follows to show how these three synopses behave. These variants have in general influenced modern versions:

	<i>H-G</i>	<i>Syn</i>	<i>Orchard</i>	
<i>Matt</i>				
5:22 + εἰκῆ	x	x	/	
9:14 + πολλά	/	[]	/	
11:15; 13:9, 43 + ἀκούειν	xxx	xxx	///	
14:30 + ἰσχυρὸν	/	[]	/	
19:9 + καὶ ...μοιχᾶται	/	x	/	
20:30 + κύριε	/	[]	/	
21:12 + τοῦ θεοῦ	/	x	/	
22:30 + θεοῦ	/	x	x	[559]
23:4 + καὶ δυσβάστακτα	x	[]	/	
25:1 + καὶ τῆς νύμφης	x	x	/	
26:20 + μαθητῶν	/	x	/	
26:28 + καινῆς	x	x	/	
27:16, 17 + ἰησοῦν (τὸν)	xx	[] []	xx	
27:24 + τοῦ δικαίου	x	x	/	
28:6 + ὁ κύριος	x	x	/	
<i>Mark</i>				
1:1 + υἱοῦ θεοῦ	x	[]	/	
1:4 + ὁ	x	[]	/	
2:16 + καὶ πίνει	/	x	/	

⁵ Sometimes known as 36a if 37 appears as 36b.

⁶ *H-G* also omits the longer texts at Luke 24:36, 51, 52, all Western non-interpolations (but cf. Luke 24:6 where the longer text is included by *H-G* and the *v.l.* ignored in the apparatus).

(cont.)

	<i>H-G</i>	<i>Syn</i>	<i>Orchard</i>
3:14 + οὐς...ὠνόμασεν	x	[]	/
3:16 + καὶ...δῶδεκα	x	[]	/
3:32 + καὶ ⁴ ...σου ³	/	[]	/
7:4 + καὶ κλινῶν	/	[]	/
7:24 + καὶ σιδῶνος	x	x	/
9:24 + μετὰ δακρύων	x	x	/
9:29 + καὶ νηστεία	/	x	/
9:38 + ὅς...ἡμῖν	/	x	/
9:49 + καὶ...ἀλισθήσεται	x	x	/
10:7 + (αὐτοῦ) καὶ...αὐτοῦ	/	[]	/
10:24 + τοὺς...χρήμασιν	/	x	/
13:33 + καὶ προσεύχεσθε	/	x	/
14:68 + καὶ...ἐφώνησεν	/	[]	/
<i>Luke</i>			
8:43 + ἱατροῖς...βίον	/	[]	/
8:45 + καὶ...αὐτῷ	x	x	/
9:54 + ὥς...ἐποίησεν	x	x	/
10:1, 17 + δύο	/	[]	/
11:11 + ἄρτον...καὶ	x	x	/
15:21 + ποιήσόν...σου	x	x	/
17:24 + ἐν...αὐτοῦ	/	[]	/
22:16 + οὐκέτι	/	x	/
23:34 + ὁ...ποιοῦσιν	/	[[]]	/
23:38 + γράμμασιν...ἐβραϊκοῖς	/	x	x
24:32 + ἐν ἡμῖν	/	[]	/
24:36 + καὶ...ὑμῖν	x	/	/
24:51 + καὶ ² ...οὐρανόν	x	/	/
24:52 + τροσκυνήσαντες αὐτὸν	x	/	/

It is obvious from the lists above that Orchard in general gives us a longer text than either H-G or Syn^B, and that H-G gives a more confident longer text than Syn^B which tends to emphasise its lack of decisiveness with an overuse of brackets.⁸ This survey is not intended to pass judgement on the correctness or otherwise of the readings printed; merely to show that, depending on which synopsis one is studying and working from, one's decisions on matters relevant to the synoptic problem could vary. In other cases disputes over words in the mss. are not

⁷ Only the first half of the verse is in dispute despite Orchard's comment (p. 339) that implies that the whole verse is disputed.

⁸ See my 'The Use of Brackets in the Text of a Greek New Testament', *Biblica* 60 (1979) pp. 575-7.

reflected in the texts of our three synopses. Examples where all three agree over a variant may be seen in the following places: Matt 6:13; 7:13; 8:10; 24:36; 27:49b; Mark 14:24; Luke 1:28 (a rare example of a shorter text in Orchard); 24:3, 6, 13. [560]

(a) *H-G compared with Aland Synopsis*

Sometimes H-G agrees with the text of Aland *Synopsis*^A (= N-A²⁵), sometimes with the text of Aland *Synopsis*^B (= N-A²⁶) sometimes with neither. Frans Neirynck has provided a very useful list of places where H-G differs from N-A²⁶.⁹ This list also indicates whether H-G where differing from N-A²⁶ agrees with N-A²⁵, the TR, von Soden and the texts of Tischendorf⁸, Westcott and Hort and Weymouth (or Weiss). Neirynck's list ought to be supplemented by one further reference where Greeven disagrees with the text of N-A²⁶ but agrees with the text of N-A²⁵, that is at Luke 23:12. Neirynck's list also requires the addition of a dagger (to indicate agreement with N-A²⁵) at Mark 13:2 (om.); 13:15 (~); Luke 9:59; 12:53 (also p. 125). The dagger at Matt 13:4 ought to be removed: N-A²⁵ = N-A²⁶ here.

Many of the places where H-G agrees with N-A²⁵ against N-A²⁶ are where N-A²⁶ has a word bracketed and N-A²⁵ has the word without brackets (e.g. Matt 6:1; 14:16; 15:14; 19:11; 20:10, 23; 22:35; 24:39; 26:36) but this is not always so. At Matt 8:13 *παῖς* is read in H-G = N-A²⁵: N-A²⁶ reads *παῖς* [*αὐτοῦ*]. Occasionally N-A²⁵ is bracketed and N-A²⁶ is not: here H-G usually accepts the longer text without brackets e.g. Matt 1:25; 5:28; 7:13; 9:18; 10:23; 13:16; 14:22; 16:12; 23:37; 26:58; 27:41, 51 etc. This is consistent with H-G printing the longer text where variation exists e.g. Matt 3:7, 14; 9:32; 11:8; 13:11, 44, 45; 15:6; 18:34; 20:8, 21; 21:29; 22:21, 39; 23:38; 27:54 (but against this H-G prints the shorter text at Matt 13:35; 14:15, 29; 19:3, 10, 21, 22, 24; 21:19, 28; 23:4; 25:3; 27:16; 28:14 etc.).

Of the four hundred and seventy or so changes made by Syn^B from Syn^A in the synoptic gospels H-G preserves the text of Syn^A about two hundred and eleven times and agrees with Syn^B about one hundred and seventy-seven times. Of the six hundred or so differences between H-G and Syn^B H-G agrees with the TR about five hundred times. H-G

⁹ F. Neirynck and F. Van Segbroeck, "Greeven's Text of the Synoptic Gospels", *ETL* LVIII (1982) pp. 123–34.

is frequently close to von Soden's text (about eighty percent of those places where H-G differs from Syn^B). In some of the places where H-G differs from all editions of Syn H-G agrees only with TR, especially where a longer text is involved, but occasionally the text in H-G appears to be peculiar to that edition:

- [561] e.g. Matt 13:8 (καρπούς) * (no apparatus given)
 13:40 (καίεται)¹⁰
 17:16 (ἡδυνάσθησαν) * (no apparatus given)
 Mark 2:14 (ἡκολούθει)!
 3:27 (οὐδεὶς)
 3:27 (τὰ σκεύη τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν)*
 8:7 (αὐτὰ εὐλογήσας)
 8:33 (om. αὐτοῦ) (no apparatus given)
 Luke 3:22 (Words at Baptism) *
 6:33 (om. γὰρ) *
 9:33 (om. ὁ) *

At Luke 9:33 the omission of the definite article with the name Πέτρος is of significance.¹¹ Greeven sees the addition as a harmonizing variant. At Mark 8:33 H-G omits the possessive after μαθητὰς—this goes against New Testament practice: N-A²⁵ and N-A²⁶ correctly include the possessive here.¹² Readings above marked with an asterisk indicate that the likely reason, and the one usually given in the apparatus for H-G's choice of text, is the pursuit of a reading that is not in agreement with the parallel—and this is laudable. The reading marked with an exclamation sign indicates that the reading chosen gives a harmonizing text and is at variance with N-A²⁵ = N-A²⁶ which gives the correct text. A fuller discussion of harmonizing *v.ll.* (especially when H-G agrees with either N-A²⁵ or N-A²⁶) occurs below.

¹⁰ This form agrees with UBS^{1,2} (and Vogels): N-A²⁶ brackets the prefix. N-A²⁵ reads the compound form without brackets.

¹¹ See my "Κηθῶς: Σίμων Πέτρος: ὁ Πέτρος: An Examination of New Testament Usage", *Novum Testamentum XIV* (1972) pp. 241–56. Reprinted as chapter 10 in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

¹² See my "Mathētēs with a Possessive in the New Testament", *Theologische Zeitschrift* (1979) pp. 300–4; p. 300 is not correct in saying there is no variant here, although the general principle holds true that there is only one firm instance of μαθητῆς without a possessive (Mark 4:34) and that exception proves the rule. Article reprinted as chapter 11 in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

Changes that are orthographical or involve a change in breathing and accent can be seen when comparing H-G and N-A²⁵ = N-A²⁶ at the following places: Matt 1:15; 2:23; 12:24, 27; 16:17; 21:9, 15 (cf. Mark 11:9 f. and parallels); 27:33; Mark 3:22; Luke 3:24; 11:15, 18, 19. The names in the genealogies are all accented in N-A: in H-G not all are. Usually H-G agrees with the orthography of N-A²⁵ where it differs from N-A²⁶ e.g. Matt 3:14; 4:18, 19; 5:42; 6:6; 7:4, 5; 24:26; Mark 12:41 (bis), 43; 15:34; Luke 2:19; 6:34 (bis), 35; 7:41; 8:29; 12:3; 23:12;¹³ 24:27, but sometimes H-G agrees with N-A²⁶ against N-A²⁵ as may be seen at Matt 1:19; 6:10; 15:5, 23; 25:39; 26:3, 57; 27:22; Luke 3:2; 13:11; 14:29. At Matt 21:2 H-G prints εὐθέως with N-A²⁶ against N-A²⁵ (εὐθύς), but at Matt 26:74 H-G prints εὐθύς with N-A²⁵ against N-A²⁶ (εὐθέως)!

In many places in the synoptic gospels variation occurs when harmonizing may have been responsible for one or more of the variants. A normal and useful rule of thumb is that a variant that makes parallel passages more dissimilar is likely to represent the original text (other things being equal). This is a principle generally acknowledged if not in the text at least in the selection of variants to be found in the apparatus to H-G. One of the main virtues and benefits of H-G is that even though one cannot always accept Greeven's text, at least one has in general a serviceable and relevant selection of variants from which one can establish a text closer to that of the supposed original. [562] In the following places a variant involves a parallel text in another gospel: an asterisk after the reference means that H-G agrees with Syn^B: [*] means that Syn^B encloses the longer text in brackets: no asterisk implies H-G agrees with Syn^A. A dagger following the reference means that the reading printed in H-G (given in column two below) is likely to be a harmonized (i.e. secondary) reading:

Matt ¹⁴ 6:33	(+ τοῦ θεοῦ) [*]
9:6	(ἐγερθεῖς) *
9:14	(+ πολλά) [*]
9:19	(ἡκολούθησεν) *
11:9	(προφήτην ἰδεῖν)

¹³ Here H-G accents αὐτούς with N-A²⁵ but cf. Luke 12:21 where H-G prints ἐαυτῷ with N-A²⁶ against αὐτῷ of N-A²⁵ and also cf. Luke 24:12 where H-G has ἐαυτὸν with N-A²⁶ against αὐτὸν of N-A²⁵.

¹⁴ Cf. my 'Textual Criticism, Assimilation and the Synoptic Gospels', *NTS* 26 (1980) pp. 231–42 especially p. 233. Reprinted here as chapter 25.

	13:7	(ἔπνιξαν) *
	14:3	(ἔδῃσεν αὐτόν) [*] †
	14:15	(om. οὖν) * †
	16:20	(διεστείλατο) *
	18:15	(+ εἰς σὲ) [*]
	19:3	(om. ἀνθρώπῳ)
	19:20	(πάντα ταῦτα) *
	19:21	(om. τοῖς) [*]
	19:24	(τρυπήματος) *
		(εἰσελθεῖν ¹) (†)
		(om. εἰσελθεῖν ²)
	20:17	(+ μαθητάς) [*]
	20:18	(θανάτῳ) *
	21:19	(om. οὐ) * †
	24:40	(δύο ἔσσονται) *
Mark	1:8	(+ ἐν) * †
	3:1	(+ τῇν ¹) * †
	4:22	(+ τι)
	6:39	(ἀνακλῖναι) *
	7:28	(+ ναί) †
	8:34	(ἀκολουθεῖν) *
	9:38	(+ ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν)
	9:42	(om. εἰς ἐμέ) [*]
	12:9	(+ οὖν) [*] (†)
	13:2	(om. ὥδε)
	13:22	(ἐγερθήσονται γάρ) * †
		(ποιήσουσιν)
	13:31	(+ μή) * †
Luke	15:12	(omit θέλετε) [*] †
	6:3	(ὁπότε)
	9:13	(ὕμεις φαγεῖν) * †
	9:59	(om. κύριε) [*]
		(ἀπελθόντι πρῶτον) *
	11:24	(om. τότε) [*]
	18:24	(om. περίλυπον γενόμενον) [*]
	20:44	(αὐτὸν κύριον) †

From these forty-one examples H-G occasionally (10–12 times)¹⁵ prints the secondary text whereas Syn^A or Syn^B give the correct text at these points. However, a conclusive decision should not be made about the originality or secondariness of these texts purely as a mechani-

¹⁵ At Matt 19:24 I have bracketed the dagger after εἰσελθεῖν as this verb agrees with the Lukan parallel, *v.l.* διελθεῖν agrees with the Markan parallel (cf. Mark 12:9 where *v.l.* + οὖν = Luke and *v.l.* — οὖν = Matt).

cal application of the rule concerning dissimilarity: other factors may well have influenced Greeven's choice of text in those passages marked with the dagger. Those who work on the interrelationship of synoptic parallels need to keep their eye on the apparatus as well as on the parallel columns. Textual criticism and work on the synoptic problem are inseparable.¹⁶ It is thus disturbing to note that in two places in the above list (Mark 7:28; Luke 18:24) H-G has not provided an apparatus even though at Mark 7:28 his text is the harmonized text. In some instances where H-G is secondary, e.g. at Luke 9:13, the apparatus only shows the *v.l.* against the text thus evading and avoiding the showing of the likely direction of harmonization to the text of the parallel. (Cf. also Luke 20:44.) [563]

Our rule concerning dissimilarity carried with it the qualifying 'other things being equal'. One area where other things should prevent a mechanical application of the rule is in orthographical matters where Atticism may be of over-riding influence. At Matt 17:19 Greeven prints ἐδυνήθημεν (cf. 17:16 ἡδυνάσθησαν) in order to make Matthew differ from the Markan parallel (ἡδυνήθημεν). Had an apparatus been provided at 17:19 doubtless Greeven would have justified the *v.l.* ἡδυνήθημεν as assimilation to Mark (or possibly to his 17:16), but it is likely here and throughout the New Testament that the form augmented with ε is original. Moeris the Atticist condemned the Hellenistic prefix ε with this verb¹⁷ (Syn., all editions, incorrectly reads η). Similarly, at Mark 6:41 Greeven reads *v.l.* ηὐλόγησεν (which agrees with his Lukan parallel but not the Matthaean εὐ-). Again, Atticism should help us resolve the variation. New Testament usage prefers εὐ-throughout¹⁸ as in Syn. At Luke 6:48 ὠκοδομησθαι is printed—no *v.l.* is shown, in accordance with the principle at II 11c, III 2, but one exists (οἰκοδομησθαι) and this is likely to be the original text:¹⁹ Syn prints the correct text—no parallel is involved.

¹⁶ See my "Textual Criticism Assimilation and the Synoptic Gospels" *op. cit.*

¹⁷ ἡδυνάμην... διὰ τοῦ η διὰ δε τοῦ ε "Ελληνες in ed. I. Bekker, *Harpocraton et Moeris* (Berlin: Reimerus, 1883) 198. See my "Textual Variation Involving the Augment in the Greek New Testament", *ZNW* 69 (1978) pp. 247–52.

¹⁸ Cf. my "Temporal Augment in Verbs with Initial Diphthong in the Greek New Testament", *Novum Testamentum* 22 (1980) pp. 1–11. Reprinted as chapter 6 in *Essays and Studies*.

¹⁹ See Phrynichus §124 in E. Fischer, *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1974) = *Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker* I.

Elsewhere Greeven seems to have taken care to consider the possibility that Atticist grammarians may have influenced orthography. At Luke 1:22; 9:36; 24:23²⁰ (where there are no parallels) he prints ἑώρακεν / ἑώρακαν / ἑορακέναι in preference to the form εω-²¹ found in Syn. More work in this area needs to be undertaken to assist editors of texts, but the general principle must hold—namely that in such instances the mechanical avoidance of forms that would make parallels more similar cannot be applied.

In the forty-one examples given above (pp. 391f.) H-G in general prints a text that is dissimilar to the parallel(s): usually such readings are likely to represent the original text. Doubts we may have about the originality of the text in specific instances may be dispelled when we have the companion volume to hand, promised in the Introduction p. v.

[564] For the sake of comparability we see that of these forty-one examples²² Syn^B gives an unharmonized text twenty-three times. In those references above not followed by an asterisk (together with those asterisked and followed by a dagger) Syn^A gives the unharmonized i.e. ‘correct’ text eighteen times. As far as Orchard is concerned this text is less determined than H-G to avoid printing harmonized readings, and gives us over twenty-six readings that agree with the parallel(s) out of the forty-one above.

This survey tells us that H-G is a more reliable text than Syn^B; that Syn^B is more reliable than Syn^A and that Orchard, often through an apparently mechanical application of a principle determined to avoid *brevior lectio potior* has created parallels that are exactly the same. In a few places Orchard succeeds in avoiding an apparently harmonized text (e.g. Mark 13:22 δὲ; Mark 15:12 θέλετε; Luke 9:13 φαγεῖν ὑμεῖς) where H-G has a harmonized reading. Generally though H-G deliberately avoids such readings.

That is not to say that H-G’s text is also mechanically produced. Occasionally even that text shows assimilation. Sometimes reasons are obvious why Greeven has chosen not to accept the *v.l.* allowing him to print unharmonized parallels, but at other times we query his decision and seek explanations. For instance in the anointing story H-G has the cost of the ointment at 300 denarii in both John and Mark even though

²⁰ Neiryneck op. cit. fn 3.

²¹ Blass-Debrunner §68 prefers εω- in the New Testament.

²² For the purpose of this check a bracketed word is taken as part of the text.

his apparatus to John 12:5 would encourage one to accept the variant giving the unharmonized 200. One could argue that an original 200 in John was later harmonized to 300 in Mark rather than an original 300 was altered to 200 through assimilation to the story of the great feeding in John 6:7. Again, H-G's apparatus would allow one to record the unharmonized γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι at Matt 15:1 against the text printed on the authority of $\aleph B$ which may have been assimilated to Mark. (Cf. also Matt 15:6 λόγον = Markan parallel in the text and *v.l.* νόμον in the apparatus.) Sometimes Greeven's apparatus and text are defective. At Mark 6:37 for instance the inclusion of the variant omitting αὐτοῖς¹ (cf. Syn) would encourage the reader to consider the possibility that this reading (giving an unharmonized text) is original. Likewise at Matt 15:7 the unharmonized προεφήτευσεν included as a *v.l.* in Syn is absent from H-G: again this unharmonized text may be original. At Mark 7:6 complications occur because an Old Testament quotation may be assimilated either to the LXX or to the synoptic parallel, but Greeven, unlike Syn, ignores the *v.l.* τιμῇ/ἀγαπᾷ. Work on the Old Testament texts in the synoptic material requires one to tackle such *v.ll.*, and a case could be made for printing Matthew's version of the quotation differently from Mark's. At Matt 15:17 *v.l.* εἰσερχόμενον could be original: the printed text agrees with the Markan parallel.

H-G p. x states that the text differs from Syn^B nine times per chapter on average. Professor Greeven in a private communication informed me that his sample was taken from chapters 11, 12, 13 in the synoptic gospels. The nature of the comparison may be seen in the following table, and it will be noted that in order to reach this average, orthographical changes and itacisms need to be ignored. [565]

Square brackets indicate H-G has moved away not only from Syn^B but from Syn^A also. An asterisk indicates that H-G has moved away from the text of $\aleph B$ and that Syn^B follows $\aleph B$. A dagger indicates the reverse: here Syn^B betrays its guilt by inserting brackets. The number of asterisks shows the dependence of Syn on $\aleph B$ and how frequently H-G moves away from the stranglehold exerted by these mss. on other editors. Where there is no asterisk we are in general dealing with variants in which $\aleph B$ agree with neither text. In such instances \aleph and B often support different readings.

Matt

(1)	11: 9	προφήτην ἰδεῖν
(2)	[21]	βηθσαϊδάν
(3)	[23]	καταβιβασθήσῃ
(4)	12:[4]	* ἔφαγεν
(5)	[10]	θεραπεύειν
(6)	15	<i>om.</i> ὄχλοι (bracketed in Syn ^B)
(7)	[36]	* ἐὰν λαλήσωσιν
(8)	[47]	(whole verse included) (bracketed in Syn ^B)
(9)	13:[4]	ἦλθεν... καὶ ³
(10)	[8]	καρπούς (no apparatus in H-G)
(11)	[22] ²³	* + τοῦτου
(12)	[23]	* συνίων
(13)	28	αὐτῷ λέγουσιν (no apparatus in H-G)
(14)	[30]	μέχρι
(15)	35	† <i>om.</i> κόσμου
(16)	[40]	* καίεται ²⁴

Mark

(17)	11:[2]	* κεκάθικεν
(18)	[3]	+ ὅτι
(19)	[6]	εἶπον
(20)	11	ὁπé (no apparatus in H-G)
(21)	[17]	ἐποιήσατε
(22)	[18]	γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς
(23)	[19]	ἐξεπορεύετο
(24)	[23]	* + γὰρ
(25)	[29]	+ καγὼ
(26)	[31]	ἐλογίζοντο
(27)	31	† οὖν
(28)	[33]	* λέγουσιν τῷ ἰησοῦ
(29)	[33]	* + ἀποκριθεῖς
(30)	12: 1	ἐξέδοτο
(31)	4	ἐκεφαλαίωσαν
(32)	[5]	ἀποκτένοντες
(33)	9	† οὖν
(34)	[14]	* κῆνσον καίσαρι δοῦναι
(35)	16	εἶπον
(36)	[17]	* καὶ ἀποκριθεῖς ὁ ἰησοῦς
(37)	[17]	ἐθαύμαζον
(38)	[19]	* τέκνον μὴ ἀφῇ
(39)	23	* ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν (bracketed in Syn ^B)

²³ Ignored by Neirynck *op. cit.* p. 127, but corrected in F. Neirynck and F. Van Segbroeck, *New Testament Vocabulary* (Leuven: Peeters, 1984) p. 452 (= BETL XLV).

²⁴ Syn^B reads [κατα]καίεται.

(40)	26	+ ὁ ³ , + ὁ ⁴ (bracketed in Syn ^B)	[566]
(41)	28	εἰδὼς (no apparatus in H-G)	
(42)	[32]	εἶπας (cf. 12. 16!!)	
(43)	34	αὐτὸν (no apparatus in H-G) (bracketed in Syn ^B)	
(44)	[36]	+ ὁ	
(45)	37	+ ὁ (no apparatus in H-G) (bracketed in Syn ^B)	
(46–48)	41 bis + 43	γαζοφυλακείου/γαζοφυλακεῖον (no apparatus in H-G)	
(49)	[43]	* βέβληκεν	
(50)	13: 2	* + ἀποκριθεῖς	
(51)	2	* <i>om.</i> ὧδε	
(52)	[5]	* + ἀποκριθεῖς	
(53)	[8]	* + καὶ ²	
(54)	[8]	* ἀρχαὶ	
(55)	[9]	ἐνεκα	
(56)	15	δὲ (bracketed in Syn ^B)	
(57)	[15]	* + εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν	
(58)	15	τι ᾄραι	
(59)	22	* ποιήσουσιν	
(60)	[22]	* καὶ ⁴	
(61)	[24]	ἀλλ'	
(62)	[25]	* ἐκπίπτοντες	
(63)	[27]	* <i>om.</i> αὐτοῦ (bracketed in Syn)	
(64)	[28]	* αὐτῆς ἥδη ὁ κλάδος	
(65)	[29]	ταῦτα ἴδητε	
(66)	[33]	+ καὶ προσεύχεσθε	
<i>Luke</i>			
(67)	11: 10	ἀνοιγήσεται (no apparatus in H-G) ²⁵	
(68)	[11]	μὴ (no apparatus in H-G)	
(69)	[12]	+ μὴ	
(70)	13	ὁ ² (bracketed in Syn)	
(71)	14	* καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν (add <i>om.</i> after black dot in H-G apparatus) (bracketed in Syn ^B)	
(72)	[19]	κριταὶ ὑμῶν	
(73)	[20]	<i>om.</i> ἐγὼ (bracketed in Syn)	
(74)	[23]	* + με	
(75)	24	<i>om.</i> (τότε bracketed in Syn ^B)	
(76)	33	οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον (no apparatus in H-G) (bracketed in Syn ^B)	
(77)	33	* φέγγος (no dot in H-G app. to show <i>v.l.</i> = N-A ²⁶)	
(78)	[42]	* <i>om.</i> δὲ	
(79)	44	οἱ (no apparatus in H-G) (bracketed in Syn ^B)	

²⁵ Syn^B reads ἀνοιγ[ήσ]εται.

(80)	[49]	* ἐκδιώξουσιν
(81)	[53]	* λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτοῦς
(82)	[54]	* + ἵνα κατηγορήσουσιν αὐτοῦ
(83)	12:[1]	τῶν φαρισαίων ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις
(84)	3	ταμείοις
(85)	[18]	* τὰ γενήματά
(86)	22	αὐτοῦ (bracketed in Syn)
(87)	24	οὔτε...οὔτε
(88)	[25]	προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ
(89)	[42]	τὸ (no apparatus in H-G) (bracketed in Syn)
(90)	53	om. τὴν (no apparatus in H-G)
(91)	54	† om. τὴν (no apparatus in H-G)(bracketed in Syn ^B)
(92)	[56]	δὲ καιρὸν
(93)	56	* οὐ δοκιμάζετε (no dot in H-G app. to show <i>v.l.</i> = N-A ²⁶)
[567] (94)	13: 5	μετανοήσητε (no apparatus in H-G)
(95)	7	† om. οὖν (bracketed in Syn ^B)
(96)	21	ἔκρυπεν (Syn ^B reads [ἐν]έκρυπεν)
(97)	[27]	λέγω
(98)	27	om. ὑμῶς (bracketed in Syn ^B)
(99)	[35]	δὲ (bracketed in Syn)
(100)	35	ἥξει ὅτε (bracketed in Syn ^B)

Let us now analyse the nature of these changes:

(a) Over half of the variants are due to H-G printing a text that makes the parallel more dissimilar. Usually, unless the text in Syn involves brackets (about which more below), Syn prints a variant that harmonizes the parallels. The underlined serial numbers above refer to those places where in general H-G justifies the text printed by referring in the apparatus to parallels to which the variant(s) assimilated the original text. In variants 27, 33, 50, 51 despite such a justification being offered, the text as printed still agrees with a parallel.

Occasionally H-G prints as the text a *v.l.* that makes the parallels more similar. In variants 3 and 44 harmonization to the LXX is offered as the reason for the *txt*, the assumption being that such assimilation is stronger than assimilation between the gospels. In variants 4, 9, 21, 25 H-G has an assimilated text (Syn has an unassimilated text for variants 9, 21, 25) but given Greeven's habit of not generally giving parallel passages to *txt* in the apparatus these variants are not exposed as possible harmonized readings. Full explanations for these changes are awaited eagerly in the promised companion volume giving a commentary on the apparatus.

(b) Several of the differences involve H-G removing words (or parts of words) bracketed in Syn. This may be seen at variants 6, 15, 16, 63, 73, 75, 91, 95, 96, 98. Some of these have the effect of presenting an unassimilated text (only for variant 91 is an apparatus not provided). Sometimes a progression is detected in that a word present in Syn^A is bracketed in Syn^B and is then omitted by H-G e.g. the omissions at Matt 5:11; 10:32, 33; 13:40 (= UBS^{1,2}); 27:40; Mark 1:4 (= UBS^{1,2}); 5:42; 7:6; 8:28; 14:33 (bis); Luke 2:52; 3:3; 17:6; 24:49.

(c) Several of the differences involve H-G removing brackets from the text of Syn^B. This may be seen at variants 8, 27, 33, 39, 40 (bis), 43, 45, 56, 67, 70, 71, 76, 79, 86,²⁶ 89, 100. In general an apparatus is not provided: H-G assumes a bracketed word in Syn^B is equivalent to the word being present [cf. also Matt 3:2, 16 (bis); 6:33; 9:14 (= UBS^{1,2}); 9:27; 14:3, 10, 30; 15:2 (= UBS^{1,2}); 15:15; 17:24; 18:15; 19:7; 20:17; 25:6 (= UBS^{1,2}); 25:41; Mark 3:33, 35; 6:41; 7:4, 37; 10:7; 14:68; 15:12; Luke 1:15; 8:43; 9:2; 22:18; 23:11; 23:28, 50]. At Matt 26:20, Luke 9:9 H-G removes brackets found in Syn^A.

(d) Orthographical changes account for variants numbered 2, 19, 30, 31, 32, 35, 42, 46, 47, 48, 61, 84. For these an apparatus is not provided—in accordance with the declaration in Intro. II 11, III 2. [568] Usually harmonizing is not involved, variant number 2 being a significant exception. Sometimes the orthography in H-G agrees with Syn^A rather than in the later editions. An orthographical change not included in the list above is at Matt 12:24, 27; Luke 11:15, 18, 19 where H-G splits the name Beelzebub into two (cf. Mark 3:22). H-G departs from the conventional orthography found in Syn, but (inconsistently) prints the name as one word at Matt 10:25!²⁷

(b) *Orchard compared with Aland Synopsis*

Of the four hundred and seventy or so changes made from Syn^A by Syn^B Orchard agrees with Syn^A about one hundred and sixty four times, and with Syn^B about two hundred and seven times in respect of the synoptic gospels. Orchard agrees with H-G against Syn about

²⁶ Here author's usage would favour the originality of the possessive (cf. "Mathêtēs with a Possessive" *op. cit.*) as at Matt 27:64 (against Syn^A) although H-G ignores this at Matt 19:10 where H-G = Syn^A: (There Syn^B brackets the possessive). Cf. also Mark 8:33 above (p. 561).

²⁷ For other orthographical changes see p. 402.

thirty times in the synoptic gospels. These may be seen in the following verses: Matt 3:2 + καὶ; 3:16 τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ; 6:33 + τοῦ θεοῦ; 9:14 + πολλά; 9:27 + αὐτῷ; 14:3 + αὐτὸν; 14:12 αὐτό; 14:30 + ἰσχυρὸν; 15:15 + αὐτήν; 17:24 + τὰ; 18:15 + εἰς σέ; 19:7 + αὐτήν; 25:41 οἱ; 26:45 + τὸ; Mark 3:17 ὀνόματα; 3:33 + μου; 3:35 + γὰρ; 7:37 τοὺς ἀλάλους; 12:26 + ὁ (bis); 13:15 + δὲ; 14:68; καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν; 15:12 + ὃν λέγετε; Luke 1:15 + τοῦ; 8:43 longer text; 9:9 + ὁ; 18:30 ἀπολάβῃ; 22:18 + ὅτι; 23:11 + καὶ; 23:50 + καὶ². Most of these involve a longer text or longer version of a word and in each case the addition is bracketed in Syn^B (or in the case of Luke 9:9 in Syn^A) and therefore does not represent the independence of Orchard and H-G against the tradition embodied in Syn. Disagreements between H-G and Orchard are detailed below in a sample restricted to Matt 11; 12; 13; Mark 11; 12; 13, and Luke 11; 12; 13.

From the list of these four hundred and seventy or so changes the independence of Orchard in respect of both H-G and Syn is small. It may be seen in two areas, orthography and longer text. Orchard prints an idiosyncratic accenting of βεελζεβουλ (Matt 10:25; 12:24, 27; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15, 18, 19), of σαλα (Luke 3:35) and a unique punctuation and word order at Matt 11:9 τί ἐξήλθατε; ἰδεῖν προφήτην;. As far as the longer texts are concerned Orchard does not betray real independence for, as with the agreements of H-G and Orchard against Syn, Syn often brackets the longer text. The fact that Orchard does not use brackets in the text means that his text may be read with greater confidence.

[569] These readings may be seen at Matt 8:13 παῖς αὐτοῦ (H-G omits αὐτοῦ); 8:21 μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ;²⁸ 9:18 εἰς προσελθόν; 12:15 + ὄχλοι; 13:35 + κόσμου; 14:29 + ὁ²⁹ (with UBS^{1,2}); 17:24 + τὰ (with UBS^{1,2}); 19:10 + αὐτοῦ (cf. 8:21); 19:22 + τοῦτον 23:4 + καὶ δυσβάστακτα; 26:45 + τὸ (with UBS^{1,2}); 27:17 + τὸν Mark 1:1 + υἱοῦ θεοῦ; 3:7 ἠκολούθησαν; 3:14 longer text (a good reading!); 4:28 πλήρης σῖτον; 6:22 αὐτῆς; 6:23 + πολλά; 6:41 + αὐτοῦ; 7:4 + καὶ κλινῶν; 7:6 + ὅτι; 7:35 + εὐθέως² 9:42 εἰς ἐμέ; 10:7 longer reading (that shows how hom could have operated); 10:35 + δύο; 14:43 + ὁ; 15:12 + θέλετε; 15:36 + καὶ; Luke 3:20 + καὶ²; 7:39 + ὁ; 9:2 +

²⁸ In general Orchard prints μαθητῆς with a possessive cf. Matt 19:10; 27:64 and Luke 20:45.

²⁹ A greater degree of consistency in the use or non-use of the definite article with proper names would be helpful. At Matt 14:10 Orchard omits the article before John's name (with Syn^A) but not at Mark 9:2; Luke 9:49 (against H-G), cf. *v.ll.* concerning other proper names at Luke 11:30 (against H-G); Mark 16:1; Matt 1:24 (against H-G); Mark 14:43; Luke 7:4; 8:41; 9:50; 23:28 (against H-G).

τοῦς ἀσθενοῦντας (H-G has a different longer text); 9:59 + κύριε; 10:1 + δόο; 10:21 + ἐν; 10:32 + γεγόμενος; 11:24 + τότε; 11:30 + ὁ; 12:22 + ὑμῶν; 12:54 + τῇν; 13:7 + οὖν; 13:21 ἐνέκρυψεν; 13:27 + ὑμᾶς; 17:12 + αὐτῷ; 17:23 + ἦ; 18:24 + περίλυπον γεγόμενον; 20:9 + τις; 20:45 + αὐτοῦ; 22:7 + ἐν. The longer texts in all these cases are found bracketed in Syn 9 f. with the exception of Matt 9:18; 19:22; 27:17; Mark 10:35; 14:43; Luke 7:39; 11:30; 12:22 all of which are bracketed in Syn 1–8. Only the following are truly independent: Mark 3:7; 6:22; 10:7 (αὐτοῦ²).³⁰

The main feature that strikes the reader of Orchard is that in general the longer text is printed. When compared with Syn in particular the longer text may be seen in Orchard at the following places:³¹ Matt 3:14; 5:9, 11; 7:13; 9:32; 10:23, 32*, 33*; 11:8; 13:40*, 44, 45; 14. 16, 22; 15:6; 16:12; 19:3*, 11; 20:10, 17, 23, 30; 22:35; 23:38; Mark 1:1*, 11, 15*, 25, 40; 2:22, 26; 3:1, 14*, 16*, 32; 4:16, 21*, 22, 40(bis); 5:2, 21, 27, 42*; 6:2, 23(bis)*, 41, 44, 51; 7:4, 28, 35(bis)*, 37; 8:28*; 9:2*, 38, 42*; 10:7(*), 25, 31, 35*, 36*; 12:23, 34, 37; 13:2*, 15*; 14:31, 33*; 14:47, 68; 15:4, 12(bis)* (semel), 29, 43; 16:2(*); Luke 1:15; 2:12*, 26, 35, 52*; 3:3*; 4:17, 41; 5:39; 6:3, 4, 15, 33; 7:39*; 8:43; 9:2, 3, 9, 14, 28, 49*, 59*; 10:1*, 21*, 27, 32*, 38, 39; 11:10, 13, 14, 24*, 30*, 33*, 44; 12:22, 54*, 56*; 13:35; 14:1; 15:16; 17:6*, 12*, 23*, 24; 18:19, 24*, 30; 19:9, 15; 20:9*, 27; 22:7*, 16, 18, 19 f.; 23:11, 31; 24:6, 12, 32, 36*, 40*, 51*, 52*. At the following places Orchard surprisingly prints the shorter text: Matt 6:8; 25:22; 27:16, 17; Mark 7:6; 14:20; Luke 8:41; 9:50*; 12:53; 22:34; 23:28*; 23:39*; 24:49*, 50.

Where a variant omits a pronoun (often a post-positional possessive) Orchard to his credit adds the pronoun. This may be seen at the following places where Syn^B omits (an asterisk after the reference again indicates that Orchard disagrees with H-G): Matt 3:7, 16; 5:28; 9:27; 12:49; 13:11, 16; 18:34, 20:8, 21; 22:21; 23:37; 25:3*; 27:64; Mark 1:7; 3:33; Luke 13:27*; 15:29*; 20:45*,³² but this is not so at Matt 15:2: Orchard omits αὐτῶν (found in Syn^B (bracketed) and in H-G) or at Mark 8:20 om. αὐτῷ (bracketed in Syn^B). Many of the differences between Syn and Orchard concern particles. In general Orchard tends to include particles, especially καὶ, whenever variation occurs. A comparison of the two texts may be seen at the following places (an

³⁰ If one looks outside the 470+ references given prominence by the changes in Syn^B from Syn^A the same trend is seen.

³¹ Often Syn^B brackets the longer text. An asterisk in the list following indicates that Orchard disagrees with H-G.

³² This number can be increased if one adds those places where Orchard adds uniquely, e.g. Matt 26:8 + αὐτοῦ (against Syn and H-G); Mark 14:8 + αὐτή; 14:9 + τοῦτο.

asterisk after the reference indicates that Orchard differs from H-G): Matt 3:16*; 4:24*; 6:1; 8:7; 14:15*; 22:39; 27:40*, 41; Mark 1:4, 40; 3:35; 6:22*; 10:1; 11:31; 12:9; 15:36*; Luke 3:20*; 13:7*; 17:17; 23:50; 24:49* but not at Matt 12:44; 21:28; 25:22*; Luke 6:36.

[570] In all these respects Orchard is on the right lines to print the longer text, especially involving pronouns, as the normal tendency would be for texts to be shortened as the tradition developed. Often such shortening would be accidental but could sometimes be stylistic to avoid such semitic features of Koine Greek as the over-use of certain particles or the excessive use of post-positional possessives. Such principles should not be applied mechanically and H-G's awareness that harmonizing influences were also at work should be borne in mind to a greater extent than Orchard seems to allow.

In other respects too Orchard's text has made a wise choice. For example *μνημεῖον* is printed in preference to *μνήμα* of Syn^B at Mark 15:46, 16:2³³ although this tendency to prefer the Hellenistic diminutive does not apply at Luke 5:2 where Orchard prints *πλοῖα* against *πλοῖάρια* found in Syn^A and H-G.

In two other areas where there is often ms. variation that is also reflected in different printed editions (namely orthography and word order) Orchard follows different tracks. In orthography Orchard tends to follow Syn^B *against* Syn^A. This can hardly be coincidental but is surprising as Orchard, at least according to his footnote 3 (p. xi), seems not to know that Aland's Synopsis has proceeded beyond the seventh edition described as 'currently popular'! These orthographical changes may be seen by comparing Syn^A with Orchard at the following places (references followed by an asterisk indicate that this orthography differs from that found in H-G): Matt 1:15*, 19; 2:7, 23*; 3:14*; 4:18*, 19*; 5:42*; 6:10; 16:17*; 21:33*; 24:26*; 25:39; 26:57; 26:67*; 27:22; Mark 1:6*, 16*, 17*; 2:4, 9, 11, 12(bis); 6:55; 12:1*, 4*, 40, 41(bis)*, 43*; 14:63; 15:34*; Luke 2:19*; 3:2; 5:2*; 6:34(bis)*, 35*, 48*, 49*; 7:41*; 8:29; 9:32; 10:7*; 11:2, 15; 12:3*, 4, 21, 24*; 13:11; 14:13*, 21*, 26*, 29; 18:29*; 19:29*, 36; 20:9*; 21:1*, 37*; 23:12*; 24:12, 27*. Exceptionally—but inexplicably—Orchard agrees with the orthography of Syn^A against

³³ See my "Nouns with Diminutive Endings in the New Testament", *NovT* 12 (1970) pp. 391–8. Reprinted as chapter 4 in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

that found in Syn^B at Matt 6. 6 where ταμειῖον is printed.³⁴ At Matt 7:4, 5 (σου); 27:33 Orchard follows the accenting in Syn^A against that in Syn^B and H-G. At Mark 6:29 Orchard (with H-G) prints ἦλθαν and at 6:50 εἶδαν even though his normal form is in -ov cf. Luke 9:32 εἶδον with Syn^B and Luke 11:15 εἶπον with Syn^B. At Luke 19:29 Orchard has βηθανίαν with Syn^A (Syn^B brackets the final consonant). (In contrast to the normal pattern in Orchard, H-G prefers the orthography found in Syn^A).

As far as word order is concerned Orchard seems to prefer the variant found in Syn^A rather than that of Syn^B as can be seen by comparing the editions at the following places (the asterisk again indicates that H-G disagrees with Orchard): Matt 4:2; 13:28; 15:30*; 20:12, 30, 31; Mark 3:3*; Luke 4:8; 6:26; 9:13*, 18, 59*; 10:35; 16:12; 18:11; 20:44 (but not at Mark 6:38; Luke 18:4*; 21:11).

(c) *Orchard's text compared with H-G*

[571]

We have already examined the extent to which Orchard's text differs from Syn^B. To compare Orchard with H-G it is convenient to use those one hundred places where H-G differs from Syn^B to see how Orchard behaves. In fact of the one hundred, sixty-seven agree with Syn^B, thirty-two with H-G.³⁵ The latter are numbers 4 8* 11 13 18 25 27 31 33* 39* 40*(bis) 41 43* 45* 56* 58 60 66 67* 68 69 70* 71* 76* 79* 86* 87 89 90 94 99* 100*. (The asterisk indicates that the text is bracketed in Syn.)

Just as Orchard prefers the orthography of Syn^B to that in Syn^A so he prefers the orthography of Syn^B to that in H-G (e.g. numbers 2 19 30 31 32 35 42 46–48 61 84). As is consistent with Orchard's declared aim (p. 307) this text in general gives the longer text as may be seen in the following places where H-G differs from Syn^B (the asterisk after the serial number indicates that Orchard in printing the longer text disagrees with H-G): 6* 8 11 15* 16* 24* 25 26 33 39 40 43 45 51*56 60 63*66 69 70 71 73* 75* 76 78* 79 85* 86 89 91* 95* 96* 98* 99 100. (Sometimes the longer text is bracketed in Syn^B as may be seen in the

³⁴ Orchard is inconsistent here in respect of the form of this word. At Matt 24:26 ταμειῖος is read (cf. Luke 12:3, 24).

³⁵ At Mt 11:9 Orchard's idiosyncratic punctuation ἐξήλθατε; ἰδεῖν προφήτην; agrees with neither Syn nor H-G. In Orchard this text agrees with the Lucan parallel where again Orchard has the same idiosyncratic text.

full numbered table above.) Occasionally however Orchard gives the shorter text as at numbers 29* (cf. the omission of ἀποκριθεὶς at 50 52 with **NB** against H-G, and number 36), 44* 53* (with **NB**) 57* (with **NB**) 74* (with **NB**) 82 (with P⁴⁵ p⁷⁵ **NB**) 90.

The word order of Syn^B is preferred by Orchard to that found in H-G at the following: 22, 28, 34, 36, 38, 64, 65, 72, 83, 88, 92. Earlier we noted that where Syn^B differs from Syn^A in word order Orchard tends to follow the latter and this is so in two cases (numbers 13 and 58) where Orchard and H-G agree with the word order of Syn^A against that in Syn^B.

In addition to the idiosyncratic text of Orchard in variant number 1 this text goes against H-G *and* Syn at Mark 11:31+ τὶ εἶπωμεν and + ἡμῖν; 13:8 + καὶ παραχαί Orchard goes against H-G and Syn^B and supports the text of Syn^A at Matt 13:7 ἀνέπνιξαν; Mark 13:22 ἐγεροθήσονται δέ; Luke 11:30 + ὁ (bracketed in Syn^A); 12:22 + ὑμῶν (bracketed in Syn^A); 12:28 ἀμφιῶζει.

The importance of the changes in the text of Orchard when compared with either of the other editions in the survey is ultimately in their significance for work on the synoptic problem and it is of interest to note that from the one hundred examples in the above list (but only of course where parallels exist) the text in Orchard serves to make the parallel(s) more dissimilar in numbers 4 17 20 25 26 29 33 34 40 49 51 54 57 60 64 67 73 74 75 76 but, unlike H-G, Orchard is less concerned overall to print the reading that in general is intended to achieve this aim.³⁶

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APPARATUS

However unsatisfactory one may consider an actual text to be, those engaged on the scientific study of the synoptic problem need to be able to assess the degree of certainty exhibited in that text. Thus a synopsis with a full apparatus is likely to be of enormous benefit to the scholar. The way in which the synopses surveyed in this article behave may be seen in the following table.

³⁶ See for instance the change at Mark 8:34 where Orchard's text (unlike H-G or Syn^B) makes the parallels agree more closely.

The variation units set out in three pericopes are shown for H-G, Syn^B, and Orchard. The figures in brackets after Syn^B are the number of variation units in N-A^{26, 37}.

1.	<i>Matt 12:1-8</i>	= <i>Mark 2:23-28</i>	= <i>Luke 6:1-5</i>
H-G:	14	18	30
Syn ^B :	13 (10)	26 (7)	26 (14)
Orchard:	1	1	4
2.	<i>Matt 17:1-8</i>	= <i>Mark 9:2-8</i>	= <i>Luke 9:28-36</i>
H-G:	22	35	32
Syn ^B :	19 (15)	21 (10)	27 (19)
Orchard:	0	3	1
3.	<i>Matt 19:16-22</i>	= <i>Mark 10:17-22</i>	= <i>Luke 18:18-23</i>
H-G:	20	28	26
Syn ^B :	19 (16)	19 (7)	13 (8)
Orchard:	4	1	2

In general H-G displays a greater number of variants than either of the other synopses, and the selection in H-G is specifically designed for study of the synoptic problem. In fact H-G's apparatus is a rare example of a controlled apparatus established within specified parameters. All too often a critical apparatus is an eclectic assembly of variants from numerous sources citing an apparently indiscriminate number of manuscripts³⁸ in an idiosyncratic manner.

Greek witnesses

The introduction to Syn¹² lists forty-two papyri, one hundred and seventy-one uncials and one hundred and thirty-six cursives. Of these I have been unable to locate five papyri, twelve uncials and seven cursives in the apparatus itself. This means that of the three hundred and forty-nine mss. listed, three hundred and twenty-five are to be found in the apparatus. In addition the symbol *K* subsumes the combined evidence of eight uncials and one hundred and seventy-five cursives.³⁹

³⁷ The Münster *Bericht* (1979-81) tells us that future editions of the diglot Synopsis will have the same apparatus as N-A.

³⁸ As I have tried to demonstrate in "The Citation of Manuscripts in Recent Printed Editions of the Greek New Testament", *NovT* 25 (1983) pp. 97-132.

³⁹ 272, 399, 945, 998, 1229, 1604 occur in the main list as well as in the list of mss. subsumed under the symbol *K*. I have counted these mss. in both lists.

Also two uncials not listed⁴⁰ and seven cursives not listed⁴¹ actually appear in the apparatus. Syn¹² lists six lectionaries of which two seem not to be cited in the apparatus although *l* 1602 not listed is found in the apparatus.

[573] Orchard does not provide an introductory list of mss. but a count of the mss. which appear in the apparatus to his edition reveals twelve papyri, eighty-four uncials⁴² and twenty-nine cursives (fam. 1 and cursive 1 are counted as one ms. for the purpose of this exercise; and fam. 13 is counted as one ms.). This represents a limited choice of mss. and ignores the proclamation of K. Aland in the introduction to N-A²⁶ p. 47* that we are now entering the age of the minuscules. No lectionaries are used.

The introduction to H-G tells us that this apparatus was carefully based on a careful study of certain mss. In the introduction Greeven lists thirty-seven papyri, one hundred and sixty-six uncials, sixty-one cursives (taking the list on p. XVII as correct—not that on pp. XXX–XXXI which omits 174) and one lectionary. This makes a grand total of two hundred and sixty-four mss. that (according to the English translation of *berücksichtigt*) are ‘noticed’ in the apparatus. In point of fact not all these mss. are seen in the apparatus: I have been unable to locate five papyri (p⁶ p³⁶ p⁵⁵ p⁷³ p⁸⁶). Forty-four uncials are absent and one cursive (2191) seems not to appear. The reasons why this should be so are not obvious although in some cases fragmentary mss. may not yield a reading relevant for the apparatus even though the ms. itself may have been studied by Greeven in the establishment of the text and apparatus. In fact ‘*berücksichtigt*’ may perhaps better be understood as ‘examined’ rather than ‘noticed’.

Actually many more than the two hundred and fourteen mss. (out of the two hundred and sixty-four) appear in the apparatus. A further two uncials, two hundred and twenty-six cursives and one hundred and forty-three lectionaries are to be found in the apparatus without their being listed in the introduction. Some occur only once, but others are cited more frequently than even the listed mss. (e.g. *l* 184 is to be seen two hundred and seventy-five times in the apparatus, *l* 18 seventy-seven times, *l* 19 likewise, *l* 49 one hundred and seventy-six

⁴⁰ 0153 (ostraca) and 0249.

⁴¹ 2ap, 58, 175, 257, 301, 569, 1325.

⁴² Including 0153 and 084, 0112, 0113, 0119, 0124, 0125, 0180, 0190, 0202 as separate mss. Add p³⁷ p³⁹ 0124 to my list in *RevBib* 92 (1985) p. 555.

times). These are certainly 'noticed': what we do not know is if these have been examined by the editor in the way those listed in the introduction may have been. Whatever the reason for this, the apparatus to H-G cites some five hundred and eighty-six mss. This means that this synopsis displays the evidence of a vaster array of gospel evidence⁴³ than any other modern text.

Non-Greek witnesses

Orchard cites twenty-seven Old Latin mss. in his apparatus, including gigas.⁴⁴ Syn^B lists thirty-seven and seems to cite all but two (Beuron 24 and 28) in the apparatus. (In addition Syn cites f⁷⁸ in the apparatus to 1 Cor 11:24.) Greeven lists fifty-one and cites all but seven in his apparatus (20, 23, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43). This is characteristic of H-G which displays a vastly superior array of versional and patristic material to that in the other two synopses even to the extent of covering various Gospel harmonies: such information is not readily found elsewhere. Orchard uses the symbol Lvg but does not explain what is meant: it is particularly confusing at e.g. John 5:4 where in the apparatus vg supports the shorter reading: the verse is in the Clementine vulgate but not in Stuttgart². Evidence from Coptic and Syriac is well presented by Orchard. [574]

(a) *H-G*

The difficulties encountered when attempting to assemble a comprehensive and clear apparatus of variant readings are well understood by all those who have similarly tried such an enterprise. Greeven's highly complex and compact apparatus betrays the results of many years' labour. The planning and execution are of the highest order, and it is but seldom that one cannot unravel the intricacies of the material. Even a complicated set of variants such as one encounters at Luke 12:18 can, with patience, be unravelled.'

⁴³ There are in addition to gospel mss. a few non-gospel texts used in the apparatus to 1 Cor 11 for example. Full details of these, and other, statistics may be seen in my "The Citation of Manuscripts" *op. cit.* Table III in that article is incorrect in respect of Syn¹⁰: uncials 0167 0184 0215 and cursives 29 38 47 are in the apparatus. The statistics and discussion therefore need emendation. I am grateful to J.I. Miller for drawing my attention to this.

⁴⁴ I have discounted p (cited at Matt 13:55 §38) and v (cited at Luke 8:52 §117) as these are Johannine mss. and are clearly incorrect.

For the purpose of sampling the apparatus in detail I have examined the Greek and Old Latin testimony for Luke's gospel, and have found very few errors, and only a few omissions of note: one's verdict on the sample is that it is in general accurate and reliable. The following is a list of some changes that could be considered in a future edition. The nature of the changes proposed is such that the reader should draw the obvious conclusion that the bulk of the apparatus is of the highest level of accuracy. Many of the suggestions below are minutiae, especially those involving the Old Latin where the editor has inevitably had problems in transposing Jülicher's apparatus⁴⁵ to a Greek apparatus.

Greek:

- 1:9 *l* 883 is now known as *l* 1761.⁴⁶
 2:5 Scrivener's edition of D and his notes on **Σ** do not suggest that the omission of γυναικί is only by the first hands of these mss.
 2:15 **Σ** supports B W 565 with ἐλάλουν.
 3:32 Only **Σ*** has σαλα with txt. (**Σ**^a reads σαλμων.) (At 7.4 **Σ** not **Σ*** has ἡρώτων according to Scrivener.)
 4:2 πειρασθῆναι. Add 1009 Ss Sp Δ^a.
 4:7 (+ μοι). Read only by **Σ***.
 4:17 τοῦ προφήτου ἡσαίου. 430 supports txt.
 5:36 *p*⁴ has a lacuna in the verse and cannot be used as support for σχίσει, although it does support συμφωνήσει.
 8:8 Θ reads καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν.
 8:10 Θ like **Σ** should be bracketed to show it reads ἀκούωειν.

Old Latin:

- 2:5 According to Jülicher² *r*¹ omits only [γυναικί] not [αὐτῷ γυναικί].
 2:14 All Lvl mss. except d omit [ἐν²] and not just β *r*¹.
 [575] 3:16 It is difficult to reconstruct Lvl from H-G in the lemma λέγων...ἰωάννης. Jülicher indicates that there are no less than nine Lvl mss here. Lvl b ff² 1 have different readings; *r*¹ does not agree with e in supporting the H-G text.
 3:16 (lemma υδ.—υμ.) According to Jülicher Lvl *r*¹ seems not to have the same reading as Lvl e.
 4:10 The omission of [τοῦ...σε] is by 1 not b.
 4:34 b does not add [πρὸ καιροῦ] after ἡλθες but [τί πρὸ καιροῦ] before ἡλθες.
 5:6 τὰ δίκτυα. Lvl e and b read plural.

⁴⁵ A. Jülicher, *Itala* four vols. (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1938–63). (New editions of the Synoptic Gospels by W. Matzkow and K. Aland.)

⁴⁶ Cf. ZNW 48 (1957) p. 169.

- 5:24 L¹ implies all except e a c d support txt but ff² r¹ 30 have a different order.
- 5:25 Lvl mss supporting *prm* τὸ κλινίδιον include a b c implying these have the same reading. In fact all three differ. In the same lemma Lvl e d do not support D in reading τὴν κλίνην.
- 5:26 In a rare citation of d the information is incorrect, d follows 1319 1542^b in reading φόβον + ἅπαντες and not the reading of 716 l1963.
- 5:33 [καὶ οἱ τῶν φαρισαίων] in most Lvl mss. follows [πυκνὰ] and does not agree in following the position of the addition in D.
- 5:33 ff² supports + μαθηταί σου with D. d agrees with the bulk of Lvl not D. k does not contain Luke, and is included unnecessarily in 5:33 ff.
- 6:20 c not e reads αὐτοῦ¹.
- 7:6 ἱκανός εἰμι. z supports ff² 1 q r¹.
- 7:9 εἶπε αμην. p should be q.
- 7:22 Jülicher does not know of the inversion of εἶδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε by ff² r¹ z.
- 7:32 e supports the omission of ὁμῖν².
- 7:42 According to Jülicher f 1 do not agree in omitting αὐτῶν².
- 7:46 A greater number of Lvl mss. than b c d q omit μου τοὺς πόδας.
- 8:4 b does not agree with 1 q r¹ (although z does).
- 8:28 e omits αὐτῷ.
- 8:32 1 supports a b ff² q z.
- 9:22 (τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ) a and r¹ do not have the same text (a = tertium diem; r¹ = diem tertium).
- 14:3 q does not support *om.* λέγων.
- 17:28 e supports ἥσθιον καὶ.
- 18:31 c omits [μαθητάς].
- 20:28 a also adds [αὐτοῦ] after [γυναικα²].
- 21:30 e omits ἡδη².
- 22:26 (διάκονος). D should read D¹ because d does not agree with the bulk of Lvl.
- 23:14 (εὐρίσκω). Add c z.
- 24:10 a omits [μαρία] and cannot be included as part of the inversion.

(b) Orchard

Orchard's apparatus is limited and selective. First impressions are that it is easy to read, especially when compared with H-G and its complexities. In practice, however, Orchard has many puzzling features. Sometimes the mss. supporting an omission from the printed text are set out, and the support for the text given only as 'hab cet'. In other places the mss. supporting the text as well as those supporting the alternative(s) are given. Sometimes the variants from the text precede the reading in the text, sometimes they follow. Not only is the practice

[576] of the display of the apparatus inconsistent but the same apparatus when repeated can be presented differently (cf. the apparatus to §151 when it is found at §107). At §101 *cet Or* appears at the beginning of the apparatus: when that apparatus reappears at §144 *hab cet Or* is printed in the more usual position at the end of the variation unit. At §150 the readings for and against the text of Luke 13:21 appear even though Luke is not the dominant text: at §240 only the reading against the text is set out in full.

This inconsistency is disturbing when differing information occurs for the same variants on different pages. The following have come to my attention after only a brief examination of the volume. Further reading may, regrettably, cause the list to be extended:

§243 the mss. supporting ἡξεῖ ὅτε are shown. At §305 the mss. *against* this reading are given.

§228 shows two *v.ll.* for Matt: the repetition of this section in §80 has three.

§51 gives one *v.l.* for Matt, five for Mark, and one for Luke. The repetition of this parallel in §114 adds two extra *v.ll.* for Matt (9:6, 8).

At §5 1 the *v.l.* at Matt 9:8 is marked in the text but is absent from the apparatus.

Whereas Syn usually repeats an apparatus in full each time a parallel recurs, and whereas H-G never does, Orchard's policy is not clear: *v.ll.* are sometimes repeated if the text recurs but not all variants recur for the text that is the secondary authority. Where repeated apparatuses appear discrepancies sometimes occur and we read different or contradictory information depending which apparatus we follow!

Matt 13:13. The mss. said in §145 to support βλέπωσιν are to be found in §102 in support of βλέπουσιν. In §102 the variant has been omitted.

Mark 9:49. L is cited incorrectly for omission at §186. This appears (correctly) as C at §250.

Luke 11:33. Ambrose is cited for the omission of δὲ at §104. When that *v.l.* appears at §219 Amb is replaced by the Armenian version.

Luke 11:44. Ambro appears at §304: §221 has A (*sic*) Geo.

Mark 6:3.L g at §38 becomes L q at §120 (cf. also John 4:51 §37 L q and §91 L g).

John 4:51. p⁶⁶ at § 37 becomes p^{66c} at §91.

At §150 a larger number of mss. is given than at §240.

The mss. at Matt 23:26 differ in §221 and §304. It would seem as if the mss. at §221 are for the *v.l.* shown at §305 for Matt 23:28. A similar error may be seen when comparing §54 with §135 where the mss. at Luke 6:1 omitting δευτεροπρώτῳ are different: it seems as if at §54 the mss. for the *v.l.* following (Luke 6:2) have been accidentally repeated,

and §135 is more correct, although even here there are errors, such as the inclusion of papyrus 45. That papyrus is not extant for this verse! p⁷⁵ is intended. The Latin is also faulty. The mss omitting are b c 1 q r¹: according to Jülicher e has a different reading and Li cannot be noted as this ms. is not extant in chapter 6! Multiple repetitions of passages only increase the sort of illogicalities already noted. To avoid the sorts of difficulties and inconsistencies illustrated above, the policy of cross-referencing found only occasionally in Orchard's apparatus would seem a safer policy to adopt (e.g. at Luke 11:33 at §62 we have a cross-reference to the detailed exposition under §219, cf. also Mark 1:2 at §131, Mark 9:49 at §61 or Mark 3:14 at §56). If this practice were to be extended room for error would be reduced.

Other irregularities mar Orchard's apparatus. The sequence of mss. is sometimes erratic: II follows D at Luke 6:50 but precedes at Mark 9:40. At Luke 6:45 Y precedes BDW. In §139 Δ follows Ω (cf. §86 where Δ precedes Ω in the same apparatus). In the introduction Orchard claims to be following the sequence of mss. found in Souter². This claim seems not to be justified. [577]

Occasionally the apparatus in Orchard will mislead us badly, and mss. are cited in support of the wrong reading! BDWY read ἐθεράπευεν not ἐθεράπευσεν at Luke 4:40. At Luke 9:55b–56a Ψ and 047 omit the text, (This mis-information seems in part to have been cribbed from UBS^{1,2}; UBS³ gives the correct information.) Less readily observed slips are to be found in the false citation of individual mss. The Johannine ms. 0109 appears in support of a reading at *Matt* 13:55! Should this be 0119 as at *Matt* 13:57? The non-gospel ms. 0223 occurs at *Matt* 3:15 and should be 0233 according to the apparatus in N-A²⁶. Uncial number 0149 is no longer used and no modern text cites this ms. number—except Orchard at Mark 6:41.⁴⁷ Uncial 029 is cited under this symbol at Luke 22:47b but as the letter T at Luke 22:68(bis). R is cited at Luke 10:1 (δύο¹) but this uncial is not extant here.⁴⁸

Even if one's concern in using an apparatus is not in the mss. actually in support of a reading but is in the variants themselves one still needs to exercise extreme caution in reading Orchard's apparatus.

⁴⁷ The use of 0187 for 0149 was specified over sixty years ago by von Dobschütz (ZNW 23 (1924) p. 252).

⁴⁸ 1579 at Mark 9:41 §128 should be 1 579. 505 at Mark 4:16 §103 §147 is more likely to be 565 (cf. N-A²⁶ ad loc). 2047 at *Matt* 22:23 §301 cannot be correct: this is a cursive of Revelation. C and P cannot be cited at Luke 8:26: neither is extant for this verse.

At Luke 8:3, for instance, the reading by \aleph YII etc. is said to support $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$: actually these mss. read $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}$.

Improvements to the apparatus that may be recommended are the following:

Matt 9:29: §180 add P⁴⁵ (vid). Luke 6:10: The omission of *in ira* is not peculiar to f. a seems not to have these words either. 6:48: P⁴⁵ is fragmentary and does not contain the longer text. 7:28: Ψ does not omit *προφήτης* (only $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ *βαπτιστοῦ*). 8:37: Why is only *v.l.* *γεργαστηνῶν* shown? There is the same range of *v.ll.* here as is shown for the *v.l.* at 8:26. 8:45: \aleph has $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \dots \alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}$ according to N-A²⁶ and Scrivener's collation. So too do L f,⁴⁹ according to Jülicher, and 157. Luke 9:51: L has $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (cf. N-A²⁶); P⁷⁵ omits $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ 10:1: ($\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$ ¹) add L15. 11:2 (*πάτερ*):. For the shorter text add L15.⁵⁰ 11:24: La is not to be included for the addition of $\delta\epsilon$. 11:25: Add Ψ in support of *σχολλάζοντα*. 12:27: Add *Le* to a as exceptions to the omission.

Errors, including drafting faults, may also be noted in the following places. The omission of Luke 5:39 is shown oddly at §53. §345: \aleph is said to be in opposition to the reading of \aleph^* . Similarly in §241 P⁷⁵ and P^{75c} are cited on opposing sides, *om.cet.* is misleading at Luke 10:21: $\epsilon\nu$ *om.cet.* is incorrect because \aleph DL Ξ have $\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ *πνεύματι* $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ *ἀγίῳ*. At Luke 6:2 P⁴ B R 700 omit not only *ποιεῖν* but *ποιεῖν ἐν*. Matt 20:17: The extent of the matter in dispute is $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ *ἀναβαίνων* \acute{o} and *μέλλων* $\delta\epsilon$ *ἀναβαίνειν* and not as stated in §280. Mark 6:22: The *v.l.* expressed as + *τῆς om.* is confusing (§159). Mark 16:9–20: On p. 340 the statement that the ms. tradition (by which the author presumably means the mss.) is not 'about equally divided' between the inclusion or omission of these verses. Very few mss. omit the verses. Mark 12:27: The colons around *Or* suggest a variant has been accidentally deleted (§301). Matt 23:13 (§304): It is not true to state that UBS³ and N-A²⁶ omit verse 13: they omit what Orchard calls v. 13.

- [578] As we have seen, Orchard's apparatus (referred to on p. xv somewhat strangely as the Text Apparatus Criticus) is much smaller than those found in Syn and H-G. As a select list of major alternative readings (pp. 315–340) it is in general acceptable. It is however a delusive task to be selective and truly representative. It is easy to point to important or major variants that could have been included in any selection but

⁴⁹ Has Orchard confused fam 1 with Old Latin f here? Brixianus is normally cited as L f.

⁵⁰ L15 may also be added to the *v.ll.* given at Luke 9:1, 54; 11:37 (*om. δε*); 11:44 (*om.*); 12:11 (add η $\tau\iota$).

the following surprised me by their absence from Orchard's apparatus given the importance attached to many of them in his edition:

- Matt 19:24 + εἰσελθεῖν. The omission from Orchard's text of Matthew creates a dissimilarity with the parallels.
- Matt 20:30f *om.* κύριε. Here the addition creates a dissimilarity with the parallels.
- Matt 22:30 + (τοῦ) θεοῦ. The omission makes the parallel agree (cf. H-G).
- Matt 27:16, 17 + Jesus. Syn^B brackets the longer name.⁵¹
- Mark 2:22 Major details of disputed text ignored.
- Mark 3:7 Only the omission of ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ is shown not the reading of ἠκολούθησεν read in Syn and H-G.
- Mark 3:16 The apparatus gives us no indication that a shorter text exists as in H-G.
- Mark 4:28 πλήρης σίτον which differs from Syn^A and H-G is not shown to be disputed.
- Mark 7:35 The unique reading εὐθέως² is not defended in the apparatus. Neither the apparatus to H-G nor Syn (nor N-A²⁶) know of such a reading. On what authority is this reading based? The evidence given for the omission of the adverb in the apparatus does not agree with that found in N-A²⁶.
- Mark 14:20 + ἐν.
- Luke 9:2 The evidence should be presented not only as a choice between τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας and ἀσθενεῖς (actually τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς) but also between a longer and shorter text. Syn brackets the longer text because B omits.
- Luke 10:38 Longer text against Syn^B.
- Luke 12:18 H-G has a different text here. Various significant *v.ll.* exist.
- Luke 17:24 The longer text is bracketed in Syn^B.
- Luke 19:15 Text in Syn B is τί διεπραγματεύσαντο and this *v.l.* should be shown.
- Luke 23:38 The longer text is found in H-G.
- Luke 23:39 A rare instance of Orchard printing a shorter text as well as a text at variance with Syn and H-G, yet the *v.l.* *om.* λέγων is ignored.
- Luke 24:32 The longer text is bracketed in Syn^B.

CORRIGENDA

(a) H-G

The printers and proofreaders of this edition are to be congratulated on their excellent workmanship. The complicated nature of their task is readily recognisable and it is to their credit that errors are so few.

⁵¹ The apparatus in H-G is similarly deficient here.

Printing slips in the introductory matter and in the text and apparatus are, in general, easily spotted. Among the less obvious errors in the apparatus are the following:

p⁵⁷ at Luke 3:20 = p⁷⁵, 175 at Luke 9:25 = 157, 254 at Luke 11:53; Jn 15:20 is the Tischendorf number for Gregory 238 (cf. Luke 20:26!), 1254 at Mt 20:30 = 1354, 1279 at Luke 6:41 = 1579, 1970 at Mark 1:31 = 1790, *l* 1485 at Mt 12:40 should be deleted, *l* 1586 at Mark 6:21, 22, 24, 27 (bis), 29; Luke 2:5, 15 (bis) = *l* 1043, *l* 1633 at Luke 8:16 = *l* 1663, *l* 1692 at Luke 19:4 = *l* 1642.

The following are non-gospel mss. erroneously cited: 42 (Mark 14:68; Luke 19:4; 24:3), 88 (Luke 24:43), 91 (Mark 12:4, 21; 13:9; Luke 5:2, 33; Jn 19:6), 255 (Mark 2:18, 21; 3:13; 10:6; Luke 4:38), 256 (Mark 3:35), *l* 62 (Luke 12:59).

[579] $\phi\alpha\rho\cdot$ at Luke 12:22 = $\phi\alpha\gamma\cdot$; at Luke 24:2 D reads ἀποκυλίσει; ἄνθρωπος is misspelt in the apparatus at Luke 6:45; at Luke 21:27 *l* should not be italicised. At John 12:5 the apparatus should refer us to the parallel at 6:7 not 6:71.

(b) *Orchard*

It is obvious from the numerous examples given that Orchard's edition would be considerably enhanced were a revision of the apparatus to be undertaken. In undertaking such a revision the opportunity should be grasped to standardize certain matters of presentation. First, certain minor matters need attention. In the introduction to the apparatus the *Vetus Latina I Verzeichnis* concerning Old Latin mss. should be dated 1949. Also in the introduction the relative weight of the abbreviations *pl pc al* could be indicated: this is particularly significant when one of these abbreviations is used in opposition to 'cet' in support of a rival reading. It would also be helpful if the baffling abbreviation *C G s* found in the apparatus to John 5:4 could be elucidated in the introduction. Another strange intrusion is the symbol 'ms' at §91 (but not at §37). The siglum for papyrus appears in four different forms (cf. Luke 3:32, 33; Matt 13:35 (§107, cf. §151!); John 1:34). In tidying up the apparatus other remedial work is needed: *K* is repeated in §144. At §103 *p* and *c* are separated. *r* should be *r*¹ at §302 (cf. §209). *L k* appears in upper case at Matt 13:55 §38. At Luke 6:31 *L* 15:51 are joined (cf. §267 also). At §114 it is Luke 5:17 not 15:17 that should appear. *B* is inexplicably bracketed at Luke 6:48. The initial alpha of $\alpha\mu\eta\nu$ at Luke 7:28 is capitalised at §94 but not at §131.

In standardising the apparatus a consistent policy should be adopted in italicising both abbreviations (cf. pt at Luke 6:1, 2; Matt 22:35 (both *v.ll.*) and al at Mark 3:2, 5) and uncial numbers (cf. Mark 6:33 and Mark 9:29 or Luke 22:43–44, 61, 68). The abbreviation hab is sometimes followed by a full stop (e.g. Luke 6:10; 9:1; Mark 2:17 §52) which is not the normal practice in the house-style of this book. Om is not abbreviated only at §115 (Mark 2:15).

A more serious lack of consistency concerns the presentation of longer and shorter texts in the apparatus. Here inconsistency may puzzle the unwary. For instance, the evidence for the reading printed is sometimes preceded by hab⁵² (e.g. Luke 6:10, 45; Mark 2:17; 6:38) implying that there exists a *v.l.* omitting the word(s) enclosed by half brackets in the text. At other places hab does not precede the evidence but again one must infer that an unexpressed variant omits the words half-bracketed in the text (e.g. Mark 9:7; 10:1; Luke 4:17). Occasionally we need not make inferences because the alternative reading is set out in the form om. cet (e.g. Mark 8:15). Difference in presentation can be seen by comparing the apparatus at the following points: Matt 13:9, 11, 35; Luke 6:45; 13:12.

Another related inconsistency is that sometimes the mss. for the longer printed reading are given, whereas at other times only the evidence for the alternative shorter text is set out in the apparatus. Problems can occur when the evidence *for* the printed text is not specified. At Matt 9:26 for instance a rare instance of there being more than two readings exhibited, the evidence for the printed text is suppressed and needs to be spelt out in even an abridged form (although cet alone would be meaningless here).

Luke 24:35 is numbered 24:34; the verse number of Matt 9:3 is omitted. τοῦτον at Matt 19:11 is mis-printed.

CONCLUSION

Aland's *Synopsis* is well-established and has the virtue of printing the text of John in full.⁵³ The repetition of each pericope almost each time

⁵² Or in the case of Matt 19:16, 17 by sic. At Matt 19:21 the evidence of D Θ is set out twice, once preceded by hab, once not!

⁵³ As too does Orchard.

it is relevant to a parallel together with the repetition of its apparatus on most occasions (an exception being the parallels to Luke 22:56–66 in pericopes 332–333) may be uneconomical in terms of space and cost but it is of enormous benefit in studying the synoptic problem. [580] H-G has a text that is in many ways superior to that in the other two; the apparatus to H-G is the most helpful and considerate. Orchard's main value is in allowing the proponents of the neo-Griesbach theory to proselytize: armed with this text the theorists of that alleged solution to the synoptic problem are now to be encouraged to demonstrate their convictions with copious examples drawn from Orchard's display and we await their demonstrations eagerly.

POSTSCRIPTUM

The promised companion volume referred to on page 394 and page 398 has been only partially fulfilled: Heinrich Greeven and Eberhard Güting, *Textkritik des Markusevangeliums* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005) (=Theologie: Forschung und Wissenschaft 11).

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

TEXTUAL CRITICISM, ASSIMILATION AND THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

The main object of textual criticism is to establish as accurately as possible a text approximating to the original words of the original authors. As far as the text of the synoptic gospels is concerned, one of the main problems in establishing the text is the amount of cross-fertilization in the MSS whenever the gospels are in parallel. Scribes were prone to assimilate the gospel they were copying to a parallel text in another gospel. [231]

Professor Bruce Metzger in the companion volume¹ to the third edition of the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament shows on numerous occasions how the committee responsible for producing that text were aware of the problem of assimilation. As far as the gospel of Mark is concerned, Metzger explains that the committee claimed that harmonization was a contributory or a major factor in dismissing at least one of the secondary readings in each of the following verses: Mark 1:8 (bis), 11, 27, 29, 34, 39; 2:5, 9, 16, 22 (bis), 26; 3:16; 5:1, 36, 42; 6:3, 39; 7:24, 28; 8:10, 15, 16 (bis), 38; 10:2, 19, 34, 40, 46; 11:22, 24, 26; 14:4, 5, 20, 24, 25, 30 (bis), 41, 65, 72 (bis); 15:10, [12], 25 (bis), 28, 34 (bis), 39.

In general the UBS committee seem to have reached the correct decision on the above variants. It is a useful and valuable rule of thumb in textual criticism to accept as the original text the variant which makes parallel passages more dissimilar, and to explain the secondary text as scribal harmonization. This principle does not seem to have been applied consistently in the formulation of the UBS text and as a result several secondary readings have crept into that text. In the following places in Mark, Metzger's *Commentary* reveals that the UBS [232]

¹ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London, New York: United Bible Societies, 1971).

committee dismissed or disregarded the likelihood that assimilation to a parallel may have been responsible for scribal emendation:²

[1:40], [3:14], 5:[21], 22; 6:20, [41]; 7:6; 8:35; [9:42]; [10:1, 7]; [12:23]; 13:2, 22. At 7:6 it would have been relevant to point out that Matthew 15:8 has $\tau\mu\tilde{\alpha}$ firm in the textual tradition; that at 3:14 the shorter text could have resulted from assimilation to the parallel in Matthew (10:1), just as at 5:21 [$\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \pi\lambda\omicron\iota\omega$] the shorter text could have resulted from assimilation to Luke 8:40. At 13:2 Matthew 24:2 may have been the cause of scribes adding to their texts of Mark. ($\tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ has also been added by \aleph B to the text of Luke at this point, Luke 21:6.) UBS does provide an apparatus at Luke 21:6 and the *Commentary* suggests there that $\tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ has come in either from Matthew or Mark. $\tilde{\omega}\delta\epsilon$ in MSS of both Mark and Luke is likely to have come from Matthew.

The principles which were applied to some of the variants in Mark seem therefore not to have been consistently acknowledged in other variants. This observation ought to make us cautious in using the UBS³ text or of our accepting uncritically the explanatory notes in Metzger's *Commentary*. Our concentrating here on the UBS³ text is significant, because the 9th edition of Aland's Synopsis (= Syn⁹)³ has a text substantially the same as UBS³ (which also agrees with Nestle–Aland in the forthcoming 26th edition of that text) whereas the 8th edition of Aland's Synopsis was based on Nestle–Aland²⁵ (= N–A²⁵). The majority of scholars who will work on the synoptic problem in the future are likely to base their work on the text of Syn.⁹ It is important therefore to see how far that text is reliable and in particular to what extent assimilated readings have been allowed to appear as the text rather than as part of the marginal apparatus.

One test which can be applied to Syn⁹ in this regard is to see how far this text differs from its immediate predecessor. An analysis of the changes between Syn⁸/N–A²⁵ and Syn⁹/N–A²⁶ has been attempted by

² See further on the UBS text of Mark in J.K. Elliott, 'An Eclectic Textual Commentary on the Greek Text of Mark's Gospel' in E.J. Epp and G. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its significance for Exegesis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981). Reprinted as chapter 13 in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

³ K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, 9th edition (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1975).

Professor Frans Neirynck.⁴ By selecting from the lists produced by Neirynck those changes involving variants in passages where there are synoptic parallels we can see that sometimes Syn⁹ presents a text where there are fewer agreements between the parallels, and in other places more. The following readings newly printed in the text of Syn⁹ increase the dissimilarities between the parallels and therefore on the basis of the rule of thumb concerning dissimilarity enunciated above produce a more reliable text than Syn⁸. An asterisk following the reference indicates that Metzger discusses the variant in the *Commentary*.

Matthew	6:33* + [τοῦ θεοῦ]	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Luke with Σ B)	[233]
	9:6 ἐγερθεῖς	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Mark and Luke with B)	
	9:14* + [πολλά]	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Mark with Σ * B)	
	9:19 ἠκολούθησεν	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Mark)	
	13:7 ἔπνιξαν	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Luke)	
	16:20 διεστείλατο	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Mark (and Luke))	
	18:15* + [εἰς σέ]	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Luke) ⁵	
	19:20 πάντα ταῦτα	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Mark and Luke)	
	19:21 + [τοῖς]	(Syn ⁹ assimilates to Mark) ⁶	
	19:24 τρυπήματος	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Luke) ⁷	
	20:17* + [μαθητὰς]	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Mark and Luke)	
	21:2 εὐθέως	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Mark)	
	24:40 δύο ἔσονται	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Luke with Σ B)	
Mark	6:39* ἀνακλῖναι	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Matt. with Σ B*)	
	7:28* omit ναί	(Syn ⁸ with Σ B adds ναί from Matt. creating a Markan ἀ.λ.)	
	8:34 ἀκολουθεῖν	(Syn ⁸ assimilated to Matt. with Σ B)	

⁴ F. Neirynck, 'The Synoptic Gospels According to the New *Textus Receptus*', *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* LII (1976), pp. 364–79.

⁵ Although Syn⁹ here makes Matt. and Luke dissimilar whereas Syn⁸ had them agree in reading the shorter text, the textual problem is more complex in so far as some MSS at Luke 17:3 add εἰς σέ.

⁶ Syn⁸ assimilated Matt. to Luke which does not have τοῖς but the issue is more involved than either edition of the Synopsis suggests: *v.l.* adds τοῖς in Luke. It must therefore be decided which gospel(s), if any, should have the article.

⁷ Again the position is more complicated. There are *v.ll.* at Mark 10:25 and Luke 18:25 suggesting a great admixture. Here we are concerned only to indicate that the principles underlying Syn⁹ have given us a text which shows all three synoptics dissimilar.

- Luke 18:24* + [περίλυπον (Syn⁸ assimilated to Matt. and Mark)
γενόμενον]
20:44 κύριον αὐτὸν (Syn⁸ assimilated to Matt. and Mark)

By contrast the following readings appearing in Syn⁹ increase the similarities between two or more gospels. On the basis of the rule of thumb concerning dissimilarity this has resulted in a less accurate text than Syn⁸. An asterisk after the reference indicates that Metzger discusses the change in his *Commentary*.

- Matthew 11:8 + εἰσὶν as Luke (Syn⁸ omits with **8*** B)
11:9* ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; as Luke (Syn⁸: προφήτην ἰδεῖν; with **8*** B^c W Z)
12:44 omit καὶ as Luke (Syn⁸ adds [καὶ] with **8** C*)
14:3 + [αὐτὸν] as Luke (Syn⁸ omits with **8*** B)
14:12* αὐτὸ[v] with **8*** B as Mark (Syn⁸ —αὐτὸ)
14:15 omit οὖν as Mark⁸ and Luke (Syn⁸ adds with **8** C Z)
20:18 θανάτῳ as Mark (Syn⁸ εἰς θάνατον with **8** alone)
21:19 omit οὐ as Mark (Syn⁸ + οὐ with BL)
- [234] Mark 1:8 + ἐν as Matthew and Luke (Syn⁸ omits ἐν with B)
3:1 + τὴν as Matt. and Luke (Syn⁸ omits τὴν with **8** B)
4:22 omit τί as Luke (Syn⁸ + τί with **8** A C)
9:38* omit ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν as Luke (Syn⁸ adds)⁹
9:42* + [εἰς ἐμέ] as Matt. (Syn⁸ omits)
12:9 + [οὖν] as Luke (and Matt.) (Syn⁸ omits with BL)
13:2* ὥδε as Matt. (Syn⁸ omits)
13:22 γὰρ as Matt. (Syn⁸ δὲ with **8** C)
13:22* δώσουσιν as Matt. (Syn⁸ ποιήσουσιν)
13:31 + μὴ as Matt. and Luke (Syn⁸ omits with B D*)
- Luke 6:3 ὅτε as Matt. and Mark (Syn⁸ ὁπότε)
9:13 ὑμεῖς φαγεῖν as Matt. and Mark (Syn⁸ φαγεῖν ὑμεῖς with B)
9:59* + [κύριε] as Matt. (Syn⁸ omits with B* D)
11:24* + [τότε] as Matt. (Syn⁸ omits)

⁸ *v.l.* + οὖν in Mark here is likely to be secondary. There are only two firm instances of οὖν in this gospel, although scribes sometimes inserted this particle to eliminate asyndeton. See Mark 12:9 below and also the section on asyndeton below, p. 240 f.

⁹ The longer text is characteristic of Markan tautology, cf. 12:23 where Syn⁹ adds (correctly) ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν albeit in brackets.

24:36* + καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν as John (Syn⁸ omits)
 24:40* + whole verse mostly as John (Syn⁸ accepts western
 non-interpolation)

In the above list we would not necessarily wish to defend all the readings in Syn⁸. The purpose of the list is merely to show that because Syn⁸ represents a different text from Syn⁹ the relationship between the gospels inevitably differs depending on which synopsis text one is working with. Such changes inevitably affect one's judgement and statistics on these parts of the text. Our samples above merely warn us not to accept the text of Syn⁹ as representing on all occasions the original words of the original authors.

The lesson to be drawn is that the synopsis text cannot be consulted without recourse to the apparatus, because the original text, so often the unassimilated text, is sometimes to be found in the apparatus. But it is a lesson which cannot be consistently applied because occasionally the apparatus to the Aland *Synopsis* does not give the information we require to be able to adjust the text along the lines recommended above. Often an apparatus fuller than that provided in the select apparatus to Syn⁹ needs to be consulted.

The above arguments however need qualification and refining. We have implied and perhaps have even recommended that the rule of thumb concerning dissimilarity be applied automatically to variants in the synoptic parallels. Such a mechanical application of a rule of thumb is however a bad method of proceeding, especially if one is attempting to apply eclectic principles to textual problems. Several difficulties need to be recognized and several differing factors have to be borne in mind whenever a textual critic is confronted by variants in the synoptic parallels, as footnotes 5–9 have indicated.

It is particularly important when evaluating the likeliest direction of change and assimilation to take all the variants into account. It is all too easy to be dogmatic about the direction in which assimilation is likeliest to have gone when only one gospel's variants are discussed. For instance at Mark 2:16 Metzger's *Commentary* tells us that the longer text ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει is due to assimilation to Luke, and that the shorter text ἐσθίει was followed by Matthew 9:11 who added ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν, an expression which in turn was adopted by C L Δ at Mark 2:16. Why could we not equally assume Luke copied Mark's longer text, and that some scribes at Mark 2:16 assimilated to Matthew 9:11? [235]

At Mark 12:36 ὑποκάτω is printed in UBS³ on the grounds that ὑποπόδιον has been introduced from the parallel in Luke 20:43 (= Acts 2:35). But ὑποκάτω which is found in some of the MSS of Matthew may have been responsible for scribes' altering an original ὑποπόδιον in Mark to ὑποκάτω. ὑποπόδιον in Luke is not firm in the tradition either. ὑποκάτω may in fact be original throughout the synoptics, and scribes may have been responsible for correcting all synoptic gospels to the LXX form.

Matthew 23:38 is another instance of this need to resolve variants in all the parallels independently of, yet alongside, the need to be alert to the phenomenon of harmonization. Here Syn⁹ includes ἔρημος in the text making Matthew and Luke dissimilar, whereas Syn⁸ omits ἔρημος, with B L making Matthew and Luke parallel. Yet some MSS of Luke add ἔρημος. The issue here is further complicated by the fact that the variants occur in a quotation from Jeremiah, and scribal assimilation to the LXX may again be responsible for the variants in both gospels.

Another typical textual problem involving assimilation is at Luke 8:8. The MSS are divided here between ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν and εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἐπὶ agrees with Matthew 13:8 and εἰς with Mark 4:8. In both of these parallels the preposition is firm in the tradition so a decision has to be made which variant in Luke is original and which preposition has been introduced by scribes through assimilation to one or other of the parallels. Do Matthew and Luke agree against Mark here (a 'minor agreement') or is Luke independent?

Some have suggested that the solution to such problems may be found if we could determine the relative popularity of the different gospels especially for lectionary purposes. It is however a solution not easily arrived at. One would need to discover which of the synoptic gospels was most frequently read in church and so would be the gospel to which the others would be most likely to be assimilated. This information would not be easy to arrive at or to apply to our problem in hand. The answer might vary in different periods of church history and in different geographical areas. It would also surely mean that the age of a MS would have to be determined accurately and perhaps its geographical origins. Such a procedure might be possible, but until convincing examples are produced one must remain sceptical that such methods would aid our solving the text of the synoptic gospels. Only in a very limited way can one see this method in practice. One can for example see how the correctors of one given MS proceeded. Many of the corrections to the synoptic gospels in **Σ** are due to assimilation.

lation. For example at Luke 11:24 τότε is absent from \aleph^* but is added in $\aleph^{\text{corr.}}$ from the parallel in Matthew. Working through a MS such as \aleph noting the way the corrector(s) worked *might* indicate if there is any consistent pattern in its assimilating the parallels but the results would tell us more about the scribal habits of that MS than the general and relative popularity of the gospels.

A more rewarding way of solving some of the knottier problems created by intermingled assimilated passages is to establish the text of the separate gospels by appealing to the author's style and usage, where this can be determined and demonstrated. When a variant involves a choice between a reading in accord with the author's style and usage and one which reflects a different usage, then the former is likely to be original. This rule is important and it can be demonstrated that the criterion of usage should take precedence over the criterion of assimilation.

This means that in establishing the text of the synoptic gospels variants will be accepted if they are in accord with the author's style or NT usage even if the resultant text may increase the similarities between the gospels. Let us take some examples. The first three concern NT usage, the fourth an individual evangelist's style.

(1) μαθητής + αὐτοῦ¹⁰

The NT authors tended to qualify μαθητής, usually by a possessive pronoun. This was necessary when the gospels were first being written in so far as leaders other than Jesus had disciples. We read in the New Testament of the disciples of John and the disciples of the Pharisees, for example. Later in the life of the church 'his disciples' came more frequently to mean Jesus' disciples and hence scribes of NT MSS often felt free to omit the possessive pronoun with reference to Jesus' disciples and to speak of them only as *the* disciples. Hence there are many *v.ll.* adding or omitting the possessive after μαθηταί. Wherever such variation occurs we should add the possessive (usually αὐτοῦ). Adjusting our printed editions of Mark in this way would mean that only at 4:34 is μαθητής unqualified by αὐτοῦ—and there ὁδὸς makes the possessive unnecessary. In Matthew too any exceptions to μαθηταί

¹⁰ Further on this see J.K. Elliott, 'Mathētēs with a Possessive in the New Testament', *TZ* 35 (1979) pp. 300–4. Reprinted as chapter 11 in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

αὐτοῦ are explicable on similar grounds. The general rule can again be made to apply to Luke and John.

[237] As far as the synoptic gospels are concerned, accepting the originality of αὐτοῦ throughout the gospels even when it is not textually certain means that the resultant synopsis so printed gives us more similarities between the gospels. Where Matthew, Mark and Luke are in parallel μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ would occur in all three gospels as follows.

- (a) Matt. 12:1 = Mark 2:23 = Luke 6:1
- (b) Matt. 14:19 = Mark 6:41 = Luke 9:16
- (c) Matt. 19:13 = Mark 10:13 = Luke 18:15
- (d) Matt. 21:1 = Mark 11:1 = Luke 19:29

For (b) Syn⁹ prints the shorter text in Matthew and Luke, and brackets αὐτοῦ in Mark thus showing apparent agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark. For (c) in Syn⁹ all three gospels have the text without the possessive and in (d) Syn⁹ has only Mark with αὐτοῦ.

Where two gospels only are in parallel our acceptance of αὐτοῦ makes 12 further agreements between these gospels:

Mark 8:27 (pr.)	= Luke 9:18	Matt. 15:12 = Mark 7:17
Matt. 13:10	= Luke 8:9	Matt. 15:32 = Mark 8:1
Matt. 23:1	= Luke 20:45	Matt. 15:33 = Mark 8:4
Matt. 26:40	= Luke 22:45	Matt. 15:36 = Mark 8:6
Matt. 14:15	= Mark 6:35	Matt. 26:19 = Mark 14:16
Matt. 14:22	= Mark 6:45	Matt. 26:36 = Mark 14:32

(2) *Diminutives*

If it is agreed that Koine Greek made use of many diminutive forms without thereby implying any diminutive force, then it is likely that whenever we come across a variant giving the faded diminutive this should be accepted as original.¹¹

One significant such faded diminutive which occurs in the synoptic parallels is μνημεῖον. This occurs as a variant to μνημεῖα on three occasions in Mark where there is a parallel in another gospel. (a) At Mark 5:3 μνημεῖοις occurs in several MSS according to von Soden's

¹¹ See J.K. Elliott, 'Nouns with Diminutive Endings in the New Testament', *NovT.* xii (1970), pp. 391–8. Reprinted as chapter 4 in *Essays and Studies*.

apparatus. This diminutive should be accepted as original as it is characteristic of Markan style, cf. 5:2. The *v.l.* μνήμασιν has probably been introduced from the Lukan parallel in order to avoid the diminutive, (b) At Mark 15:46 μνημείῳ is read by C A W Θ and occurs in Syn⁹: it is likely to be original even though it makes Mark, Matthew (and John) parallel here. Syn⁸ has μνήματι with B 1342 only, a reading which parallels Luke, (c) At Mark 16:2 Syn⁹ reads μνημεῖον with most MSS (Syn⁸ has μνήμα with \aleph^* C* W Θ 565) and is likely to be original. Syn⁸ and Syn⁹ should also read μνημεῖον at the parallel passage in Luke 24.1. (This *v.l.* occurs only as a marginal reading in the apparatus to both editions.) If the correct text were to appear in both Mark and Luke this would create another instance of the parallels being closer than our printed texts normally allow.

(3) *Compound verbs followed by the same preposition*

[238]

W.C. Allen¹² lists the places where Matthew, on the assumption of Markan priority, avoids repeating from Mark the characteristically Markan feature of compounding a verb with a prefixed preposition and following it with the same preposition, e.g. at the Matthaean parallels to Mark 5:17, 6:10, 7:31. Without necessarily accepting Allen's arguments for the two-source theory we can adapt his observations and apply them to scribal technique. Many variants show that scribes were often as scrupulous in avoiding this feature of Koine, rather than essentially Markan, style as Allen claims Matthew was in relation to Mark. Sometimes scribes of Mark's gospel altered this stylistic feature by assimilating Mark to Matthew, e.g. Mark 1:16 *v.l.* περιπατῶν δὲ (*pler.*) and Mark 9:25 *v.l.* ἔξελθε ἀπό (C* Δ Θ).

Variants of more significance occur when we have to balance considerations of the author's usage against assimilation to the parallel(s).

(a) Mark 9:42 περὶ *v.l.* ἐπὶ (D *pc.*). The parallel in Luke 17:2 has περίκειται περὶ firm, and Matthew 18:6 has περὶ *v.ll.* εἰς and ἐπὶ (D).

(b) Mark 10:25 should on the basis of Mark's characteristic use of this Koine feature read διελθεῖν διὰ and εἰσελθεῖν εἰς as in both Syn⁸ and Syn⁹. The variants are διελθεῖν *v.l.* εἰσελθεῖν and εἰσελθεῖν *v.l.* omit. Syn⁸ for Matthew 19:24 reads διὰ τρήματος ῥαφίδος εἰσελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ whereas Syn⁹ has διὰ τρυπήματος

¹² W.C. Allen, *International Critical Commentary on St. Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1907).

ῥαφίδος διελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ
 where the verbs parallel Mark. Syn⁸ made the parallels dissimilar:

Matthew	εἰσελθεῖν διὰ	and	εἰς
Mark	διελθεῖν διὰ		εἰσελθεῖν εἰς
Luke	εἰσελθεῖν διὰ		εἰσελθεῖν εἰς.

Luke 18:25 like Mark is the same in both Syn⁸ and Syn⁹: διὰ τρήματος βελόνης εἰσελθεῖν (*v.l.* διελθεῖν in UBS²) ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν In Luke the two instances of εἰσελθεῖν look ugly, which may explain why some scribes altered the first to διελθεῖν by assimilating to those MSS of Matthew and Mark which have διελθεῖν here, but on the other hand διελθεῖν διὰ which itself is a feature often altered by stylistically conscious scribes might be original to Luke here in which case all these gospels would be exactly parallel in their verbs.

(c) Whereas Matthew seems on the basis of Allen's assumptions and examples to avoid Mark's habit of prefixing a verb and following it by the same preposition, he himself is not immune to this feature of Koine Greek as the above instances have shown. Another instance is at Matthew 27:44: συ(ν)σταυρωθέντες σὺν in most MSS with *v.ll.* omitting either the freestanding σὺν or the prefix. The Markan parallel should on the basis of Markan style read συνεσταυρωμένοι σὺν αὐτῷ and the *v.ll.* omitting σὺν or changing it to μετ' dismissed. The balance of probability therefore favours the originality of συνεσταυρωθέντες σὺν in Matthew as being the form most likely to be altered. Acceptance of this solution will again make parallels closer.

(4) *Markan style*

Much work has been done on the distinctive style and language of the Markan gospel especially in the pioneering studies by C.H. Turner.¹³ Much remains to be done not only on Mark but on the usage in the other gospels. An appeal to author's style and usage to solve textual problems is a necessary and valuable principle. Sometimes of course this will result in a text that makes the parallels more similar, but the first stage is to establish the original text. Later those working on the

¹³ C.H. Turner, 'Marcan Usage: Notes, Critical and Exegetical on the Second Gospel', *JTS* in 10 parts between 1924 and 1928.

Synoptic Problem need to assess the significance of the text so produced. In isolating below some features of Markan style that have a bearing on the synoptic parallels only Markan individuality is argued for, not Markan priority. Those who favour the traditional 2- or 4-document hypotheses, and those who prefer to follow the new Griesbach solution to the Synoptic Problem should both be equally concerned to establish a synopsis text approximating to the original words.

(a) ὄχλος occurs 38 times in Mark's gospel. Only at 10:1 do the printed editions have the plural ὄχλοι; the rest are all singular. A variant does occur at 10:1 in D Θ giving the singular συνέρχεται πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος and this should be printed as characteristic of Markan style. The plural is likely to have been introduced from the parallel in Matthew.

(b) In Mark πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος is followed by plural verbs, e.g. 2:13, but scribes often made the verb singular through assimilation to a parallel. At Mark 4:1 *v.l.* ἦν may be influenced by a singular verb in Matthew; at 11:18 ἐξεπλήσσοντο is original to Mark, the *v.l.* is likely to be from Luke, where although the parallel is not exact the verb is singular.

(c) Turner¹⁴ stated that Mark tends to begin a story with a plural verb implying 'Jesus and his disciples' but that Matthew and Luke when parallel do not have the plural and tell the whole story in the singular referring to Jesus alone. Scribes often altered the introductory plural in Mark to the singular by assimilation to the parallels. Our printed texts have sometimes been influenced by such scribal emendation.

At Mark 2:13 for instance ἐξῆλθεν appears in the printed text, but *v.l.* in ἐξῆλθον in \aleph^* is in accord with our author's usage. The singular seems to have been introduced either accidentally (ἐξῆλθON and ἐξῆλθEN look alike) or by assimilation to the parallels. Similarly at 5:38 we should read ἔρχονται with \aleph A B C D and not ἔρχεται which appears in some MSS of Mark from the parallels where the singular stands firm. Turner in fact accepts the minority reading εἰσῆλθον at Mark 11:11 with Θ *i k*: the singular occurs in most MSS again from the parallels where the singular is firm. [240]

(d) ὅτι interrogative is characteristic of Mark. Again scribes tended to alter this, often by writing τί in imitation of the Matthaean and/or

¹⁴ C.H. Turner, 'Notes on Marcan Usage v', *JTS* xxvi (1925), pp. 225f. These and other 'Notes' are reprinted in J.K. Elliott, *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark* (Leiden: Brill, 1993) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 71).

Lukan parallels. We should accept ὅτι as original to Mark in the following places:

- 2:7 with B Θ *v.l.* τί (τίς in Luke)
- 2:16 with B C *pc v.ll.* τί ὅτι, τί, or διὰ τί (with Matthew and Luke)
- 9:11 *pler. v.l.* τί οὖν (from Matthew)
- 9:28 *pler. v.l.* διὰ τί (from Matthew)
- 14:60 with B L W *v.l.* τί (from Matthew).

ὅτι does not usually appear in the printed editions at 2:7 or 14:60. An additional reason why stylistically conscious scribes would have removed ὅτι interrogative from 2:16 is that ὅτι occurs earlier in the verse.

(e) ὅτι recitative is frequent in Mark, but is less common in the other gospels. Hence scribes prone to assimilating tended to make Mark conform to the shorter parallels. Where *v.ll.* exist reading ὅτι these should be accepted as original. In the following verses *v.l.* omits ὅτι.

Mark

- 1:40 (C L D W Θ)—from Matthew and Luke (*v.l.* + κύριε in this verse also comes from the same parallels in Matthew and Luke)
- 2:17 (*pler.*)—from Matthew and Luke¹⁵
- 3:22 (D)—from Matthew and Luke
- 5:23 (D)—from Matthew
- 5:28 (28 33)—from Matthew
- 6:4 (Δ)—from Matthew
- 6:18 (D 28)—from Matthew
- 7:6 (pr) (Δ Θ 33)—from Matthew
- 8:4 (*pler.*)—from Matthew¹⁶
- 8:28 (*pler.*)—from Matthew and Luke¹⁵
- 12:7 (D Θ 1 28 565)—from Matthew and Luke
- 12:19 (D 69 108)—from Matthew and Luke
- 12:29 (D W Θ 1 28 565)—from Matthew and Luke
- 13:6 (D Θ 33)—from Matthew and Luke

¹⁵ The brackets around ὅτι in Syn⁹ should be removed.

¹⁶ ὅτι is included in B L Δ. Syn⁹ lists only the MSS omitting ὅτι!

14:14 (*pler.* according to von Soden and Legg)—from Matthew and Luke

(f) Asyndeton is a characteristic of Markan style. As a rule of thumb, whenever a variant occurs adding a particle to Mark this should be rejected. Often such particles have been introduced by scribes through assimilation to a parallel. The following list gives those verses in Mark where *v.l.* remove the asyndeton. An asterisk after the reference indicates that Matthew and Luke agree against Mark if the shorter text in Mark is read: [241]

Mark

- 1:8 + μέν (*pler.* according to von Soden)
- 1:22 + καί (from Matthew) D* Θ asyndetic
- 2:9 + γάρ (W) (from Matthew)
- 2:17 + οὐ γάρ (C *pc*) (from Matthew)
- 3:27 + ἀλλά (⌘ B with changed word order)¹⁷
- 3:35 + γάρ (*pler.*). Asyndeton only in B Old Latin. Syn⁹ adds brackets on the strength of the shorter text in B (cf. Syn⁸)
- 9:38 + δέ (from Luke) or + καί¹⁸
- 10:9 + οὖν (from Matthew) A D k* omit¹⁹
- 10:14* + καί
- 10:27 + δέ (from Matthew)
- 10:28 + δέ (from Luke) + τότε (from Matthew) + οὖν or + καί
- 10:29* + δέ. Read ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν with A U V W. This is the fourth asyndetic sentence in five verses.

¹⁷ ἀλλά at the beginning of a sentence is rare in Mark. The only exception is 13:24 within a poetic section of the apocalyptic discourse.

¹⁸ The verbs of speaking need to be decided here too, cf. also 10:29, 12:24 below. ἔφη is unlikely to be original at these places in Mark (similarly at Mark 9:12, 10:20, 14:29). See G.D. Kilpatrick on the verbs of saying—most recently in ‘Some Thoughts on Modern Textual Criticism and the Synoptic Gospels’, *NovT.* xix (1977), 275–92, especially p. 283. Reprinted as Chapter 7 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1990) (= *BETL* 96).

¹⁹ οὖν is frequent in Matthew (60 times) and Luke (30 times) but rare in Mark. In Syn⁹ οὖν occurs 6 times in Mark (10:9; 11:31 bracketed; 12:9 bracketed; 13:35; 15:12; [16:19]. In Syn⁸ οὖν is not bracketed at 11:31, therefore the brackets in Syn⁹ are a step in the right direction: but at 12:9 [οὖν] has been added to the text so here Syn⁹ has moved in the wrong direction. Variants remove οὖν in all the above places except 13:35 and 15:12. At 10:9 only D has the text without οὖν. At 10:9; 11:31; 13:35, the parallel in Matthew has the particle (*v.l.* omits at parallel to 11:31). The parallel to 11:31 in Luke has *v.l.* + οὖν (Luke 20:5).

- 12:9* + οὖν
 12:17 + οὖν (from Matthew)
 12:20 + οὖν (from Luke with a changed order) or + δέ (from Matthew)
 12:23* + οὖν (closest to Matthew)
 12:24 + καί (from Luke) or + δέ (from Matthew)
 12:36 + γάρ (from Luke)
 12:37* + οὖν
 13:6* + γάρ
 13:7* + γάρ
 13:9 + γάρ (from Matthew). Asyndeton in B *pc*.
 13:33 + οὖν (from Matthew) + δέ or + δέ καί
 13:34 + γάρ (from Matthew)
 14:6 + γάρ (from Matthew)
 14:19 + καί (from Matthew) or + οἱ δέ
 14:64 + νῦν (⌘) (from Matthew)

[242] These *v.ll.* show that if the shorter text is accepted as original in Mark, scribes often removed the asyndeton by the most natural way open to them, that is assimilation to a parallel wherever one existed.

PRINTED EDITIONS OF GREEK SYNOPSSES AND THEIR
INFLUENCE ON THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

Attempted literary solutions to the Synoptic Problem usually involve [337] close observation of parallel texts. Those who try to assist the visual presentation of material common to or dissimilar to two or more parallels often do so by means of colour coding, or by underlining or overlaying the text with different colours to indicate where a gospel agrees with or disagrees with the parallel verse in another gospel. Even those who do not use such a visual aid collect instances of minor agreements (of Matthew and Luke against Mark), of places where all three parallels agree, of places where all three parallels disagree and so on. This exercise is usually undertaken on the basis of one particular text—the old Huck(-Lietzmann) synopsis served as a *vade mecum* to many earlier scholars. Nowadays several synopsis texts are on the market.¹ The text in the Aland *Synopsis* (= Syn), from the 9th edition, is based on the text to be found in Nestle-Aland 26th edition (NA²⁶). The Huck-Greeven synopsis (= HG) has a text of its own. Thus where these two synopses differ there may, therefore, be differences in the statistics and observations on which decisions over the Synoptic Problem as a whole may be dependent or over which nuances that effect the overall judgement detected. The following study attempts to select from the differences between these two texts those variants that affect a parallel or parallels. There are some 10 differences on average per chapter (excluding orthographical or punctuation changes) between these two texts. In all nearly 700 variants may be found, but obviously not all of these involve a text that has a meaningful parallel in another gospel. By grouping these differences in the categories of agreement and disagreement meaningful for a discussion of the Synoptic Problem it may be shown that one's judgement on the Synoptic Problem can

¹ We concentrate in this article on K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ¹³1985) and A. Huck, *Synopsis der drei ersten Evangelien. Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*, 13th edition revised by H. Greeven, (Tübingen: Mohr, 1981).

[338] be influenced by the Synopsis on which the study is based. Even if the differences shown up by the evidence presented below are not conclusive in relation to the total question of the Synoptic Problem, at least, in dealing with the exegesis of individual pericopae or sayings, the apparent changes or agreements found in the parallels must influence the way in which an interpretation (be it in the case of literary study, theology or historical investigation) may be made.

I have attempted on several occasions² to preach that decisions about the Synoptic Problem ought not to be made on the basis of the *text* in any one Synopsis but that one should make use of the alternative readings to be found in the critical apparatus and that one should not imbue the editor of any one printed text with an omniscience that enabled him to produce a definitive version of the text. In reality I recognise that such preaching generally falls on deaf ears. Most writers on the Synoptic Problem still base their discussions on one printed text and with scarcely an acknowledgement that the apparatus is of help. However, one notable exception among scholars of the Synoptic Problem is Professor Neirynck, and that is why this present study is offered in grateful tribute to an indefatigable contributor to and critic of the international synoptic debate. Neirynck is all too well aware of the differences in printed synopses and the effect these can have on aspects of the Synoptic Problem: he is also alert to the textual variants. The publication of a new text of the Greek New Testament or a new synopsis is usually swiftly followed by a perspicacious analysis of that text in relation to the Synoptic Problem by Professor Neirynck in *ETL*.³ My own work on the Synoptic Problem constantly draws on (and I hope benefits from) Neirynck's invaluable lists and comments in this journal. The verifiable scholarship and solid adherence to the text characteristic of his work are beacons of sanity in a discipline where some less determined Biblical theologians are tempted away from such rigorous work by fads and ephemera.

The preparation of this present article owes much to Neirynck's list of differences between Huck-Greeven (= HG) and Syn found in *ETL*

² Most recently in D.L. Dungan, *The Interrelations of the Gospels* (BETL, 95), (Leuven: University Press – Peeters, 1990) pp. 348–359. My article is reprinted in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* chapter 12 (Cordova: El Almendro, 1992) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3).

³ E.g., on Greeven's text or on the Boismard-Lamouille synopsis (for the references see below) or on the NA text (in *ETL* 55, 1979, pp. 331–356, reprinted in *Evangelica*, 1982, pp. 899–924).

58 (1982) pp. 123–136.⁴ It is on these two synopses that I rest my case, but occasional observations about two other recent synopses, those of Orchard and by Boismard-Lamouille, will be included where pertinent. By concentrating on Syn and HG we shall be referring to the two synopses most frequently in use. The facts and statistics I outline with reference to them can be extended and expanded and also used to incorporate Boismard-Lamouille (= BL) and Orchard⁵ in their entirety [339] should the utility of such an exercise be demonstrated, but I trust the following sample, while not exhaustive, is at least representative, and does show that differences in the text of the gospels can have a relevance beyond the individual gospel itself.

In my contribution to the collected papers of the Jerusalem Conference on the interrelationship of the gospels,⁶ I cited the example of a rare instance of a saying of Jesus which was so fluid in the ms. tradition that one could, in theory, manipulate the three parallel accounts so as to create a solution to the interrelationship of the gospels for at least that verse. The saying in question is Mt 19:24; Mk 10:25; Lk 18:25. I stressed there that such an opportunity to create a maverick text from a multitude of variants is not usually available to students of the Synoptic Problem, nor should such an opportunity be misused to create a text in favour of one or other attempted solution to the Synoptic Problem. It is also a misuse of the generally accepted canons of textual criticism. If we confine ourselves to the way in which the synopses of Aland and Greeven conduct themselves here we see the following: Mt 19:24 HG διὰ... εἰσελθεῖν... εἰς, Syn διὰ... διελθεῖν... εἰσελθεῖν εἰς. To follow HG will show Matthew agrees closely with Luke against Mark, in other words is a “minor agreement”. To follow Syn would be to read a text closer to Mark.

Changes to the text of the synoptic gospels at a point where a parallel exists in either or both of the printed editions under consideration inevitably affect any statistics built up concerning the relationship of

⁴ Not that that article is free from the need to include addenda and corrigenda. I have noted its shortcomings in the lists following. To these add Lk 23:12 HG αὐτοῦς = NA²⁵ (i.e. NA¹⁵ 1932f), Syn αὐτούς. Some errata previously notified have been corrected in the reprinted article in *Evangelica II*, 1991, pp. 377–388.

⁵ A review of Boismard-Lamouille by the present writer is to be found in *TLZ* 113 (1988) cols. 740–743. Orchard's text is included in my survey, “An Examination of the Text and Apparatus of Three Recent Greek Synopses”, in *NTS* 32 (1986) pp. 557–582. Reprinted as chapter 24, above.

⁶ Cf. above, n. 2.

the gospels. The cumulative effect of certain changes may indeed have an influence on one's judgement of that relationship. In the following pages I have tried to indicate the types of changes that have occurred in the interrelationship of the gospels depending on which printed edition is being consulted. For the purpose of documenting my observations in an orderly manner subdivisions are given numbers and letters.⁷

TYPES OF CHANGES

A. When any two gospels occur in parallel

I. *Matthew*

- i) Where HG makes the parallels differ but Syn agrees with (a) Mark (b) Luke
- [340] ii) Where Syn makes the parallels differ but HG agrees with (a) Mark (b) Luke

II. *Mark*

- i) Where HG makes the parallels differ but Syn agrees with (a) Matthew (b) Luke
- ii) Where Syn makes the parallels differ but HG agrees with (a) Matthew (b) Luke

III. *Luke*

- i) Where HG makes the parallels differ but Syn agrees with (a) Matthew (b) Mark
- ii) Where Syn makes the parallels differ but HG agrees with (a) Matthew (b) Mark

B. Where three gospels occur in parallel

I. *Matthew*

- 1. Where HG makes all three agree Syn has
 - (a) Matthew against Mark = Luke
 - [(b) Mark against Matthew = Luke]
 - (c) Luke against Mark = Matthew
 - [(d) All three different]

⁷ Sections in square brackets seem not to occur in the two synopses under consideration.

2. Where Syn makes all three agree HG has
 - (a) Matthew against Mark = Luke
 - [(b) Mark against Matthew = Luke]
 - [(c) Luke against Mark = Matthew]
 - [(d) All three different]
 3. Where HG makes all three differ Syn has
 - (a) Matthew against Mark = Luke
 - [(b) Mark against Matthew = Luke]
 - [(c) Luke against Mark = Matthew]
 4. Where Syn makes all three differ HG has
 - (a) Matthew against Mark = Luke
 - (b) Mark against Matthew = Luke
 - (c) Luke against Mark = Matthew
 5. This subheading and the following letters and numbers are used for other combinations.
 - (a) HG reads Matthew = Luke against Mark where Syn has
 - i) Matthew = Mark against Luke
[No instance of variants in Mark or Luke]
 - ii) Mark = Luke against Matthew
[No instances of variants in Matthew or Mark]
 - (b) HG reads Matthew = Mark against Luke where Syn has
 - i) Mark = Luke against Matthew
[No instances of variants in Matthew or Luke]
 - ii) Matthew = Luke against Mark
[No instances of variants in Luke or Mark]
 - (c) HG reads Mark = Luke against Matthew where Syn has
 - i) Luke = Matthew against Mark
[No instance of variants in Mark or Matthew]
 - ii) Mark = Matthew against Luke
[No instances of variants in Matthew or Luke]
- II. *Mark* (where 1 (a) (b) (c) (d) etc. is as for Matthew) [341]
1. (a) (b) (c) [(d)]
 2. [(a)] (b) [(c)] [(d)]
 3. (a) [(b)] (c)
 4. [(a)] [(b)] (c)
 5. See under Matthew

III. *Luke* (where 1 (a) (b) (c) (d) etc. is as for Matthew)

1. [(a)] [(b)] (c) [(d)]
2. [(a)] [(b)] (c) [(d)]
3. (a) (b) [(c)]
4. [(a)] [(b)] (c)
5. See under Matthew

A. WHERE THE PARALLELS OCCUR IN ONLY TWO GOSPELS

I. *Matthew*

i) Where Syn harmonizes Matthew to one of the other synoptic gospels and HG makes the two parallels dissimilar.

(a) Syn makes Matthew = Mark

3:6	HG omit ποταμῷ	Syn ποταμῷ
	[BL = HG]	
3:16	HG ἀνέβη εὐθύς	Syn 2 1
9:18	HG λέγων	Syn λέγων ὅτι
	[BL = HG]	
10:42 ^{*8}	HG ἔαν	Syn ἄν
	(This <i>v.l.</i> is not in HG's apparatus)	
14:22	HG εἰς πλοῖον	Syn εἰς τὸ πλοῖον
	[BL = HG]	
	The reading in HG here parallels Jn 6:17. Those working on the interrelation of the gospels may wish to take into account harmonizations in this direction. See also Mt 14:24 where the longer reading in Syn parallels Jn 6:19 (A I ii a).	
14:26	HG καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτόν	Syn οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες αὐτόν
	οἱ μαθηταί	
15:4	HG ἐνετείλατο λέγων	Syn εἶπεν
15:17 [*]	HG οὕπω	Syn οὐ
16:8 [*]	HG ἐλάβετε	Syn ἔχετε
20:24	HG ἀκούσαντες δέ	Syn καὶ ἀκούσαντες
20:30 [*]	HG θεοῦ	Syn omit
	Cf. Lk 20:36 ἰσάγγελοι.	

⁸ The addition of an asterisk after a reference denotes that the words occur in a saying of Jesus. See below, p. 455 (Sayings of Jesus).

22:32* HG θεὸς θεὸς νεκρῶν Syn θεὸς νεκρῶν [342]

Whether the longer text of HG may have been due to dittography or the shorter text of Syn due to haplography, the case remains that the separate editorial decisions have resulted in a synoptic presentation that could affect the statistics assembled about literary interrelationships one way or the other.

Cf. Lk 20:38 for a different word order.

24:6* HG πάντα Syn omit

Cf. Lk 21:9 ταῦτα

24:16* HG ἐπὶ Syn εἰς
[BL = HG]

24:17* HG καταβαινέτω Syn καταβάτω

26:7 HG ἀλάβαστρον μύρου ἔχουσα Syn 3 1 2

26:20 HG μαθητῶν Syn omit
[BL = HG]

(b) Syn makes Matthew = Luke

11:9* HG προφήτην ἰδεῖν; Syn ἰδεῖν; προφήτην;
Orchard's synopsis has Matthew = Luke, but prints the idiosyncratic ἰδεῖν προφήτην; in both.

11:21 HG βηθησαιδαν Syn βηθσαιδα
This variant is absent from HG's apparatus, presumable because it is deemed to be merely orthographical and therefore (but wrongly) of no interest to the synoptic problem. Neirynck in *ETL* 58 includes most such *v.ll.* in his footnote 3 on p. 125.

15:14* HG πεσοῦνται εἰς βόθυνον Syn 2 3 1

17:16 HG ἡδυνάσθησαν Syn ἡδυνήθησαν
At the Lucan parallel, Lk 9:40, HG prints ἔδυνήθησαν. The variants at Mt 17:16 and Lk 9:40 are ignored in HG's apparatus. Neirynck, *ETL* 58, p. 125, ignores Lk 9:40 in the list, even though ἡδυνάσθη is specially referred to in his footnote 3 on that page: the *v.l.* at Mt 17:16 is included.⁹

24:43* HG διορυγῆναι Syn διορυχθῆναι

⁹ The problems of the augmented forms of this verb are included in my "Textual Variation involving the Augment in the Greek New Testament", in J.K. Elliott *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (*Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3), (Cordova: El Alemandro, 1992) pp. 87–93.

ii) Where HG harmonizes Matthew to one of the other synoptic gospels and Syn makes the parallels differ.

a) HG makes Matthew = Mark

14:9	HG διὰ δέ	Syn διὰ
14:12	HG αὐτό	Syn αὐτόν
14:24	HG μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν	Syn σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπεῖχεν

19:9* HG καὶ¹...μοιχᾶται

Syn omit

27:16 HG Βαραββᾶν

Syn Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν

This v.l. is not shown in HG's apparatus.

[343] 27:17 HG Βαραββᾶν

Syn Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν

This v.l. is not shown in HG's apparatus.

27:51 HG εἰς δύο ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως
κάτω

Syn 3-6 1-2

In the case of 19:9 above it might well be decided that homoio-teleuton was responsible for the shorter text and that, therefore, Syn prints a secondary reading, but, in the context of an examination of a synopsis text, those relying only on the printed text may well draw certain conclusions from the differing parallels in Syn or from the similarity in HG and add these examples to the sum of comparable instances in their search for a description of the interplay of the gospels.

(b) HG makes Matthew = Luke

7:5* HG τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ
σου

Syn 3-6 1-2

There are no other significant variants under this heading but Mt 11:23* may be included in this list even though different conditions apply. In reading καταβιβασθήσῃ HG prints a text in agreement with the Lucan parallel. Syn reads καταβήσῃ in both Matthew and Luke. This is because the variations καταβιβασθήσῃ and καταβήσῃ exist in Luke too (Lk 10:15). καταβήσῃ is in agreement with the LXX and it is clear from the HG apparatus that assimilation to the LXX by both Matthew and Luke is the cause accepted by Greeven for the change. Were either of these synopses to have made the parallels dissimilar then conclusions could be drawn about which of the two seemed to be adapting his predecessor's word either away from the LXX or (as is usually the more likely) towards the wording of the LXX. It is of note,

and to be commended, that BL prints καταβήση in Matthew and in καταβιβασθήση in Luke.

Another “special case” may be added at this point to show that this phenomenon, whereby HG makes Matthew = Luke and Syn offering a different text in both, makes these two parallels agree. This is at Mt 23:23*. This time the LXX is not a complicating factor. Here HG omits δέ; Syn includes δέ (after ταῦτα) and this happens both here in Matthew and in the Lucan parallel (Lk 11:42). BL creates dissimilarity here: this synopsis has δέ in Matthew but not in Luke. (The footnote in BL *ad loc* indicates that the addition of δέ in Matthew is due to harmonization to Luke, but does not warn us that δέ in Luke is not firmly fixed in the ms. tradition).

As with the examples given above, and as will be seen in comparable examples to be found below under Mark and under Luke, when HG prints a text in agreement with a parallel, the apparatus to HG does not draw our attention to the fact that the text printed may be due to assimilation, whereas the apparatus usually indicates where a variant seems to have been due to assimilation either to a direct parallel or even to a more remote parallel. This inconsistency in the apparatus or rather the incompleteness of the evidence must not be construed as hypocrisy or intellectual dishonesty in a synopsis deliberately constructed to avoid harmonizing variants. But what one may wish to say about HG’s apparatus is that it is, at the very least, one-sided and thus gives the erroneous impression that the text is a text which is free from harmonization. A reading of the apparatus proper would soon dispel that illusion, and, of course, there may well have been entirely respectable text-critical motives why, on occasion. Professor Greeven printed as the text a harmonizing variant. His untimely death has robbed us of his promised companion volume (HG p. v), in which his text-critical decisions were to have been explained in detail. Thus the harmonizing readings in his text must for the moment be explained only by inference. [344]

II. Mark

i) Where Syn harmonizes Mark to one of the other synoptic gospels and HG makes the two parallels dissimilar.

(a) Syn makes Mark = Matthew

2:3	HG πρὸς αὐτὸν	Syn 4 1–3 (which agrees with
	παράλυτικὸν φέροντες	the word order in Mt)

3:26*	HG μεμέρισται	Syn ἐμερίσθη
3:27*	HG τὰ σκεύη τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ	Syn 6–8 3–4 5 1–2 9 (cf. Mt εἰσελθεῖν, 6–8 3–4 καὶ 1–2 9)
4:24*	HG τοῖς ἀκούουσιν	Syn omit
6:2	HG δυνάμεις	Syn αἱ δυνάμεις
6:32	HG omit ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ	Syn ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ
6:49	HG φάντασμα εἶναι	Syn ὅτι φάντασμά ἐστιν
	[BL = HG]	
6:56	HG ἥπτοντο	Syn ἥψαντο
	[BL = HG]	
7:16*	HG include verse	Syn omit verse
	[BL = HG]	
7:27*	HG καλόν ἐστιν	Syn 2, 1
9:9	HG καταβαινόντων δέ	Syn καὶ καταβαινόντων
9:9	HG ἀπό	Syn ἐκ
	[BL = HG]	
9:12*	HG Ἡλίας	Syn Ἡλίας μὲν
9:42*	HG τῶν μικρῶν	Syn τῶν μικρῶν τούτων
9:42*	HG πιστευόντων	Syn πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ
10:6*	HG αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός	Syn αὐτούς
	[BL here reads ὁ θεός which creates a stronger dissimilarity than that found in HG]	
11:33	HG λέγουσιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ	Syn 2–3 1
	[BL = HG. ¹⁰ The translation may be affected by this change in word order]	
13:15*	HG ὁ δέ	Syn ὁ
13:15*	HG εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν	Syn omit
13:22*	HG ποιήσουσιν	Syn δώσουσιν
	[BL = HG]	
[345] 13:27*	HG ἐκλεκτοῦς	Syn ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ
	[BL = HG]	
13:28*	HG αὐτῆς ἤδη ὁ κλάδος	Syn 2 3–4 1
14:16	HG μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ	Syn μαθηταί
14:19	HG καὶ ἄλλος μήτι ἐγώ	Syn omit
	[BL = HG. The shorter text could have been due to homoioteleuton rather than assimilation]	

¹⁰ F. Neirynck, "Le texte des évangiles dans la Synopse de Boismard-Lamouille", in *ETL* 63 (1987) 119–135. On p. 126, this text of BL is incorrectly reported.

- 14:31 HG με δέη Syn 2 1
 14:45 HG ῥαββι (*bis*) Syn ῥαββι (*semel*)
 Haplography and dittography must be borne in mind in the resolution of the textual problem. Where the editors differ, the text in HG offers possibilities of Mark expanding Matthew or Matthew reducing Mark.
- 15:20 HG τὰ ἴδια Syn αὐτοῦ
 Also under this heading one could perhaps add Mark 14:72 where Syn reads εὐθύς and HG lacks an adverb. The longer text in Mark makes Mark = Matthew (Mt 26:74 εὐθέως in Syn, εὐθύς in HG!).¹¹ Lk 22:60 has παραχρῆμα in both editions.
- (b) Syn makes Mark = Luke
- 3:14 HG omit οὖς καὶ Syn οὖς καὶ ἀποστόλους
 ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν ὠνόμασεν
 Cf. Mk 3,16.
- 4:22* HG τι Syn omit
 [BL = HG]
- 5:40 HG ὁ Syn αὐτός
 [BL = HG]
- 9:38 HG ὃς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν Syn 5-7 ὅτι 2-4
 καὶ ἐκώλυομεν αὐτόν
 [BL = HG]
- 9:39 HG omit Ἰησοῦς Syn Ἰησοῦς
 10:13 HG ἄφηται αὐτῶν Syn 2 1
 10:52 HG ὁ δέ Syn καὶ ὁ
 11:2* HG κεκάθικεν Syn ἐκάθισεν
 11:6 HG εἶπεν Syn εἶπαν
 Cf. B II 3a.
 This *v.l.* is not in the apparatus to HG.
- 11:18 HG οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Syn 4-5 3 1-2
 ἀρχιερεῖς
 Cf. Mt 21:15.
- 12:43* HG βέβληκεν Syn ἔβαλεν
 Cf. tenses at 11:2 above.

¹¹ This difference between the two editions is not noted in Neirynck, *ETL* 58 (1982), p. 25, although other instances of εὐθύς *v.l.* εὐθέως are included in the list there, and expressly indicated in his footnote 3 on that page.

- [346] ii) Where HG harmonizes Mark to one of the other synoptic gospels and Syn makes the parallels differ.

(a) HG makes Mark = Matthew

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1:18 | HG εὐθέως | Syn εὐθύς |
| | Not shown in HG's apparatus. | |
| 3:16 | HG καί | Syn καὶ ἐποίησε τοὺς δώδεκα καί |

HG explains the longer text as an assimilation to verse 14.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 6:22 | HG αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος | Syn αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδος |
|------|------------------------|---------------------|
- Syn therefore suggests that in Matthew the girl is the daughter of Herodias and in Mark that the girl is Herod's daughter with the name Herodias. HG, although not having the identical wording, makes Matthew and Mark agree in saying that the girl is the daughter of Herodias, αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος in Mark being a typical example of Mark's defining an indefinite term (here αὐτῆς) with an explanation (τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος, "that is to say of Herodias").

- | | | |
|--------|---|----------------|
| 7:28 | HG ναί κύριε | Syn κύριε |
| | HG ignores this <i>v.l.</i> in the apparatus. | |
| 8:17 | HG ὁ Ἰησοῦς | Syn omit |
| 8:32 | HG αὐτὸν ὁ Πέτρος | Syn 2 3 1 |
| 8:37* | HG δώσει | Syn δοῖ |
| 10:39* | HG μέν | Syn omit |
| 13:22* | HG καί ⁴ | Syn omit |
| 15:12 | HG οὖν | Syn οὖν θέλετε |

HG indicates that the reading in Syn is due to assimilation to the remote Mk 15:9.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| 15:24 | HG σταυρώσαντες | Syn σταυροῦσιν |
| | Cf. aorist finite verbs in Lk 23:33. | |
| 15:36 | HG εἰς | Syn τις |

(b) HG makes Mark = Luke

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 3:4 | HG ἀγαθοποιῆσαι | Syn ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι |
| 10:46 | HG ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσαιτῶν | Syn προσαίτης 1-4 |

Cf. also Mt 20:30. The apparatus to Mark in HG does not indicate that *txt*, i.e. his printed text, agrees with Luke, but does show *v.l.* ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπαιτῶν was created

by assimilation to Luke because of the compound verb. From the point of view of assimilation it is the *word-order* that is important!

III. *Luke*

- i) Where Syn harmonizes Luke to one of the other synoptic gospels and HG makes the two parallels dissimilar.

(a) Syn makes Luke = Matthew

4:8*	HG προσκυνήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου	Syn 2-5 1 (= LXX)	
7:22*	HG ὅτι	Syn omit	
7:24*, 25*, 26*	HG ἐξεληλύθατε	Syn ἐξήλθατε	[347]
7:28*	HG προφήτης	Syn omit	
7:33*	HG ἔσθω	Syn ἐσθίων	
As an orthographical variant this is not reported in the apparatus to HG, despite its possible significance for the study of the literary interrelationship of the gospels.			
9:59	HG omit κύριε [BL = HG]	Syn κύριε	
10:15*	HG τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Cf. [τοῦ] ὅδου under A III ii a.	Syn οὐρανοῦ	
10:21*	HG ἐγένετο εὐδοκία	Syn 2 1	
11:20*	HG omit ἐγώ	Syn ἐγώ	
11:23*	HG μέ	Syn omit	
11:24*	HG εὐρίσκον [BL = HG]	Syn εὐρίσκον τότε	
12:24*	HG οὔτε...οὔτε [BL = HG]	Syn οὐ...οὐδέ	
13:21*	HG ἔκρυπεν	Syn ἐνέκρυπεν	
For the <i>v.l.</i> καταβήση/καταβιβασθήση at Lk 10:15 see A I ii b under Mt 11:23. For the <i>v.l.</i> ± δέ at Lk 11:42, see A I ii b at Mt 23:23.			

(b) Syn makes Luke = Mark

6:5	HG ὅτι	Syn omit	
9:1	HG ἀποστόλους	Syn omit	
21:3*	HG ἡ πτωχὴ αὕτη	Syn 3 1 2	

21:4*	HG ὅπαντες	Syn πάντες
and	HG ὅπαντα	Syn πάντα
22:57	HG ἡρνήσατο αὐτόν	Syn ἡρνήσατο

ii) Where HG harmonizes Luke to one of the other synoptic gospels¹² and Syn makes the parallels dissimilar.

(a) HG makes Luke = Matthew

10:15*	HG ὁδοῦ	Syn τοῦ ὁδοῦ
	Cf. under A III i a, 10:15* HG τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	Syn οὐρανοῦ
12:25*	HG προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ	Syn 2–5 1
19:26*	HG ἀπ' αὐτοῦ	Syn omit

(b) HG makes Luke = Mark

18:21	HG μου	Syn omit
	HG's apparatus here suggests that the shorter text came about by influence of Acts 26:4!	
[348] 20:41*	HG υἱὸν Δαυιδ εἶναι	Syn 3 2 1
21:11*	HG κατὰ τόπους καὶ	Syn 3 1–2
	This change affects the translation and exegesis of this passage. Mt 24:7 does not include λιμοὶ (καὶ λοιμοί). ¹³	
21:12*	HG εἰς συναγωγὰς	Syn εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς
	Cf. Mt 10:17 ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν.	
23:38	HG γεγραμμένη	Syn omit
	Cf. B III 2 c for further on this verse.	

¹² As in my other lists the variants are of differing types (word-order changes, longer or shorter readings, synonyms). Thus it is not as if HG only allowed itself to print readings of a particular type (e.g., only longer readings) that had the effect of harmonizing parallels. The evidence adduced throughout suggests a less rigorous application of the rule of dissimilarity than the introductory matter leads us to expect.

¹³ For the Markan parallel (Mk 13:8) note that Orchard's text prints the longer reading + *ταραχά* against HG and Syn.

B. THE TRIPLE TRADITION

I. *Matthew*

1a) In the following verses HG harmonizes the parallels but Syn makes Mark = Luke against Matthew:

9:27	HG υἱέ	Syn υἱός
12:4	HG ἔφαγεν	Syn ἔφαγον
24:35*	HG παρελεύσονται	Syn παρελεύσεται

There seem to be no instances where HG has all the parallels agree at a point where the text of Matthew in Syn makes Matthew = Luke against Mark (a “minor agreement”) (B I 1 b). Where Syn makes Matthew = Mark against Luke (B I 1 c) see Mt 9:9 under B II 1 c Mk 2:14.

d) There seem to be no instances where Syn has a text making all three parallels differ at a point where HG has all three the same.

2. In the following examples Syn makes all the parallels agree but HG harmonizes two against one.

a) Where the reading in HG makes Mark = Luke against Matthew

10:2	HG Ἰάκωβος	Syn καὶ Ἰάκωβος
19:29*	HG ἡ γυναῖκα	Syn omit
21:2	HG ἀπέναντι	Syn κατέναντι
21:12	HG τοῦ θεοῦ	Syn omit
[BL = HG]		
27:2	HG Ποντίῳ	Syn omit
27:60	HG ἔθηκεν	Syn ἔθηκεν αὐτό ¹⁴

Cf. *v.l.* ἔθηκεν/κατέθηκεν at Mk 15:46 at B II 2 b.

There seem to be no instances where Syn makes all the parallels agree but the reading in HG creates a “minor agreement” of Matthew and Luke against Mark (B I 2 b) or where HG makes Matthew = Mark against Luke (B I 2 c).

¹⁴ The parallels read the masculine pronoun.

d) There seem to be no instances where HG has a text making all three parallels differ at a point where Syn has all three the same.

[349] 3. There seem to be no instances where HG makes all three parallels differ but where Syn ranges two gospels against three (B I 3 a, b, c).

4. In the following passages Syn makes all three parallels differ. In one it is arguable¹⁵ that HG creates a “minor agreement” (B I 4 b) of Matthew = Luke against Mark. That is at

27:59	HG σινδόνι	Syn ἐν σινδόνι
	This variant is ignored in HG’s apparatus.	

Examples in which HG has Matthew = Mark against Luke (B I 4 c) are:

13:4	HG ἦλθεν	Syn ἐλθόντα
19:21	HG ἐν οὐρανῷ	Syn ἐν οὐρανοῖς
	Cf. also Lk 18:22 under B III 4 c below.	

There seem to be no instances where Syn makes all three parallels differ at a point where HG has Mark = Luke against Matthew (B III 4 a).

5. Obviously, when attempting to avoid certain harmonizing variants, a text may be printed that nonetheless creates agreement with the other parallel. The following are examples where the editor in avoiding one apparent case of assimilation allows a different harmonization to appear, perhaps because the pull in one direction (determined by the ms. support for the variant) is deemed stronger than in the other direction.

a i) When HG creates an agreement of Matthew = Luke against Mark (a “minor agreement”) and where Syn has Matthew = Mark against Luke

17:5	HG αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε	Syn 2 1
19:21* ¹⁶	HG πτωχοῖς	Syn τοῖς πτωχοῖς

¹⁵ F. Neirynck, *The Minor Agreements in a Horizontal-line Synopsis* (SNTA, 15). (Leuven: University Press – Peeters, 1991) avoids this example in Appendix 2, but by omitting ἐν HG has nothing standing between αὐτό and anarthrous σινδόνι in both Matthew and Luke.

¹⁶ In this verse HG also reads οὐρανῷ creating an agreement of Matthew and Mark against Luke: Syn reads ἐν οὐρανοῖς thereby having all the parallels differing. This

19:24 HG εἰσελθεῖν Syn διελθεῖν
 See introduction section of this article.

b ii) The inclusion of Mt 21:44* by Syn and the omission of this verse by HG (and BL) means that we have here an example of HG creating a text in which Matthew = Mark against Luke but Syn creates a “minor agreement” of Matthew = Luke against Mark.

Other possible permutations seem not to involve differences between Syn and HG in the text of Matthew (i.e. B 5 a ii HG: Matthew = Luke against Mark; Syn: Mark = Luke against Matthew. B 5 b i HG: Matthew = Mark against Luke; Syn: Mark = Luke against Matthew. B 5 c i HG: Mark = Luke against Matthew; Syn: Matthew = Mark against Luke).

II. *Mark*

[350]

1. In the following examples HG makes the three parallels agree in the detail specified, whereas Syn harmonizes two against one.

a) Where the reading in Syn makes Mark = Luke against Matthew
 5:34* HG θύγατερ Syn θυγάτηρ
 This variant is not in the apparatus in HG but should not have been dismissed as if it were merely orthographical, cf. Lk 8:48 HG: θύγατερ; Syn: θυγάτηρ. Again, this *v.l.* is not in HG’s apparatus.¹⁷

b) Where the reading in Syn makes Matthew = Luke against Mark (a “minor agreement”).

8:35*¹⁸ HG ἀπολέσῃ Syn ἀπολέσει²
 This *v.l.* is absent from HG’s apparatus.
 11:3*¹⁹ HG ὅτι Syn omit
 11:29* HG καγώ Syn omit

shows the complexity of our problem, created by an uncritical and blinkered adherence to the text of one synopsis only. See Lk 18:22 under B III 4 c below.

¹⁷ The *v.l.* in Mark is shown by Neiryck (*ETL*, list p. 125) but the *v.l.* in Luke is listed under his footnote 3 as an “orthographical change”. In his *Minor Agreements*, p. 40, no. 16, Neiryck includes θύγατερ at Lk 8:48 with Tischendorf, von Soden and Huck-Lietzmann, but as Huck-Greeven also supports this reading G ought to stand in this list in *Minor Agreements*, p. 99.

¹⁸ See further on Mk 8:35 below at B II 2 b and on the Luke parallel (Lk 17:33) at B III 2 c.

¹⁹ The reverse may be seen at Mk 8:28 HG omit ὅτι, Syn ὅτι: this example can of course be added to this list.

12:17 HG ἐθαύμαζον Syn ἐξεθαύμαζον

c) Where the reading in Syn makes Matthew = Mark against Luke

2:14 HG ἠκολούθει Syn ἀκολούθει
 Cf. Mt 9:9 HG ἠκολούθει Syn ἀκολούθει and sec B I 1 c.

d) There seem to be no instances where HG harmonizes all three but Syn makes all three synoptic gospels differ.

2. In the following examples Syn makes all three parallels agree and HG harmonizes two against one.

b)²⁰ Where the reading in HG makes Matthew = Luke against Mark (a “minor agreement”)

1:42 HG εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ Syn omit

2:5 HG ἰδὼν δέ Syn καὶ ἰδὼν

4:18 HG ἐπί Syn εἰς

[BL = HG]

4:31* HG κόκκον Syn κόκκῳ

5:2 HG ἀπήντησεν Syn ὑπήντησεν

5:14 HG ἀνήγγειλαν Syn ἀπήγγειλαν

5:25 HG τις Syn omit

[BL = HG]

[351] 8:34* HG ὅστις Syn εἴ τις

8:35* HG τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν Syn 1 3 + αὐτοῦ

[Cf. B II 1 b]

10:13 HG τοῖς προσφέρουσιν Syn αὐτοῖς

10:21* HG + ἄρας τὸν σταυρόν Syn omit

10:52 HG τῷ Ἰησοῦ Syn αὐτῷ²

11:33 HG ἀποκριθεὶς Syn omit

[BL = HG]

13:9*²¹ HG ἕνεκα Syn ἕνεκεν

This *v.l.* is absent from HG's apparatus.

²⁰ There seem to be no instances involving variations in Mark where HG makes Mark = Luke against Matthew (B II 2 a) or where HG makes Matthew = Mark against Luke (B II 2 c).

²¹ This piece of text is absent from *Minor Agreements*, p. 73, and, probably as a consequence, absent from p. 96, where this example could have been included and been as valid as many of the examples given in pp. 96–97.

13:29*	HG ταῦτα ἤδητε	Syn 2 1
	[BL = HG]	
14:43	HG Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης	Syn Ἰούδας
15:46	HG κατέθηκεν	Syn ἔθηκεν ²²
	[BL = HG]	

d) There seem to be no instances in Mark where Syn has all three parallels in agreement but where HG has all three differ.

3. In the following examples HG makes all three parallels differ.

a) Where Syn has a text that makes Mark = Luke against Matthew

2:22*	HG ῥήσσει	Syn ῥήξει
9:7	HG ἦλθεν	Syn ἐγένετο ²
12:16	HG εἶπον	Syn εἶπαν

Cf. A II i b. This *v.l.* is not shown in HG's apparatus.

c)²³ Syn has a text that makes Mark = Matthew against Luke

11:31	HG ἐλογίζοντο	Syn διελογίζοντο
12:14	HG κῆνσον καίσαρι δοῦναι	Syn 3 1 2
13:22	HG τούτου	Syn omit

4. In the following examples Syn makes all three parallels differ.

c)²⁴ Where HG makes Mark = Matthew against Luke

13:2	HG καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς	Syn καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς
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The apparatus in HG states that the omission of ἀποκριθεὶς is due to harmonization to Luke, but Luke omits ὁ Ἰησοῦς also! See other variants involving ± ἀποκριθεὶς in Mk at 12,17 and 13,5 (B II 5 b i).

The following may also qualify for inclusion under B II 4 c. At Mk 2:22* HG ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι ἀπολοῦνται (cf. Mt 9:17 ἐκχεῖται [352])

²² Cf. also at Mt 27:60 under B I 2 a.

²³ There seem to be no instances where HG has all three parallels in agreement but Syn creates a "minor agreement" of Matthew = Luke against Mark (B II 3 b).

²⁴ Under this subheading there seem to be no examples where HG harmonizes Mark = Luke against Matthew (B II 4 a) or where HG harmonizes Luke = Matthew against Mark (a "minor agreement") (B II 4 b). The addition of ἀποκριθεὶς in the text of HG at Mk 12:17 only serves to underline the already existing dissimilarity in all three parallels and therefore ought not to have been included in *Minor Agreements* (1991), p. 96, as another instance of a minor agreement created by the Greeven text.

καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι ἀπολοῦνται and Lk 5:37 ἐκχυθήσεται καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι ἀπολοῦνται). Syn here reads ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἄσκοι, which makes all three dissimilar if ἐκχυθήσεται in the Lukan parallel is deemed to be sufficiently differentiated from Matthew's ἐκχεῖται.

5 a) There seem to be no instances where HG prints a text in Mark that has the effect of displaying a “minor agreement” of Matthew = Luke against Mark at a point at which Syn gives a text where Matthew = Mark against Luke (B II 5 a i). Nor is there any instance in my searches whereby HG creates a “minor agreement” of Matthew = Luke against Mark at a point when Syn makes Luke = Mark against Matthew (B II 5 a ii).

b) When HG has Matthew = Mark against Luke

i) Syn makes Mark = Luke against Matthew

2:26 HG τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν Syn τοὺς ἱερεῖς

13:5 HG ἀποκριθεὶς Syn omit

1:2 HG ἐγώ Syn omit

The LXX of Mal 3:1 includes ἐγώ. This citation occurs in all three synoptics. There is no obvious reason why Matthew (according to HG *and* Syn) has ἐγώ in conformity with LXX but (according to Syn) Mark does not. The whole question of harmonizing to a gospel parallel is complicated when harmonizing to the LXX also becomes a possibility.

c) When HG has an agreement of Mark = Luke against Matthew

i) there seem to be no instances where Syn prints a reading in Mark that would create a “minor agreement” of Matthew = Luke against Mark.

ii) Syn has Matthew = Mark against Luke

8:28 HG ἀπεκρίθησαν Syn εἶπαν

9:5 HG τρεῖς σκηνάς Syn 2 1

10:13 HG ἐπετίμων Syn ἐπετίμησαν

11:2 HG λαόν Syn ὄχλον

Cf. also Mk 4:38 HG διεγείρουσιν where the compound verb agrees with Luke. Syn ἐγείρουσιν has a simple verb with Matthew.

One freak situation may be noted here. This concerns differing texts of Mark in HG and Syn but where these differences succeed in main-

taining Mark independence from Matthew = Luke. In both printed synopses therefore we find a “minor agreement”. This occurs at Mk 2:10.

HG ἀφιέναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
ἀμαρτίας

In the Matthaean and Lukan parallels both editions read the order 2-4 1 5 which may have a different exegetical and theological significance when compared with either of the two printed texts of Mark.

III. *Luke*

1. In the following examples HG makes the three parallels agree whereas Syn harmonizes any two against three.

c)²⁵ Where the reading in Syn makes Matthew = Mark against Luke [353]
 18:24 HG omit περίλυτον Syn περίλυτον γενόμενον
 γενόμενον

The apparatus to HG ignores the *v.l.* despite its importance, history, and ms. support of the longer text: Neirynck, *Minor Agreements*, p. 59, replaces the words of the longer text with three dots. To have included them would have indicated the agreement in omission in Matthew and Mark.

20:9 HG ἄνθρωπος Syn ἄνθρωπός τις

d) There seem to be no instances where Syn has a text making all three parallels differ at a point where HG has all three the same.

2. In the following examples Syn makes all three parallels agree whereas HG harmonizes any two against three.

c)²⁶ Where the reading in HG makes Matthew = Mark against Luke
 3:22 HG υἱός μου εἶ σύ ἐγὼ Syn σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός,
 σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ἐν σοὶ²⁷ εὐδόκησα
 [BL = HG]

²⁵ There seem to be no instances where Syn has Mark = Luke against Matthew (B III 1 a) or where Syn has Matthew = Luke against Mark (B III 1 b).

²⁶ There seem to be no instances where HG makes Mark = Luke against Matthew (B III 2 a) or Matthew = Luke against Mark (B III 2 b).

²⁷ ὧ in Matthew, σοί in Mark.

Here HG agrees with Ps 2,7(LXX) cf. a similar harmonization by HG to the LXX at Mk 1,2 (B II 5 b ii above).

- 5:34 HG omit Ἰησοῦς Syn Ἰησοῦς
[BL omits Ἰησοῦς in Luke and in Mark, thus making Luke = Mark against Matthew].
- 6:3* HG ὁπότε Syn ὅτε
- 6:7 HG παρετηροῦντο δὲ Syn παρετηροῦντο δὲ αὐτὸν
[BL = HG]
- 6:38* HG τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ Syn ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ
μέτρῳ ᾧ
[BL = HG]
- 8:32 HG βοσκομένων Syn βοσκομένη
- 9:18 HG οἱ ὄχλοι λέγουσιν Syn 3 1–2
- 17:33* HG καὶ ὃς ἐάν² Syn ὃς δ' ἂν
[BL reads καὶ ὃς ἂν which, like HG, makes this occurrence of the saying in Luke differ from the three other occurrences of the saying, Mt 16:25 = Mk 8:35²⁸ = Lk 9:24].
- 18:28 HG Πέτρος Syn ὁ Πέτρος
- 20:1 HG ἱερεῖς Syn ἀρχιερεῖς
- 22:61 HG λόγου Syn ῥήματος
[BL = HG]
- 23:38 HG γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Syn omit
Ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς
If secondary, this longer text is likely to have come from the Fourth Gospel.

- [354] d) There seem to be no instances where HG has a text making all three parallels differ at a point where Syn has all three the same.

3. In the following examples HG makes all three parallels differ.

a) Where Syn makes Mark = Luke against Matthew

- 8:26 HG Γεργεσηνων Syn Γερασηνων
[BL = HG]
- 20:24 HG ἀποκριθέντες δέ Syn οἱ δέ

²⁸ q.v. at B II 1 b and B II 2 b.

b) Where Syn makes Matthew = Mark against Luke (a “minor agreement”)

5,13 HG εἰπών Syn λεγών
 Cf. 19:30 HG εἰπών Syn λεγών
 [BL = HG at 19,30]

c) There seem to be no instances where Syn makes Matthew = Mark against Luke.

4. In the following examples Syn makes all three parallels differ but where c)²⁹ HG makes Matthew = Mark against Luke

18:22* HG ἐν οὐρανοῖς Syn ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
 Note that HG at Mt 19:21 reads ἐν οὐρανῷ = Mk. Syn has ἐν οὐρανοῖς at Mt 19:21; cf. B I 4 c above.

5. When one synopsis creates a parallel between two gospels against one at a point when the other synopsis creates a different parallel of two against one:

a ii)³⁰ HG has a reading that makes Matthew = Luke against Mark (a “minor agreement” but Syn has Mark = Luke against Matthew

19:36 HG ἐαυτῶν Syn αὐτῶν

b) There seem to be no instances when HG has Matthew = Mark against Luke at a point where Syn has either Mark = Luke against Matthew (B III 5 b i) or Matthew = Luke against Mark (B III 5 b ii).

c) When HG has Mark = Luke against Matthew

i) Syn has Matthew = Luke against Mark (a “minor agreement”).

6:5* HG ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Syn 6-7 1-4
 καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου

²⁹ There seem to be no instances where HG makes Luke = Matthew against Mark (B III 4 b) with the possible exception of Lk 9:13 HG πέντε ἄρτοι cf. Syn 2 1. The Matthean parallel has the numeral preceeding the noun (in the accusative). There seem to be no instances where HG makes Luke = Mark against Matthew (B III 4 a).

³⁰ There seem to be no examples when HG makes Matthew = Luke against Mark where Syn has Matthew = Mark against Luke (B III 5 a i).

8:52*	HG οὐκ	Syn οὐ γάρ
21:8*	HG ὅτι	Syn omit

ii) There seem to be no instances where Syn has Matthew = Mark against Luke.

[355]

CONCLUSIONS

By gathering together material under these different heads an overall picture can be created. Thus if, like Professor Neirynck, one is interested in the minor agreements of Matthew-Luke against Mark one can gather together all the references above under the subheading numbers B I 4 b, 5 a (i), b (ii), II 1 b, 2 b, III 3 b, 5 a (ii), c (i).³¹ It would then be noted that HG has a larger number of such agreements than Syn (actually some 20 in HG avoided by Syn, and about 11 in Syn avoided by HG). Because these differences are due to textual variation, obviously one is at liberty to reject the editor's decisions and (in theory) choose to accept as the original text those variants that increase—or, if one wishes, decrease—the number of such minor agreements. This procedure would be open to objections on text critical grounds, but it does serve to demonstrate the often fluid nature of statistical bases.³²

Another exercise would be to follow the lead given by HG and increase the degree of dissimilarity between the parallels. To do this would encourage the acceptance of only those readings that avoid agreements. By so doing, in some cases in the triple tradition one may well create some minor agreements. The results of such an exercise would reveal about 83 harmonizations between two gospels in Syn avoided by HG, but (despite its principles) some 33 harmonizations between two gospels in HG avoided by Syn. Where three gospels are

³¹ Subheadings numbered B I 1 b, 2 b, 3 b, 5 a (ii) c (i), II 3 b, 4 b, 5 a (i, ii) b (ii) c (i), III 1 b, 2 b, 4 b, 5 a (i) b (ii) seem not to display any examples of minor agreements.

³² Neirynck's *Minor Agreements* (1991) gives an appendix that lists those differences between NA²⁵ and NA²⁶ which concern minor agreements. According to his figures about 22 minor agreements in NA²⁵ are removed by NA²⁶, but about 27 are created in NA²⁶ when compared with NA²⁵. When comparing Greeven and NA²⁶ over 50 minor agreements are removed by HG and over 60 created by HG. Many of these may be formally correct but I suspect that many do not really concern "minor agreements" (e.g., at Mk 16:2 neither the reading τῆς μιᾶς of HG nor the reading τῇ μιᾷ τῶν of NA²⁶ tells us much about the parallels).

concerned Syn has about 45 harmonizations avoided by HG, and some 11 in HG avoided by Syn.

A common assumption in work of this kind is that scribes of Mark and of Luke tended to harmonize to Matthew. This assumption was found to be invalid in the recent survey by Wisselink.³³ His conclusions seem to be borne out by the figures above, especially under B I.

For agreements of Mark = Luke against Matthew references need to be consulted under headings B I a, B II 1 a, B I 2 a, B II 3 a, B III 3 a, B II 5 b (i), 5 c (ii), B III 5 a (ii), 5 c (i).³⁴

For agreements of Mark = Matthew against Luke references need to be consulted under headings B I 1 c, B II 1 c, B III 1 c, B III 2 c, B II 3 c, B I 4 c, B II 4 c, B III 4 c, B I 5 a (i), b (ii), B II 5 b (i, ii), c ii.³⁴ [356]

Where two gospels are concerned, for examples concerning Matthew = Mark see under A I i a, ii a, II i a, ii a. For Matthew = Luke see A I i b, ii b, III i a, ii a. For Mark = Luke see A II 1 b, ii b, III i b ii b.

SAYINGS OF JESUS

The asterisked references in the above lists refer to variants that occur in sayings of Jesus. Despite the impression sometimes conveyed by certain commentators, the sayings of Jesus were not transmitted either in the oral period or in the ms. tradition with any greater degree of fidelity than editorial matter. Thus variation occurs when a saying of Jesus is reported in more than one gospel, even though scribes occasionally tended to remove such differences by harmonizing one text with that of another. In the lists above some 84 differences between the two editions reviewed concern sayings of Jesus (c. 22 in Matthew, c. 32 in Mark, c. 31 in Luke). Scribes and, as a consequence of the manuscript tradition, editors of printed texts do not treat dominical sayings any differently from other material. It is also clear that the pre-literary transmission of gospel material did not generate in either evangelist or scribe a respect for a fixed immutable form for the sayings.

³³ W.F. Wisselink, *Assimilation* (Kampen: Kok, 1989) and cf. my review in *NovT* 33 (1991) pp. 179–180.

³⁴ Only those headings which yield examples have been given.

APPENDIX

The above survey has concentrated on the synopses of Aland and Greeven. A full survey should take other synopses into account, not least the recent publications by Orchard and Boismard & Lamouille. Space prohibits this survey here, but a few samples of their editions now follow.

Orchard

The text of J.B. Orchard, *A Synopsis of the Four Gospels in Greek*, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983) was included in my survey of "Three Recent Greek Synopses" (1986).³⁵ In it I observed that Orchard's text occasionally printed as the text a variant that had the effect of destroying the harmony found in either HG or Syn of both. Occasionally in my lists above Orchard's reading is referred to. We may in addition note the following. In the triple tradition:

[357] Mk 8:34 Orchard ἐλθεῖν HG/Syn ἀκολουθεῖν

Here Orchard makes all three parallels closer.

Mk 11:31 Orchard + τί εἰπῶμεν; HG/Syn omit

The addition of the question characteristic of Markan usage and likely to be original to the text creates an agreement of Matthew = Luke against Mark. HG and Syn have all three parallels the same, but further in that verse a different alliance is created:

Mk 11:31 Orchard + ἡμῖν HG/Syn omit

For Orchard now Matthew = Mark against Luke; HG/Syn Mark = Luke against Matthew.

Cf. also Mt 13:7 Orchard ἀπέπνιξαν HG/Syn ἔπνιξαν

³⁵ Cf. above, n. 5.

Orchard again has Matthew = Mark against Luke (HG/Syn make all three parallels different).

In the double tradition we may note:

	Mk 13:22	Orchard δέ (against Mt)	HG/Syn γάρ (= Mt)
But cf.	Lk 12:22	Orchard ὑμῶν (= Mt)	HG/Syn omit (against Mt).

Boismard and Lamouille

The text of M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Synopsis Graeca Quattuor Evangeliorum* (Leuven-Paris: Peeters, 1986) is close to but not identical with Syn. Neirynck in his article “Le texte des évangiles” (1987)³⁶ has listed c. 154 differences between BL and NA²⁶ (= Syn) of which 34 are not to be found in the usual printed editions of the New Testament. Many of course concern parallels (cf. Neirynck, pp. 131–132).

Those working with the BL text will need to take the following verses into account. There they will find BL differs from Syn (= HG) at a place which can effect a parallel in at least one other gospel: Mt 10:42; 14:3; 15:26; 22:35; (23:4); 26:22; Mk 1:6,22,25; 2:10,19; 3:35; 8:35; 9:42; 10:2,7; 12:9,14,30; 13,28,31; 14:2,30; Lk 3:16,22; 6:4; 8:25; 9:16; 11:31–33; 21:27; 22:22; (24:6).

Boismard and Lamouille (p. vii), like HG, claims that many of its changes are to eliminate harmonizing readings, but this is not always shown in the evidence, e.g., Mt 14:3; Mk 12:9; 14:30.

POSTSCRIPTUM

Re the promised companion volume referred to on page 439 see the Postscriptum to chapter 25.

³⁶ Cf. above, n. 10. Reprinted with an “Additional Note” in *Evangelica II*, 1991, pp. 389–405.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

RESOLVING THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM USING THE TEXT OF PRINTED GREEK SYNOPSES

In the Neiryneck *Festschrift*¹ I listed under several categories differences [51] between the Greek text printed in the synopses of Aland² (= Syn) and Greeven³ (= HG) and with cross-references to the synopses of Orchard⁴ and Boismard-Lamouille⁵ (= BL) in order to demonstrate the effect editorial text-critical decisions could have on an investigation into, or on statistics relevant to, the resolution of the Synoptic Problem. In that article I tried to present mere lists without commentary. In the present article I shall endeavour to make the dry presentation of lists into a practical exposition of how these texts (on which most exegetes will base their conclusion about the Synoptic Problem) can lead the unsuspecting along differing paths. For my examples below I shall use samples that reveal different aspects of literary interrelationship. We are concerned here only with those variants that are the cause of differences in the printed editions.

I divide the examples into *a*) those where the variants printed in one gospel affect the relationship with one other gospel, and *b*) those where the variants printed in one gospel occur in the triple tradition.

¹ F. van Segbroeck *et al.* (ed.), *The Four Gospels 1992* (Leuven: University Press and Peeters) pp. 338–57 “Printed Editions of Greek Synopses and their Influence on the Synoptic Problem”. Reprinted here as Chapter 26.

² K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1985).

³ A. Huck, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien. Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* 13th edition revised by H. Greeven (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981).

⁴ J.B. Orchard, *Synopsis of the Four Gospels in Greek* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1983).

⁵ M.-E. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Synopsis Graeca Quattuor Evangeliorum* (Leuven and Paris: Peeters, 1986).

[52]

1. IN TWO GOSPELS

a) *Matt. 11:9/Luke 7:26*

There are numerous textual variants in these verses but Syn has chosen to print Matt. 11:9 with the same text as the parallel in Luke 7:26:

<p>Matt.: ἀλλὰ τί ἐξήλθατε ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, καὶ περισσότερον προφήτου.</p>	<p>Luke: ἀλλὰ τί ἐξήλθατε ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, καὶ περισσότερον προφήτου.</p>
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(BL= Syn)

This maintains the close parallelism between Matt. and Luke in this pericope about the witness of Jesus to John the Baptist. If one examines the same verses in HG there are significant differences between the parallels.

<p>Matt.: ἀλλὰ τί ἐξήλθατε; προφήτην ἰδεῖν ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, καὶ περισσότερον προφήτου.</p>	<p>Luke: ἀλλὰ τί ἐξεληλύθατε ἰδεῖν; προφήτην; ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, καὶ περισσότερον προφήτου.</p>
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Seeing the differences, one is then led to investigate whether Matthew's version of the first question as printed by Syn is characteristic of the author; and whether Luke's version of the second question in both Syn and HG is characteristic of that author. But most readers are unlikely to query the text-critical decisions behind these printed texts. As far as the Synoptic Problem is concerned a more usual, albeit myopic, reading of these in HG would encourage the reader to assume either Matt. and/or Luke had deviated from their source (Q?) or that Luke had adjusted the text he found in Matt. Users of Syn could add this verse to others that suggest both evangelists had been faithful to their source. It is also worth noting that not only in these verses but also in Luke 7:24 and 25 ἐξεληλύθατε is found in parallel to Matt.'s ἐξήλθατε in HG's text.

Orchard prints the idiosyncratic ἀλλὰ τί ἐξήλθατε; ἰδεῖν προφήτην; in both Matthew and Luke which gives the same impression as Syn in displaying identical wording in the verses.

b) *Matt. 11:23/Luke 10:15*

Parallels between the gospels encouraged scribal activity; similarly, OT citations in NT books encouraged harmonization. At Matt. 11:23a and Luke 10:15 we find an allusion to Isa. 14:13ff. Syn prints

Matt.: καὶ σὺ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως ᾧδου καταβήσῃ·	Luke: καὶ σὺ, Καφαρναούμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως τοῦ ᾧδου καταβήσῃ·	[53]
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The text thus has the verb καταβήσῃ (= LXX) in both, and the only difference between the parallels is that Matt. has anarthrous ᾧδου. HG prints

Matt.: καὶ σὺ, Καφαρναουμ, μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως ᾧδου καταβιβασθήσῃ·	Luke: καὶ σὺ, Καφαρναουμ, μὴ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; ἕως ᾧδου καταβιβασθήσῃ·
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The final verb differs from Syn (καταβιβασθήσῃ) but the parallels are still seen in agreement here. In HG ᾧδου is anarthrous in both gospels, but οὐρανοῦ is anarthrous in Matt. not Luke. Whatever one's conclusions about the originality of the variants, and however one resolves the problem of scribal assimilation to the LXX, the parallels in the printed synopses here do at least show differences in the use of the definite article—and this needs to be taken into consideration.

BL follows Syn except that in Luke καταβιβασθήσῃ is read; in Matt. BL has καταβήσῃ which displays a more substantial difference between the parallels and implies that the citation by one of the evangelists was not as close to the LXX as the citation in the other. Is that likely? If so, could that have been the reason for the change by the other evangelist? Or are the differences due to later, scribal, alteration? (If that is the case we cannot accept the text of Matt. in BL, or the text of Matt. and Luke in Syn as representing the original word of the original author.)

Orchard agrees with Syn in both columns.

A comparable text involving a citation from the OT is at Mark 1:2. Here HG (and Orchard) include ἐγώ. Syn (and BL) omit the pronoun. The citation (from Mal. 3:1) is in all three synoptics although the quotation is given a different context in Matt. and Luke (in Matt. at 11:10; in Luke 7:27). The pronoun is not firmly established in the textual tradition of the LXX of Mal. There is no obvious reason why (according to BL and Syn) Matt. should write ἐγώ but Mark and Luke not, unless each, independently, follows different mss. of the LXX, one agreeing with a ms. with the pronoun, one agreeing with a ms. lacking the pronoun. Reading HG would encourage the conclusion that Matt. and Luke cite the passage according to the same principles. More significant from the point of view of literary interrelationships is the fact that Syn's text makes Mark and Luke agree against Matt. in this verse. An agreement of Matt. = Luke against Mark can be seen as both

evangelists have transferred the citation as found in Mark to a different context. HG's text has Mark = Matt. against Luke and this instance can be added to comparable examples where the text of Mark differs in HG and in Syn at Mark 2:26; 13:5 with similar consequences.

[54]

c) *Mark 11:33/Matt. 21:27*

Turning now to a parallel between Mark and Matt. one notes at Mark 11:33 that HG (and BL) have the order λέγουσιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ. Syn (and Orchard) print τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσιν.

Again we need to assess the originality of the variants by examining Markan usage⁶ and scribal proclivities. But if one accepts the editorial judgements behind the printed synopses then one accepts at the same time the consequences those decisions have for the Synoptic Problem. In Syn Matt. and Mark agree in having ἀποκριθέντες followed by τῷ Ἰησοῦ and the verb of saying, suggesting one text has directly influenced the other without deviation. From the text in HG it might be deduced that one author deliberately adjusted the word order of his predecessor. The change could affect the way in which the verse is understood (and translated). Luke 20:7 can not be claimed as a true parallel because the wording is not sufficiently close to that in Matt./Mark. (Jesus is not mentioned and there is not a second verb of speech.)

d) *Mark 6:22/Matt. 14:6*⁷

At Mark 6:22 HG reads αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος, Syn (and HG) αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδος. Syn therefore suggests that in Matt. the girl is the daughter of Herodias and in Mark that she is Herod's daughter with the name Herodias.

HG, although not making the parallels completely identical nonetheless has both agree in saying that the girl is the daughter of Herodias, αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος in Mark probably being a typical example of

⁶ See my *The Language and Style of the Gospel According to Mark* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

⁷ I dealt with this variant in "An Eclectic Textual Commentary on the Greek Text of Mark's Gospel" in E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism: its Significance for Exegesis (Festschrift for B.M. Metzger)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) pp. 47–60 esp. pp. 55–6. Reprinted in J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cordoba: El Almendro, 1991) (= *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3) pp. 159–70 esp. pp. 166–7.

Mark's defining an indefinite term (here ἀντῆς) with an editorial explanation (τῆς Ἡρώδιαδος "that is to say of Herodias"), although it may of course be translated here "the daughter of Herodias herself".

Orchard prints ἀντῆς Ἡρώδιαδος in Mark, a reading apparently based on uncial W alone, (a fact not revealed in Orchard's confusing *apparatus*). This synopsis therefore implies a different situation, namely that her (sc. Herodias') daughter is also named Herodias, Ἡρώδιαδος being in apposition to τῆς θυγατρὸς. The Matthaean parallel here includes only the mother's name.

Whatever the actual historical facts may have been, from the point of view of the Synoptic Problem one could argue on the basis of HG [55] that Matt. and Mark tell the same story; using Syn it could be shown that one author deliberately changed the facts; using Orchard (and accepting his preferred solution to the Synoptic Problem, namely Matthaean priority and Markan posteriority) what is being suggested is that Mark is adding to information he found in Matt., but if one eschews his solution the conclusion could be drawn that Matt. has clarified the imprecise text he found in Mark.

2. TRIPLE TRADITION

a) *Matt. 19:24/Mark 10:25/Luke 18:25*

There are many variants in all three accounts of Jesus' famous saying about the camel and the eye of a needle. This suggests *a*) that differing versions of the saying were in circulation, that the three synoptic writers drew on these separate versions and that it was later scribes who attempted to harmonize the accounts or *b*) that the original (historically accurate?) version of the saying was cited carelessly by scribes in the copying process. The complications of the verse were dealt with in my paper to the Jerusalem conference on the gospels in 1984.⁸

As far as the present investigation is concerned, we note that HG (and Orchard) create an agreement of Matt. = Luke against Mark (i.e. a "minor agreement") in reading διὰ...εἰσελεῖν in Matt. 19:24. Syn (and BL) make Matt. = Mark against Luke by printing διὰ...διελεῖν

⁸ "The Relevance of Textual Criticism to the Synoptic Problem" in D.L. Dungan (ed.), *The Interrelations of the Gospels* (Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1990) (= BETL 95) pp. 348–59. Reprinted in my *Essays and Studies* pp. 147–58.

in Matt. The Markan parallel in both is διὰ διελθεῖν; the Lucan διὰ...εἰσελθεῖν. All the synopses have Matt. read τρυπήματος, Mark τρυμαλιᾶς, and Luke τρήματος. Other differences exist as the *apparatus* reveal, including the use of the definite article with τρυμαλιᾶς and ῥαφίδος in Mark which creates a further “minor agreement”, but all four synopses in our survey agree here- Syn, however, brackets the article (*bis*). The issue of a verb compounded with, and followed by, the same preposition is where an author’s style may be consistent and where stylistically conscious scribes often made changes. Thus to find in two synopses that Matt. agrees with Mark in this matter but that in two other synopses that these two gospels differ may or may not contribute to the statistics on minor agreements (cf. Matt. 17:5 HG against the others, or Matt. 19:21 HG against the others).

[56]

b) *Matt. 21:44*

Here a whole verse is involved. The verse is included in brackets in Syn (and Orchard), but omitted in HG (and BL). As with so many other variants, the issue to be resolved should be based on the consistency of Matthew’s language and style and on his overall theological stance. One’s preferred solution to the resolution of the Synoptic Problem should take second place to those considerations. Syn creates a “minor agreement” of Matt. = Luke against Mark; HG creates a text in which Matt. = Mark against Luke.

If the verse were added by scribes of Matt. out of Luke (as HG implies) then one needs to ask whether Luke found the words in the source also used by Matthew because the surrounding context has many similarities, or whether he added the words to that source. Adopting another position, one could assume that Luke read Matthew and adapted Matt. 21:44 (if Syn is right) or added the words from his own *Sondergut* (if HG is correct).

c) *Matt. 22:32/Mark 12:27/Luke 20:28*

At Matt. 22:32 Syn reads:

οὐκ ἔστιν [ὁ] θεὸς νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ ζώντων.

At Matt. 22:32 HG reads:

οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς θεὸς νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ ζώντων.

Whether the longer text in HG was due to dittography, or the shorter text of Syn due to haplography, the case remains that the separate editorial decisions have resulted in a synoptic presentation that could

affect the statistics assembled about literary interdependence, and, cumulatively, affect a solution to the Synoptic Problem. The double occurrence of θεός in HG makes Matt. and Mark differ. The Lukan parallel (20:38) is rephrased as θεός δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν νεκρῶν, and in relation to both HG and Syn must be seen as standing apart from Matt./Mark. The rewriting by Luke here encouraged me to display this text as an example of the “Double Tradition” (A I [i a]) in the Neirynck *Festschrift* (*op. cit.*) even though the context as a whole is obviously part of the triple tradition.

Syn makes Matt. disagree with Mark in the matter of the definite article. Orchard has ὁ in both Matthew and Mark thereby making both closer. BL similarly makes the two parallels exact, although in his case ὁ is absent from both Matt. and Mark.

HG makes the parallels different: this is in line with Greeven’s declared policy of presenting a text in which variants are often—but not consistently—chosen to represent the original text of each gospel if they are not harmonizing readings. The differing text of HG here opens up the possibility that Matt. has added θεός to the text to provide a definite subject for ἔστιν despite the resultant repetition of θεός in one verse. Syn tells us that Matt. is faithful to Mark (or *vice versa*), [57] cf. Mark 14:45 where again Syn makes the parallels differ in a matter concerning the doubling of a title. Here HG repeats ῥαββί: Syn, BL, Orchard have the title once. The text in HG offers possibilities of Mark expanding Matt. or Matt. reducing Mark. From Syn the fidelity of Matt. and Mark is seen. Luke (22:47) again stands apart in ignoring the form of address on Judas’ lips.

d) *Mark 2:10/Matt. 9:6/Luke 5:24*

HG and Syn print differing texts of Mark but both editions have the effect of maintaining Mark’s independence of Matt. and of Luke. In both these synopses therefore we find a “minor agreement”. HG has:

...ἀφιέναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἁμαρτίας.

Syn (and Orchard) have:

...ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

The Matthaean order of the words ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας (Matt. 9:6) is identical with the Lukan order (Luke 5:24) and both are the same in HG and Syn.

The differences in word order can effect the translation and exegesis of the verse. Does the Son of Man have authority on earth to forgive sins or does the Son of Man have authority to forgive sins on earth?

In BL the words in question are the same in both Matt. and Luke but in Mark 2:10 the words ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς are excluded. Once more we see a “minor agreement” of Matt. and Luke against Mark.

It is significant that none of these texts has chosen to follow the reading that would make all three parallels agree.

e) *Mark 8:35/Matt. 16:25/Luke 9:24*

Here we are concerned with another familiar saying of Jesus: “Whoever wishes to save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake and for the gospel’s will save it.” In what form was the saying transmitted? (The disputed words +/- καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου in Mark do not concern us here as all four synopses in this survey have the longer text.)

In addition to the presence of the saying in Mark 8:35 and parallels (Matt. 16:25; Luke 9:24) it also occurs at Matt. 10:39; Luke 17:33 (and probably at John 12:25). There are significant variants throughout. At Mark 8:35 the major synopses differ in their resolution of the textual variants.

Syn at Mark 8:35 reads:

ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν θέλῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου σώσει αὐτήν·

- [58] (αὐτοῦ was omitted from my list in the Neiryneck *Festschrift* p. 351, 1. 2).

HG at Mark 8:35 reads:

ὃς γὰρ ἐὰν θέλῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, σώσει αὐτήν·

In the case of ἀπολέσῃ/ἀπολέσει² HG (and BL and Orchard) have all three parallels (Mark 8:35; Matt. 16:25; Luke 9:24) in agreement whereas Syn (and BL) create another “minor agreement” of Matt. = Luke against Mark. When we turn to the order of the words ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν/ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ² it is Syn (with BL and Orchard) that has these three parallels in agreement and it is HG which has a “minor agreement”!

Note that BL omits ἐμοῦ καὶ at Mark 8:35 thereby enhancing the differences between Mark and Matt. = Luke.

The saying as a whole needs to be taken into account alongside the details already noted, but from the point of view of the printed synopses the differences in the way each prints the Markan version complicates an already complicated verse.

As far as the verse in the other contexts is concerned it is for those interested in the whole question of doublets and the overlaps between Q and Mark to explain the relationship of the sayings. As far as the printed synopsis texts are concerned they will need to ponder the differences apparent in the Lukan version (17:33) between Syn and HG:

HG has: καὶ ὅς ἐστιν.

Syn has: ὅς δ' ἔστιν.

Syn therefore makes this verse agree with the other three occurrences of the saying, whereas HG makes this occurrence differ from the earlier occurrence in Luke and from the Matt./Mark parallel. Matt. 10:39 stands apart in this matter with its ὁ ἀπολέσας.

BL and Orchard read καὶ ὅς ἔστιν at Luke 17:33, but this has the same effect as HG, namely to make Luke differ from the three other occurrences of the saying (Matt. 16:25; Mark 8:35; Luke 9:24).⁹

⁹ On ἐστιν/ἔστιν see Blass-Debrunner para. 107.

PART FOUR

REVIEWS OF RECENT CRITICAL EDITIONS

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

THE *EDITIO CRITICA MAIOR*

Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Gert Mink, Klaus Wachtel (and for Installment 4 Holger Strutwolf) (eds), *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior* IV Catholic Letters/ Die Katholischen Briefe (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft). Part 1: Text; Part 2: Supplementary Material.

Installment 1: James (1997)

Installment 2: The Letters of Peter (2000)

Installment 3: The First Letter of John (2003)

Installment 4: The Second and Third Letter of John. The Letter of Jude (2005)

A) REVIEWS

I) JAMES

- [195] The famous 8th edition of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece* first appeared in 1869 and is still an indispensable reference tool for all who work on the text of the New Testament. That book was subheaded *Editio Octava Critica Maior*.

It had been the late Kurt Aland's lifelong ambition to edit a 20th century replacement of Tischendorf. To that end, as founder and director of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung, Aland initiated a series of projects that ultimately were to produce the "new Tischendorf." The title of the present series of fascicules does not, however, repeat Tischendorf's title, possibly to prevent confusion with the title of the Nestle testament.

Aland's plans were exposed in numerous places, most conspicuously in the volume he co-authored with Barbara Aland. *The Text of the New Testament*, esp. ET² p. 24. The new *Editio Critica Maior* (= ECM) was always planned to start with the Catholic Epistles. That is why in recent years the production of several volumes on these epistles in publications emanating from the Münster Institut has been at the forefront of its activities. First came K. Aland (ed.), *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus I Die Katholischen Briefe* (Berlin and New York, 1986) = ANTF 6, followed by B. Aland (ed.). *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung I Die Großen Katholischen Briefe* (Berlin and New York, 1986) = ANTF 7.

Then in 1987 appeared the highly relevant volumes in the series *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (= *T&T*) on the Catholic Epistles = ANTF 9, 10a, 10b, 11. Strangely, the references to these publications in the present volume p. 2* and p. 12*¹ give the wrong volume numbers for ANTF. The ANTF series here is referred to by the letters ANTF, following the abbreviation for *Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung* favoured by Schwertner, whose *Verzeichnis* is unflinchingly followed in ECM. This

¹ From now on I refer only to the English pages in part I.

is in contrast with the abbreviation *ANTF* found on the spine of the volumes themselves.

The first distillation of all the years of preparation are these two fascicules, volume IV Part 1 *Text* and Part 2 *Supplementary Material*. Part 1 (*Text*) begins with a Preface in German and in English, followed by an Introduction in both languages. The Introduction describes the goals and structure of the edition, and its textual witnesses Greek MSS., Greek Fathers, early versions. It also explains the construction of the apparatus, and the rules of presentation. Part 2 (*Supplementary Material*)² is also bi-lingual. Its page numbers are prefaced with the letter B, presumably an abbreviation of the German version of the title (*Begleitendes Material*). In it are to be found the abbreviations and symbols used in *ECM*, a list of the MSS. containing the Catholic Epistles and specifically James, a list of uniquely Byzantine readings in James, and a list of Greek Fathers quoting from the Catholics. There is also a List of Lacunae (pp. B10ff.): this contains not only MSS. that are fragmentary but those whose text is no longer legible. In it we note, for example, that much in 048 33 400 is illegible and hence the lacunae are labelled “U” (= Unleserlich): it is helpful to have such explanations given here. We also read here that 631 has many inexplicable omissions. The five lacunose papyri containing parts of James are set out in some detail, but for the four published papyri (P^{20 23 54 74}) it is much easier to see the extent of their text by using the splendidly visual presentation in the Institut’s *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*. [196]

There follows in the *Supplementary Material* a list of errors in Greek MSS. (amplifying the apparatus where “f” (= Fehler) is suffixed to the number of the faulty MS.). At James 4:2, where a variant is included in the *apparatus* only because of Fehler in two MSS., the explanation in the list (section 2.4) is uncharacteristically unhelpful, and, after reading the note that the error was “κ (*sic*),” one is left wondering what cursive 330 actually reads. And surely all the errors in the list qualify for (*sic*)? Gründlichkeit requires our being told in this section that at 3:8/18 the scribe of 1241 accidentally wrote κακακον for κακον. We are also informed that at 3:18 1881 has ειρηνηνην for ειρηνην. One wonders how the system will cope with this tiresome exhaustiveness when we eventually reach the Gospels. At 3:12 (22–30) 1243 is said to have the nonsense reading αλψκον for αλυκον, but that Fehler seems

² In the text volume pp. 12*, 17* the second part is called simply “*Supplement*.”

not to be scribal (cf. p. B13): on p. B34 this reading of 1243 is repeated (in a rare example of a Fehler that is also an ambiguous reading) and there 1243 is said to read αλυkov!

Also in Part 2 are detailed explanations of the MSS. and editions used for the versional evidence in the *apparatus*.

An “Additional Apparatus” being section 5.1 in the *Supplementary Material* pp. B31ff. contains 40 readings found in 29 additional MSS. located in von Soden and Tischendorf, repeated in *T&T* but not in any of the 182 MSS. used in *ECM*. This section also adds three notes on the corrections in 04 where the editions of Tischendorf and Lyon differ. Finally this part has 2 further sections: one (section 5.2) explains the meaning of a double headed horizontal arrow preceding the listing of certain MSS. in the *apparatus*. That symbol is used to alert us to the inability of the editors to assign the reading in these MSS. to one of the listed variants, generally because the MSS. in question contain incomplete words, or, occasionally, because of other ambiguities, e.g. itacism in 01 at James 2:11. Section 5.2 sets out the precise contents of these defective words, or of the ambiguous readings. A further list (5.3) is devoted to versional variants whose attestation in the *apparatus* is in need of further clarification. These comments are most useful. As any one who has tried to assemble an *apparatus* well appreciates, it is not always straightforward setting out certain readings conveniently in the conventions and structures of an *apparatus*. We applaud the editors for these aids.

Parts 1 and 2 are bound and numbered separately thus enabling ready cross reference and easy consultation.

The bulk of Part 1 is a 102 page presentation of the text of James with a full critical *apparatus*. Each page contains the text of James across the top, immediately beneath which is a conspectus of all the variants, each lemma being set out in full. In this way one is enabled to see the nature of each variant alongside the base text. One imaginative novelty here is that each word in the lead text is allocated an even number, beginning with 2 at each new verse. The spaces between the words are allocated odd numbers, starting with 1 for the space preceding the initial word. In this way the variants in the *apparatus* can be related quickly to the lead text. This innovation is to be commended. These numbers are referred to in introductory matter as “numerical addresses” (cf. “letter addresses” which refer to the alphabetical sequences of readings used in each set of textual variants).

The presentation is reminiscent of the layout of the *Vetus Latina* fascicules or of the Itala volumes on the Gospels. The critical *apparatus* is printed in double columns in the lower halves of each page. The units of variation are sensible and clear. If, for example, a lengthy variation unit concerns a change of word order in some MSS., as well as a variation in vocabulary, then a lemma noting the variation in vocabulary [197] may be given separately; if so, the later variant is arrowed to the earlier, longer variant, and the longer variant bears a downwards pointing arrow to alert one to the other variant(s). In this way the reader is encouraged to observe the wider picture when necessary.

All Greek MSS. are known only by number, the common use of letters for certain MSS. having, sensibly, been dropped. Lectionaries are designated by an initial small capital "L," rather than the more usual italicized lower case "l." These changes were probably made in the interests of typographical ease.

The quarto pages of text and *apparatus* succeed in keeping verse and *apparatus* together over a double page; there is never a need to turn over to locate the *apparatus* to the text of the previous page. That is good! The editors have succeeded in combining a mass of detail with clarity of presentation, even for such convoluted variants at, say, James 5:10 where over 30 differing readings are given. The construction of a critical *apparatus* is a complicated business if one is striving at exhaustiveness of presentation, as I was all too aware when drafting the IGNTP volumes on Luke.

If there are more than 15 MSS. with a reading that differs from the base text, then a full presentation of evidence, including the MSS. supporting the reading in the base text, is printed. This is the so-called positive *apparatus*. If there are fewer than 15 MSS. then a "negative *apparatus*" is found, in which only variants against the base line are printed. One still needs to keep open pages B33f. to be able to incorporate MSS. whose words are imperfectly preserved, i.e. those whose readings are thereby rendered ambiguous and therefore identified with a double-headed arrow preceding their number in the *apparatus*.

In every case all lacunose MSS. are set out for each unit. This is obviously foolproof and clear. But I do wonder if an economy of space could have been achieved. For MSS. as fragmentary as say P²⁰ or P²³ they must be listed as deficient in every full *apparatus* printed here (perhaps some 600 times, because deficiencies are noted not merely for every verse but for every lemma within the verse). In the International

Greek New Project's *apparatus* to Luke we printed a list of all MSS. deficient for the chapter at the head of that chapter, and MSS. deficient for a verse at the head of each verse. This device prevented such repetition. In future editions of *ECM* the editors may wish to consider economising on space by doing something similar. Their current practice is one of incredible prodigality.

A comparison of the two publications, *T&T* and *ECM* shows the difference in scale. In *T&T* Teststelle I (James 1:5) has 351 witnesses listed for οὐκ (ὁνειδίζοντος) compared with 15 witnesses plus "Byz" (the "Codices Byzantini") in *ECM*, and 150 in *T&T* for μὴ compared with 79 MSS. plus 3 lectionaries in *ECM*. A difference in scale with NA²⁷ is also obvious. At James 2:10 there are 5 variant readings in the Nestle-Aland testament for the first variation unit, including *txt*; in *ECM* (variant numbered 12) there are 8 variants including the base line (plus one reading supported by only a patristic witness). Another indicator of scale is that NA²⁷ has 219 variation units for James, the UBS *Greek New Testament*⁴ (= UBS) has 23, *ECM* has 800, *T&T* has 25 Teststellen.

A further preliminary comparison of *T&T* with *ECM* reveals certain other differences. Occasionally, the manuscript support differs between the two. At James 1:12 (31)³ *ECM* shows P⁷⁴ supporting the omission; in *T&T* (Teststelle 2) P⁷⁴ is shown, alongside other fragmentary papyri, as deficient, not *sine add.* In this variation unit MSS. 33 and 180 are shown in the two *apparatus* to support different readings. Teststelle (= TS) 4 (James 1:20): the reading of 2492 differs in *T&T* and *ECM*. The following brief list identifies other anomalies in the readings given for certain MSS. in the two works (*T&T* compared with *ECM*):

- [198] 33 at TS 3 cf. James 1:17 (40–46)
 1678 at TS 6 cf. James 1:25 (24)
 88 at TS 7 cf. James 1:26 (10)
 2544 at TS 9 cf. James 2:4 (2–4)
 322 at TS 15 cf. James 3:3 (22–24)
 629 at TS 16 cf. James 3:8 (8–14)
 467 at TS 17 cf. James 3:8 (16)
 629 (again!) at TS 18 cf. James 4:4 (1)

³ The number in brackets following the references in this paragraph is the "numerical address" given beneath the base line in *ECM*.

1831 at TS 19 cf. James 4:9 (6–10)

02 1524 1735 2541 at TS 25 cf. James 5:20 (20–28).

Are we to accept the greater accuracy of *ECM* whenever such discrepancies or refinements occur? Corrections have obviously been made to *T&T*, e.g. at TS 10 the lemma in *T&T* is given there as τω κωσμω, but now see *ECM*.

It was always intended that the Editio would be more than just a thesaurus of variants from which a critical edition could be built at a later stage. The Introduction makes it absolutely crystal clear in its opening words (p. 11*) that we have here presented to us by the Minister Institut a *new* text “established afresh” and that it is “established on the basis of all the evidence presented.” In other words our new Tischendorf is to give us a newly constructed text—unlike the International Greek New Testament Project, which was criticized by the Münster team (on more than one occasion) for not itself having constructed a new text of Luke. But nowhere are we informed how and on what principles the *ECM* text was established! Considering how much in the Introduction to NA²⁷ is concerned with the history of the editing of that text, its goals and methods, and considering the great play made in K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (= A&A *Text*) on the principles of the new Nestle, our new Editio Critica is launched with no explanation of the ways in which its text was arrived at!

Edited as it is by a different team from that behind UBS⁴ = NA²⁷, with now only Barbara Aland common to both committees, an excitingly different new text of James was anticipated. But it is immediately obvious that what we have in the much vaunted *new* text is a damp squib—merely a very modest revision of the UBS text! It rather looks to me as if the editors took the text in UBS/NA as their working text and only gently or reluctantly adapted it. In James there are only two differences in text from NA²⁷! At 1:22 the new critical text prints ἀκροαταὶ μόνον with 03 instead of μόνον ἀκροαταὶ with P⁷⁴ 01. At 2:3 we now read ἡ κάθου ἐκεῖ with 03 instead of ἐκεῖ ἡ κάθου. This latter reading was rated “B” in UBS⁴ (having been upgraded from “C” in the earlier editions). The increased confidence in the reading ἐκεῖ ἡ κάθου by UBS⁴ (= NA²⁷) has now been exposed in this recent publication as unjustified, and is yet one more nail in the coffin of the discredited and arbitrarily applied ratings system characteristic of the whole *apparatus* in UBS. Apart from those two alterations to the text, we are told

somewhat dismissively but tellingly (p. 11*) that “there was no need to alter the text” (scil. of NA²⁷)!

One minor but important change is the abandonment of square brackets around words in the text in *ECM*. The use of brackets was an unhelpful practice confusingly overdone in the Nestle-Aland text. Now James 4:12 and 5:14 appear without brackets. At 5:14 αὐτόν² was bracketed in NA²⁷; the pronoun is read by 01 02 048 and the majority of MSS., but the word is absent in 03 025. *ECM* at location 30 prints αὐτόν without brackets; the omission is relegated to the *apparatus* as variant e, and there is no bold dot to signify that the variant is an acceptable alternative. Thus the dilemma experienced by the editors of NA²⁷, who resolved their quandary by resorting to their usual “solution” of adding brackets, is not a dilemma recognised or accepted by the current editorial team behind *ECM*.

[199] The changes may be slight, but the fact that any change has been made to a text that at one time was being promoted as an immutable “Standard Text” is highly significant. *ECM* also signals 11 places in the base text where an alternative reading in the *apparatus* merits “equal value” (see p. 11*). These are as follows (the MSS. in brackets represent the main support for the alternative reading): 1:20 v.l. 12–14 (04* Byz); 2:3 v.l. 44–48 (02); 2:19 v.l. 8–14 (03); 3:4 v.l. 18–20 (02 plus 85 minuscules—the Byzantine text is divided here); 3:8 v.l. 8–14 (01 02); 3:15 v.l. 6–14 (04); 4:12 v.l. 6 (P⁷⁴ P¹⁰⁰ 03); 4:14 v.l. 8 (02); 4:14 v.l. 15 (P⁷⁴ P¹⁰⁰ 01[?] 02); 5:10 v.l. 26–32 (02); 5:18 v.l. 14–16 (02). The stranglehold on the text by 01 03 would be loosened just a little if these alternatives were to be adopted, but I am not sure if the editors really intend those readings deemed “equal” in value ever to displace the readings in the base text. There is no signal (a bullet point black dot) at 1:22 to indicate that the now jettisoned reading of NA²⁷ is a variant of “equal value” (although that is provided at 2:3)! We have already noted the same at 5:14 in respect of the omission of the pronoun.

We have referred above to the fanciful ratings system in UBS. The committee responsible for *ECM* seems to have been very much more confident than the editors of UBS³ and more confident even than those behind UBS⁴ (a text, which generally upgrades the ratings in the previous edition) in accepting “C” rated readings into their *new* text. “C” readings in UBS³ (now upgraded to “B” or, in one case (James 5:4), to “A”) are at James 1:17; 4:5, 14 (τὸ τῆς αὔριον), 14 (ποιά); 5:4, 20 (γινωσκέτω ὅτι). These are printed in *ECM* without question, that

is without their signalling that any other reading is of “equal value.” Only at James 2:19 (“C” in UBS³, now “B”) is an alternative highlighted. At 5:4 the reading by 018 020 33, accepted as a proper reading ἀποστερήμενος by Bruce Metzger in his companion *Commentary* to the UBS *apparatus*, is now labelled “f” (i.e. an error). Metzger’s own signed dissentient note in the 2nd edition of his *Commentary* (a rare change to a note surviving from the first edition) advocates printing the *v.l.* ἀφυστερημένος; that variant is not accorded any special attention in *ECM*.

The following “C” rated readings in UBS⁴ are also retained by the editors of *ECM* without any apparent qualms, that is, again, without signalling any other reading as of “equal value”: James 3:3 εἰ δέ (originally “D” in UBS³!); 4:14 ἀτιμὶς γὰρ ἐστε ἡ (“D” in UBS³); 5:20 αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου (“D” in UBS³), although at 4:12 the “C” rated ὁ (a reading not even included in UBS³ nor in the first edition of the *Commentary*!) is one of those readings actually given an alternative of “equal value.”

On pp. B9–10 are listed 69 places in James where the Byzantine text differs from the majority. (The Introduction makes it clear that in this edition “majority” is strictly a quantitative term and that “Byzantine text” refers to a stage in the history of the text. Thus “majority” differs from the significance of the siglum **M** in NA.) We are encouraged to use those 69 places in any consideration of or research on the character of the Byzantine witness. It may well be that some of these 69 readings (e.g. those listed for variants at 1:19(1); 2:20; 3:8(1), 9, 12(1); 4:4, 5; 5:7(2)) should merit consideration as variants of equal value with the base text.

As a result of the Institut’s investigation of the 550 or so MSS. in the 98 Teststellen in *T&T*, 372 of the 522⁴ complete MSS. and larger fragmentary MSS. were shown to agree with the majority of MSS. in at least 90% of the Teststellen (according to *ECM* p. 12*). (*T&T* had considered some 550 MSS. of the 600 or so that are registered as containing the Catholics.) MSS. now lost such as 101 255 1525 are not considered here. It now seems as if MSS. that agree with the Majority in at least 90% of all the Teststellen include not only readings designated

⁴ K. Wachtel, *Der Byzantinische Text der Katholischen Briefe* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1995) = *ANTF* 24 p. 55 refers to these 522 MSS. and places them into 5 categories based on their percentage of agreement with the majority text type. The totals in each category are 45 + 19 + 34 + 53 + 372, which give a grand total of 523!

[200] “1” in *T&T* but also those identified there as “1/2” when these are in agreement. From these a selection was made to use in the present volume on James. According to p. 12* all the MSS. differing from the majority of MSS. in more than 10% of the Teststellen are included “without exception.” Although the Byzantine MSS. are identified on p. B8, it is to be regretted that the other categories of MSS. qualifying for selection as explained on p. 12* are not revealed. In other words, it is not clear how the 85 non-Byzantine plus the 97 Byzantine MSS. were selected on the basis of the percentages discussed in the Introduction p. 12*. All we read on p. 12* are tantalizing remarks that a small selection of the MSS. attesting the majority text are represented (but which MSS. are in this “relatively small selection?”), and that “several manuscripts which attest an almost pure form of the Byzantine text are also included” (again: Which are they?).

In an *apparatus* that has had the benefit of many years of the Institut’s sophisticated screenings and analyses behind it, we ought to be convinced that all the MSS. included here are the most important or representative of the entire range available. Time will tell if such confidence is justified or misplaced.

The non-Byzantine MSS. comprise 5 papyri, 10 uncials, and 70 cursives. Of the 97 Byzantine MSS. 5 are uncials, 19 are lectionaries, the rest are cursives. In A&A *Text* MSS. classified as “V” are said to be Byzantine: among them are 69 (in the 2nd editions of both the German and English), 206, 218, and (in both English versions and in the second German edition) 2523. In the more recent *T&T* 69 supports the Byzantine texttype 64 times out of the 89 Teststellen for which it is extant in the Catholics; 206 supports Byz 39/75, 218 62/97, 2523 77/97! But all of these are “non-Byzantine” in *ECM*.

By contrast one would expect all 97 “Codices Byzantini” to be labelled “V” in A&A *Text*, but among the 97 that are included there with a category number by no means all are “V.” Some are “III” (i.e. MSS. of a distinctive character with an independent text) such as 61, 94, 104, 181, 254, 307, 326, 424, 431. The Byzantine MS. 442 in *ECM* agrees with the “Byz” text only 42 times of the 98 Teststellen in *T&T*.

Although the Introduction speaks of the edition’s being concerned with establishing the text and reconstructing the history of the NT text during its first thousand years, the MSS. used in the edition are themselves from way beyond the first millennium. Non-Byzantine MSS. come from all centuries including even the 15th and 16th (e.g. 69, 322, 522, 918, 1661, 1751, 2523, 2652). The lectionaries are from the

10th century (l156) to the 15th (l593, l1281) and 16th century (l2087). The Byzantine MSS. come from the 9th–17th centuries.

All 182 manuscripts are cited fully throughout *ECM*. Some are newcomers to any *apparatus* known to me. Of the non-Byzantine MSS. 400, 631, 1270, 1292, 1297, 1359, 1409, 1490, 1598, 1609, 1661, 1718, 1799, 1831, 1842, 1890, 2377, 2523, 2541, 2652 are not found in the *apparatus* of NA or UBS. Many of the Byzantine MSS. are new to any *apparatus* (e.g. 676 1848 2186 2197). One very welcome newcomer is P¹⁰⁰, which reached the editors so late that its deficiencies could not be added to the *apparatus*. It is a 3rd–4th century papyrus containing James 3:13–4:4; 4:9–5:1, and is the earliest known witness to these verses in James. Its text seems to be allied to that known in 01. The *editio princeps* will be included in the next edition in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus series (volume 65) as P. Oxy. 4449.

Page B10 tells us that the “selected apostolos lectionaries contain the complete Letter of James.” But the evidence suggests that several are cited only for the pericope in James 5:10–20. See the list of lacunae on pp. B11f. for l60, l156, l170, and l1126. l1142 and l623 are also very lacunose. Some lectionaries here are known to us from UBS but the following are new to any edition, as far as I am aware: l427, l623, l1126, l1141, l1281, l1440, l1442, l2087.

The versional evidence has been restricted to the Latin, Coptic and Syriac, with occasional support from the Ethiopic, Slavic, Georgian, and Armenian. The last three are treated with particular restraint, but all versional evidence is used with proper caution to eliminate the recording of purely innerversional variants. Thus the versions are cited only where they unambiguously support a reading known in Greek or (occasionally) potentially from the underlying Greek. This is wise. [201]

For the Latin, the editors have taken advantage of the text types established in the *Vetus Latina* volume that covers James (VL 26/1) and the principal text types are cited consistently. It remains to be seen what the editors will do if *ECM* reaches the Gospels before the relevant VL editions are published.

For the Coptic the Sahidic has been based on collations made by Schmitz and Mink from the Münster Institut, whose work on the Sahidic manuscripts of the Gospels has been roundly praised. Schüssler’s pioneering work in this area is referred to (see p. 14* footnote 6). The 19 Sahidic MSS. used are given in Part 2 pp. B29f. but the ages of the MSS. are not provided. The only Sahidic MS. of any size is sa33 (Pierpont Morgan M572). It is not stated that sa15, sa291, sa293,

sa305, sa310 are lectionaries; to have been so alerted would have made the explanatory notes on p. B38 more readily comprehended, where Sahidic readings are labelled 291/1 or 291/2, a practice explained with reference to the *Greek* lectionaries on p. 19*. If the *apparatus* has to specify S^{ms} or S^{mss} the actual manuscripts are set out on pp. B30f., where, again, it would have been useful there to know that certain Sahidic MSS. are lectionaries, because the unexpected abbreviations, L1, L2 and L3, occur on those pages. Horner was used for the Bohairic and Rösch for the Akhmimic.

Andreas Juckel of the Münster Institut was responsible for the work on the Syriac version. The edition gives details about the Peshitta, Philoxenian and Harklensis readings. Whenever it is necessary to refer to individual MSS. these are not specifically identified. Thus the Syriac is treated differently from the Sahidic Coptic in this regard. However, in the case of the Syriac one can consult the Institut's edition of the Syriac of the larger Catholic Epistles.

The Patristic evidence has been restricted largely to the Greek Fathers, it being wisely noted that versional patristic witnesses are doubly difficult to interpret for inclusion in an *apparatus* to the Greek NT. Even the Greek Fathers need careful handling in an *apparatus*. Taking a leaf out of the IGNTP volumes on Luke, and no doubt heeding the frequent cautions published over the years by G.D. Fee, this edition gives us the source for the patristic citation and bibliographical references where possible to modern printed editions. This information is set out on pp. B14–26, which include helpful indexes of the quotations in James, first in the order of James' chapters and verses, and second, in the alphabetical sequence of Fathers' names. Cyril of Alexandria and Didymus of Alexandria are the most prolific Fathers to cite from this epistle, but 58 of the 107 Fathers (represented in 364 writings culled for this edition) who quote from the Catholics have at least one quotation from James. Only Fathers to the time of John of Damascus are included (7th–8th century) although an exception is made to include Photius (9th century) for James. The Preface p. xi credits Holger Strutwolf with having been responsible for this material. Latin Fathers are named only where they occur in the lines of Latin text identified as text types in the *Vetus Latina* edition.

The care and restraint of *ECM* throws into contrast the overblown and apparently arbitrary use of Fathers' names (without references to their works) in UBS.

The *apparatus* identifies readings where the variant may have been encouraged by lectionary considerations. That is a helpful warning. The apparatus also makes clear readings found in the original hand, and care has been taken to specify each corrector in MSS. subjected to the activities of more than one correction. The edition relates the current sigla for the correctors of the great uncials (01 03 04) to the sigla previously used in earlier editions (see the chart on p. B7). The corrections once labelled \aleph^a are now known as 01C1 and are dated to the 4th–6th century and not therefore necessarily contemporaneous with the original MS.—at one time \aleph^a was considered to have been undertaken by several scribes before the MS. left the scriptorium. At James 2:6 for variant 20 readings by 01C2 and 01* are given. Likewise at James 3:6 variant 2–8. Nevertheless, occasionally, the suffix “Z” is found relatively frequently after 01. This symbol, according to p. B4, is used to identify “an additional reading, interlinear or marginal, which is neither a correction (C) nor an alternative reading (*sic*)” and is used in opposition to the suffix “T” which is the reading of the text. One example of this strange practice is at James 2:2 variant 9, where surely the text marked Z is actually an “alternative reading”—and one attributed to \aleph^2 in NA²⁷. See also James 3:14 variant 28–36 where the reading here designated 01T is said in NA²⁷ to be that of $\aleph^{(2)}$ and 1:14 variant 15 where the reading of 01Z is attributed to \aleph^2 in NA²⁷. Details such as this can be over-subtle in an apparatus. For example, when dealing with an erasure can one ever be sure who made that erasure? How may one be confident at James 1:27 variant 12 om. $\tau\omega$ 04C2 (to take one example at random) that this is clearly the work of corrector 2? [202]

The Inscriptio (set out on p. 1) is found in 35 differing forms. All 181 MSS. are set out separately (P¹⁰⁰ is ignored): there is no siglum “Byz” 104* and 104C are given separately. 30 MSS. have lacunae at this point: the list here includes 18 of the 19 L MSS., but surely these should more properly be *omissions*. In the List of Lacunae (*Supplementary Material* 2.3 pp. B10ff.) the Inscriptio is properly identified as (S) i.e. an *omission* due to the requirements of the lectionary system. L921 is the missing lectionary on p. 1; on p. B12 L921S i.e. a supplement to the original MS., appears to have the Inscriptio, although nowhere is it shown for any form of the Inscriptio on p. 1. (It is only in the list of lacunose MSS. on p. B12 that l921 and l921S are listed separately—p. B8 alerts us only to l921.)

The *apparatus* on the Subscriptio p. 102 contains 141 MSS. “Byz” occurs as a siglum, but 57 of the 97 “Codices Byzantini” (including 18 of the 19 lectionary MSS.) do not support “Byz” in omitting the Subscriptio. Among these are 617 and 2423, two of the MSS. which form the solid basis for the Byzantine text according to p. B9. The missing lectionary is L921. As with the Inscriptio p. B12 shows l921S reading the Subscriptio, so its absence from p. 102 cannot be explained by its being subsumed under “Byz.” What does it read? We would not, of course, expect a lectionary or even a supplemented lectionary MS. to have either an Inscriptio or a Subscriptio. Perhaps the omissions of both by l921 and marked as (S), i.e. system-related omissions, on p. B12 are intended to be understood as applying to the line following (l921S), although we are not prepared for such an understanding with 2718 and 2718S earlier in the same list. The alleged lacuna in the 18 other lectionaries is indicated on p. B12 with the suffixed (S) to denote that the “omission” is due to the requirements of the lectionary system.

Both parts of *ECM* are given in German and English. Letters used as abbreviations are based on the German (F = Fehler is used of errors; Ä = Ethiopic version; A = Auslassung, for senseless omissions etc.) The English translations of what are sometimes fiendishly convoluted German constructions have been made by Erroll Rhodes with his customary skill and care. American spellings are used, hence this first fascicule is an “installment.” Only occasionally do we cavil at his decisions, e.g. “Apart from...” (p. xi) might have read more appropriately as “Had it not been for...” The English translation of the versional material on pp. B35ff. seems to have been made from the German rather than direct from the version, and this does not always lead to a satisfying result. *ut videtur* is said (p. B4) to mean “evidently,” but “apparently” would be better; the German “wie es scheint” is right. It is not easy to grasp the explanation of “T” (p. B28 under the sigla for the Latin versions). English translations of isolated German words have been ignored at e.g. p. B30: Kl (= Kleine); p. B32 footnote 5 o.O.⁵ Thomas of Harkel now appears *passim* in the preferred German form of the name Harqel. Buchstaben (p. B13) is left untranslated. Jak is the abbreviation for James throughout. The necessary qualification that lacunae labelled H are senseless is given in the German but not in the

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⁵ o.O. itself is not appropriate as the “Ort” is known—the University of St. Andrews.

English (p. B11). I assume from the (original) German that omissions in MSS. that make sense, but could theoretically have been encouraged by homoioteleuton and the like, are not so labelled. The English introduction to section 2.4 (p. B12) says that the list to follow contains “all the scribal readings”; the key word in the German, “fehlerhaften,” is inexplicably avoided.

Although Anglicized forms of place names have usually been given Moskau (p. 16*), Strassburg (p. 14*), and Venedig (p. 15*) have slipped through the net. There is inconsistency with Tiflis/Tbilisi in the English p. 15* but not on the German pages where Tbilisi occurs throughout. [On pp. B14–20 in the bibliographies of patristic works the place of publication as given on the title pages is preferred, thus we have Napoli, Venetiis, Athenis, Città del Vaticano etc., which, one fervently hopes, will assist librarians find the texts the more easily, but even here the German slips through—see “Rom” p. B15 footnote 15 and p. B18 footnote 225.]

Where Biblical cross references are given to the text of James (in the footnotes to the pages of text or in the *apparatus*) the name of the Biblical book is given in its German form only. There is no table of abbreviations for Biblical books, even in their German form.

“Characterize” and “Homoioarcton” have gone astray on p. B11. See also homoioarkton p. B10. The German editions of A&A *Text* prefer homoioarkton (which Rhodes renders as homoioarcton in his translation of that work). B15 footnote 30 read Homilies. Unnecessary figures 2 and 4 have crept onto the end of the line of numbers accompanying the base text in James 3:8 (p. 55).

Page 12* states that 20 lectionaries are incorporated in *ECM*: this must mean for the Catholics as a whole. In James only 19 are cited (see p. B8), 11575 (said, rather implausibly, to subsume, among others, 0205) is not extant for this epistle.

The introductory matter particularly in the *Text* fascicle often speaks of *ECM* as a whole as well as of James in particular. In the *Supplement*, e.g. sections 2.1 and 3.1, comment is directed at both *ECM* as a whole or the Catholics, as well as at James specifically. This means that these introductory sections cannot serve as they stand in future fascicles. Adapted versions will need to be prepared for each successively published Catholic epistle. There could be unnecessary complication or duplication when the two parts for all the fascicles in volume IV have been published and need to be collected and bound together.

The table of abbreviations on pp. B3f., is generally full and clear but there is no explanation what “Lekt 3:S” means on p. B12 (following L156). There is a slight inconsistency on pp. B3f. in that superscript “T” after S:H is explained under “T” as well as under “S:H,” but under superscript “A” or “M” after S:H we are merely referred to “S.”

For the clarity of the presentation, for the comprehensiveness of the MS. attestation, for the care taken in presenting the patristic and versional evidence, and for the illuminating introductory matter we give thanks. The editors obviously breathed a sigh of relief when this first fascicule was published after a long gestation period. We congratulate the editors for their achievements so far, and we await (with impatience) the remaining fascicules.

II) THE PETRINE EPISTLES

- [328] In 1997 *Editio Critica Maior. Installment 1: James* was published. *NovT* carried an extensive review in vol XL (1998) pp. 195–204. I shall not repeat the comments about the general lay-out of the *Editio Critica Maior* (= ECM), its principles and intentions, but I would like to repeat in the context of this review of the second volume (now correctly printed as ‘2’ on the label affixed to the cover of both parts, Part 1 *Text* and Part 2 *Supplementary Material*) that this publication leaves all its users in the debt of the editors, especially in the way it has revolutionized the setting out of an *apparatus criticus*. ECM is a fine achievement. We salute the arrival of the instalment on the Petrine epistles. Anyone requiring a full, up-to-date, reliable and, above all, a crystal-clear presentation of the textual variants for these letters must now consult ECM. We merely point to the complicated sets of variations clearly displayed at 1 Peter 3:16 (18 different readings in number address 32–42), 1 Peter 3:18 (numbers 10–14) with 20 alternatives and 1 Peter 5:10 (38–44) with 22. Such clarity demands a certain generosity of space and some repetitiveness. For example, as before, all deficient mss. are noted at every variation unit. This means that a very lacunose ms. like P⁸¹, which does not begin until 1 Peter 2:20 is reported as deficient a couple of hundred times in all the variants up to that point.

This is not to say that we can abandon Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (= NA²⁷). In NA quotations, e.g. from the LXX, are carefully noted and the edition contains an index in LXX order.

None of this is in ECM. The detailed lists of Greek and Latin mss. with their dates and content are fuller in NA. NA also contains the useful appendix, 'Editionum Differentiae'. All these, outside the scope of ECM, are useful, and scholars will need NA²⁷ to hand even for work on the Catholic Epistles. [329]

GENERAL OVERVIEW

Part 1 *Text* begins with a forword in German and English, and four pages (also bilingual) continue the introductory matter. Recent research on the reconstruction of 1 and 2 Peter is explained. The bulk of the volume is the text and *apparatus* to the Petrine Letters. The lay-out used in James applies here too. Part 2 *Supplementary Material* is also in English and in German. Here Section 1 'Abbreviations and Symbols' is not included—instead we are referred to instalment 1 although the English form of the abbreviations (slightly changed from pp. B1–4) is helpfully inserted as a loose page. Then follows the list of Greek mss., including the 'Codices Byzantini' and the distinctively Byzantine readings in the two letters. After that comes a section on the lectionaries used. Here subheadings on 1 Peter and 2 Peter would have been helpful signposts. The editors were aware that there exist repeated lections for 2 Peter 1:10; 2:9.

Section 2.3 is a list of lacunae. 2.4 gathers together all the nonsense readings found in the *apparatus*. (I fail to grasp the need for this.) Section 3 lists the patristic quotations. The bulk of abbreviations remains as on pp. B14–20 but we now have three additional Fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus and Nestorius) and further works by three previously listed Fathers. This brings the total number of Fathers who quote from the Catholic Epistles to 110 of whom 53 quote from 1 Peter (principally Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus and Origen) and 26 quote from 2 Peter (mainly Cyril and Didymus).

Section 4 deals with the versions. The Latin again relies on the *Vetus Latina* edition, although, strangely, the number of the relevant volume (VL 26) is not given. For the Coptic we have a somewhat different set of mss. from those used in James. The dates of the mss. are not given, but this time those mss. which are lectionaries are identified as such by a suffixed (L) after the ms. number—that is useful additional information. The other main versional witness used in ECM, the Syriac, now contains additional information for the Philoxenian and Harklean

[330] because 2 Peter (and the other ‘minor’ Catholic Epistles) are absent from the Peshitta. Much needed new editions of these two versions of the Syriac are under way in the Münster Institut. In the meantime ECM has used Gwynn (1909) as its base for the Philoxenian. 1 Peter in Syriac is of course set out in the Institut’s *Die großen Katholischen Briefe* (ANTF 7) in the series *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*.

Section 5 begins with additional Greek readings (about which see below). This section now also contains a list of Patristic allusions. The need for such a section and the requirement to have genuine quotations in Patristic works separated from allusions were *desiderata* noted when James was published. We are promised a further discussion in volume IV 3. 5.2 explains why certain Greek mss. were shown in the *apparatus* accompanied by a double-headed arrow. This section explains that these witnesses had to be isolated in that way usually because of lacunae. The final section (5.3) is a long and detailed explanation why versional evidence is sometimes similarly ambiguous in an *apparatus*; these careful and succinct comments elucidate these ambiguities.

MANUSCRIPTS

From the total number of papyri and majuscule mss. containing the Catholic Epistles listed on pp. B5–7 (in the James volumes) the following are cited in 1 Peter: three papyri (P⁷², P⁷⁴, P⁹¹) and fifteen majuscules now excluding 056 which is not used beyond James, according to p. B41. For 2 Peter there are two papyri (P⁷², P⁷⁴) and 14 majuscules.

As far as minuscules are concerned, in 1 and 2 Peter there are fewer mss. cited than in James—only 115 compared with 143 in James. Minuscule 1881, not extant for James, has been used for 1 and 2 Peter, but 197 and 1846, used in James, are not extant here. The use of twenty-seven other minuscules, used in James and extant for 1 and 2 Peter, has been discontinued. The list appears on p. B41 and we are told that the reason for their exclusion will be explained in *Supplementary Studies* (by which we are to understand that this is not the ‘Supplementary Material’ of part 2 but ‘Begleitende Untersuchungen’) said on p. B42 to be *ECM* IV, 3 (although the Table of Contents suggests these *Studies* will be IV, 4!). Another anomaly is that of these twenty-seven minuscules, 38 is to be found in 1 and 2 Peter in the ‘Additional Apparatus’ set out on pp. B68f. The statement on p. B41 must therefore be under-

stood to mean that certain mss. have not been cited *consistently* beyond James, rather than that they are never to be found in ECM IV beyond James. We await IV, 3 *sic* for the explanation.

There are ten lectionaries used in 1 Peter and nine in 2 Peter. James used nineteen, but eleven of those have been jettisoned beyond James [331] (and are so listed on p. B41). Lectionary 1575 is used in 1 Peter: this is a lectionary independent of the Byzantine system and is an 8th-century Greek-Coptic bilingual ms.

The extent and age of all these mss. is found only in *Installment 1*, pp. B5–7.

The list of mss. used in the “Additional Greek Readings” in Section 5.1 (pp. B68f.) reveals other oddities, in addition to the inclusion of minuscule 38, noted above. For example, a bizarre reading attributed to 88 at 2 Peter 1:15 (‘number address’ 4) seems not to have come from von Soden, from *Text und Textwert* I,3, nor from Tischendorf (the alleged sources for these additional readings), but—even odder—88 is one of the Byzantine witnesses *regularly used* in these epistles and included on p. B42, thereby contradicting the statement on p. B68 that the mss. in Section 5.1 are “not already represented...in the edition”. The “Additional Readings” includes variants found in mss. 256, 393, 1599 which do not appear on any lists in this edition. Conversely 2474 is in the list on p. B68 but no reading(s) attributed to this ms. occur in this section!

Among the 142 mss. containing 1 Peter and the 140 containing 2 Peter listed on p. B41 (excluding the LXX Prophetologium used for lections in 1 Peter) are 53 mss. identified as Byzantine witnesses in 1 Peter and 54, somewhat different mss., used in 2 Peter. These are listed separately on p. B42 under ‘Codices Byzantini’. No explanation is given why these (and not others) have been selected. We are told that in 1 Peter the undivided witness of the Byzantine text differs from the primary text (i.e. the recommended, critically-established text of the edition), printed at the head of the pages of the critical *apparatus*, in only 52 of the 700+ variants in 1 Peter and only 33 out of 400+ instances of textual variation in 2 Peter. (That compares with 69/800 in James).

The use of the siglum ‘Byz’, to mean the ‘Codices Byzantini’, listed on p. B42, has changed since the James fascicule. There ‘Byz’ was abandoned in the *apparatus* if three or four of the solid core of seven ‘nearly pure’ Byzantine witnesses, listed on pp. B8–9, do not agree with the others. Now we learn that the siglum is relinquished if more

than one differ from the others. The actual 'pure' mss. are not identical for James, 1 Peter or 2 Peter, but, as it happens, there are seven for each epistle. As usual, it is possible to detect how many mss. are included under the siglum 'Byz' on those occasions when it is utilised in an *apparatus*. For example, at 1 Peter 2:8 (numbers 14–16) we can [332] eliminate all the Byzantine mss. listed on p. B42 actually cited individually in the different readings, or deficient at this point. That leaves 45 mss. not accounted for, and these, therefore, must be the mss. subsumed under 'Byz'.

No mention is made in ECM of the Textus Receptus.

No editorial changes have been made to the details about the correctors of \aleph as set out on p. B7, which is still referred to on the inserted blue slip containing abbreviations used. For Sinaiticus the editors repeat Tischendorf and do not refer to Kirsopp Lake's reclassification of the 'A' or 'B' correctors, nor do they refer to the discussion by Milne and Skeat in their *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, esp. pp. 40–5, in which it is argued that the corrections were all the work of the scribes of the manuscript. If Milne and Skeat were correct, then ECM is wrong to suggest (p. B7) that the correctors 'A' and 'B' were from the 4th–6th century rather than exactly contemporary with the ms. itself.

THE APPARATUS

The careful scholarship behind ECM should mean that where we detect discrepancies between earlier *apparatus* and that in ECM the latter ought to be the more reliable. Spot checks may be made. I have noted that in a comparison with UBS⁴ at 1 Peter 5:8 *v.l.* *τινα καταπιεῖν* the UBS and ECM differ over the reading of \aleph and 1241. At 2 Peter 3:10 *v.l.* *κατακαήσεται* the way in which 81 is reported differs. Comparisons with NA²⁷ reveal the following: 1 Peter 2:5 *εἰς* includes 33 in NA; this ms. is deficient at this point according to ECM. In the same verse P⁷² is said by NA to omit *θυσίας* ECM shows the reading of P⁷² to be ambiguous about word order because of an accidental omission. (That judgement in NA agrees with *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*, I *Die Katholischen Briefe* (= ANTF 6)). Comparisons with *Text und Textwert*, I *Die Katholischen Briefe* 1 (= ANTF 9) at 1 Peter 3:16 (ECM 'number address' 24) give different readings for 996 and also cf. 61. At 2 Peter 1:17 (34–48) ECM and *Text und Textwert* differ in the readings of 1751.

CHANGES TO THE TEXT

As its name suggests, the ECM is no mere thesaurus of variants. The editors have taken advantage of their researches into mss., and ms. groupings in order to reevaluate the earlier text-critical decisions underlying UBS⁴/NA²⁷ and to reestablish the printed text of the NT. [333] For James I was disappointed that ECM made only two changes to the text in UBS/NA: James 1:22; 2:3. Since then, continuing work on that Epistle has resulted in one further suggested change. A footnote in the fascicules on the Petrine Letters (p. 22*/p. 24* note 4) states that James 2:4 (number address 2–4) should now read καὶ οὐ διεκρίθητε at the beginning of the verse with 025 Byz against the earlier reading found in UBS⁴/NA²⁷ read by \aleph A B² C *al.*

There are seven changes to the text of 1 Peter. In the list following column one is the new reading in ECM, the second column has the text of UBS⁴/NA²⁷:

1:6	λυπηθέντας	λυπηθέντες
1:16	γέγραπται	γέγραπται [ότι]
1:16	ἐγὼ ἅγιος	ἐγὼ ἅγιος [εἰμι]
2:25	ἀλλ'	ἀλλά
4:16	ἐν τῷ μέρει	ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι
5:9	τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ	τῇ ἐν [τῷ] κόσμῳ
5:10	ἐν χριστῷ	ἐν χριστῷ [Ἰησοῦ]

There are eight changes to the text of 2 Peter:

2:6	ἀσεβεῖν	ἀσεβέ[σ]ιν
2:11	παρὰ κυρίῳ	παρὰ κυρίου
2:15	καταλιπόντες	καταλείποντες
3:6	δι' ὄν	δι' ὧν
3:10	οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται	εὐρεθήσεται
3:16	ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς	ἐπιστολαῖς
3:16	στρεβλώσουσιν	στρεβλοῦσιν
3:18	εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος	εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος [ἀμήν]

Let us see what the nature of these changes is. Six involve the removal of a word (or part of a word) bracketed in UBS/NA (1 Peter 1:16*bis*; 5:9, 10; 2 Peter 2:6; 3:18). Of these the inclusion of [ἀμήν] in UBS⁴ at 2 Peter 3:18 was given the low rating letter, 'C' (previously 'D' in UBS^{1-3B}). The removal of the word there makes 2 Peter agree with the conclusion

[334] of 1 Peter; NA/UBS, by following certain favoured mss., made the two Petrine letters inconsistent. At 2 Peter 3:18 thoroughgoing eclecticism dictates that the reading of B, virtually alone, *om. ἀμήν* is preferable to the longer reading in P⁷² & A. On 1 Peter 5:10 Metzger, *Commentary*⁶ in a signed note rightly states that the shorter text was to be preferred because scribes tended to expand sacred names. Five of the above 1 Peter 1:16 *sec.*; 5:9, 10; 2 Peter 2:6; 3:18 (i.e. not 1 Peter 1:16 *pr.*) offer an alternative reading marked by a dot (about which see further below).

The reading at 2 Peter 3:10 is a conjecture (see Introduction p. 24* where it is stated that “Hitherto *sic*⁷ there has been no known Greek evidence for this reading” as if some new Greek witness(es) were produced in the *apparatus* in ECM. That is not the case (although the note on p. 24* tries to argue that the variants ἀφανισθήσονται and κατακαήσεται in effect agree with οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται). Metzger, *Commentary*² argues that no reading here seems original, and the UBS text rates this with a rare ‘D’. At 1 Peter 2:25 ECM has moved away from ἀλλά, a reading read virtually by B alone. Likewise at 1 Peter 1:16 ὅτι in UBS/NA was the reading of B, virtually alone. In general, the fifteen changes to the text have been away from the readings supported by B.

More significant changes are μέρει/ὀνόματι at 1 Peter 4:16 and κυρίω/κυρίου at 2 Peter 2:11.⁸ It is worth noting that the reading now at 4:16 has no majuscule or papyri support and is a Byzantine reading. At 2 Peter 3:6 δι’ὧν is read by only P, eight minuscules and one lectionary—none of them ‘special’ mss. in 2 Peter according to Introduction pp. 21*ff.

The resultant text is still a fully eclectic text. The newly introduced readings in the text still present a printed edition which appears in no single Greek manuscript.

⁶ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, ²1994). Hereafter *Commentary*².

⁷ The translation of the German (p. 22*) may be the cause of the confusion: ‘bislang’ should be ‘as yet’, and ‘immerhin’ in this context should be ‘however’ or ‘nevertheless’.

⁸ It is interesting to see that B.M. Metzger, *Commentary*² in a dissentient note signed by Metzger himself argued for the omission of the words or, as the ‘least unsatisfactory’ alternative, to read παρὰ κυρίῳ and place the words in square brackets. The reading selected on the basis of majority voting within the UBS committee resulted in παρὰ κυρίου being printed with the rating ‘D’, subsequently upgraded to ‘C in UBS⁴.

IMPORTANT VARIANTS

In addition to these actual changes to the text of UBS/NA itself the ECM fascicule on 1 and 2 Peter also includes a number of noteworthy alternative readings to the ones printed. These are signalled by bold dots in the primary line around the word(s) for which there is a significant alternative (or by a single dot in the primary line where the alternative, longer text stands at the end of 2 Peter). In James there were 11 such places (including one of the two—now three—places where the printed text had changed). In 1 and 2 Peter there are many more such passages where there is a bold dot, but the meaning of the alternative signalled by a dot against the so-called letter address has changed. I count twenty-five places in 1 Peter: [335]

1 Peter

	Text	Alternative(s)
1:8	ιδόντες	εἰδότες
1:9	τὸ τέλος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν	om. ὑμῶν
1:12	ἐν πνεύμῳ	om. ἐν
1:18	ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου	1, 3, 2
1:22	καθαρᾶς καρδίας	om. καθαρᾶς
2:5	οἰκοδομεῖσθε	ἐποικοδομεῖσθε
2:5	τῷ θεῷ	om. τῷ
2:6	ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον	2, 1, 3
2:11	ἀπέχεσθαι	ἀπέχεσθε
2:16	ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῦ δοῦλοι	1, 2, 4, 3
2:20	παρὰ θεῷ	παρὰ τῷ θεῷ
2:25	ἐπεστράφητε	ἐπεστρέψατε
3:1	αἱ γυναῖκες	om. αἱ
3:1	καὶ εἴ τινες ἀπειθοῦσιν	2, 1, 3, 4
3:22	τοῦ θεοῦ	om. τοῦ
4:5	ἐτοίμως ἔχοντι κρῖναι	ἐτοίμως κρίνοντι
4:11	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων	om. τῶν αἰώνων
4:14	ἀναπαύεται	ἀναπέπανται/ ἐπαναπαύεται
4:17	ὁ καιρὸς	om. ὁ
4:19	ἀγαθοποιία	ἀγαθοποιΐαις
5:2	κατὰ θεόν	om.
5:5	ὁ θεός	om. ὁ
5:8	τινα καταπιεῖν	om. τινα
5:11	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων
5:14	ἐν χριστῷ	ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ

In addition we mention five other places⁹ where the text itself has changed: 1 Peter 1:6, 16 *sec*; 4:16; 5:9, 10.

[336] In 2 Peter there are 16 places marked with a bold dot:

2 Peter

1:2	Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου	Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
1:4	τίμια καὶ μέγιστα ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλματα δεδωρηται	1, 4, 2, 3, 5, 6/3, 2, 1, 4, 5, 6
1:4	τῆς ἐν τῷ κοσμῷ	<i>om.</i> τῷ
1:9	ἀμαρτιῶν	ἀμαρτημάτων
1:12	διὸ μελλήσω	διὸ οὐκ μελλήσω
1:21	προφητεία ποτέ	2, 1
2:6	καταστροφῇ κατέκρινεν	<i>om.</i> καταστροφῇ
2:13	ἀπάταις αὐτῶν	ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν
2:18	ἀσελγείαις	ἀσελγείας
2:18	ὀλίγως	ὄντως
2:19	δεδούλωται	καὶ δεδούλωται
2:20	κυρίου ἡμῶν	<i>om.</i> ἡμῶν
2:22	κυλισμόν	κύλισμα
3:3	ἐν ἐμπαίγμονῃ	<i>om.</i> ἐν
3:3	κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι	1, 2, 3, 5, 4, 6
3:18	αὐξάνετε	αὐξάνεσθε

In addition there are another five places where the text was changed: 2 Peter 2:6*sec.*, 15; 3:16*bis.*, 18. The other three places where the text was changed (2:11; 3:6, 10) appear without a dot signifying that no alternative is contemplated.

In the Introduction to James (p. 11*) we are told that the dots signify places where the alternative reading so marked in the overview of variant readings is 'of equal value' with the text in the primary line. Now (*The Letters of Peter*, p. 24*) we are given the disconcerting information that the use of the dot is "not governed by any absolute or precise definition"! The variant marked with a dot may sometimes be 'of equal value', but may merely indicate that the primary line of text

⁹ The changed text at 1 Peter 1:16 *pr.* and 2:25 is therefore printed confidently without a bold dot. The former readings in UBS/NA in these verses are not signalled now as possible alternatives.

has not been printed with complete confidence¹⁰ or that an alternative may merit special attention. Thus we must guess which category of dot we are dealing with. With the exceptions at 1 Peter 4:14 and 2 Peter 1:4 only one alternative reading in the list printed below the primary line qualifies for a dot. [337]

What may we deduce from the lists above?

1.) First it is clear that, where brackets have now been removed from the text, the reading giving the shorter text (an omission that occasioned the use of brackets in UBS/NA) has been compensated for by the identification of that shorter text as a recommended alternative reading still worthy of consideration. This accounts for the dots at 1 Peter 1:9*, 12*, 22*; 2:5*sec.*; 3:1**pr.*, 22; 4:17; 5:5, 8*; 2 Peter 2:6*, 20*; 3:3*pr.* (References followed by an asterisk indicate that UBS⁴ rated its chosen reading 'C'). As one who has consistently criticised editions of NA and UBS for the overuse of brackets, I am pleased to see their removal from the text in ECM. Strangely, not all places where brackets have been removed merit a dot in ECM. At 1 Peter 1:6 ἐστὶν is printed unbracketed. Similarly 1 Peter 5:2 ἐπισκοποῦντες is now without brackets. (In Metzger, *Commentary*² this reading is rated 'C' because it is said the decision about which textual variant to print as the text was 'difficult': the dilemma of that committee seems therefore not to have been shared by those preparing ECM.) At 2 Peter 3:11 ὑμᾶς is printed without brackets.

2.) Second, some variants involving a changed word-order now bear a dot (1 Peter 1:18; 2:6, 16; 3:1; 2 Peter 1:4*pr.*, 21; 3:3*sec.*).

3.) Others concern a choice between a longer and a shorter text. (These are passages not bracketed in UBS/NA): 1 Peter 4:11 and 5:11 (+/- τῶν αἰώνων) and where consistent usage within the Petrine letters should be restored; UBS/NA inconsistently print the longer doxology at 4:11 and not at 5:11. We also note 1 Peter 5:14 (+/- Ἰησοῦ): the latter is printed in UBS with complete confidence, denoted by its being rated 'A'—the decisions and dilemmas of that text as exemplified by the often arbitrary and inevitably fatuous rating letters have obviously been ignored or disregarded by the ECM committee. To that list we

¹⁰ Surprisingly, the conjectural reading printed as the primary line at 2 Peter 3:10 is not marked with a dot: such is the confidence with which our editors print that text!

add 1 Peter 4:5 (*om.* ἔχοντι); 5:2 (*om.* κατὰ θεόν); 2 Peter 1:2 (add χριστοῦ); 2:19 (add καί).¹¹

4.) It will also be seen from the list above that some alternatives concern orthographical, or grammatical variation.

5.) The alternatives dotted at 2 Peter 1:12 and 2:18 (ὅντως) are interesting—the latter, in particular, because, once again, the reading of UBS (ὀλίγως) was a confidently printed ‘A’ reading.¹²

[338] We noted three places involving the deletion of brackets where no dotted alternatives were signalled. There are other places where we might have expected dots. I refer to those readings printed in UBS⁴ where, despite its general tendency to move previously low rating letters up, some ratings below ‘A’ still mark the following:

1 Peter

2:3 εἰ ‘B’

3:7 συγκληρονόμοις ‘B’

3:18 περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν ‘B’, over which reading Metzger, *Commentary*² claims that the UBS committee had great difficulty ascertaining the original text.

3:18 ὑμᾶς ‘C’

5:10 καταρτίσει, στηρίζει, σθενώσει, θεμελιώσει ‘B’

5:11 τὸ κράτος ‘B’

2 Peter

1:1 Συμεών ‘B’

1:3 ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ ‘B’

1:17 ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου οὗτός ἐστιν ‘B’ (a reading found in only P⁷² B 1751).

2:4 σειραῖς ‘C’ where Metzger, *Commentary*² claims that “the textual evidence is singularly evenly balanced”.

2:13 ἀδικούμενοι ‘B’.

The Introduction pp. 21*ff. states that work on ECM has revealed that about a dozen mss. allegedly contain the hypothetical ‘A’ text = the supposed *Ausgangstext*. The mss. may differ from book to book (and we ought to ask why that should be so—no answer is proffered yet).

¹¹ The omission of καί is read by P⁷² & B only.

¹² Possibly we may deduce that this reading is dotted here merely “for special consideration” (p. 24*).

Among the ones identified for James, 1 and 2 Peter (but not necessarily in all three) are P⁷², **Σ**, A, B, C, D, P(025), 5, 623,¹³ 1175, 1243. We ought to see how and if these discoveries have effected the changes to the text in ECM.

As far as the manuscripts supporting a dotted primary text and the dotted alternative are concerned, there is a general tendency in 1 and 2 Peter to suggest that an alternative read by **Σ**, A, C and sometimes Byz is dotted if the primary text is supported by B. This suggests, again, a move away from B. At 1 Peter 4:14 one of the dotted variant readings (ἀναπέπνυται) is supported only by forty-one minuscules and four lectionaries, but among them are 5, 623, 1175. At 2 Peter 2:18 [339] the alternative ἀσελγείας is found in some of the mss. identified on p. 24* as distinctive for 2 Peter, especially 1175, 1243. We may assume that the presence of 1243 1852 among the eleven witnesses supporting ἐπεστρέψατε dotted at 1 Peter 2:25 was the reason for this selection.

GENERAL REMARKS

A blue slip inserted into *Installment 2* contains a helpful summary of the edition's abbreviations, abstracted mainly from the Introduction to the Catholic Letters as a whole (found in the volume on James). This insert is in English only. There is an inconsistency: SH^A is not described under A nor is SH^M described under M, although SH^T is described under T. The slip also contains *errata* and *addenda* for the first instalment (including corrections already incorporated into its second printing).

The Table of Contents gives the wrong page numbers for the *Vorwort* and for the Preface.

Although Erroll Rhodes' English translation of the original German used for this bi-lingual edition is excellent, there are a couple of oversights: On p. B47 *fehlerhaften* is not translated into English; this is an omission which may mislead readers dependent on the English. On p. B45 in the section on omissions due to hom. *sinnentstellende* is not translated. On p. B45 read homoioarcton.

¹³ Oddly, p. 24* speaks of 623 as a new witness 'absent from James'—yet 623 is used in James!

III) 1 JOHN

- [1068] The splendidly clear *apparatus* printed in the Editio Critica Maior (= ECM) has already justifiably been praised in reviews of the fascicules on James and on 1 & 2 Peter (my reviews of the earlier volumes are to be seen in NovT 40 [1998] pp. 195–204; 42 [2000] pp. 328–339; see also *ThLZ* 127 [2002] col. 297, and J. K. Elliott, “The Editio Critica Maior: One Reader’s Reactions” in: Wim Weren and Dietrich-Alex Koch [eds.], *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism: New Testament, Other Early Christian and Jewish Literature* [Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2003] pp. 129–144 [= *Studies in Theology and Religion*, 8]),¹⁴ as have its other commendable features. We now welcome the instalment on 1 John. Originally it was intended that the 3rd instalment would contain all four remaining Catholic Epistles. In the event an extra fascicule will contain them as a newly inserted instalment. The clarity of presentation is of course maintained. For instance, as far as the *apparatus* is concerned, see the way in which the following are exhibited: fifteen choices at 3:21; the nine alternatives at 3:23; the twenty eight (!) readings at 5:13 (including two marked as faulty). All these are crystal clear. Once again, we congratulate the editors at the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung/Münster for their praiseworthy achievement.

- The text and *apparatus* to 1 John have been created using 143 witnesses (including the LXX lectionary, the Prophetologium). As is usual in this series, these are divided into non-Byzantine witnesses (comprising in 1 John: 2 papyri, 9 majuscules, 80 minuscules) and Byzantine manuscripts (4 majuscules, 37 minuscules and all 11 lectionaries). The *apparatus* also contains versional and Greek patristic evidence. The number of Greek mss. is not dissimilar to that used for the earlier fascicules, although the mss. differ somewhat. Among newly cited witnesses we now meet P9 0245 0296 1836 as well as 1523 1844 (neither of which has appeared in the apparatus to any other critical edition to my knowledge). 1881, introduced in 1 & 2 Peter, reappears here. Descriptions of those mss. appear in the volume on James pp. B5–7, showing that users of the fascicules on the Catholics require the James volume’s general introduction. L921S is used in 1 John although we had been informed in vol IV,2 p. B41 that this witness was not to be used beyond James! 025, described as Byzantine in 1 & 2 Peter, is now
- [1069]

¹⁴ The first two and the last are reprinted in this chapter (28a and 28bi)

no longer so. 61 is now not described as Byzantine, contrary to its status in the earlier fascicules. 69 400 1270 1297 1609 1661 1842 1890, now Byzantine in 1 John, were not so in James. 876 996 1175 1751, now Byzantine in 1 John, were not so in James or 1 & 2 Peter. 1832, Byzantine in 1 John and James, was not so in 1 & 2 Peter.

The seven ›nearly pure‹ Byzantine witnesses in 1 John are 18 35 319 424 468 617 2423. Some of these figured as ›nearly pure‹ in the earlier fascicules. We are informed (as in 1 & 2 Peter; the rule was different in James) that if more than one of these seven differs from the others then the Byzantine witness is divided and the siglum ›Byz.‹ jettisoned. In 1 John there are 47 out of 700 + *v.ll.* in this epistle where the united Byzantine manuscripts have a reading different from the leading text-line (cf. 69/800+ in James, 52/700+ in 1 Peter, and 33/400+ in 2 Peter).

Many readers will be interested in the differences in the lead-text of ECM from the UBS (=NA) text. As usual, there are disappointingly few changes. In 1 John there are only three (on pp. 29* f. is an indication of the manuscripts considered by the editors to be of especial importance. Their influence is seen in the first two *v.ll.* to follow):

- 1:7 om. δε with 044 6 323—a change from + δε
- 5:10 εν αυτω (the reading of NA²⁵!) with 03 436 442 468—a change from εν εαυτω (signalled as category ›B‹ in UBS^{4rev}; Metzger's *Commentary*² stated that at 5:10 a minority of its committee had seen εαυτω as a secondary development from αυτω read in a reflexive sense)
- 5:18 εαυτον—a change from αυτον read by B *et al.* (a reading rated ›B‹ in UBS^{4rev}). ECM shows A* as reading αυτον as in NA; it does not specify any difference between B* and B^c. UBS says A* B* have αυτον »without accents (*sic*)«, thereby implying that it may have been read as if it had a rough breathing to indicate a reflexive. (However, Metzger's *Commentary*² says αυτον is read with a smooth breathing by A* B.) This changed text in ECM now means that ο γεννηθεις is understood as the believer, not as Christ, even though our author prefers ο γεννημενος of the believer elsewhere!

Somewhat apologizing for so few changes, the introductory Notes (30*) say that »more use has been made of a bold dot to indicate a possible alternative reading«. »More« here must be in relation to the

three actual changes to the reconstructed text, rather than in relation to the alternatives signalled with a bold dot in the volume on 1 & 2 Peter, where there are fifty one such places marked. In 1 John there are only thirteen, but at least we are reassured that these are places where a *genuine alternative* is proposed. (I had been rather disconcerted by the different and nuanced explanation of the presence of the bold dot given in the introduction to the fascicule on 1 & 2 Peter.)

These are the places where the lead text has a bold dot in 1 John and the main manuscripts in support of the reading. Again, one may see how the influence of the editors' favoured manuscripts made clear-cut decisions difficult in the places listed here. (The reading in brackets below shows the editors' suggested alternative and the main mss. in support):

- 1:4 ημων with 01 03 044 (υμων with 02 04 025)
 1:7 om. δε with 044 6 323 1243 (δε with 01 02 03 04 025)
 1:8 ουκ εστιν εν ημιν with 01 03 044 6 81 (3-4, 1-2 with 02 04 025 1243)
 2:4 (*pr.*) οτι with 01 02 03 044 6 (om. οτι with 04 025 1881)
 2:4 (*sec.*) και with most mss. (om. και with 02 025 044 33 323)
 2:29 οτι και with 01 02 04 025 (ον οτι with 03 044 6 81)
 3:13 και with 01 04 025 044 323 (om. και 02 03 81 436)
 3:19 πεισομεν with 01 02 03 04 025 (πεισωμεν with 044 442 1739)
 3:23 πιστευσωμεν with 03 (πιστευωμεν with 01 02 04 044)
 5:5 δε εστιν with 01 025 6 1739 (εστιν with 02 044 5)
 [1070] 5:6 εν³ with 03 044 (om. εν before αιματι with 01 442)—among seven *v.ll.*!
 5:11 ημιν ο θεος with 01 02 044 (2, 3, 1 with 03 1739 1881)
 5:21 εαυτα with 01* 03 6 (εαυτους with 02 025 5)
 (*v.l.* + αμην at 5:21 is now no longer offered as a possible alternative [cf. 2 Peter in ECM])

Note that in six places above (1:7; 2:4 (*pr.*); 2:29; 3:13; 5:5; 5:6) the possible alternative has the support of ›Byz‹ (= Codices Byzantini). Note also that most of the changes above make no material difference to the meaning—five concern the omission or inclusion of a particle.

When we look at the two passages above that appear in the *apparatus* to UBS we find 1:4 was rated ›A‹ in UBS^{4rev} (having been upgraded from ›B‹ in earlier editions). Now that confidence is seen to have been

misplaced; another possible reading is now offered in ECM. At 3:13 the ›D‹ rating in UBS¹⁻³ and ›C‹ in UBS^{4rev} display a genuine doubt.

The dots at 1:7 mark one of three places where the text was changed from UBS/NA. But it is interesting to see that the other two places where the text was changed from that in UBS/NA (i.e. 5:10; 5:18) have no such dots—the change has therefore been made in ECM with supreme confidence and no doubt about the editors' decisions is raised.

One might have expected to see bold dots at 2:6 [οὕτως]; 3:19 [καί]; 3:21 [ἡμῶν]; 5:1 [καί] where the word is bracketed in UBS/NA, indicating that their editors were in a dilemma whether or not to support the long or the short reading and where they hedged their bets by bracketing the disputed word. The UBS *Commentary* at these places shows what the dilemmas were. That overuse of brackets is a deplorable feature of these editions. ECM uses the bold dot to indicate some disputed readings but at these four places ECM drops the bracket and thus reads the longer text without raising any doubts about its decision.

Readers of this fascicule may well wish to see the evidence for the Comma Johanneum (1 John 5:7–8). The Greek *apparatus* shows the readings of six of the manuscripts that support the longer text (often as a variant reading in their margins): 61 88 429 629 918. The supplementary *apparatus* (B112) has the reading of 636. (The other manuscripts that support forms of the longer reading, 221 2318 2473, are not used in ECM in 1 John.) For the Latin evidence one needs to turn to Section 5.3 (B124), and for the reading in the Complutensian Polyglot to p. B107.

As is normal in these instalments, there are additional readings in the first part of subsection 5.1 in the volume entitled *Supplementary Material*. These are mainly drawn from the *Text und Textwert* volumes that formed the preliminary survey of the manuscripts selected for ECM. In the case of 1 John some 58 occasional mss. are listed on p. B111. These are said to be mss. »not included in this edition«. It is therefore somewhat disconcerting for readers to encounter in that list 1735 which is among the mss. cited consistently throughout 1 John (and shown on p. B91). Even more disconcerting is it for readers to meet 490 (a Gospel ms.!) and 1774 (a ms. of Revelation!) in the list on p. B111. And what help does a reader get to explain the appearance of ms. 1743 in support of the additional reading at 1 John 5:8/18–30? That witness is *not* in the list on p. B111 nor elsewhere in ECM!

Some of the occasional manuscripts shown in *v.ll.* on pp. B 111 f. were among the main witnesses used in the volume on James but subsequently abandoned: 631 1509 1765 1893 2180 2242 2495 2674 (this one is also a supplementary ms. in 1 & 2 Peter).

[1071] Differences in the manuscript attestation between ECM and the appropriate entry in the *Teststellen* in *Text und Textwert* are seen in, among other places: 2:10 (1523); 2:14 (2544); 2:19 (621; and added reading by 1799); 2:23 (1837 1838); 3:1 (1845Z added); 3:14 (add 623^{corr2}). At 4:3 (*Teststelle* 1) 330* previously »unleserlich« now appears as 330*V. At 4:3 (*Teststelle* 2) there is a different reading for 2344 in ECM. Several of the above concern the first hand and correctors of mss. These refinements found in ECM imply that greater care and investigation has gone into making ECM the more reliable of the two *apparatus*.

In brief: 1) Among Patristic witnesses there are 48 cited in 1 John, mainly Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus and Origen. The original lists of Fathers on pp. B14–20. B50 have now been supplemented on p. B98. 2) In the section on the Latin version the reference to VL p. 240 (on pp. B105 and B106) should be completed as VL *vol.* 26. 3) A loose page inserted lists the main abbreviations but also contains *addenda* and *corrigenda* to the earlier fascicules in the series. 4) The Table of Contents in Part 1 shows the incorrect order of the Vorwort and Preface.

IV) 2, 3 JOHN AND JUDE

[1156] This is the fourth instalment in the volume on the Catholic Epistles. The original plan to have only three instalments was abandoned when it was decided to publish 1 John separate from 2, 3 John and Jude. The earlier fascicules on 1 John were reviewed in ThLZ 129 (2004) cols. 1068–1071. Those familiar with ECM are appreciative of the spacious presentation, careful setting out of the alternatives and a well-controlled apparatus criticus. Complicated variation units like Jude 5 (words 12–20) throw up 30 *v.ll.* and Jude 23 (words 2–22) 15 *v.ll.* The clarity with which these, and all, alternatives are set out continues to serve as a model of how an apparatus ought to be constructed. At 2 John 8 a cross-reference to link ἀπολεσόμεν at word 10 with ἀπολαβόμεν at word 22 may have been useful. The edition of ECM

under review now has 68 quarto pages of text and apparatus. Compare that to the 7 cramped pages for 2, 3 John and Jude in the Nestle hand edition.

From the list of 142 manuscripts listed on p. B127 135 have been used in the apparatus to 2 John, 135 in 3 John and 138 in Jude. Of these 142 manuscripts (3 papyri, 14 majuscules, 119 minuscules, 6 lectionaries) in 2, 3 John and Jude, 44 are Byzantine (p. B128) of which one (365) is used only in 2, 3 John; these Byzantine mss. are 5 majuscules, 33 minuscules and all 6 lectionaries. (Those figures compare with 167 in James, of which 97 are *Codices Byzantini*; 152 in 1 Peter [54 Byz.], 149 in 2 Peter [54 Byz.]; 143 in 1 John = 2 papyri, 13 majuscules, 117 minuscules, 11 lectionaries [52 Byz. = 4 majuscules, 37 minuscules and all 11 lectionaries].) A fragment of Jude, 0316, is newly added to the list of mss. used in the Catholics. Compared with the immediately previous fascicule (on 1 John) 206S is used (not 206—do we need to be told about the nature of this supplement and its date here?), 181S (not 181); L921 (not L921S). 1831S for 2 John-Jude is another later supplement to an earlier manuscript. And what is the significance of the *bracketed* S after 1831? (That siglum is not in the tables of abbreviations.) L60, L590, L1126, L1442S no longer appear beyond 1 John.

[1157]

Some mss. which in 1 John were Byzantine are not so labelled in 2, 3 John, Jude: 69, 93, 431, 665, 876, 1270, 1297, 1751, 1842, 1845; conversely, the following are now *Codices Byzantini*, not having been so in 1 John: 025, 0142, 206S, 398, 429, 522, 1448, 1490, 1799, 2718 and 1831S. If these have been correctly judged, then it shows just how the influences on mss. from one book to another fluctuate, even in the same corpus.

Of the six lectionaries one (L596) is, according to the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, 1^asel. The others are all 1^ae. Page B129 links L596 with L921, L938, L1141, L1281 and separates these from L156. The reason for this is not clear.

The new introductory matter (pp. 35*–48*) explains how the editors are well satisfied with the coherence-based genealogical method (CBGM) adopted here; there is much talk about ›textual flow‹. The methodology has identified different manuscript allegiances in 2 and 3 John compared even with 1 John. If this approach is sound, it certainly behoves us to treat all mss. carefully as we move from book to book, and even within one book in the larger texts, of course. For example, 1845, as will be seen above, was Byzantine in 1 John; now it is one of the 15 closest allies of A (= Ausgangstext) in 3 John, and one of the 9 second closest to A in 2 John. Cf. also how 431, previously Byz., is now among the mss. next closest to A in 3 John and among those closest to A in Jude. 025, now Byz., is listed on p. 36* as among the 3rd–5th

most closely related to A in 3 John alongside seven other Byz. mss. We must, however, not be mesmerized into concluding that the Ausgangstext is necessarily the »original« text, but merely the text that seems to explain the origin of the variants deviating from it.

The seven manuscripts described as »nearly pure« Byzantine mss. in the three letters are 18, 35, 319, 398, 607, 1175, 2423. Several of those differ from the seven isolated in 1 John. We are told (p. B128) that there are only 37 variants (out of 400+) where the undivided Byzantine witnesses differ from the primary line of text printed here as the Ausgangstext. (In the event, the list following gives us only 36!) Thus, apart from those places, the Byzantine mss. witness to the »early« text. In James the figures are 69 distinctive Byzantine readings out of 800 variants; cf. 1 Peter 52/700; 2 Peter 33/400; 1 John 47/700.

Although the main benefit of the ECM edition is the display of variants, there will be those who turn to it to see how its running line (*a*) compares with the text of the Nestle edition. As usual, the number of changes is disappointingly small.

There are no alternatives from the Nestle text in 2 or 3 John. In Jude only 3 changes occur:

- 1) Jude 5 (words 12–20). This is a notorious textual crux and the text in UBS *Greek New Testament* is rated ›D‹. The running text now reads υμας απαξ παντα οτι Ιησους, although a question mark still surrounds 'Ιησους (see below). The new reading has the effect of removing brackets from the Nestle edition, which is no bad thing.
- 2) Jude 18 (word 7—not word 8 as announced on p. 37*). ECM here removes a word previously bracketed (οτι).
- 3) Jude 18 (words 8–18, not 10–18 as announced on p. 37*). Here too a word previously bracketed now disappears (του).

These changes in v.18 are hesitant because in both bold dots occur (see below).

- [1158] What is perhaps of greater interest than these tentative changes to the text of the running line are those places where the editors place a bold dot against the text in the running line and (in all cases, bar one) indicate an alternative reading which may be of equal value—although in some cases need only be of interest or »special critical consideration«. (The explanation of the significance of the dot on p. 24* in the fascicule on the letters of Peter is preferred to the earlier explanation on p. 11* in the James fascicule). We are told (p. 37*) that there are »many« places where dots are to be found. »Many« here means 15 in

the 53 verses of the three epistles, cf. 41 dotted places throughout 1 and 2 Peter.

The following occur in the present volume (the word in brackets here being the highlighted alternative): 2 John 2 μενουσαν (ενοικουσαν); 9 και τον πατερα και τον υιον εχει (και τον υιον και τον πατερα εχει); 3 John 3 γαρ (om.); 9 τι—rated ›B‹ in the UBS edition and Metzger's companion *Commentary* (om.); 10 εκ (om.); Jude 5 δε (ουν); 5 Ιησους ([ο] Κυριος), but no alternative is indicated in the overview of variants. The new word order is not being questioned. This complicated variant merits special attention in the Introduction (p. 37*). The matter concerns not the changed word order but hesitation which divine name should appear in the primary line of text, and whether it should be arthrous or not. The variant adding the article to Ιησους is not referred to here, only the article with Κυριος but there is no variant shown with Κυριος or ο Κυριος in the new, preferred position after παντα οτι; 14 αγιαις μυριασιν αυτου (2, 1, 3); 16 επιθυμιας εαυτων (επιθυμιας αυτων); 17 ρηματων των προειρημενων (3, 1); 18 om. οτι = changed text here (+ οτι); 18 επ εσχατου χρονου εσονται = changed text (επ εσχατου του χρονου εσονται); 20 εποικοδομουντες εαυτους τη αγιοτατη υμων πιστει (1–4, ημων, 5); 21 τηρησατε (τηρησωμεν cf. v.l. at v. 20, although this edition prints υμεις at v. 20 word 2, without having a bullet point indicating v.l. ημεις); 25 προ παντος του αιωνος (om. του).

There are no matters of great moment here, although the change at 3 John 9 is of interest. At Jude 5 authorial style should decide in favour of δε (C. Landon, *A Text-Critical Study of the Epistle of Jude*, p. 68); and the recognition that scribes often avoided Semitic word order should favour the running line at Jude 17. It is of interest to see in the list above how often the alternative represents a reading by A or B or both!

68 extra mss., appear in the additional apparatus found in section 5.1, two of them, 209 and 2242 occurring for several variants. These are mss. and readings taken, for the most part, from the Teststellen in the *Text und Textwert* volume on the Catholic Epistles I (ANTF 9; Berlin, 1987). Not surprisingly, most concern additional variants in Jude. As is often the case, there are problems between the list of mss. and the apparatus following. Among the mss. listed I have been unable to locate any readings attributed to 133 or 592 (although 582, found at Jude 5, is probably intended). Among the mss. in this additional list are 456, 631, 676, 1066, 1367, 1509, 2180, 2242, 2523, all said on

p. B127 not to have been included in the apparatus beyond James! (I assume therefore that that statement must refer only to the *main* apparatus, not to this supplementary apparatus.)

[1159] The apparatus now benefits from work being undertaken in Münster on the Harklean and Philoxenian Syriac. 11 Philoxenian witnesses have been added to the 19 used by Gwynn. Harklean mss. too have been added to this fascicule. 14 Sahidic Coptic mss. are utilized for 2, 3 John and Jude. The selection differs somewhat from those seen in the previous fascicule on 1 John. Work on these versions should therefore eventually yield *addenda* to the introductory matter and apparatus of the earlier fascicules. The Latin Vulgate is close to the Greek and is to be found regularly in the apparatus supporting a Greek reading. The Old Latin occurs in 3 John 11–15 in Codex Bezae. (The abbreviation D after L[atin] here needs to be added to the lists of abbreviations (Latin R is also missing from those lists.) There are few Patristic citations to include in these books.

We observe several changes in ECM from the *TuT* Teststellen in the 1987 edition (cited above), especially regarding the readings of first hands, e. g. ms. 326* 2 John 8 (words 10–14 e and f); 2 John 9 ff. where 048 now seems to have been available; previously it was in the category »Lücke«; the readings of 629 and 1523 differ at 2 John 9 (words 20–22); 1678 and 2186 differ at 2 John 12 (word 26) etc. One may assume that the Münster Institut's ongoing investigation into all readings found in the ECM apparatus is more accurate, but a statement to confirm that hunch would be helpful.—*Corrigenda* to the earlier fascicules in this series are to be found added to the inserted blue sheet, »Abbreviations and Symbols«. (That sheet is only in English, in contrast to the rest of the edition where all editorial matter is bilingual [German and English].)

B I) REACTIONS TO JAMES AND 1, 2 PETER

The *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM hereafter) is a modern-day replacement for Tischendorf's monumental *Novum Testamentum Graece* of the 19th century. The first volume (IV) of ECM is The Catholic Epistles. Part 1 gives the Text. Part 2 is entitled Supplementary Material. The next volume planned will be vol. II, The Acts of the Apostles. Eventually we should see I Gospels, III Pauline Corpus and V Revelation. The present article looks at this new edition from a reader's viewpoint. [129]

The first and most obvious impression given, even on first opening the edition, is the spaciousness of the *apparatus*. It is a model of clarity and has set a standard by which all other *apparatus* will now be judged. Not only is it easy to consult, thanks to the numbering of every word and space in each verse which permits an unambiguous cross-reference to the relevant part of the *apparatus*, but the setting out of the sense units beneath the line of text to display the precise context of complicated variants gives the reader an overview of variants differing from the primary text and enables him to see the wood from the trees. Usually in other critical editions the atomized presentation of variants, [130] even when these may be represented sometimes by the same MS(S), makes it difficult to appreciate the overall significance of the changes individual variants introduce.

Another reason for the clear presentation is that this is an uncluttered *apparatus*. The ambiguities inherent in many variants represented in versions are signalled but are not discussed *ad loc.*: instead these (and other ambiguities) are collected together in part 2 sections 5.2 ("Further Information on Greek witnesses" i.e. those marked by a double-headed arrow) and 5.3 ("Further Information on Versional Witnesses [marked ? or >]"). Greek patristic evidence only is recorded: that wise decision removes another layer of potentially misleading or, at best, ambiguous readings from the *apparatus*. Problems caused by lacunose Greek MSS are also dealt with separately (in section 2.3). Nonsense readings are avoided in the *apparatus* although are collected together in another place (2.4: "List of errors in the Greek manuscripts").¹

¹ I am not convinced of the value of this list.

My first and main interest in the edition is the changes to the text when comparing it with the standard hand editions, Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*²⁷ and the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*^{4revised} (hereafter NA and UBS). Unlike the IGNTP edition of Luke,² which is a thesaurus of variant readings, the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) is, as its name suggests, an *edited* text.

When the first volume of ECM was published I expressed some disappointment that the critically edited text of James resulted in only two changes from the text of NA/UBS.³ Since then the fascicule containing 1 and 2 Peter has been published: here we see that more changes to the text have been made, although these are still relatively modest. A judgement on the overall text in ECM may remain the same as that made on NA/UBS, namely that it reproduces a text similar to that circulating in the 4th century, and does not replicate a text of an earlier century.

James

[131] In James the following changes are made:⁴

1:22 ἀκροαταὶ μόνον (μόνον ἀκροαταὶ)

2:3 ἢ κάθου ἐκεῖ (ἐκεῖ ἢ κάθου [B])⁵

An additional change was made subsequent to the publication of the James fascicules and was announced only in a footnote in the Petrine volume (IV, 2 part 1 p. 22* note 4 and p. 24* note 4):

2:4 καὶ οὐ διεκρίθητε (οὐ διεκρίθητε)

(It is encouraging to note that the editors are still reconsidering their earlier judgements. That is healthy, but indicates that the primary text is still in a state of flux while investigations into the textual complexion of the MS witnesses are still being undertaken.)

² The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, *The New Testament in Greek III, The Gospel according to St. Luke* Part One: Chapters 1–12 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Part Two: Chapters 13–24 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

³ Review, *NovT* 40 (1998) p. 198.

⁴ In each case the earlier reading (in NA²⁷/UBS^{4rev.}) is given in brackets.

⁵ These letters are the rating letters in UBS^{4rev.}.

1 Peter

In 1 Peter the following changes are made:

- 1:6 λυπηθέντας (λυπηθέντες)
 1:16 γέγραπται (γέγραπται [ὅτι])
 1:16 ἐγὼ ἅγιος (ἐγὼ ἅγιος [εἶμι])
 2:25 ἀλλ' (ἀλλά)
 4:16 ἐν τῷ μέρει (ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι)
 5:9 τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ (τῇ ἐν [τῷ] κόσμῳ)
 5:10 ἐν Χριστῷ (ἐν Χριστῷ [Ἰησοῦ] [C])

2 Peter

There are eight changes to the text of 2 Peter:

- 2:6 ἀσεβεῖν (ἀσεβέ[σ]ιν[C])
 2:11⁶ παρὰ κυρίῳ (παρὰ κυρίου[C])
 2:15 παραλιπόντες (παραλείποντες)
 3:6 δι' ὃν (δι' ὧν)
 3:10 οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται (εὐρεθήσεται[D])
 3:16 ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς (ἐπιστολαῖς)
 3:16 στρεβλώσουσιν (στρεβλοῦσιν)
 3:18 εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος (εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος [ἀμήν] [C])

The nature of those changes is worth exploring. The two changes found in the fascicule of James alter the meaning and thus affect translation. [132]
 At James 2:3 the (now jettisoned) reading of UBS was rated B in the 4th. edition (having been upgraded from C found in the earlier editions). The decision by the ECM committee to print as its primary text a different reading is yet another nail in the ludicrous rating letter system. The rejected reading is now earmarked as an alternative. However, there are no bold dots and thus no alternative readings are proffered for the readings at James 1:22; 2:4 and therefore the jettisoned readings in NA/UBS are not highlighted. (On the bold dots see below.)

We were not informed if the changes here were occasioned by a reexamination of the alleged reliability of the MSS of James in reproducing "A" (the *Ausgangstext* or hypothetical initial text, otherwise

⁶ This change is wrongly reported in IV, 2 part 1 p. 21* and p. 23*.

known in some quarters as the original text of the Biblical author). Only in the “Notes on the Reconstruction of the Text of 1 and 2 Peter” found in “Installment 2” (part 1, p. 24* cf. p. 22*) do we belatedly have information on “special” MSS that swayed editorial decisions in James! We are told there that the primary witnesses are 01 03 04 025 81 307 (a Byzantine MS in James according to IV 1 pt. 2 p. B8!) 1175 1243 1739 1852. Let us now check on how this newly acquired information has affected the new texts in James. At 1:22 the new text is indeed found in 03, but all the other “A” category MSS except 1852 read the old, rejected text found in NA/UBS. At 2:3 the new text has the support of only half of these “A” rated witnesses, namely 03 1175 1243 1739 1852. The newly added changed reading at 2:4 is read by only 025 from among these favoured witnesses. (No dots had alerted us to the fact that that reading was being earmarked as uncertain.)

When we turn to 1 and 2 Peter we see that the significance of the changes is that six involve the removal of a word (or part of a word) bracketed in NA/UBS. These are at 1 Peter 1:16 *bis*; 5:9, 10; 2 Peter 2:6; 3:18). Of these the inclusion of ἀμήν in UBS⁴ at 2 Peter 3:18 was given a low rating letter, “C” (previously “D” in UBS^{1-3B}); the removal of the word now allows 1 and 2 Peter to be consistent in their endings. NA/UBS made the two Petrine letters differ in this regard, a phenomenon that causes exegetes unwarranted heartache. The new reading at 2 Peter 3:18 is made on the evidence of the reading of 03. On 1 Peter 5:10 B.M. Metzger in his *Commentary*⁷ in a signed note rightly stated that the shorter text was to be preferred because scribes tended to expand divine names: that view has now been accepted. Several of the new readings in 1 and 2 Peter (1 Peter 1:6, 16^{sec}; 4:16; 5:9, 10; 2 Peter 2:6, 15; 3:16^{bis}, 18) are printed surrounded by bold dots and a suggested alternative reading is given. On this siglum and its significance see below.

The reading at 2 Peter 3:10 is a conjecture. In the Introduction p. 24* it is stated that “Hitherto there has been no known Greek evidence for this reading” as if some newly discovered Greek reading were available. This is not the case,⁸ although a footnote on p. 24* tries to argue that the variants ἀφανισθήσονται and κατακαήσεται in

⁷ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

⁸ The translation of the German (p. 22*) may be the cause of the confusion: “bislang” should be “as yet,” and “immerhin” should be “however” or “nevertheless.”

effect agree with οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται. Metzger, *Commentary* (2nd ed.) argues that no reading here seems original, and the UBS text rates εὐρεθήσεται with a rare “D.” Disquiet may greet this change. There is often hesitation about accepting a reading not found in Greek manuscripts—it smacks of modern rewriting of the text especially of a text deemed to be “holy writ.” NA/UBS prints as the supposed original text of Acts 16:12 a conjectural reading. Similarly, the reading πλήρη[ς] σίτον at Mark 4:28 is often questioned because the MSS in support of the longer text are according to NA²⁷ only C^{*vid} 28 and 2542^c, a combination seemingly unlikely to inspire many readers’ confidence.⁹

At 1 Peter 2:25 ECM has moved away from ἀλλά, a reading read by 03 virtually alone. Likewise at 1 Peter 1:16 the reading with ὅτι is the reading of 03, virtually alone. In general, many of the changes to the text have been away from the readings supported by this MS.

More significant changes are the ones at 1 Peter 4:16 and at 2 Peter 2:11.¹⁰ It is worth noting that the reading now at 1 Peter 4:16 is largely a Byzantine reading, although MSS 025 307 1735 and 2298 were important MSS for the editors, according to a private communication from one of them, Dr. Gerd Mink.¹¹ At 2 Peter 3:6 δι’ ὧν is read by only 025, eight minuscules and one lectionary. One of the minuscules, 1175, is a “special” MS in 2 Peter according to Introduction p. 21*f, pp. 23*f. [134]

⁹ This is not the place to investigate the role of conjecture in textual criticism, but the Nestle editions have often carried in their *apparatus* a number of conjectures attributed (usually) to a modern scholar. Even ancient scholars made conjectures and it may well be that the reading Γεργεσηνῶν at Matt 8:28 and parallels now found in continuous text Greek witnesses began with Origen’s conjectural emendation. Even ὑσσῶ found in 476* b ff² n v at John 19:29 may have been the result of a conjecture. In fact we may say that many deliberate changes made by scribes to the MSS they were copying are conjectures, in the belief that their exemplar did not represent the author’s intended reading at that point. A critical *apparatus* to the NT is the place to reproduce the alternative readings of all MSS (and versions and conventionally Patristic citations) that are copies of the original text, however flawed. Modern conjectures have no place in an *apparatus*, although some may merit inclusion and discussion in a learned commentary.

¹⁰ It is interesting to see that B.M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary* (2nd ed.), *ad loc.*, in a dissentient note signed by Metzger himself argued for the omission of the words or, as the “least unsatisfactory” alternative, to read παρὰ κυρίῳ and place the words in square brackets. The reading selected on the basis of majority voting within the UBS committee resulted in παρὰ κυρίου being printed with the rating “D,” subsequently upgraded to “C” in UBS⁴.

¹¹ This information is not yet published and is certainly not divulged in IV 2 part 1 p. 21* and 23* where similar information about “special” MSS is revealed.

In 1 Peter and in 2 Peter the high ranking MSS differ not only from those identified as *A* or “*A*-related” in James but also from each other. 02 and 5 are said (on p. 24*) to be specially related to the “*A*” text in 1 Peter, and \mathfrak{P}^{72} \mathfrak{P}^{81} and 623 are of high rank. In 2 Peter the editors alert us to the high rank of 1 665 1448 2423 among others. I am not sure of the extent to which the readings of MSS such as these have occasioned the changes to the text, but we suspect they ought to have exercised an important role.

Whatever one’s judgement on the changes, the most significant consequence that needs to be fully recognised is that the text as printed in NA is not now to be seen as an inviolate text whose readings are to be thought of as being as close to the original text as it was once claiming to be. The changed introductory matter in NA²⁷ opened the way to this liberalization of that text: “The purpose of the 27th edition remains the same as that of the 26th edition. It intends to provide the user with a well-founded *working text* together with the means of verifying it or alternatively of correcting it” (pp. 45*f., italics mine). And that of course is what has happened in the creation of ECM, even though its editors (from the Münster Institut, the body also behind the NA/UBS editions) were not deliberately reediting NA of course, but were, we understand, starting with a *tabula rasa*. We await a fuller explanation of the processes behind the establishing of the text in this edition.

[135] In so far as the new readings will increasingly be adopted by commentators and translators of the books appearing in ECM it may be worth the while of the publishers of NA to signal in their *apparatus* (by means of an added special siglum, comparable to the dagger indicating a change from the text printed in NA²⁵) where the ECM text has opted for a different reading.

BOLD DOTS

Not only is the text of ECM different from NA—albeit not in as radical a way as some of those who identify themselves with thorough-going principles of textual criticism might have liked—but certain other readings printed as the text are queried by means of having a bold black dot (or “bullet point”) inserted on the running line. There are normally two dots: these surround the questionable words. In 2 Peter 3:18 (the end of the book) one dot occurs after the last word. If an addition is being indicated as an alternative reading then one dot is

placed in the relevant space between words in the running text (e.g. James 4:14^{sec}). In all instances the dot(s) draw(s) our attention to an alternative reading, or in two cases (1 Peter 4:14; 2 Peter 1:4) more than one alternative reading, in the *apparatus*: this is then marked with another dot alongside the alternative reading(s) beneath the primary text.

The places concerned are as follows, with the suggested alternative(s) after the solidus:

James

- 1:20 οὐκ ἐργάζεται/ οὐ κατεργάζεται
 2:3 ἢ κάθου ἐκεῖ (changed text)/(3,1,2) [B]
 2:19 εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός [B]/(1,4,2)
 3:4 ἀνέμων σκληρῶν/(2,1)
 3:8 οὐδεὶς δαμάσαι δύναται ἀνθρώπων /(1,3,2,4)
 3:15 αὕτη ἡ σοφία ἄνωθεν κατερχομένη /(2,3,1,4,5)
 4:12¹² ὁ[C]/om.
 4:14 τὸ[B]/ τὰ
 4:14 ποία[B]/ ποία γὰρ
 5:10 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου/ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου¹³
 5:18 ὑετὸν ἔδωκεν/ (2,1)

1 Peter

[136]

- 1:8 ἰδόντες[A]!/ εἰδότες
 1:9 τὸ τέλος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν[C]¹⁴/om ὑμῶν
 1:12 ἐν πνεύματι[C]/ om. ἐν
 1:18 ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου[C]/(1,3,2)
 1:22 καθαρῶς καρδίας[C]/ om. καθαρῶς
 2:5 οἰκοδομεῖσθε/ ἐποικοδομεῖσθε
 2:5 τῷ θεῷ/ om. τῷ
 2:6 ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον/(2,1,3)
 2:11 ἀπέχεσθαι/ ἀπέχεσθε

¹² These readings are not mentioned in UBS^{1-3A} nor are they in Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, first edition.

¹³ This alternative is a rare instance of the omission of a word not bracketed in NA/UBS.

¹⁴ C is the conventional letter applied to variants where the editorial committee could not decide between a longer and a shorter reading and resolved their dilemma by resorting to the placing of the disputed word(s) in square brackets in the text. Most of the examples of C ratings in the list are of this type.

- 2:16 ἄλλ' ὡς θεοῦ δοῦλοι/(1,2,4,3)
 2:20 παρὰ θεῶ/ παρὰ τῷ θεῶ
 2:25 ἐπεστράφητε[C]/ ἐπεστρέψατε
 3:1 αἱ γυναῖκες[C]/ *om.* αἱ
 3:1 καὶ εἴ τινες ἀπειθοῦσιν[C]/(2,1,3,4)
 3:22 τοῦ θεοῦ / *om.* τοῦ
 4:5 ἐτοίμως ἔχοντι κρῖναι/ ἐτοίμως κρίνουντι
 4:11 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων/ *om.* τῶν αἰώνων
 4:14 ἀναπαύεται[A]!/ ἀναπέπανται/ ἐπαναπαύεται
 4:17 ὁ καιρὸς/ *om.* ὁ
 4:19 ἀγαθοποιία/ ἀγαθοποιίαις
 5:2 κατὰ θεόν[C]/*om.*
 5:5 ὁ θεός/ *om.* ὁ
 5:8 τίνα καταπιεῖν[C]/*om.* τίνα
 5:11 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας [B]!/ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων
 5:14 ἐν Χριστῷ [A]!/ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ

[It is surprising how many readings given an A rating by UBS, thereby expressing that committee's confidence in the originality of the reading, here show that that confidence was profoundly misplaced. This reenforces our dissatisfaction with the fatuous rating system.]¹⁵

[137] In addition we repeat the five places in 1 Peter where there is a new text, and a bold dot:¹⁶

- 1:6 λυπηθέντας/ λυπηθέντες
 1:16 ἐγὼ ἅγιος/ ἐγὼ ἅγιος εἰμι
 4:16 ἐν τῷ μέρει/ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι
 5:9 τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ/ τῇ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
 5:10 ἐν Χριστῷ/ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ

2 Peter

- 1:2 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου[A]! / Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυριοῦ
 1:4 τίμια καὶ μέγιστα ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλματα (1,4,2,3,5,6)/(3,2,1,4,5,6)
 1:4 τῆς ἐν τῷ κοσμῷ/ *om.* τῷ

¹⁵ See J.K. Elliott in various articles e.g. *NovT* 15 (1973) pp. 278–300; *NovT* 20 (1978) pp. 242–77.

¹⁶ Places where there are changes for which no bold dot appear at 1 Peter 1:16 *pr.* And 2:25. The earlier, now rejected, readings of UBS/NA for these verses are not therefore signalled as potential alternatives or even as interesting readings.

- 1:9 ἁμαρτιῶν/ ἁμαρτημάτων
 1:12 διὸ μελλήσω/ διὸ οὐκ ἁμελήσω
 1:21 προφητεία ποτέ/ (2,1)
 2:6 καταστροφῇ κατέκρινεν[C]/ *om.* καταστροφῇ
 2:13 ἀπάταις αὐτῶν[B]/ ἀγάπαις αὐτῶν
 2:18 ἀσελγείαις/ ἀσελγείας
 2:18 ὀλίγως[A]!/ ὄντως
 2:19 δεδούλωται/ καὶ δεδούλωται
 2:20 κυρίου ἡμῶν[C]/ *om.* ἡμῶν
 2:22 κυλισμόν/ κύλισμα
 3:3 ἐν ἐμπαιγμονῇ/ *om.* ἐν
 3:3 κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι/ (1,2,3,5,4,6)
 3:18 αὐξάνετε/ αὐξάνεσθε

In addition we repeat the five places in 2 Peter¹⁷ where the text was changed, but where an alternative is proffered by means of the bold dots:

- 2:6 ἀσεβεῖν/ ἀσεβέσιν
 2:15 καταλιπόντες/ καταλείποντες
 3:16 ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς / ἐπιστολαῖς
 3:16 στρεβλώσουσιν/ στρεβλοῦσιν
 3:18 *om.* ἀμήν/ ἀμήν

Again, this reader is pleased to see that important readings are being drawn to our attention in this way, especially as it seems that these are being flagged as genuine alternatives to the text printed. Anyone who has tried to wrestle with text-critical variants is all too aware that, frequently, the balancing of probabilities, be they based on internal or on external criteria—or a mixture of the two—sometimes results in stalemate. The editor has to make a decision and print one reading but this is not always done with confidence. The lack of confidence and the inability to make a watertight case for the printing of reading x rather than reading y or z may manifest itself in marginal notes, bracketed words (where the choice is between a longer or a shorter text) or rating [138]

¹⁷ The other three places where the text was changed (2 Peter 2:11; 3:6, 10) appear without a dot signifying that no alternative is contemplated. The earlier reading in NA/UBS is rejected entirely. The new text is therefore printed confidently.

letters, signalling the relative degree of confidence with which the text is printed (as in the UBS edition). Here the dots serve that purpose.

However the instruction how to interpret the dot is confusing. In the Introduction to James (p. 11*) we are told that the dots signify places where the alternative reading so marked in the overview of variant readings is “of equal value” with the text in the primary line. In *The Letters of Peter* p. 24* we are given the disconcerting information that the use of the dot is “not governed by any absolute or precise definition”! The variant marked with a dot may sometimes be of equal value, but may merely indicate that the primary line of text has not been printed with complete confidence¹⁸ or that an alternative may merit special attention. Thus we must guess which category of dot we are dealing with.

Part of the confusion may be explained by a translation error. The German on p. 1* says that the suggested alternative readings are “*etwa gleichwertig*,” by which we must sometimes imply that “*ähnlich*” rather than “*gleichwertig*” is meant. “*Etwa*” has been left untranslated on p. 11*! Thus even in James these suggested alternatives may vary in their likelihood to be deemed as equivalent in value to the primary text—some may, some may not. This clarification means we are all at sea for James as well as for 1 and 2 Peter, and we are at the mercy of the editors’ subjective judgement. Perhaps all we may do is to take comfort that certain variants of text-critical importance are drawn to the readers’ attention in this way. But even when that is taken into account, we now must reckon that the alternative readings marked with a dot need not, in every case, be offered by the editors as genuine replacements for the text printed as the running line. They are merely

[139] telling us that the passages call for special consideration and reexamination.

This new explanation is understandable and reasonable, but we do need to be alert to the change from the explanation in the James volume, which was perhaps seen as too simplistic.

When we look in detail at the places where the device of the dots has been utilized the following deductions may be made:

¹⁸ Surprisingly, the conjectural reading printed as the primary line at 2 Peter 3:10 is not marked with a dot: such is the confidence with which our editors print that text!

1) One result of the newly edited text of which I am wholeheartedly in favour is the abandonment of bracketed words within the text.¹⁹ Whether this was explicitly intended as a conscious policy decision by the editors remains to be seen, but that is not important; the importance lies in the fact that users of ECM do not have to scratch their heads in bewilderment as they all too frequently have to do when consulting the text in NA/UBS.

The presence of a word or words (or, occasionally even parts of words!) surrounded by square brackets inevitably raises the question whether the reader should ignore the presence of the brackets (and thus accept the longer text) or overlook the word(s) bracketed and therefore accept the shorter text. In the present volumes brackets in the NA/UBS text have been abandoned thus giving us a longer text. In some places we see that the alternative, i.e. the shorter, text is earmarked with a bold dot in the letter address. In some ways the device of introducing the bold dots replaces brackets.

It is clear that where brackets have now been removed from the text the reading giving the shorter text (an omission that occasioned the use of brackets in UBS/NA) has been compensated for by the identification of that shorter text as a recommended alternative reading still worthy of consideration. This accounts for the dots at James 4:12; 1 Peter 1:9, 12, 22; 2:5; 3:1, 22; 4:17; 5:5, 8; 2 Peter 2:6, 20; 3:3.

Strangely, there are four places where brackets have been removed but they do not merit a dot in ECM:

- i) James 5:14: ἀντόν²
- ii) 1 Peter 1:6 ἐστὶν
- iii) 1 Peter 5:2 ἐπισκοποῦντες (In Metzger, *Commentary*, 2nd ed., this reading is rated “C” because it is said the decision about which textual variant to print as the text was “difficult”: the dilemma of that committee seems therefore not to have been shared by those preparing ECM.) [140]
- iv) 2 Peter 3:11 ὡμᾶς

¹⁹ J.K. Elliott, “The Use of Brackets in the Text of the United Bible Societies’ Greek New Testament,” *Biblica* 60 (1979) pp. 575–77.

The variants giving a shorter text, signalled as important to the editors of NA/UBS have therefore not been deemed worthy of note by the ECM committee.

2) Some variants involving a changed word-order now bear a dot (James 2:3; 3:4, 8, 15; 5:18; 1 Peter 1:18; 2:6, 16; 3:1; 2 Peter 1:4, 21; 3:3).

3) Others concern a choice between a longer and a shorter text (These are passages not bracketed in UBS/NA): James 5:10; 1 Peter 4:11 and 5:11 where consistent usage within the Petrine Letters should be restored. UBS/NA also inconsistently print the longer doxology at 4:11 and not at 5:11. We also note 1 Peter 5:14 where, again, the rejected text was printed in UBS with complete confidence, denoted by its being rated “A”—the decisions and dilemmas of that text as exemplified by the often arbitrary and inevitably ludicrous rating letters have obviously been ignored or disregarded by the ECM committee. To this list we add 1 Peter 4:5; 5:2; 2 Peter 1:2; 2:19.²⁰

4) It will also be seen from the list above that some alternatives concern orthographical, or grammatical variation.

5) The alternatives dotted at 2 Peter 1:12 and 2.18sec. are interesting—the latter, in particular, because, once again, the reading of UBS was a confidently printed “A” reading.²¹ James 2:19 is theologically significant. At James 4:14*pr.* the reading τὰ is a scribal assimilation to Proverbs 27:1.

As far as the MSS used are concerned I have been most interested in the way the selection has been made. On the basis of the results of the *Teststellen* in the *Text und Textwert* volumes on the Catholic Epistles²² a number of Byzantine and non-Byzantine MSS have been identified in as objective and verifiably statistical way as possible.

[141] The edition has a controlled selection of continuously cited witnesses. As a result of the Münster Institut’s investigation of the 550 or so MSS in their 98 *Teststellen* selected for the Catholic Epistles, 372 of the 522 or 523²³ complete MSS and larger fragmentary MSS

²⁰ The omission of καὶ is read by P⁷² B only.

²¹ Possibly we may deduce that this reading is dotted here merely “for special consideration” (p. 24*).

²² K. Aland (ed.), *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 9, 10a, 10b, 11; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987).

²³ K. Wachtel, *Der Byzantinische Text der Katholischen Briefe* (ANTF 24; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), p. 55 refers to 522 MSS, and places them in five categories, but the total of these categories is 523. [As noted on p. 479.]

were shown to agree with the majority of MSS in at least 90% of these Teststellen (see also ECM p. 2* and p. 12*). That includes the readings designated 1 a well as 1/2, when these are in agreement in *Text und Textwert*. All MSS differing from the majority of MSS more than 10% are included “without exception” (according to p. 12* with specific reference only to James, although we must assume that were these introductory pages to be made applicable to other letters in volume IV then the same would be true for 1 and 2 Peter and the other letters as well).

In James 182 MSS are used. The non-Byzantine MSS comprise 5 papyri, 10 majuscules and 70 minuscules. Of the 97 Byzantine witnesses 5 are majuscules, 19 are lectionaries, 73 minuscules.

Among the 142 MSS containing 1 Peter and the 140 containing 2 Peter listed on p. B41 (excluding the LXX Prophetologium used for lections in 1 Peter) are 53 MSS identified as Byzantine witnesses in 1 Peter (6 majuscules, 38 minuscules and 9 lectionaries) and 54, somewhat different MSS, used in 2 Peter (5 majuscules, 40 minuscules, and 9 lectionaries). The non-Byzantine in 1 Peter are three papyri, 9 majuscules and 77 minuscules; in 2 Peter there are 2 papyri, 9 majuscules and 75 minuscules.

As far as minuscules are concerned, James uses 143. In 1 and 2 Peter there are fewer MSS cited than in James—only 115. The use of twenty-seven other minuscules, among thirty-nine MSS used in James and extant for 1 and 2 Peter, has been discontinued. The full list appears on p. B41 and we are told that the reason for their exclusion beyond James will be explained in *Supplementary Studies* (by which we are to understand that this is not the “Supplementary Material” of part 2 but “Begleitende Untersuchungen” said on p. B42 to be ECM IV,3).²⁴ On the face of it, and in the light of the selection processes described on p. 2* and p. 12*, we ought to assume these thirty-nine MSS failed to reach the required percentage agreements as Byzantine or as non-Byzantine representatives. Another anomaly is that of the twenty-seven minuscules, MS 38 is to be found in 1 and 2 in the “Additional Apparatus” set out on pp. B68f. The statement on p. B41 must therefore be [142]

²⁴ I had been confused by the numbering of these parts when I wrote my reviews. Part of the confusion occurred because p. 11* says “An additional volume offers supplementary studies...” On the basis of the present tense I took that to refer to the supplementary material already published as part 2 rather than a forthcoming volume “Supplementary Studies” part 3. I should have checked the German original, which on p. 1* makes it clear that it is a future, planned, volume that is referred to. It is always worth double-checking the English translation in such instances.

understood to mean that certain MSS have not been cited *consistently* beyond James, rather than that they are never to be found in ECM IV beyond James. We await IV, part 3 for the explanation.

There are nineteen lectionaries in James, ten lectionaries are used in 1 Peter and nine for 2 Peter. (Eleven of those used in James have been jettisoned beyond James and are so listed on p. B41.) Lectionary 1575 is used in 1 Peter: this is a lectionary independent of the Byzantine system and is an 8th. century Greek-Coptic bilingual MS.

The extent and age of all these MSS is found only in *Installment 1* pp. B5–7.

The Byzantine MSS are listed separately on p. B8 (James) and on p. B42 (1 and 2 Peter) under “Codices Byzantini.” The explanation why these have been selected seems, on the evidence of the *Einleitung/Introduction* (p. 2* and p. 12*) to be that the *codices Byzantini* are all the MSS that agree with the undivided Byzantine text in at least 80% of the passages.²⁵ The passages themselves are set out on pp. B9f. for James and on p. B43 in the fascicules for Peter. In James there are only 69 passages where the undivided Byzantine text occurs, out of a total of 800+ instances of textual variation. In 1 Peter the undivided Byzantine text differs from the primary line (i.e. the critically established text) 52 times from a total of 700+ variants. In 2 Peter there are 33 instances of Byzantine readings from a total of 400+ variants.

The use (but NOT the meaning) of the siglum “Byz” in 1 and 2 Peter to mean the “Codices Byzantini” listed on p. B42 differs from the James fascicule. There “Byz” was abandoned if three or four of the solid core of seven “nearly pure” Byzantine witnesses, listed on pp. B8–9, do not agree with the others. Now we learn that the siglum is relinquished if more than one differ from the others. This decision was reached after the committee analyzed the Byzantine support throughout each epistle and differing results are only to be expected. The actual “pure” MSS are not identical for James, 1 Peter or 2 Peter, but, as it happens, there are seven for each epistle. As usual, it is possible to detect how many

[143] MSS are included under the siglum “Byz” on those occasions when it is utilised in an *apparatus*. For example at 1 Peter 2:8 (numbers 14–16) we can eliminate all the Byzantine MSS listed on p. B42 actually cited

²⁵ I am grateful to Dr Gerd Mink of the Münster Institut for drawing my attention in a private communication to these explanations, which I failed to appreciate when I wrote my reviews.

individually in the different readings or deficient at this point. That leaves 45 MSS not accounted for and these therefore must be the MSS subsumed under “Byz.”

Although the Introduction speaks of the edition’s being concerned with establishing the text and reconstructing the history of the New Testament text during its first thousand years, some of the MSS used in ECM are themselves from outside that first Christian millennium. Non-Byzantine (MSS come from all centuries including the 15th and 16th. The lectionaries are from the 10th (l156) to the 15th (l593, l1281) and 16th (l2087). The Byzantine MSS are from the 9th–17th centuries.

* * *

We noted four places involving the deletion of brackets where no dotted alternatives were signalled. There are other places where we might have expected dots. I refer to those readings printed in UBS⁴ where, despite its general tendency to move previously low rating letters up, some ratings below “A” still mark the following:

James

- 1:17 παραγαλὴ ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα[B]
 3:3 εἰ δὲ[C]
 4:5 κατώκισεν[B]
 4:14 ἀτμὶς γάρ ἐστε ἡ[C]
 5:20 γινωσκέτω ὅτι[B]²⁶
 5:20 αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου[C]

1 Peter

- 2:3 εἰ[B]
 3:7 συγκληρόνομοις [B]
 3:18 περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθεν[B], over which reading Metzger, *Commentary* (2nd ed.) claims that the UBS committee had great difficulty ascertaining the original text. [144]
 3:18 ὑμᾶς [C]

²⁶ At James 5:4 the reading ἀποστερημένος by 018 020 33 is accepted as a proper reading by Metzger, *Textual Commentary* (2nd ed.) ad loc., but labelled here “f,” that is an error. Metzger’s own dissentient note—a rare change to a note in *Textual Commentary* 2nd ed. surviving from the previous edition—advocates printing ἀφυστερημένος; that *v.l.* is not accorded any special attention in ECM.

- 5:10 καταρτίσει, στηρίξει, σθενώσει, θεμελιώσει[B]
 5:11 τὸ κράτος [B]

2 Peter

- 1:1 Συμέων[B]
 1:3 ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ[B]
 1:17 ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου οὗτός ἐστιν[B] (a reading found in only P⁷² B 1751)
 2:4 σειραῖς[C] where Metzger, *Commentary* (2nd ed.) ad loc. claims that “the textual evidence is singularly evenly balanced.”
 2:13 ἀδικούμενοι[B]

* * *

The reliability and usefulness of ECM have certainly not been exhausted in the above brief sketch. My notes and observations represent but one reader's interests in this splendid new series. Others may rightly find much of value and interest in the references in the *apparatus* to Greek Patristic citations, for, unlike other hand editions which unhelpfully merely give a father's name, ECM allows the source of the reference and its location in a printed edition of the patristic work to be verified. A fuller discussion into the Patristic material is promised for the Supplementary Studies (= IV part 3). Others may profit from the versional evidence presented here, possibly to verify an often ambiguous reference in another *apparatus*, knowing that any such ambiguities are spelled out in part 2 section 5.3. Still others may use the edition to reconstruct the contents of each of the Greek MSS used for the edition. In so far as these are cited consistently and their lacunae listed (under Supplementary Material 2.3) such a task is theoretically practicable although this was not the editors' intended use for such an edition.

II) CHANGES TO THE EXEGESIS OF THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES IN THE LIGHT OF THE TEXT IN THE *EDITIO CRITICA MAIOR*

- [324] Most exegetes and commentators on the Greek New Testament typically use the United Bible Societies' Greek text found in either its own *The Greek New Testament* (= UBS^{4rev}) or in the Nestle edition, *Novum Testamentum Graece*²⁷. That text is not immutable. Recently the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung, which edits the Nestle edi-

tions and which collaborates in the UBS editions, has begun issuing its *Editio Critica Maior* (= *ECM*²⁷). To date most of the Catholic Epistles have been published in separate fascicules. The clarity of the presentation of the Greek text, and its critical *apparatus* in the text fascicules and the helpful information in the companion section entitled *Supplementary Material* have been receiving favourable notices, not least in my own reviews.²⁸ Its commendable features should make this edition the text which future exegetes and commentators will turn to for their base text. But it needs to be noted that this text differs from the UBS text.

Although a counsel of perfection proffered by a textual critic would be that every scholar of the Greek testament should use not only the edited text but the subjoined *apparatus* at all times, in practice time or other constraints mean that for (too) many scholars only the edited text is consulted. It is with those users in mind that this section will repeat the changes in the text of *ECM* compared with UBS^{4rev}/NA²⁷, as well as those highlighted recommended alternative readings printed in the *ECM apparatus*, for those books published so far, namely James, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, and 1 John, and we shall try to show where and how these readings may be of significance, especially for exegesis, translation or for scholarly commentaries. Thus we shall append brief notes that may be taken into account by readers assessing the changes and recommendations; we shall not, however, be providing an exhaustive textual commentary.

A. Here are the places where the text of *ECM* has changed:²⁹

[325]

(James)

1:22 ακροαται μονον / μονον ακροαται.³⁰ Obviously this is important for translators. The text with *μονον* qualifying *ακροαται* ("Be doers not only hearers of the word") may be secondary in order to call to mind James 2:24.

²⁷ Barbara Aland et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft). We discuss here volume IV 1, 2, 3 published in 1997, 2000 and 2003 respectively.

²⁸ Above, A 1, 2, 3.

²⁹ The first entry gives the new text in *ECM*; the second gives the UBS text.

³⁰ As is conventional in works on textual criticism, accents and breathings are not printed.

2:3 η καθου εκει / εκει η καθου B.³¹ These variants occur in a difficult sentence. The protasis is in v. 2, but it is not clear where (if anywhere) the apodosis begins, v. 4 (“yet among yourselves you make no distinction”; but see *v.l.* [= *varia lectio*] + και beneath); or v. 5 (“If a man... then listen...,” thus making v. 4 parenthetical); or unexpressed (in which case v. 4 is the last part of the protasis). The punctuation is also disputed. With these interpretative difficulties it is not surprising that scribes tried to make improvements. But in which ways? Our discussions ought to also take into account the *v.l.* +/- ωδε and that variant should qualify for a bold “bullet” point in *ECM*.³² Is the speaker making a contrast between standing there, i.e., at a distance, and sitting albeit in a humble position, and if so is that balance authorial or scribal? And whichever is deemed to be the answer to that question, our next question asks why the changes were made.

There is also a change to the text announced subsequent to the publication of the James edition:³³ 2:4 και ου/ ου. This *v.l.* is related to that in 2:3 above. The omission of και may have been made by scribes to indicate the apodosis concludes the conditional sentence which began in v. 2. Dibelius’ commentary³⁴ includes references to patristic discussions about the superfluous και in the apodosis.

(1 Peter)

- [326] 1:6* ³⁵ λυπηθεντας / λυπηθεντες. The reading -ας seems to require a translation “Since it is necessary if you be afflicted...” rather than “You, being afflicted, as is necessary,” which is clumsy. But may it be that the clumsiness is the author’s and that later scribes ameliorated the sentence?
- 1:16* []³⁶ γεγραπται / γεγραπται οτι. Διοτι γεγραπται οτι is cumbersome and as well as the dispute over the inclusion or exclusion of οτι it will be seen in the *apparatus* that some mss. omit διοτι

³¹ The letters A B C D following a reading are the rating letters found in the apparatus of UBS^{4rev}.

³² On the “bullet” points in *ECM*, see section B below.

³³ Found in the volume on the Petrine epistles pp. 22*, 24*.

³⁴ M. Dibelius, *James*, rev. H. Greeven, (Hermeneia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976).

³⁵ * indicates that the alternative is also highlighted by means of a bold dot. For the significance of this, see section B below. Thus the references here and elsewhere in section A without an asterisk mean that the editors print the new text with confidence and do not privilege any alternative.

³⁶ [] throughout means that the longer text contains bracketed words or parts of words in UBS/NA.

γεγραπται too. A resolution of the variants here needs to take the author's and New Testament practice of γραφω +/- οτι into account.

- 1:16 [] εγω αγιος / εγω αγιος ειμι. Ειμι is clearly emphatic and also makes a neat parallelism to αγιοι εσεσθε. Has the emphasis been supplied by scribes possibly in the light of Lev. 11:44; 20:7 (*v.l.*); 26 (*v.l.*) in the LXX or by the author? The shorter text conforms to the wording in the LXX of Lev. 19:2, in which case has an original ειμι been omitted to make the citation conform precisely to that quotation?
- 2:25 αλλ' / αλλα. This *v.l.* is included because ECM has moved away from the reading αλλα found in B only.
- 4:16* εν τω μερει / εν τω ονοματι. The reading of the majority text (μερει) may well be original here. If μερει is original then the change may have been encouraged by ονοματι in v. 14.
- 5:9* [] τη εν κοσμω / τη εν τω κοσμω. If the article was original then its omission may be explained as a way of encouraging υμων to be understood with αδελφοτητι, but such an explanation is not strong.
- 5:10* [] εν Χριστω / εν Χριστω Ιησου C. The statement that scribes tended to expand divine titles is a useful rule of thumb. It is substantiated here by the facts that Χριστος occurs 22 times in this epistle, 9 of them preceded by Ιησους but never with Ιησους following. See *v.l.* at 5:14 under section B below.

(2 Peter)

- 2:6* [] ασεβιν / ασεβεισιν C. The context has the author either warn the ungodly (i.e., the noun ασεβης) about what is in store for them or address those about to do wrong, i.e., the verb ασεβω, which occurs elsewhere only at Jude 15—an epistle with many, significant parallels to 2 Peter. The noun is found a few times in the NT including significantly—and probably decisively for our resolution of this unit of variation—in 2 Pet. 2:5. Commentators need to assess the extent to which v. 5 has influenced either the original author or a subsequent scribe.
- 2:11 παρα Κυριω / παρα Κυριου C. Παρα Κυριου is the more difficult reading as it seems to attribute βλασφημιον κρισιν to God (“...a slanderous judgement from the Lord”) which is perhaps the original reading that scribes altered relatively easily either by omitting the phrase (a *v.l.* that may be seen in the *appara-* [327]

tus) or by altering the case to Κυρίῳ, a change of one letter only if, as is most likely, the contracted form of the *nomen sacrum* was employed (i.e., "...a slanderous judgement *before* the Lord"). New Testament usage is balanced here (παρά + genitive is found some 78 times; παρά + dative some 50 times (παρά + accusative occurs 60 times). Critics are encouraged to weigh up the choices and those facts.

- 2:15* καταλιποντες / καταλειποντες. Again, readers are invited by the editors of *ECM* to discuss the choice. Here the present tenses in v. 14 may be significant if one considers the reading καταλειποντες is original. Itacism may be a relevant argument to introduce into the resolution of this variant.
- 3:6 δι' ον / δι' ων. The latter seems to be the *lectio difficilior* in that it is not clear what precisely the pronoun refers to, whereas δι' ον refers to the word of God and could have been introduced by scribes.
- 3:10 ουχ ευρεθησεται / ευρεθησεται D. This is a contentious reading in *ECM*, in that it is a conjectural reading,³⁷ there being no ms. support for it, although the editors' claim (pp. 22*, 24*) that this reading is to be understood as αφανισθησονται or κατακαησεται is difficult in the context. In favour of ευρεθησεται also is that this is a Semitism. Turner, *Style*, notes that the verb is a favoured Hebraism in the NT.³⁸ "Will be found" is strange even if one punctuates the sentence as a question. Hence the many emendations.
- 3:16* ταις επιστολαις / επιστολαις. This *v.l.* is important not only for translation but for exegesis too. Hom³⁹ may have been responsible for the accidental shortening of the text πασΑΙΣτΑΙΣεπιστολΑΙΣ. NRSV, apparently accepting the article, has "in all *his* letters" even though + αὐτου is read only in 2544 according to *ECM*. An investigation into the variant here requires a study of our author's (and NT) usage of πας with or without anarthrous nouns.

³⁷ See *ECM*, 24*: "Hitherto there has been no known Greek evidence," a sentence which implies some such evidence has now been discovered. "Hitherto" is clearly a mistranslation of "bislang" on p. 22*; "not yet" would be better.

³⁸ Nigel Turner, *Style*, in J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. IV (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1976) p. 143.

³⁹ To borrow A.C. Clark's term, used of mss. written in *scriptio continua* when the precise terms *homoioteleuton* or *homoiarkton* are less appropriate.

- 3:16* στρεβλωσουσιν / στρεβλουσιν. Is our author aware of the reality of Paul's letters being misinterpreted, or merely anticipating such a possibility? Whatever one's answer the question to follow is: Why did a scribe think otherwise in making the change? [328]
- 3:18* []εις ημεραν αιωνος/ εις ημεραν αιωνος αμην C. In 1 Pet. 5:14 *ECM* does not print αμην as its text nor does it include the *v.l.* as a privileged (dotted) reading. If original here in 2 Peter, it is difficult to argue why scribes would have omitted the word.

(1 John)

- 1:7* omit δε / add δε. NT usage in general and the usage in 1 John in particular regarding ει or εαν with a particle following need to be investigated. See in the immediate context 1 John 1:6, 8, 9 and *v.ll.*
- 5:10 εν αυτω / εν εαυτω B. The pronoun has to refer to τον υιον. As in the variant discussed next, αυτω may have been read as αυτω and, as a consequence, taken as a reflexive. Cf. 1 John 3:15 (εαυτου; εαυτω) where the variants are not given bold dots in *ECM*. The reflexive form is found at 1 John 1:8; 3:3 *v.l.*; 5:21 *v.l.* There are similar *v.ll.* elsewhere e.g., James 1:18, 26 *bis*; Jude 20.
- 5:18 εαυτου / αυτου B. ο γεννηθεις was understood by copyists as "the believer" not as "Christ" (even though our author prefers ο γεγεννημενος not ο γεννηθεις for 'the believer'). Αυτον if it is to be read as αυτον not as αυτον would not give a natural sense there. Perhaps that encouraged the change to a reflexive form. Bultmann⁴⁰ sees a problem with εαυτον, arguing that that would seem to require a predicative such as ασπιλον or αγνον. If ο γεννηθεις is Christ then αυτον(i.e., with a smooth breathing) is what is needed. But is that how *scribes* thought?

B. In addition, there are places where the text contains a bold dot ("bullet point") which signals a variant that merits attention as potentially original.⁴¹ In most cases I append a few random observations

⁴⁰ R. Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, (Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973).

⁴¹ The explanatory notes vary according to the fascicule. The volumes on James and on 1 John say that the dotted readings are possible and viable alternatives to the text printed on the leading line. In the volume on 1 and 2 Peter it is said that the dot

- [329] that may help in opening discussion on the variants. These dots may be seen at the following places:⁴²

(James)

- 1:20 ουκ εργαζεται / ου κατεργαζεται. The meaning of the simple verb seems to have been problematic, hence the alternative reading.⁴³
- 2:19 εις εστιν ο Θεος / 1, 4, 2. Here the issue revolves around whether the form that is closest to the *shema* is original but was later altered to reflect primitive Christian gentile faith. There are several *v.l.* here but *ECM* privileges the variant read by *B pc*. There the reading seems to imply that only a simple monotheism is being professed, as in 1 Cor. 8:4, 6; Eph. 4:6. Logic here seems to require a belief that there is one God rather than a detached affirmation in the unity of the Godhead. But if that reading is to be accepted then the anarthrous use of Θεος in the NT needs to be considered too.
- 3:4 ανεμων σκληρων / 2, 1.
- 3:8 ουδεις δαμασαι δυναται ανθρωπων / 1, 3, 2, 4. δυναμαι precedes the infinitive at Jas. 1:21; 2:14; 3:12; 4:2, 12.
- 3:15 αυτη η σοφια ανωθεν κατερχομενη / 2, 3, 1, 4, 5.
- 4:12 [] ο C/ om. ο. A discussion over this *v.l.* requires a consideration whether the anarthrous νουθετης as predicative is more expressive than the arthrous form, and, if so, whether that refinement belongs to the author or a subsequent scribe.
- 4:14 το B / τα. The singular looks to the transitory nature of life in general; the plural would emphasise the range of unknown possibilities to affect the merchants' lives. Exegesis of the passage should resolve the textual variant.
- 4:14 ποια B / ποια γαρ. The particle splits the verse and the second half would be, as in the KJV, a question "For what is your life?"

sometimes signals an alternative of equal value. Perhaps the original intention may have been lost in translation; "gleichwertig" on p. 22* being misunderstood. In any case, I assume that the statement in 1 and 2 Peter was aberrant and that the explanation in the fascicule on 1 John is correct, reverting to what had been intended and expressed in the introductory matter to James.

⁴² The first entry has the text, the second the reading of the suggested alternative. Places where the text in *ECM* has changed from that in UBS/NA and where an alternative is marked with a bullet point have already been noted above in section A.

⁴³ See Dibelius, *James* (note 8).

NT usage of ποιος with a verb of knowing (as at Matt. 24:42, 43; Luke 9:55; 12:39; Rev. 3:3) would need to be considered; without γαρ ποιος is far removed from επιτασθε.

5:10 εν τω ονοματι Κυριου / τω ονοματι Κυριου.

5:18 υετον εδωκεν /2, 1.

(1 Peter)

[330]

1:8 ιδοντες A / ειδοτες. Has ειδοτες been introduced to avoid an apparent pleonasm (ουκ ιδοντες...μη οροντες)? Does ειδοτες make sense before αγαπατε?

1:9 [] υμων C /om. Again, the reading has been highlighted in ECM only because B has the shortened form, but readers are obliged to ask if the more general statement resulting from that is due to scribes broadening the original meaning. Alternatively one may argue that the pronoun is understood in the context and that its later inclusion was due to scribes making that link more explicit.

1:12 [] εν C /om. The ambivalence of arguments over this variant is clear from Metzger's *Commentary* (see n. 20) where the split in the UBS editorial board is exposed with a signed dissentient opinion.

1:18 αναστροφης πατροπαραδοτου /2, 1.

1:22 [] καθαρας C /om. The adjective may have been seen as redundant in view of the clause preceding, or its omission may have been accidental due to hom: ΚΑθαραςΚΑρδιας. The longer text though may have been influenced by Christian terminology, cf. 1 Tim. 1:5; 2 Tim. 2:22.

2:5 οικοδομεισθε / εποικοδομεισθε Cf. 1 Cor. 3:10–17; Eph. 2:20; Col. 2:7 and especially Jude 20 for examples of the compound form.

2:5 [] τω /om. The inclusion of the article would make the verse consistent with 1 Pet. 2:12, 17; 3:4, 18; 4:11, 16, and elsewhere at Rom. 12:1; Phil. 4:18; Heb. 13:15.

2:6 ακρογωνιαιον εκλεκτον εντιμον /2, 1, 3. Here we need to consider the part played by scribes in conforming texts. If we do so, then parallels with the LXX of Isa. 28:16 need to be seen alongside the word order two verses earlier in the present context.

2:11 απεχεσθαι / απεχεσθε. Note the presence of an imperative after παρακαλω in 1 Pet. 5:1–2 compared with the infinitive of

- this verb found outside 1 Peter (Acts 15:20, 29; 1 Thess. 4:3 cf. 1 Thess. 5:22; 1 Tim. 4:3).
- 2:16 Θεου δούλοι /2, 1. A consideration of this *v.l.* ought to look at our author's use of post-positional genitives.
- 2:20 omit τω / add τω. Cf 2:5 above. *ECM* is not consistent in its practice here.
- [331] 2:25 επεστραφητε / επεστρεψατε. See Turner, *Syntax*.⁴⁴
- 3:1 [] αι C /om. Does the omission of the article make the noun more clearly a vocative? If so, would such a move be scribal? Ανδρασιν and γυναικων are arthrous here and so in v. 7 is ανδρες. Thus the article is expected—but is that how scribes thought, before adding the article?
- 3:1 και ει /2, 1.
- 3:22 [] του /om. “At THE right hand of God” is the standard formula at Acts 2:33; Rom. 8:34; Col. 3:1; Heb. 10:12. This suggests the article should be read as original here.
- 4:5 εχοντι κριναι / κρινοντι. κρινοντι is yet another *v.l.* highlighted by the editors because it is a reading by B. If one were to accept this reading, stating that God is alert to evildoers and is even now judging them, then that sentiment is not in keeping with the future idea in the verse following.
- 4:11 των αιωνων /om. Cf. 1 Pet. 5:11. It is likely that the longer reading in both verses is due to later expansion from liturgical influences.
- 4:14 αναπανευται A/ αναπεπανται / επαναπανευται. The verb αναπανευται is probably original, although the *v.l.* by P⁷² Ⲭ^c (επαναπεπανται), itself deserving a bullet point, is also worth considering—especially as there is a reason for scribes to remove the apparently redundant compounded prefix in view of εφ' preceding.
- 4:17 [] ο /om. Examples of anarthrous nouns followed by a genitive are to be found at 1 Pet. 1:5, 11; 5:6 and these ought to be brought into any discussion of this variant.
- 4:19 αγαθοποιια / αγαθαποιαις
- 5:2 κατα Θεον /om. The inclusion of the words causes interpretative difficulties and to that extent may have been removed by

⁴⁴ Nigel Turner, *Syntax*, in J.H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. III (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963) p. 52.

scribes. Also their removal makes the two contrasting adverbs more effective.

- 5:5 [] ο /om. The author of 1 Peter has a mixed pattern of placing an article with divine names. Perhaps the issue here may be resolved by an appeal to scribal harmonising to the LXX. Jas. 4:6 also quotes Prov. 3:34 LXX with Κύριος (as in the LXX) and *v.l.* ο θεός.
- 5:8 [] τινά C /om. The absolute use of καταπιειν is difficult. If original, one can see why an object was sought, however weak, [332] be it τίνα or τινά. The *v.l.* τινά καταπιη deserves a bold dot to indicate that it too is a worthy contender to be original.
- 5:11 om. των αιωνων B⁴⁵/add των αιωνιων. See above 4:11.
- 5:14 εν Χριστω A / εν Χριστω Ιησου. Cf. 5:10 above, in section A.

(2 Peter)

- 1:2 IY/ IY XY. As often with such formulae there are several variants. Again, we may be tempted to argue that the shorter form is original and that expansions were encouraged by liturgical influences, but here it is to be noted that Ιησους is followed by Χριστος 9 times in 2 Peter including one such reference in the preceding verse.
- 1:4 τιμια και μεγαιστα ημιν /1, 4, 2, 3 /3, 2, 1, 4. Metzger's *Commentary*⁴⁶ discusses the main *v.ll.*, but, as the apparatus is not given in the text volume, no rating letter is applied.
- 1:4 τω /om.
- 1:9 αμαρτιων / αμαρτηματω. The latter, if original, may have been altered to conform to Heb. 1:3.
- 1:12 μελλησω / ουκ αμελησω.
- 1:21 προφητεια ποτε /2, 1.⁴⁷
- 2:6 [] καταστροφη C /om. There seems to be no reason why the word would have been added. Its omission may have been accidental, facilitated by hom: ΚΑΤαστροφηΚΑΤεκρινον, or

⁴⁵ Not "A" as I had originally stated in my article "The Editio Critica Maior: One Reader's Reactions," in *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism*, ed. Wim Weren and Dietrich-Alex Koch (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003) pp. 129–44, here 136. Reprinted as chapter 28 B I above where the error has been corrected.

⁴⁶ B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

⁴⁷ Cf. Turner, *Style* (note 12) p. 143.

- deliberate to avoid an unclassical construction. Cf. Mark 10:33 *v.l.* omits a dative after κατακρινω.
- 2:13 απαταις B / αγαπαις. If love feasts became the object of suspicion then a change would have been sought. The influence of Jude 12 needs to be considered, especially in view of our author's links with that epistle.
- 2:18 ασελγειαις / ασελγειας. The genitive ("...lusts of fleshly wantonness...") recalls 2:10.
- [333] 2:18 ολιγως A / οντως. οντως seems more difficult after δελεαζουσιν and, as such, may be considered as original. ολιγως does not occur in the NT or LXX (except Isa. 10:7 in Aquila).
- 2:19 om και / και.
- 2:20 [] ημων C / om. As earlier, a full investigation into the form of liturgical formulae needs to be undertaken to see the extent to which the possessives are fixed and firm in the ms. tradition.
- 2:22 κυλισμον / κυλισμα. This noun in either gender is rare in Greek literature.
- 3:3 [] εν / om. Hom may have facilitated the accidental omission of the preposition.
- 3:3 επιθυμιας αυτων /2, 1. It would have been better if *ECM* had dotted the *v.l.* read by P⁷² 044 without a possessive! For that reading, if original, could have been the reason for the two readings adding a possessive in differing positions. On the other hand 2 Pet. 3:16 shows that in some mss. at least a possessive appears alongside ιδιος as here.
- 3:18 αυξανετε / αυξανεσθε. The intransitive meaning is not found in the LXX or in Classical literature. Could that be a reason why scribes altered the text to αυξανεσθε?

(1 John)

- 1:4 ημων A / υμων. There is much scribal interchange over these pronouns because of their similar pronunciation,⁴⁸ thus the decision as to which is appropriate in any given context where textual variation occurs must be based on internal criteria. Here the common formula with υμων may be considered the more

⁴⁸ C.C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, WUNT 167 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2004) pp. 560ff.

difficult reading in the context and thus be the original text. An ecclesial “we” is expected and has therefore been provided by a scribe.

- 1:8 ουκ εστιν εν ημιν /3, 4, 1, 2. For other *v.ll.* regarding order, see at 1 John 1:5; 2:10, 19; 4:12 under section D below.
- 2:4 οτι /om. Usually in 1 John verbs of speech are followed by οτι e.g., at 1 John 1:6, 8, 10; 2:4; 4:20 but this is not so at 2:6, 9. A full investigation into the author’s style that would include the Fourth Gospel may help resolve the variant here.
- 2:4 και /om. The removal of και to create an asyndetic sentence [334] may have been stylistic. See the following two variants.
- 2:29 οτι και / οτι. If και here is emphatic then it may be secondary. On the other hand asyndeton may be seen as more dramatic and therefore secondary on that account.
- 3:13 [] και C /om. We need to ask if the addition was to provide a clearer contrast with the preceding ideas (and therefore a scribal improvement) or if the particle was removed to improve the style because an imperative in an anarthrous phrase is more effective.
- 3:19 πεισομεν / πεισωμεν. The future in v. 19a may have influenced scribes but the ο/ω interchange is common throughout the manuscript tradition.
- 3:23 πιστευσωμεν / πιστευομεν. ινα + aor. subj. is very common in the NT but the present subj. is also found, so New Testament usage may not help in resolving this *v.l.* We note that αγαπωμεν follows but, as is usual in such situations, we cannot be sure if that indicates our author’s consistency or a later scribe’s conforming the text.
- 5:5 [] δε εστιν / εστιν. τις appears without a particle following at 1 John 2:22 and may indicate our author’s style and practice.
- 5:6 εν (3) /om. Elsewhere in the manuscript tradition there are many examples where it seems that scribes were tempted to remove apparently redundant prepositions. That may be so here.
- 5:11 ημιν ο Θεος /3,2, 1.
- 5:21 εαυτα / εαυτους. εαυτα looks like a grammatical improvement.

Some of the changes above involving a longer/shorter reading are places where brackets are found in the UBS text around the longer text. What the *ECM* editors have sometimes done is to show their

dilemma over which one to accept by printing the longer reading as the text but enclosing it with two bold dots and highlighting the alternative, shorter, reading in its display of variants with another dot. (If the preferred reading is the shorter text, the place of a suggested variant as an alternative is marked with a dot and the alternative is, again, highlighted in the subjoined list with a dot.) In that sense of course the dots replace the brackets. But not all words bracketed in UBS and printed unbracketed in ECM are dotted: e.g., Jas. 5:14; 1 Pet. 1:6; 5:2; 2 Pet. 3:11; 1 John 2:6; 3:19, 21; 5:1, nor are all dotted words in the ECM at places where UBS had brackets.

Some changes concern word order and in a few cases the change does not affect meaning or translation, but for those whose interests are in an author's rhetoric and style or in an author's Semitisms or in the parallels between the text of James, 1 and 2 Peter and 1 John and other texts or sources (e.g., those between 2 Peter and Jude) changes in the word order in the printed text (i.e., the allegedly "original" reading, or *Ausgangstext*) may be of significance, and could influence the critic's judgement.

C. In addition to the variation units listed under sections A and B where UBS may provide an *apparatus*, a perceptive reader of the UBS text would of course be alert to all other places where that edition provides an *apparatus* and as a consequence where B.M. Metzger gives a concise textual comment in his companion volume and the reasons that swayed the editorial committee to print what they did as the text. Those decisions are accompanied by a rating letter to indicate the relative degree of confidence with which that committee reached its decision. The letters run from A, the most certain, to D, the least certain. Many of these rating letters changed between the 3rd edition of the text and the 4th revised edition and these appear in the 2nd edition of the *Commentary*. The changes are in an "upward" direction, i.e., the later edition looks as if it is more confidently established than its predecessor, even though in the main the textual witnesses in the *apparatus* remain the same. This means that readers of ECM should also look at those readings in UBS that are rated C and D and because of the inflation in the ratings at those rated B as well. (I would also argue that even A rated readings are worthy of second opinions too, and for the sake of completeness I include A rated readings in the following lists too.) Many of the alternative readings, especially in the discussions where the printed text is not printed with confidence,

could and should have qualified for inclusion among the alternative readings signalled by a bullet point in the *ECM* edition. Readers may choose to mark up their own copy of the *ECM* text by placing a bold dot against a possible alternative reading given in the UBS apparatus and discussed in the *Commentary*.

Variants worthy of comment found in the apparatus of UBS^{4rev} not already considered in sections A and B above are:

Jas. 1:3 A, 12 A, 17 B, 19 B; 2:20 B, 25 A; 3:3 C, 8 B, 9 A; 4:5 B, 14 C; 5:4 A, 7 B, 14 A, 20 B, 20 C. [Readings at 3:12; 4:4 are discussed in section D below.]

1 Pet. 1:7 A, 22 A; 2:3 B, 19 B, 19 B, 21 A, 21 A, 25 B; 3:7 B, 3:7 A, 8 A, 14 A, 15 A, 16 A, 18 C, 21 A; 4:1 A; 5:2 C 3 A, 6 A, 10 A, 10 B, 11 B, 13 A, 14 A, 14 A. [Variants in UBS at 3:18; 4:14 appear in list D below.] [336]

2 Pet. 1:1 B, 2 A, 3 B, 4 B, 5 B, 10 A, 17 B, 21 A; 2:4 C, 13 B, 13 A, 13 A, 14 A, 15 A; 3:9 A, 11 B, 11 C.

1 John 1:4 B; 2:4 A, 6 C, 14 A, 20 B, 25 A; 3:1 A, 14 A 19 C, 21 C; 4:3 A, 3 A, 10 B, 20 A; 5:1 C, 6 A, 7–8 A, 10 B, 10 A, 17 A, 18 A, 20 A, 21 A [Variants at 2:18; 3:5; 4:19; 5:2, 20 appear in the discussions in section D below.]

D. In a review⁴⁹ I complained that the small number of proposed changes of text was a disappointment, a “damp squib” I opined! So, where else would I have made changes? Obviously from what has been said above in section B, there are places where I would readily have printed the suggested alternative, dotted reading as the text. But in addition to the references in section B the following is the result of a trawl through the *apparatus* of four Catholic Letters to show other variants that ought to have been considered as potentially original, meriting a dot. (Obviously the editors of *ECM* would not necessarily countenance their worth if they are not supported by the mss. which they deem especially significant.)⁵⁰ In all but a few cases I append some random points in favour of highlighting the alternative reading, realizing of course that a more fully fleshed-out textual

⁴⁹ A I, above.

⁵⁰ Some insights into these decisions are revealed in the section “The Reconstruction of the Text” in the fascicules containing 1 and 2 Peter and 1 John but we are told we must await a forthcoming exposé to enlighten us more thoroughly.

commentary would be required to defend the inclusion of these readings as genuine alternatives.

(James)

- 1:25 Add ουτος before ουκ. Here hom could have caused the accidental omission of ουτος after ουκ. As at v. 23, the inclusion of ουτος to enhance the apodosis is characteristic of our author.
- 1:26 Add εν υμιν after ειναι. Cf. 1 Cor. 3:18.
- 2:2 Add την after εις. Cf. 2:20 for an example of a dependent genitive following an anathrous noun.
- 2:3 Add αυτω after ειπητε. A resolution of this variant requires an investigation into our author's, and NT, usage of pronouns after verbs of speech. To encourage such an investigation the *v.l.* should have been dotted.
- 2:3 Add ωδε. See above in section A. Note that v. 3b has ωδε.
- [337] 2:6 υμας for υμων. In the LXX καταδυναστευω is followed by the accusative of the person (see Mic. 2:2; Amos 8:4; Wis. 2:10), but elsewhere the genitive is found too.
- 2:13 Add και before κατακαυχαι. Hom could have caused the accidental omission of και. Asyndeton seems not to have been a characteristic of this letter (cf. 3:17; 4:2, but against that see v. 6 and 1:19); by highlighting this *v.l.* such an investigation may be encouraged.
- 2:18 The addition of σου after εργων and of μου after πιστιν and the position of σοι merit attention. The ambiguous and confusing text here is compounded by problems how best to punctuate the verse. The contrast intended may be between "Show me your faith (apart from your works)" and "I shall show you my faith."
- 3:12 Add ουτως before ουτε. Although this *v.l.* may have been the result of a scribal addition to enhance the comparison being made ('...and in the same way, neither does a salt spring...'), the accidental omission of ουτως through hom is also worth flagging up (OYTωςOYTe) especially as Jas. 1:11; 2:17, 26; 3:5 use ουτως with comparisons. UBS^{4rev} rates the shorter text B.
- 4:4 Add μοιχοι και before μοιχαλιδες. Again hom may be considered as the reason for the creation of the shorter text. There is no reason why only females were addressed here. A more inclu-

sive μοιχοι και μοιχαλιδες seems likely.⁵¹ Most commentators argue that the reference to “adulteresses” parallels references to the OT where unfaithful Israel is equated to a faithless wife (Isa. 54:1–6; 57:3–9; Jer. 2:2; 3:6–14, 20), especially as the church is sometimes seen as the bride of Christ. Hort⁵² is an exception in doubting if such a figurative meaning would have been abruptly inserted here. In this context it is not the church as such but the individual members who are “(adulterers and) adulteresses.” UBS^{4rev} rates the shorter text A.

- 4:13 Add ενα after ενιαντων. Is the emphasis on *one precise* year authorial or scribal? I do not know, but both readings are worth emphasising as possible candidates to be the original text.
- 5:5 Add ως before εν. Once more the shorter text may have been the result of hom (ΩΝΩΣ). The day of slaughter seems to have been thought of as a definite, eschatological point in time by James (as in Jer. 12:3) and therefore would have been read as literal, i.e., without ως. The longer text may then be seen as having weakened that idea by making it merely comparative. [338]

(1 Peter)

- 1:16 Read γενεσθε for εσεσθε. γενηθητε appears in v. 15 and either influenced a scribe to write this verb in v. 16, or to remove a second occurrence of the same verb on stylistic grounds. εσεσθε is used as an imperative in the LXX (see Lev. 11:44; 19:2; 20:7, 26). The readings γινεσθε or γενεσθε may have been written later to make imperative in form what was imperative in sense.
- 1:21 Read πιστευοντες for πιστους. The latter is less usual, and in fact this example is the only NT occurrence with εις. The former, if secondary, would be an accommodation to a commonplace of Christian language.
- 3:9 Add ειδοτες before οτι. Hom may have caused the shortened text. The verb used in a context of recalling traditional Christian

⁵¹ Our modern translations with their “politically correct” inclusive language requirement when working from a Greek text that has only μοιχαλιδες tend to take the *feminine* as inclusive of male and female adulterers!

⁵² F.J.A. Hort, *The Epistle of St. James* (London: Macmillan, 1909).

teaching may be seen at 1 Cor. 15:58 and see also 1 Pet. 1:18 (cf. Eph. 6:8–9; Col. 3:24; Jas. 3:1).

- 3:18 Read *επαθεν* for *απεθανεν*. This reading certainly merits a dot! *Πασχω* occurs 12 times in 1 Peter (and is rare in Paul); *επαθεν* seems appropriate in this context and was probably the cause of the other *v.l.*, especially if it was not understood that our author implied a suffering to death. Cf. 2:21 (*v.l.*). There is no example of *αποθνησκω* in 1 Peter although it is very common in the NT (some 111 times), and *θανατωθεις* follows here. *Απεθανεν* may be seen as a Pauline idea in this sense (cf. Rom. 6:10; 1 Cor. 15:3) and may have influenced scribes of 1 Peter. UBS^{4rev} prints *επαθεν* with a B rating.
- 4:3 Add *ημιν* after *γαρ*. The addition may be seen as an attempt to personalize Peter's style which is otherwise quite general.
- 4:3 The addition of *του βιου* after *χρονος* may have been an attempt to make it clear that it is behaviour before conversion which is being discussed; it thus clarifies the end of the verse preceding.
- 4:14 Add *και δυναμεως* after *δοξης*. The shortened text may, once again, have resulted from parablepsis encouraged by hom. UBS^{4rev} prints the shorter reading with an A rating.
- 5:5 Add *υποτασσομενοι* after *αλληλοις*. The longer reading follows on from the same verb in v. 5a.
- 5:8 Add *οτι* before *ο*. Again, hom may have been at work to create the shortened reading. Or *οτι* may be seen as an addition to smooth the transition from the imperative to a declarative sentence.

(2 Peter)

- [339] 1:18 Read *τω ορει τω αγιω* for *τω αγιω ορει*. Semitic word order would favour the originality of the former reading.
- 3:3 Read *εσχατου* for *εσχατων*. cf. Acts 13:47; Jude 18; Heb. 1:2 for other examples of the singular. The plural is a predicative adjective, and our author's (and the NT's) use of such a feature needs to be investigated.

(1 John)

- 1:5 and 2:10 *v.l.* *ουκ εστιν εν αυτω*. The order is worth considering as a worthy alternative, and cf. 1 John 2:19; 4:12.
- 2:2 Read *εστιν* before, not after, *ιλασμος*.

- 2:7 Add απ' αρχης after ηκουσατε. The text may have been shortened on stylistic grounds as the same phrase has just appeared. It must be remembered that 1 John is filled with repetitions.
- 2:18 Add ο before αντιχριστος to identify the Antichrist more emphatically. UBS^{4rev} rates the shorter text B.
- 2:28 Read εχομεν for σχωμεν.
- 3:5 Add ημων after αμαρτιας. Cf. 1 John 2:2; 4:10. UBS^{4rev} prints as its text αμαρτιας with an A rating
- 3:16 Read τιθεναι for θειναι.
- 3:18 Add εν before αληθεια. The removal of the repeated preposition would be for stylistic reasons.
- 3:19 Read γινωσκομεν for γνωσομεθα to conform to 1 John 2:3; 3:24; 4:2, 13; 5:2. UBS^{4rev} prints γνωσομεθα with an A rating.
- 4:19 Add αυτον after αγαπωμεν. An accusative object is required after the verb, especially if it is read as a hortatory subjunctive. UBS^{4rev} prints the shorter text with an A rating.
- 5:2 Read τηρωμεν for ποιωμεν. Note especially the verse following but see also 1 John 2:3, 4, 5; 3:22, 24 where τηρεω is found. τηρωμεν ought to be dotted and even to stand in the lead text as the *Ausgangstext*. UBS^{4rev} prints ποιωμεν with a B rating.
- 5:20 Add θεον after αληθινον. Hom could have shortened the text but UBS^{4rev} prints the shorter text with an A rating.

POSTSCRIPTUM

The companion volumes, *Supplementary Studies*, will appear as volume IV, 3 and not as announced in the Contents Page in Part 2 of the fascicule on James where these studies were to form the 4th instalment.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

THE UNITED BIBLE SOCIETIES' FOURTH REVISED EDITION AND NESTLE-ALAND 27

A) THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE UNITED BIBLE SOCIETIES' GREEK NEW TESTAMENT¹

The United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (= UBS) was first published in 1966 followed by a second edition in 1968, which incorporated minor changes. The third edition appeared in 1975 and offered a changed text which was adopted by Kurt Aland for the 26th edition of the Nestle text (= NA²⁶). A corrected third edition (3A) made minor changes, especially to the apparatus in the light of the publication of NA²⁶.² The UBS texts are intended primarily for translators but the edition has established itself throughout the world as a convenient and reliable hand edition for students and teachers. Now we have a fourth edition which is qualified as 'revised' (the major changes in UBS³ were not so described). This edition was anticipated in the 3rd edition's Preface of 1975. The delay in the appearance of UBS⁴ seems to have been due to technical not academic considerations; I gather the revised edition had been prepared and ready for some time. In this article we shall concentrate on the new features in the 4th edition. [9]

The first change that strikes a reader on opening the new edition is the different typeface. The distinctive, and clear, 11 point Porson of the earlier editions has been abandoned. The second obvious change is that the old punctuation apparatus has been significantly revamped. Advances in discourse analysis have resulted in rethinking matters of punctuation, hence this reshaped apparatus (now restyled the "Discourse Segmentation Apparatus"!) in which differences in the segmentation of the text at different levels (e.g. sections, paragraphs, clauses) are noted. These are

¹ **The Greek New Testament.** Fourth Revised Edition. ed. Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini and Bruce Metzger. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies 1993).

² My reviews of the earlier editions may be seen in *NovT* 15, 1973 pp. 278–300; *Bible Translator (BiTr)* 26, 1975 pp. 325–332; *NovT* 20, 1978 pp. 242–277; *BiTr* 30, 1979 pp. 135–138; *NovT* 26, 1984 pp. 377–379.

- [10] taken from several editions of the Greek text (including the TR, Westcott and Hort and the Patriarchal text³) and from a selection of modern versions, English, French and German. The editors of this apparatus, principally Roger Omanson and the UBS Translations Department in New York, have been concerned to concentrate only on punctuation that affects the interpretation of the text.

The introductory matter has been rewritten and the Bibliography extended to include the editions of manuscripts referred to in the Introduction. After the text come the Index of Old Testament quotations in OT and NT order, and the Index of allusions and verbal parallels in OT order only. On pp. 903ff and on a loose card inserted into the book appears a convenient list of the principal manuscripts and versions cited in the apparatus and also symbols and abbreviations. The lists of symbols and abbreviations no longer explain the use of parentheses within the text. Although this device was abandoned at John 4:9; Luke 2:35 parentheses still survive at 1 Tim 3:5 and John 20:16.

We are told on p. 1* that the text itself has not been altered since UBS^{3A} and that it claims to be identical with NA²⁶ apart from some punctuation and capitalization (cf. also the paragraphing at Col 1:11 and Gal 5:1).

At Mark 10:51; John 20:16 Παββουνι [Διδάσκαλε] are capitalized in UBS not NA; Χριστός is always capitalized in UBS, in NA only when it is a proper name; Mark 3:17 Υἱοὶ Βροντῆς is capitalized in UBS not NA. A closer inspection reveals that there are at least two places where UBS⁴ has reversed changes found in UBS^{3A} that did indeed make the UBS and Nestle texts identical in other respects. At 1 Cor 9:1 UBS⁴ (= UBS¹⁻³) reads ἑώρακα, UBS^{3A} (= NA²⁶) reads ἑώρακα. At Acts 7:16 UBS⁴ (and UBS¹⁻³) reads Ἐμμώρ, whereas UBS^{3A} reads Ἐμμώρ which is the same as NA²⁶ and is the form favoured by Bauer, the arbiter recommended in the Preface p. ix for standardizing orthography. A minor change at Acts 18:8 Κρίσπος in UBS⁴ brings the UBS texts back to the form in NA (cf. UBS^{3A}).

- [11] in the Preface p. ix for standardizing orthography. A minor change at Acts 18:8 Κρίσπος in UBS⁴ brings the UBS texts back to the form in NA (cf. UBS^{3A}).

The more substantial changes are to the first, text-critical, apparatus and it is to these that we turn for the bulk of this review. Although we have a similar number of variation units (1437 according to the

³ In this and in other ways (such as the citation of lectionaries) the needs of Orthodoxy are addressed in this edition. The cooption of Johannes Karavidopoulos to the editorial committee for this edition and of course the contribution he and his colleagues at Thessalonica have made are intended to increase this edition's sales and broaden its influence.

Preface, 1438 according to p. 2*!⁴) many of these are new. Some 284 variation units appear here for the first time in the UBS editions. Some 293 units (not 273 as stated on p. 2*) previously included have been removed⁵. We shall examine the character of these changes shortly. Suffice it here to applaud the new committee⁶ for having reexamined its original selection and for having decided to select what I think will be agreed is a wise set. Several reviewers expressed serious reservations about the original choice: certainly many units did not meet the declared intention expressed in the Preface to the first edition that only those variants that were of relevance to translators are to be included.

VARIATION UNITS

1). Additions. Not surprisingly, several new variants in the edition were among the 600 additional variants Bruce Metzger included for discussion in his companion volume, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*. A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek NT (third edition)—London, New York: United Bible Societies 1971 (= *Commentary*). These include Matt 19:24 (cf. Mark 10:25; Luke 18:25); 20:16, 22; 23:9; 25:13; 27:9, 35; Mark 10:13; John 2:24; 4:3; 7:52; 16:16; 21:23; Acts, where the bulk of Metzger's additions occur, now accounts for some 43 variants; Rom 7:14; 8:38; 13:12; 1 Cor 3:5; 6:14; 11:24; 2 Cor 3:3; 5:3 (uncharacteristically given a rating letter by Metzger ("D"—it is now "C"); 12:9, 19; Gal 5:23; 6:15; Eph 3:20; 4:6; 6:24; Col 1:12; 1 Thess 4:1; 1 Tim 6:17; 2 Tim 4:22; Heb 11:23; Jas 3:9;

⁴ My own count agrees with the Preface. The figures are as follows and give an indication where the variants are concentrated: Matt. 159; Mark 142; Luke 167; John 155; Acts 202; Rom 85; 1 Cor 61; 2 Cor 40; Gal 28; Eph 35; Phil 21; Col 28; 1 Thess 15; 2 Thess 8; 1 Tim 19; 2 Tim 8; Tit 4; Phm 5; Hebr 44; Jas 23; 1 Pet 38; 2 Pet 24; 1 John 32; 2 John 6; 3 John 2; Jude 13; Rev 73.

⁵ This is the distribution of the gains and losses throughout the NT. Deleted variants: Matt 50; Mark 44; Luke 29; John 46; Acts 40; Rom 20; 1 Cor 10; 2 Cor 4; Gal 1; Eph 1; Phil 4; Col 1; 1 Thess 1; 2 Thess 1; 1 Tim 1; 2 Tim 2; Heb 3; Jas 1; 1 Pet 2; 2 Pet 1; 1 John 1; 3 John 1; Rev 29. Added variants: Matt 25; Mark 16; Luke 19; John 30; Acts 47; Rom 14; 1 Cor 12; 2 Cor 10; Gal 7; Eph 13; Phil 9; Col 7; 1 Thess 5; 1 Tim 9; 2 Tim 2; Phm 1; Heb 9; Jas 6; 1 Pet 13; 2 Pet 5; 1 John 8; Jude 7; Rev 10. There have thus been significant overall increases in Eph, 1 Peter and Jude.

⁶ Barbara Aland*, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos*, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce Metzger. Asterisked names replace old committee members Matthew Black and Allen Wikgren.

1 Pet 2:19; 5:13; Jude 4; 12; 24 (although that same *v.l.* at 1 Tim 1:17 has not been considered!); Rev 11:12 (rated B in Metzger and UBS⁴); 18:2 (rated “C” in both). At least for these additions one can consult Metzger’s *Commentary*.⁷ We remain puzzled why some other significant variants added by Metzger such as at 1 Pet 2:5 have not been added to UBS⁴. Among newcomers I was pleased to see the important *v.l.* at Acts 3:14.

I had suggested in a review of the earlier editions that this should have qualified, but a reply by one of the former editors, Matthew Black, in *BiTr* 28, 1977, 118 rejected my suggestion stating that variants at Acts 3:14 are certainly not appropriate or eligible: the reconstituted committee has different views.

J.M. Ross’ review in *JBL* 95, 1976, 112–121, esp. pp. 113f justifiably regretted the absence of other variants, among them those at Matt 27:35 (added in *Commentary*) and Heb 9:1, 17; over 25 years and three editions later these are now included, although some other valuable *v.ll.* are still ignored. I still regret the omission of doctrinally significant variants at Luke 2:5, 41, 43. The unique use of the plural ὄχλοι at Mark 10:1 is not firm in the MS. tradition, but this edition, regrettably, does not provide an apparatus here. Such examples could be multiplied. In his *Bible Translator* article (*op. cit.* 118) Matthew Black stated that the *v.l.* πίστεως/χάριτος at Acts 6:8 would be included in UBS³: it appeared neither there nor in UBS^{3a} and has still not appeared except as an addition [12] in *Commentary*. In any selection it is difficult to get it right. But what is clear is that the new edition has striven to produce a better selection of variation units.

Among the important new additions the following are striking, because they seem to have been included in order to display particular readings of particular manuscripts: Mark 1:6 τρίχας *v.l.* δέριον added because of D; Mark 6:45 +/- εἰς τὸ πέραν added to reveal the reading of P⁴⁵; Luke 5:39 (καί) to record the omission by P⁴ & B; Luke 6:4 to show the famous agraphon in D (cf. Luke 15:1 [W]; 1 Cor 2:16 [l165 l593!!]; 3:2 [P⁴⁶ B]). At 2 Cor 11:17 the variant serves to display the readings of l170 and of 69! Other variants seem to have been

⁷ For other new variants we await a revised companion volume that will be based on the variation units in UBS⁴. I understand Bruce Metzger is preparing a revised *Commentary*.

added to match a similar variant in a synoptic parallel e.g. Luke 7:32 cf. Matthaean parallel and see also Luke 9:49; 13:35; 17:3. That seems a good practice, although there is scope for expansion in this area e.g. the *v.l.* at Mark 13:32 is not shown although the Matthaean parallel (24:36) is included: as we have just seen, a reading by a minority of MSS is no bar to inclusion in this revised apparatus. A very significant reason for the addition of new variants has been the recognition that words enclosed within square brackets in the text (when this involves a choice between a longer and a shorter text, rather than the rare use of brackets in the text to indicate doubt about the position, not the presence, of the word bracketed) deserve an apparatus in the edition. The lack of such provision was a justifiable criticism against the earlier editions, as in my *NovT* review of 1978, 255f. I warmly applaud this change.

The variants are at Matt 18:19; 20:10,23; 24:38; 28:15; Mark 4:28; 6:51; 10:31, 36; 12:26; 12:34; Luke 5:39; 9:62; John 1:19; 2:12; 10:39; 16:18; 19:24; 20:21; 21:23; Acts 8:5; 11:22; Rom 7:20; 8:34; 11:25; 1 Cor 4:17; 11:15; 13:4; 2 Cor 8:19; Gal 5:24; Eph 1:18; 3:1; 4:9; Phil 3:12; Col 4:12; 1 Thess 4:11; 1 Tim 6:13; Heb 2:8; 4:3; 9:1; Jas 4:12; 1 Pet 1:9; 3:1; 1 John 2:6; Rev 18:2; 21:12. Most of them qualify for a "C" rating letter. (Further on the rating letters below.) An apparatus has been provided for [αὐτῇ] at 1 Cor 11:15 but not for [αὐτῷ] at Matt 9:27; Mark 8:20 nor for [ταύτῃ] at Luke 17:6.

It is still a cause for regret that not all bracketed words in the text merit an apparatus, but this edition has taken, albeit belatedly, a brave step in the right direction in helping readers and translators cope with the confusion brackets often cause.⁸

2). Deletions. As one may see in footnote 5 above the gospels have shed the highest proportion of variants, Matthew loses one third, Mark one quarter, John one quarter compared with, say, Hebrews which loses only 3/44 or James 1/23. Taking Matthew as a test case the majority of those variation units now deleted in the 4th edition are understandable given the aims of the apparatus in this edition, e.g. those at 3:12; 4:23; 5:13, 25, 37; 7:18; 8:8 etc., and one is left wondering why these were ever included in the first place. Many less significant variants in Revelation have been jettisoned and that too is wise. But not all the

⁸ See my "The Use of Brackets in the Text of the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament", in: *Bib.* 60, 1979, pp. 575–577.

deletions are welcome. Given the likelihood that *μαθητή* was likely to have been qualified by a possessive in the gospels⁹ it is disappointing that several variants that treat of this matter have been removed (at Matt 14:22; 15:36; 16:5; 17:10; 19:25; 20:17), especially as comparable variants have been retained at Matt 8:21; 19:10; Mark 6:41; Luke 12:22; John 20:30, where the possessives are bracketed in the text.

THE CRITICAL APPARATUS

It is not only the selection of variation units that makes this edition different from its predecessors. The units have in many cases been redrafted and betray a greater clarity in presentation. Some (e.g. Mark 4:20; the endings to Mark; John 6:1; 18:13–27; Tit 3:15) have been significantly expanded or refined; others have given the variants a more logical sequence within the unit in order to achieve a better impact (compare for instance the new Matt 19:9 or John 8:25 with the earlier). Some additional variants now appear within retained units e.g. John 1:3–4, 13). Many minor variants, especially of an orthographical nature, have been subsumed within the wider variant. These are all welcome, and Klaus Junack is deserving of our congratulations as the one who (according to the Preface) drafted the materials in the apparatus. The work of K. Witte and his coworkers at Münster is acknowledged in the Introduction. Only occasionally does the rewriting create queries:

- [13] At Rev 18:3 it is difficult to see which MS(S) read *πέπωκαν*. In UBS^{3a} that reading is shown to have been printed in the text on the authority of 1828 alone! That MS is not cited in the new edition and the apparatus does not specify which MSS support *πέπωκαν*/*πέπωκεν* or *πέπωκασιν*.

An even more fundamental change is that all the MS evidence in the apparatus has been revised or checked. Work on the continuous text Greek MSS (in Münster) and on a more scientifically based selection of lectionary texts (in Thessalonica) has resulted in a more reliable display of evidence. The Introduction p. 1* tells us that all MSS were repeatedly collated and double checked against photographs and films:

⁹ See my “*μαθητής* with a Possessive in the New Testament”, in: J.K. Elliott, *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism*. (Cordova: El Almendro 1992) (*Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 3) pp. 139–145.

one must conclude that this applies even to those MSS noted in the handlists as "lost", and to those MSS for which the Münster holding of microfilms, as listed in their various publications, is deficient (such as 0159, 0229, 0234, unless photographs survive elsewhere). In addition the versional and patristic evidence has been completely reevaluated with the help of several world experts (named in the Introduction and Preface). Such revision is warmly welcomed. It was long felt that these areas were not as reliable or as consistently displayed as one would wish. For this evidence alone the 4th edition is to be recommended.

It therefore behoves us to turn to the MSS and to the versional and patristic evidence in some detail.

PAPYRI

94 papyri¹⁰ are listed on pp. 903f and on the loose card under the heading "Principle Manuscripts... *Cited in the Apparatus*" (italics mine). The following papyri are added to a UBS text for the first time: 7, 9, 12, 14, 17, 20, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 42, 43, 44, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97¹¹.

K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* e.t. 2nd. Edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Leiden: Brill, 1987) (= *Text²*) does not give Category numbers (about which more below) for the papyri numbered 89 onwards. Despite the apparent intention that all the papyri are to be found in an apparatus I have located only 60 of these 94, in other words over 1/3 are absent.

Obviously many are tiny fragments and they are extant at verses for which there is no variation unit, but the question must be asked: What is the point of merely window-dressing in the introductory matter as if these lists were registers of MSS.? We are given a warning on p. 4* not to expect all papyri to be cited in the apparatus but that does not adequately explain their inclusion in the introductory lists of MSS.

¹⁰ If we take P¹¹ = P¹⁴. The link is queried in the lists but the old P¹⁴ is now cited as P¹¹ at e.g. 1 Cor 6:14. We also exclude P⁵⁸ and P⁶⁷ now subsumed under P³³, and P⁶⁴ respectively. The only variant where the fragment originally numbered P⁶⁴ occurred in UBS^{1-3a} (Matt 26:14) has been removed.

¹¹ P⁶⁰ was included in UBS¹⁻²: a correction is needed in my: *A Survey of Manuscripts used in Editions of the Greek New Testament*. (Leiden: Brill, 1987) (*Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 67) p. 280 (= *Survey*).

The papyri missing from the apparatus are Papyri 2, 6, 7, 9, 12, 19, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 42, 43 (despite there being several *v.ll.* given for Acts 15:8–16:2 where this MS is extant), 44, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 68, 73, 77, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 89¹², 90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97. In some cases a papyrus was cited in an earlier edition but in the 4th edition the relevant variant has been deleted.

One anomaly has now been removed. UBS^{3a} cites P⁵ at John 3:31–2 but this MS is not extant in John 3!. P³⁶ was intended (as in UBS³). NA²⁶ cites P⁵ and P³⁶ for the *v.l.*!¹³

The introductory lists do not give the precise contents of the papyri, merely stating if they are e (Gospels), a (Acts), p (Paulines), c (Catholic epistles), r (Revelation). This is of little value for fragmentary texts. We need to seek the details elsewhere, which is unfortunate. The same criticism can be levelled against the list of uncial MSS and for the same reasons. Non-experts may be misled expecting a MS that contains the gospels to be complete even when it is a fragment with only a couple of verses.

UNCIALS

Unlike the papyri, only a selection of uncials is included. The Introduction lists 188 MSS up to 0300 (excluding those MSS now identified as forming part of another MS and whose number has now been subsumed under another).¹⁴ Unlike the papyri, the category numbers allocated to the MSS by the Alands has determined the way in which uncials are selected and cited. These categories (I–V) are explained to a certain extent in their *Text* 159ff. Basically, category I = a MS of “special quality”, II = “important”, III = a MS of distinctive character, IV = the D text-type, V = the Byzantine text-type. The edition makes use of all MSS in categories I–IV, but category V MSS are represented by the symbol *Byz* (that also covers minuscules of this text-type), the more

¹² Note that the contents of the MS. are wrongly given in NA²⁶. The MS. is extant at Heb 6:7–9, 15–7.

¹³ *Survey* needs correction (xxv) on this point.

¹⁴ Thus 070 is used throughout for sections of text previously allocated numbers 070, 0110, 0124, 0178, 0179, 0180, 0190, 0191, 0193, 0202. 0194 is not referred to this MS. = 0124. On p. 9* we are told related fragments are noted in the list under the fragment with the lowest number. This is usually the case but on p. 13* we encounter 0149, a MS. now normally known as 0187.

“important” uncials when agreeing with *Byz* are included in square brackets after that siglum.

Those uncials classified III/V (067, 078, 097, 0105, 0130, 0132, 0161, 0209, 0249, 0269) are included. 0246 is now category V (according to Aland and Aland, *Text* in the second edition of the English translation—and it is to that edition we are referred (4*) in this particular context) but is still being treated as if it were III, i.e. it is not bracketed in the list and is cited as a non-Byzantine witness! M. Holmes in his review of Aland and Aland *Text* in *JBL* 108, 1989, 139ff pointed out difficulties in the way the categories have been arrived at. With Holmes, we await the long-promised experts’ companion volume on textual criticism that may inform the professionals how the categories were formed. In the meantime we must take the results on trust especially as the drafting of this apparatus is based on these categories.

Uncials newly listed in a UBS edition are:

057, 069, 072, 077, 089, 094, 098, 0101, 0118, 0127, 0145, 0147, 0160, 0163, 0164, 0166, 0167, 0169, 0173, 0184, 0185, 0188, 0198, 0199, 0200, 0204, 0205, 0213, 0218, 0219, 0222, 0227, 0228, 0231, 0233, 0239, 0240, 0241, 0244, 0245, 0247, 0249, 0251, 0252, 0254, 0256, 0259, 0260, 0261, 0262, 0266, 0269, 0270, 0271, 0274, 0275, 0276, 0277, 0298, 0299, 0300.¹⁵ (I exclude MSS now known by another number, e.g. 0123 = 095.) Aland and Aland *Text* do not give us the categories of uncials with a number above 0274. We assume none of those included in the list is V. 0293, subsumed together with 092a under 089, is the only MS from the recent Sinai find included. The Sinai MS.0285 is found under that number (thereby subsuming the old 081, and thus creating another example where the higher number has survived) in *NT auf Papyrus* II, 1. In that volume 081 is renumbered 0285 in 2 Cor 1:20–2:12. Oddly, 0285 is not referred to in UBS⁴ although 081 is included and cited as such in 2 Cor. Why is 0285 ignored in the lists in UBS⁴? And why do two different Münster publications treat 081 = 0285 differently?

Not all the uncials in the lists are cited in the apparatus. The earlier criticism must be repeated: Why list a MS if a reader is not going to encounter it in the apparatus?

The extensive 014 (H) and 036 (Γ) seem not to be in the apparatus. (H was linked with LP in UBS³ at Acts 21:8, but is not in UBS⁴; 036 is now

¹⁵ The following, listed but not cited in UBS^{3-3a}, are found in the apparatus of UBS⁴: 035, 075, 0150. 075 and 0150 are now to be seen in the newly added apparatus at Phil 3:15. My *Survey* was wrong to state that 060, 0175 were not cited in earlier editions. 0238 should have appeared in *Survey* as a MS not cited in UBS^{1-3a}.

absent even from the apparatus to the *Pericope de Adultera*). Similarly, the following do not appear in the apparatus—in most of these cases the MS is a small fragment extant for verses without variation units in this edition: 057, 069, 071, 072, 077, 089, 094, 0101, 0114 (? = l 965), 0127, 0128, 0143, 0145, 0147, 0155, 0160, 0163, 0164, 0166, 0169, 0173, 0175, 0182, 0184, 0188, 0200, 0204, 0213, 0214, 0216, 0221, 0222, 0225, 0227, 0228, 0231, 0236, 0238, 0239, 0240, 0244, 0245, 0247, 0252, 0254, 0260, 0271, 0275, 0277, 0299. There are thus 52 uncials of the 188 listed that are not cited in the apparatus. In some cases earlier editions used the evidence of these fragments in a variant now deleted in UBS⁴ (e.g. 071, 0128, 0143, 0155, 0175, 0214, 0236). 0182 was included in the lists in the earlier editions but not used there; 0238 had been used in UBS¹⁻³ but not in UBS^{3a}, although it remained in the introductory lists.

If an uncial MS is used, it is used consistently in those sections where it does not generally support the Byz. text-type. Also, where a MS covers more than one section of the NT, it is to be found in the apparatus to all the sections whatever its category.

I have found the following in all the named sections: **Ⲙ** 01 eapcr(I), A 02 e(III-V)apcr(I), B 03 eapc(I), C 04 eapcr(II), D 05 ea(IV), K 018 pc(V), L 020 apc(V), P 025 a(V)pc(III)r(V) (the fact that the MS contains Revelation is omitted in the Contents column of the list!), **ⲱ** 044 eap(III)c(II), 048 apc(II), 0209 pc(III/V).

- [15] We have noted at the end of the section on papyri that the contents column for uncials is not sufficiently detailed, but in addition it is confusing as far as the uncials are concerned.

It is helpful to have the fivefold division of MSS (eapcr) as used to be the case only for the Old Latin, but it is not always consistent. It is not helpful when a is used for a and/or c. In UBS^{3a} p. 913 and the loose card in the Introduction) **Ⲙ** for instance was shown to contain eapcr, now UBS⁴ has only eapr (cf. A 02 is eapcr; B 03 is eapc; C 04 is eapcr). K 018ap is actually pc; L 020 ap is apc; P 025 cp is apc and r as we have noted; **ⲱ** 044 eap is eapc. The conventional sequence whereby p precedes c is wrong in the case of 048 and 0209, but this is a mere quibble because 0209cp in the new edition is more helpful than 0209ap given in the previous edition.

Introduction p. 5* allows for MSS to be cited occasionally in the apparatus but which are not included in the lists. As far as uncials are concerned I have spotted 046 (V) at Rev 19:11 and 061 (V) at 1 Tim 3:16. Others may lurk.

The Byzantine uncials (i.e. category V) are itemized on p. 4* and included within square brackets in the lists. This is a representative selection of Byzantine uncials (“the most important” p. 4*); the major-

ity of uncials not listed in this edition are category V. The list on p. 4* does not tally completely with the MSS bracketed on pp. 10*f.

Was there confusion in the editorial ranks? It is significant that 014 and 036, not found in the apparatus, are bracketed on pp. 10*ff but excluded from the examples on p. 4*. F(010) is bracketed on p. 10* as if it were category V; in fact it is II and is so used in the apparatus. P (025) by contrast should be bracketed on p. 10*; this MS is category V in accordance with *Text* and as such it is frequently to be seen following *Byz* in brackets in Acts (as one would expect), but also in Paul (as predicted on p. 4* despite its category III!) and, very strangely, in the Catholics where p. 4* cannot be appealed to and where again it is category III in this section; in Rev it is not treated as *Byz*! Page 4* is not quite clear in implying that the "important" Byzantine uncials are only to be found in brackets after the siglum *Byz*. because obviously if the uncial is independent of *Byz* its attestation will support an alternative reading. Thus at 1 Pet 3:18 (*pr*) L stands apart, and at 1 Pet 3:18(*sec*) KL are independent.

Another anomaly—again in the Introduction—is confusing. We are warned on p. 9* that a new numbering system is under way to cope with those MSS that were originally allocated the same number as another and that this renumbering anticipates the registration in the long-awaited second edition of Aland's *Liste*.

The example given is 0121a to be known as 0121, and 0121b in the future to be assigned the number 0243 (as part of the Venice MS—included in this edition). We are informed that the traditional numbers are used in UBS⁴. The compiler of the apparatus and the writer of that note seem not to have consulted one another because at Heb 2:7 we find not 0121b as promised but 0243 (cf. 0121 not 0121a at 1 Cor 15:54)! For accuracy and consistency p. 13* should include "0121b cf. 0243" and p. 16* "0243 p Venice; Hamburg" and "+0121b".

I have criticized the lack of precise, detailed contents. A similar complaint may be levelled at the somewhat exiguous information under "Location": occasionally one is told the MS is in Oxford and elsewhere, or in St. Petersburg and elsewhere.

MINUSCULES

Unlike the earlier editions the 4th prints only one list of cursives. 81 are included. The following are new to a UBS edition: 597, 1067, 1292 (in no other printed Greek NT to my knowledge), 1409, 1506, 1709

(f¹³), 1735, 1846, 2200, 2377, 2427. The following now in UBS⁴ were listed but not cited in the apparatus in earlier UBS editions: 180, 610, 1243, 1573, 1678, 2050. Unlike the lists of papyri, uncials, and Old Latin MSS the locations of the minuscules are not given.

These are carefully selected and consistently cited throughout the apparatus. Many reviewers criticized the mesmeric effect the long chains of minuscule MS numbers in the apparatus of the earlier editions may have had on the uninitiated reader. The actual number of minuscules in the new apparatus may not be conspicuously reduced, but those that are there are logical and carefully controlled, even if the Introduction does not altogether divulge just how well edited this section is.

All the minuscules that are category I and II are included; there is a small selection from category III (ten for each of the sections eapcr according to p. 5*—although we dispute that figure as will be shown below). There are no category IV minuscules. Category V minuscules appear under the siglum *Byz*. There are some anomalies. 180 e is included although it is V. So too are 597, 1010 (Aland and Aland [16] *Text*² demoted it to V. cf. first German ed. [Perhaps the apparatus was compiled when this MS was still deemed to be III]), 1292, and 1505. I have bracketed these numbers in the category III subheadings below. 424 appears as 424^c in the lists but simply as 424 in the apparatus.

The window-dressing of the earlier lists has gone. The MSS included now are all to be found in the apparatus, with the understandable exception of the constituent MSS of family 1 and family 13¹⁶. They are indeed “regularly (*scil.* consistently) cited” (p. 5*). Our earlier criticisms in this matter concerning papyri and uncials do not apply here.

In the list under “Contents” only those sections of a MS are given that qualify for inclusion because they are category I or II (or possibly III). Thus 1891 which is II in a but V in cp is quoted only in a and its contents are so described in the list; 1854 (a MS containing apcr) is said to contain r because here it is category II, its other sections are V. So “Contents” here covers only those contents made use

¹⁶ 1, 13, 828 appear, as p. 6* tells us, in certain circumstances in the apparatus in their own right. Note that 1582 has now been added to the MSS making up family 1 (cf. UBS^{3a}).

of in this edition. Where several sections of the NT are included under "Contents" the apparatus in all these sections cites the MSS.¹⁷

The reader is not told which MSS belong to which category. The following may be deduced:

Category I (no letter follows the MS number below if the MS contains only that relevant section. If letters follow one may trace to see if any other section is found in this or in a different category. If a section does not appear under I, II, III then one may assume the other section(s) are in category V):

e: 2427

a: 33eapc, 1175apc,

p: 33eapc, 1175apc, 1739apc

c: 33eapc, 1175apc, 1241eapc, 1243eapc, 1739apc, 2344 apcr

r: 2053, 2062, 2344apcr

Category II:

e: 33eapc, 579, 892, 1292eapc, 1342

a: 36ac, 81apc, 610ac, 945eapc, 1409eapc, 1739apc, 1891apc, 2464apc

p: 81apc, 256apcr, 1506ep, 1881pc, 1962, 2127eapc, 2464apc

c: 81apc, 322apc, 323apc, 945eapc, 1067apc, 1292eapc, 1409eapc, 1735apc, 1852apcr, 1881pc, 2464apc

r: 1006er, 1611apcr, 1841apcr, 1854apcr, 2050, 2329.

[442 upgraded from III to II in Aland and Aland *Text*² is not included despite the statement on pp. 4*f, thus providing another indication that the apparatus and introductory matter are out of step]

Category III:

e: 1eapc, 13, 28, 157, (180e; apr), 205eapcr, 565, (597), 700, 1006er, (1010), 1071, 1241eapc, 1243eapc, (1292eap), 1424eapcr (in Mark only according to *Text*²), (1505eapc)

a: 181apc; r, 307, 453, 614, 1678eapcr, 2344apcr

p: 6eapc, 104apcr, 263eap, 365eapc, 424apcr, 436, 459apcr, 1319eapc, 1241eapc, 1573eapc, 1852apcr, 1912, 2200eapcr

c: 436, 1243eapc, 1505eapc, 1611apcr, 1846apc, 2138apcr, 2298apcr

r: 205eapc, 209e(f)ap;r, 2030, 2351, 2377

(Not all these sections have the ten representatives promised on p. 5*)

[MSS designated III are not used in the following sections: 6c, 36c, 69p (although it appears as a 'sundry' at 2 Cor 11:17), 104c, 180a, 181pc, 322ap, 323ap, 424acr, 1243ap, 1505ap, 1611ap, 1678epcr, 1735ap, 1846p, 1852a, 2138ap, 2200ac, 2298a, 2344p. These sections are

¹⁷ These MSS are 33, 81, 205, 209 (f¹ in e), 436, 945, 1006, 1175, 1241, 1243, 1292, 1409, 1505, 1611, 1739, 1852, 1881, 2344, 2464.

as a consequence not included in the “Contents” in the Introduction. Other MSS categorized as III are excluded from the representative sample. These include 88, 451p, 849, 1910, and several others—about 46 in my count.]

Some of the ‘sundry’ MSS which occur in a particular apparatus are 274, 304 in the endings to Mark; 61, 221, 429, 629, 918, 1846, 2138 for the *Comma Johanneum*; 407, 435 at Luke 9:2 (although it is not clear what is so special about these two cursives: one could equally well have cited other minuscules such as 2643 or 2766 as sundry witnesses here).

LECTIONARIES

[17] This edition marks a major advance in the display and reliability of this often neglected evidence. The work has been undertaken by the Lectionaries Research Center at Thessalonica. A good, representative, sample of lectionaries that are normal and Byzantine stand alongside some lectionaries that display a measure of independence. To make the figures on p. 20* more precise we need to show that 69 lectionaries are listed. (29 are Gospel lectionaries, 39 Apostolos lectionaries and one, 1751 is ea). All are cited in the apparatus, although frequently all or most are in agreement and as a consequence are subsumed under the sigla *Lect* or *Lect^{pt}*. This consistent display of lectionary evidence is welcome. The Patriarchal text is now also included.

Some lectionaries have daily lessons, others Saturday/Sunday lessons, and one MS has only weekday lessons “for this period”, to quote the enigmatic statement on p. 20*. This far from the Introduction. What the Introduction fails to do is to tell us which lectionaries in its list belong to each type. The information seems to be as follows: The 14 Gospel lectionaries with Saturday/Sunday lessons are ll 127, 253, 524, 547, 563, 672, 751, 858, 859, 866, 899, 1016, 1074, 1627. The 13 apostolos lectionaries with Saturday/Sunday lessons are ll 60, 597, 598, 599, 751, 895, 1021, 1298, 1356, 1365, 1439, 1443, 1977. (Page 20* states that these 13 Apostolos MSS. correspond with readings from Matthew and Luke) The one MS with weekday lessons is 1596. The rest contain daily lessons.

Of the Gospel lectionaries collated by Antoniades for his Patriarchal text of 1904 the following are in UBS⁴: ll 384, 672, 770, 773, 1552, 1780 and of his Apostolos lectionaries the following are used: ll 884, 895, 921, 938, 1154, 1156, 1159. A few of the lectionaries were met in other UBS

editions, and a few are in the IGNTP volumes of Luke¹⁸, but the selection here was made *ab initio*.

VERSIONS

A radical pruning of this evidence has meant that in this edition we find evidence from Latin, Syriac, Coptic (including now the Proto-Bohairic and Middle Egyptian), Slavonic, Ethiopic, Georgian (though not for Revelation) and Armenian. A thorough revision by the appropriate authorities means that we have more reliable and judiciously selected evidence, often from better critical editions and MSS. The Diatessaron is given special treatment; its peculiar problems are well set out on pp. 38*–39*. Gothic, Nubian, Arabic and Persian have now been jettisoned. So too have the Old High German and Provençal—thus no longer are these two Medieval versions used to support the conjectural reading printed in the text at Acts 16:12. Note that Sahidic is misspelt on p. 27*.

The separate MSS of the Old Latin are listed on pp. 24*ff: 63 items are included. All are to found cited in the apparatus in each of the sections of the NT as shown in the Contents column pp. 14*–16*, although frequently the Old Latin evidence appears *en bloc* under the siglum 'it'. The evidence has been culled from the files of the Vetus Latina Institut in Beuron and is based on editions of the MS or from a standard critical edition, the names of the editors are added to the list on pp. 24*ff.

Only p 88, and w 58 lack an edition. My own investigations into the whereabouts of w have drawn a blank. It is said to be in Prague at the old Comenius Faculty, but this is apparently not the case.

Among Old Latin MSS newly cited in this edition are the Pauline readings from the Balliol Pelagius (B) MS., w 32, sa 60, ro 62, sin 74, μ 82, s 87, p 88, comp 109, λ, μ, and the newly discovered b 89 and φ.

The Contents column in the Introduction gives only those sections where the MS has an Old Latin text, thus dem 59 is not shown as containing cr, where its text is Vulgate (cf. also ar 61 e, c 6 pcr, d 5 c, div c, g¹ apcr, gig 51 epc, l 67 pr, p 54 pcr). This is really a tidier and more pre-

¹⁸ *The New Testament in Greek. 3: The Gospel According to St. Luke*. Edited by the British and American Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project. 2 Vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1984/1987).

cise designation of the contents by comparison with the earlier editions, which cited those MSS in the sections where the text is predominantly Vulgate. MSS r² 28, e 76, w 83, haf, x⁽²⁾ have been deleted from the list for the same reason.

(Ps-Augustine) Speculum is now included with the Patristic witnesses not the Old Latin MSS.

- [18] The Introduction gives the location of the MSS (in their English form) rather than as previously, the Latin name of the MS.

We congratulate Dr. Frede of Beuron for the conspicuous care he has lavished on this part of the enterprise.

FATHERS

This is another major area where the evidence has been carefully revised. There has been an attempt, particularly for the Greek fathers, to restrict citations up to the 5th century.

Instead of the previous total of about 200 fathers, now just over 100 Greek and about 60 Latin are included. (No Syriac or other Eastern fathers are included, but this is understandable given the particular problems they add to an already difficult area to handle within the context of a critical apparatus to a Greek testament.) Special attention has been given to the work of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus, Methodius, Eusebius, Didymus, Epiphanius and Cyril of Alexandria. Later fathers, which generally cite the Byzantine text are only included sporadically for significant places. John of Damascus is however regularly cited because of his importance in the Orthodox church, whose interests are again being considered in this edition. The number of fathers has been significantly increased in the apparatus, and all have their name written in full at each mention. Thirteen early texts or fathers are listed separately as yielding no citations significant for this edition. These include Papias, Ignatius and Aristides, all of whom figured in the earlier UBS editions.

Despite the splendid efforts that lie behind the patristic evidence in the apparatus I am unhappy with the use of the time-honoured practice of using fractions after a father's name to indicate the relative frequency with which he supports a particular variant. If we were confronted with a Gildas or an Optatus there is a chance one could track down the citations, but if it were an Origen or an Augustine one is at a loss. Origen^{vid} and the like is similarly unhelpful. The only solution to this, and a solution to the citing of all patristic evidence would be to do as is done in the IGNTP Luke, namely to give the source of the patristic

citation together with a reference to a printed edition. Only then can one trace the alleged citation and see its validity within its own context. This would obviously increase the size of the apparatus. In the meantime we have to take the evidence on trust—it is reliable as far as it goes, and for that we must be truly grateful!

RATINGS

The bizarre and often criticized system of allocating rating letters to each variation unit has been preserved. These letters (A, B, C, D) indicate the editors' judgement on the certainty of the text printed. ('A' indicates "certain" down to 'D' a "high degree of doubt").

The new editorial team voted on all the variation units and not merely on the ones new in this edition. As a result many of the rating letters in UBS^{3a} have changed, thereby confirming our already formed opinion about the arbitrariness of the whole procedure.

Many readings in the first two editions were downgraded in the 3rd edition. In the 4th edition there are fewer 'D' rated variants. This however must not be understood that the text as a whole is to read and accepted with a greater confidence in the editors' decisions. Some of the variation units rated D in the previous edition(s) have been deleted, for example at Mark 5:32. An uncertain reading is thus merged unidentified into the text, thereby increasing the overall unreliability of the text. Other D readings have survived (Matt 23:26; Mark 7:9; John 10:29; Acts 16:12; Rom 14:19; 1 Cor 7:34; 2 Pet 3:10; Jude 5; Rev 18:3). Some readings previously B are downgraded (e.g. Mark 4:20). An A reading at Mark 7:24 is now B. Generally though there have been more upgradings than downgradings. Taking Matthew's gospel as an example we have some B readings in UBS^{3a} transformed with a wave of the magician's wand into an A reading (1:11, 16; 4:10, 17; 7:14; 9:8; 14:3; 17:20(*bis*); 18:26; 19:16, 17; 21:39; 23:13; 27:4; 28:9, 20); readings transmogrified from C to B are at 1:18; 2:18; 5:22, 32; 7:13; 9:4, 34; 11:9, 15, 17; 13:9, 43; 15:4; 17:22, 26; 19:9 (*bis*); 20:26; 22:30; 23:19, 38; 24:36; 25:1, 15–16; 26:27; 27:2, 10, 40. Upgrading from D to C occurs at 5:11; 6:15; 11:23; 14:24; 15:6; 16:2–3, 12; 20:30. At Mark 1:41 we can witness a spectacular leap from D to B without any real change in the attestation.

To be told that the ratings result from a simple majority vote among members of the committee does not satisfy the requirements of a critical edition which, in the words of A.E. Housman (Introduction to his edition of Manilius, *Astronomicon* p. xxxiii), is an inappropriate name if an editor is not "called to account and asked for his reasons". Until

- [19] Metzger's revised *Commentary* is published to reveal the reasons for some of these changes in the voting for the rating letters, we are left wondering what the new committee's motives were.

In the previous edition we read that Matt 21:44 was omitted with a C rating; now the verse is included with a C. The *Pericope de Adultera* seemed to be included with an A despite the double brackets; now the apparatus makes it clear the omission merits an A (cf. also Luke 23:34a omitted with A but previously included with A). Those were perhaps due to careless drafting. More pertinent here is the rethinking about the so-called Western non-interpolations that has caused the following big upgradings: Luke 24:12, 36, 40, 51, 52 all up from D to B.

We noted above that some D rated variants are no longer included in the revised apparatus. This disproves the mistaken assurance given readers in the introductions to the earlier editions (e.g. UBS¹ p. xi) that the bulk of the text for which no *v.l.* is printed may be presumed to be of an A degree of certainty. The bluff of this over-optimistic statement is called when we look at several of the newly added variants, many of which show that the text printed is revealed as uncertain.

Many are rated C (e.g. Matt 18:19; 20:10; 23:23 etc.). I have counted some 55 such additions, 46 of them deal with words bracketed in the text.

These rating letters are an unnecessary intrusion. It seems unlikely that a translator (or student), able to read the critical apparatus would base his judgement on the arbitrary and fluctuating rating letters.

Let us suppose that he is not sure what to do about $\nu\bar{\nu}$ at Rom 11:31. In UBS^{1,2} he could accept it as a B rated variant; if he bought UBS^{3,3a} where the same variant is D he might be more hesitant; the new edition has a C rating. What is the poor man to deduce from all this?

Other fluctuating rating letters set to confuse the reader who purchases each edition of the UBS testament as it appears are at Matt 11:9 (B-C-B); 11:23 (sec) (C-D-C); 16:2-3 (C-D-C); 19:9 *bis* (B-C-B); 23:38 (B-C-B) etc.

[20]

APPARATUS

To sample the drafting of the apparatus I took 6 variation units in 1 Peter 3:15-4:1 and 9 from Luke 8:37-9:3. Spot checks revealed accuracy of presentation and documentation.

All the MSS extant and eligible for citation were included as constant witnesses. A comparison with the equivalent apparatus in UBS^{3A} shows just how precise and controlled the new edition is.

In UBS⁴ I think it is relatively safe to assume that if one of the apparently constant witnesses is absent from a given variation unit it is either not extant or legible, or that at this point its reading is a non-sense unworthy of being recorded.

CONCLUSIONS

This edition is to be welcomed as a worthy replacement for the earlier editions. The sheer amount of work behind the revised edition is self evident. The text itself is of course still open to earlier criticisms, but even here the editors acknowledge (vi) that this *quondam* "standard text" is in flux and may be changed when the time is right (but not before NA²⁷ appears!). We may therefore still query the inclusion in the text of certain readings, we may still doubt the wisdom of incorporating double-bracketed passages within the text proper, and we still dislike the rating letters, but as far as this edition's apparatus is concerned we have nothing but praise. The main problems outlined in this brief review result from an imperfect Introduction. With these qualifications we commend the revision and congratulate all those concerned with the enterprise, particularly the editorial committee and their co-workers, the printers and proofreaders. UBS⁴ is likely to maintain the preeminence of the Bible Societies' editions in the world market.

B) THE TWENTYSEVENTH EDITION OF NESTLE-ALAND'S
*NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRAECE*¹⁹

- [19] 1993 saw the publication of the 4th edition of the United Bible Societies' Greek *New Testament* (= UBS⁴) and this 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland text (= NA²⁷). The Greek text remains unaltered in these new editions, so, once again, the two are virtually identical in this respect. There are a few minor differences between NA²⁷ and UBS⁴ involving punctuation, paragraphing and capitalization (e.g. at Mark 3:17; 10:51; John 20:16). Two orthographical differences at Acts 7:16; 1 Cor. 9:1 survive. It is surprising that the opportunity was not taken to make the Greek text in these two influential editions completely identical.

The *major differences* in both basically concern their respective *apparatus*. As is well known, the purpose of the UBS texts is to serve translators; NA has a wider readership in mind. These aims are preserved in the latest editions (see my review above). My purpose here is to examine the main changes to be seen in NA²⁷.

The immediate and obvious physical difference is that NA²⁷ is some 4 cm (1") wider and 3 cm (1") longer. This change in format is welcome. The page numbers for the text remain the same. The number of textual variants (given by Kurt Aland in the Black Festschrift as c. 15,000) remains the same; the quantity of textual witnesses cited is about the same. What we have therefore is a rather more spacious layout, and with it increased legibility. This has been a wise move; the text is still a hand edition.

There has been a slight rearrangement in the way some variation units are set out (e.g. Mark 7:30; Rom. 15:18; Jude 5) and occasionally some old variants have been jettisoned and some new ones introduced, but overall the selection of variants remains as before. We are told (46*) that with rare exceptions "paragraphing and punctuation remains (*sic*) the same" (as NA²⁶).

What is it therefore that qualifies this as the 27th edition and not merely a modified reprint like the 4th and 7th printings of NA²⁶?

First, it is clear that there has been a major overhaul of much of the material in the apparatus, especially the Greek, Latin, Coptic and

¹⁹ Nestle-Aland: *Novum Testamentum Graece*. 27. Aufl. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).

Syriac evidence, as well as the Patristic citations. This results in many small but important changes.

For instance for the *papyri* some evidence now disappears (e.g. Matt. 19:17; 23:37; 26:38; Mark 2:4 or a ^{vid} appears e.g. Matt. 26:43; 26:44); at other times the evidence of a papyrus (with or without ^{vid}) is added to the *apparatus* (e.g. P⁸⁶ now appears in the *apparatus* at Matt. 5:13; P⁸⁷ now appears in the *apparatus* at Phm 25. Likewise P⁸³ now appears at Matt. 24:1. P⁸⁴ is added at Mark 2:3. P⁴⁵ at Mark 6:16 now supports the text; in the previous edition this witness appeared against *txt.*) [20]

The *patristic* evidence is more closely controlled. There are significant changes in the evidence of the oldest, Greek-based, versions (e.g. Latin, Coptic, Syriac).

All such changes, however modest many may seem to be in isolation, add up to a significant number of alterations, all of which makes the citation of witnesses that much more relevant and accurate. In so verifiable and scientific an instrument as a critical *apparatus* we always need to consult the most reliable information. For this reason alone readers of *Novum Testamentum Graece* will require this latest edition. The bulk of the work of assembling, verifying and organising this work fell on the capable staff at the Institute for New Testament Textual Research at the University of Münster in Germany.

The introductory chapter (in German and in English) has been completely rewritten. Gone are the penny lectures, the bombast and the self congratulation. Instead we have a splendidly lucid and objective explanation of and reference manual for the text, *apparatus* and other marginalia, and the appendixes. The Introduction reads well and is a model of clarity. There is no further talk of the text being “standard”; instead there is a more honourable and realistic expectation that the text will be seen as a useful base which together with the *apparatus* will serve readers well even where they disagree with the editors’ chosen text. We read on p. 45*: “(The edition) is not to be considered as definitive, but as a stimulus to further efforts toward defining and verifying the text of the New Testament”, and on p. 46* that this is to be a working text which provides through the *apparatus* the means whereby a reader can verify the editorial decision or alternatively correct it. This in practice is of course how many users treated the text anyway but it is now to be applauded that the Introduction recognises the reality. This honesty will be rewarded: readers who would have

preferred other editions, such as the Majority Text lobby as well as more open-minded scholars, should now feel comfortable using the NA text in the way that its editors now commend.

- [21] The Introduction spells out very clearly the categories into which many MSS cited are classified.

The classification is based on the level of their difference from the Byzantine, majority (= *M*), text-type. As before, we have the “*constant witnesses*”, which are at furthest remove from *M*. These are always included in all variation units, even though the warning is sensibly given (50*) that one must not try to reconstruct the text of an individual MS on the evidence of the text and *apparatus* in this edition: the evidence here is not exhaustive—this is a select *apparatus*. The first order witnesses appear in the Appendix with an asterisk next to their number and they are listed on pp. 58*–63*. MSS. with an asterisk enclosed in round brackets are cited only when their reading differs from *M*: these are constants “of the second order” and are also listed on pp. 58*–63*. MSS with an asterisk enclosed in square brackets in Appendix I are cited as “constant witnesses of the first order” in only part of their contents, or as “constant witnesses of the second order” in only part of their contents, the relevant parts being identified with * or (*). These too appear on pp. 58*–63*.

In addition there are some MSS which are cited frequently because of their importance for the history of the text or because they have readings of significance: those falling into this category are given on p. 59* for Acts, on p. 61* for Paul and on p. 62* for the Catholics. This category does not occur in the Gospels and Revelation. (Erroll Rhodes’ otherwise impeccable English translation of the Introduction lets him down here when he renders the unambiguous German “No witnesses are cited only frequently for Revelation” (63* italics his). Other MSS found in the *apparatus* are listed only in the Appendix. There is also a list of *M* MSS in the Appendix (see further on this below).

It is inevitable that a select *apparatus* must function in this way, although the selection differs somewhat from that used in the UBS editions. The categorization outlined in the Introduction, and summarized here, seems to be consistently applied: spot checks throughout the *apparatus* reveal no inexplicable deviations, and we must congratulate those who assembled the *apparatus* on their organizational abilities.

All the *papyri fragments* regardless of age (!) are now given the status of constant witnesses, and many of their singular readings are recorded. This reflects the importance the Alands attach to this category of witnesses, although (48*) they recognise one must not be mesmerized by the writing material alone. As yet the uncials have not

been treated in quite so thoroughgoing a manner. P⁷ P⁷³ P⁸³ P⁸⁴ are upgraded to Class 1 since NA²⁶.

There are one hundred and seventy two *uncials of the first order*, including 025 for the Catholic letters and 075 for 1 Cor., Phil., Col. (newly promoted), and eleven of the second order, including 025pr.²⁰ All the uncials newly added in this edition i.e. those numbered between 0277–0301 are of the first order²¹ except 0292 which is of the second. 0244, 0269 and 0270 have been upgraded to first order in this edition. Correctors of Ɑ A B C 05 06 are shown in a simplified manner.

The reshaped *apparatus* takes into account the different classifications and the addition or subtraction of MSS. All these changes reflect the Institute's concern to display all the relevant evidence not only as economically as possible but in order to show the major differences from the Majority text-type.

For the Gospels there are nine extra constant papyri (all Class 1): 7, 73, 83, 84, 90, 93, 95, 96, 97 in Matthew; four additional uncials of Class 1 (0277, 0281, 0293, 0298) and five deletions (064, 0104, 0135, 0136, 0197). 0292 is added as a second order uncial in Mark (but is not cited in the *apparatus*—despite its special mention on p. 47*!) Minuscule 33 is upgraded to Class 1 throughout the Gospels. 1010 is now no longer cited as a second category MS.; 579 now appears as a second order witness throughout. 2542 is added as a second order witness in Mark and Luke. Lectionaries 844 and 2211 become second order witnesses throughout the Gospels. For Mark we lose 064 0103 0104 0134 0135 0255 0263. 28 appears as a second class MS in only Mark. In Luke we gain first order MSS. 0279 0291 and lose 027 053 063 0253 0265 0267 0272. In John we gain class 1 MSS. 0299 0301 and lose 054 063 065 0264 0268 0273. In Acts we gain P⁹¹, 0294 as a Class 1 MS; 0120 disappears; 33 and 1739 become first order, 1505 becomes Class 2; 2495 is demoted. In Paul we gain first order MSS. P⁹⁴ 075 (for 1 Cor., Phil., Col.) 0278 0282 0285 0289 0296 33 1739 1881 and lose 061 0174 0230; in the second order we gain 1505 l249 l846 and demote 2495. In the Catholics we gain Class 1 MSS. 0296 33 1739 and lose 093; 2495 is demoted. In Revelation we gain Class 1 MS. P⁹⁸ and lose 052 as Class 1. 025 and 046 are cited now only when they differ from M^A and M^K respectively.

²⁰ It is not obvious from p. 692 that 026 is a constant of the second order only in Luke, although p. 59* is clear about this.

²¹ We are told (47*) that these MSS claim our attention because of the text, age or (!) the circumstances of their discovery.

[22] The *appendixes* (written in Latin) cover 1) Greek and (Old) Latin codexes; 2) the differences between the Nestle text and other major printed editions (repeated from NA²⁶); 3) OT citations and allusions found in the NT (repeated from NA²⁶); 4) sigla and abbreviations. There is a *new* appendix of twenty eight closely printed pages: *Variae Lectiones Minores*. This is a welcome addition because it gives the reading of those MSS printed within parentheses in the *apparatus* proper. One is often curious about the nature of a minor difference read by a bracketed MS: now we can find out. This appendix explains only Greek readings. We remain in the dark about other bracketed material in the *apparatus*. Thus we are not shown what Clement of Alexandria actually reads when his qualified support is printed as (Cl) at Matt. 5:36. Nor is it obvious why Baldensperger's name is bracketed at John 3:25.

In the appendix of abbreviations the explanation of vgst (808) is still out of step with the Introduction (65*) which is literally more up to date.

The *appendix of Greek and Old Latin MSS* (Appendix I) is still somewhat of a register of MSS Date, library and contents are all up to date. Thus we see that 0220 has changed location, now being split between Oslo and London (cf. UBS⁴).

The MSS listed are:

Papyri: There are ninety six papyri with P⁹⁸ being the highest numbered (two MSS given a number in earlier listings, P⁵⁸ and P⁶⁷, have now been subsumed under other numbers, but P¹¹ and P¹⁴ are treated as two, despite ANTF 12, xxxiv). NA²⁶ listed eighty eight separate papyri with P⁹² being the highest numbered. The newly added papyri are P⁹⁰, ⁹¹, ⁹³–⁹⁸. P⁷, newly upgraded as a constant witness, is dated as 3rd–4th century on the enclosed card, although the age is queried in the list in Appendix I and given as 4th–6th century in UBS⁴. There are new fragments of P⁴¹ (including Luke 1:54–5; 2:29–32; Acts 20:28–35; 21:26–7) and P⁷⁵ (including John 13:2–7; 14:31–15:6, 9–10) and the Cologne fragments of P⁶⁶ although it is not clear from the contents column of Appendix I where the additions in P⁶⁶ occur.

Although all papyri appear in the list in Appendix I the following seem not to be in the critical apparatus: P¹⁴ (identified here as a MS in its own right) P²⁹ P⁴² P⁴³ P⁷³ (upgraded to Class 1 in NA²⁷!) P⁸⁰ P⁸² P⁹³. Most are very small fragments but presumably they were examined as constant witnesses even if their evidence was not usable in the variation units printed or (as seems to be the case with P⁴² at Luke 1:55) the papyrus supports *txt* (= the reading printed as the text) in places where the edition prints a negative *apparatus* i.e. only the evidence against the reading of the printed text.

Uncials: There are two hundred and thirty nine separate MSS listed (twenty nine others are now subsumed under different, usually lower

numbered, uncials) and there are MSS that were previously numbered as uncials but which are now identified as lectionaries (0100 = 0195; 0114, 0129, 0276); these numbers and their new lectionary numbers are printed in this Appendix²² The highest numbered uncial is now 0301, sixteen MSS (0150, 0277ff.) having been added since the last edition. NA²⁶ listed two hundred and fifty six uncials (including six added after the 1st printing), twenty seven of the MSS there are subsumed under other numbers. Among the uncials omitted from the list in NA²⁷ are of course those originally wrongly assigned a number among the uncials (055, 0152, 0153), and those which are inaccessible (0144, 0154, 0157, 0158, 0258). The absence of 0205 is less explicable.²³ The Sinai MSS 0280 0283 0284 0286 0287 0288 0290 0295 are absent although eleven others from the same (decreasingly) recent find are included. I am not sure why we lack 056 0142 0149²⁴ 0211 0248 0257 0297 0300 (in UBS⁴). Some seem to be absent because they are representatives of the Byzantine, majority, text but surely they should have been added to the list of *M* text MSS on p. 713 (about which see below). Also there are other Byzantine type uncials in the list which are absent from the *apparatus* (see below). These too could have appeared under *M* on p. 713: this siglum need not be reserved exclusively for minuscules, especially as p. 51* tells us that *M* in an *apparatus* subsumes all Koine witnesses. Aland, *Synopsis*¹⁻¹² and the old Nestle *apparatus* included uncials and minuscules under the siglum *K* (= Koine). 0194 is part of 0124 (= 070) so its absence from the list, even under 070, is explained.

MSS which are in Appendix I but which do not occur in the apparatus are the following: 027* 031 045 052* 053* 054* 057 (Class 1) 061* 063* 064* 065* 077 (Class 1) 080 093* 0103* 0104* 0118 (Class 1) 0120* 0133* 0134* 0135* 0136* 0155 0164 (Class 1) 0166 (Class 1) 0174* 0197* 0200 (Class 1) 0230* 0253* 0255* 0256 (Class 1) 0259 (Class 1) 0263* 0264* 0265* 0267* 0268* 0272* 0273* 0292 (Class 2). We are warned on pp. 46*–47* that twenty eight of these uncials, asterisked above, are “no

²² That is because NA²⁶ included these in its list of uncials. Thus 0192 = *l*1604; 0195 = *l*983 or 0203 = *l*1515 are not given because those uncials were not included in the earlier edition. 0129 *vide l*1575 is once again given, presumably because this lectionary is included in this appendix among the lectionaries used for the edition. On p. 712 *l*1575 should carry a reference to 0129 as is the case with other “*vide*” references. The bi-lingual 0276 is now to be known as *l*962; there has been hesitation about this MS for some time—ANTF 3 pp. 7 fn. 2, 17 seemed to be suggesting it was to be identified as another Paris lectionary 1963 (+ *l*1353). UBS⁴ was happy to maintain 0276 as a Gospel uncial!

²³ This is added in UBS⁴ (cf. 3rd ed.). The MS is published by J.K. Elliott in *NT* 36, 1994, under the title “A Greek-Coptic (Sahidic) Fragment of Titus-Philemon (0205)” Reprinted as chapter 7 above. The Introduction (46*) advises us to consult Aland, *Liste*² to check on uncial numbers missing from the current list.

²⁴ = 0187, a rare example of the lower number being identified now by the higher: this MS is added in the list in UBS⁴.

[23] longer cited" (i.e. since NA²⁶), but we may well ask why they are still in the main list in the appendix. Many of the twenty eight are *M* MSS in Aland, *Synopsis*¹³. We may be perplexed that 0133 is included on p. 46* because that MS was not previously Class 1! Some are indeed small fragments and it is right that we know, as with the papyri, that their readings were considered by the editors. But not all these twenty eight are tiny fragments (*pace* 46*). Most have been demoted from having previously been constant witnesses because they are now seen as being predominantly related to *M*. It is interesting to note that 0155, a lost MS, is not in the *apparatus*, but that 0156 and 0159, which are also lost, are in. The uncial numbers italicized in my list above were absent from the *apparatus* in NA²⁶ so their continuing absence is no surprise.

Some uncials have been upgraded to class 1 since the previous edition: 0244 0269 (absent from the *apparatus* in NA²⁶) 0270.

Some of the uncials that are not identified as first or second class constants are to be found in passages of special textual importance such as the pericope of the adulteress or Matt. 16:2–3 for example.

Minuscules: Two hundred and nineteen separate minuscules are listed (plus five subsumed under other numbers), the highest number now being 2818, but, as 2814ff. are used for renumberings of MSS previously allocated to other numbers, the highest "new" number is 2805. Four separate MSS are of the first order (33 1739 1881p 2427 [Mark]) as well as fam. 1 and fam. 13. Thirty two are of the second order including nineteen which are second order constants in only part of their contents. There were two hundred and three minuscules in the previous edition, 1r 2ap 4ap 7p 36a are given their new numbers in the Appendix but the old numbers are retained in the *apparatus* (e.g. Rev. 15:3; Acts 17:18; 1 Tim 2:8). In the future we would expect these numbers to change. Old 0121b is now part of 0243 by which number the MS is to be known and it is cited as such at Heb. 2:7; this leaves 0121a to be known as 0121 (see for instance at 1 Cor 15:54).

Newly added MSS are 71 72 137 (also in *M*) 185 (also in *M*) 206 242 485 547 (in *M*) 1555 1574 1689 1709 2412 2427 (as Class 1) 2542 (as Class 2 in Mark and Luke) 2805. Most of them are in UBS. I am not sure why some MSS are listed twice, once in the main list and once under *M*.

As noted above 33 1739 1881 are raised to be constant witnesses. 2344 and 2377 are constants in Revelation. 579 is upgraded to a second order witness 1505 becomes second order in apc and 2495 is demoted. (These changes result from work explained in B. Aland, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* I, 41–90).

All asterisked minuscules and fam. 1 and fam. 13 are to be found in the *apparatus* as specified. Of course MSS. may also occur in parts of the NT not singled out for special attention, e.g. 2464 is a second order witness in Paul but as an "ordinary" minuscule it is also to be seen in the *apparatus* of 1 John. The bulk of the remaining minuscules appear only intermittently in the *apparatus*, many are to found only in variations

units of special significance such as the endings of Mark, the pericope of the adulteress, or the Comma Johanneum. The constituent members of fam. 1 and fam. 13 are listed but are generally not cited in their own right in the *apparatus*.

Lectionaries: Nine lectionaries are listed compared with five in NA²⁶. The four newcomers, all second order, are l249 l844 l846 l2211 and are all found as specified in the *apparatus*. The number of lectionaries used in the NA edition remains remarkably low, especially when one observes the great progress that work in this area has achieved in the latest UBS edition.

M. Page 713 displays all the minuscules that are subsumed under the siglum *M*, meaning the majority text-type. This list has not grown as quickly as in the past despite the work of the Institute in its work for the Münster series *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* which has as one of its benefits the demonstration of MSS that conform to the majority text, but according to p. 81* the lack of expansion in this list is deliberate. There are now eight hundred and ninety five minuscules listed here (eight hundred and ninety eight in NA²⁶ 7th printing, compared with six hundred and twenty two in the original printing), including newcomers 1170 (replacing 1177, which was perhaps a misprint in NA²⁶) and 1515. Absences in NA²⁷ compared with the list given in the 7th printing of NA²⁶ are 1876 2090 (which certainly should be deleted according to K. Aland, *Liste*) 2378 2568 in addition to 1177. One wonders why they were included in the earlier edition. *M* has the status of a constant witness of the first order. When divided within itself *pm* and other less precise abbreviations *pc al rell* are used as explained in the Introduction.

Old Latin: Twenty one e, eleven a, fourteen p, nine c and 5 r MSS are listed (as in NA²⁶). Two MSS appear in the list in Appendix I under new sigla: a (Paul) is now ar although in the *apparatus* a is still used, as at 1 Cor. 14:10; m (Paul) is mon in the list but m at Rom. 7:3, as before.

Fathers: The number of patristic references to be found in a Nestle [24] edition has never been great. In NA²⁷ the total number listed is slightly lower (c. 70), but all “critically significant” evidence is presented. Only Greek and Latin patristic evidence is used, and those only sparingly. The Introduction admirably sets out the limitations and the principles behind this selection. This narrower focusing is cautious but wise: patristic evidence is notoriously difficult to interpret. Fuller patristic evidence may be seen in the variation units in the UBS text. In both editions we may take the evidence with a high degree of confidence.

Other Evidence: The apocryphal text known as the Fayyum fragment is no longer cited, but another NT apocryphal text, P. Egerton 2 appears at John 5:39. Some warning about this appearance could have been given in the Introduction or in the Appendix of abbreviations.

Apparatus: The overall construction of the *apparatus* is basically as before. Some punctuation v. ll. survive (e.g. at John 1:3). Generally

the clarity and precision of the variants and readings are even better, although some ambiguities occur (e.g. it is difficult to determine which MSS support *txt* at Rev. 18:3; it is not obvious what we should deduce from Ψ h.t. at Philm. 11 or 630 h.t. at Rom. 7:17). I still have doubts about the need to include in a critical edition a number of conjectures. Such speculations by past scholars may have their place but only in an historical commentary. Nestle²⁵ contained nearly 250 conjectures from over 90 authors. Despite his general misgivings over the matter of conjectural emendation, Kurt Aland maintained this bizarre tradition although he reduced the number of conjectures in the apparatus of NA²⁶ to c. 130 but even he added some new ones (e.g. at Matt. 5:6). The latest edition has maintained most of the conjectures found in the 26th edition although that at Luke 19:41 has been removed.

Card Insert: As usual a selection of MSS and other sigla is reproduced on a loose card inserted into the volume. Unlike the appendixes from which the selection is abstracted the card is in German.

Conclusions: Obviously the changed printed text made the differences from NA²⁵ to NA²⁶ greater than the more technical changes made for the 27th edition, but we applaud the new edition for the clarity of its Introduction, for the refinements to the *apparatus*, the greater precision in its use of Greek MSS and its rechecking and reviewing the versional and patristic citations. That the text remains the same may be a case for regret in some quarters although to leave it as it is means that the companion concordance, lexicon and synopsis text remain in tandem. Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* which in many ways is an introduction to NA²⁶ is, however, now out of step insofar as copious examples there are drawn from the Introduction and *apparatus* to the old edition: that textbook will need updating to take account of the changes. In time we await a new text but “for a variety of reasons” (43*)—none given!—no textual changes are introduced. One possible explanation may be found on p. 49* namely that the time has not arrived for a comprehensive theory of the textual tradition to be formulated that accommodates the results of recent textual research. Perhaps Eldon J. Epp was not wrong to speak of the twentieth century interlude in textual criticism after all! Meanwhile the Foreword encourages readers to communicate suggested further improvements to the editors.

C) THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK: TWO NEW EDITIONS

The publication in 1993 of new editions of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (= UBS⁴) and Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (= NA²⁷) prompts the question: Do we need both? [493]

The short answer is probably "Yes". Both seem to be successful in commercial terms. The UBS text has been through five editions since 1966. NA²⁶ went through twelve reprintings from 1979 to 1991 and has sold 170,000 copies. Both UBS⁴ and NA²⁷ are revised editions of their respective predecessors in so far as Introduction, *apparatus* and some editorial matter are concerned. The New Testament text in these new editions is the same as in the editions each supersedes. More significantly, the text in UBS is identical to that in NA, with the exception of a couple of minor details and some differing punctuation. Both publications have a life of their own. The UBS edition is marketed at translators; NA has the general student of the New Testament in mind.

It is in the *apparatus* that the major differences are to be seen. First, UBS gives greater prominence to significant punctuation variations (or 'discourse segmentation' as the 4th edition now prefers to call it) and relates these variants to the ways in which five Greek testaments, and eleven recent translations into English, French, Spanish and German have reacted to these differences. This new edition has a completely new *apparatus* here. NA has some significant punctuation variants in its textual *apparatus* but not many. This evidence in UBS is arguably only of historical or exegetical interest and I do wonder just how frequently translators, particularly those working in non-European languages, need to discover how a select number of, say, English or French versions punctuate certain problematic verses. If I were translating into a newly written tongue, or even revising an existing version, I may well consult a favourite printed translation or two but I do not think that I would need at such a point to be told how a selected number of European translations had coped with a problem.

A similar situation concerns the main, textual, *apparatus*. UBS⁴, like its predecessors, prints only a limited number of variation units. There are 1437 such units in the new edition, but the selection differs from that found in UBS^{3A}. Some 284 units appear in the new edition for

the first time; 293 are deleted from the previous edition. Although we have been told in each edition that its selection was carefully chosen to reflect variants of relevance to translators, obviously the slightly revamped committee responsible for UBS⁴ disagreed with the earlier choice. B.M. Metzger, a committee member, in the companion volume to UBS³, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* was himself dissatisfied with the original selection and therefore added a further 600 variants for discussion. The conclusion to be drawn is the obvious one that it is a thankless and delusive task to try to restrict the number of variants too narrowly or to try to define which 1400 or so variants are “of interest to the translator”.

If one examines many of the variation units within UBS one sees that quite often there is a full display of all variants, however minor, within many units. I doubt if the professional translator (as opposed to a text critic—for whom an exhaustive *apparatus* is always a *desideratum*) is really interested in all the sub-variants printed in UBS. The *apparatus* in NA gives the main reading(s) against the printed text (together with the supporting evidence against, and regularly for, the printed text) in sufficient detail to satisfy even the most fastidious translator.

UBS is a clearly printed and spaciouly set out edition. Doubtless these characteristics enhance its attractiveness and explain why it sells well outside its intended market. All over the world students find UBS a convenient edition to handle. By contrast, those unfamiliar with scholarly critical texts may initially be daunted by the sheer density of print and quantity of sigla on the pages of text in NA²⁷, notwithstanding the slightly larger format introduced for this new edition. But the spaciousness of UBS is somewhat deceptive and in any case is there at the expense of absent material. Let us take a verse at random. The two variants shown for Matt. 3:16 in UBS take up 1 1/2 inches (5 cm.) compared with two lines in NA. In both variation units a similar number of uncials and ancient versions are included in NA as in UBS but UBS includes a larger number of fathers, all given in full, and a longer list of minuscules. For the second of the two variation units in UBS a minor sub-variant is given with the support of one minuscule, one lectionary and two Coptic versions; this is ignored in NA²⁷. Is the translator’s text critical decision likely to be greatly influenced by the additional witnesses in UBS⁴ or be any different were he using only NA²⁷? Also it is obvious that in any 1 1/2 inches the *apparatus* in NA contains a dozen or more important variants!

The editors of UBS assume that, if a translator is to be bold enough to desert the printed text and allow his eye to feast (1437 times) on the *apparatus* provided, the factor that ought to influence him is not the character of the alternative reading(s) or the quality of the supporting evidence—factors that are the normal considerations for a textual critic—but the editors' own confidence in printing the reading adopted as the text. This confidence, or lack of it, is shown in the rating letters, A, B, C, D attached to each variation unit. (A = a high degree of confidence down to D = a reading printed after the committee had "great difficulty in arriving at a decision".) Such guidance may seem to be helpful to non-experts, but the fluctuations in the letters attached to the same variant over the different editions is more likely to confuse the user than help. UBS¹ differed from UBS² largely in this area of differing rating letters. This reassessing the confidence of the readings selected for the *apparatus* has been a recurring feature of successive editions. UBS⁴ continues the habit of changing the rating letters. Reasons behind the committee's new voting may become clear when a new *Commentary* appears as a companion to this 4th edition, but, in the meantime, what is a hapless translator (or student) to do when he sees that a B reading in UBS³ is now upgraded to A, or a reading previously C is now B? At Mark 1:41 a reading previously D is now B! For the readings involving the so-called Western non-interpolations the printed text is now rated B not, as before, D. At Rom. 11:31 a reading designated B in UBS^{1,2} was declared D in UBS³; now it is C! (Cf. other fluctuations from UBS¹⁻² to UBS^{3/3A} to UBS⁴ at Matt 11:9 B' C' B; 11:23 (sec.) C' D' C; 16:2-3 C D' C; 19:9 (*bis*) B' C' B; 23:38 B' C' D). Again, I doubt if a translator should set much store by the imprecise and fluctuating system to help him decide on the reliability of the printed text. If I were a free agent, able to part company with the UBS/NA text for my translation, I doubt if the editors' volatile voting for A, B, C or D would sway my interpretation of the *apparatus* at that point. [495]

As far as the manuscript, versional and patristic evidence is concerned any compiler of an *apparatus* has to decide on the scale and number of witnesses to be cited. Both UBS and NA have carefully controlled and faultlessly executed *apparatus*, in accordance with the clearly set out descriptions in their introductory pages. The new editions of both are exemplary in their explanations of the range of their

textual witnesses. The resultant *apparatus* in both editions are splendidly clear and logical. The new editions contain many improvements in their *apparatus* including some redrafting. In the Greeven *Festschrift* (*Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments* ed. W. Schrage [Berlin and New York, 1986] = BZNW 47) I tried to set out in my article “The Purpose and Construction of a Critical Apparatus to a Greek New Testament” (pp. 125–43) some of the aims and *desiderata* in drafting an *apparatus* to a critical edition. More recently, E. Güting in his article “Der editorische Bericht als Kommentar zur Textkonstitution und zum Apparat in Editionen des Neuen Testaments” in *Editio: Internationales Jahrbuch für Editionswissenschaft* 7 (1993) pp. 94–108 also offers advice on *apparatus* building. As an erstwhile *Mitarbeiter* in the Münster Institute, his suggestions are well grounded in experience. In the light of these two articles one may judge that, in general, the *apparatus* in NA²⁷ fulfils the standards required. UBS fails only because it is too limited in the number of variants selected. The problem is, as we have already stated, that the reader of UBS has access to an *apparatus* less than 1437 times; the user of NA has access to the range of textual variation ten times more often. The selection of variants in an edition should be broad enough to include not only those readings deemed to be of particular concern for translation (i.e. longer versus shorter texts, certain word order variants, tense fluctuations) but other variants as well, such as harmonizing readings that affect the interrelationship of the gospels, deliberate grammatical and linguistic variants, and accidental readings occasioned by palaeographical considerations, in addition to readings that reflect the development of Christian doctrine and history.

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NA²⁷ includes ninety six papyri up to P⁹⁸ (although papyri 14, 29, 42, 43, 73, 80, 82, 93 are not cited in its *apparatus*); UBS⁴ has ninety four up to P⁹⁷ (in this edition P¹¹ = P¹⁴, but thirty four of these papyri are not in the *apparatus*). UBS⁴ uses more uncials than NA²⁷. There are two hundred and thirty nine separate uncials up to 0301 in UBS of which forty one are not in an *apparatus*; there are one hundred and eighty eight separate uncials up to 0300 in NA of which fifty two are not cited. Only eighty one minuscules up to 2464 are listed in UBS⁴ compared with two hundred and nineteen up to 2805 in NA²⁷. By contrast UBS⁴ scores better in the use made of lectionary texts—sixty nine are regularly cited; NA²⁷ lists only nine, and not all these seem to occur in the *apparatus*. So, if one is tracing the readings of a particular manuscript or group of manuscripts, then, for the places where

UBS prints the variants one may well benefit from different attestation compared with that in NA. UBS is also fuller in its citation of patristic evidence and later versions. The new NA has restricted its evidence in these areas to early fathers whose quotations are recognisably from a particular New Testament passage, and to those versions dependent on the Greek (Latin, Coptic and Syriac). It states in its Introduction that only when the underlying Greek text can be determined with confidence are the version or father cited and then generally only when their readings are attested by some other Greek or independent versional evidence. The Introduction to UBS⁴ makes similar claims but its practice is to include more and later versions, as well as a more complete survey of Greek and Latin patristic evidence up to the mid-fifth century. This means that, for those with an interest in the patristic or later versional evidence, UBS is a more profitable port of call, but, to repeat the recurring theme running through this assessment of the two editions, one can only use it for comparatively few variants.

Given the fact the NA and UBS have the same text, and given my observation that UBS may not satisfy the requirements of the clientele to which it is directed, it may be concluded that there seems to be no practical or academic reason for the continued separate existence of the UBS edition. Reaction to this article might prove me wrong, and I am open to persuasion to the contrary. But if I am correct, then the specific needs of translators could be met by modifying the NA edition, perhaps by highlighting with a distinctive typographical marker readings in an *apparatus* which are of especial importance for translation. But even that concession could be interpreted (alongside the rating letters) as patronizing spoon-feeding. If a translator is to be entrusted with an apparatus, then he must be allowed to set his own terms and to be encouraged to have full access to an *apparatus* without arbitrary limitations. Too rigorously controlled or restricted an apparatus deprives the intelligent user of a critical edition from exercising his own editorial judgement. An *apparatus* in a critical edition is not there merely to enable readers to select a supposed "original" text, as is admitted by the choice of variants even in UBS; it also exists to enable one to plot the history of that text. The reasons why one turns to a critical *apparatus* are more complex than merely for the evaluation of the editorial text-critical conclusions. These varied aims are more properly met in NA²⁷. By using UBS not only translators but the students, academics and clergy who undoubtedly buy this edition are denying themselves exposure to the riches and variety to be found in

NA²⁷. Perhaps publicity for UBS⁴ ought to carry a strong health warning to that effect!

POSTSCRIPTUM

Recent editions of the UBS and the Nestle texts take the number of papyri used up to P¹¹⁶.

When the above chapter was first published the second edition of Metzger's companion *Commentary* had not appeared.

CHAPTER THIRTY

THE INTERNATIONAL GREEK NEW TESTAMENT PROJECT'S VOLUMES ON THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

When I came to reassess the work on Luke published by Oxford University Press in 1984 and 1987 I read through old correspondence, minutes and progress reports. In so doing I was all too conscious of a sense of *déjà vu*. Attempts at Anglo-German cooperation, links between Anglo-American committees, debates about whether or not to establish a critical text as well as assemble a thesaurus of variant readings, what collating base to use and print and so on recur—and still are recurring. The history of the project and its predecessors have also been plagued by repeated errors of judgement, delays, indecision and false decisions, lack of cooperation, occasional attacks of mumpsimus and all too often ill-feeling on a personal and institutional level. [1]

Having read the reports and reactions to Legg's editions of Mark and Matthew, and having been the editor responsible for bringing the Luke material through the press, and now being intimately involved in the John project have enabled me to see that history has a nasty habit of repeating itself.

The pre-history of the IGNT project is sufficiently well known that a mere sketch will probably suffice to refresh our memories. Fuller reports are available in articles by Neville Birdsall, Eldon J. Epp., David Parker and myself.¹

Our story begins in the 1920s. German scholars at annual conferences that had begun in 1922 had decided that the time had come to consider bringing out a 'New Tischendorf' especially as von Soden's [2]

¹ J.N. Birdsall, "The Recent History of New Testament Textual Criticism (from Westcott and Hort (1881) to the Present)" in *ANRW* II. 26.1 (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1992) pp. 100–97 esp. pp. 181–4. Eldon J. Epp, "The International Greek New Testament Project: Motivation and History" *NovT* 39 (1997) pp. 1–20 reprinted as chapter 16 in E.J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays, 1962–2004* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 116). D.C. Parker, "The International Greek New Testament Project: The Gospel of John" *NTS* 36 (1990) pp. 157–60. J.K. Elliott, "The International Project to Establish a Critical Apparatus to Luke's Gospel" *NTS* 29 (1983) pp. 531–8. These articles also contain further bibliographical information on earlier background articles.

edition in the preceding decade was flawed and had not succeeded in updating the *apparatus* in Tischendorf's 8th. edition in a reliable and usable way. And this is one of the leading leitmotifs in our continuing saga: the unassailable and continuing preeminence of Tischendorf's edition, and the trail of bungled and inadequate or only partial attempts to supersede that edition.

These German conferences in the 1920s and their desires seemed not to be known to a British delegation prior to its attending the German conference in 1926 in Breslau. The British team comprising such luminaries as Kenyon, Streeter, Souter, and Burkitt, under the chairmanship of Headlam, the Bishop of Gloucester, proposed a similar enterprise and the Germans seemed to go along with the British plans largely because the carrot of a willing publisher, namely OUP, was dangled before them. The German scholars, however, were not happy with all aspects of the plan and had special misgivings about the British desire to use the Textus Receptus (= TR) as a collating base. Streeter in his *Four Gospels* pp. 147f. had already written that Tischendorf's edition needed updating but that a thesaurus of readings produced from collations of manuscripts against a "Byzantine text" was needed.

In the event that Anglo-German cooperation seemed not to materialize. The project fizzled out after the Germans withdrew as no agreement could be reached over the text to be used as a collating base. It was a British committee which soon afterwards set to work on an *apparatus* to the Gospels with S.C.E. Legg as its editor, employed initially with a stipend of £250 *per annum*. Ironically the TR was not printed in the volumes on Mark (published in 1935) or on Matthew (in 1940). What seems to have been agreed—and certainly what was printed as the collating base—was the text of Westcott and Hort's edition of 1881. In a prospectus appealing for funding to finance the project issued in Oxford in 1929 Legg writes that as early as 1927 Westcott and Hort's text had already been selected for use. In effect what Legg provided was a belated *apparatus* to the WH text. Westcott and Hort did not print an *apparatus*, possibly because they believed that as they were publishing the original text of the Greek New Testament then secondary scribal aberrations in the footnotes were redundant, illogical and liable to befog their readers' minds.

The scholarly world was not impressed with the results of Legg's labours. G.D. Kilpatrick expressed misgivings about Legg's volumes in *JTS* 43 (1942) pp. 30–4. T.W. Manson picked up on Kilpatrick's lead in a review in a later issue of the same volume of *JTS* pp. 83–92. In warm-

ing to his subject Manson in an excoriating review declares that Legg's task was 'completely beyond his strength', that 'the work had better be done over again from the beginning', that 'the whole thing as at present conceived and executed is a makeshift and at this time of day scholars have neither the time nor the money to spend on makeshifts', and that the whole lacked completeness and accuracy. Although Professor Kurt Aland in an article in *Theologische Revue* (= *ThRv*) in 1984² referring to Manson's review expresses his surprise at Manson's 'milder Ton', Epp (*op. cit.*, p. 5) speaks of Manson being "unmerciful in his critique". Certainly what strikes one today is the vigorous and vicious attack on Legg's volumes, more vituperative and vindictive than one normally finds even in reviews written in the 1940s.

Manson in this review was not only attempting to trample Legg's life work into the mud (and by implication of course the plans of the sleeping partners who had hired Legg), but to stifle any further work along the same lines. Instead, what Manson proposed was a radical new approach to presenting an *apparatus*. Undeterred, Legg plodded on strangely oblivious to the import of Manson's rubbishing of the enterprise which he had already devoted 20 years of his life to. He seemed to be unaffected by Manson's review or the likely consequence this might have on the next volume. So he manfully continued preparing his third volume—on Luke—and he presented copy to OUP in 1948. Not surprisingly, the Press remembered Manson's review of 1942 and took it seriously. Legg's manuscript was returned to him as unsuitable for publication.

Legg's subsequent life is not known to me. In fact I know precious little about his earlier life—other than that he had been on the staff of King's College, London up to the end of the first world war and that he served as an assistant to White in the preparation of the Wordsworth and White Vulgate. Apart from his work on the Vulgate and an article jointly written with Kenyon, Legg seems only to exist on the pages of the volumes which were condemned by Manson. He devoted 20 years of his life to preparing the volumes on Mark, Matthew and Luke. [4]

All I can add to this episode is to say that the three boxes containing Legg's handwritten copy of the rejected *apparatus* to Luke survived

² Kurt Aland, "Eine neue Ausgabe des griechischen Neuen Testaments. Zur Oxforder Ausgabe von Luk. 1–12" *ThRv* 80 (1984) cols. 441–8.

better than the memory of its author. The complete copy containing his pages is now in my possession and it languishes in my study.

Meanwhile Manson and a British committee considered how best to implement the proposals he had outlined in the 1942 review. One thing that needed redoing was the work on Luke. But salvation was at hand from a new quarter.

Since 1942 an American team under Colwell and including Parvis and Wikgren had been contemplating preparing a new Tischendorf. Once again the same clarion call using Tischendorf's example was sounded. And once again scholars in one country seemed unaware that similar plans were afoot in another country. The repetition of this piece of history may, in view of the date, be excusable as Anglo-American cooperation in the early forties was concentrated on more pressing matters than textual variation in the Greek New Testament.

Eventually contact was made between the British and American scholars, cooperation was established in 1948 and from it the IGNTP was born in 1951. Forty years after this cooperation began the first fascicule of the collaborative work—our volume on Luke—was published.

For Luke the decisions were that collations were to be made against the TR and its text was to be printed as the running text. We shall return to the brouhaha that these decisions caused. But it needs to be pointed out that although Manson seems to have gone along with the decision of the Anglo-American committees once these had been formally established from 1952 onwards, his original proposal in the 1942 review was that an early Byzantine text should first be established—an easy task according to him—and that that should be the collating base. Quite what Manson envisaged is not clear and how it would be done is not certain. In the event that plan did not happen. Kilpatrick in his article (*op. cit.*, p. 33) had suggested that the TR be printed above the *apparatus*, and, presumably, that collations were to be made against that base text. At any rate the TR was chosen as the collating base and printed in the published volumes.

- [5] Ground rules were laid down, collating began in earnest, teams of volunteers were recruited, experts were appointed to work on the versional evidence, and samples were eventually prepared. Details of who did what are set out in the introductory pages of Luke vol. I. But work was painfully slow and criticisms about the delay in publishing this much vaunted project were voiced.

To make a short story long, we come now to the appointment of my predecessor as editor of the Luke volume—Prof. Neville Birdsall. His

period as editor originally seemed full of promise. He was granted a three year secondment from his university from 1971 and the British Academy was persuaded to offer support for replacement teaching in Birmingham during that period. At last the Project had a full time professional textual critic employed and tasked with the completing of the project on Luke. But, as he would be the first to say, the task he encountered when he took over proved overwhelmingly difficult and impossible to complete in the timescale expected, nay demanded.

I have read the reports which Birdsall submitted to the Academy and to the British Committee. These give an agonized catalogue of woes in an ongoing saga of problems and difficulties encountered.

May I give a flavour of these by quoting from his Report of 1974 at the end of the three-year period of secondment? Assessing those three years he notes that the Greek patristic evidence he inherited was deficient, not least in its comprehensiveness, and that much of the versional evidence was still awaited. The Latin patristic index and evidence continued to plague him. The main complaint was the lack of foresight and financing. British amateurism and American difficulties in raising public funds for what some in the USA would see as a religious exercise could no doubt be blamed, but Birdsall's main complaints were to be levelled at the unrealistic obligations imposed on him by his British colleagues at the behest of the British Academy. Birdsall reminds us that the early enthusiasm that we were to produce a new Tischendorf had alerted him to the incredible accuracy of the old Tischendorf and the implications of living up to that standard. More time was needed, more helpers and, above all, more money. The problem seemed to be that we, unlike von Soden, were unable to seduce a Fräulein Elise Koenigs.

Despite valiant efforts on his part, Birdsall did not deliver on time. This seemed to confirm the prejudice of certain in the Academy that the project was not worth their support. Birdsall himself felt that he was being treated as a scapegoat for the shortcomings of the project itself and for the unrealistic expectations of outsiders.

It was into that situation that I was catapulted in 1978. Although I [6] had not previously been involved in the work on Luke, I was invited to join the committee as its executive editor. The committee duly agreed to my membership and appointment. It was made crystal clear to me that the Academy wanted to see results and would brook no further delays. The Academy continued to offer financial support to cover the committee's operating expenses, and we were still recognised as an

official project of the Academy, thanks to the strong support exercised within the Academy by one of two weighty friends who were Fellows.

The work I inherited was indeed as patchy as Birdsall had alerted me to. Much needed doing although some six chapters had been drafted in part. I made it my business to chase up overdue collations especially on the versions and to try to ensure that all outstanding work was completed. By 1982 or so all of the raw materials were to hand, and I set about drafting the rest of the Gospel. The American collations were checked, the evidence of the versions and fathers was added. The Patristic citations were added and the lectionary details as well as all the other paraphernalia we had agreed to include in the *apparatus*. The variation units were written out, working down from the long phrase to the individual words within that phrase.

Much of this was handwritten. I photocopied my drafts chapter by chapter and circulated the sheets to members of the committee and a range of competent friends for their comments, corrections and *addenda*. Several read through the drafts and offered constructive advice and criticism.

As a result of receiving reaction to the drafts I then prepared the material for the Press. Eventually three of us proofread the printed galleys. The first twelve chapters were published in 1984; the second half followed in 1987.

- [7] For reaction to Luke I rely now on the published reviews. The most thorough reviews came not surprisingly from the Münster Institut, first from Kurt Aland and then from Barbara Aland. The Alands, being intimately involved in New Testament textual criticism and as editors of the *Editio Critica Maior* (= *ECM*) in preparation, were possessed of a judgement and experience that were particularly authoritative. They were the most appropriate scholars to contribute reviews of our work and assess its significance. Rereading their reviews alongside Manson's we again have a sense of *déjà vu*—and in addition some of the sentiments expressed and even the vocabulary used in one of Kurt Aland's reviews echoes von Dobschütz's report of the Breslau conference of 1926.³

³ E. von Dobschütz, "Neutestamentlertagung zu Breslau am 4. und 5. Oktober 1926" *ZNW* 25 (1926) pp. 315–9.

It will be important now to isolate the main points raised mainly by Kurt Aland. He allowed himself the luxury of two reviews. His longer review appeared in the Classical journal *Gnomon*.⁴ It had originally been written for the Münster Roman Catholic theological periodical *Theologische Revue*⁵ but they deemed it too long. A shorter version, incorporating the main points from the *Gnomon* review was subsequently accepted by *ThRv*. Thus his views received wide dissemination in both the classical and theological worlds.

I pick out a few important points from those reviews, beginning with the *Gnomon* piece where it was tactfully suggested that the whole of the work on Luke be redone. Repeating the language used by Nestle in the fourth edition of his *Einführung* (1923) which referred to von Soden's edition, and applying it to the IGNTP Luke Aland writes (p. 497): "Man sagt—leider—schwerlich zuviel, wenn man behauptet daß das Ganze noch einmal gemacht werden muß." This would then put us back to 1942. Aland also made use of another early criticism: this time he lifted Kirsopp Lake's comment in his 1904 *Influence of Textual Criticism* with reference to Westcott and Hort which Lake judged "a failure though a splendid one" and applied this (p. 496) to the IGNTP Luke. Once more, words from one text-critical context were made relevant to a later situation. The review in *ThRv* opines that IGNTP Luke has dismally failed to provide an adequate replacement for Tischendorf and reaches a climax with the words: "...das angestrebte Ziel eines kritischen Apparates als Grundlage für die Feststellung der Textgeschichte des Lukasevangeliums wie seines ursprünglichen Wortlauts ist verfehlt worden. Den seit Jahrzehnten erhofften "neuen Tischendorf" stellt der vorliegende Band nicht dar, nicht einmal einen Ansatz dazu, auf dem sich aufbauen ließe" (col. 448). [8]

The main reasons for Aland's conclusion are manifold.

One overriding problem for him is the perennial objection to the use of the TR as the collating base and the reprinting of that text, which gives the unfortunate impression that we were in a sense rehabilitating that text. Although several of us have pointed out on many occasions that we had no intention of reestablishing the TR, this message was not appreciated or understood. David Parker in his article on

⁴ *Gnomon* 56 (1984) pp. 481–97.

⁵ See note 2.

the plans for the ongoing IGNTP work⁶ reminds his readers that we only used the TR, a universally acknowledged bad text, to be a commonly known and unchanging text to base collations on, and one that if one was applying the Subtraktionsprinzip, would require less space to display the alternative readings, in so far as most witnesses agree with the Byzantine text of which the TR is a flawed example.

But I realise that it must seem peculiar that we adopted a reprinting of a 1873 edition of the TR that goes back via two intermediate stages in 1828 and 1707 to an edition of Stephanus' edition of 1550 (with his versification of 1551), and I shall return to this issue shortly. (Oddly enough, a *special* reprinting had to be undertaken for IGNTP by the University of Chicago precisely because the chosen text was NOT readily available!) But whatever justification can be given for our practice of reproducing the text of the TR in our volumes on Luke, I shall concede now that it is unfortunate that our readers may have been misled by the title to our work, *The New Testament in Greek III*, to expect a new critical edition of the Greek text of Luke. It is only in the course of reading our introductory matter (actually when they eventually reach section 2 'General Principles of the Edition' para. 2 on p. vi) that readers are disabused and learn that what they have bought is a mere assemblage of variant readings. I am not sure at what stage OUP adopted this series title. Even now with the published volume on the Papyri to John and with a different publisher we have persisted in giving this wrong impression by entitling the book, *The New Testament in Greek IV*. We also thereby suggest continuity with the doomed volumes by Legg—even though nothing in their titles (which are in any case different from the Luke volumes) suggests they were identified as volumes I and II in an ongoing series. As we were not intending a critical edition, the title of the Luke volumes should have

[9] been something like *A Thesaurus of Textual Variants in the Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke*.

Not unconnected with Aland's objection to our apparent rehabilitation of the 1550 text (and it is there that the word "Anakronismus" reappears, having first been heard in this context in von Dobschütz's report of the Breslau conference's reaction to the British delegation's proposal to work with the TR) is his complaint that we missed the opportunity to edit a critical text. Gregory in his *Vorschläge für eine*

⁶ *Op. cit.*

kritische Ausgabe des griechischen Neuen Testaments (1911) envisaged that the duty of an editor was twofold: the assembling of an *apparatus* and the preparation of a critical text. We felt that the two activities could be divorced and should not necessarily be part of the same enterprise. We never intended to edit a text—merely to provide a thesaurus of readings from which ultimately a critical text could be built, to supply material, not to interpret it. Aland however quashes any hope that that course of action might bear fruit when he writes in his *ThRv* article that no one would ever dream of considering utilizing the IGNTP *apparatus* to construct a critical text.

The example of the *ECM* fascicule for James now lies before us.⁷ There the editors are doing both tasks simultaneously—establishing a new *apparatus* and a new critical text—although the principles for establishing its critical text are not (yet) spelled out for readers to assess. We merely note that the resultant text of James happens to be identical with the UBS text in all but two places (James 1:22;⁸ 2:3), that words bracketed in the UBS text at 4:21; 5:14 are now printed without brackets in the *ECM*, and that 11 *v.ll.* in its *apparatus* are signalled to be of “equal value” to the readings printed as the text.

Perhaps I can insert here a citation from José O’Callaghan’s review of our work on Luke in *Biblica*:⁹ “Pero, aun respetando la finalidad de la obra, claramente expresada en los prenotandos, es decir, de no establecer un texto nuevo del NT, uno se atrevaía a preguntar: Después de un esfuerzo tan desmesurado y laudable, ¿Puede aceptarse que en 1984 no convenga modificar nada de un texto neotestamentario aparacido en 1550?”

I shall return to those two major criticisms later when I make some suggestions about the future of IGNTP as we move into John, because my purpose in resurrecting these reviews on the Luke volumes is to learn from them for our present planning.

But now back to Kurt Aland’s reviews, this time to his objection that our selection of minuscules was inadequate and that the Claremont Profile Method, by concentrating on certain Byzantine groupings, resulted in an *apparatus* comparatively thin in reporting cursive witnesses compared with the weighty evidence of the versional and [10]

⁷ *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* IV Catholic Letters. Die katholischen Briefe (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997).

⁸ The reading here, now in the *Editio Critica Maior*, had stood as the text in NA²⁶.

⁹ *Biblica* 65 (1984) pp. 591–3. Citation from p. 593.

patristic variants reported throughout. Barbara Aland in her review of the Luke volumes in *JTS*,¹⁰ to which I shall turn shortly, makes the same point. We can perhaps concede that the Claremont method, criticised in among other places by Richards in *NTS*¹¹ did not give us as wide a representation as we needed.¹² Certainly our readers have not been informed how and why the 128 minuscules ultimately reported were singled out for selection. Perhaps with the methodology adopted in the *Text und Textwert* series we can at last achieve a more adequate sifting. That methodology can now be judged in the fascicules of the Catholic Epistles appearing in the *ECM*, although even there one could voice criticism about the lack of information about how its final selection of their “Codices Byzantini” used in its *apparatus* was arrived at.

I now intercalate collaborative criticism of our use of the Claremont method, this time by C.-B. Amphoux, who in a review in *ETR* 61 (1986) pp. 448–50 declares that this sampling is quite inadequate for enabling one ultimately to work back to the original, differing, forms of the text. This deficiency, coupled with only second-hand reporting of much of the versional evidence, make him conclude¹³ “L’enquête documentaire est donc doublement défectueuse”.

A recurring criticism voiced by Aland, Amphoux and others is that we relied too heavily on sometimes old and inadequate editions for the versional evidence. The *ECM* has set a splendid example in James on how MSS. of the Coptic, Syriac and Slavic versions can be used. One of the areas in which we did use MSS. was the Coptic, where we included two Coptic MSS.—but we were at fault even here in not stating in our Introduction the age of these witnesses, which happens to be four centuries apart from each other (as O’Callaghan pointed out).¹⁴ Another area where we did report the readings of individual MSS. was that of the Old Latin. We are also criticised (by Kilpatrick)¹⁵

¹⁰ *JTS* 42 (1991) pp. 201–15.

¹¹ W.L. Richards, “An Examination of the Claremont Profile Method in the Gospel of Luke: A Study in Text-Critical Methodology” *NTS* 27 (1981) pp. 52–63.

¹² Epp has written a justification of the Claremont method reprinted in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* ed. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Grand Rapids, 1993) (= *Se&D* 45) under the title “The Claremont Profile Method for Grouping New Testament Minuscule Manuscripts” (pp. 211–220). Reprinted again as chapter 3 in E.J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism*.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 449.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 593.

¹⁵ Review in *TLZ* 112 (1987) cols. 265–6.

that for the Old Latin we were too reliant on only Jülicher's choice of MSS. plus two MSS. not found in Jülicher. These are details, albeit important, and obviously such shortcomings should not be repeated for John. Certainly we should follow the good practice in *ECM* and not rely on printed editions if this can be avoided. (*ECM* itself uses the evidence of the *Vetus Latina* for the Catholics rather than cite the Old Latin MSS. themselves. One wonders what *ECM* will do if it reaches the Gospels before the *Vetus Latina* does.) We need to emulate the practice in *ECM* of concentrating on the Latin, Coptic and Syriac as primary versions to the underlying Greek and be more sparing with our use of the secondary versions.

Kurt Aland also criticised the drafting of our *apparatus* using the so called *Subtraktionsprinzip* in which (as in von Soden's edition) only witnesses differing from the collating base are printed. This method demands that readers of IGNTP Luke look at the list of MSS. deficient for the chapter, then for the verse, then at the index of fragmentary witnesses in the verse, then to identify the MSS. with variants before calculating which MSS. support the collating base. This he quite correctly says is tedious and liable to create error. I note in passing that the first *ECM* fascicule does not apply the alternative principle—*Oppositionsprinzip* (found in Tischendorf⁸)—in its entirety. But this preferred method of recording variants is a consistent preoccupation of German scholars, and again we are reminded of the same concern voiced in the proceedings of that Breslau conference. The *ECM* uses what it pleases to dub a 'positive *apparatus*' if more than 15 witnesses are against the base text; otherwise the *Subtraktionsprinzip* (known here as a 'negative *apparatus*') is applied, where only the witnesses against the base text are quoted.

The manner of presenting the evidence as fully and as unambiguously as possible, and in a way that may be easily consulted is one that must be resolved when we get round to drafting the *apparatus* in John. One place where Aland is clearly correct is that we are at fault in applying the *Subtraktionsprinzip* to the versional evidence. He gives good and telling examples where the assumption that a particular version not cited in a given variation unit must by implication and *e silentio* support the TR is not always necessarily true or, if it is true, is only partially true. Here again the *ECM* shows us how ambiguities in the versional evidence can be satisfactorily resolved. *Apparatus* builders of the future have a great deal to learn from the carefully constructed *apparatus* to James in *ECM*.

[12] I merely list some of the other criticisms voiced by Aland. First, the Luke volumes fail to explain how the lectionaries were selected and it is also difficult to verify the evidence, especially where a lectionary MS. contains the pericope in more than one lection. We are also criticised for not explaining the lectionary system in our introductory matter and for failing to present our evidence with adequate completeness or accuracy. The arbitrary cut-off date of 500 A.D. for Greek Fathers is objected to, a limitation actually imposed on the project unilaterally by the American committee of its day. Aland judged our presentation of the fragmentary MSS. as 'worthless' because of the absence of any indication of the amount of text likely to be missing in the lacunae, and because we cite in the index the contents of the extant text, quoting from the collating base, even if the *apparatus* reveals the MS. in question has a variant here. This creates a misleading impression of the actual text of the fragmentary MSS. in the index of fragmentary texts. The same problem occurs for the fathers where the extent of their citations is conformed to the wording in the collating base. Aland is particularly critical that we did not provide a separate index for patristic citations. Again *ECM* in relation to Greek fathers¹⁶ shows what was expected and this new edition once more serves as an ideal edition.¹⁷

Other issues such as the way to represent variants in oriental languages (in English, in Latin or in original scripts) keep being raised—as they were in Manson's 1942 review. The request constantly to check that patristic citations are being culled from the best and most up to date editions also regularly appears in reviews.

Barbara Aland's review appeared in *JTS*. Some of her points were similar to those we have already noted. Among distinctive criticisms are her complaint that our *apparatus* is "schwer zu lesen", being too "atomisiert", that our patristic evidence needed greater control, and that there are serious deficiencies in the citing of versional evidence, especially the Syriac.

¹⁶ For the most part *ECM* quite sensibly avoids using citations in languages other than Greek because the significance of their relationship to the New Testament Greek text is doubly secondary (see *ECM* IV, 1 p. 13*).

¹⁷ Even though I have voiced some criticisms of that edition (in *NovT* 40 (1998) pp. 195–204) I salute the construction of its *apparatus* as a splendid achievement, and one we should seek to emulate, as I shall reiterate below.

The reaction from Münster was not unexpected in that Kurt Aland published a preview review in 1965 when he allowed himself the liberty of commenting publicly on an early sample of the IGNTP *apparatus* that had been circulated privately and in confidence to interested parties. Whereas most replied privately, Aland's reasons were trumpeted in *NTS* 13 (1965–6) pp. 176–85.¹⁸ His response to the sample was similar to the comments in the reviews of 20 years later which we have just noted. Having written his reactions, he concluded his article with the words “Dixi et salvavi animam meam”. These same words appear at the end of his *ThRv* review. [13]

We should not neglect reviews from outside Germany.

Pride of place must go to the review which my predecessor as editor, Neville Birdsall, contributed to the *Classical Review*.¹⁹ What a difficult task that must have been to write for an expert who had been on the inside, trying to remedy shortcomings that proved endemic! Although he tactfully calls our errors and blunders ‘blemishes’, he still writes (p. 200): “Careful revising of many details is necessary before this can be the tool it is intended to be”. He reveals to the readers of this journal the constraints that he, above all, was so painfully aware of, namely that “the editorial work was done in the intervals of teaching duties” and that “there was no base of operations where the necessary works of reference were concentrated”, and that “there was constant pressure to go to press, from sponsors, from critics of the project and even within the committee itself”.

The American scholar W.L. Petersen's review in *JBL*²⁰ drew attention to what he, like others, saw as fundamental weaknesses especially the apparent anachronism of collating against the TR which he describes as an abandonment of responsibility and as “deplorable”. His checking of a sample of Patristic evidence bears out Birdsall's earlier judgement that this area was flawed. He writes (p. 761) that “the haphazard citation of Patristic witnesses raises questions about the use of non-experts in such an endeavor”. Petersen even calculated that some 60% of verses from his survey contained error in this area, a percentage even higher than Manson found in Legg's work. Petersen allows himself to say that the apparently tendentious selection of evidence

¹⁸ Kurt Aland, “Bemerkungen zu Probeseiten einer grossen kritischen Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments” *NTS* 13 (1965–6) pp. 176–85.

¹⁹ *CIR* 39 (1989) pp. 198–200.

²⁰ *JBL* 107 (1988) pp. 758–62.

is intolerable and unacceptable. In so speaking out, he too wished to salve his soul; he speaks of needing to “keep clear his scholarly conscience”! Petersen wants to see a greater assessing of the earliest witnesses. He berates the IGNTP edition because, instead of doing that, we merely “reprint a 435-year-old edition, recollate MSS., reproduce some of the new evidence (while ignoring other evidence), relocate Patristic citations from the *claves* to the *apparatus*, and remove some errors (while, of course, introducing new ones”. He concludes that the IGNTP Luke’s achievements were merely equivalent to rearranging the deckchairs on the Titanic.

- [14] Shortly after he published that review Petersen was invited by the N. American committee of IGNTP to turn from poacher to gamekeeper by joining the committee. I was delighted to note that he accepted; he has special responsibility for preparing and presenting the Diatessaron material for the John volume. No doubt he will also see to it that the Patristic evidence in John will be flawless, and that the other faults he detected in Luke will never be repeated in John. A watchman as staunch as he could prevent history from being repeated by default. We also have another watchman on the N. American committee, Carroll D. Osburn, who also contributed a critical review.²¹ He concluded that “it is disappointing that the *apparatus*, though largely comprehensive and accurate, contains a higher incidence of inexactitude than is tolerable in a research tool and cannot be trusted, requiring verification at each point” and that “a careful and exacting revision could yet make these two volumes into the tools they were intended to be”. Here we have echoes of Birdsall’s criticisms. Osburn also asked for more precise work from collaborators on the John project and for significantly greater editorial control of material submitted. Fortunately he, like Petersen, is now (as secretary to the North American committee) in a position to exert an influence over these concerns.

As far as continuing use of these volumes is concerned, from time to time I come across researchers, scholars and commentators who refer to our *apparatus*, and even refer to its utility for their work. Many of these are not textual critics, but readers of the NT text for whom we text critics have a responsibility. One particular scholar, who is a textual critic and who has used and subjected our Luke volumes to his exacting investigations, is Tjitze Baarda. In a recently published

²¹ *SJT* 43 (1990) pp. 524–6.

article in a collection of essays²² Baarda finds the IGNTP Luke falls far short of his needs. In addition he complains that the jungle of variants in our *apparatus* must bewilder every user. To demonstrate the problems in the creation of a critical *apparatus*, Baarda takes as an example throughout his article just one verse (Luke 23:48) from the IGNTP Luke and, among other things, sets out a more logical arrangement of all its variants, signposting each variant with numbers. The ease of presentation and referencing there is noteworthy and remarkably similar to the *ECM* edition which was to appear a few years later. Although Baarda is sympathetic to our difficulties and indeed to any building of a full, accurate and meaningful *apparatus*, he is strongly critical of our past efforts but positive in suggesting ways in which *apparatus* building in the future might progress. The cautious way in which he urges Patristic citations to be presented, the requirement to treat the versional evidence separately from the Greek and the need to describe in a companion volume ambiguities in the presentation of this and other evidence are points taken notice of for the *ECM*. IGNTP should follow suit.²³ [15]

We deduce that, for work of the detailed precision he looks for, the IGNTP Luke volumes as established and published are woefully inadequate.

Obviously, all the major reviewers drew attention to errors and omissions of the sort any work as complex as a text critical *apparatus* is prone to. We cannot have too much accuracy in textual criticism.

The critics have spoken. We the editors have listened. The judgement of our jury is that despite the 40 year long wait for the Luke volumes—or probably because of this lengthy period with the inevitable loss of quality control and lack of consistency and with changes in the committees and personnel—there is much disappointment and

²² Tjitze Baarda, "What kind of Critical Apparatus for the New Testament do we Need? The Case of Luke 23:48" in B. Aland and J. Delobel (eds.), *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History. A Discussion of Methods* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994) (= *Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology* 7) pp. 37–97.

²³ Not all Baarda's suggestions are used by *ECM*, e.g. the suggestion that Patristic citations be printed out in full or the desire that retroversions be translated into Latin. Among Baarda's other requests are that IGNTP should include among its minuscule witnesses all those MSS. which appear in the major critical *apparatus*, that the Arabic version and the Western Diatessaronic witnesses should be included. His is a stimulating and important article even though sheer pragmatism may dictate that some of his worthy suggestions be shelved as impracticable; not all his *desiderata* can be implemented easily.

dismay. Efforts to replace Tischendorf have resulted in a line of failures stretching back to von Soden's day.

I must now therefore turn to the future. Can this apparently constant cycle of ambitious planning and scholarly endeavour, followed as it inevitably seems to be by delay and failure, be avoided?

[16] There is at long last a glimmer of optimism as we enter the next millennium. And that is the possibility of genuine cooperation between the IGNTF enterprise and the Münster Institut. Our British committee was very heartened when we received the Minutes of our North American colleagues' meeting held during the 1997 SBL conference in San Francisco. That meeting of the North American committee was attended by Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel from Münster and David Parker from the British IGNTF committee. Their Minutes report a willingness to collaborate and share information. There has already been some progress in the sense that both sides have since discussed the way in which the choice of minuscule witnesses may be selected. What I want to urge now is that this willingness be acted upon more vigorously. Baarda's concluding remark in the article we were just considering is to urge the IGNTF committees towards a "closer harmony with the Textual Institute of Münster".²⁴ That was written in 1993. He would have been heartened by the tone of the 1997 meeting in San Francisco, but the "close harmony", so properly pleaded for there, needs to be fostered.

The willingness to cooperate can and must be developed. Many of the criticisms of our Luke volumes which I have been elaborating are merely procedural—the layout of the *apparatus*, the way in which Patristic and versional evidence is collected and displayed fully and unambiguously, the use of *Oppositionsprinzip* or not. These can be resolved. The *ECM* now provides us with a working exemplar, as I have mentioned, and it is one with a conspicuous ease of presentation and display. Its appearance has marked a new standard—one to be emulated. The publication of its first fascicule and the approaches made at the San Francisco Meeting are the new elements in our saga—elements that give us the reason for our optimism.

The way of dealing with the fragmentary MSS. has I think been solved by IGNTF with the separate publication of our volume on the papyri and the comparable one in preparation on the majuscules.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

The selecting of minuscules is problematic for all concerned in such endeavours, but satisfactory solutions are capable of being found. The two big stumbling blocks remain the issue of the collating base and the question of editing a text.

I would like to conclude my presentation by referring to these two issues in a spirit of trying to resolve an *impasse* that goes back to the Anglo-German meeting at Breslau. The plans of those delegations came to nought. The goodwill of the San Francisco discussions must not evaporate in the same way.

The fact that some Greek witnesses have been and are being entered electronically against the TR need not tie our hands. As our computer-literate colleagues will no doubt wish to remind us the collating base itself becomes irrelevant once the collation has been entered. The text of any witness can thereafter become the lead line—its readings can be displayed in full. Obviously I can see why one would not wish to collate a MS. against another MS., but I see no reason why any recent printed edition should not be used as the collating base.²⁵ [17]

If, for the sake of argument, we printed at the head of our *apparatus* UBS⁴ that would not canonize that text as a new TR. Perhaps it was once the case that UBS/NA was intended as a Standard Text or even as a new *textus receptus* as some observers mischievously suggested, but that is no longer the case. Its introductory matter (p. 45*) makes it quite clear that NA²⁷ is merely a working document and that its readers are positively encouraged to use its *apparatus* in effect to construct their own text or at least to monitor the editors' work. The changes to the UBS/NA text in the *ECM* fascicule on James, microscopic though they are, nonetheless follow this advice—the UBS/NA text is thereby toppled from its pedestal. No longer is it being promoted as the unchanging, unchangeable, inviolate text that some had at one time hoped it might be.

But this more open approach to the text of canonical scripture is compatible with the published work of D.C. Parker²⁶ and Bart D.

²⁵ As long as we strive to record each and every deviation from the collating base in full, whatever that base might be, then we have achieved our purpose of recording completely all the evidence to be included in the *apparatus*. Whatever the collating base, we must continue with our policy of avoiding the haphazard and partial citing of witnesses which pocket editions inevitably require. Even von Soden and Tischendorf cited their witnesses irregularly. There is no dispute over the need for thoroughness.

²⁶ D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Ehrman.²⁷ Both emphasise the living and therefore changing text of the New Testament and the needlessness and inappropriateness of trying to establish one immutable original text. That changeable text in all its variety is what we textual critics should be displaying.

Nevertheless the huge responsibility of leaving 'ordinary' readers the task of editing the text is too onerous. Even the average scholar who consults a Greek New Testament is usually all too willing to accept the printed text at face value without bothering to read the hieroglyphics in the marginalia. Baarda in the article we have already referred to asks that the future work of the IGNTP committee should grasp the nettle and produce a critical edition, saying that an *apparatus* without an edited text resulting from it makes the *apparatus* a mere torso (p. 96). Again, he is in tune with the views of the Münster Institut. In [18] the 1998 *Bericht* from Münster we read the address entitled "100 Jahre Neutestamentliche Textforschung (1898–1998)" delivered by Barbara Aland in the Villa Hammerschmidt in the presence of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany. In the course of some very generous and sympathetic words about the IGNTP, she repeats there the longstanding request that we should be establishing a text.

Despite my own published work in trying to prove the originality of the text in selected areas of textual variation, that is, trying to pronounce on the likeliest direction of change when confronted by two or more alternative readings, I agree that the task of trying to establish the original words of the original authors with 100% certainly is impossible. More dominant in text critics' thinking now is the need to *plot* the changes in the history of the text. That certainly seemed to be the consensus at one of the sessions of the 1998 SBL conference in Orlando, where the question of whether the original text was an achievable goal received generally negative responses. This thinking lies behind at least two other ongoing text-critical projects at the present time. One is the *apparatus* to Mark which C.-B. Amphoux and I are engaged on.

Reuben Swanson's singlehanded attempts to display the textual variants in the Gospels and Acts, however limited his enterprise perforce must be, nonetheless once again also puts the emphasis firmly on

²⁷ Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture. The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

actual MSS., and the differences between them without his attempting to establish an original text or even a pecking order of probabilities.

Enterprises such as these are symptomatic of the growing disillusionment with trying to establish a monolithic quasi-original text and teach us that IGNTP would probably be ill-advised to attempt to produce a critical text in its entirety.

To put it another way: there is no need nowadays to establish a critical text, because any attempt to create such an 'original' text is an elusive and illusory task.

So, how are we assist readers who want to consult a printed Greek New Testament?

A compromise might be the introduction of bold dots ('bullet points') against all variants in an *apparatus* that could merit consideration as representing at least another one of the earliest attainable forms of the text even though something approximating to the autographs is beyond our aspirations and reach. If such variants were earmarked in such a way then the non-expert would at least have the significant readings drawn to his attention and be spared ploughing through the inevitable mass of trivia in any *apparatus*. In addition to this proposal, [19] a textual commentary could be written to accompany such passages.

A collaboration between IGNTP and Münster ought to be able to proceed and to do so proactively. The pressures on a part-time editor have already been highlighted by Birdsall in the *Classical Review*. His 1974 editor's report, to which we also referred earlier, states that "almost everything, British and American, has been attempted on a part-time, even an amateur basis. It is this that has led to poor workmanship, neglect of crucial areas, and so on". To have the full-time professionals at an established base, which is the Münster Institut, at our elbow strikes me as the only antidote to that situation and one which should enable us to prevent a repetition of our earlier experiences.

I see no reason why the UBS text cannot be printed as our lead text with all variations displayed with their witnesses using the positive and negative approach of *ECM*, as long as it is made crystal clear that the collating base is immaterial, arbitrary and as flawed as any other critical text—and that it is merely an agreed peg on to which the alternative readings are displayed. And, as stated above, some of these variants would be identified by a typographical mark as possible contenders to represent a text as early as, or as reliable as, the text of the collating line. Nor need it be a problem that the UBS text or the NA text have gone through differing editions with a different text printed,

as long as we work consistently with only one chosen edition. Neither do I see a problem in our jettisoning the text we printed in the Luke volume—it does not strike me as the loss of a long held conviction or cherished principle.

In conclusion I must make it clear that my remarks are personal ones: I do not speak here as the secretary of the British IGNTP committee, but it seems as if the overtures made at the San Francisco conference and the reactions to our Luke volumes should encourage those initiatives to develop into full scale cooperation that will be able to avoid the pitfalls that our historical survey has all too painfully revealed. To have been judged that our Luke project has been an abject failure and that the work needs redoing is one thing. To set about publishing a comparable *apparatus* to John along the same lines and applying the same principles, which will as a consequence be doomed to a comparable fate, is feckless and foolish.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

THE MARC MULTILINGUE PROJECT¹

Among the many presentations of the Gospel text of the New Testament, be they synopses of the Greek, facsimile transcripts of a particular manuscript, an edited critical edition or horizontally printed lines of text from particular manuscripts (such as the *Itala* fascicules² or *Das neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*),³ nothing so far published enables the historian of the text to have an objective presentation of all of the earliest materials. The *Marc multilingue* project sets out to serve such a need. [3]

The project is a Francophone enterprise originally led by Prof. Christian-Bernard Amphoux (CNRS, Lunel) until June 2001, by J.-C. Haelewyck (Louvain-la-Neuve) since then and by J.K. Elliott (Leeds) with collaborators in France, Belgium and Switzerland. The project now functions under the banner of the 'Société d'histoire du texte du Nouveau Testament'.

This article attempts to describe the aims and methods of a project-in-progress.

* * * *

The project arises from a recognition that printed editions of the Greek New Testament are unsatisfactory. None actually represents exactly the text of any one manuscript and certainly does not restore the autograph, which is irrevocably lost. All editors of ancient texts strive to reconstruct the supposed original of the text in question, but in the case of the New Testament the history of critical editions has made the [4]

¹ With contributions from Christian-B. Amphoux and Jean-Claude Haelewyck.

² A. Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung* rev. W. Matzkow and K. Aland (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter) John (1963), Mark (²1970), Matthew (²1972), Luke (²1976), cf. *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1951–).

³ B. Aland and A. Juckel (eds.), Vol. I *Die Grossen Katholischen Briefe* (Berlin and New York, 1986) (= ANTF 7); Vol. II *Die Paulinischen Briefe* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, part 1, 1991; part 2, 1995) (= ANTF 14 and 23). The material on the gospels is yet to be published.

practice of textual criticism rather more complicated. That is because the first printed editions, since Erasmus' edition of 1516, were based on a distinctive form of the text that was in general use throughout the middle ages, based largely on medieval manuscripts, whereas editors from Lachmann onwards (that is since 1831) contrived to base the printed edition of the Greek New Testament on the most ancient manuscripts available. Adherents of both camps, that is, supporters of the so-called Majority text (more narrowly known as the Textus Receptus) and of the 'critical' edition, continue to have influence nowadays. And that debate, often conducted in an acrimonious or *parti-pris* manner, has skewed the objective presentation and discussion of the evidence.

Readers of printed editions can therefore be divided into two: (a) those who have access in the TR and more widely the so-called Majority text to a form of the New Testament that was the one used and commented on by the Reformers and whose text can be traced probably to the fourth century; and (b) those who use a critical text, like the UBS *Greek New Testament* or Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, which favours the readings of manuscripts copied around 350 A.D., in other words soon after the conversion of Constantine (313 A.D.) and the recognition of Christianity as a major religion. Neither approach and neither type of printed edition enables the reader to appreciate the diversity of the New Testament textual transmission. And that is why a third way is needed. The *Marc multilingue* project takes into account the *types* of text in existence prior to 200 A.D., types which tended to be eclipsed in copies made in the two following centuries, although the witnesses of these earlier forms, from the 5th.–15th. centuries, are often incomplete and imperfect. *Marc multilingue* does not aim to produce an edited text or texts. Rather, it aims to present the existing documentation in an attempt to enable the history of the changing text to be recognised.

The quantity and variety of manuscript witnesses to the Greek New Testament text as potential bearers of the actual wording employed by the original authors are welcomed by those who seek to establish the foundation documents of the Christian faith. But the aim of restoring one, original text is impossible. The earliest witnesses display a variety of text-types, which some⁴ speak of as a 'free' text. That fact can be dis-

⁴ In particular, K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, ²1989) e.g. pp. 94–5.

concerting for those who would wish to find a unified tradition or to see the same text being read throughout Christendom. The facts point to a variety of text-types in Christianity's formative centuries, a variety that sees divergences in text between Christianity's ancient centres and even within one centre as the years advance, to the extent that the Gospel text read in Alexandria in 200 A.D. differs from that read there in 350 A.D. The same may be said of Caesarea or Antioch. The evolution of the Greek text is a fact that needs to be recognised and reacted to. This project allows that developing tradition to be readily recognised in a distinctive visual presentation. [5]

If each major text-type can be defined with variations from those traditions in allied manuscripts then research into the history of the text can be facilitated. That help is offered by the presentation of the evidence in the *Marc multilingue* project.

For those whose task it is to edit a critical printed edition of the text the multifaceted evidence can be daunting. An editor (or, more probably in view of the mass of material, an editorial committee) not only has to decide which manuscripts to use but then to read, compare and evaluate them, before attempting to establish the supposed original text. Finally the editors have to display in an *apparatus* those alternative, 'secondary', readings deemed important or significant.

These dilemmas are well known.

Printed editions of the Greek New Testament give us a text that does not exist in any one extant manuscript witness, and probably never existed in any one manuscript—even the autograph—of the particular text being established. All printed testaments are recent editorial creations. Most printed editions of the Greek New Testament are clones of either (a) Westcott and Hort, the title to whose edition of 1881 was, significantly, "The New Testament in the *Original* Greek" (implying of course that their edition reproduced the original Greek New Testament, not that it was an edited form of the New Testament in its original tongue), or (b) the TR, such as *The Greek New Testament according to the Majority Text*.⁵ Either the text is close to (a) the (combined) witness of Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲁ 01) and Codex Vaticanus (B 03), or (b) Erasmus' edition of 1516. No critical edition merely

⁵ Z.C. Hodges and A.L. Farstad, *The Greek New Testament according to the Majority Text* (Nashville, Camden, New York: Nelson, ²1985).

reproduces as its New Testament the entire text of any one particular manuscript.

- [6] The Textus Receptus, as its name was meant to suggest, was an edition that was “acceptable (to all readers)”, to quote from the preface to the Elzevir edition of 1633. The Nestle text, as a representative of Westcott and Hort *redivivus*, was at one time promoted as a new TR, and actively advertised as a so-called “standard” text, as close as possible to the supposed original. The recent reprinting of the 27th. edition of the Nestle text in 1993 is less dogmatic: it now presents itself realistically in its introductory matter (pp. 45*f.) as merely a working text, capable of being changed, the reader being invited to make use of its *apparatus* so to do.

The recent fascicules of the *Editio Critica Maior* (= ECM) on James and the Petrine epistles⁶ give us a newly edited text of these three epistles. The text differs somewhat from the Nestle text, edited under the auspices of the same institution (the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster, Germany). The editors of ECM anticipate future changes as they work through the New Testament. And even for the books already published they are aware that further changes may occur, as their understanding of the manuscripts and the inter-relationships of certain witnesses are better plotted and analyzed. We may already see such a development in an addendum to the fascicule on the Petrine epistles which draws our attention (ECM IV, 2 part 1 p. 24*) to one further change to the text of the earlier published fascicule at James 2:4.

In a normal pocket edition of a critical text one encounters the variants deemed important by its editors together with a selection of ‘important’ manuscript evidence in support. What one cannot do, because the manuscript evidence is presented piecemeal and inconsistently, is to reestablish from such *apparatus* the running text of any one manuscript, even if it is a consistently cited witness. Such an enterprise should however be possible, at least in part, for the manuscripts selected for display in the relatively exhaustive *apparatus* in ECM, although not all variations are given even there, and purely orthographical variants are avoided. It should be even easier to do

⁶ *Novum Testamentum Graece: Editio Critica Maior IV Catholic Epistles 1 James* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997); 2 *The Letters of Peter* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2000).

this in Swanson's display of variants *in extenso*.⁷ He enables us to see in his horizontal lines of variants the actual running text of the thirty or so manuscripts for Mark which he prints, and for the other New Testament books published to date.

Electronically stored collations, such as those currently being undertaken by the International Greek New Testament Project in its on-going work assembling a full *apparatus* to the Fourth Gospel, will eventually enable the user to recall the actual text of each manuscript collated, regardless of the collating base originally used by the collator when entering the evidence for each manuscript.

But what one cannot do, even with the clearly displayed (and highly accurate) material in Swanson, is to observe in any meaningful way the principal divergences between the texts.

And there are important and significant variants that belong to the earliest centuries of the New Testament text. Some would rightly say that the most important text-critical variants occurred in the century or so before the canon was fixed (by, say, 200 A.D.) or before a standardized ecclesiastical text established itself. (Whether such a text merely evolved or was formally encouraged by church decree is disputed.) [7]

This is not the place to rehearse the recent history of textual criticism's findings about text-types. The standard introductions⁸ set out the various theories. Over the past century the nomenclature of these types and the proliferation of their sophisticated sub-divisions may vary and be debated, but what is beyond doubt is that the texts of the earliest witnesses differ. The early papyri and Codex Bezae, Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, Codex Sinaiticus etc. display differences—often sharp divergences from one another. For those whose mission it is to find from within this morass of evidence at each point of variation the 'original' text and to jettison the alternatives as scribal

⁷ R. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John* (Pasadena: Carey and Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); *Acts* (Pasadena: Carey and Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); *Galatians* (Pasadena: Carey and Wheaton: Tyndale Press, 2000).

⁸ E.g. Léon Vaganay and C.-B. Amphoux, *Initiation à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Cerf, 1986) ET *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1992); Keith Elliott and Ian Moir, *Manuscripts and the Text of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995).

aberrations, the resultant eclectic text will overshadow all the differences from the printed text they establish.

But for those whose interests are in the evolution of the New Testament text or in the importance of all such changes⁹ then previous methods of publishing the New Testament text are dissatisfying.

The *Marc multilingue* project was set up a few years ago to satisfy the needs of New Testament textual critics (initially of Mark's Gospel) who require and may benefit from a visual presentation of the earliest surviving forms of the New Testament text as we have these in extant manuscripts.

This means that the readings of the earliest witnesses to Mark must be set out in full throughout the Gospel.

As may be seen from a prototype page (Table 1) certain witnesses to the Greek have been selected. These are the so-called Western-type manuscripts D 05 (Codex Bezae), and, in Mark, W 032 (Codex Washingtoniensis); the so-called Caesarean text-type, Θ 038 (Codex Koridethianus), along with the allied minuscules in the family groupings fam¹ and fam¹³ and 28, 565, and 700; two types of the 'Alexandrian' text-type then follow: (i) Ⲙ 01 (Codex Sinaiticus), and B 02 (Codex Vaticanus); (ii) A 02 (Codex Alexandrinus), chosen as a distinctive and different form of the text, sometimes called (Syro)-Byzantine. The texts as printed are not of course exact transcripts of the manuscripts; orthography has been standardized to conform to modern conventions and modern punctuation has been introduced. Lacunae have been filled from the wording in allied texts—a procedure identified by the use of brackets in the text and by the *apparatus*. Careful corrections of transcriptional errors such as examples of haplography or ditto-graphy have been made. However, for each manuscript in the lines of text and in the *apparatus* the evidence has been based on a new collation.

We can readily identify important differences between witnesses merely by looking at, say, the divorce saying of Mark 10:11–12, the endings to the Gospel, the opening verses,¹⁰ Mark 1:8 or Mark 2:14

⁹ Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) and D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁰ J.K. Elliott, "Mark 1.1–3—a Later Addition to the Gospel?" *NTS* 46 (2000) pp. 584–8. Reprinted here chapter 14.

to make an arbitrary selection. Outside Mark one can obviously see comparable differences in, say, the Paternoster in Luke 11 in **8**, B, 700, Marcion, or in the Parable of the Two Boys in Matt 21 in **8**, B, D.¹¹

Conventionally, editors select, reading by reading, one text that is then printed as the original, the alternatives being dismissed as scribal aberrations, harmonisations to a parallel, liturgical glosses or the like. Such explanations for the secondary variant may well be correct, but in relegating all the supposed later forms to the margin, the history of the developing New Testament textual tradition is obscured and sight is lost of the fact that all the readings of each New Testament manuscript would have been accepted by its readers as their canonical text, however 'secondary' modern critics may brand some readings. Without passing judgement on the originality or not of each reading, the presentations in *Marc multilingue* set out the earliest forms in their likeliest chronological sequence. (We return to this shortly.)

'Text forms' is the preferred description. There is no doubt that what we have are differences in the form of wording. The term 'text-types' may imply redaction or editing. However, C.-B. Amphoux, who has his own, often idiosyncratic theories about this history, feels able to speak of B 03 as an 'edited' text¹² rather than as a representative of an evolved tradition. His theories were set out in part in his revision of Vaganay's *Initiation*,¹³ and have been developed in his *La parole qui devient Évangile*,¹⁴ as well as more recently in 'Le texte grec de Marc' in *Mélanges de science religieuse* 56 *Évangile de Marc: Recherches sur les versions du texte* pp. 5–25. Other users of the essentially objective displays in *Marc multilingue* may well reach different conclusions about the historical sequence of the text forms and the reasons for the developments. [9]

The relative sequence as presently set out starts with D followed by W. Both of these have Mark's Gospel in fourth position, and may reflect the earliest form of Mark that we have. Amphoux is convinced

¹¹ J.K. Elliott, "The Parable of the Two Sons: Text and Exegesis" in the Delobel *Festschrift, New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis* ed. A. Denaux (BETL 161. Leuven: Peeters, 2002) pp. 67–78. Reprinted here as chapter 22.

¹² C.-B. Amphoux, "Les premières 'Éditions' des Évangiles" in C.-B. Amphoux and J. Margain (eds.), *Les premières traditions de la Bible* (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 1996) pp. 139–62 (= *Histoire du texte biblique* 2).

¹³ *Op. cit.*

¹⁴ Paris, 1993.

that the text now found in the 4th. century manuscript D is no mere maverick text of the Gospels and Acts but one of its earliest forms. It is thus virtually a sole survivor of a text that had been abandoned as the tradition developed.¹⁵ Some recent work on the Western text of Acts¹⁶ collaborates his arguments. W is often close to D in Mark but is not an exact copy. Whether we may speak with Amphoux of W as a revised form of D or, better, as a developed form of the text remain to be discussed further, but by printing these two forms in full in contiguous sections readers will be able to make their own judgements on these early and differing text forms.

Θ as an example of another distinctive text form possibly of Palestinian or Syrian origin stands next. Its evidence, often supplemented by the evidence of the minuscule groupings, family 1 (fam¹) and family 13 (fam¹³), as shown in the accompanying *apparatus* (see below), stands in the section following. Recent researches by Didier Lafleur on family 13 have resulted in a more accurate presentation of this evidence.

Ⲭ and B stand next; B is a kind of base text or at least (with Ⲭ) a highly influential text. These two could have originated in Alexandria or, if Skeat's latest arguments are accepted,¹⁷ in Caesarea.

The sixth section is given over to A, as an early representative of the Byzantine text form.

This sequence is defensible but need not be the only order that could be produced.

[10] The Table also includes the lay out of the *apparatus* to accompany the text. This includes variants in D W, the few papyri of Mark where extant, especially of course P⁴⁵, Ⲭ B C L Δ 33 579 892 fam¹ (= 1, 118, 131, 209) fam¹³ (mainly 13 69 124 346 543 plus 174 230 788 826 828 983) 28 565 700 1424 (all of which are well known to be allies of man-

¹⁵ See D.C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux (eds.), *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium June 1994* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) (= NTTS 22).

¹⁶ M.-É. Boismard, *Le texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Gabalda, 2000) (= ÉB 40), a revision of M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres* 2 vols. (Paris, 1984) (= Éditions recherche sur les civilisations. Synthèse 17) and W.A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) (= SNTS Monograph Series 71).

¹⁷ T.C. Skeat, "The Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Sinaiticus and Constantine" *JTS* 50 (1999) pp. 583–625. Reprinted as chapter B7 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) (= Supplements to Novum Testamentum 113).

uscripts from a much earlier date). There will be no attempt to exhibit an exhaustive critical *apparatus*, but merely to show significant variants as appropriate on each page between the normal allies of the six representative text-forms.

Patristic citations are not included in the *apparatus*, but readers are to be encouraged to relate patristic quotations and allusions to the wording of a particular text form. It is, however, well known that unambiguous citations from the Gospel of Mark are few and far between. Two tools may help: the SBL series, *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers* attempts to relate patristic citations to known manuscripts and text-types of the New Testament. The series *Biblia Patristica* serves to highlight quotations in certain periods.

So far we have concentrated on the Greek text of Mark—and for most users of Mark it will be the Greek text that is of paramount importance. The early versions of the New Testament text are, however, supremely important. The arguments for this do not need rehearsing in this context. The early versions are paramount in this project, hence the name “Marc *multilingue*”. Rather than combine the evidence found in all these early translations and subsume them in the *apparatus* to the Greek text, each language will have a volume on its own—ten in all, including the Greek. It is recognised that each version has its own distinctive history often quite independent of the Greek original, on which many are directly based.

Table 2 shows sample pages from the projected fascicule on the Latin.

In several ways the situation in respect to the Latin is more favourable than it is in the case of the Greek, especially as far as the *Vetus Latina* is concerned. The manuscript tradition as a whole is of manageable proportions; it consists of only thirteen witnesses¹⁸ and the texts are accessible, thanks to photographs made available by the *Vetus Latina* Institut in Beuron. The Old Latin witnesses may be divided as follows.¹⁹ The African tradition is in two forms. Manuscript *k* (attested in the second half of Mark, but with lacunae) contains an ancient and pure form of the African text and one that antedates Cyprian;

¹⁸ This is set out in *Mélanges de science religieuse* 56 pp. 42–5. The mss. *aur* and *l* should not be retained among the *Vetus Latina* witnesses as their text is Vulgate in Mark, and *f* ought also be set aside.

¹⁹ See Table 2.

[11] manuscript *e* (lacunose in the second half of Mark) also reproduces an African type of text, but one that betrays several levels of revision during which European readings have been introduced. The European tradition itself is best represented by the text in ms. *b*, to which *ff*² and *i* may be allied. It is in these three witnesses that one may find the kernel of the European text, or to be more precise the Italian text of c. 350–380. Manuscript *d* often has unique readings which justifies its text appearing on its own. Amongst other European mss., which will be shown in the *apparatus*, one ought to note on the one hand *c* and on the other *a* (with *n* and *o*) because these mss. stand in varying degrees on the hinge of the two traditions—their text is European but they contain many African readings. Finally, the Vulgate concludes the development of the Latin tradition although one needs to remember that this is merely Jerome’s somewhat hasty revision of one form of the Old Latin. Patristic citations have already been subjected to a preliminary study²⁰—but for practical reasons this evidence will not appear in *Marc multilingue* and awaits the Beuron edition of Mark.

Each version has been allocated to a researcher who is responsible for the separate fascicule to be dedicated to that version. The collaborators recruited so far are Jean-Claude Haelewyck (Latin), Christian Peeters (Gothic), Anne Boud’hors (Coptic), Bernard Outtier (Georgian and with oversight of the Armenian), Samir Arbache and Adel Sidarus (Arabic), Alain Desreumaux (Christian-Palestinian Aramaic), Alain Martin and Albert Frey (Syriac) and José Johannet (Slavic). Work on the Armenian and Ethiopic has still be assigned, but work on the other versions is in progress. The collaborators meet on a regular basis to discuss matters of common concern for *Marc multilingue*. Some of their results may be seen in the volume of *Mélanges de science religieuse* referred to above. A conference on the early history of the New Testament text was held in Lille in July 2000, attended by (among others) several members of the *Marc multilingue* team. Issues relevant to the versions of Mark were presented by collaborators on the project.²¹

²⁰ See J.-C. Haelewyck, “La Vetusta Latina de l’Évangile de Marc: Les rapports entre les témoins manuscrits et les citations patristiques” in C.-B. Amphoux and J. Keith Elliott (eds.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity (Histoire du Texte Biblique 6)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2003) pp. 150–93.

²¹ The proceedings of this conference are being published and they include contributions by several of the collaborators of *Marc multilingue* by Zèbre (Lausanne) under

Where the fascicules on the Greek and the versions may be seen to be related is in the French translation facing each page of the Greek, Latin, Coptic etc. Table 2 shows a French translation that will face a page of the Latin text. (This Table and Table 1 are, of course, merely samples of work in progress and are not to be seen as definitive, final versions.) Where more than one form of the text is printed, a French translation accompanies each form. If it is judged that the Greek substratum is the same then the same French word(s) will be employed. (As this is a collegial enterprise the information is shared and collaborative agreements reached between those responsible for each version.) [12]

This French translation needs to be as literal as possible to reflect the underlying language but all the translations need to be standardized so that readers dependent on the French (it being readily acknowledged that those turning to each version and comparing all these volumes will not have an equal facility in the languages concerned) will not be misled by any slight differences in the translations if these do not in fact reflect differences between the originals. Care will be exercised in this area to ensure coherence.

The first four chapters in Greek and in most of the versions have been drafted and are discussed at regular conferences and consultations. It is to be hoped that the first fascicules can be published before too long.

the title *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Lille Colloquium, July 2000. Le texte du Nouveau Testament au début du christianisme: Actes du colloque de Lille. Juillet 2000* ed. C.-B. Amphoux and J.K. Elliott. See n. 20.

[13]

Table 1

Marc 1, 40–45—La guérison du lépreux (1)

D⁴⁰ Καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρὸς ἐρωτῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων—ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι ⁴¹ καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἤψατο αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ—θέλω, καθαρίσθητι ⁴² καὶ εὐθέως ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη ⁴³ καὶ ἐ<μ> βρι-<μη>σάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. ⁴⁴ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ—ὄρα μηδενὶ εἰπῆς, ἀλλὰ ὕπαγε δειξὼν σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεὶ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου ἅ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. ⁴⁵ ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι φανερώς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ ἔξω ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν.

W ⁴⁰ Καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρὸς παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων—κύριε, ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι ⁴¹ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ λέγων · θέλω, καθαρίσθητι. ⁴² καὶ εὐθέως ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα [--]. ⁴³ [-----] καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ · ὄρα μηδενὶ εἰπῆς, ἀλλὰ ὕπαγε δεῖξον ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεὶ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς ⁴⁵ ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἔξω ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν.

Θ ⁴⁰ Καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρὸς παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν καὶ λέγων αὐτῷ · κύριε ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι ⁴¹ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ · θέλω, καθαρίσθητι. ⁴² καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη. ⁴³ καὶ ἐμβρι-<μη>σάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθέως ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. ⁴⁴ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ · ὄρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰπῆς, ἀλλὰ ὕπαγε σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεὶ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου ἅ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. ⁴⁵ <ὁ> δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔξω ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν.

40 ἐρωτῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων, D | παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων (+αυτῷ 124 230) κύριε, W (124 230) | παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν (-69 174 543 788 826 828 983) καὶ γονυπετῶν (+αυτον 69 174 346 543 788 826 828 | +αυτῷ 983) καὶ λέγων αὐτῷ (+οτι ^{f13}) κύριε (-^{f13}), Θ (69 174 346 543 788 826 828 983) || p. θελῃς, +κυριε, 124 || 41 καὶ ὀργισθεὶς, D | ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς σπλαγχνισθεὶς, WΘ ^{f13} || τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἤψατο αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, D | τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ (+και 346) λέγων (+αυτῷ 69 124 543 788 826 828 983), W (69 124 346 543 788 826 828 983) | τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Θ 174 230 || 42 εὐθέως ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, DW 69 543 788 826 828 983 | εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς (ευθεως 124 174 230 346) ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, Θ (124 174 230 346) || καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη, DΘ ^{f13} | om. W || 43 καὶ ἐμβρισάμενος (sic 69 | ἐνεβρισάμενος D | ἐμβριμψάμενος *cet f13*) αὐτῷ εὐθὺς (- 828 | ευθεως *cet f13*) ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν, (D) Θ (^{f13}) | om. vs. W || 44 μηδενὶ εἰπῆς, DW 69 124 543 788 826 828 983 | μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰπῆς, Θ 174 230 346 || δεῖξον σεαυτὸν, D | δεῖξον ἑαυτὸν, W | σεαυτὸν δεῖξον, Θ ^{f13} | ἱερεὶ, DWΘ 124 174 230 346 788 | ἀρχιερεὶ, 69 543 828 983 || ἅ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς (Μωσῆς 230 788 826 828), D (^{f13}) ἅ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς. WΘ || 45 οἱ δέ, Θ || κηρύσσειν, DW | κηρύσσειν πολλὰ, Θ ^{f13} || μηκέτι δύνασθαι, DW | μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι, Θ ^{f13} || φανερώς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πόλιν, D | φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν. WΘ *cet f13* | εἰς πόλιν φανερώς εἰσελθεῖν, 124 || ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν, DΘ *cet f13* | ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν, W 124 ||

^{f13} = [13 lac. 1.40–45] 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983

Table 1 (*cont.*)

[14]

Marc 1,40–45—La guérison du lépreux (2)

ⲛ ⁴⁰ Καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρὸς παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαι με καθαρίσαι ⁴¹ καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἤψατο καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ—θέλω, καθαρίσθητι. ⁴² καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη. ⁴³ καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. ⁴⁴ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ—ὅρα μηδενὶ εἰπῆς, ἀλλὰ ὑπάγε σαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου ἅ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. ⁴⁵ ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι αὐτὸν εἰς πόλιν φανερώς εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἔξω ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν.

Β ⁴⁰ Καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρὸς παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν λέγων αὐτῷ · κύριε ὅτι ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνῃ με καθαρίσαι ⁴¹ καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἤψατο καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ θέλω, καθαρίσθητι ⁴² καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη ⁴³ καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. ⁴⁴ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ · ὅρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰπῆς, ἀλλὰ ὑπάγε σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου ἅ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. ⁴⁵ ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔξω ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν.

Α ⁴⁰ Καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρὸς παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐὰν θέλῃς δύνασαι με καθαρίσαι ⁴¹ ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ—θέλω, καθαρίσθητι ⁴² καὶ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ εὐθέως ἀπῆλθεν ἡ λέπρα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη ⁴³ καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν εὐθέως. ⁴⁴ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ · ὅρα μηδενὶ εἰπῆς, ἀλλὰ ὑπάγε σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου ἅ προσέταξεν Μωσῆς εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς ⁴⁵ ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔξω ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντοθεν.

ⲡ⁴⁵ *Iac.* v. 40–45 || 40 παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν λέγων αὐτῷ κύριε ὅτι, Β | παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ γονυπετῶν (+αὐτὸν Α) καὶ λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι, Ⲛ(Α) || δύνασαι, ⲚΑ | δύνῃ, Β || 41 καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς, ⲚΒ | ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς σπλαγχνισθεὶς, Α || τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἤψατο καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, ⲚΒ | τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Α || 42 εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, ⲚΒ | εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ εὐθέως ἀπῆλθεν ἡ λέπρα, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, Α || καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη, ⲚΒΑ || 43 καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν, ⲚΒ | καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν εὐθέως, Α || 44 μηδενὶ εἰπῆς, ⲚΑ | μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰπῆς, Β || σαυτὸν δεῖξον, Ⲛ | σεαυτὸν δεῖξον, ΒΑ || ἅ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, ⲚΒ | ἅ προσέταξεν Μωσῆς, Α || 45 κηρύσσειν πολλὰ, Ⲛ ΒΑ || μηκέτι δύνασθαι αὐτόν, Ⲛ | μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι, ΒΑ || εἰς πόλιν φανερώς εἰσελθεῖν, Ⲛ | φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν, ΒΑ || ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν, Ⲛ | ἐπ’ ἐρήμοις τόποις Β | ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις ἦν, Α ||

[15]

Table 2

LA GUÉRISON DU LÉPREUX (1, 40–45)

e ⁴⁰Et venit ad eum leprosus obsecrans eum et genibus volutans dicens illi: Domine, si volueris, potes me mundare. ⁴¹Et misericordia actus extendens manum suam ei tetigit eum et dixit illi: Volo, mundare. ⁴²Et continue abiit ab eo lepra. ⁴³Et eiecit eum ⁴⁴et ait illi: Vide ne cui dicas sed vade et ostende te sacerdoti et offeret pro emundatione tua quae praecepit Moyses in testimonium illis. ⁴⁵Ille autem exiens coepit praedicare et diffamare verbum ita ut iam non posset manifeste in civitatem introire sed foris in desertis locis conveniebant ad eum.

b ⁴⁰Et venit ad illum leprosus deprecans eum et dicens: Si vis, potes mundare me. ⁴¹Et extendens manum ei dixit: Volo, mundare. ⁴²Et discessit ab eo lepra. [om. v. 43] ⁴⁴Et ait illi: Vide nemini dixeris sed demonstia te sacerdoti et offeres pro purgatione tua quae praecepit Moyses in testimonium illis. ⁴⁵Ipsae autem egressus coepit praedicare et diffamare sermonem ita ut iam non posset palam in civitate introire, sed foras in deserta loca veniebant ad illum.

d ⁴⁰Et venit ad eum leprosus deprecans eum et dicens: Si volueris, potes me mundare. ⁴¹Et iratus extendit manum suam et tetigit eum et ait illi: Volo, mundare. ⁴²Et statim decessit ab eo lepra, et mandatus est. ⁴³Et comminatus ei statim dimisit illum ⁴⁴et dicit ei: Vide nemini dixeris sed vade ostende te ipsum sacerdoti et offeres pro emundatione tua quae praecepit Moyses in testimonium illis. ⁴⁵At ille egressus coepit praedicare et diffamare sermonem ita ut iam non posset manifeste introire in civitatem, sed foris in desertis locis esse. Et conveniebant ad eum undique.

Vg ⁴⁰Et venit ad eum leprosus deprecans eum et genu flexo dixit: Si vis, potes me mundare. ⁴¹Iesus autem misertus ei extendit manum suam et tangens eum ait illi: Volo, mundare. ⁴²Et cum dixisset statim discessit ab eo lepra, et mandatus est. ⁴³Et comminatus ei statim eiecit illum ⁴⁴et dicit ei: Vide nemini dixeris sed vade ostende te principi sacerdotum et offer pro emundatione tua quae praecepit Moyses in testimonium illis, ⁴⁵At ille egressus coepit praedicare et diffamare sermonem ita ut iam non posset manifeste in civitatem introire, sed foris in desertis locis esse. Et conveniebant ad eum undique.

TRADUCTION

e ⁴⁰Et vient vers lui un lépreux, l'implorant et s'agenouillant, lui disant: Seigneur, si tu veux, tu peux me purifier. ⁴¹Et poussé par la pitié, étendant sa main et il le toucha et lui dit: Je (le) veux, sois purifié. ⁴²Et aussitôt s'en alla de lui la lèpre. ⁴³Et il le renvoya ⁴⁴et lui dit Veille à ne (le) dire à personne, mais va et montre-toi au prêtre, et il offrira pour ta purification ce qu'a prescrit Moïse en témoignage pour eux. ⁴⁵Lui alors sortant se mit à prêcher et divulger la parole, au point qu'il ne pouvait plus ouvertement en ville entrer, mais dehors, en des lieux déserts, ils se joignaient à lui.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

b ⁴⁰Et vient vers lui un lépreux, l'implorant et disant: si tu veux, tu peux me purifier. ⁴¹Et étendant la main il lui dit: Je (le) veux, sois purifié. ⁴²Et s'en alla de lui la lèpre. [*om. v. 43*] ⁴⁴Et il lui dit: Veille à ne (le) dire à personne, mais montre-toi au prêtre et tu offriras pour ta purification ce qu'a present Moïse en témoignage pour eux. ⁴⁵Lui alors, étant sorti, se mit à prêcher et divulger la parole, au point qu'il ne pouvait plus ouvertement en ville entrer, mais dehors, en des lieux déserts, ils venaient vers lui. [16]

d ⁴⁰Et vient vers lui un lépreux, l'implorant et disant; Si tu veux, tu peux me purifier.⁴¹Et irrité il étendit sa main et le toucha et lui dit: Je (le) veux, sois purifié. ⁴²Et aussitôt s'en alla de lui la lèpre et il fut purifié. ⁴³Et, l'ayant rabroué, aussitôt il le renvoya ⁴⁴et lui dit: Veille à ne (le) dire à personne, mais va, montre-toi toi-même au prêtre et tu offriras pour ta purification ce qu'a preserit Moïse en témoignage pour eux. ⁴⁵Mais lui, étant sorti, se mit à prêcher et divulger la parole, au point qu'il ne pouvait pas ouvertement entrer en ville, mais (seulement) être dehors, en des lieux déserts. Et ils se joignaient à lui de partout.

Vg ⁴⁰Et vient vers lui un lépreux, l'implorant et, s'étant agenouillé, il dit: Si tu veux, tu peux me purifier. ⁴¹Alors Jésus, apitoyé sur lui, étendit sa main et le touchant lui dit: Je (le) veux, sois purifié. ⁴²Et, après qu'il eut parlé, aussitôt s'en alla de lui la lèpre, et il fut purifié. ⁴³Et, l'ayant rabroué, aussitôt il le renvoya ⁴⁴et lui dit Veille à ne (le) dire à personne, mais va, montre-toi au chef des prêtres et offre pour ta purification ce qu'a preserit Moïse en témoignage pour eux. ⁴⁵Mais lui, étant sorti, se mit à prêcher et divulger la parole, au point qu'il ne pouvait plus ouvertement en ville entrer, mais (seulement) être dehors, en des lieux déserts. Et ils se joignaient à lui de partout.

APPARAT CRITIQUE

e⁴⁴ offerer] offert *e*, *correx*i**b** (*b*; *a c ff1 q r1*)

r1 ⁴⁵*a*<*t*...> egressus...et <diffamare> sermonem...iam non p<osset...>
in...introire *hic desinit*

⁴⁰illum] eum *a c ff2 q r1* | deprecans eum et] + adgeniculans se *q* | dicens] + quia *a*; + domine *c ff2* | vis] *om. r1* (ante corr.) | potes] potest *ff2* | mundare me] me mundare *a c ff2 q r1* | ⁴¹et extendens] et iratus extendens *a ff2 r1* (ante corr.); et misertus extendens *r1* (post corr.); misertus autem ihesus et extendens *q*; ihesus autem misertus est eius et extendens *c* | manum] + suam *c*; + suam et tangens illum *a*; + suam et tangens eum *ff2 q r1* | ei dixit] ait *c ff2 q r1*; ait ei *a* | mundare] emundare *a* | ⁴²et] + statim *a*; + confestim *ff2 r1*; + cum diceret mox *q* | ab eo lepra] lepra ab eo *ff2* | lepra] + et mundatus est *a c ff2 q r1* | ⁴³*om.*] et comminatus est (+ ei *ff2 r1*; + ei ihesus *q*) et (*om. ff2*) statim dimisit eum (illum *q*) *a ff2 q r1* | ⁴⁴et] *om.*

Table 2 (*cont.*)

[17]	<p> <i>c</i> ait] dicit ff2 <i>q</i>; dixit <i>a</i> <i>r1</i> illi] ei <i>a</i> ff2 <i>q</i> <i>r1</i> sed] + vade <i>a</i> <i>c</i> ff2 <i>q</i> <i>r1</i> demonstra] ostende ff2 <i>q</i> <i>r1</i> sacerdoti] sacerdotibus ff2 offeres] offers <i>b</i> <i>a</i> ff2 <i>r1</i> purgatione tua] emundatione tua <i>c</i> ff2 <i>q</i> <i>r1</i> (emundationem <i>ante corr.</i>); emundationem tuam ff2 (<i>ante corr.</i>); + minus <i>c</i> quae] quod <i>a</i> <i>c</i> ⁴⁵ipse autem] ille vero ff2; at ille <i>a</i> <i>c</i> [<i>r1</i> ?] diffamare] diffamatum ff2 iam] <i>om. c</i> non] <i>om. b, resiitui</i> posset] posse ff2 (<i>ante corr.</i>); possit <i>q</i> palam] manifeste <i>c</i> ff2 <i>q</i> in civitate introire] in civitatem introire <i>a</i> <i>q</i>; introire in civitate ff2 foras] foris <i>a</i> <i>c</i> ff2 <i>q</i> deserta loca] desertis locis <i>c</i> ff2 <i>q</i>; + erat <i>a</i>; + esse et <i>c</i> ff2 <i>q</i> veniebant] conveniebant <i>a</i> <i>c</i> <i>q</i>; conveniebat ff2 illum] eum undique <i>a</i> <i>c</i> ff2 <i>q</i> </p>
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d⁴⁵posset] possit *d*

POSTSCRIPTUM

1. Re footnote 7: Since this article was published two further volumes by Swanson have been published (by Tyndale Press, Wheaton and by Carey, Pasadena): *1 Corinthians* in 2003 and *2 Corinthians* (2005).
2. The list of co-workers given above has changed slightly.
3. Samples of the work on the project may be seen online <http://www.safran.be/marcmultilingue>

APPENDIX

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

MANUSCRIPTS, THE CODEX AND THE CANON

In any discussion of the canon of both Old and New Testaments [105] patristic evidence is recognized as having crucial importance. Equally significant sources of information—all too frequently neglected—are extant biblical MSS. As far as the New Testament is concerned it was not until the fourth century that relative agreement was reached about precisely which books should be in the canon. Books that fell outside that canon were branded as apocryphal in the sense of ‘spurious’, ‘secondary’, ‘of dubious value’. The books accepted as the canonical scriptures of the church for its *new* testament were in general those that were ancient, of apostolic authority and had received universal Christian acceptance. As for the Old Testament, this canon was never drawn so precisely. This article will investigate the evidence of MSS and versions concerning the contents of both testaments. First we turn to the New Testament.

English versions of the New Testament and modern editions of the Greek New Testament contain the same 27 books usually in the same sequence. The order of the books has become standardized. The four Gospels in the sequence Matthew, Mark, Luke, John followed by Acts form as it were the history of Jesus and the church. These are followed nowadays by the Paulines separated by Hebrews from the Catholic epistles in a fixed order; then comes Revelation at the end. There is little logic, chronological, theological or historical, in the sequences of books within each section. The normal order of Gospels seems to place one of the longer Gospels first; the order of the Paulines seems to be based on the decreasing length of the individual books. But as we shall [106] see below, other sequences have been followed in manuscripts and in printed editions of the Greek.

However authoritative the opinion of the synod or the church leader about what was and what was not canonical,¹ it is likely that

¹ Canonical lists are to found in H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 203–14; B.M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), Appendix IV; G.M.

the codex form in which the Christian scriptures circulated helped to promote the establishment of the definitive, fixed canon of the 27 books we know.

When each book circulated as a separate entity, obviously there was no limit to the number of texts that could be received. When certain, approved, texts were gathered into small collections this had the effect of ostracizing and isolating texts which were not deemed suitable for inclusion. Some early church authorities knew of and cited Gospels that were later branded as apocryphal. According to Eusebius the Gospel of Peter was read by the church at Rhossus. Jewish Christian Gospels like the Gospel according to the Hebrews were quoted by Fathers such as Clement, Origen and Jerome in the same way as they cited works that were later to be in the canon. All these Gospels, canonical and apocryphal (to use these terms anachronistically) presumably circulated originally as separate items. Christianity soon began to distinguish between the various Gospels then in existence. Patristic citation and Christian preference generally agreed that the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John were the authoritative foundation documents for the faith. Eventually it was these which were the four that were gathered into a single codex.

The oldest New Testament manuscripts extant today generally contain (or, appear to have contained) only single books (e.g. second century: P⁵² John; third century: P¹ Matthew; P⁵ John; P⁷ Luke; P⁹ 1 John; P¹² Hebrews; P¹³ Hebrews; P¹⁸ Revelation) but that does not tell us much because these very fragmentary manuscripts may originally have contained more than one text. In fact, some papyri surviving from the third century do contain portions from more than one text (e.g. P²⁰ 1 and 2 Thessalonians; P⁵³ Matthew and Acts; P⁷² 1 and 2 Peter and Jude; P⁹² Ephesians and 2 Thessalonians).

[107] The oldest known manuscript that contains all four Gospels (and Acts) is the third-century Chester Beatty papyrus P⁴⁵. Luke and John survive in P⁷⁵ of the third century, but this manuscript may originally have contained more than two Gospels. The well-known papyrologist and palaeographer T.C. Skeat is of the opinion that the manuscripts numbered P⁶⁴ (fragments of Matthew), P⁶⁷ (fragments of Matthew), and P⁴ (fragments of Luke) originally belonged together and should

Hahneman, *The Muratorian Fragment and the Development of the Canon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), esp. Tables 3.1, 3.3, 4.1.

now be registered under one siglum. He claims² that it can be proved statistically that Luke did not follow Matthew—another Gospel must have intervened. In other words he argues that this manuscript was possibly originally written as a four-Gospel codex and that if the second-century date for P64 and P67 can be maintained, then this would be our earliest known example of such a codex. (P4, usually given a third-century date, may in fact be much older: the fragments were found in the binding of a manuscript of Philo, which itself has been dated as third century. P4 must therefore be older than that; and some time must be allowed for a well-written codex to have deteriorated to such an extent that it was torn up and used as waste. All in all P4 can hardly be any later than 200 C.E.)

Collecting the four chosen Gospels into one codex had the effect of according a special status to those four but, possibly more significant, helped to limit the number of Gospels to these four and no more! The fourfold Gospels could fit into one codex, but not onto one roll, so the adoption of the codex would itself have had the effect of enforcing the fourfold Gospel canon as a fixed entity. The Gospels that were rejected from that fourfold collection were never bound together with any or all of those four. There are no manuscripts that contain say Matthew, Luke and Peter, or John, Mark and Thomas. Only the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John were considered as scriptural and then as canonical. It could be that the reason why the Christians adopted the codex long before anyone else was to safeguard the four Gospels from either addition or subtraction. This is in effect the operation of a 'canon'. Unlike the writing of a roll, when a codex was planned one had to decide what was to go into it, particularly if it was a single-quire codex where the number of leaves has to be fixed in advance.

It is interesting to note that the Gospel of Mark was included right from the beginning, despite the fact that nearly all of its contents are to be found in at least one other of the canonical Gospels. The belief that Peter's authority lay behind Mark may have helped its reputation as an indispensable source (although that tradition may only have originated after Mark was already bound in as one of the authoritative

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² In "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels." Chapter 6 in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 113).

four). Once the quartet of Gospels had been established the figure four was itself seen to be of significance as Irenaeus is at pains to point out. In his *Against Heresies* he refers to the four winds, the four points of the compass and the four covenants between God and humankind as precedents for the inevitability of the fourfold Gospel canon. As is also well known, Irenaeus compares the four Gospels to the living creatures of Ezek. 1.1–21 (called cherubim in Ezek. 10.20) in which the sequence of man (= Matthew), lion (= John), ox (= Luke), eagle (= Mark) is the so-called Western order of the Gospels.³ That Irenaeus was able to argue in favour of the fourfold Gospel canon in c. 170 suggests that such a collection was already well in existence by then, although the establishment of the collection was in need of defence.

Our surviving manuscripts that contain the four canonical Gospels do not have them in only one fixed order. Matthew, Mark, Luke, John was the most common sequence, but other sequences exist. The order known as the Western order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, has just been referred to. This sequence is found in Codex Bezae and several so-called Western manuscripts such as W X and several minuscules, as well as in Old Latin manuscripts and the Peshitta. One reason for such an order may be that in the Western order the Gospels attributed to two leading apostles are given pride of place. Various other sequences occur in manuscripts but it is interesting to see that no sequence has Luke first. The following orders are found in manuscripts, in canonical listings or in versional evidence: 1432, 1423, 1243, 1324, 4123, 4132, 2134, 2314, (where Matthew = 1, Mark = 2, Luke = 3, John = 4).

As well as the fourfold Gospel codex other collections of Christian scriptures were issued. Some manuscripts contain the Catholic Epistles; other manuscripts contain the Pauline corpus. There is an equally arbitrary sequence in those manuscripts too.

As far as the Pauline collection is concerned, the various patristic and other early lists of canonical books show that there was hesitation especially in the West over Hebrews. The letter is absent from the

³ For the identification with the creatures in Ezekiel in preference to those in the book of Revelation see T.C. Skeat, 'Irenaeus and the Four-Gospel Canon', *NovT* 34 (1992), pp. 194–99. Reprinted as chapter in J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) (= *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 113). The importance of the number as well as the order makes sense only when all four are contained in a codex. If the identification were with Revelation various problems with Irenaeus's parallels occur, as Skeat makes clear—not least the resulting order of the gospels, John, Luke, Matthew, Mark, which is unique.

Muratorian canon (of the second or, more probably, the fourth century) [109] and even from the tenth-century Cheltenham canon, although it seems as if there are no Greek manuscripts of the Pauline corpus extant that excluded Hebrews.⁴ The Muratorian Fragment finds it significant that Paul, like the seer, wrote letters to seven churches (Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, Colossae, Galatia, Thessalonica, Rome) and that was the justification for publishing for general reading correspondence that had been addressed to individual churches. The addition of Hebrews to the Pauline corpus was a problem that needed explaining. A justification was found in the total of 14 letters (including 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus and Philemon): it was then possible to see in that total the significant number seven doubled!

The order within the Catholics was also not invariably fixed.⁵ Decreasing length of the letters may have made the sequence James, Peter, John, Jude a popular one (this order is found in Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Vaticanus), although the order John, Peter, James, Jude is also to be found (in Innocent's list of c. 405 C.E.). The motive there may have been to include the *three* letters (those by John) before *two* letters (attributed to Peter) and to leave the single compositions until the end. Other sequences found in canonical lists and/ or manuscripts (where Peter = 1; John = 2; James = 3; Jude = 4) are 1234, 1324 (as in the list found in Codex Claromontanus), 1243, 1342, 3412.⁶

Mostly what was copied was either the four Gospels only (some 2122 manuscripts survive), or the Pauline corpus only (there are about [110]

⁴ The position of Hebrews varies in the Greek manuscripts. (1) In the third-century P46 it follows Romans in number two position, possibly because of its length. (2) In some minuscules Hebrews follows 2 Corinthians. (3) It followed Galatians in an ancestor of Codex Vaticanus (B 03), although the manuscript itself has Hebrews after 2 Thessalonians. The consecutive chapter numbers found throughout the Pauline epistles in B 03 have Galatians end at ch. 58. Next comes Ephesians beginning with ch. 70. Hebrews begins at ch. 59. (4) Hebrews follows 2 Thessalonians in Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, i.e. it comes immediately before the letters to individuals. This is the position printed in Greek New Testaments that favour not only the text but the order of contents in their preferred manuscripts. Such a sequence may be found in the editions of Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort and von Soden. (5) Hebrews follows Philemon in Claromontanus, the Latin Vulgate and most modern translations.

⁵ The Muratorian canon list refers to Jude and two of the letters by John.

⁶ H.-J. Frede, 'Die Ordnung der Paulusbriefe und der Platz des Kolosserbriefs im *Corpus Paulinum*', in H.-J. Frede (ed.), *Epistula ad Colossenses* (Vetus Latina, 24/2 fascicule 4; Freiburg: Herder, 1969) pp. 290–303 gives 17 differing sequences for the Pauline letters in the Latin tradition. Hebrews is absent from several manuscripts.

292 surviving manuscripts), or Revelation only (139); or Acts plus the Catholic epistles (86).⁷

Up to the third century no surviving codex is known to have had more than 300 pages. After that the codex grew: B, Codex Vaticanus (fourth century), had 1600 pages; Sinaiticus (fourth century) 1460 pages; Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century) 1640 pages. (All these figures are *minima* because all three are defective at the end.) This meant that more than one section of the New Testament could be included within one set of covers.

The following contents of extant manuscripts are found⁸:

79	manuscripts	contain	the	New	Testament	minus	the	Gospels,	i.e.	a/
	cpr									
10	"	"	"					er		
12	"	"	"					ea/c		
2	"	"	"					ea/cr		
6	"	"	"					pr		
5	"	"	"					a/cr		
5	"	"	"					ep		
273	"	"	"					a/cp		
(e = Gospels, a/c = Acts and/or Catholic Epistles, p = Paulines, r = Revelation)										

Only about 60 of our 3000 or so surviving continuous-text Greek New Testament manuscripts were written as complete New Testaments, that is with all 27 books included. Some 150 contain the whole New Testament minus Revelation (which was looked upon with some suspicion by the church in the East for some time, before being eventually admitted into its canon). Even today the Eastern Orthodox churches do not include readings from Revelation in the lectionary.

In total 2361 manuscripts including fragmentary manuscripts contain the Gospels, 662 including fragments contain Acts and the Catholics, 792 contain Paul and 303 Revelation.

Where we have manuscripts containing more than one section of the New Testament the precise order of the sections was no more fixed than the sequences within each section. Thus we find manuscripts with the order ape, acp (as in manuscripts Alexandrinus, Vaticanus

⁷ All these figures are approximate and are taken from K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill) with the MSS available to them in the preparation of the 2nd English edition in 1989.

⁸ These figures now need some re-adjustment.

and Ephraimi Rescriptus and the Majority Text), *pac* (as in Codex Sinaiticus⁹ and some minuscules), *pca*. What is not clear is whether this was because of a perceived ranking of the sections' theological significance. [111]

The sequence Acts with the Catholic Epistles following directly is found in the printed Greek testaments edited by Tregelles, von Soden and Tischendorf. Three of the writers of the Catholics were the so-called pillars of the church, Peter, James and John. Perhaps it was felt that their works should follow on naturally from Acts.

It is tempting to surmise that those great codices, Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, which are our earliest examples to contain the Old Testament and the New Testament, were designed specifically to demonstrate and encapsulate the established Christian canon of scriptures. It was by the dates these manuscripts were written that a general consensus had been established in churches East and West about the canon. Roberts and Skeat¹⁰ remind us that the adoption by Christians of the codex did not in itself create the fourfold Gospel canon. That observation applies to the other sections of the New Testament as well. The New Testament canon was decided by Church authorities on theological and historical grounds, but canon and codex go hand in hand in the sense that the adoption of a fixed canon could be more easily controlled and promulgated when the codex was the normal means of gathering together originally separated compositions. (On the other hand, we also need to remind ourselves that the Jews had a canon but not the codex.)

It is also interesting to see that Codex Sinaiticus contains more than the New Testament as we know it. After the New Testament come the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas. Alexandrinus contains 1 and 2 Clement after the New Testament. We must assume that the authorities behind Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus considered these works canonical and wished to promote them as such. Certainly the user of these codices would have accepted all the texts in their Bible codex as having equal status.

There is evidence that these 'extra' writings were influential. The canon of the Coptic church includes 1 and 2 Clement (and the

⁹ The order *epacr* of Codex Sinaiticus is also found in the sixth-century Latin manuscript Codex Fuldensis and also in the Complutensian Polyglot.

¹⁰ C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: British Academy and Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 65.

[112] Apostolic Constitutions) after Revelation. Jerome hesitated about the status of the Epistle of Barnabas ('almost a New Testament book' *De Vir. Ill.* 6). He also knew that the Shepherd of Hermas was read in some churches (*De Vir. Ill.* 10). The Shepherd of Hermas is included in the ninth-century Latin Codex Sangermanensis. 1 and 2 Clement are included within the Paulines in one Harclean Syriac MS. This varied testimony shows how these texts were on the fringes of the New Testament canon for many centuries. However, the canonical list in the sixth-century Codex Claromontanus marks the Epistle of Barnabas and The Shepherd of Hermas together with the Acts of Paul and the Apocalypse of Peter as works of doubtful canonicity. The influence of these 'extra' books seems thereafter to have been curtailed.

In the Latin field the Epistle to the Laodiceans, normally considered as a worthy contender for inclusion in New Testament apocryphal collections, is found within the New Testament proper in Codex Fuldensis, Codex Ardmachanus and some 100 other Vulgate mss. On their authority Laodiceans is found in the appendix of modern printed editions of the Vulgate. (All 18 German printed Bibles prior to Luther's translation include it too.)

In the Armenian version printed by Zohrab 3 Corinthians (now considered as part of the apocryphal Acts of Paul) occurs as an appendix to its New Testament. The broader canon of the Ethiopic church has 35 books in its New Testament but the extras are books of church order. In any case no Ethiopic manuscripts contain more than one part of the New Testament so the tradition of a complete codex of the 27 normative New Testament books does not apply here. Of more significance is the Syriac. For a time the Syriac included 3 Corinthians. Of particular importance is the canon of the fifth-century Peshitta which omits four short epistles (2 and 3 John, Philemon, 2 Peter) and Revelation. All 27 New Testament books ultimately appeared in the Philoxenian version, yet the official lectionary of both East and West Syrian churches uses only the 22 books found in the Peshitta.

One sideline to be mentioned here is that the *text* of the New Testament that was found in the manuscripts was not of importance to those who pronounced on the canon. Jerome, Origen and others recognized certain books as approved, canonical scripture, but they did not try to specify a particular or precise form of the text to be found in the manuscripts even though these Fathers were alert to textual variation in manuscripts. As we know, the surviving manuscripts exhibit a marked difference between themselves—and this is especially

true of the earliest manuscripts (precisely in the centuries before the canon was fixed). So what was fixed as canonical was 'Mark' without further qualification. The question was not raised whether Mark is to include 16.9–20 or not. 'John' was approved without a word being said [113] about the inclusion or exclusion of the passage about the adulteress (Jn 7.53–8.11). In effect, the manuscript an individual church possessed was canonical; a neighbouring church may have had radically different forms of the same books and these would be its canonical scriptures.

We have seen that from the fourth century onwards the New Testament canon was, with a few exceptions in Syriac or Ethiopic, generally agreed. That meant that one could expect that a complete New Testament would contain the same 27 books, and a Pauline manuscript would contain the same 14 books, or a manuscript of the Catholic Epistles would contain the same 7 letters. Since the invention of printing an edition of the New Testament always contains the same 27 books.¹¹ Obviously the same text is not always to be found: the Textus Receptus and Westcott and Hort's Greek testament do not agree throughout. In English the text in the AV (KJV) on one side and modern editions like RV, RSV, NIV, GNB on the other side differ in their textual base and textual decisions. But the titles of the works included in the New Testament are the same on the contents pages of all these editions.

But when we turn to the Old Testament the situation is far more fluid. There is far less uniformity. Titles on the contents pages vary depending on which printed edition one consults and in which language. Not only is there a Hebrew Old Testament, which differs from a Greek Old Testament, which differs from a Latin Old Testament, but even our modern versions are often not in agreement about what constitutes the Old Testament canon proper (by which is normally meant the Hebrew scriptures of the Palestinian Jews), and what are apocryphal or deuterocanonical works.

¹¹ Luther's printed New Testament included Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation after 3 John—an order without manuscript precedent. He separated them by a line on his contents page from the rest of the New Testament to show his disapproval of these books in the canon! Unlike the other books in his New Testament these four are unnumbered.

[114] The Apocrypha in the AV (KJV) used always to be printed as a separate section between the Old Testament and the New Testament. (It was only in the nineteenth century that Protestant Bibles began to print the Hebrew scriptures [the Old Testament] alone without following them with the Apocrypha.) In this section are to be found 1 and 2 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, the extra portions of Esther,¹² the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Ben Sira (or Sirach or Ecclesiasticus), Baruch including the Epistle of Jeremiah, the extra portions of Daniel, the Prayer of Manasseh, 1 and 2 Maccabees.¹³ (1 and 2 Esdras are not found in Luther's Bible. The Prayer of Manasseh is not allocated a number in Luther's apocrypha).¹⁴

These so-called apocryphal books were not originally separated in the codices. In Greek and/or Latin manuscripts they are dispersed throughout the whole testament in order (presumably) to allow them to accord to some extent with other books that are in close proximity. The practice of gathering them into a separate unit, the form in which English readers are used to seeing them, dates from about 1520.

As for recent English editions, GNB transfers 1 and 2 Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh from its 'Apocrypha' to a separate section with the sub-heading 'Some Additional Books'. NRSV divides its apocryphal/deuterocanonical books into four sections:

¹² Some modern editions now give a translation of the whole of the Greek version of Esther in the apocrypha so that the additions can be read in context.

¹³ Other modern English versions also print these texts in the same order (e.g. RSV, NEB). For Tobit AV translated the text of Vaticanus, the RV of 1894 followed Alexandrinus, the RSV used both these MSS from Rahlfs' edition of the LXX. NEB and NRSV based their translations on the text in Codex Sinaiticus.

¹⁴ Luther's Bible of 1545 includes the following apocryphal texts in the following order:

- I Judith
- II Wisdom
- III Tobit
- IV Ben Sira
- V Baruch (and Epistle of Jeremiah)
- VI 1 and 2 Maccabees
- VII additions to Esther
- VIII additions to Daniel
- The Prayer of Manasseh

The Confessio Belgica of 1561 was another influence on Protestant thinking about the apocryphal books on the continent. In its Article 6 it lists the following as apocryphal: 3 and 4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ben Sira, Baruch and Epistle of Jeremiah, additions to Esther, additions to Daniel, Manasseh, 1 and 2 Maccabees. The Zürich Bible of 1907–31, however, contains only 1 and 2 Maccabees, Judith, Tobit, Ben Sira and Wisdom.

- a. those recognized as deuterocanonical by the Roman Catholic, [115]
Greek and Russian Orthodox churches (i.e. Tobit, Judith, additions to Esther, Wisdom of Solomon, Ben Sira, Baruch, Epistle of Jeremiah, additions to Daniel, 1 and 2 Maccabees);
- b. those recognized by the Greek and Russian Orthodox churches but not by the Roman Catholic church (i.e. 1 Esdras, the Prayer of Manasseh, Psalm 151, 3 Maccabees), although the Latin Vulgate includes the Prayer of Manasseh and 1 Esdras (numbered there as 3 Esdras)¹⁵ in an appendix where it is treated as 'Apocryphal' as opposed to 'Deuterocanonical';
- c. 2 Esdras, recognized as canonical in the Slavonic church (where it is numbered 3 Esdras). The Latin Vulgate includes 2 Esdras in its appendix (where it is numbered 4 Esdras);
- d. 4 Maccabees, which appears as an appendix to the Greek Bible.

The effect of these decisions in modern printed editions is well summarized by Torrey. Writing of the books printed as a separate 'Old Testament Apocrypha' he says, 'Just as in the early centuries the *codex* had guaranteed to these particular books (the apocrypha) enduring recognition by the church, so now the *printed Bible* assured to them for all the future an inferior place in the public estimation' and 'No reader of the Catholic Bible would henceforth see divine authority [116] in the two Esdras books and the Prayer of Manasseh; nor would

¹⁵ There is much confusion over the various books called Esdras or Ezra. We are dealing with four books, Ezra and Nehemiah in the Hebrew canon, the Greek Ezra, which retells part of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, and the so-called Ezra Apocalypse. The Hebrew canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah are called 1 and 2 Esdras in the Vulgate and are combined in the LXX under the name 2 Esdras. The Greek Ezra is 1 Esdras in the LXX. It is 3 Esdras in the Latin Vulgate, which took over one of the two available Old Latin versions, and which prints it as an appendix after the New Testament. (It had been in the Latin Bibles of 1474 and 1480 but was rejected by Trent.) In the Great Bible and in the Anglican Articles of Religion VI it is also called 3 Esdras, although the Bishops', and Geneva Bibles and KJV (AV) have it as 1 Esdras. The Ezra Apocalypse does not occur in Greek mss, except for one fragment containing only a few verses, or in the LXX. In the Latin Vulgate it is 4 Esdras, although the first two chapters and the final two chapters, seen as separate entities originally and not a part of 4 Esdras, are named respectively 5 and 6 Esdras (Ezra). In KJV (AV) 4 Ezra is called 2 Esdras. To make confusion worse some Latin manuscripts call Ezra-Nehemiah 1 Esdras; the Ezra Apocalypse chs. 1-2 = 2 Esdras; the Greek Ezra = 3 Esdras as in the Latin Vulgate; Ezra Apocalypse chs. 3-14 = 4 Esdras; Ezra Apocalypse chs. 15-16 = 5 Esdras. The Russian Orthodox tradition names Hebrew canonical Ezra 1 Esdras; its 2 Esdras is the Greek Ezra and 3 Esdras is the Ezra Apocalypse.

Protestants, except by occasional inadvertence, quote their apocrypha as holy scripture'.¹⁶

Let us look at the reasons why certain Old Testament books were separated from others in modern versions. First we turn to the Hebrew. In many ways modern readers of the English Old Testament are familiar with the contents of the Hebrew scriptures in the Palestinian canon—the Law, the Prophets and the Writings.

The English sequence, however, divides the books of the Hebrew Old Testament into four: the Law, the historical books, the Wisdom literature, the Prophets. To be precise: Pentateuch (books 1–5 in the Hebrew scriptures); Joshua (book 6), Judges (book 7), Ruth (31), 1 and 2 Samuel (8–9), 1 and 2 Kings (10–11), 1 and 2 Chronicles (38–39), Ezra (36), Nehemiah (37), Esther (34), Job (29), Psalms (27), Proverbs (28), Ecclesiastes (33), Song of Songs (30), Isaiah (12), Jeremiah (13), Lamentations (32), Ezekiel (14), Daniel (35), the 12 Minor Prophets in the order Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachai (15–26). The order of the Minor Prophets is the same in the English versions as the Hebrew; a different order is found in the LXX (see below). The Major Prophets seem to be ordered by length, as we suspected was the case for some arrangements of the Pauline Letters in the New Testament. Elsewhere the Hebrew differs.

There is a great difference in the sequence. Hebrew and English agree up to Judges, then the standard printed Hebrew Bible has the Former Prophets, minus Ruth. The numbers in brackets above show the Hebrew order. (1–5 = the Law; 6–11 = the Former Prophets; 12–26 = the Latter Prophets; 27–39 = the Writings.) Note that 1 and 2 Chronicles and Daniel appear in the third section, 'Writings'. In the English versions all the prophets including Daniel and Lamentations come at the end.

The order in Hebrew manuscripts has itself not always been constant.¹⁷ After 2 Kings there are several differing arrangements. The Leningrad manuscript of the eleventh century has Chronicles at the beginning, not the end, of the Writings. It has Psalms, Job, Proverbs,

¹⁶ C.C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 35.

¹⁷ For fuller details see Swete, *Introduction*, p. 200.

Ruth*, Song of Songs*, Ecclesiastes*, Lamentations*, Esther*, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah. The books asterisked in the list are known as the Megilloth. They are sometimes grouped in the order in which these books were read at Jewish festivals. Thus one finds within the Writings the sequence Song of Songs (Passover), Ruth (Weeks), Lamentations (Anniversary of the Chaldean destruction of Jerusalem), Ecclesiastes (Tabernacles), Esther (Purim). [117]

It is not clear quite when the Hebrew canon was closed. Possibly it was the Christians' use of the LXX with its wider Old Testament canon that persuaded Jews to specify their own canon, restricted to certain books known in Palestine. Josephus in 100 C.E. suggested that the Hebrew canon was closed, but precisely what books were contained in that canon is not specified. The Council of Jamnia (c. 90) is often referred to as the time when the Jews settled the matter of the canon, but one ought not equate the meeting at Jamnia with Christian councils convened to establish a canon. Although the Law and the Prophets were fixed by the second century C.E., the third section, the Writings, remained undefined for a longer time. The New Testament refers to books outside what became the Hebrew canon: Jas 1:19 alludes to Ben Sira 5:11; Heb. 11:35 knows 2 Maccabees 6–7; Mt. 27:43 cites Wis. 2:13, 18; Jude 14–15 cites Enoch. The New Testament regularly refers to the Jewish scriptures conventionally only as the Law and the Prophets (e.g. see Mt. 5:17; Lk. 16:29; Jn 1:45; Acts 28:23). In Lk. 24:27, 44 the common phrase 'Law and Prophets' occurs but, with the exception of the Psalter, the Writings are left undescribed.

The Dead Sea Scrolls seem to have had a canon wider than that conventionally known as the Hebrew canon. At Qumran not only have manuscripts been found of all the books of the Hebrew canon, except Esther and Nehemiah, but other scrolls containing Ben Sira, Tobit, Epistle of Jeremiah, Jubilees and Enoch have been discovered.

Just as the Writings may have remained a relatively fluid section of the Hebrew canon for several centuries, the whole of the Old Testament in Greek remained unsettled. In many ways the issue still remains unfixed: the Greek Orthodox church has never satisfactorily settled the status of the deuterocanonical/apocryphal texts. We can see this instability as early as the Eastern Fathers' lists. Gregory of Nazianzus's list of 374–79 C.E., for example, in effect follows the Hebrew canon. But the lists produced by Epiphanius are more extensive. The second Trullan Synod of 692 recognized six differing canon lists.

[118] The list in the Stichometry of Nicephorus¹⁸ includes the following as ‘not recognized’: three books of the Maccabees, Wisdom, Ben Sira, Psalms and Odes of Solomon, Esther, Judith, Susanna, Tobit. The ‘Catalogue of the Sixty Books’¹⁹ has the following outside the 60 (34 Old Testament; 26 New Testament): Wisdom, Ben Sira, 1–4 Maccabees, Judith, Esther, Tobit. More recently the Eastern churches at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672 used the LXX but rejected all the books not in the Hebrew canon except Tobit, Judith, Ben Sira, Wisdom. In 1950 the Holy Synod of the Greek Church authorized an edition of the Old Testament which contains the entire apocrypha, but with 4 Maccabees in an appendix. (The 1913 Russian Bible has the same contents but adds the Ezra Apocalypse, 3 Esdras.)

By adopting the LXX—the product of Alexandrian Jews—the church did not inherit a fixed canon of Scripture. The LXX is not a tripartite Old Testament like the Hebrew is. That might suggest that when the LXX was being translated such an arrangement in the Hebrew was not fixed. There is little in common in the relative order or indeed in the contents, if one compares the Hebrew and various Greek editions, which may also show that the Hebrew scriptures were not settled when the Greek translations were being undertaken.

The books that occur in the Greek but not in the Hebrew were not regarded as different in the LXX; they were not separated from each other. In the LXX, for instance, Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle of Jeremiah follow Jeremiah. A longer form of Daniel is associated with the three Major Prophets (who follow the 12 Minor Prophets). Wisdom, Ben Sira, Judith, Tobit all come before the prophets, as in the Latin Vulgate. (They follow in the LXX Codex Alexandrinus.)

The 12 Minor Prophets occur in a different order in the LXX and Hebrew. In the latter Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah are second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, but in the Greek they come in the order fourth, second, fifth, sixth, third. The Latin and English follow the Hebrew.

But the differences between the LXX and Hebrew are not just a matter of contents and sequence but of text as well. Greek Esther and Hebrew Esther are significantly different even where they run in par-

¹⁸ A ninth-century catalogue found in Nicephorus’s *Chronology*. See C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 132.

¹⁹ A seventh-century Greek list. See T. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Leipzig, 1888–92), II. 1, pp. 290–92.

allel. Job is one sixth shorter in the LXX compared with the Hebrew. [119] There are significant differences also in Joshua, 1 Samuel, 1 Kings, Proverbs and Jeremiah. There are also differences between the Hebrew texts from Qumran and other Hebrew texts. Also note that NRSV adds a paragraph at the end of 1 Samuel 10 found in one of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Unlike in the New Testament where the earliest complete manuscripts agree in including the same 27 books, these same manuscripts (Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus) differ considerably in what was and what was not included in their Old Testament.

Vaticanus	Sinaiticus	Alexandrinus
Genesis	(Genesis)	Genesis
Exodus		Exodus
Leviticus	(Leviticus)	Leviticus
Numbers	(Numbers)	Numbers
Deuteronomy	(Deuteronomy)	Deuteronomy
Joshua	(Joshua)	Joshua
Judges	(Judges)	Judges
Ruth		Ruth
1-4 Kingdoms		1-4 Kingdoms
1-2 Chronicles	(1 Chronicles)	1-2 Chronicles
1-2 Esdras	2 Esdras	Hosea
Psalms + Ps. 151	Esther	Amos
Proverbs	Tobit	Micah
Ecclesiastes	Judith	Joel
Song of Solomon	1, 4 Maccabees	Obadiah
Job	Isaiah	Jonah
Wisdom	Jeremiah	Nahum
Sirach	Lamentations	Habakkuk
Esther	Joel	Zephaniah
Judith	Obadiah	Haggai
Tobit	Jonah	Zechariah
Hosea	Nahum	Malachi
Amos	Habakkuk	Isaiah
Micah	Zephaniah	Jeremiah
Joel	Haggai	Baruch
Obadiah	Zechariah	Lamentations
Jonah	Malachi	Epistle of Jeremiah
Nahum	Psalms	Ezekiel
Habakkuk	Proverbs	Daniel
Zephaniah	Ecclesiastes	Esther
Haggai	Song of Solomon	Tobit

Table (*cont.*)

Vaticanus	Sinaiticus	Alexandrinus
Zechariah	Wisdom	Judith
Malachi	Sirach	1–2 Esdras
Isaiah	Job	1–4 Maccabees
Jeremiah		Psalms
Baruch		Ps. 151
Lamentations		Job
Epistle of Jeremiah		Proverbs
Ezekiel		Ecclesiastes
Daniel		Song of Solomon
		Wisdom
		Sirach

In the Table above²⁰ one may see the following:

1. Alexandrinus has Psalm 151 and 14 liturgical Odes (which include the Nunc Dimittis and the Magnificat from the New Testament, several Old Testament hymns as well as the Prayer of Manasseh and the poetic additions to Daniel 3 from the non-Hebrew canon). The Odes are not in Sinaiticus or Vaticanus but they regularly appear in Greek manuscripts from the fifth century onwards. All the Wisdom literature is placed at the end. 1–4 Maccabees appear after 1 Esdras. Eighteen Psalms of Solomon are listed in the contents to appear after the New Testament but they are now no longer extant. These Psalms remained only on the fringes of the Greek Bible.²¹
2. Codex Vaticanus is virtually complete. It never contained Manasseh or 1–4 Maccabees.²² 1 and 2 Esdras occur after Chronicles. Psalm 151 is included.

²⁰ Adapted from Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 201–202.

²¹ Swete's edition includes in an appendix these Psalms from Codex Gamma, the Odes from Codex Alexandrinus and Enoch from ms P. Such texts are now normally found in the so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, e.g. J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983–85). Enoch is found in H.F.D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). This latter title is confusing, because what the book contains are texts conventionally known as pseudepigrapha.

²² B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 48, thinks the omission of Maccabees was 'an oversight'.

3. In Codex Sinaiticus 2 and 3 Maccabees are not present. 1 Esdras is not extant, but the existence of 2 Esdras presumes 1 Esdras would have been included.

Among other Greek manuscripts Codex Ephraimi Rescriptus now contains only Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job, Wisdom, Ben Sira. Most early witnesses, especially those on papyrus, contain only parts of individual books. [121]

The differences between the texts and contents in these complete Christian Bibles has affected modern printed editions of the Greek Old Testament. Most editors follow the text, order and contents of their favourite manuscripts. In the Old Testament not only have the separate codices defined the canon but they have influenced printed editions of the Greek Old Testament! There is less text-critical eclecticism in the classic printed editions although the Gottingen edition of the LXX is attempting in its ongoing series of volumes to print an eclectic text of the LXX. The Complutensian Polyglot used Vaticanus manuscripts (not Vaticanus), the Sixtine edition of 1587 followed Vaticanus, the Oxford edition of 1707–20 used Alexandrinus. Swete (1887–94) followed the order, contents and text of Vaticanus, adding from Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus and others only when necessary (although their variants are given throughout in his apparatus). In Daniel, for example, Swete printed the text of ms 87 (Codex Chisianus, one of the few surviving manuscripts of Daniel witnessing to the LXX text) in parallel with Alexandrinus and accepted the position of Susanna following Daniel with ms 87, although he placed it in a section by itself. (Theodotion's text has Susanna, in a longer form, at the beginning of Daniel, which is the position found in Old Latin mss). The Latin Vulgate placed Susanna and the story of Bel and the Dragon as Daniel 13–14. For Tobit Swete (as usual) followed Vaticanus but also printed (in smaller type) the text of Sinaiticus. For 1–4 Maccabees he relied on Alexandrinus.

Swete's edition differs from Rahlfs's edition of 1935. Its editor did not slavishly follow Vaticanus in text or sequence—nor any other single codex for that matter. The order of the books in Rahlfs's edition is distinctive and follows neither Sinaiticus, Vaticanus nor Alexandrinus. Rahlfs even adds the Psalms of Solomon (after Wisdom and Ben Sira) as if these were part of the canon of the Greek New Testament. Rahlfs prints two parallel versions of Daniel: one is the LXX version,

the other is that by Theodotion. For Tobit he printed Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus combined with Vaticanus.

Bratsiotis's edition is similar to Rahlfs's but has only 1–3 Maccabees: 4 Maccabees is in an appendix. Rahlfs's order of Tobit, Judith and Esther is reversed in Bratsiotis. Job precedes Proverbs. Neither the Psalms of Solomon nor the Odes are included.

- [122] The contents of the Latin Vulgate were determined at the Council of Trent in 1546. Eventually the Clementine edition became the official Vulgate in 1592. It contains the following: the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–4 Kingdoms, 1–2 Chronicles, 1 Esdras (Ezra), 2 Esdras (Nehemiah), Tobit*, Judith*, Esther (and additions*), Job, 150 Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Ben Sira, Isaiah, Jeremiah (plus Lamentations, Baruch* with the Epistle of Jeremiah attached), Ezekiel, Daniel (and additions*), the Minor Prophets (in the Hebrew order), 1–2 Maccabees*, with the following in an appendix: Prayer of Manasseh, 3–4 Esdras, Psalm 151. The texts in this appendix are 'apocryphal', the texts asterisked in my list are designated 'deuterocanonical' in the Roman Catholic tradition. Jerome had translated only the Hebrew texts of the Palestinian canon. He removed the additional portions of Esther and relegated them to the end of the book with the result that the story of Esther in his sequence is unintelligible. The additional texts from the Alexandrian Jewish canon were added from the Old Latin. The Vulgate then supplanted the LXX as the Bible for Western Christians. This means that, for readers of the Vulgate, 3–4 Maccabees were removed from their Bibles, and the books in the appendix were accorded a lower status than the rest of the Old Testament.²³

²³ As far as other canonical lists are concerned we note that there are differences between the Coptic, Ethiopic, East Syrian and Armenian. The biblical canon of the Coptic Orthodox Church includes the following writings: the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Job, 151 or 150 Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, the Minor and Major Prophets, Wisdom, Judith, Tobit, Esther, three books of Maccabees and Sirach. The most extensive biblical canon is that of the Ethiopic Orthodox Church, which itself distinguishes between a wider and a narrower canon. The wider canon has only theoretical significance since it has never formed the basis of a printed Bible. By contrast the 1927 diglot Geez-Amharic edition and the 1953 Amharic edition are both based on the narrower canon, which includes the following: the Pentateuch, Enoch, Ezra, Nehemiah, 3–4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther (including the additions), 1–3 Maccabees, Job, 151 Psalms, Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Sirach, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch and Epistle of Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel (plus additions), Minor Prophets. In addition is the Prayer of Manasseh after 2 Chron. 33:12.

POSTSCRIPTUM

Further see: Harold P. Scanlin, "The Old Testament Canon in the Orthodox Churches" in Bradley Nassif (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Theology: Essays in memory of John Meyendorff* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996) pp. 300–12.

It is not strictly true that it was only in the 19th. C. that Protestant Bibles omitted the Old Testament apocryphal books. An edition of the 1640 Geneva Bible omitted the OT apocrypha with the exception of the Prayer of Manasseh, and a four page note after Malachi explains the omission of apocryphal books, based on the Decree of Dort. Other editions of the AV were published without the apocrypha before the 19th. C.

Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah must have come immediately after Lamentations in Codex Sinaiticus, according to Milne and Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors*.

Thus the Ethiopic Bible contains the entire LXX including 3 Ezra, 3 Maccabees and Psalm 151, and also the Prayer of Manasseh and 4 Ezra, found in the appendix to the Vulgate. It also includes Jubilees. On the Syriac side it is worth emphasizing that the complete Bible text, or even complete Old Testament and New Testament text, is a rarity, partly because of the great cost and labour of producing such a thing, and partly because convenience led to a preference for single books, small groups of books or lectionaries containing only extracts. The Syriac canon has been influenced, as far as contents but not order are concerned, by outside ecclesiological concerns; the manuscript collections of the Old Testament Peshitta (and New Testament Peshitta) by the Greek canon; the generally available printed collections of the Old Testament (and New Testament) Peshitta by Protestant canons, as a consequence of the editions produced by the American missionaries at Urmia and the London British and Foreign Bible Society. The Mosul edition shows the influence of the work of the Dominicans and the background of the Latin Vulgate. The (East) Syriac canon is: the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, Proverbs, Sirach, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Song of Songs, Job, Isaiah, Minor Prophets, Jeremiah (including Lamentations and the Prayer of Jeremiah), Ezekiel, Daniel (plus additions but not Susanna), Psalms, 1–3 Maccabees, Chronicles, Ezra, Wisdom, Judith, Esther, Susanna, Letter of Jeremiah, Syriac Baruch, Baruch. The Armenian canon is: the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–4 Kingdoms, 1–2 Chronicles, 1, 3, 4 Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther (plus additions), Judith, Tobit, 1–3 Maccabees, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom, Sirach, Job, Isaiah, Minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch with the Letter of Jeremiah, Lamentations, Daniel (with additions), Ezekiel (3 Maccabees and 3–4 Ezra are called 'extra-canonical'). Some details in this footnote are drawn from H.P. Ruger, 'The Extent of the Old Testament Canon', *Bible Translator* 40 (1989), pp. 301–308.

PUBLICATIONS BY J.K. ELLIOTT

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Appendix

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2) Biblical References

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