The Encyclopedia of New Testament Textual Criticism

by Robert B. Waltz

Inspired by Rich Elliott

Last Preliminary Edition

To
Dr. Sally Amundson
and
Dr. Carol Elizabeth Anway
and Lily

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Preface

The Encyclopedia of New Testament Textual Criticism began about fifteen years ago as a web site. The original idea, proposed by Rich Elliott of Simon Greenleaf University, was for a printed book — but books require publishers, and editors, and contributors. It didn't happen at the time. Instead, I took the idea and produced the web site.

So why, after all this time, go from web site to book? The answer is "e-books." Web sites are of course easy and quick to update — but they can't be saved as a nice neat package and loaded onto a smartphone or tablet. And they are never really *finished.* In 2012, I decided it was time to go for the book. This will allow me to get the whole project in somewhat better order — although it also means that I have to drop some illustrations where my sources are a bit dodgy.

As of this time, you can find the "full" Encyclopedia at http://waltzmn.brainout.net/. Thanks to the "brainout" site for hosting it. The Encyclopedia there differs somewhat from this; I have naturally been making corrections and changes as I imported the articles. So this is the "last word" as of this writing (although it probably contains some formatting glitches I did not notice). I hope you find it useful.

Unfortunately, the conversion proved to be much harder than I thought. Half a year of work (admittedly in odd moments) and the result was only about half done, and I was struggling with both health and employment. And the result, as of May 2013, was already 700 pages long, and is now more than twice that! I certainly did not realize the magnitude of what I had done.

And many of my hopes appear impossible. The file is too large to index, and is getting hard to edit in any way. There probably isn't much more I can do until and unless the editing software is upgraded. So I have decided to release this preliminary, incomplete edition. It's better than nothing, and if I don't finish the book, you at least have this. It's now close to done; other than the missing artwork and some demonstration PDFs, this is all I created. Sadly, because I had to work in haste, much of the material is as it was ten or fifteen years ago; I have not had the chance to do many updates to take into account changes in the field. There are also some inconsistencies — some articles have footnotes, some don't, and the documentation is spotty. Also, the original handled Greek in a way that is now very dated, and I may have missed some of the conversions. Treat this as what it is: A not-quite-finished book based on textual criticism around the year 2000, not the year 2013.

Robert B. Waltz
June 16, 2013

An Introduction to
New Testament Textual Criticism

Adam scriveyn, if ever it thee bifalle
Boece or Troylus for to wryten newe,
Under thy long lokkes thou most have the scalle,
But after my makyng thow wryte more trewe;
So ofte adaye I mot thy werk renewe,
It to correcte and eke to rubbe and scrape,
And al is thorough thy negligence and rape.
— Chaucer

Why Textual Criticism?

Chances are that you've played the game "Telephone" some time in your life. "Telephone" is the game in which a group of people gather around in a circle. One person thinks up a message, and whispers it to the next person, who whispers it to the next person, and so on around the circle, until you reach the end and the final person repeats the message aloud. The first person then states the original message.

The two sentences often cannot be recognized as related.

Even if you haven't played "Telephone," you must have read a book or a magazine which was filled with typographical errors. And that's in a case where the typesetter has the author's original manuscript before him, and professional proofreaders were engaged to correct errors.

Now imagine what happens when a document is copied, by hand, tens of thousands of times, long after the original manuscript has been destroyed. Imagine it being copied by barely literate scribes standing (not sitting, *standing*) at cold desks in bad light for hours on end, trying to read some other scribe's barely legible handwriting.

Imagine trying to do that when the words are written in all upper-case letters, with no spaces between words, and you're writing on poor-quality paper with a scratchy reed pen using ink you made yourself.

Because that's what happened with all ancient books, and with the New Testament in particular. Not all scribes were as bad as the secretary Chaucer poked such fun at in the quote above, but none were perfect — and few had the New Testament authors looking over their shoulders to make corrections.

After a few centuries of that, it's easy to imagine that the text of the New Testament would no longer bear any relationship to the original. Human beings just aren't equipped to be exact copyists. And the more human beings involved in the process, the worse the situation becomes.

Fortunately, the situation is not as grim as the above picture would suggest. Despite all those incompetent scribes making all those incompetent copies, the text of the New Testament is in relatively good shape. The fact that copies were being made constantly, by intent scribes under the supervision of careful proofreaders, meant that the text stayed fairly fixed. It is estimated that seven-eighths of the New Testament text is certain — all the major manuscripts agree, and scholars are satisfied that their agreement is correct. Most of the rest is tolerably certain — we probably know the original reading, and even if we aren't sure, the variation does not significantly affect the sense of the passage. For a work so old, and existing in so many copies, this fact is at once amazing and comforting.

Still, there *are* variations in the manuscripts of the New Testament, and some of them are important. It is rare for such variants to affect a fundamental Christian doctrine, but they certainly can affect the course of our theological arguments. And in any case, we would like the most accurate text of the New Testament possible.

That is the purpose of textual criticism: Working with the materials available, to reconstruct the original text of an ancient document with as much accuracy as possible. It's not always an easy job, and scholars do sometimes disagree. But we will try to outline some of the methods of New Testament textual criticism in this article, so that you too can understand the differences between Bibles, and all those odd little footnotes that read something like "Other ancient authorities read...."[1]

Types of Manuscripts

If the task of reconstructing the text of the New Testament may be compared to a detective story, then our "witnesses" are the ancient manuscripts. Manuscripts fall into three basic categories: Greek manuscripts, ancient translations (generally called "versions"), and quotations in ancient authors.

1. The description above is my definition of textual criticism: Determining, as best we can, the original text of the document. In recent years, with this post-modern tendency to think that methods matter more than results, there has been a certain tendency to argue that the phases in the history of the document are the point of textual criticism. I'll say flat-out that, as far as I'm concerned, this is pure bunk. Such historical criticism is useful and interesting — but it's not textual criticism, which should always have its eyes fixed firmly and solely on the original text. Only that and nothing more.

The analogy to witnesses in court is apt. Some of our witnesses are fragmentary; they preserve only small parts of the story (though often important parts). Others are fairly complete, but are not very reliable. Each witness has its own peculiarities, which must be taken into account as we decide between readings. As one scholar put it, to be a successful textual critic, you must "know the personality of your witnesses."

Of the three classes of witnesses mentioned — Greek manuscripts, versions, and quotations — the most important are the manuscripts, since they preserve the wording in the original language and in the original order.[1] The oldest Greek manuscripts date from the second century; from that time on, the number of manuscripts grows ever greater until the thirteenth century, then comes to a fairly abrupt halt at the end of the fifteenth century (when first the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and then the printing of the first Greek Testament in 1516 reduced the need for manuscript copies). Unlike modern books, which are relatively standardized, manuscripts take various forms, and the form of the manuscript (arrangement of columns and lines, style of script used, etc.) can sometimes influence the sorts of readings we find in it.

The books of the New Testament were almost certainly originally written on scrolls. We see evidence of this in the texts of Matthew and Luke, both of which drastically compressed the material in Mark in order to make their books fit on the largest possible scroll. These scrolls were probably of papyrus, which was the cheapest and most important writing material in the ancient world.

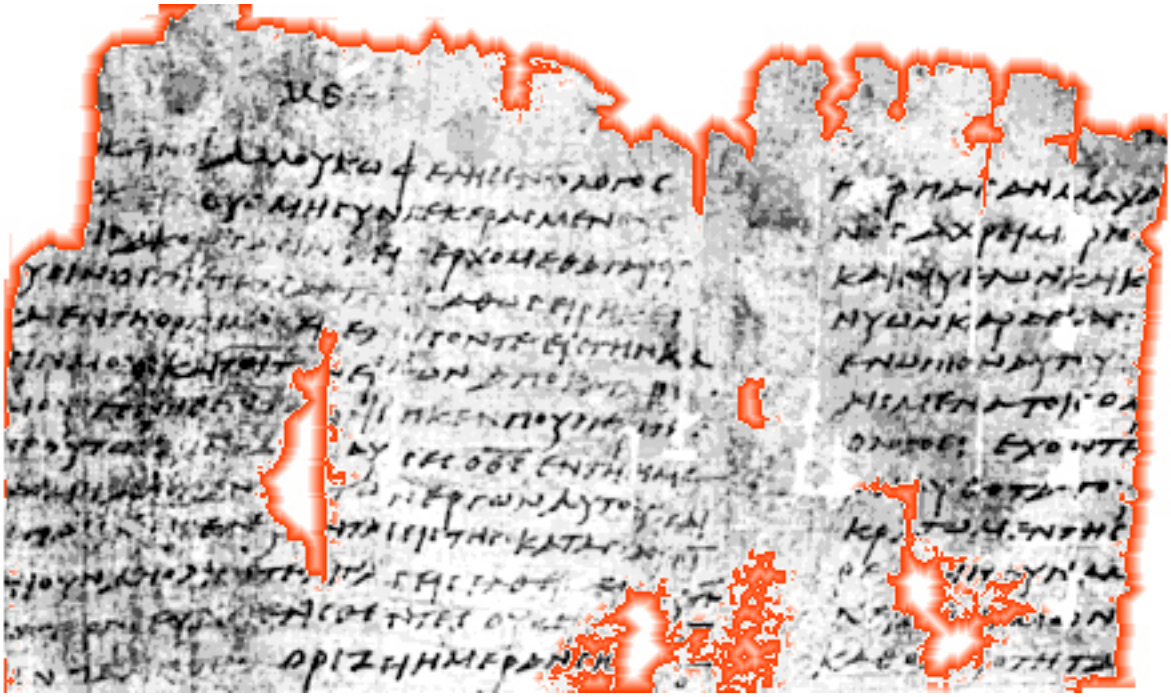
But the urge to collect the writings that eventually made up the New Testament must have been very strong. It is generally believed that collections of Paul's writings were in existence by 100 C.E. if not earlier. This posed a problem: A collection containing the writings of Paul, or the four gospels, was far too long for a single scroll. A complete New Testament would have been even more impossible.

The solution was the form of book known as the Codex. This is, in fact, what moderns think of as a "book." Instead of sheets being placed side to side to produce a immensely long single "page," they were folded over each other, permitting books of any length — and, not insignificantly, saving expensive writing material (since codices could be written on both sides). The Christian church seems to have adopted codices with great enthusiasm; over 99% of known New Testament manuscripts are in codex form, and the few minor exceptions were already-written scrolls that Christians salvaged and reused.

The earliest manuscripts rarely if ever contained complete New Testaments (for one thing, the canon of the New Testament was not finally settled until about the fourth century). Most manuscripts contained only one section — Gospels, Paul, Acts and

1. Exception: the lectionary manuscripts, of course, do not preserve the order. Nor, in general, do they preserve all the text; they include only select readings.

Catholic Epistles, Revelation. In addition, early manuscripts are often incomplete — pages have been lost, or parts of pages have become decayed or torn or simply illegible.



A papyrus manuscript: one section of $P^{13,}$ containing part of Hebrews. Note the uncial (all-uppercase) letters and the lack of spaces between words, as well as the damage to the 1700–year-old material. Photo retouched, with damaged areas outlined in red.

Part of the problem is the writing material. Our earliest surviving manuscripts are written on papyrus, which grows brittle with age and can be ruined by damp. Only in Egypt has the dry climate allowed a few papyrus manuscripts to endure, and even these are often damaged. (A few papyri buried, e.g., in the eruption of Mount Vesuvius are only a minor exception; these were not Christian writings. These papyri were in fact numerous, but badly damaged, very difficult to read — very many were destroyed in the attempt to open them — and not very valuable) With the exception of the papyrus known as P^{72} (which contains the books of 1 and 2 Peter and Jude in their entirety, along with non-scriptural writings), not one papyrus contains the complete text of any Biblical book.

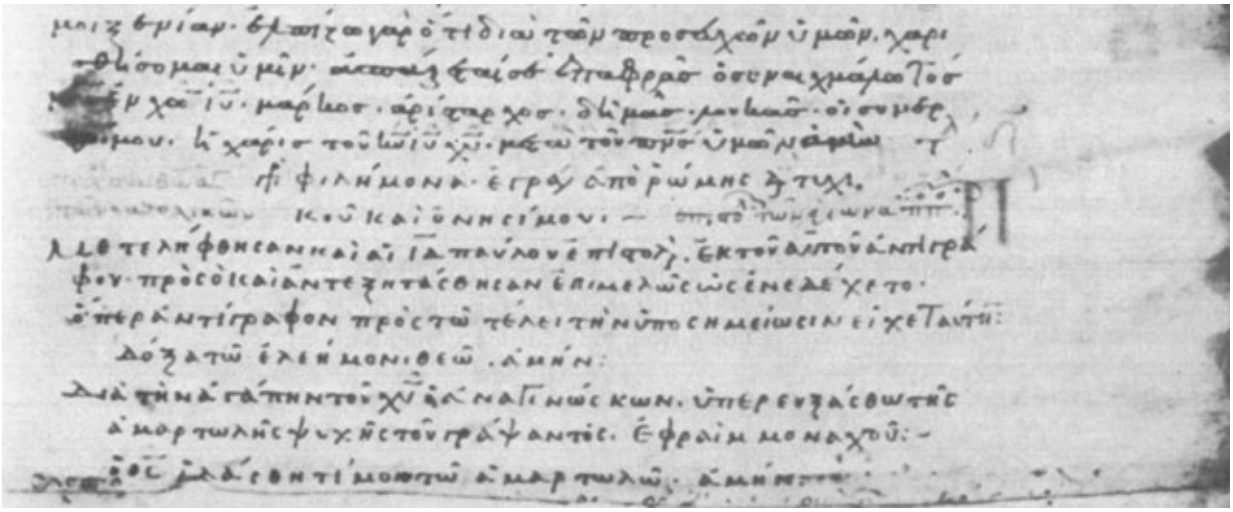
Papyrus was not the only writing material used in the ancient world, however. Parchment — the carefully prepared skins of animals — was also available. It was, in fact, a better material, at once stronger, smoother (which made attractive writing easier), and more durable. But it was also generally much more expensive; animals grow up slowly and need a lot of food. Papyrus is a plant, which grows quickly in Egypt. (There

are some reports of papyrus being grown in Italy, but these are uncertain. It is likely that some papyrus sheets were finished in Rome, but this was probably based on imported materials. David Diringer, in *The Book Before Printing,* notes that the Latin papyri at Herculaneum were more brittle than those written in Greek, and speculates that this is due to the use of remanufactured papyri. Another possibility is that Italian papyrus, if it actually existed, was inferior.)

The early church was poor, and needed many books. Parchment was probably generally beyond its means. It was not until the church became legal in the reign of Constantine that parchment came to be widely used for church writings. Parchment and papyrus continued to be used side by side for many centuries. The heyday of papyrus manuscripts was the third and fourth centuries, but we have papyri from as late as the eighth century (by which time the Islamic conquest had largely suppressed Greek-speaking Christianity in Egypt). Parchment manuscripts first appear in the third century, and become common in the fourth; they remained dominant until the early part of the second millennium, when paper began to be used.

Both the papyri and the early parchments were written in a style of writing known as "uncial" (also sometimes called "majuscule"). This is, more or less, what we would call "upper-case letters." The letters were large, and the various letterforms were not connected. For the most part, the letters fall between two lines. In the earliest manuscripts, there were no accents, no breathings, no punctuation, and no spaces between words. (This doubtless led to certain errors, as scribes misread undivided words and sentences. So, for example, in uncial script it would be easy to confuse ΑΛΛΑ and ΑΜΑ.)

As the centuries passed, uncials grew more elaborate, with the letters sprouting serifs and other slow-to-write forms (the reader is invited to examine the chart of uncial letterforms). Manuscripts grew easier to read as scribes gradually started to add breathings, punctuation, etc., but these were slow to write and took up a great deal of writing material. What was needed was a cursive hand — but it was not until the ninth century that an appropriate script was developed (there were earlier Greek cursive hands, but they were not used for Biblical manuscripts, probably because they were not considered elegant enough). With the development of this script began the "age of the minuscule" — "minuscule" being the name given to both this cursive style and the manuscripts written in the style. The first minuscules were written in the ninth century, and by the end of the tenth century they had essentially driven the uncials out of use (uncials continued to be used in lectionaries for a few more years, but from the thirteenth century on we have no examples of the type except in a few marginal notes).



One of the best-known minuscule manuscripts: 1739, of the tenth century, with the run of the text in minuscule script and a colophon at the bottom in an uncial hand.

(It is interesting to note that other languages followed a similar history. Early Latin manuscripts are written in Latin uncials, but as time passed, minuscules came into use. Unlike Greek minuscules, however, where the unity of the Byzantine Empire meant that the same general style was adopted throughout, different centers seem to have developed different minuscule styles; we see great variety in eighth and ninth century Latin manuscripts, until the Carolingian Minuscule became dominant. Though the later history of Greek types does diverge; modern Greek print and handwriting bear almost no similarity to late Greek minuscules. I've seen it claimed that modern print — which gave rise to modern Roman-letter handwriting — is a form of Carolingian minuscule. This isn't exactly true — most moderns would have real trouble reading Carolingian minuscule — but they are related and fairly similar.)

All told, there are somewhat more than 3000 continuous-text Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. Between 85% and 90% of these are in minuscule script; the remaining 10–15% (uncials and papyri) are in uncial script.

It will be evident that some system is needed to keep track of all these assorted manuscripts. The present system, although somewhat imperfect, was adopted after centuries of trial and error and, frankly, confusion. In it, continuous-text manuscripts are divided into three classes: Papyri, Uncials, and Minuscules.

Papyri are written on (guess what) papyrus, in uncial script. As noted, the earliest papyri date from the second century, and the last date from the eighth. Papyri are designated by the letter P (often in a blackletter script) and a superscript letter. Thus P^{13}, P^{45}, P^{46}, P^{47}, P^{66}, P^{72}, P^{74}, and P^{75} are among the most important papyri. As new papyri continue to be discovered, new numbers are added to the series (thus the lower the number, the

earlier a papyrus was probably found). As of this writing, the number of known papyri is about one hundred. (Note that some papyri have more than one number, as different portions came to light at different times. So the actual number of manuscripts in a class will generally be slightly less than the nominal number.)

The second class of Greek manuscripts are the uncials. In a way, it is unfortunate that uncials are distinguished from papyri, since they are written in the same script and there is no great difference in age — the oldest uncials date from the third century; they continued to be written until the tenth/eleventh century. The difference lies only in the writing material: Uncials are written on parchment, papyri on papyrus. (It is true that most papyri are older than most uncials — the bulk of surviving papyri are from the third and fourth centuries, while uncials do not become common until the fourth century and the bulk of the surviving copies date from the sixth through ninth centuries. But it is important to remember that some of the best uncials are as old as or older than many of the papyri.)

Uncials were originally designated by letters, i.e. A, B, C, D. As the number of known uncials increased (the nominal number now stands at slightly over three hundred, but — as with the papyri — the same manuscript sometimes has multiple designations, meaning that the actual number is on the order of 270), it became necessary to use Greek letters, then Hebrew letters. Eventually scholars gave up and took to using a numbering scheme, with each uncial's number preceded by a zero. Thus the manuscript A is now also called 02, B is 03, etc. However, most of the best-known manuscripts are still known by the letter designation they once had.

Beyond these are the minuscules, recognized by the script in which they are written (since they can be on either parchment or paper). The earliest minuscules date from the ninth century (overlapping the last uncials), and continued to be written up to, and even after, the appearance of the first printed New Testament in 1516. For the most part, minuscules are marked not only by their script but by the presence of accents, breathings, word spacing, paragraphs, punctuation — all the things whose absence made the early uncials so hard to read. Minuscules are given simple numbers, from 1 on up to the current total of about 2850.

There is a fourth class of Greek manuscripts, the lectionaries, which of course contain the lessons read in the Greek church in the order they are read. Lectionaries are quite numerous (about 2300 are now known), but most of them are late and fairly standardized. They may be written on parchment or paper, in uncial or minuscule script. Lectionaries are designated by a script letter followed by a number (e.g. ℓ^{547} is the relatively well-known "Ferrar Lectionary," so-called because its text resembles that found in the group of manuscripts called Family 13 or the "Ferrar Group"). To this point,

the lectionaries have not been very carefully studied, and they are rarely used in textual criticism. Since this article is intended to be short, we will say no more about them.

A list of some of the more important New Testament manuscripts is found below, and there are detailed articles elsewhere in the Encyclopedia.

In addition to the Greek manuscripts, we have the testimony of the "Versions" — the ancient translations of the Greek New Testament. These are highly valuable in some ways — they are usually early (the oldest Latin, Syriac, and Coptic versions date from the second to fourth centuries, and the Armenian probably to the fifth), and we know what part of the world they come from. But they also have drawbacks: No translation, even if precise and literal (and not all these translations are) can exactly render the wording of the Greek original. Also, the versions have a textual history of their own, which means we have to reconstruct their readings. Finally, it is worth remembering that, although a version may exist in thousands of copies, it is usually translated from no more than a handful of Greek originals. Thus the versions are very important for determining the history of a variant reading, but sometimes less useful for determining the original text.

The final class of witnesses normally mentioned is the testimony of quotations in the Church Fathers. This is an amazingly rich resource — many, many authors quoted the New Testament over the centuries. And we usually know with fair precision both the date of the quotation and the place where the author wrote. Unfortunately, the authors often cited loosely, adding, paraphrasing, or omitting as they saw fit; they did not cite in order, they rarely cited long passages; and in any case, their works, just like the manuscripts themselves, have been subject to copying and corruption over the years. Hence the Fathers, like the versions, are best used to establish the history of the text.

A fourth class of witnesses, not normally mentioned in New Testament criticism because they have so small a role, are Imitations.

Printed Versions of the New Testament

The first complete New Testament to be published was the edition of Desiderius Erasmus, now known as the *Textus Receptus* ("The text received [by all]" — a phrase derived from an advertising blurb in a later edition!). This was published, with great haste and on the basis of only a handful of late manuscripts, in 1516 (the printer wanted to beat a rival edition onto the market, and so hurried Erasmus and then pushed the edition through the press without proper oversight). Yet it formed the basis for all Greek editions for over three centuries; Luther's German translation and the English King James Version (as well as most of the English editions preceding the KJV) were translated from editions of the *Textus Receptus*.

The *Textus Receptus* had a text that was fairly typical of the manuscripts of its time, and for the first century or so of its existence no one worried much about its text. But in the early seventeenth century the Codex Alexandrinus arrived in England from the Middle East. This produced a sensation, since it was a very old (fifth century) manuscript which often disagreed violently with the *Textus Receptus*. Suddenly scholars began to realize that there were different forms of the New Testament text.

It was not until 1831, however, that Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) published the first Greek testament not based on the *Textus Receptus*. Lachmann's edition differed from the *Textus Receptus* at thousands of points, some of them significant. His text came under immediate and intense attack. Yet almost every Greek edition since Lachmann's time has been closer to his text than the *Textus Receptus*. The reason was that textual criticism was beginning to come into its own, and the *Textus Receptus* no longer appeared adequate.

The Practice of Textual Criticism

But why was the *Textus Receptus* inadequate? Although it was based on late manuscripts, and Lachmann's text on early manuscripts, both are based on actual readings. They simply adopted different readings at points of variations. So why is Lachmann right and Erasmus wrong? How do we decide which reading is original?

Scholars have given many names to their answers, and they apply them in different ways. But fundamentally they use two tools: "Internal Evidence" and "External Evidence."

Internal evidence (sometimes called "Transcriptional Probability" or the like) is based on logic: "Which reading best explains the others?" It asks questions like, "Is there an easy way for this reading to have been converted into that one?"

External evidence is based on the manuscripts. It looks for the reading based on the "best," earliest, or most manuscripts.

Let's show what we mean by looking not at the Bible but at a famous passage from Shakespeare — *Hamlet*, I.ii.129 (approximately; in my Yale Shakespeare, it's I.ii.133). This is one of the key soliloquies. You've probably heard the first line as

O that this too too solid flesh would melt

It so happens that there are three early witnesses to this passage, and *none of them* read it in the above form. The first quarto, the earliest published form of the passage, gives it as

Oh that this too much grieu'd and sallied flesh
Would melt to nothing…

The second quarto, the next form to appear, reads

O that this too too sallied flesh would melt

The First Folio of 1623, the only source to contain (almost) all of Shakespeare's plays, reads

O that this too too sollid flesh would melt

It is believed that the "sallied" of the second quarto is to be understood as "sullied." The folio reading is a divergent spelling of the common reading "solid."

So which is it? Solid flesh? Sullied flesh? Grieved and sallied flesh (which might in this case mean something like "battered")?

The first quarto reading can be ignored; it comes from a "bad quarto," imperfectly remembered by one of the actors of the play. But the second quarto and the first folio are both fairly good texts. And both readings make good sense. If it is "solid flesh," it is natural to ask that it would melt. But "sullied flesh" has its own aptness, as Hamlet would have inherited it from his mother, who in her weakness has turned to Claudius. In choosing between them, a critic must decide which one best explains the other.

There is no definitive answer to this one. The Yale Shakespeare, which strikes me as rather casually edited, reads "solid." The revised Pelican has "sullied." The Riverside Shakespeare, in both the first and second editions, dodges the issue and prints "sallied." I personally think "sullied" the slightly better reading; it's in the second quarto, now considered the best witness, and the first quarto reading seems to presuppose it; even the folio reading uses a similar spelling. But we can't be certain; there is no guaranteed way to choose between the texts. This is the general problem of textual criticism, of which New Testament TC is a (somewhat exceptional, and certainly very important) example.

Rather than dwell on non-Biblical examples, let's take a handful of Biblical examples. By seeing how an actual *apparatus criticus* (table of information about variations) is constructed, we can probably make things a lot clearer.

For our first example, take part of 1 John 2:23. The King James version renders its Greek text "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father." After this, however, they add, in italics (meaning that it is not a correct part of their text) "[but] he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also." Almost all modern version accept this longer reading as original — that is, as part of the correct and original text.

In the Greek, this variation involves only eight words. The table below shows the various words used here, along with the manuscripts supporting them (it is customary in such apparati to leave out accents and breathings. We list witnesses in the order papyri, uncials, minuscules, versions, church fathers). The name "א" in the third item refers to an important uncial manuscript known by that symbol. If a manuscript's symbol appears in parenthesis, it means that it generally supports a particular reading but with some minor variation. If a manuscript's symbol is followed by an asterisk (e.g. 1739*), it means that this was the reading written by the original scribe of the manuscript, which some later owner altered. The "corrected" reading (we put "corrected" in quotes because such corrections often replace a good early reading with a bad late one) is noted with a superscript c (e.g. 1739^{c}) or sometimes, in older manuals, with two asterisks (e.g. 1739**). If a manuscript is marked vid, it means that the manuscript is incomplete or damaged, but the surviving portion seems to support the reading in question. Obviously we cite only a handful of the three-thousand-plus known manuscripts (many of which have not even been collated yet, so we couldn't cite them even if we wanted to). A very brief description of most of the manuscripts cited here, including age, contents, and how various scholars have classified them, is found in the Description of Manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles.

ο ομολογων τον υιον και τον πατερα εχει — "the one who confesses the son has the father also" — א A B C P Ψ 5 33 206 223 323 614 623 630 1243 1505 1611 1739 1799 2138 2412 2495 vg pesh hark sa bo^{mss} arm

omit phrase — K L 049 6 38 42 69 88 97 177 181 201 216 226 319 330 356 398 424 436 440 462 479 483 489 547 582 635 642 704 876 917 920 927 999 1175 1240 1241 1248 1311 1315 1319 1424 1518? 1522 1597 1610 1738 1827 1829 1835 1845 1854 1872 1873 1874 1876 1888 1889 1891 1898 2143 2423 z bo^{ms} Hilary(?)

These are by no means all the manuscripts supporting either reading, but they give the general impression. Much the larger share of manuscripts support the short reading, though they are mostly minuscules, while the early uncials without exception have the longer reading (K, L, and 049 are uncials, but of late date — ninth century or so).

The crucial matter, though, is the form of the reading. Note that both long and short readings end with the same set of letters: τον πατερα εχει. It would be very easy for a scribe's eyes to skip from the first occurrence to the second. This is the error known as *Homoioteleuton* ("same ending"), and it is incredibly common. Almost all manuscripts display at least a few instances of it. We don't as often see it affecting whole classes of manuscripts, but that is clearly the case here. The longer reading, despite being absent from the majority of manuscripts, is surely original.

A different sort of problem is illustrated by Matthew 19:20. Jesus is talking to the rich young man, and has just told him to keep the commandments. Does the young man say "I have kept all these" or "I have kept all these *from my youth"?* The evidence is as follows (f^{1} and f^{13} are small groups of closely related manuscripts; you can look up the manuscripts in the Description of Manuscripts of the Gospels):

εκ νεοτητος μου — "from my youth" — ($א^{c}$) C (D omits μου/"my") E F G H O W Γ Δ Σ f^{13} 28 33 157 565 892 1006 1010 1071 1241 1243 1342 1424 1505 1506 a b c (d) e f ff^{2} h n q sy sa bo arm eth geo slav

omit — א* B L Θ f^{1} 22 579 700* aur ff^{1} g^{1} l Cyprian

It is clear that the bulk of the manuscripts include the longer reading "from my youth." On the other hand, the text without "from my youth" is supported by the two oldest manuscripts (א* and B), and by several other manuscripts with what we shall learn are good or interesting texts. Most scholars would conclude, simply on the basis of the manuscripts, that the shorter reading is better.

But we have more evidence. This reading, of course, has parallels in Mark (10:20) and Luke (18:21). Both of the other gospels have the words "from my youth." Now suppose you're a scribe. You've heard the phrase "I have kept all these from my youth" a few zillion times in your life. Unless this is your first copy of the gospels, you've *written* it a few times in your life. If you encounter a copy without the words, wouldn't you be tempted to add them? Certainly, if they were present already, you would have no tendency to delete them.

This process is known as "assimilation of parallels." Scribes have a tendency to make texts read alike. If a text sounds familiar, the scribe tended to conform it exactly to the familiar form. (You may have done it yourself. Try reading this phrase: *"To be, or not be, that is the question… "* Did you notice the omission of the word "to" after "not"?)

So in all likelihood the original reading here is the one which omits "from my youth."

You may have noticed that in both cases here we went against the reading supported by the majority of manuscripts. Does this mean that we are undemocratic?

In a word, yes. One of the great rules of textual criticism is that "manuscripts are to be weighed and not counted." Some manuscripts are good, some are less good. (Though all are at least occasionally questionable; as Michael Holmes puts it, "none are perfect, not even one; all have flaws, and fall short of the glory of the autograph" — Michael Holmes in "A Case for Reasoned Eclecticism," not yet published at the time of this writing.) So how do we decide?

This is a matter that scholars have been working on for centuries. When they began, the number of manuscripts known was much smaller than today, and old manuscripts were especially rare. Still, at about the turn of the nineteenth century a scholar named Griesbach (following the lead of Semler) discovered that the manuscripts known to him seemed to fall into three distinct groups. The largest of these groups, by far, he called the "Byzantine," because most of the manuscripts it included were written in the late Byzantine period. The two smaller groups he labelled "Alexandrian" (because it agreed with the readings of such Alexandrian fathers as Origen and Cyril) and "Western" (because it was associated with the Latin versions used in the western Roman Empire). Thus arose the concept of "Text-Types" — groups of manuscripts related at a stage more recent than the original.

This concept was refined in the second half of the nineteenth century by Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828–1892), who did most of his work in collaboration with Brooke Foss Westcott (1825–1901). Westcott and Hort adopted Griesbach's Western and Byzantine types as given (although they called the Byzantine text "Syrian"); the Alexandrian text they split into two groups which they called "Neutral" and "Alexandrian." (This latter distinction has been rejected by most scholars, who believe that the Neutral and Alexandrian text-types are just earlier and later forms of the same sort of text; they generally call it by the name "Alexandrian.")

But Hort didn't just affirm the identity of these types. The discovery that made Hort famous was that the Byzantine text was (in his view) late. Hort based this argument on a number of points (I have amplified some of these):

That none of the fathers before the fourth century preserve a characteristically Byzantine text (some have occasional Byzantine readings, but not on a consistent basis).

That there are no early Byzantine manuscripts (in the Gospels, the earliest witness to the Byzantine text is A of the fifth century, and even it is not fully Byzantine; outside the gospels, there are no fully Byzantine witnesses prior to the ninth century)

That the Byzantine text is a consistently full, smooth text. Any difficult or disharmonious readings have been wiped away. This implies a gradual process of improvement over the years. Even if it came about suddenly (as a result of editing), the smooth readings must somehow have been before the editor.

That the Byzantine text shows many conflations — places where two earlier readings have been combined.

All of these points have problems. The first two remain true, but they are an argument from silence. The fourth point is weakened by the fact that conflations are not as

common as Hort would imply, and occur in all types of manuscripts. The third point is the strongest by far, but has never been so fully tested as to satisfy everyone. (See the article on Byzantine Priority.) Still, the overall thrust of Hort's logic has convinced the majority of scholars. The Byzantine text-type — even though it contains nearly 90% of the witnesses, and has influenced most of the others — is regarded as a secondary product, derived from earlier text-types.

This left the field open to the earlier text-types, the Western and Alexandrian.

The Western text in the Gospels consisted of only one Greek witness (Codex Bezae, D/05, a well-known fifth or sixth century uncial), but it is supported by most of the Old Latin versions, and by quotations from many early writers such as Irenæus and Tertullian. The Old Syriac versions also seem to belong here, although they are not as pure and may have elements of other types. In the Acts, Bezae and the Old Latins are still the key elements of the type, although 614, the margin of the Harklean Syriac, and the other manuscripts of Family 2138 are believed by many to belong here. In Paul, the Old Latin still supports the type, as do the uncials D (here D is 06, Codex Claromontanus, of the sixth century, not Codex Bezae) and the closely-related ninth century pair F G. There are no known witnesses to the type in the Catholic Epistles or the Apocalypse.

The Alexandrian text, which includes the majority of the non-Byzantine witnesses, is more amorphous. It consists of both uncials and minuscules, as well as versions. In Hort's time, the most important and basic witness to the type was the famous Codex Vaticanus, B/03, which contains the Gospels, Acts, and Catholic Epistles complete as well as most of the Pauline Epistles. It was also the earliest representative of the type, dating from the fourth century. Also from the fourth century, and nearly as important, is Codex Sinaiticus, א /01, the only uncial to contain the entire New Testament. They are supported by the Coptic versions. In addition, they are supported in part by manuscripts such as the uncials C and L in the gospels and the uncials A and C in the Acts and Epistles, as well as by minuscules such as 33 579 892 1241 in the gospels and 33 81 1175 in the Acts and Epistles.

Most of these latter manuscripts, however, display a phenomenon known as "mixture." This means that they contain readings from more than one text-type. Typically they will have some Alexandrian and some Byzantine readings, although there may be a few "Western" readings thrown in as well.

The reason for this is not hard to imagine. Unlike today, when books are cheap enough to simply be purchased and referred to only intermittently, old books were *used*. So the users were always writing notes, commentaries, and corrections in the margin. It was not unusual for a later copyist to assume these marginal remarks belonged in the text (or at least *might* belong in the text), and insert them into the manuscript he was writing.

Then, too, manuscripts were copied in a scriptorium, and corrected. A corrector (διορθωτής) would carefully read over the new copy, comparing it to some official, reputable copy. Often this reputable copy would not be of the same type as the manuscript used to make the original copy, meaning that the corrector would add readings of a second text-type to the once-pure text of the manuscript. We can actually see this happening in some manuscripts; 424 has a Byzantine text that has been corrected toward the readings of 1739, while many famous manuscripts (including א and both Ds) have been corrected toward the Byzantine text. When new copies are made from these manuscripts, of course, the corrections go straight into the text of the copy, producing mixed manuscripts.

Mixture makes the task of textual criticism much harder. Since most manuscripts have more than one "parent," it means that we cannot trace a simple genealogy. Although P^{75}, B, and L are all related, L is not a child of B, which is not a child of P^{75}. This means that we cannot simply go back up the generations to find the original reading of a text-type, let alone of the original text.

Still, by careful use of both internal and external evidence, it is usually possible to determine the readings of text-types. Hort, for instance, found that B preserved the readings of the Alexandrian/Neutral text in the large majority of cases.

But at this point Hort faced a problem. Both the Alexandrian and "Western" types were early, and went directly back to the original. How, then, did one decide between the two in cases where they disagreed?

Here Hort turned to internal evidence. The "Western" text, he found, was marked by paraphrase, expansion, and stylistic "improvements" of all sorts. The Alexandrian text, by contrast, was concise — even abrupt — and had more than its share of infelicitous readings.

On this basis, Hort concluded, the Neutral (Alexandrian) text was best and most reliable. Unlike the Western text, it was not rewritten; unlike the Byzantine text, it was not a mixture of older elements. The text printed by Westcott & Hort was largely that of the Alexandrian text, and of B in particular. And it was widely felt that the Westcott & Hort text was the best New Testament edition of the nineteenth century. Even today, our printed texts are strongly "Hortian."

But the twentieth century has seen changes. New manuscripts — including all the papyri and many early uncial fragments — have been discovered. Our knowledge of the versions is much greater.

This has had many consequences. A new text-type — the "Cæsarean" — has been proposed (though its existence is not so widely accepted today as in the early part of

the twentieth century). The various substantial papyri — particularly $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ — have altered our understanding of the early history of the text. Discoveries of new and better manuscripts of the Fathers have helped us understand all stages of that history. And new tools, some computer-aided, have allowed us to assess many manuscripts (especially minuscules) that had never previously been studied. We know of many manuscript groupings we had not previously been aware of. We have also learned that even the Byzantine text is not one great monolith; although it is the most coherent of the text-types, even it has phases and has undergone a certain amount of evolution.

List of New Testament Manuscripts

In the light of the complexity we now see in the relationships between manuscripts, we cannot do as Hort did and generally just follow the text of B. We need to be aware of all the non-Byzantine manuscripts, and keep their peculiarities in mind. We also must know and understand the Byzantine text. If we believe, with Sturz and others, that it is early, we must take its readings into account. Even if we accept the opinion of Hort in its entirety, and consider the Byzantine text late, we *still* must know its readings so that we can see how they have influenced other manuscripts.

The following list briefly describes some of the more important (generally non-Byzantine) New Testament manuscripts and their characteristics.

$\mathfrak{P}^{45}$. Chester Beatty Papyrus I. Third century papyrus of the Gospels and Acts, now very defective. Thought for a time to have a "Cæsarean" text, but Hurtado has given strong evidence against this, and Colwell has shown that the text has been extensively rewritten and often shortened. The text as it stood before this editing may have been Alexandrian.

$\mathfrak{P}^{46}$. Chester Beatty Papyrus II. Papyrus of the Pauline Epistles (with assorted lacunae; missing the beginning of Romans and all of 2 Thessalonians; includes Hebrews, but probably never contained the Pastoral Epistles). Usually dated *c.* 200, although much earlier dates have been suggested. The text is rather free, especially in Romans, and contains very many singular readings (that is, readings not found in any other source). It stands closer to B than any other manuscript, however, and the two probably form their own text-type or sub-text-type.

P^{47}. Chester Beatty Papyrus III. Third century papyrus of the Apocalypse, containing (with lacunae) 9:10–17:2. The text is closest to א; it is considered to be more "wild" and less valuable than the mainstream Alexandrian witnesses A C.

P^{66}. Bodmer Papyrus II. Second or third century papyrus containing most of the gospel of John. The manuscript was written in a beautiful hand, probably that of a professional

scribe, but very carelessly; there are literally hundreds of casual errors corrected by the scribe himself, and in all likelihood many more that he did not catch. The resultant text is mostly Alexandrian, and closest to P^{75} and B, but with very many singular readings and readings associated with other types.

P^{72}. Bodmer Papyri VII, VIII. Third or fourth century papyrus containing, along with assorted non-Biblical works, 1 and 2 Peter and Jude. As mentioned above, P^{72} is the only papyrus to contain biblical books without lacunae. In the Petrine Epistles its text appears good and early, being closest to B. In Jude the text has been regarded as "wild" — not unusual for manuscripts of Jude, which was not highly esteemed in the early church.

P^{75}. Bodmer Papyri XIV, XV. Early third century papyrus of Luke and John, containing the majority of Luke 3–John 15. The text is regarded as extraordinarily good and carefully written. It is very close kin to B, although not a direct ancestor.

א /01. Codex Sinaiticus. Uncial of the fourth century, and unique in many ways. It is the only uncial to contain the complete New Testament (along with large portions of the LXX and certain apocryphal books). It is the only New Testament manuscript written with four columns per page. The story of its "discovery" and transportation from Sinai to Europe is also unique and involved, and cannot be detailed here; although romantic, it's not really significant for textual criticism.

א/01 is textually very good (although only one of the three scribes was an accurate speller, and this one wrote only a handful of leaves in the New Testament). In the Gospels it is generally Alexandrian (although the text is something else — perhaps "Western" — in the first third of John). It is considered second only to P^{75} and B as a representative of the Alexandrian type. The same is true in Acts and the Catholic Epistles. In Paul, where the textual character of B changes somewhat, א is actually the *best* Alexandrian witness. In the Apocalypse it is somewhat different; it belongs with P^{47}, with a text considered inferior to A C.

A/02. Codex Alexandrinus. Uncial of the fifth century. The first of the great uncials to come to the attention of European scholars. It once contained the entire Old and New Testaments; in its current state, most of Matthew and smaller portions of John and 2 Corinthians are missing. In the Gospels the manuscript goes primarily with the Byzantine text, although it has a number of non-Byzantine readings, most of which are also found in good manuscripts such as B. In the Acts and Epistles the text is much better, mostly Alexandrian with only a few Byzantine and mixed readings. In the Apocalypse it (along with C) is considered the best surviving witness.

B/03. Codex Vaticanus. Uncial of the fourth century, and widely regarded as the most important surviving Biblical manuscript. Originally probably contained the entire Greek Bible (except the books of Maccabees). However, the final pages of the manuscript have been lost, taking with them Hebrews 9:14–end, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and probably the Apocalypse (although it is possible that the latter was never part of the manuscript).
In the gospels in particular, B is considered almost to define the Alexandrian text, and — since the Alexandrian is considered the best text-type — by implication the original text. Both the Westcott & Hort and United Bible Societies editions are strongly dependent on it.
B retains its high quality in the Acts and Catholic Epistles. Its nature in Paul is more uncertain. Hort viewed it as mostly Alexandrian with some Western mixture. However, it appears that it actually belongs in its own group with P^{46}. (Interestingly, B is the closest uncial to all the substantial early papyri — to P^{66} and especially P^{75} in the Gospels, to P^{46} in Paul, and to P^{72} in the Catholics.)

C/04. Uncial of the fifth century, and the most important New Testament Palimpsest. It originally contained the whole Greek Bible; about three-fifths of the New Testament, and fragments of the Old, survive. The upper writing is a series of sermons by Ephraem.
The text-type of C varies. In the Gospels it is a mixture of Alexandrian and Byzantine elements, though some parts are more Byzantine than others. In Acts it is somewhat more Alexandrian. In Paul it is almost purely Alexandrian, being very nearly as good as A although perhaps not quite as pure as א or 33. In the Catholics it seems to show a mixture of Alexandrian and Family 1739 readings, with more of the latter than the former. In the Apocalypse it stands close to A, and is one of the best manuscripts of the book.

D/05. Codex Bezae. The most controversial of all New Testament manuscripts. It is a Greek/Latin diglot, with the versions on facing pages. The manuscript is usually dated to the fifth or sixth century. It now contains most of the Gospels and Acts, but many pages have been lost. The lost pages contained the Johannine Epistles, but there were probably other writings as well, and it is not certain what they were.
On the above scholars agree. On all other things there is debate. For instance, the Greek and Latin sides of D (denoted D and d respectively) are very similar, and have obviously been edited so as to agree. But was D conformed to d, or d to D, or both? There is no consensus. Nor is there agreement about the peculiar nature of D's text. It clearly falls closest to the so-called "Western" witnesses such as the Old Latin versions and fathers such as Irenæus. But it also has important differences — e.g. D is the *only* manuscript to transfer Matthew's genealogy of Jesus into Luke 3:23f. This transfer is obviously the result of rewriting. Is the rest of D's text rewritten, or is this an aberration?

Again, scholars do not agree.
This is a particularly serious problem in that D is the only substantial Greek witness to the "Western" text of the gospels. Assessing its readings is a perennial problem of textual criticism. All we can say here is that its readings should be used with caution, especially when they do not have support from a large number of Latin witnesses.

D/06. Codex Claromontanus. Uncial of the sixth century, containing almost all of the Pauline Epistles (the first few verses of Romans are missing). Like Codex Bezae, it is a Greek/Latin diglot, with the two texts on facing pages. Also like Bezae, it is "Western." The "Western" text of Paul, however, does not diverge as far from the Alexandrian text as does the text in the Gospels. Also, in Paul there are other Greek witnesses to the type, F and G.

E/07. Uncial of the eighth or ninth century, containing the gospels with minor defects. Noteworthy only as the earliest full-blown witness to the Byzantine text (other Byzantine witnesses will not be listed; see the list under the Byzantine Text).

E/08. Codex Laudianus. Sixth century uncial of Acts. Greek/Latin diglot, with the two languages in very narrow parallel columns on the same page. This manuscript was almost certainly consulted by Bede in his commentary on Acts. It is largely Byzantine, but also has many "Western" readings (some perhaps from the Latin, but not all) and some Alexandrian readings.

F/010 and G/012. Ninth century uncials of Paul. Both are Latin diglots; F has the Latin (a mixed Old Latin/Vulgate text) in a facing column; G has a Latin interlinear that appears based on an Old Latin text but which has been conformed to the Greek. The Greek texts of the two appear to derive from a common ancestor at a distance of no more than two generations. This common ancestor lacked Hebrews and probably had some other gaps that appear in both manuscripts. The text of the two sister uncials is "Western," with perhaps more minor alterations in the text than even D/06. Of the two, F is the more attractive and legible, but G is more complete and seems to have preserved the ancestral text better.

L/019. Codex Regius. Eighth century uncial of the Gospels, with some slight gaps. The most Alexandrian of the late uncials, falling closer to B than to א. The combination B L was considered very strong by Hort. L is mostly Byzantine in the early parts of Matthew, but Byzantine readings are rare in Mark through John.

P/025. Ninth century uncial Palimpsest of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. P is more noteworthy for its relative completeness than its text; it is everywhere more Byzantine than anything else. P is almost purely Byzantine in Acts, and has the "Andreas" text in

the Apocalypse; in Paul and the Catholic Epistles, however, it has many Alexandrian readings among the Byzantine.

W/032. Fifth century uncial of the Gospels, with some slight lacunae. W is unusual in that its text is heavily "block mixed": Byzantine in Matthew, "Western" and/or "Cæsarean" in Mark; Byzantine and Alexandrian in Luke, mostly Alexandrian in John. Its early date makes it important, but the student should always be sure to know what to expect from it in any particular passage.

Θ/038. The Koridethi codex. Uncial of the gospels, missing parts of the first five chapters of Matthew. Its date is uncertain (there are no other manuscripts which use the same writing style; it seems to have been written by a scribe who had very little Greek), but the ninth century is often suggested. The earliest and most important witness to the so-called "Cæsarean" text, although in fact it has many Byzantine readings as well.

1. Minuscule of the twelfth century, containing the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse. In the Acts and Epistles the text is mostly Byzantine, but in the Gospels it is the head of the family known as the Lake Group (usually symbolized λ or f^{1}), which also contains 118, 131, 205 (a probable descendent of 209), 209, and 1582 (the closest relative of 1). The Lake Group is usually listed as "Cæsarean," although the group seems slightly closer to the Alexandrian text than the other witnesses to this type.

13. Minuscule of the thirteenth century, containing the Gospels with some lacunae. It is the best-known (though not the best) member of the family known as the Ferrar Group (usually symbolized ϕ or f^{13}), which also contains 69, 124, 174, 230, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689, and 1709. Like the Lake Group, the Ferrar Group is listed as "Cæsarean," though it has more Byzantine readings than the Koridethi Codex or Family 1.

33. Minuscule of the ninth century, containing the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse (with some small gaps in the gospels and many places where damp has made the manuscript difficult to read). Called "the Queen of the Minuscules," and generally worthy of the title. In the Gospels it is Alexandrian, though with much Byzantine mixture. The Byzantine mixture is less in the rest of the New Testament; in Paul it is second only to א as an Alexandrian witness (except in Romans, which has a Byzantine text written by another hand).

81. Minuscule of the year 1044, containing the Acts (with lacunae) and Epistles. Often, and with some justice, regarded as having the best text of Acts among the minuscules. It agrees generally with the Alexandrian text, although with somewhat more Byzantine mixture and a few more late readings than the Alexandrian uncials.

579. Minuscule of the thirteenth century, containing the Gospels with lacunae. One of the more strongly Alexandrian minuscule witnesses in the Gospels, although it also has many Byzantine readings (especially in Matthew, where the Byzantine element is stronger than the Alexandrian).

892. Minuscule of the ninth century, containing the Gospels with some insertions from a later hand. Although 892 is a minuscule, it was copied from an uncial, and still displays some of the characteristics of its parent (e.g. the same page breaks). 892 is probably the most Alexandrian of all the minuscules of the Gospels, although there is (as always in later gospel texts) a significant Byzantine element. The supplements (which occupy most of the second half of John) are almost purely Byzantine.

1175. Minuscule of the eleventh century, containing the Acts and Epistles (with significant lacunae in the final part of Paul). Considered one of the best and most Alexandrian minuscules, but with a curiously mixed text. Romans and the Johannine Epistles are Byzantine. The rest of the Epistles are Alexandrian with some Byzantine readings. Acts is mostly pre-Byzantine, but the amount of "Western" influence seems to vary through the book from insignificant in some places to rather large in others.

1241. Minuscule of the twelfth century, containing the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse, but with some lacunae and assorted supplements. Carelessly copied and with many peculiar readings as a result. A curiously mixed text, mostly Byzantine though with some Alexandrian readings in Matthew and Mark; perhaps the most Alexandrian minuscule witness to Luke; Alexandrian and Byzantine mixed in John; mostly Byzantine in Acts; mostly Byzantine in Paul, but with supplements containing some earlier readings; highly valuable in the Catholics, where it goes with 1739.

1506. Minuscule of the year 1320, now containing only the gospels (with some lacunae) plus the beginning of Paul (Romans and the first three and a fraction chapters of 1 Corinthians). It is of no value at all in the Gospels, but in Paul its text is strongly Alexandrian. 1506 is most noteworthy in that, alone among New Testament manuscripts, it omits Chapter 16 of Romans.

1739. Tenth century minuscule of the Acts and Epistles, complete except that the first chapter and a fraction of Acts come from a later hand. The single most important minuscule known. Space does not permit us to describe it in detail here; see the link. Suffice it to say that 1739 and its allies contain a very old text — which, however, is not part of the Alexandrian text and so has great value in its own right.

2138. Minuscule of the year 1072, containing the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. 2138 is of value only in the Acts and Catholic Epistles. It is, however, the earliest member of a fairly large group of manuscripts (e.g. 614 in the Acts and Catholics, 630 in the

Catholics, and 1505 in the Acts, Paul, and Catholics) which contain a text neither Alexandrian nor Byzantine (some have called it “Western”; this is open to debate. For more on the matter, see the entry on 2138).

The above list shows that we know quite a bit about certain manuscripts. Even so, the matter of manuscript classification remains highly uncertain. The reader interested in a discussion of contemporary issues is referred to the article on Text-Types and Textual Kinship.

Perhaps as a result of this uncertainty, textual criticism in the twentieth century has placed increased emphasis on internal evidence. All textual critics balance internal and external evidence to some degree, but the twentieth century has seen a new class of critics. Often called “Radical” or “Thoroughgoing Eclectics,” they decide readings almost entirely on the basis of internal evidence; manuscripts are simply the sources of the readings to be examined. Foremost among these scholars are G. D. Kilpatrick and J. Keith Elliot.

The “documentary” methods of Hort, meanwhile, have been almost completely abandoned. The most common method today is “Reasoned Eclecticism,” which attempts to give both internal and external evidence full voice. The interested reader is therefore advised to study the list of Canons of Criticism, examining both the rules for internal and external evidence.

Final Examples

Let us conclude this far-too-brief survey with a handful of addition examples that demonstrate both internal and external rules. A handful of additional Examples are available in the Encyclopedia, but many of these stress the use of text-types and external evidence, and so are perhaps not ideal for beginning students.

In the examples below, where the “lemma” (the Greek text to be examined) contains the notation [add], it means that some manuscripts add words, to be specified in the list of variants which follows the main text.

James 5:7

ο γεωργος.... λαβη *[add]* προιμον και οψιμον: the farmer.... receives.... early and late *[add]*

add υετον, “rain,” i.e. read *the farmer receives early and late rain* A K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 33 81 88 104 181 322 323 330 (436) 451 614 629 1243 1505 1611 1735 1852 2138 2344 2412 2464 2492 2495 *Byz* pesh hark^{text} geo^{ms} slav

add καρπον, “fruit” א(*) 398 1175 ff hark^{marg} (bo) Faustus Cassiodorus

[no addition] P^{74} B 048 (69) 945 1241 1739 2298 vg$^{am,colb,dem,dubl,ful,(harl)}$ sa arm geo^{mss}

This reading can be resolved using either internal or external evidence. Internally, it is clear that the original reading is the short one. If the text originally said “the farmer waits to receive early and late,” this could easily have confused scribes, who would feel that the verb needs an object. A forerunner of the Byzantine text added “rain,” while a few scribes added “fruit” instead. Thus the reading without either noun easily explains the others. Whereas if either “rain” or “fruit” were original, there would be no reason to omit it, and even less reason to change the one to the other.

The manuscript evidence is also clear. “Fruit” is simply inadequately supported. The support for “rain” is somewhat better, consisting of the Byzantine text, Family 2138, and an assortment of late Alexandrian manuscripts. The omission, however, has the support of Family 1739, of the earliest Alexandrian witness (B, supported by P^{74} and the Sahidic), and a wide variety of versions. While this is not as decisive as the internal evidence, it is strong. Combined, the internal and external evidence make it all but certain that the short reading is original.

Matthew 13:9

ωτα *[add]* ακουετω: with ears *[add]* let that one hear

add ακουειν, “to hear” א^{c} C D E F G K N O W X Z Γ Δ Θ Π Σ f^{1} f^{13} 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1010 1071 1241 1243 1342 1424 1505 Byz aur b c d f ff^{2} g^{1} h l q vg cur pesh hark sa bo arm eth geo slav

[no addition] א* B L a e ff^{1} k sin

This reading will usually be decided based on internal evidence, since the external evidence is somewhat spilt. The earliest Alexandrians omit “to hear,” as do several of the best Old Latins. On the other hand, the majority of both Alexandrian and “Western” witnesses, along with the entire “Cæsarean” and Byzantine families, add the infinitive. On the basis of the external evidence, most scholars would probably prefer the short reading, but would be open to counter-suggestion.

The internal evidence is quite decisive, however. In Mark we find the phrase “ears to hear” three times (4:9, 23, 7:16), supported in two instances by Luke. In Matthew, however, all three instances of the phrase are marked by variation. In each case, the Byzantine text reads “ears to hear,” and at least some early witnesses omit “to hear.”

Now we know that Matthew abbreviated Mark wherever possible, and we know that scribes were always harmonizing one gospel to another (that is, making both gospels sound alike — usually by grafting the longer reading of one gospel onto the shorter reading of another). Therefore there is every likelihood that the reading without "to hear" is original (here and in 11:15, 13:43), and the longer readings are assimilations to Mark.

Several Final notes...

First, critical editions use many different formats to present data. The system above is by no means typical. A good critical edition will explain how it is to be read, but you can also find information in the article on Critical Editions of the New Testament — which also briefly describes the nature and history of several of the major editions.

Second, it should be stressed that textual criticism, unlike any other Biblical discipline, should *not* be faith-based. The goal must always be the highest possible degree of scientific objectivity. This is simply a logical necessity. The Bible is one of the basic pillars of Christian theology (most Protestant sects would say *the* basic pillar). Therefore it follows that we want to reconstruct it as accurately as possible. But as soon as one allows personal preference (whether it be called that or "the voice of the Holy Spirit" or the like) to determine the text, where does one stop? I will offer myself as an example. I personally find the doctrine of predestination to be simply abhorrent. It's boring for God and utterly unfair for humans. If I were to allow my own opinions (which feel just as much like the voice of the Holy Spirit as the next person's opinion) to control me, I would always be tempted to delete or soften pro-predestination references. We will all have such prejudices. The only possible solution is to follow objective rules. Your rules may differ from mine, and so may produce different results — but at least the result will not suffer from theological bias. Treat textual criticism as a science (using logic in the application of internal evidence and text-types and mathematical data in the evaluation of the external), and you should do well.

Some textual manuals, such as Ellis R. Brotzman's *Old Testament Textual Criticism: A Practical Introductio*n (p. 129) suggest that every time one makes a textual decision, the textual critic should explain its importance for exegesis. I would strongly urge textual critics not to do this, as it muddies the thinking. Readings must be chosen solely on the basis of the evidence, not the critic's faith. If a textual critic can't perform his or her task objectively, he or she shouldn't be doing textual criticism; if an exegete can't figure out what the variant readings mean, the exegete should go out and get a real job. It is one thing to mark which readings are most uncertain, as several editions do; it is another for the textual critic to do the exegete's job.

Third, I've had people come to me saying, in effect, "Help! This textual criticism stuff is undermining my faith." I would stress that this is no concern of the textual critic, who has a job to perform. (Yet another advantage of textual critics with no religious axe to grind.) But I suppose we should speak to this point.

For starters, it should be noted that *every* ancient writing extant in multiple copies shows variations — often much more significant variations than we find in the New Testament text. If 6,000 New Testament manuscripts showed no variation at all, it would be clear and direct evidence of supernatural influence (note that such influence need not have been God's; it could theoretically be the work of a being opposed to God). But God presents no other such explicit evidence; why offer it only in a strange and obscure form that no one could appreciate until recently when we have at last been able to study enough manuscripts to prove the point? Even if you have some sort of inerrantist belief, it makes no sense. And there is a faith issue the other way, too: What sort of God would keep the Bible inviolate but allow wars and rape and murder and child abuse? A God who simply takes a "hands off" attitude is one thing, a capricious God is another.

As to how the textual critic can answer the doubts of laypeople confronted with the alleged issue of textual criticism, I would suggest simply having the doubter consult one of the modern English translations. The New Revised Standard Version, for instance, records textual variations with the words "other ancient authorities read… " Have the person read some of these footnotes. Do any of them really affect the person's beliefs? Does it really matter if the Greek transliteration of the name of the Hebrew King Amon was "Amon" or "Amos"? Does it matter if people in Alexandria spelled their verbs in a way modern writers consider uncouth? Variation in the text is real and is widespread. Few if any scholars believe that we have recovered the original text with absolute certainty — but I know of none who regard the difference as so substantial as to be actually capable of producing heresy. Scholars such as Burgon and Pickering have been intemperate (and, in the latter case at least, demonstrably inaccurate) in their attacks on other scholars' methods. But even they have not shown any instance of modern (as opposed to ancient) editors producing any readings which affect Christian doctrine; doctrine is a unity and does not rest on a particular passage.

Though I would strongly argue, personally, that if such a reading *does* exist, it is still the textual critic's duty to adopt that reading if the evidence supports it. "και γνωσεσθε την αληθειαν και η αληθεια ελευθερωσει υμας" (John 8:32, a verse with no significant variants).

Good textual critics will not go too far. As P. Kyle McCarter once commented as regards the canon of criticism regarding the harder reading, "The more difficult reading is not to be preferred when it is garbage."

There is an interesting analogy in Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva's *Introduction to the Septuagint* (page 124): Consider purifying our water supplies (or anything else involving sanitation, e.g. washing hands or pasteurizing milk): No matter how hard you try, none of these activities will eliminate all contamination. Does that mean that it's not worth purifying water — that we should drink dirty water and assume it's clean? Only if you like typhoid fever. We can't reconstruct the original text perfectly, because we are human and it is a text copied by humans. But we can produce better and purer text. We can — but only if we're willing to concede the need. Textual criticism does not threaten the Bible. Refusing to engage in TC is the threat.

Good luck!

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Appendix: The Text of Chaucer's Address to his Scribe

The poem which opens this article is Chaucer's own comment on the accuracy of his secretary's work. A non-poetic paraphrase into modern English will show that inaccurate copying was just as much a problem for Chaucer as for Biblical copyists:

Adam the scrivener, if ever it befalls you
To write Boethius or Troilus anew,
Under your long hair you must have scales
Unless you copy what I write more truly!
So often I must redo your work:
To correct it, and rub and scrape,
And all because of your negligence and rape.

There are only two extant pre-critical texts of this poem: Cambridge MS. Trinity College R.3.20 and the text of Stowe's 1561 edition, seemingly from a lost manuscript. There are no variants in the text listed by Benson in the third edition of *The Riverside Chaucer* (text on p. 250, textual notes on p. 1188; the second edition of this work, by Robinson, notes some variant spellings and several conjectures by other editors), but the titles are different: The Cambridge ms. calls the poem "Chaucer's Wordes Unto Adam, His Owne Scriveyn," while Stowe's edition uses the title "Chaucers Woordes vnto his own Scriuener." Nonetheless there are differences between modern authorities. The text at the top of this article, reprinted below with line numbers added, is from Benson. There follows a collation showing the variants (mostly trivial, real variants shown in **bold**) in James J. Wilhelm's *Medieval Song.*

1 — Adam scriveyn, if ever it thee bifalle
2 — Boece or Troylus for to wryten newe,

3 — Under thy long lokkes thou most have the scalle,
4 — But after my makyng thow wryte more trewe;
5 — So ofte adaye I mot thy werk renewe,
6 — It to correcte and eke to rubbe and scrape,
7 — And al is thorough thy negligence and haste.

1: scriveyn] scrivain
2: Troylus] Troilus; **for to] to**; wryten] writen
3: lokkes] lockes; most] moste
4: makyng] making; thow] thou; wryte] write; trewe] true
5: adaye] a-day; mot] moot
6: eke] eek; **rubbe] rub**
7: al] all; thorugh] thourgh

A

Abschrift

German for “copy, duplicate,” and used to refer to manuscripts that are copies of other manuscripts. Normally symbolized by the superscript abbreviation ^{abs}. Thus 205^{abs} is a copy of 205, and D^{abs1} (Tischendorf’s E) and D^{abs2} are copies of D/06. Only about a dozen manuscripts are known to be copies of other manuscripts, though more might be recognized if all manuscripts could be fully examined (it is unlikely that there are any other papyrus or uncial manuscripts which are copies of other manuscripts, but few minuscules have been examined well enough to test the matter, and the number of lectionaries so examined is even smaller.)

Archetypes and Autographs

Introduction

It is customary to say, in performing textual criticism, that we seek the “original text.” But what is the “original text”? Take, say, Shakespeare. Is the original text the manuscript he wrote? Or is it what the actors actually spoke when the plays were first performed? For an examination of this question, see the section on the Archetypes of Elizabethan Dramas.

Such problems occur throughout the field of textual criticism. We should always keep in mind what we are trying to reconstruct. Although we strive to recreate the autograph, the author’s original writing, what we actually are working on is the archetype, the earliest common ancestor of all surviving copies.

The Autograph

“Autograph” is the accepted term for the original edition of a particular work, written or dictated by the author. It is the *earliest* copy from which all later copies are ultimately descended (note that it may not be the *latest* copy from which the manuscripts descend). Thus in most instances it is what the textual critic would like to reconstruct (there are exceptions — as, e.g., when an author later edits his work). This is not always possible, however; in many cases, all we can reconstruct is the archetype.

It should be noted that not all documents have an autograph. As shown in the section on Archetypes of Elizabethan Dramas; Shakespeare’s plays probably don’t, in a pure sense; there was no document that represented Shakespeare’s “final draft.” In the case of Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* it is widely (though not universally) believed that

Chaucer continued to make modifications to his manuscript even after the first copies had been made. Thus the autograph in that case was a moving target. There can also be "autographless" documents as a result of compilation. We see this with some commentaries, for instance. A church father might write a commentary, leaving out the longer Biblical quotations, and hand it to a scribe to finish off. The scribe copies the text and inserts the Biblical quotations. So: The autograph of the *commentary* is the Father's original text, but the autograph of the *quotations* is Bible itself (or, in another way, the manuscript the copyist used to supply the quotations), and there is no actual autograph of the combined text. Nor is this complex process confined to commentaries; ancient histories often quoted sources verbatim at great length — as Livy took over Polybius, or Josephus used the assorted sources at his disposal. Nor was it only ancient authors who did this; Holinshed and Shakespeare, e.g., both took large texts verbatim out of Hall.

By contrast, every extant manuscript — of every writing ever made! — traces back to an archetype. (Technically, this is true even of the original manuscript: It is *its own* archetype, and would be so treated in mathematical discussions of generations of copying.)

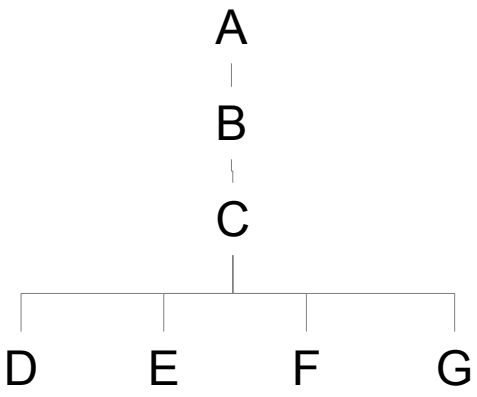
The Archetype

The archetype is the direct ancestor from which a particular group of copies is derived. For example, D^{abs1} and D^{abs2} are both copied from D/06 (Claromontanus), so D/06 is the archetype of the group D/06, D^{abs1}, D^{abs2}.

In most cases, of course, the archetype of a particular group is lost. We do not, e.g., have the archetype of Family 1 or Family 13, let alone such a vague thing as the Alexandrian Text (which may not even have an archetype; text-types are loose enough collections of readings that not all copies containing readings of the type may go back to a single original). For classical works, however, it is often possible to identify the archetype of some or all surviving copies. Arrian's Alexander, for instance, exists in about 40 copies. Every one of these has an obvious lacuna at the same point (in Book 8, the *Indike*). It so happens, however, that the manuscript Vienna hist. gr. 4 chances to be missing a leaf which corresponds exactly with the lacuna. Thus it is apparent that this manuscript is the archetype of all surviving copies. (There are even a few exceptional cases where it is possible to determine the archetype in cases where it is lost. All copies of Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Caesars,* for instance, lack the beginning of the life of Julius. From this and other evidence, including colophons and excerpts and cataloguing data, it is apparently possible to prove that all these copies go back to the lost Codex Fuldensis.)

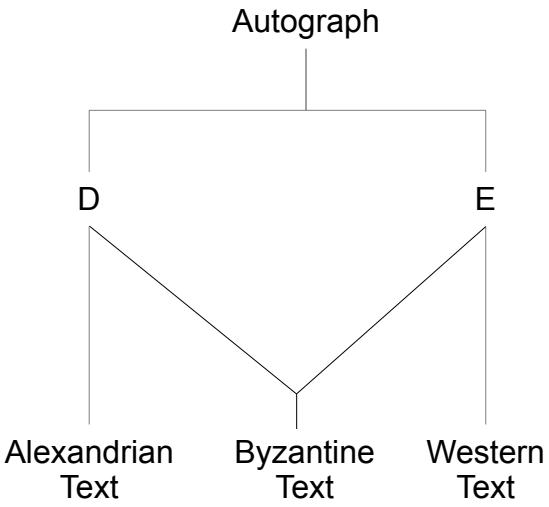
There are instances where we can demonstrate the difference between autograph and archetype. An example is Chaucer's "Boece," derived from Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy.* We have good knowledge of the Latin source, and also of French versions Chaucer consulted. Knowing that Chaucer rendered the Latin quite literally in most places, we can reconstruct his actual autograph with fair exactness. It can be shown that the archetype of the extant copies was simplified at many points.

It is possible to speak of an archetype for the New Testament text. It does not absolutely follow that this archetype is the Autograph. Consider the following stemma:

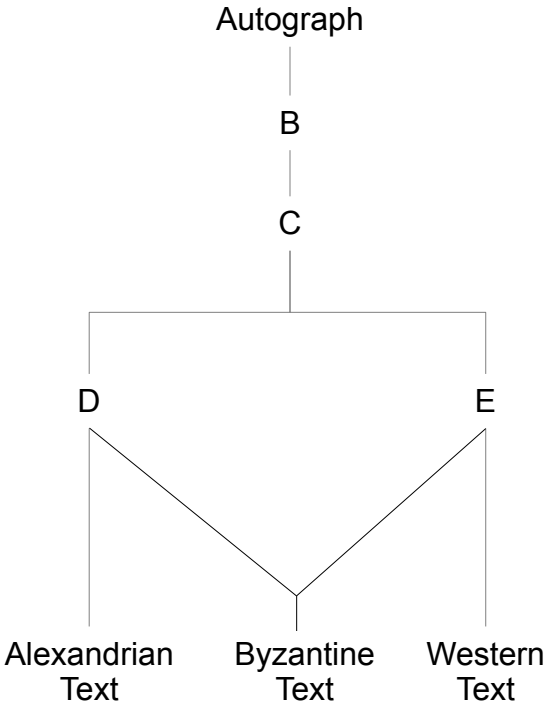


with all surviving copies being descendants of D, E, F, and G. In this case, the autograph is A, but the archetype is C. All surviving manuscripts are derived directly from C, with A several removes further back. It is worth noting that all textual criticism can directly reconstruct is the archetype C; A is beyond our direct reach, and any difference between A and C can only be reconstructed by means of emendation. (For further background on this process, see the article on Classical Textual Criticism).

Now it should be noted that we cannot construct the ancestry of any part of the New Testament in detail. But we can approximate it. Westcott and Hort, for instance, proposed the following sketch-stemma:



We should keep in mind, however, that we cannot by any means tell this stemma from the following:



Indeed, Westcott and Hort suspected the existence of some copies before prior to the earliest recoverable text, as they marked a handful of primitive errors in their text.

An additional complication is that the archetype of a particular New Testament work *may differ recensionally from the autograph*. This is perhaps best illustrated from the Pauline

Epistles. At some very early point — assuredly before the time of our earliest papyri — most of Paul's letters were assembled into a collection. (Hebrews, of course, is an exception, and perhaps a few others such as the Pastorals. But most of the letters must have been collected by the mid-second century at the latest.) It is therefore perfectly possible — perhaps even likely — that this collection is the archetype, and that the individual letters are not even the source of the textual stream. So, e.g., Zuntz; on page 14 of *The Text of the Epistles,* he points out that Ignatius and Polycarp apparently knew a Pauline corpus, but the author of I Clement seemingly did not, and so concludes, "Thus A. D. ±100 is a probable date for the collection and publication of the *Corpus Paulinum;* that is, forty or fifty years after the Epistles were written. Here then, as in the tradition of all ancient authors, 'archetype' and 'original' are not identical."

Even if the archetype of the Pauline collection is pristine, and the letter have individual archetypes, this does not mean that the archetype is a pure descendent of the autograph. Several documents are thought by at least some form critics to be composite. This is most evident in the case of 2 Corinthians, where many authorities believe that at least two letters have been used to produce the present document. Therefore, the earliest document entitled to the name "2 Corinthians" is not an autograph; it is the conflation we now have. Properly speaking, even if we could recover the complete texts of the component letters of 2 Corinthians, the portions not found in 2 Corinthians cannot be considered canonical.

We see another clear, and even more complicated, case in the Hebrew Bible, in 1 Samuel 17–18, the story of David and Goliath and its aftermath. It will be obvious that two stories have been combined here: One in which David, Saul's courtier, volunteers to slay Goliath, the other in which David is unknown to Saul and comes out of nowhere to slay the giant and be taken on by Saul. The former story is a clear part of the continuous history of Saul; the latter is a folktale about David.

This is just literary analysis, but it has strong textual support: The Hebrew Bible has both stories — but the Old Greek, as represented by Codex Vaticanus and others, has only the court history. Nor can this be credited simply to editorial work to eliminate doublets; the separation is too clean and clear. (Sorry, folks, but I study folklore, and it *is.)* Somehow, the Old Greek was taken from a copy of 1 Samuel into which the Hebrew folktale had never been incorporated.

So what is the true autograph? If we consider the Hebrew version canonical, then we're reconstructing a version redacted after the initial draft found in LXX.

We should note that it is not the task of the textual critic to disentangle the strands of 2 Corinthians or any other such work. The task of the textual critic is to reconstruct the archetype. If we are fortunate, this will prove to be identical with the autograph — or, at

least, so close as makes no difference. But it does not matter in practice whether the autograph and archetype are nearly identical or wildly different. We reconstruct the earliest available text. To go beyond that is the task of a different sort of critic. The textual critic should simply be aware that the archetype may not be the autograph — and also to consider how the existence, e.g., of a Pauline collection, might affect the readings of a particular letter. It is quite possible that certain letters were altered to fit an anthology, just as certain passages were adapted to fit the lectionary.

Chances are that, in the New Testament, only Paul suffers from problem. The Acts and the Apocalypse, of course, were standalone documents, never incorporated into a corpus. The Catholic Epistles cannot have been assembled as a collection until quite late (this follows from their canonical history: 1 Peter and 1 John were universally acknowledged, but the other five were slow to achieve recognition, and became canonical in different areas at different times; note, for instance, that P^{72} contains 1 and 2 Peter and Jude, with non-canonical materials, but *not* 1 John, even though that book was certainly regarded as canonical by the time P^{72} was compiled, and Jude was still questionable). The gospels probably came together much earlier than the Catholic Epistles (clearly they were accepted as a collection by the third century, when P^{45} was written), but they also circulated widely as separate volumes. Thus, while a four-gospel collection may have exercised some influence, it was not the archetype.

On the other hand, every part of the New Testament may have suffered from the "which copy" problem. This is most obvious in Paul: He dictated at least some, and probably most, of his letters. It's also widely believed that he kept copies of these letters. Note what happened here, because it's a situation actually analogous to the situation in Shakespeare outlined in the footnote: Paul dictated a rough draft. Unless two scribes took it down simultaneously (in which case those two scribes would doubtless produce slightly different transcriptions), someone would then have to produce a copy of that dictated text, either for circulation or for Paul's file copy. This second copy would doubtless be neater, and might well include some corrections of Paul's errors. So which one did Paul send out? We don't know, though we'd suspect it was the "fair copy" rather than the original "foul" edition. But which is the autograph? And which formed the basis for the later canonical edition? There is no way to answer this.

Other New Testament authors weren't sending out letters, but they were presenting copies to patrons. Would Luke really write a gospel, and give it away without keeping a copy? It seems most unlikely. But which of those first two copies became The Gospel? And could the different traditions have cross-contaminated? The answer again is not obvious. But it likely *is* important.

We note incidentally that classical scholars actually have a notation for distinguishing archetype and autograph. The autograph is denoted by some symbol (e.g. the autograph of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is sometimes given the symbol O), and the archetype by that symbol followed by a ‘ (so the *Canterbury Tales* archetype was O', read — at least in my circles — as "O prime."). We also note that at least some scholars, both classical and NT, have not tried to go beyond the archetype (though they didn't really express it this way). Thus Lachmann tried to reconstruct "the text of the fourth century," and, as noted above, Westcott and Hort marked "primitive errors" — readings where the original had been lost before the ancestors of all the main types.

The Archetypes of Elizabethan Dramas

In the case of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan dramatists, the question of the archetype is even more complicated than the choices listed above might make things appear. The relationship between original writing and original stage presentation could be extremely complex. The likely process of composition was as follows: Shakespeare would prepare a rough draft (the "foul papers"). This would certainly be full of corrections and revisions, and quite unusuable for production purposes. So someone — perhaps Shakespeare himself, but perhaps not — would produce a fair copy. The foul copy would go in some archive somewhere, in all its disorder. But the foul copy might be the last and only copy from Shakespeare's pen. (This is even more true of Shakespeare than of other Elizabethan dramatists, because there is evidence that his hand was hard to read.)

And the fair copy, even if (or perhaps especially if) written by Shakespeare, probably wouldn't be useful for dramatic purposes. There is reason to think that Shakespeare's work was sorely lacking in stage directions, for instance. He also used some rather peculiar and confusing spellings. So someone would have to convert the fair copy to an official prompt book. This, in addition to adding stage directions and such, might involve levelling of dialect, cleaning up of unacceptable language — and, in at least some instances, clarification of errors. This stage of the production would not be under Shakespeare's direct control; the producer of the play would be in charge. But Shakespeare would be available for consultation, and might well be responsible for the revised language of any changes.

And it's thought that Shakespeare acted in at least some of his own plays, so he himself might have been involved in the give-and-take.

And this is before the play has even been put into production! After creation of the prompt book, additional changes might be made — and, if the changes were cuts, the alterations might not appear in the prompt book. In addition, Shakespeare might not

have much control over these; if the producer said, “we need to cut twenty minutes,” he might be allowed to choose what was cut, but if a part called for an actor to do something he physically couldn’t do (e.g., perhaps, jump a wall), then tough luck to the script.

So the question of what we should reconstruct is very real. The foul papers, the *only* copy known to have been entirely by Shakespeare? (We should note that this copy often contains errors which the author clearly did not intend — e.g., characters whose stage directions are identified by the wrong name, as the infamous use of “Oldcastle” for “Falstaff” on occasion in *Henry IV Part I.)* The fair copy, which — if by Shakespeare — would undoubtedly have contained some additional corrections by the author? The prompt book, which is not in Shakespeare’s hand and may contain corrections he did not make — but which also contains material he did suggest, and which will have the full stage directions and proper identifications of the speakers? Or the production version?

And once we decide which to manuscript to target, we still have to sort through the materials. Some Shakespeare plays exist only in the printing of the so-called “First Folio” and editions taken from it. The plays in the folio are believed to derive from all sorts of sources, from Shakespeare’s foul papers to the prompt book to editions produced by other printers.

Other plays exist also in individual quarto volumes. Some of these are “good” quartos, taken from sources similar to the folio. Others as “bad” quartos, taken from the memories of authors who had performed the plays, often misremembered and often cut by the producers. Yet they are the only line of evidence outside the folio edition, and may represent a more advanced state of the script.

Many other writings have suffered similar complications, and there is no reason to think Shakespeare, or the New Testament, is any way unique in this. The problem of what to reconstruct is very real.

Assured Results

Textual Criticism has a problem: It doesn’t know what is and is not true. There are no *assured results.* In the sciences, there are some things so thoroughly verified that you don’t have to re-re-reconfirm the results. (The obvious examples are from physics: The first two laws of thermodynamics — the law of conservation of energy and the law of entropy — have been so thoroughly verified that there is no need to further test them. At least until some strong counter-evidence shows up.)

Why should textual critics care? Because assured results are so useful! What we often see, in textual criticism, is that results which are not assured are treated as assured. Very frequently, textual critics act like medieval natural philosopher appealing to Aristotle: "It's in Hort (or Streeter, or Lake, or Metzger); it must be true!"

The lack of assured results can also lead to skeptical attacks. Just as one group of people may affirm results which have not been verified, another may deny results which have been more than sufficiently verified.

So the question becomes, can we declare *any* results in textual criticism to be assured? (Note that, for something to be assured, it must be experimentally verified. Universal agreement is not sufficient. It must be supported by evidence.)

The answer is, Yes, but it's a short list. The following are the items I am aware of:

1. **The Majority Text Exists.** That is, there is a textual grouping of manuscripts, quite closely related in terms of readings, to which the majority of manuscripts belongs. Note that all we can say about it is that it is the majority. We *cannot* call it Byzantine or Syrian and consider that an assured result.
   The final verification of this claim came only quite recently, with the Munster "Thousand Readings" project. If one examines the results of this project, which examines hundreds of readings in almost all the manuscripts known at the time (there are some exceptions), we find that almost all passages do have a clear majority reading. This alone would not make the existence of a Majority Text certain. (If most readings had only 60% support, and manuscripts in the 60% shifted, there would be no majority text.) But the fact that most readings see one variant supported by 80% or more of the witnesses is significant. So is the fact that the 80+% includes most of the same manuscripts over all these variants. It's only a relatively small group which deviate more than a handful of times.
   Note that this *does not tell us the nature of the Majority Text*. Whether it is good or bad, long or short, edited or inedited is another question altogether.

2. **Textual Groupings exist.** This is a very vague statement as stated, but the point is that we have examples of all sorts of textual groupings: parent and child (D^{p} and D^{abs}), siblings (many of the K^{x} Cl 74 manuscripts copied by Theodore of Hagiopetros), families (the Lake Group; it appears that the Ferrar Group and Family 2138 are superfamilies), text-types (the Byzantine text). We do not have a clear definition of any of these groupings, and we do not know how many levels of kinship there may be (a typical proposal contains about four: Family, Clan, Sub-Text-Type, Text-Type — but this is a proposal based on logic, not observation). Nonetheless, we can safely assume that manuscripts can be grouped, and try to group them; we do not have to assume that all manuscripts

exist in isolation. This may sound trivial; it is *not*. It is one of the crucial points of textual criticism. Until it was certain, most of the tools provided by classical textual criticism did not apply.

3. **Mixed Manuscripts exist.** This is proved by a handful of manuscripts: D^{p} and D^{abs} (the latter a mixed manuscript derived from the former) and 424^{c}. In addition, manuscripts like 1881 can hardly be explained by any means other than a Byzantine/1739 mixture.
   Like the preceding, this may seem like a trivial point, but the existence of mixture is a vital part of the theories, e.g., regarding the "Cæsarean" text. It is good to be sure that such manuscripts exist.
   Note that this does *not* prove that such manuscripts are common, or that any particular manuscript is mixed. This must be proved on a case-by-case basis.

4. **Assimilation of Parallels occurs.** Every gospel manuscript tested shows this phenomenon: Occasional adjustment of passages to match their parallels in other gospels. It appears that all have at least occasional singular assimilations. This demonstrates that the phenomenon takes place.
   Note that this does not prove that any *particular* parallel reading is an assimilation. While it is surely more common for manuscripts to produce harmonized rather than disharmonized readings, scribes do make errors of the other sort.

There is another side to this: Any result which is not assured is just that: **Not assured**. It may be true, it may be likely, but it is not certain. As new evidence accumulates, these non-assured results need to be re-examined.

The following shows some non-assured results which have been treated as assured:

1. **The Byzantine text is late and derivative.** Almost universally believed. But proved? No. (See the article on Byzantine Priority.) Even if one believes the evidence absolutely conclusive at present, what happens if we find a second century Byzantine manuscript or Father?

2. **Most canons of criticism.** We take a very high proportion of these on faith, in some cases (e.g. "prefer the shortest reading") rather in the face of the evidence. It's not easy to see what we can do about this — canons of criticism are more nearly postulates than the result of study; in the absence of autographs, they cannot be proved. But that's precisely the point: *they cannot be proved.*

3. **That text-types other than the Byzantine exist.** The existence of the Alexandrian text is almost assured — but its boundaries are not assured. Are $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ and B and 1739 Alexandrian in Paul? Yes, say some, scholars; no, says Zuntz

(and I think he's right). Until the boundaries of the type are established, it's not all that useful.

The cases for the "Western" and "Cæsarean" texts are still less certain. There is certainly a D-F-G text of Paul. But is this the same as the text of Codex Bezae in the Gospels and Acts? Is Codex Bezae a representative member of whatever type it does belong to? The answers, to this point, are largely assumptions; there is no proof. The evidence, if anything, says that Bezae is edited (the obvious evidence being the use of Matthew's genealogy of Jesus in Luke); great care must be used when trying to prove anything from Bezae.

The doubts about the "Cæsarean" text are so well-known that we will not document them here.

4. **The dates of most manuscripts.** We tend to treat manuscript colophons as a guarantee of dates, and paleography as nearly certain as well. But colophons can be faked; Colwell, for instance, documented the errors in the colophon of 1505. For undated manuscripts, the situation is worse, because our only evidence is based on the dated colophons we have. And even then, it is inaccurate. It is not uncommon to see two scholars examine a manuscript independently and offer dates two centuries apart. And that's for minuscules, where dated samples are common! Take a manuscript like B. Everyone dates it to the fourth century. Why? Based on documents with similar writing styles, which we believe to be contemporary, and which we date based primarily on their contents. In other words, we're making multiple assumptions here: First, we're dating the other writings based on their contents. Second, we're assuming that the date of B corresponds to the dates of those documents. This is a chancy assumption — those other documents are mostly secular, and generally official. Can it be assured that those scribes were trained in the same way as the scribes of Christian manuscripts? It's quite possible that Christian scribes would adopt an archaic style.

   Chances are that our paleographic results are generally correct. But they are not *assured*. One cannot treat them as a guarantee of anything.

Autograph

The original copy of a writing, presumably in the author's own handwriting. Almost no ancient autographs exist; what we have is copies. Recovering the text of the autograph is the ultimate goal of textual criticism. See Archetypes and Autographs.

B

Banderole

A banderole is a feature of an Illuminated Manuscript allowing for comments beside the text. It is much like the “speech balloons” in a modern comic strip. The illustration below shows an example. This is a portion of a page of “the Rheims Missal,” originally written shortly before 1300 and now in Saint Petersburg. The illustration is of church ritual, and in the margin we see the New Testament prophet Simon (Sy̓mo·) and the Old Testament prophet Micah (micheas). Micah is holding a banderole.

Block Mixture

Introduction

All known manuscripts are copied and corrected from previous manuscripts. Usually the manuscripts are taken and corrected from a single Exemplar, but this is by no means universal. A scribe's exemplar might be damaged as some point, forcing him to refer to another manuscript. Or he might come into the scriptorium one day to find his exemplar in use, and have to refer to another for that day. Or the exemplar might have been very thoroughly corrected in different places from different manuscripts. Or, conceivably, a scribe might have started to copy from one manuscript, decided he didn't approve of its text, and turned to another.

All of these are possible causes of block mixture, where a manuscript displays a sudden shift of text-type within a corpus. (If a manuscript shows a change in type between one corpus and another, this is not considered block mixture; this situation is too common to invite comment. We should simply keep in mind that the fact a document is Alexandrian in, say, the Gospels, does *not* mean it will belong to that type in other parts of the New Testament.)

Block mixture should not be confused with ordinary mixture, in which elements of different text-types occur constantly throughout a manuscript. Ordinary mixture is thought to be the result of correcting a manuscript of one type from a manuscript of another (meaning that readings from both manuscripts will become jumbled together), while block mixture arises from the *sole* use, in different places, of multiple exemplars.

One might give an analogy from baking. One can take a measuring cup of sugar, and a measuring cup of flour. The sugar might be Alexandrian readings, the flour Byzantine. As long as the sugar is in one cup and the flour in another, the texts are block mixed. If we take the two and mix them together, then put them back in the cups, they are mixed, not just block mixed.

Or let's try another analogy: Let's think of ordinary mixture as being like mixing paints, while block mixture is like mixing tiles. If you mix red and yellow paint, you get orange paint — not paint with splotches of red and splotches of yellow. The two are thoroughly united; you can't take them back apart or point to one section of paint and say "this is from the can of red paint."

But, instead of painting the wall or floor, think of covering it with tiles, some red, some yellow. Whoever laid the tiles brought in several boxes. He laid red tiles until the box ran out, then started on the yellow, then perhaps went back to red. For any given tile, you can tell which box it came out of. The overall floor is not red or yellow, but there is no

place where it is orange. In any given section, it is red or yellow. Similarly, a block-mixed text may have Alexandrian and Byzantine strands (for example), but any particular section is either from the Alexandrian or the Byzantine source, not both. In an ordinary mixed manuscript, you will see Alexandrian and Byzantine readings in immediate proximity throughout.

Block mixture is not overly common, but neither is it rare. Students should always be alert to it, and never assume, simply because a manuscript belongs to a certain text-type in one book or section of a book, that it will belong to that type in another section.

Noteworthy Block Mixed Manuscripts

The following list highlights some of the better-known examples of block mixture.

א/01. Sinaiticus. In the Gospels, א is generally Alexandrian. The first nine or so chapters of John, however, do not belong with the Alexandrian text; they are often considered "Western." (For a recent examination of this, see the article by Fee.)

C/04. The fragmentary nature of C makes it difficult to define its mixture. But it is generally agreed that, in the gospels, it is mixed. Some have argued that it is block mixed. Gerben Kollenstaart reports on the work of Mark R. Dunn, who concludes, "C is a weak Byzantine witness in Matthew, a weak Alexandrian in Mark, and a strong Alexandrian in John. In Luke C's textual relationships are unclear."

L/019. Codex Regius, L of the Gospels, is mostly Alexandrian in Mark, Luke, and John. In the first three-quarters of Matthew, however, Byzantine elements predominate. (This is probably the result of incomplete correction in an ancestor.)

R/027. The general run of the text is about 80% Byzantine (the remainder being Alexandrian). In chapters 12–16, however, Alexandrian elements come to dominate, constituting about 60–70% of the total.

W/032. The Freer Gospels are the most noteworthy example of block mixture, containing a high number of textual shifts and no particular pattern to their occurrence. (This has led to significant speculation about the manuscript. Henry A. Sanders, the original editor, believed W was copied from scraps of manuscripts which survived Diocletian's persecution; Streeter instead suggested that the various books were copied from multiple exemplars, which showed different patterns of corrections.) Metzger lists the books' contents as follows: Matthew — Byzantine. Mark 1:1–5:30 — "Western." Mark 5:31–end — "Cæsarean." Luke 1:1–8:12 — Alexandrian. Luke 8:13–end — Byzantine. John 1:1–5:11 — Supplement with mixed text. John 5:12–end — Alexandrian. (Hurtado, however, argues that the break occurs not in Mark 5 but around

the end of Mark 4, and that while Mark 1–4 are “Western,” Mark 5–16 do not align clearly with any text-type.)

Δ/037. Byzantine in Matthew, Luke, and John, but with a strong Alexandrian element in Mark (especially in the first half of the book).

Ψ/044. In the gospels, Ψ is defective for Matthew and the first half of Mark, but the second half of Mark is strongly Alexandrian, Luke is almost entirely Byzantine, and John is mostly Byzantine but with a significant number of Alexandrian readings.

28. 28 is for all intents and purposes purely Byzantine in Matthew, Luke, and John, but has other elements (usually regarded as “Cæsarean”) in Mark.

33. In Paul, 33 is largely Byzantine in Romans (Davies, who points out that Romans comes from another hand, believes it has an affinity with 2344); in the other Pauline writings it is a strong Alexandrian witness.

323. In the Catholics, 323 (and presumably its sister 322) is mostly Byzantine in James, but gives way gradually to a Family 1739 text in the later epistles.

579. Mostly Alexandrian in Mark, Luke, and John, but mostly Byzantine with scattered Alexandrian readings in Matthew.

630. In Paul, 630 (and its close relative 2200) are rather poor members of Family 1739 in Romans-Galatians, but entirely Byzantine in the later books.

1022. In Paul, 1022 is Byzantine for Romans through Thessalonians, but affiliates with the text of Family 1611 in the Pastorals and Hebrews.

1175. In Paul, 1175 is Byzantine in Romans, but generally Alexandrian elsewhere. It may also be block-mixed in the Catholics; James and 1 Peter seem clearly Alexandrian, but Richards reports that it is Byzantine in the Johannine Epistles.

1241. In the Gospels, 1241 has both Alexandrian and Byzantine readings throughout, but the Byzantine element is strongest in Matthew and Mark; in Luke it almost disappears. John falls in between. In Paul, the text shifts between purely Byzantine and Alexandrian/Byzantine mix; however, this is the result of supplements. The basic run of the text is Byzantine; where it has been supplemented, it is mixed.

2464. In Paul, 2464 is Byzantine in Romans; it has a much more Alexandrian text in the other books.

2492. In Paul, according to Gary S. Dykes, 2492 shifts between a 330–type text and a text unrelated to 330 (but probably mostly Byzantine).

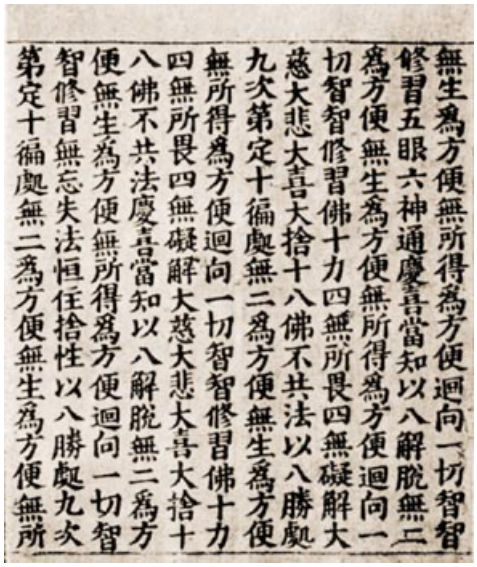
Books and Bookmaking

It is often stated that textual criticism of the Bible ends when the era of printed books begins; from that time on, there is no new evidence available. This is largely true — but not entirely. It is true enough that the first printed New Testament, Erasmus's edition which eventually led to the Textus Receptus, is derived from manuscripts we know, and thus it has no value. The earliest printed Latin Bible is almost equally useless; while the source manuscripts are not known, the text is late.

And yet, there are occasional reasons to care about printed editions, sometimes of the Bible and more often of other ancient writings. Early editions of works such as Josephus or Chaucer frequently take us back to manuscripts we no longer have. Indeed, even the Textus Receptus had value of this sort for a time; 1^{r}, the manuscript used to compile the Apocalypse, was lost for many years. In addition, some of the early critical editions refer to manuscripts which are now lost — some of them, indeed, quite interesting, such as 1518 (a member of Family 2138, which has probably but not certainly been recovered) or the Latin codex Demidovianus (never recovered).

Plus there is the matter of patristic and versional sources. If the Textus Receptus became the New Testament, making it effectively impossible to create another edition based on other manuscripts, there was no such restriction on the editing of other materials, such as the Church Fathers. For these, the early editions can be a key raw material for the compiling of critical editions; they too are are based on manuscripts we no longer have available. (See the appendix at the end of this entry for a list of some important works for which this is true.)

It should be kept in mind that the making of printed books was actually the result of a converging of technologies, none of them sufficient on their own.



An early example of printing: Chinese book, reportedly published 1162 C. E

For example, printing — as in the use of stamps to apply letters — had been known for at least a thousand years before the so-called "invention of printing." In fact, the Chinese seem to have mass-produced such stamps — the first step toward movable type. For many years before the production of printed books, they were stamping sheets of silk with customized symbols — the logo of the company. And the Phaistos Disk — widely dated to c. 1700 B.C.E. — is a clay disk with the symbols stamped in, though there is no evidence that the stamps were mass-produced. Playing cards seem to have been copied repeatedly from woodcut panels by the late fourteenth century (if you think about it, playing cards that are *not* mass-produced are nearly useless. Hence the fact that gambling in the Middle Ages was based almost entirely on dice). As with printing itself (credited in China to one Feng Tao), the cards seem to have been made first in China, in the tenth century or earlier — and some suspect that this promoted the use of woodblock printing in Europe. Even in Europe, there are indications that individual documents may have been run through a sort of a hand press using a single hand-carved stamp. Thus all the concepts needed for a printing press were in existence before the actual press came to be. Why, then, did it take so long for printing to be developed?

Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking,* third revised edition, Oxford, 1943, p. 93, offers an interesting speculation: All the technologies were available in the Far East, but to reach the Christian world, they would have to pass through the Islamic world — and Islam disliked the idea of mass-producing the Quran. The preference was for hand copies, and memorization. So the technologies were not passed on to Europe.

Europe eventually bypassed that bottleneck — but only after some centuries. This even though printed patterns in cloth seem to go back to before the Christian era. So why the delay in adapting printing to the written word?

Part of it is the lack of material on which to print. Until paper became widespread, printing was pointless. There are, it is true, a handful of books printed on vellum. But if vellum had been the only writing material, there really would have been no need for a printing industry; the supply was simply not sufficient to allow large press runs, and if one is producing only a dozen or so copies, hand copying is economically competitive (since the effort of setting the plates — backwards! — and producing test runs and proofreading and organizing the results is far greater than the effort needed to produce a single manuscript).

Paper took a long time to come into its own. Chinese history says that the invention was first licensed by one Tsai Lung in 105 C.E. (McMurtrie, p. 61). This was, probably, linen paper, still among the best types available because the cellulose fibres are especially long, making for a firmer, longer-lasting material — though the earliest surviving Chinese papers are really too thin and light-weight for printing; they were written on only one side because the ink showed through. It would be hundreds of years before heavier paper became the standard. Even in the fifteenth century, many paper mills supplied inferior grades; the Mainz Vulgate was printed on imported Italian paper rather than local German stocks. A second invention also helped to improve paper. This was the use of sizing — a chemical bath which filled the gaps between fibers and absorbed ink. A typical early size was starch; sometimes glues were used instead. The very best paper eventually came to use the glues produced by rendering dead animals (so even paper manuscripts involved some animal products, though far less than parchment manuscripts). Later, sizes might be replaced by true modern coatings, which might include casein (a sort of milk protein), sugars, clay, or many other materials.

Paper is thought to have arrived in Japan around 610, and we are told of a mill at Samarkand in 751, another at Baghdad in 793. The Moors seem to have introduced it to Europe around 1150 at Toledo; Italy's first mill was apparently founded at in Fabriano in 1276. Even then, the paper trade was slow to grow; England, for instance, apparently did not have a a paper mill until around 1493, when John Tate set up the first — meaning that all of Caxton's early English books were printed on imported paper, with perhaps a few on vellum (but no vellum copies survive).

Indeed, it was not until after the invention of printing that paper became fully respectable — though, contrary to some reports, early paper was quite long-lasting and durable. (It was made of vegetable cellulose, with longer fibers and less acid than wood-based papers, both of which made it more long-lasting than wood paper.) But it hadn't the

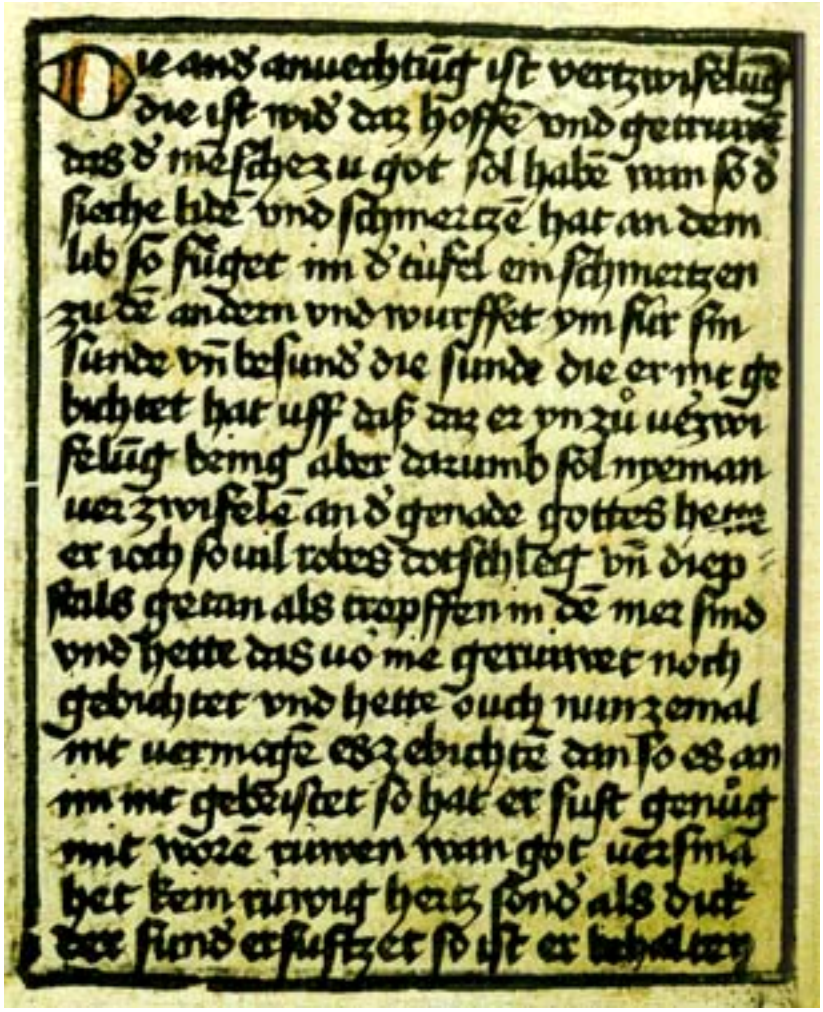
reputation of vellum. Printing changed that; paper proved a better surface for press work, because the ink soaked in rather than just staying flat on the surface, making the books printed on paper much more tolerant of damp and wear, which caused the ink to flake off vellum manuscripts.

The result was an explosion of paper production; according to Warren Chappell, *A Short History of the Printed Word,* Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, p. 14, more than 16,000 distinct watermarks have been identified on European papers of the sixteenth century or earlier.

We observe also that mass-produced documents came into being well before what we usually call "printing." To restate some of what was said above, it is believed the Chinese were printing books from hand-carved wooden originals by the ninth century. They were not printed on presses; the forme was inked and paper placed on it and rubbed. Working from blocks was not an easy form of printing, since a single accident in carving the woodblock could destroy the whole work. Still, large numbers of copies could be made by this means (though most early block books were printed on only one side). Movable type formally goes back to ancient China also, where pottery letter stamps were produced (this was credited to one Pi Sheng, according to McMurtrie, p. 95). This technology, however, never went anywhere; Chinese ideograms were just too complicated — and, according to McMurtrie, p. 100, the Chinese preferred a hand-lettered look, which could be achieved with woodcut printing but not with movable type. And while it's easy to produce large stamps out of ceramic, it's by no means easy to make the small blocks required for movable type out of clay. Still, the Koreans seem to have managed almost all the tricks needed for modern printing by the fifteenth century: They had presses, ink, paper, even interchangeable letters. But, again, the complexity of the ideographic languages of the east defeated them: there were simply too many letterforms to cut and mold, and too few symbols were re-used. (Some printers tried to replace the ideograms with a syllabary, but apparently this proved unpopular; McMurtrie, pp. 98–99). Plus the water-based inks they used were runny and did not produce attractive results. So Europe had to re-invent the technology. And, just as in the East, block printing seems to have come first.

In Europe, the main early uses for block prints seem to have been quite different: One was the production of playing cards, the other the production of religious art. Block printing for the first time raised a serious possibility of "art for everyone," just as ordinary printing raised the possibility of "books for everyone."

It is possible — even likely — that some of the single-page art was done by metal block printing (McMurtrie, p. 112). Larger books, though, almost certainly were done with wood, since the material was cheaper and could be cut more quickly.



By the fifteenth century in Europe, some quite large “block books” books were being produced with hand-carved wooden plates; the *Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelisque ejusque Visiones Apocalypticae* appeared in several editions, of 48 or 50 pages. These usually cannot be dated precisely; few early woodblock prints contained much text, because of the difficulty of cutting the fine lines involved (see the example above, from a book about the torments a dying sinner could face; note both the lack of uniformity of the lettering and its ragged appearance); the few surviving specimens with text all appear to be be more recent than the earliest specimens made with movable type. Still, there is a single-sheet woodblock print from 1423. McMurtrie, p. 114, estimates that some 33 different block book publications have survived, in roughly 100 different editions, and observes that in a few cases we can even tell the manuscript from which the woodcut edition was taken.

Chappell, p. 12, agrees with McMurtrie that all surviving block books are later than the earliest books printed with movable type. He suggests that this was because the plates

of block books, which were not re-usable, would have been preserved and used for many, many years. Metal type would have been broken up for re-use, making the printer less likely to reprint the book. So it is possible that the block books were used to produce higher numbers of copies over a longer period. (To use modern terminology, the startup cost of a block book was higher than that for a typeset book, but the incremental cost of an additional copy was lower.) So the technology could perhaps be older but have been retained.

To go from woodblock printing to modern printing, in any case, needed another invention: A good ink. Ordinary fourteenth and fifteenth century inks were just too volatile — and too runny; they would soak through paper pages. Printer's ink was a development from oil paint, popularized earlier in the fifteenth century by Jan van Eyck (many authorities think van Eyck invented oil paintings, but McMurtrie, p. 128, offers evidence that at least some aspects of oil paints had already been invented. Certainly linseed oil had been used as a substrate for some centuries. Van Eyck can at least be credited with showing what such paints could do, and very likely improved the recipe). Early oil paints consisted of oil (usually linseed or walnut oil), amber resin, turpentine, and mastic; printers apparently added soot (ideally, lampblack, though wood soot was often used because it was easier to get) to this varnish to produce a black ink. It is just possible (though this cannot be proved) that this was adapted for printing by one Laurens Janszoon Coster (or Koster), or perhaps some other printer (several firms seem to have been seeking ways to mass-produce books in the mid-fifteenth century). Coster may also be responsible for the printing press as such; some believe that he was actually producing books on a press by around 1450, though probably with wooden type, at least initially; only fragments of these publications survive, and the date is uncertain. The arguments on behalf of Coster continue, but he seems to have fewer proponents now than a century ago. Some sources now view Coster as little more than a local attempt to claim credit for Gutenberg's invention (see John Man's *The Gutenberg Revolution*, Review Books, 2002, pp. 117–121).

The new ink also had the advantage of being darker, and of lasting longer. One of the problems with the old block books is that they have faded. Most seem to have been used iron/gall inks, perhaps mixed with alum, which if water-based can be expected to turn brown over time (although modern formulations are black and very permanent). The replacement of the water with oil reduces oxidation, while the use of lampblack produced a darker black which was less likely to fade anyway.

Colour inks also came into use early — indeed, there is some red print in the Mainz Vulgate (pages 1, 7, 9, 257, and 258, the last two regarded as printed on two different presses), though most of the colour work was hand-drawn by the purchasers after the books were printed. (It appears that the effort of creating two-colour pages was simply

too great; after trying two-color printing on pages 1, 7, and 9, the process was abandoned in favour of hand rubrication, and the second attempt, on pages 257–258, also was given up.) The red of the Mainz edition came from cinnabar (mercury sulfate); early blue inks used ultramarine (lapis lazuli) or smalt (a cobalt compound). For more on these materials, see also the article on Chemistry.

Metallurgy also offered a crucial advance as it finally produced a material suitable for the casting of type, which must be hard enough to be usable but melt at a low enough temperature to be convenient and not change size too dramatically as the temperature changed. The final compound included lead, tin, and antimony — the latter an element unknown to the ancients, and also highly poisonous. (Yes, antimony is mentioned in some translations of Isaiah 54:11, and references to antimony compounds occur, e.g. in 2 Kings 9:30. But these are probably mistranslations referring to antimony compounds such as the cosmetic *khol*, not to elemental antimony.) The best mix was about 65% lead, 25% antimony for hardness, and about 10% tin for flow and ease of melting, though the price of tin caused many type foundaries to reduce the proportion, producing significantly cheaper but more ragged-looking type.

(There is argument about whether antimony was in fact included in the earliest cast type. McMurtrie, p. 233, thinks the earliest type was cast in a lead-tin alloy without antimony, because antimony is not mentioned at this stage. But printers had their secrets, just like everyone else; it seems likely that there was some sort of hardening agent. Also, John Emsley, T*he Elements of Murder: A History of Poison,* Oxford Univeristy Press, 2005, p. 23, points out that antimony, unlike most metals, expands as it solidifies. This makes for much better castings. Given the consistency of the type in the Mainz Vulgate, it seems likely that antimony was indeed used.)

The press as such was not new, and indeed had been involved in paper-making since at least the fourteenth century; presses were used to squeeze the water from the sheets as they came from the vat. Similar devises had been used to squeeze seeds for oil for centuries before that. The trick came in finding a way to assure that the forme was applied to the paper in exactly the right place and absolutely flat; a major failure in either department would ruin the page, and even a minor failure would result in blurred type or a crooked-looking page. Unfortunately, because information from the period is so lacking, we do not know with certainty how this advance was achieved — but obviously they managed somehow. It is theorized that the presses had a series of pins which fit through holes in the paper; this method, at least, was used in later books, and such holes are found in early printed volumes. Indeed, they are more obvious in those early books, which may have as many as ten holes per sheet, and those holes located sometimes in highly obvious places; by the early seventeenth century and the time of

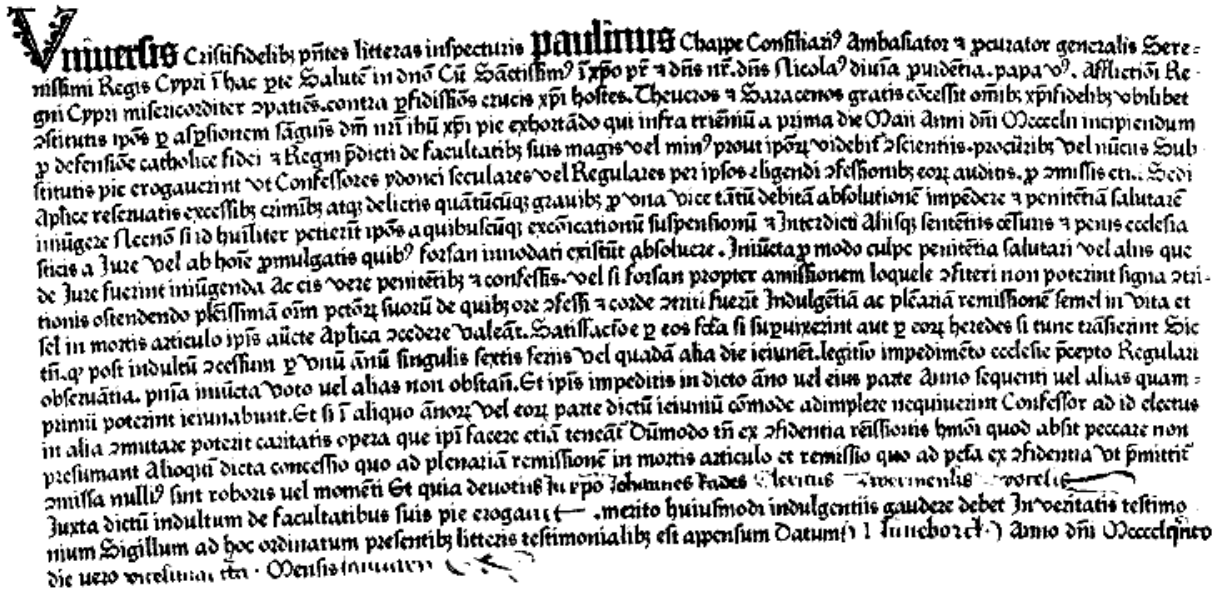
the King James Bible, the number of holes was down to two, and they were placed in such a way that they disappeared into the binding of the book.

All these factors finally came together to produce the so-called "Gutenberg Bible" (named after Johannes Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg, c. 1399–1468), which I will hereafter usually refer to as the "Mainz Vulgate" to avoid prejudging questions about its printer. Our knowledge of this work is at once extensive and incomplete. We do not even know with certainty that Gutenberg was involved; there is clear evidence that he was engaged in printing (in 1458, France's King Charles VII instructed Nicolaus Jenson to study Gutenberg's art) — but no real data to show that he was involved in the printing of that first Bible. The volume itself is little help; it does not give the sort of copyright information we would expect today, and doesn't have a colphon, let alone a title page — printers were still thinking in manuscript terms. The only prologues are to the Bible and the books, not to the edition. It is generally agreed that the Gutenberg Bible was printed in Mainz, but the date is unknown. The only absolute evidence we have is that, first, one of the surviving copies contains a comment written August 24, 1456 by rubricator Heinrich Cremer of the collegiate church of Saint Stephen at Mainz, and second, that in March 1455 Enea Silvio Piccolimini, then Bishop of Sienna and later Pope Pius II, described a Bible featuring a new "way of writing" — presumably printing. The printing must therefore have been done by 1456, and at least underway by 1455, but we do not know how much before; most estimates for completion of the work range from 1450 to 1456 (though Matthias Palmer in 1483 published a chronicle stating that Gutenberg invented printing in 1440 — this based perhaps on another technology involving presses that he was fiddling with at the time. We have no firm data about this at all, though; most of what we know comes from lawsuits involving former partners. Certainly we cannot identify anything from Gutenberg's or anyone else's press prior to 1450.)

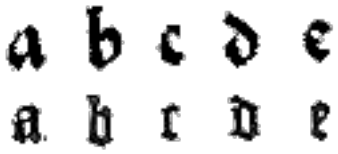
The 1450 date may be attributed to Johann Koelhoff the Younger's 1499 *Chronicle of Cologne,* which tells us much about printing but which was banned and caused the author to be exiled in 1502; the date is supported by a statement by Johann Schoffer, the son of Gutenberg's collaborator Peter Schoffer — hardly the most unbiased source. Still, in 1505, in a German edition of Livy, Schoffer the younger credited the invention of printing to Gutenberg in 1450, and credited Schoffer the Elder and Johann Fust — of whom more below — with improving it. To be fair to the Schoffer dynasty, they weren't in it entirely for the glory or money; Schoffer would in time be one of the first printers of Tyndale's New Testament — a task which, at the time, promised neither profit nor safety. In the early twentieth century, most scholars favored the end of that range of dates for the invention of printing; in recent years, however, discovery of earlier printed sheets has inclined many scholars toward an earlier date. The flip side of that is, in 1455, Gutenberg's financier Fust sued for repayment of loans. That would seem to

imply that sales of the work were slower than expected, or that printing took longer. A late date still seems reasonable to me. And the aftermath of the lawsuit was, in any case, strange: Although Fust won the suit, and apparently took possession of most of Gutenberg's printing equipment, the single most important element — the type used to print the Mainz Vulgate — does not seem to have passed into his possession. We do not see it again until about the 1480s.

We can say definitely that broadsheets were emerging from the press by 1454 (a printed indulgence from that year still exists), and works such as the "27–line Donatus" are sometimes tentatively dated as early as 1449 — but we don't know if that preceded or followed the production of the Mainz Vulgate. Indeed, we can't prove that they came from Gutenberg's press; they use a different typeface, and this face appears to have been used both before and after the Mainz Vulgate. It seems likely that Gutenberg and company first printed smaller works, but it cannot be proved. It is also possible that both projects were going on at the same time: Gutenberg may have printed some smaller items to raise money while still working on the big project.



The earliest printed document with an absolutely fixed date: The first paragraph of the Cypriot Letter of Indulgence (31–line version), from 1454. Note the distinct difference in typeface from the Mainz Vulgate.



Comparison of the two earliest known typefaces. Top: The Donatus-Calendar face, in use by 1454, a "Bastarda" type. Bottom: The type of the Mainz Bible, a "Textura" font.

In any case, those practice attempts were really just that: Practice. The history of printing really begins with that first true book, variously known as the Gutenberg Bible after its seeming printer, the Mainz Bible after its place of origin, the 42 Line Bible after the number of lines of text on the typical page, and the Mazarin Bible after the library holding the first copy to really gain attention.

The magnitude of the Mainz Vulgate project, given how little is known to have gone before, is astonishing. The final product, printed as it was in large type (the price Gutenberg paid for using Blackletter fonts) was 1,282 pages long, on pages measuring roughly 40 cm. by 30 cm. (They appear to have been conformed with the "Golden Ratio" that mathematicians call ϕ.) With 42 lines per page, and two columns, and about 30 letters per line, that's about 2400 different items of type per page (and each page, of course, is only part of a sheet); in all, the Mainz workshop probably had to cast tens of thousands of individual letters to complete the work (it's been estimated that they would have needed three million letters, and thirteen tons of type, to print it all at once). Although it appears that only one or two presses were used when the process began, it is believed that six were in action by the end (though some would dispute this). It is believed that four compositors were employed at the beginning, with the total eventually rising to six. (Of course, this too is disputed, but it must be admitted that there are differences in the styles of contraction, etc. in different parts of the book.) Type, at this time, was created in a very complex way — a punch, or "patrix," had to be carved in steel (a delicate art, which explains why the first type founders were associated with goldsmiths). The patrix was then punched into softer metal to produce a "matrix" around which a wooden frame was built and into which the molten metal was poured to make the type. This being the case, it is estimated that it must have taken about half a year just to create the typeface (at that, Gutenberg was fortunate in that gothic types were popular at the time, according to Chappell, p. 38; had Gutenberg had to imitate a fraktur type, it would have taken even longer). It would have taken many months more to cast the type from it, and roughly two years to see it all through the press.

It appears, from the watermarks, that paper from four different mills, or at least four different batches, was used.

(In one of the endless footnotes to this story, Man's *The Gutenberg Revolution,* pp. 174–175, notes some recent questions about Gutenberg's type-casting process, based on a computer analysis which argues that the letters Gutenberg used were not in fact identical. Based on the description in Man, I am not confident that the data is actually strong enough to justify the conclusions, but it hardly matters for the purposes of textual critics. Even if Gutenberg did not use the matrix/patrix mechanism, printers were using it soon after.)

Even more amazing is how well the type is handled. The major surviving printed work thought to predate the Mainz Vulgate is the *Donatus*, which is rather poor typographically: Letter spacing is inferior and the letters themselves were of uneven heights (that is, they rose to different distances above the plate of the press), producing badly-inked pages. All these problems were corrected for the Mainz Vulgate. The type is not actually very legible (it's just too tall and thin and spiky), but it certainly presents a beautiful page.

This is more impressive given the complexity of the printing process. Today, we are likely to assume that all press machinery just operates mechanically. Not then. Without going into all the details (a full description of the printing process requires many pages), once the assembled forme was in the press, it had to be manually inked for each page, the paper first dampened and then placed in the press, and the press operated. Little wonder, then, that early books tended to be large; since the effort in printing a sheet was almost the same whether it was large or small, and a book printed on large sheets required fewer sheets, a large-format book represented a lot less work. The Mainz Vulgate itself is the simplest possible arrangement, a folio (i.e. each sheet of paper was printed to contain four pages, and was folded once, with no trimming or cutting needed; for the most part, it used five-sheet, 20–page quires.) But we also see early books which are quartos (pages folded in half, then in half again, with one edge cut), and octavos (folded in halves, then quarters, then eighths, and cut repeatedly) — even a few tiny "64mos." Such repeated foldings and cuts were nearly unknown among manuscripts — parchment would be arranged in quires before it was written, both because it was easier for the scribe and because there was the risk of destroying a perfectly well-written page if the trim went awry.

Another amazing outcome is the accuracy with which the book was laid out. There are strong indications that the quire starting with page 257 was begun at the same time as the quire starting with page 1: These are among the handful of pages containing 40 lines per page, and both quires use red print. And yet, the copy on page 256 exactly lines up with that on page 257, with no evidence of expanded or compressed type. (My personal guess, which I suspect is not original to me though I have not seen it elsewhere, is that the Mainz Vulgate was based on a manuscript, and in some way

followed its pagination. When it was discovered that the early pages were not holding quite as much copy as the exemplar, the leading between lines was decreased and the line count increased to make the totals match.)

It has been argued that the Mainz Vulgate was not printed in the modern way — that only one side of each sheet, or possibly even only one *page* on each sheet, was pressed at a given time. This cannot be disproved — indeed, at the beginning, when the quantity of available type was small, it is not an unreasonable assumption — but the machinery was almost certainly capable of printing on both sides; we see clearly two-sided works in fairly short order. And the very beauty of the Mainz Vulgate's typography argues, to me, for two-sided printing, because fine typography requires knowledge of just how much text will be placed on each page. And the more material typeset and pressed at a given time, the easier such an estimate is, even if (as is likely) the Mainz Vulgate was printed using "casting off copy" — a process in which the first and last pages of a quire, which are printed on a single sheet, are set first, then the second and next-to-last, etc., with the compositor simply estimating how much of the manuscript will fit on the typeset page. (Casting-off copy would continue to be the norm for centuries, since it dramatically reduced the amount of type a printer needed on hand, and also reduced the down time for the actual pressmen: If one waited for all the pages of, say, a four-sheet quire to be printed, one needed enough type for at least 18 pages — the 16 pages of the quire, plus two more to keep the compositor working while the printing proceeded. Using cast-off copy meant that only six pages worth of type were needed at any given time. Plus, the pressmen could start work as soon as the two sides of the first sheet were typeset, rather than waiting for the whole quire to be complete.)

Some four dozen copies of the Mainz Vulgate survive, in whole and in part, plus some isolated leaves. It is not known exactly how many were initially printed; the usual estimates range from about 150 to about 220, with probably 30–40 of that total being printed on vellum and the rest on paper. (This sounds like a small run today, but it was fairly large by the standards of the books which followed; many early books were produced in runs of 100–150 copies, and as late as Elizabethan times there was a law limiting most press runs to 1000 copies — though this was more to protect the work of compositors than due to any reasons of demand.)

Not all copies of the Mainz Vulgate, however, are identical. Although it is said to have had 42 lines per page, the early pages (such as that of Genesis shown below) had only 40 lines (this was the case for pages 1–9, plus 257–263). The count was later increased to 41 lines, then 42. What's more, it's clear that the size of the press run changed as the printing progressed. (It hass been theorized that the printers sold subscriptions to the book, and eventually ended up with more subscriptions than they had anticipated, forcing them to produce more copies, but, again, we can't prove it.) Since more copies

were desired than had initially been planned, there were not enough prints of the early sheets. Type at this time being naturally in limited supply, the formes used for the printing of those sheets had been disassembled, meaning that these pages had to be reset. Thus, although all the final pages are identical in all copies of the Mainz Bible, there are, in effect, two "editions" of pages 1–63 and 257–316 of the first volume, and also of pages 1–31 and 323 of second volume (one suspects the revised p. 323 is a result of an error; once it was spotted, the page was modified but the old pages used. As we shall see, this was typical of early printing).

Even if we ignore the changes in the text, no two copies of the Gutenberg edition are identically finished. At this time, books were sold in a sort of unfinished state, without a binding and without interior illumination. The three photographs below illustrate this point. The King's copy was beautifully illuminated with many colours of ink. The Grenville copy has some illumination, but much more limited; it also lacks section heads, making it much harder to actually find passages. Other copies are almost startlingly plain.

Three copies of the beginning of Genesis in the Gutenberg Bible. Note the different illuminations, which were individually added to the printed pages. Left: The Grenville copy (British Museum). Center: The King's Copy (British Museum). Right: Unknown copy (from a black and white photograph; the initial "I" is in multiple colours, and some of the text may be as well). Observe that the heading "Genesis" was added by hand in two of the three copies, and that each book has different lettering colours, etc.

It has been stated (I do not know on what basis; I have a feeling that it was calculated by dividing the estimated number of copies by the amount Fust lent Gutenberg) — that

the Mainz Vulgate sold for 30 florins. A very high price, certainly, equal to several years' wages for a crafstman. But hardly exorbitant when compared against the price of a manuscript copy of a full Bible, and the rate of errors was presumably lower.

Textually, the Gutenberg Bible is said to have been close to the Paris recension of the Vulgate. It is reported to be a good representative of that type — but that was still a late recension (thirteenth century).

Incidentally, it was many years before books truly became standardized in the sense that all copies were identical. In 1572, John Day printed Matthew Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae,* of which 25 copies are said to survive, no two of them the same. And the copies of the famous First Folio of Shakespeare are also all different, as various errors were corrected throughout the press run but the old sheets retained and used. This is parallel to the case of page II.323 of the Mainz Vulgate.

If the history of that first full-fledged printed book is obscure, the aftermath is known. It is almost certain that Gutenberg, if he did produce that first Bible, was financed by one Johann Fust and assisted by Fust's future son-in-law Peter Schoeffer. Fust, unhappy with Gutenberg's practices, apparently eventually called in his loans, took over Gutenberg's machinery, and went into business for himself, retaining Schoeffer to handle the technical details. The result of this was the so-called "Mainz Psalter," with a colophon mentioning the two printers and a date of 1457. (Some have thought that Gutenberg did the actual design work on this volume, but I know of no supporting evidence for this.) This volume was noteworthy, among other things, for its use of *printed* decorative initials in multiple colours — a process still not entirely understood; the best guess is that the initials were done with two-part woodcuts, which could be lifted out so that each part could be separately coloured. However they managed, the result is very impressive: Black and red on every page, with musical notation, and red and blue initial letters.

By 1460, we see our first book with full bibliographic data, an edition of Balbus's *Catholicon*, which has a colophon stating that it was printed in Mainz in that year ("annis Mccc lx") "without.... reed, stylus, or pen."

Unfortunately for the people of Mainz, but fortunately for the rest of the world, that city had been in the grip of civic conflict for many years due to poor management and bad fiscal practices (indeed, Gutenberg seems to have fled for years, returning some time between 1444 and 1448). And though there was calm at the time Gutenberg began his work, the city was gripped by civic conflict in the late 1450s and early 1460s as two rivals strove to gain the archbishopric. It appears that this conflict caused several printers to flee from the city, helping to spread the new technology. Gutenberg himself

very possibly died in exile in the small town of Eltville, where he had relatives and where, interestingly enough, printing started very early.

The spread of printing thereafter was quite rapid. By 1460, an exile from Mainz (possibly Gutenberg himself, after the city was sacked and many residents driven into exile) had started a printing house in Bamberg and produced what is known as the 36–line Bible.

Bamburg was responsible another innovation: The first illustrated book printed with movable type. Albrecht Pfister of Bamburg produced multiple editions of several illustrated books, starting in 1460, and using the same type as was used for the 36–line Bible (though he probably is not responsible for that book). The first illustrated book is believed to have been *Edelstein*. The illustrations seem to have been woodcuts — copperplate engraving was already known, according to McMurtrie, pp. 264–265, but this presented technical difficulties extreme enough that such intaglio printing was rarely attempted by printers, and no printer seems to have tried it twice. The problem was that, whereas ink would adhere to wood, so that it was sufficient to simply engrave the wood and print with it, ink did not adhere to metal, so there was no easy way to make ink print from only the raised portions. Even the earliest woodcut illustrations clearly were not printed at the same time as the text, since what is believed to be the earliest of Pfister's books has blank areas in the spot where the woodcuts would go in other copies (McMurtrie, p. 239), and there are also instances where the illustration and the text are overprinted when the paper mis-aligned (McMurtrie, p. 242, shows an example). These earliest woodcuts were apparently designed to have additional colors added by hand (a primitive form of paint-by-number), and most copies have been so colored (McMurtrie, p. 241). McMurtrie, p. 242, says that the first book with text and illustrations printed at the same time was published in 1472. (Amazingly, the first colour illustrations were printed as early as 1487, according to McMurtrie, p. 244 — though this is a lesser innovation given the earlier use of multi-colored lettering; it was merely a matter of combining that technique with the techniques for printing woodcuts.) Interestingly, textual ornaments (or "dingbats") seem to have come into use after the use of woodcut illustrations; the earliest samples of type ornaments seem to have been printed in Verona in 1478, in a style still in use today; these elements could also be used as page borders. The obvious advantage of ornaments is that they could be cast in type and used repeatedly.

(McMurtrie, p. 283ff., notes another problem of this early period: The printing of mathematical texts. A volume of Euclid simply had to be illustrated — and with a mixture of graphics and text. This made it hard to use woodcuts. Erhard Ratdolt of Venice seems to have published the first printed edition of Euclid in 1482; I rather suspect that the need to illustrate such books pushed the development of engraved printing of artwork. It is possible that Ratdolt's Euclid was not the first book with mathematical

diagrams, but it was among the first, and the trendsetter. Ratdolt, incidentally, shows how quickly typography had advanced in the third of a century since Gutenberg. A specimen sheet he put out in 1486 features 14 fonts, representing four different faces — including a nine fonts of a rotunda, three of a Roman, and a Greek; all, except for the smaller sizes of the rotunda, are beautifully clear.)

We gradually see innovations in these early years. The first title page seems to have been produced by Fust and Schoffer in 1463. The first instance of numbered folios was in a 1470 edition of *De Civitas Dei* produced by the brothers Johannes and Wendelin de Spira.

Strasbourg also seems to have housed a printer by the 1460s, Johann Mentelin (possibly an associate of Gutenberg in his wanderings — Gutenberg, if we can follow his many aliases, lived in Strasbourg before 1444), who produced his own Bible by 1460 and who also earns credit for the first vernacular printed Bible (a German edition regarded as a very poor translation, full of silly errors, but it was still in German rather than Latin). Augsburg saw books produced by Gunther Zainer probably from 1468. Anton Koberger was printing books at Nuremberg around 1470. Arnold Ther Hoernen and Ulrich Zell were in business in Cologne by about that time. Charles VII of France tried to set up a press operated by Nicolas Jenson; the attempt failed and Jenson went to Venice, but France managed to attract a group of German printers in 1470. There were already presses in Rome and Venice and other parts of what is now Italy. It is not really possible to establish when printing came to the Netherlands, because of the work of Coster, but it was certainly by 1473. The Spanish had their first printing houses soon thereafter. In 1476, Ulrich Han published the *Missale Romanum*, richly endowed with music notation — though McMurtrie, p. 286, says that woodblocks were first used to print music in 1487; Han's method was to print text and music in separate impressions (and so complex is musical typesetting that, though fonts were eventually developed for it, it continued to be set primarily by hand right into the 1980s!). And, some time before 1475, William Caxton (in order to meet the demand for his translation of Raoul Le Fèvre's history of Troy), opened the first English printing shop. (Some sources, including McMurtrie, p. 216, say that this first book was printed in the Netherlands. This seems likely enough, but Caxton certainly ended his career in England.)

William Caxton's printer's mark (reduced)

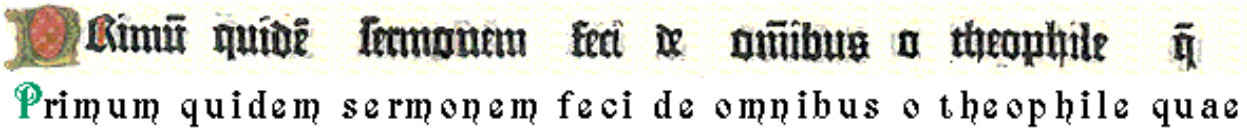
Caxton was a very conservative printer, usually technologically behind the times — e.g. that first English book, the *Recueil des histoires de Troies,* puts line breaks in the middle of words, just as the early uncial manuscripts did! Caxton's successor Wynkyn de Worde was equally out-of-date (McMurtrie, p. 222, declares "Caxton could not by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as a fine printer.... his work was, technically and artistically, below the standards of his continental contemporaries"), but they did make at least one advance: They published books, usually in the vernacular, for *popular* rather than scholarly consumption. The latter market was quickly overcrowded; it has been estimated that the number of printers more than quintupled from 1470 to 1480 (from about 16 to 85 or so), causing saturation of the market for scholarly books — McMurtrie, p. 313, says that there were over 300 editions of the works of Thomas Aquinas published before 1500, and on p. 318, he says that there were more than 300 printings of Cicero. Based on the figures on p. 323, there were over 40,000 different editions released by 1500. If we estimate that 75% of these were scholarly (surely a low estimate) and that the standard print run was 200 (also low), then that means that six million scholarly volumes were in circulation — obviously an oversupply in a world where few except monks were scholars. The inevitable result was a collapse in the price of scholarly books — meaning that there had to be something else published. There had been vernacular works before Caxton (in fact, we have a fragment of a Sybilline Prophecy in German in the Donatus-Calendar type, so Gutenberg may have been printing in German even before the Mainz Vulgate), but these had all been incidental.

For example, McMurtrie, p. 202, says that 98 books printed by Jenson are known. Of these, 29 were theological books of some sort or other, 25 were classics, and most of the rest seem to have been references; only one, Boccaccio's *Fiametta*, could be considered a work for general consumption. McMurtrie, p. 320, estimates that 45% of books printed before 1500 were on religious topics, 10% were legal, 10% involved what passed for science, 30% were (presumably mostly classical) literature, and only 5% were general or popular. Whereas Caxton early on published an edition of Chaucer, and the *Morte d'Arthur,* and, frankly, a lot of things more interesting than the obscure Bible commentaries everyone else was churning out. (Though some, like *The Game and Pleye of the Chesse,* despite its title, were "edifying" books — Caxton's Chesse was not about chess, but a sort of moral instruction in which the various classes in society were equated with chess pieces.)

The first book unquestionably published in England was *The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophers,* which seems to have come off the press in 1477. It was not a particularly long or ambitious book — 76 leaves, or 152 pages. Here Caxton seems to have been trying for noble patronage — the book was compiled by Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, the oldest brother of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. But Caxton's edition of Chaucer followed the next year, and the popular book trade seems to have become established as a result.

Just as cities like Venice and Basel had quickly been mobbed by printers, Caxton soon had competition; Theodoric Rood began printing at Oxford in 1478, and apparently someone was in business in St. Albans by 1480. Printing also began in London in that year (McMurtrie, pp. 222–224). But Caxton is still considered the most important, both because he was the first and because he printed more important books. He was able to stay in business until his death in 1491, and Wynken de Worde (who joined the company in 1480) kept the company in business for many more years. De Worde's output was often even more popular than Caxton's — e.g. he produced one of the two earliest printed versions of the very popular *Gest of Robyn Hode,* the first printed tale of England's most famous outlaw.

The heavy competition which Caxton largely dodged by producing popular works produced a sort of an arms race in the scholarly book trade as each printer struggled to make books cheaper or more attractive. In this case, Jenson took a crucial step and, in effect, rediscovered the alphabet. The desire to produce manuscripts more quickly had led to the development of a vast collection of contractions, suspensions, and ligatures which made things faster for a trained scribe but which really did nothing for legibility — and which made it much harder to create good type fonts, as they needed to include hundreds of symbols with no real meaning. The illustration below shows this point:



The Excesses of Early Printing: The first nine words of Acts 1.1 as it appears in the Gutenberg Bible and as we would write it today. Note the suspended "m" at the end of "primum" and "quidem," the single ligature for "de," the suspended "n" in "omnibus," and the abbreviation used for "quae." To set this line using a true alphabet requires 18 symbols. Gutenberg, even if we ignore the initial fancy letterforms, required 23 different symbols. (It is calculated that the Mainz Vulgate used 290 different letterforms — some of them simply different widths of the same letter to allow lines to be fully justified. The complete set included 47 capital letters, 63 minuscules, 92 abbreviations, 83 ligatures, and five punctuation marks.) Early Greek printing used even larger character sets.

Jenson's innovation, in addition to making it easier to create a font, also made the type case a much more practical item. In assessing printed works, however, we should be aware that the type case was not much like a modern typewriter or word processor or much of anything else. The diagram below approximates the type case shown on p. 53 of Chappell (some of the characters are not found in the modern character set).

*	†	‡	§	ll	¶	☞		Fb	℘	@	%	a/c	/	°
¼	½	¾	⅛	⅜	⅝	⅞		$	£	_	__	⌊	⌇	⌈
⅓	⅔	&	Æ	Œ	æ	œ		—	–	_	__	&	Æ	Œ
A	B	C	D	E	F	G		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
H	I	K	L	M	N	O		H	I	K	L	M	N	O
P	Q	R	S	T	V	W		P	Q	R	S	T	V	W
X	Y	Z	J	U	]	)		X	Y	Z	J	U		ffl

ffi	fl	__	___	’	k	e		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
j	b	c		d				i		s		f	g	ff	9
?														fi	0
!	l	m		n		h		o		y	p	w	,		
z															
x	v	u		t		___		a		r		;	:		
q												’	-		

Jenson's type also had a much more even "color" than his competitors — that is, Jenson's pages all had about the same amount of ink per unit area. This sounds relatively minor, but it really does produce a much more attractive page. A page in

Jenson's type is also lighter than the pages of the Gutenberg Bible, which again makes it more attractive.

Jenson is sometimes credited with producing the first Greek publication. This, however, seems to be an exaggeration; Jenson may have produced the first full font of Greek type, but experiments had been done earlier. The first attempts to print Greek seem to have been made in 1465. Peter Schoffer was one of the first to try it; it was a simple disaster. McMurtrie, p. 279, concludes that Schoffer did not know Greek; he cut perhaps a dozen Greek letterforms and used Latin letters for the rest. In 1470 he reportedly simply used the Latin letter which looked the most like the Greek letter, which naturally produced very strange results.

In the same year, however, an edition of Lactantius was produced by Sweynheyn and Pannartz, which required substantial amounts of Greek. When they began printing, they evidently were not ready for the task they took on, and simply left space to include Greek words. By the time they finished the book, though, they had managed to cut many attactive letters of Greek type. (The overall feel is quite similar to that of the Complutensian Polyglot, though some individual letterforms were distinct.) The one thing this font lacked is accents, which had to be added by hand.

Then, in 1470/1, Jenson created the first complete Greek font. He seems to have used this for an edition of Cicero. A similar face was used for what McMurtrie, p. 279, believes to have been the first full book printed in Greek, Thomas Ferrandus's edition of the *Battle of the Frogs and the Mice,* printed about 1474. Lascaris's grammar is the first printed Greek textbook, published by Dionysus Paravisinus in 1476. This uses a very strange font — the section headings are printed in a style similar to the very late uncials such as S, but the body copy is in a very messy semi-minuscule style; when I first glanced at the sample on page 281 on McMurtrie, I frankly thought it was hand-written by a not very good scribe. I suspect the person casting the typle was not especially familiar with Greek. Certainly there isn't much Jenson influence in that face.

Jenson's own Greek font was — like most of his work — simple and quite elegant. Sadly, his example in this regard was not followed; the next great printer of Greek works, Aldus Manutius of Venice, used typefaces similar to hand-written Greek, meaning that he needed over 500 separate symbols. (McMurtrie, in fact, says on p. 280 that Aldus's first Greek font contained over 1400 glyphs. The result, he comments acidly, was that "one of the most beautiful of all the world's languages continued to appear in an almost illegible and hideous printed form for some two hundred and fifty years." This is surely one of the reasons, though only one, why the first edition of the Textus Receptus was so disastrously error-ridden.) This excess of typographic detail is ironic, given that Manutius's goal was to produce relatively inexpensive hand editions of

the classics. But the Aldine fonts were more compact and used smaller point sizes than Jenson's works, so the savings in paper probably offset the additional typesetting costs. The problem was that future typesetters followed Aldus, not Jenson. (According to McMurtrie, pp. 280–282, this was actually mandated by law in France, where the type face to be used for Greek was specified; the Greek font used by Robert Estienne contained 430 different glyphs.) The Complutensian Polyglot was one of the few early works to use a Jenson-like alphabet rather than imitate the Aldine press in all its needless complexity; McMurtrie, p. 282, says that it was not until 1756 that a decent Greek font became widespread.

This shows the curiously convoluted way in which printing advanced. Printing in Greek should have been easy, which it should have been hard to create fine art in print. But Greek in fact took decades, whereas by the 1490s, Albrecht Dürer was producing fine engraved images of a quality that has not been exceeded to this day — see, for instance, the Dürer engraving abovat, "St. Hubert praying before a Cross borne by a stag."

Hebrew printing seems to have arisen shortly after Greek printing, and took off much faster. The first Hebrew printed book, according to McMurtrie, p. 282, was produced in Venice in probably 1484–1485. This was much more similar to modern printed Hebrew than the early Greek books were to modern Greek publication.

(For those who really care, the font models used by both Jenson and Aldus have been perpetuated. Jenson, of course, inspired the modern Jenson face. Aldus, who is largely responsible for italic type, provided models for such faces as Bembo and the original Garamond, though most versions of the latter are now much deteriorated. Aldus also has the curious distinction, according to McMurtrie, p. 213, of being the first to seek to have his typefaces protected by law — not exactly copyright, but getting there. He also tried to get what amounted to a trademark on his company's name — apparently printers in other countries were making cheap knock-offs of his publications and sticking Aldus's name on them. Manutius understandably wanted to protect the reputation of the Aldine name.)

Still, Manutius deserves great credit for establishing standards for the printing of Greek — as well as other languages. From 1494, he printed works of Aristotle, Vergil, Dante — and, of course, the Septuagint. The Aldine press was noteworthy not just for its innovations but its scholarship — establishing, arguably for the first time, the standards which we now consider necessary for a published work. A printed book, after all, exists in many copies; it should be prepared with extra attention compared with a single manuscript copy — especially since it is much harder to set, since hand-set type must be placed in the forme backward.

Printing of course established other standards — e.g. distinguishing the letters i and j, as well as u and v. S. H. Steinberg's *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (revised edition by John Trevitt, p. 31) attributes this distinction to poet Giangiorio Trissino and credits the printer Ludovico degli Arrighi with perpetuating it. McMurtrie, p. 299, credits Matthias Schürer of Strasbourg with inventing quotation marks and standardizing the form of the question mark in Latin-alphabet printing.

Incidentally, printing perhaps gave a small boost to women's rights. Charlotte Guillard of Paris married two printers in succession; after the death of the second, she continued in business on her own, making her apparently the first independent female printer. She died in 1556, and declared that she had been in the printing business for 54 years (though some of that, of course, was before she took charge on her own).

For all that Mainz gave rise to printing, and Venice did much to perfect it, the most important city for our NT criticism purposes is probably Basel, where Berthold Ruppel was in business by 1468. Albrecht Dürer, already cited as the first truly great illustrator of books, worked in Basel seemingly from 1492–1494. Also working at Basel was

Johann Amerbach, who seems to have gone into business around 1478. And one of his pupils was Johann Froben.

Froben has a bad reputation in New Testament circles because he hurried the Textus Receptus through the press. This is rather unfair; it's true that Froben produced a hurried edition, but he also produced an *affordable* edition (which hardly describes the competing effort of Cardinal Ximenes), and he did call upon Erasmus — who was, after all, the leading scholar of the time — to produce it. If Froben had not imitated the Aldine typography in all its intricacies, that first Greek Bible might not have been so badly printed (and while the text was bad, would a Complutensian standard for the New Testament really have been any better?). Froben also deserves some credit for producing an inexpensive octavo edition of the Vulgate in 1491; it has been called the "poor man's Bible." (Though it required a poor man with very good eyes; the reproduction on p. 307 of McMurtrie shows a page printed in about six point blackletter type. It may be the most illegible printed book I've ever seen.) He also worked hard to produce a critical Vulgate; it is said that his is the only early edition to have the original readings at many points. If others made ill use of his New Testament, he nonetheless deserves credit for trying to produce good and valuable materials.

It is interesting to find the two earliest Greek New Testaments printed in Spain and Switzerland; until that time, according to McMurtrie, p. 321, almost all Greek printing had been done in Italy (where Byzantine refugees knew the language). But perhaps the power of the Papacy discouraged the creation of Greek New Testaments in Italy.

We should perhaps note that many of the tools used in textual criticism of manuscripts also apply to textual criticism of books. Not all ancient printed books survive intact; indeed, most of the earliest ones suffered enough wear and tear that they were good for nothing but to be used in the bindings of other books. So what survives is a page here and a page there, with no date even if the book originally had a dated title page (and, as noted above, not all did — nor were the dates reliable when they did). And the value of a book can vary with its date; if an edition of some work can be dated to the beginning of the printing era, then it surely comes from a manuscript source, and that manuscript might have been good.

Several indications can be used to date books. Type is one of these. The Mainz Vulgate, for instance, is printed in a heavy "Textura" type — the earliest form of what we now call "blackletter." The reason for the name "blackletter" is obvious if you look at a page of the stuff: the very narrow letters with the large clubbed serifs mean that a page printed in this style is very dark (and not welcoming to the eye). Textura types eventually evolved into Fraktur letterforms (generally similar in shape but with smaller serifs and strokes which narrow on long verticals). A fairly early variation on this was the

Humanistica type, with similarly narrow letters but lighter strokes and smaller serifs (think of Textura written with a ball point pen). By 1465, Sweynheym and Pannartz were using a font with many aspects of modern type, although it required an exceptionally large character set. Soon after, printers like Jenson evolved our ordinary modern Roman type. The Aldine press gave us italics — which were not originally used to emphasize text; whole books were set in these fonts. Gothic types were developed around the same time to save space. This probably isn't the place to go into full details (since little of this is likely to be used in ordinary textual criticism), but the data is accessible if needed. (Dating-by-typeface worked for about 200 years. After that, things became a lot more complicated: there would come a time when some scholarly books would be printed in antique typefaces just to make them seem older and more archaic. The title page would give the actual date, but apparently the publishers thought appearances more convincing than actual facts.)

The close links all these books have with biblical scholarship is shown by the title given to them: Books printed before 1500 are known as *incunabula*, a word connected with the cloths used to wrap Jesus in his infancy (though the Vulgate of Luke 2:12 does not in fact use *incunabula*). We should note that the singular *incunabulum* found in some references is a false singular.

An interesting problem with early books is the lack of *copyright*. Manuscripts of course were never copyrighted, so the need for protection for printers (let alone payment of royalties) was not at first realized. The effect of this was that any publication could be pirated — as, e.g., the 1518 Aldine edition of the Greek Bible is essentially a copy of Erasmus's New Testament, right down to the more blatant typographical errors. Nor was that the worst case of bad copying known. In the case of Shakespeare's "Titus Andronicus," the so-called "second quarto" (Q2) was set from an earlier edition, Q1, which had several defective pages — and the editors, rather than find another copy of Q1, just made up their own version of the text. (They couldn't go back to the original plates, of course; as with all books at that time, the plates had been disassembled so the type could be reused.) And if authors were paid for their work at all, it was in the form of what we would now call an advance, such as Erasmus received from Froben.

The first move toward a limited copyright system came in England in 1504, when Henry VII created a post of Printer to the King, with some rights to what was printed. In 1518, Richard Pynson was granted sole rights to print the *Oratio Richardi Paeci* for two years. Over the next several years, protections were granted for specific books, but no general system was instituted until the creation of the Stationer's Company in 1557. This was, of course, still "printer's copyright" — the printer had control over the book. And it was a true copyright — so strong that, if a printer registered a book, no one else could print it even if the printer never actually *published* it. (This seems to have happened with

Shakespeare's "As You Like It," among others; a copy was registered probably in 1600, but it was never published until the First Folio almost a quarter of a century later.)

Unfortunately, if the Stationer's Company provided copyright (which did at least tend to suppress corrupt editions, despite its other faults), and if it served as a sort of guild for printers, it also had the right to censor works. (Something much easier to enforce in England, where all the printers seemed to settle in London and Westminster, than in Germany or even France.) Much that might be useful to us now was no doubt stranded in manuscript form. Though this was nothing compared to the censorship applied in other countries later (as, e.g., in Austria-Hungary in the nineteenth century).

The Stationer's Company, as mentioned above, also enforced a limit on the size of issues, usually to 1000 copies. The purpose of this was to ensure continued employment for typesetters — but the *effect* was to ensure the corruption of popular books, because, again, the type was broken up after each edition (indeed, usually after each quire) was printed, and on those occasions when the book was reprinted, it was almost always reprinted from a copy of the previous book, meaning that errors multiplied with each copy. (To take an extreme example, there were six consecutive quartos of Shakespeare's "Henry IV, Part I," designated Q0, Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4, and Q5, each one printed from the one before, with the First Folio and another quarto, Q6, adapted from Q5.)

By the time of Shakespeare, of course, we are past the era when most classical works were first printed, so the later history of copyright isn't of much interest directly. But we might as well sketch a little of it. It was in 1709 that copyright finally started to apply to authors. Copyright by that time was granted to the printer for fourteen years, but at the end of that time, ownership reverted to the author, who was permitted to re-sell his work as he chose. This also prevented any attempts at permanent copyright — an unmitigated evil in scholarly fields which has effectively come back under current law (current copyright typically lasts about a century), but without the compulsory licensing provisions of the seventeenth century law: Back then, copyright applied only to people who kept books in print.

The eighteenth century finally saw a regularization of type and type sizes; it was Pierre Fournier who introduced the point system in 1737 (Chappell, p. 51). This didn't really affect the text of printed works, but it did help somewhat in dating them.

To sum up our history, it is often stated that the arrival of printing spelled the end of the need for textual criticism. This is largely (though not entirely) true. But this hardly makes the invention of printing a problem for textual critics; in truth, it is only the inventing of printing that makes the discipline possible — for it is only now that all scholars can have access to transcripts of the most important manuscripts, and only now that they can

publish the reports describing their methods so that all can adopt or reject them. It has been said, truly, that printing made modern science possible. Textual criticism isn't really a science. But it benefitted just as much.

Textual criticism of printed works. It's worth noting that printed books will contain different sorts of errors than manuscripts. A manuscript will contain errors of sight and of memory (or of hearing, if taken from dictation). These errors can, of course, occur in printed works, since they derive from manuscripts. But one sees whole new classes of mechanical errors. For example, type was composed backward on a typesetting stick. So it is perfectly reasonable to see letters set backward. Again, type was taken from a type tray, not hand-written. The compositor might pull out the wrong letter — or, perhaps, the person who filed the type might have placed a letter in the wrong bin. So one will occasionally see random substitution of letters — an unusual outcome in dealing with manuscripts. One also gets peculiar errors of the press — as, e.g., when something falls on the press and prevents the paper from taking an impression (this frequently affects only a few copies of the book, but if only one copy survives, that's no consolation).

Another interesting problem is that of changes in an edition. We mentioned above that corrections were made over the course of the press run. In the case of a printed text, the revised version of the first edition was almost certainly more correct than the first impression, since the source material was still at hand for consultation — and while that source material might be very bad, a transcription with errors could only be worse. But the trick then becomes to determine which impression is the older and which is newer. Theoretically, if all copies of a book were bound in order (that is, if the first impression of sheet one were bound with the first impression of sheet two, etc.), this would be easy enough; one simply lines up all the changes and sees the order in which they occurred. But it doesn't work that way; often an early state of one quire will be bound with a late state of another. Determining the order of correction can be quite challenging in that case; I know of no absolutely assured mechanical way of reaching a conclusion (though it is often possible in practice because some of the changes will be simple corrections of obvious errors of the press, which can then be used to indicate the order of more significant changes).

One important thing to remember is the possibility of printed forgeries, especially editions with forged dates. This is rare now, particularly for modern books, because one generally wants the latest possible date for copyright reasons. It wasn't so in the past; just as a manuscript such as 1505 might have a fake colophon, it was not unusual for books to claim an earlier date. The second quarto of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice,* printed in 1619, claims to have been printed in 1600 — the actual date of the first quarto; the publishers, I suppose, might have claimed to be duplicating their source,

since they copied the first quarto, but it seems more likely that they were trying to make their book seem more valuable, or even, it has been suggested, working to avoid a copyright lawsuit. An even more amusing instance occurs in the case of the book that eventually became Elizabeth Browning's *Sonnets from the Portugese.* In the mid-nineteenth century, there was a tendency for authors to produce small private runs of their writings. So when a print dated 1847 of the book showed up titled "Sonnets by E. B. B.," it produced a real excitement among rare book collectors. There was only one problem: Although one authority (Gosse 1894) dated the composition of the sonnets to 1847, more numerous and authoritative sources show that Browning did not reveal the poems to her husband until 1849 — so there could be no 1847 edition. The "Sonnets by E.B.B." edition was a modern fake, based on Gosse's date.

One advantage in detecting this sort of thing is the fact that all copies of a single edition are, in theory, the same. That forged edition of *The Merchant of Venice* was discovered by an interesting means derived from astronomy of all things: The blink comparator. Charleton Hinman, weary of hand collating copies of printed editions, thought to overlay photographs of individual copies and flashing back and forth between them. If the two books were identical at a particular point, the blink wouldn't be noticed. Where there was a change, one could see the page change its appearance. (It took a while to get this to really work, but the principle is fine — and is how Pluto and a number of asteroids and comets have been found.) This technique let Hinman collate eight copies of Shakespeare's *Othello* in about six weeks — about a twentieth of the time it would have taken otherwise, and probably with higher accuracy as well. (These days, we can do even better, subtracting one image from another in Photoshop or something similar; the only parts of the page that will even be visible are the parts that have changed.)

In the process of collating, Hinman discovered the *Merchant of Venice* forgery. This story is worth telling even though it isn't properly a textual problem simply because it shows us some potentially useful techniques.

The quarto editions of Shakespeare's plays were sold unbound — they were small enough that the usual practice would be for the buyer to purchase several such small books and bind them together himself. Thus most of the surviving quartos were bound up with other books, not necessarily by Shakespeare. And yet, several volumes were known with the same nine Shakespeare quartos, with widely divergent dates: The *Merchant of Venice, A Midsummer Night's Dream,* and the inauthentic *Sir John Oldcastle* dated 1600; *King Lear* and *Henry V* dated 1608; and *Pericles, The Merry Wives of Windsor,* and the inauthentic *A Yorkshire Tragedy* dated 1619; plus the undated *The Whole Contention* (a bad conflation of *Henry VI II* and *Henry VI III*). The logical conclusion was that these nine plays were being sold at the same time — hardly possibly if they were printed over a span of 19 years. William J. Neidig then set to

looking at the nine quartos. Among other things, he superimposed the title page of *Pericles* (which admitted being printed in 1619) with that of *The Merchant of Venice* (which claimed a date of 1600).

The two layouts matched. The titles were different, of course, but the bottom part of the plates were identical except for the dates. This included even such details as the nicks in the type. There was no question: The title pages of *Pericles* and *The Merchant of Venice* were printed at the same time. In 1619, obviously. The dating on the *Merchant of Venice* quarto is false.

Early Printed Editions from Lost Manuscripts

The following list (which is very far from complete) describes some of the various ancient documents for which printed editions are essential tools of textual criticism.

Works of Significance to Biblical Criticism

Josephus, *Against Apion.* All surviving manuscripts are derived from Codex Laurentianus of the eleventh century; the only other sources are the (poor) Latin translation and the extracts in Eusebius. The first edition (Basel, 1544) seems to have been checked against a now-lost manuscript.

Josephus, *Antiquities*. As with the *Against Apion,* the Basel edition seems to have used a lost manuscript. The manuscript tradition for the Antiquities is much richer, so the Basel edition is of somewhat less importance, but it still has hints of a lost source.

Secular Works

Asser, *Life of Alfred.* Only one copy survived to the era of printing: Cotton MS. Otho A.xii. This manuscript was almost completely destroyed in the library fire of October 23, 1731; no part of Asser's work survived. Various transcripts were made, but most are based on the printed editions: Matthew Parker's of 1574, Camden's of 1602, and Wise's of 1722. All of these are rather unreliable (Parker's was interpolated, and Wise had to work from a transcript he himself did not make), but with no other sources, they are obviously essential.

Anonymous, *The Battle of Malden.* From the same Cotton MS. Otho A.xii as Asser (see supra), and equally lost. It was printed by Hearne from a transcription by Elphinston.

Chaucer, various works. The printed editions hardly matter for the Canterbury Tales, which exists in many manuscripts, but based on the textual notes in the Riverside Chaucer, all of the following writings have early printed editions of textual significance

(though Caxton and Thynne, especially the latter, were often guilty of editorial tampering):

BOOK	EDITION
The House of Fame	Caxton (1483), Thynne (1532)
Anelida and Arcide	Caxton (c. 1478)
The Parliament of Fowls	Caxton (c. 1478)
Troilus and Criseyde	Caxton (c.1483), Wynkyn de Worde (1517), Thynne (1532)
The Legend of Good Women	Thynne (1532)
(Various short works)	Caxton (c. 1478), Julian Notary (c. 1500), Thynne (1532), Stowe (1561), Speght (1602), etc.

The Byzantine Priority Hypothesis

Introduction

The first printed New Testaments were all primarily Byzantine — that is, they all had texts related to what we call the "Byzantine" or "Majority" text-type. Indeed, the Textus Receptus was, for too long, used as the standard for the Byzantine text (and even once it was challenged, it continued to be treated as if identical to the Byzantine text). In the nineteenth century, though, due to the works of scholars such as Lachmann and Hort, that changed. The key element of Hort's theory — the one part still accepted after the rest was generally abandoned — was his "proof" of the lateness of the Byzantine text. For most of the century following Hort, the uselessness of the Byzantine text was not only universally accepted, but nearly unquestioned.

In the late twentieth century, that has changed. A group of scholars — mostly American and mostly conservative evangelicals — have called for a return to the Byzantine text.

One must be careful in assessing people who prefer the Byzantine text. Most such are *not* textual critics, and do not engage in textual criticism. Anyone who favours the King James Version or the Textus Receptus, or who claims providential preservation or some kind of divine sanction for a particular text, is not and cannot be a textual critic. It is unfortunate that these non-critics have infected the arguments about the Byzantine text, as their irrational, unreasonable, and uncritical arguments serve only to muddy what should be a reasonable and fruitful debate. It is even more unfortunate that some legitimate critics who support the Byzantine text have accepted their rhetoric. This argument, like all critical arguments, must be decided based on evidence and logic, not faith or claims of what "must" be so. The typical argument is "providential preservation" — the claim that God *must* have preserved the original text in all its purity. But as Harry

A. Sturz (who is about as sympathetic to the Byzantine text as anyone can be while not being a pure Byzantine-prioritist) notes, “Hills [the leading exponent of this sort of preservation] fails to show why the sovereign God *must* act in a particular way.” [Harry A. Sturz, *The Byzantine Text-Type & New Testament Textual Criticism* (1984), p. 42. Italics added.] (For more on this subject, see the article on Theology and Textual Criticism.)

But while these non-critics (and non-critical thinkers) make up the majority of those who prefer Byzantine or Byzantine-like texts, they are not the entirety of the Byzantine-priority movement. There are genuine textual scholars who prefer the Byzantine text, and others who, without entirely approving it, would still give it a much greater place than Hort did.

Critical Arguments *for* the Byzantine Text

The major names in this movement are Harry A. Sturz, (who, in T*he Byzantine Text-Type & New Testament Textual Criticism*, offers the case that the Byzantine type should be considered just as early as the Alexandrian and “Western” types) and the two sets of editors, Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad (who published *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text*) and Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont (who published *The New Testament in the Original Greek according to the Byzantine/Majority Textform)*.

Those who believe in Byzantine Priority on critical grounds usually offer three lines of argument: First, that Hort’s proof that the Byzantine text is late is false; second, that the numerical preponderance of the Byzantine text is proof of its fundamental originality, and third, that the readings of the Byzantine text are superior to those of other types (by some standard or other). (Those such as Sturz who argue simply for Byzantine equality obviously pursue only the first line of argument.) Those wishing to see the claims of these authors should consult Sturz or the arguments presented by Pierpont & Robinson.

The claim that the sheer number of Byzantine manuscripts proves the originality of the type is most easily disposed of, since it is false on its face. This is the Fallacy of Number — and it is a fallacy. By this argument, the predominant life on earth would be the anaerobic bacteria (now in fact nearly extinct, as they die on contact with oxygen in the air), and the human race would have originated in China. It is true that, if nothing interferes with the transmission process (meaning that all manuscripts produce approximately equal numbers of descendants), then the text found in the majority of manuscripts would likely be the most original text. But there is no reason to think that the transmission process was absolutely smooth — such things almost never are, in the real world; those who claim that the history of the New Testament text is smooth must

present positive proof that it *was* smooth, rather than making unverifiable and improbable claims. There is, in fact, strong evidence that the course of transmission was not free of interference. The evidence is that different areas developed different Local Texts (the Alexandrian text in Egypt, the Byzantine in Constantinople and its vicinity, etc.). Of these areas, only Byzantium was still in Christian hands after the tenth century, when the main bulk of manuscripts were produced. Thus, *no matter what the original text,* we would expect manuscripts which contain the local text of Byzantium (seemingly what we call the Byzantine Text) to be the clear majority of surviving witnesses.

The fact is that replicative processes (which include everything from the breeding of drug-resistant bacteria to the copying of manuscripts) generally *do not* follow straightforward reproductive paths. One cannot argue from the nature of transmission to the history of the text; the history of the text is too complex and peculiar for that. One can only argue from the history of the text to the nature of transmission (and, in fact, our knowledge of the history of the text is insufficient to allow us to argue in either direction).

If analogies from bacteria don't seem convincing, how about analogies from language? That languages come into existence, evolve, and decay cannot be denied. English exists today; it did not exist two thousand years ago. Latin was common two thousand years ago; today it is a dead language (though still widely known and remembered). These are facts. From this, we can reconstruct the languages from which other languages descended.

English and Latin both go back to proto-Indo-European. This language no longer exists, and, just like the New Testament archetype, must be reconstructed. This is an imprecise process, and the results are not assured. But consider what the argument of number says: It says that the preponderant weight of witnesses is the primary means of determining what is original.

Right now, English is the dominant Indo-European language. Does this mean that Indo-European is closer to English, which has hundreds of millions of native speakers, than to Sanskrit, which is a dead language? Sixteen hundred years ago, when Latin was dominant, was Indo-European more like Latin? We don't know the answer with certainty — but we know that Indo-European was only one language, and was what it was. Numbers of later speakers don't affect the question.

We can also cite examples of how non-original texts can become dominant. This is more common in with non-Biblical texts, but there is at least one New Testament example: The Byzantine subgroup von Soden labelled K^r. As far as I know, all parties admit that this type is recensional, at least in the sense that it is carefully controlled and deliberately published — the manuscripts agree very closely, the apparatus is unique, and the text is highly recognizable although definitely Byzantine. This type was created

no earlier than the eleventh century. Yet, according to Von Soden, it constitutes the absolute majority of manuscripts copied in the final centuries of the manuscript era (and while this seems to be a slight exaggeration — very many manuscripts of other types continued to be copied — the type was certainly more common than any other textual group in late centuries). Had printing not been invented, K^r would almost certainly have become the dominant type. What, then, of a text-type at least seven centuries older than K^r? By all accounts, the Byzantine text was in existence by the fourth century. Certainly it could have become dominant whether original or not — just as the majority of tuberculosis bacteria are now drug-resistant even though such bacteria were few and far between (if indeed they existed at all) a century ago.

We can offer another analogy from the manuscripts. The vast majority of surviving manuscripts from the third century and earlier are from Egypt. (Based on the table of early manuscripts in Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament,* 94% of all such ancient manuscripts are Egyptian.) Does this mean that 94% of all early manuscripts which ever existed were written and used in Egypt? Of course not! This is simply another accident of history.

There is also the interesting case of the Peshitta Syriac (at least in the Old Testament). According to Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament* (translated by Erroll F. Rhodes), p. 87, prior to the ninth century, there was significant diversity in Peshitta manuscripts. But in the tenth century, a single monastery collected every Peshitta manuscript it could lay its hands on — supposedly collecting 250 copies just in the year 932! This left very few copies of the Peshitta in circulation — and it appears that all later copies were taken from a single ninth century copy which remained in Syria.

Thus we have many analogies to the descent of New Testament manuscripts: From biology. From linguistics. From manuscripts of secular authors. Even from subgroups of the New Testament tradition. In no case does number mean anything. It may be that the New Testament tradition is unique. But why should it be? God has not made Christianity the dominant world religion. God has not preserved theological purity. God has not given the human race good government. Why should God have done something special with New Testament manuscripts?

Thus, although number certainly is not an argument *against* the Byzantine text, it is a very feeble argument indeed in its favour. If there is any real evidence against the Byzantine text, it will certainly overcome the evidence of number.

Andrew Lohr suggested another argument on behalf of the Byzantine text, this one geographical/historical:

Consider: where did the originals go? This is sometimes argued, and has to be, book by book. Take I Corinthians, though. I think most agree the original, call it g0 (generation 0), went to Corinth, and most likely (we cannot be certain) stayed there until it wore out. Let's call copies copied from the original g1, copies from a g1 copy g2, and so on. Where are most of the g1 copies likely to be? Near Corinth. When someone takes a g1 copy to a distance, say to Alexandria, the g2 copies where it's taken are likely to be taken from the copy, preserving its idosyncrasies, perhaps with local "corrections" (Alexandria had a tradition of textual criticism.) Maybe a copy that's going to a distance would be made with special care, maybe with a haste that makes errors likely (probably some cases of both; scribes had various individual tendencies.) When the g0 copy wears out, its neighborhood probably has a number of g1 copies that can be corrected from each other. But by the time a remote g1 copy wears out, it will probably have established its deviations in its neighborhood. So the most accurate copies will tend to be in the neighborhood of where the originals were.

And most of the NT originals, the g0s, were probably in the "Byzantine arc" from Jerusalem through Turkey and Greece to Rome. (Old Conybeare and Howson speculated that Hebrews might *have gone to Alexandria.) So not necessarily the most accurate particular copies, but the most accurate tendency of text — average sloppiness around a g0, rather than a set of deviations coming from a g1 or g2 or local editing — is likely to be found in Byzantine areas.*

Much of this is likely enough. Certainly it makes sense that the earliest copies would cluster around the archetypes. But there are several drawbacks. One is that we have no actual proof that the Byzantine text is the text from the area of the Byzantine arc. A second is that there are probably two archetypes of, say, 1 Corinthians: The copy sent by Paul to the Corinthians, and the copy he presumably kept — and while the former would be in Corinth, the latter might be anywhere. A third difficulty is that the book would probably be more often copied in Corinth — and so, although each individual copy might be better than a copy at an equal "generation depth" elsewhere, the net result might be a worse text simply because of more generations. A final difficulty, applying more to the epistles than the gospels, is that they were collected very early, and we don't know where the collection was made or on what textual basis — but probably most later copies derive from that, not from better or worse local texts. Lohr's argument is like the argument from number: It has some theoretical validity, but there are too many things which might have gone wrong for it to allow us any certainty.

So any argument for the Byzantine text must lie on other grounds: On the basis of its readings. Can such an argument succeed? Or, to put it another way, do the arguments *against* the Byzantine text fail?

Critical Arguments *against* the Byzantine Text

This is where we return to Hort. Despite a century of further research and discoveries, despite a general turning away from Hort's near-absolute acceptance of the Alexandrian text, despite refusal to accept other parts of Hort's theory, his rejection of the Byzantine text is still widely considered final and convincing. What were Hort's arguments, and how well have they stood the test of time?

Hort offered three basic arguments against the Byzantine text (which he called the Syrian text):

Posterity of Syrian (δ) to 'Western' (β) and other (neutral, α) readings shown

- by analysis of conflate readings (Hort's §132–151)
- by Ante-Nicene Patristic Evidence (§152–162)
- by Internal Evidence of Syrian readings (§163–168)

(This rather simplifies Hort's list, as he uses other arguments in addition. Not all his arguments, however, are actually directed against the Byzantine text. Hort, e.g., has been accused of using genealogy against the Byzantine text, and it has been argued that this use is improper. If Hort had indeed done so, this would be a valid charge against him — but Hort did *not* direct genealogy against the Byzantine text; he directed it against the Fallacy of Number. For this purpose, his hypothetical use of genealogy is perfectly valid; it's just that it's not an argument against the Byzantine text. It is simply an argument against the methods used by certain pro-Byzantine scholars. So we are left with the three basic arguments against the Byzantine text, which are also the most decisive if valid.)

These arguments are of varying degrees of strength.

The argument based on **conflations** must be rejected. Hort listed only eight conflations in the Byzantine text — by no means a sufficient sample to prove his point. And yet, these seem to be the *only* true instances of the Byzantine text conflating two other readings. (This should come as no surprise; even if one accepts the view that the Byzantine text is a deliberate creation — and few would still maintain this point — it still worked primarily by picking and choosing between points of variation, not conflating them.) What's more, we find conflations in many manuscripts. The conflations may be a black mark against the Byzantine text, but they are not proof of anything.

The argument about the **age of the Byzantine witnesses** has somewhat more validity. The earliest (almost-)purely-Byzantine manuscript of the Gospels is A, of the fifth century; outside the Gospels, we have to turn to Ψ, from the eighth century or later. The

earliest Byzantine version, in the Gospels, is the Peshitta Syriac; outside the Gospels, none of the important versions (Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian) is Byzantine. Among the Fathers, the earliest to show a Byzantine text (among those who give us enough text to clearly make the determination) is Chrysostom. Thus the direct evidence cannot take the Byzantine text back beyond the fourth century — particularly as all of these early witnesses (A, Peshitta, Chrysostom) have relatively impure Byzantine texts, displaying an unusually high number of divergences from the textform that came to dominate in the minuscule era.

Byzantine apologists have gone to great lengths to try to explain away the fact that none of the early Byzantine witnesses seem to be "pure." Sturz, for instance, offers fifteen pages (150 readings) where the Byzantine text opposes Westcott and Hort's text but has early support. This is a rather dubious procedure, based on a weak definition of the Alexandrian text (the fact that Westcott and Hort print a reading does not mean that it is the Alexandrian reading, or that any reading they do not print is non-Alexandrian; in any case, there is good reason to believe that Westcott and Hort did not know of all text-types), and attempts to refute a theory that no one fully accepts any more — but even if Sturz's lists were entirely accurate, the results mean nothing. It is not enough to prove that individual Byzantine readings are old; it is universally agreed that most Byzantine readings are old. The only way to prove, using the manuscripts, that the Byzantine type is old is to find an *old Byzantine manuscript.* No one — not Burgon, not Sturz, not Hodges, not Robinson — has been able to do this.

The argument from a lack of an early Byzantine example, however, is not strong. Arguments from silence never are. The presence of an early Byzantine witness would prove the Byzantine type to be early, but the absence of such a witness proves absolutely nothing. The "Cæsarean" type has no Greek witnesses older than the ninth century, but its antiquity was never questioned (though its existence remains subject to argument). Even the "Western" text cannot display a Greek witness prior to the fifth or sixth century. (It is true that older patristic evidence is claimed for the "Western" text — though this is less decisive than sometimes claimed, since the text of Codex Bezae does *not* agree entirely with these witnesses.) It's worth noting that we don't have any early writings from the Byzantine area, where that text might be expected to be found. Thus, the absence of early Byzantine manuscripts proves very little except that the Byzantine text was not universal in early times. If anything, the Byzantine apologists' attempts to explain away the lack of early Byzantine witnesses is a case of "protesting too much"; their argument would look stronger if they didn't try to prove the unprovable.

Still, on this count as on the last, the matter must rest as "Case Unproven."

Thus the final verdict on the Byzantine test must rest upon the matter of **internal evidence of lateness**. Hort, interestingly, did not attempt to prove this point; he simply stated it, with some handwaving at conflations and the like. Later editors have presented examples of Byzantine readings which the internal evidence clearly convicts of being late — enough such that the case against the Byzantine text seemed very strong. But all of these were based on isolated instances. We can certainly offer isolated counter-instances. Consider, for instance, the last word of Jesus in Matthew and Mark. Did he say, "ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ κτλ," or "ΕΛΩΙ ΕΛΩΙ κτλ"? The following table shows the data (we'll ignore the variation in the other words):

	Matthew 27:46	Mark 15:34
ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ	A (D E Θ ηλει ηλει) F G K (L αηλι αηλι) W Y Δ Π 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1424 1582 it am cav ful hub* lich sang	(D Θ 565 ηλει ηλει) 059 131
ΕΛΩΙ ΕΛΩΙ	א (B ελωει ελωει) 33 hub** harl val cop	א A B C E F G H K L W Y Δ Ψ (1 1582 ελωι ελωει) 13 28 579 700 892 1424 it vg

If we rearrange this list by text-types, we see the following:

	Reading in Matthew:	Reading in Mark:
Alexandrian (א B 33 cop)	ΕΛΩΙ ΕΛΩΙ	ΕΛΩΙ ΕΛΩΙ
Byzantine (A E F G K pm)	ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ	ΕΛΩΙ ΕΛΩΙ
"Cæsarean" (Θ 565)	ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ	ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ
"Western" (D)	ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ	ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ

Thus we see that the Byzantine text, and *only* the Byzantine text, is free from assimilation in one or the other reading. It doesn't really matter which reading is original; all the text-types except the Byzantine have a conforming reading in one or the other gospel.

Testing the Byzantine Text

Even as isolated instances, the readings mustered against the Majority text are probably enough to make us suspect that the Byzantine type is not *the* original text, but they are certainly not enough to make us declare it late. What is needed is a detailed test of a particular section of text, listing all differences between the Byzantine and other text-types (ignoring readings of individual manuscripts; also, the Textus Receptuss must not be used to represent the Byzantine text). One the divergences are identified, they must be classified based on internal evidence. If the Byzantine text fails the test

significantly more often than the other text-types, then and only then can it be judged late.

This is a difficult task to undertake casually. Properly, we need to test the Byzantine text in all five major Biblical sections (Gospels, Acts, Catholics, Paul, Apocalypse), and large enough samples to be meaningful (at least fifteen chapters for the Gospels, ten for Paul, and five for the other sections. Note that it is perfectly possible that the Byzantine text could be late in one corpus and early in another). To do the job well would probably require a doctoral thesis.

We can only offer some small samples. (The apparatus of Hodges & Farstad can be very helpful here in seeking variants, though the manuscript data is clearly inadequate; the apparatus of Nestle, which simply omits many Byzantine variants, is *not* sufficient.) The list below is taken from Mark, chapter 9. (A chapter chosen because it offers many gospel parallels. This is because assimilation of parallels is one of the few cases where internal evidence is consistently decisive: The harmonized reading is inferior unless the unharmonized reading is the result of clear scribal error.)

Note that this is *not* a critical apparatus of Mark 9; it lists only places where text-types (appear to) divide. To avoid bias, the Byzantine reading is always listed first, then the Alexandrian, then any others. This is followed by a comment about which is original. Note: Variants found only in the "Western" text are not listed, as there is only one Greek witness to this type and few claim this text as original. I do, however, note "Cæsarean"-only readings.

- **Mk 9:2a** Byz+Alex+West και (5) א A B C D E F G H K L 33 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes ADD: εν τω προσευχεσθαι αυτους P45 W (Θ 28) f^{13} 565
  Comment: The Cæsarean reading appears to be an (imperfect) assimilation to Luke 9:29, and is to be rejected.

- **Mk 9:3a** Byz+West λιαν ως χιαν A D E F G H K f^{13} 33 565 579 700 *Byz*
  Alex+Caes OMIT: ως χιαν $P^{45–vid}$ א B C L W Θ f^{1} 892 k arm geo^{1}
  Comment: The Byzantine reading probably derives from Matt. 28:3, and is to be rejected.

- **Mk 9:4a** Byz+Alex+West και (1) א A B C D E K L Θ 33 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes ADD: ιδου W f^{13} 28 565 700
  Comment: The Cæsarean reading could come from either Matt. 17:3 or Luke 9:30. It might almost be argued that it is original (else why would both Matthew and Luke have the longer reading?), but its support is too poor.

- **Mk 9:5a** Byz+Alex λεγει א A B C E F G H K L 33 579 *Byz* (f^1 ελεγεν)
  Caes(pt)+West ειπον (P^{45} W ειπον ο Πετρος) D Θ 565 700 892
  Comment: The Cæsarean reading appears to be an assimilation to Matt. 17:4, and is to be rejected.

- **Mk 9:5b** Byz+Alex και (2) א A B C E F G H K L 33 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes+West ADD: θελεις D (W (700) 1071 f q και θελεις) Θ f^{13} 565 b ff^2 i
  Comment: The Cæsarean/Western reading is usually listed as an assimilation to Matt. 17:4, though the possibility cannot be discounted that the Alexandrian/Byzantine reading is an assimilation to Luke 9:33.

- **Mk 9:5c** Byz+Alex+West ποιησωμεν א A B D E F G H K L 33 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes ADD: ωδε P45 C W Θ 565 1093 1342 aur c ff^2
  Comment: The Cæsarean reading (which also has some weak Western support) appears to be an assimilation to Matt. 17:3

- **Mk 9:5d** Byz+Caes+West σκηνας τρεις A D E F G H K W Θ f^1 f^{13} 565 700 *Byz*
  Alex: τρεις σκηνας P^{45} א B C L D 33 579 892 1071 1342 1424
  Comment: This reading is indeterminate, as *both* variants are assimilations to other gospels. The Alexandrian reading is perhaps an assimilation to Matthew 17:4 (normally the stronger gospel, but it is noteworthy that B, at least, uses the other word order in that gospel!); but the reading of the other three types is an assimilation to Luke 9:33, which in the rest of the context is actually closer to the Markan text than is Matthew. The Byzantine reading is perhaps slightly more likely to be original — but not enough so to let us use the reading to make a decision.

- **Mk 9:6a** Byz+West λαλησει (P^{45} W Θ λαλει) A C^3 D E F G H K f^{13} *Byz*
  Alex(+Caes?): αποκριθη (א απεκριθη) B C* L Δ Ψ f^1 28 33 565 579 700 892 1342
  Comment: This passage does not have parallels in the other gospels, so any decision here will probably be dependent on opinions about Markan usage, which in turn are significantly dependent on our textual decisions. Thus this reading must be considered indecisive. The Alexandrian reading appears less smooth, however, giving it a slightly greater chance of authenticity.

- **Mk 9:6b** *Byz* ησαν γαρ εκφοβοι $P^{45\text{–vid}}$ A E F G H K W f^1 f^{13} 700 *Byz*
  Alex+West: εκφοβοι γαρ εγενοτο א B C D L Δ Θ Ψ 33 565 579 892 1342 (1241) (1424)
  Comment: Like the previous reading, this one has no parallels and would

probably have to be decided based on Markan usage. Again, the Alexandrian reading seems less “stylish” — but, as above, this is relatively little to go by.

- **Mk 9:7a** Byz+West ηλθεν A D E F G H K Θ (f^{13} 28) 33 565 700 *Byz*
  Alex: εγενετο (א) B C L Δ Ψ 579 892 1342
  Caes-part: OMIT W Y f^{1} aur c k
  Comment: The question here is, is the Byzantine reading a stylistic correction, or is the Alexandrian reading a (partial) assimilation to Luke 9:35? (Interestingly, not one Greek manuscript assimilates to the reading of Matthew.) This, again, depends on Markan usage and cannot be settled here.

- **Mk 9:7b** Byz+Alex νεφελης א B C E F G H K L W 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes+West ADD λεγουσα A D M (Δ) Θ Ψ Φ f^{1} f^{13} 28 33 157 565 700 1071
  Comment: This is a passage in which Matthew (17:5) and Luke (9:35) have the same reading, seemingly independently of Mark. If one is truly insistent upon Markan priority, this might argue that the Western reading is original. Otherwise, the Western reading is an obvious assimilation to one of the other gospels. It is also an obvious stylistic addition.

- **Mk 9:7c** Byz αυτου ακουετε A E F G H K f^{13} 700 *Byz*
  Alex+Caes+West ακουετε αυτου א B C D L W Θ Ψ f^{1} 28 33 565 579 892 1071 1241 1342 1424
  Comment: We cannot tell anything from this reading; it occurs in all three synoptic gospels, and there are variants in all three

- **Mark 9:8a** Alex+Byz εξαπινα א A B C E F G H L W Δ Ψ f^{1} 33 579 700 892 *Byz*
  Caes+West ευθεως D Θ 0131 f^{13} 565
  Comment: The Western/Caesarean reading looks very much like a simplification to parallel ordinary Markan usage. There are no parallels to either reading.

- **Mark 9:8b** Byz+Caes αλλα A C E F G H L W Δ Θ f^{1} f^{13} *Byz*
  Alex+West ει μη א (B) D N (0131) Σ Ψ (33) (579) 892 1342 1241 1424
  Comment: The Alexandrian reading appears to be an assimilation to Matt. 17:8, and is to be rejected.

- **Mark 9:9a** Byz+Caes καταβαινοντων δε A E F G H K W Θ f^{1} f^{13} 565 579 700 *Byz*
  Alex+West και καταβαινοντων א B C D L N Δ Σ Ψ 33 892 1071 1342
  Comment: A case could be made that the Alexandrian reading is more original as it is more typical of Markan usage (which tends to prefer και to δε). The Alexandrian reading could also, however, be an assimilation to Matt. 17:9 (though assimilation in details like this is less likely than assimilation where the

differences are large). On balance, the Byzantine reading appears somewhat more likely.

- **Mark 9:9b** Byz+Caes+Alex-pt απο א A C E F G H L W Δ Θ f^{1} f^{13} 565 579 700 892 *Byz*
  Alex-part+West εκ B D Ψ 33
  Comment: This is not really a Byzantine-versus-Alexandrian variant, as many good Alexandrian witnesses agree with the Byzantine text. However, the Alexandrian subtext headed by B clearly opposes the Byzantine text. And, in this case, the Byzantine text appears preferable, as εκ could be an assimilation to be Matt. 17:9.

- **Mark 9:9c** Byz+Alex+West διηγησωνται א A B C D E F G H L Δ Θ Ψ f^{1} 33 565 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes εξηγησωνται (W f^{13}) 700 2542
  Comment: Internal evidence really can't say much here, although the Caesarean reading is almost certainly secondary.

- **Mark 9:10a** Byz+Alex+West και (1) א A B C D E F G H L Δ Θ f^{1} 33 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes οι δε W Θ f^{13} 565 700
  Comment: The Caesarean reading is perhaps a stylistic improvement, though this is not absolutely certain.

- **Mark 9:10b** Byz+Alex το εκ νεκρων αναστηναι א A B C E F G H K L Δ Θ Ψ 33 565 579 700 892 *Byz*
  Caes+West οταν εκ νεκρων αναστη D W f^{1} f^{13}
  Comment: The Western reading is probably an assimilation to verse 9, and is to be rejected.

- **Mark 9:12a** Byz+Caes+West αποκριθεις ειπαν A D E F G H K W Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 700 *Byz*
  Alex εφη א B C L Δ Ψ 579 892 1342
  The Byzantine reading appears to be an assimilation to Matt. 17:11, and is to be rejected.

- **Mark 9:12**b *Byz* αποκαθιστα E F G H K f^{13} 700 892 1342 *Byz*
  Alex αποκαθιστανει אc A B L W Δ Ψ f^{1} 33
  West? αποκαταστεναι א* D (28)
  Caes-part αποκαταστησει C Θ 565 579 1093
  Comment: The Caesarean reading may be an assimilation to Matt. 17:11. Other than that, there isn't much to separate the readings — though the fact that A deserts the Byzantine text may argue against it.

- **Mark 9:12c** Byz αξουδενωθη (א) A C E F G H f^{13} 33 579 700 *Byz*
  Alex+West εξουδενηθη B D Ψ (Caes etc. εξουθενηθη L W Θ f^{1} 565 892 1342)
  Comment: This passage has no parallels, and must probably be decided based on style. There is no clear reason to prefer one reading.

- **Mark 9:13a** Byz+Alex+West και (1) א A B C D E F G H K L 33 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes (+Byz-pt) OMIT M N U W Γ Θ Σ f^{1} f^{13} 28 565 700
  The Caesarean reading appears to be an assimilation to Matt. 17:12, and is to be rejected.

- **Mark 9:13b** Byz+Alex+West εληλυθεν א A B D E F G H K L Δ Θ Ψ 33 565 579 892 *Byz*
  Caes-part ηδη ηλθεν C (W) f^{1} 700
  Comment: The Caesarean appears to be an assimilation to Matt. 17:12, and is to be rejected.

- **Mark 9:13c** Byz+Caes ηθεληαν A C^{2} E F G H K W Δ Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 579 700 1424 *Byz*
  Alex+West ηθελον א B C* D L Ψ 892
  Comment: The Byzantine reading appears to be an assimilation to Matt. 17:12, and is to be rejected.

- **Mark 9:14a** Byz+Caes+West ελθων προς τους μαθητας ειδεν A C D E F G H Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 700 1424 *Byz*
  Alex ελθοντες προς τους μαθητας ειδον א B D L W Δ Ψ 892 1342
  Comment: This passage has only a partial parallel to Matthew; what's more, neither reading matches the Matthean parallel. There is no clear grounds for decision.

- **Mark 9:14b** Byz+Alex γραμματεις א A B C E F G H L W Δ Ψ f^{1} 33 579 892 1424 *Byz*
  Caes+West τους γραμματεις D Θ 067 f^{13} 565 700
  Although this reading has no parallels, one suspects the "Western" variant of being a stylistic improvement.

- **Mark 9:14c** Byz+West αυτοις A D E F H f^{13} 33 565 1424 *Byz*
  Alex+Caes προς αυτους א B C L W Δ Θ Ψ f^{1} 579 700 892
  Comment: Neither reading has a parallel in the other gospels; a decision must be based on Markan usage.

- **Mark 9:15a** Byz+West ευθεως A D E F G H 33 579 1424 *Byz*
  Alex+Caes ευθυς א B C L W Δ Θ Ψ f^{1} f^{13} 565 700 892

Here again, there is no parallel; the reading must be decided on usage, or whether one of the readings is a stylistic correction (as appears to be the case).

- **Mark 9:15b** *Byz* ιδων αυτον εξεθαμβηθη A E F G H (Θ) (565) (579) 700 *Byz*
  Alex+West+Caes-pt ιδοντες αυτον εξεθαμβηθησαν א B C D L W Δ Ψ f^{1} f^{13} 33 892 1342 1424
  This reading is without parallels in the other gospels, and must be decided, if at all, based on style.

- **Mark 9:16a** Byz τους γραμματεις A C E F G H f^{13} 33 700 1424 *Byz*
  Alex+Caes+West αυτους א B D L W Δ Θ Ψ f^{1} 565 579 892 1342
  Clearly a correction for style; there are no immediate parallels. One must suspect the Byzantine reading of being a correction for clarity.

- **Mark 9:17a** Byz αποκριθεις εις εκ του οχλου ειπεν A (C) E F G H K (W) (f^{1}) (f^{13}) 565 892 *Byz*
  Alex+West απεκριθη αυτω εις εκ του οχλου א B D L Δ Ψ 33 579 1342 2427
  Caes-part απεκριθη εις εκ του οχλου και ειπεν αυτω Θ
  The reading of Θ is obviously a messed up correction of one reading toward the other. As between the Byzantine and Alexandrian readings, the question is harder. There are no real parallels here. The Byzantine reading looks like it might be a stylistic improvement.

- **Mark 9:18a** *Byz* οδατας αυτου A C^{3} E F G H Θ 700 892 1424 *Byz*
  Alex+Caes+West OMIT αυτου א B C* D L W Δ Ψ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 579
  This is what one might almost call a “standard” Alexandrian/Byzantine variant, with the Alexandrian text having a more abrupt reading and the Byzantine text a smoother (but less dramatic and not actually clearer) reading. Which reading one prefers will depend very much on the critical principle one adopts; in theory at least, the Alexandrian text could just as easily have omitted an unneeded pronoun as the Byzantine text could have added a clarifying pronoun. The only real clue is that the previous verb takes no pronoun; this would seem to imply its absence here.

- **Mark 9:19a** Byz+Alex ο δε א A B C E F G H L Δ Ψ 33 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*
  Caes+West και D W Θ f^{1} f^{13} 565
  This is another instance which can only be decided on stylistic grounds, and must be regarded as uncertain. If anything, though, the “Western” reading looks more original, as Matthew and Luke both read αποκριθεις δε ο Ιησους to Mark’s ο δε/και αποκριθεις.

- **Mark 9:19b** Byz+Alex+West αυτοις א A B C D E F G H L Δ Ψ f^{1} 33 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*
  Caes ADD ο Ιησους P45 W Θ f^{13}
  This is almost certainly a clarification in the Caesarean text. It may also have been inspired by the readings in Matthew and Luke, both of which mention Jesus.

- **Mark 9:20a** Byz+Caes-pt ευθεως το πνευμα P^{45} A E F G H Θ f^{1} f^{13} 700 *Byz*
  Alex το πνευμα ευθυς א B C L Δ Ψ 33 565 579 1342 1424
  West το πνευμα D
  This passage has no parallels, leaving us to decide based on style considerations. Once again, it is highly uncertain.

- **Mark 9:20b** Byz+Caes εσπαραξεν P^{45} A E F G H K W Θ Ψ 565 700 1424 *Byz*
  Alex συνεσπαραξεν א B C L Δ 33 579 892 1342
  West εταραξεν D
  All indications here point to the Byzantine reading as original. The Alexandrian reading συνεσπαραξεν is found in the parallel in Luke 9:42. It is also the more ornate word. In addition, the Byzantine reading is the middle reading; it could more easily have given rise to the "Western" reading than could the Alexandrian reading.

This is only a twenty verse sample, but it gives us a total of 37 readings. If we examine their nature, we find the following:

Reading Type	Number	Percent
Alexandrian clearly superior	3	8%
Alexandrian marginally superior	5	14%
Byzantine clearly superior	2	5%
Byzantine marginally superior	3	8%
Neither reading superior	10	27%
Alexandrian and Byzantine texts agree	14	38%

Given the small size of the sample (only 13 readings where one text shows superiority), we cannot draw any definite conclusions. We *must* have a larger sample. But in this sample at least, the Byzantine text obviously does *not* show the sort of massive inferiority implied by Hort. (Indeed, the truly bad text, with an extreme degree of assimilation, appears to be the "Cæsarean" text.)

If by some wild chance the above proportions are indicative, it would appear that the Alexandrian text is slightly better, but the Byzantine could not be considered secondary.

It would have to be considered an independent text-type which simply hasn't endured as well as the Alexandrian. But, given the size of the sample, it is quite possible that if we gathered a truly large sample, we might find the Byzantine text equalling or surpassing the Alexandrian.

We should also note the presence of *eight* readings where the Byzantine text stands alone. This is a strong indication that the Byzantine text is not simply a combination of Alexandrian and Western (or even Alexandrian, Cæsarean, and Western) readings. It is either independent of the other three, or it includes contributions from some other unidentified ("proto-Byzantine"?) text-type.

As an alternative to the above procedure, we might look for variants where one reading is clearly, obviously, and undeniably easier than the other. Examples of this would be readings such as Mark 1:2 (Byz add/Alex omit Ησαια) and James 5:7 (Byz add/Alex omit υετον). Such readings, however, are very rare. (Readings where internal evidence *favours* a particular reading are not rare, but absolutely decisive cases such as the two listed above are highly unusual.) But not all such readings favour the Alexandrian text; consider 1 Corinthians 13:3, where only the Byzantine reading καυθησωμαι can be said to explain the others (since, if it were original, it would invite the two other readings; if either of the other readings were original, there would be no reason for a variant to arise). That being the case, we must find all such readings, which is probably not practical.

Summary and author's expression of opinion:

When I started this article, I expected the Byzantine text to come off as clearly and significantly inferior to the other text-types. I was wrong. While I believe additional tests are needed, I cannot help but suspect that Hort was in error, and the Byzantine text has independent value. This does not make me a believer in Byzantine priority, but I am tempted toward a "Sturzian" position, in which the Byzantine text becomes one of the constellation of text-types which must be examined to understand a reading.

The basic difficulty, and the reason this issue remains unresolved, is the matter of *pattern*. It is not sufficient to do as Sturz did and show that some Byzantine readings are early; this does not mean that the type as a whole is early. But it is equally invalid to do as Hort did and claim, because some Byzantine readings are late, that the type as a whole is late. The only way to demonstrate the matter as a whole is to *examine the Byzantine text as a whole.* One must either subject all the readings in a particular passage to the test, or one must use a statistically significant sample of *randomly selected readings*. It is not sufficient to use readings which, in some manner, bring themselves forward (e.g. by having the support of a papyrus). It's like taking a political

poll by asking all registered Democrats to reveal their presidential preference. It may comfort the candidate (if he's stupid enough), but it really doesn't tell us much.

There seems to be a strong desire among scholars to make textual criticism simple (as opposed to repeatable or mechanical; although these may seem like the same thing, they are not). Hort made TC simple by effectively excluding all text-types but the Alexandrian. The Byzantine prioritists make TC simple by excluding all text-types but the Byzantine. One wishes it could be so — but there is no reason to believe that TC is simple. If it were simple, we could have reduced it to a machine algorithm by now. But no one has yet succeeded in so doing — and probably won't until we make some methodological breakthrough.

Addendum

The above was my opinion as of mid–2002. Since that time, I have become aware of a major project by Wieland Willker which included an attempt to prove the very point described above.

It's somewhat difficult to assess Dr. Willker's work for this purpose, because what he engaged in was a full-fledged textual commentary — a very useful item, far better than the UBS commentary, as it includes more readings and a more complete assessment of internal and external evidence.

What's more, his assessment at several points appears very cogent, agreeing with much of what I have found. Examples:

Regarding the "Cæsarean" text: *The main concern of its editor was to harmonize. This explains the heavy editing in Mk. Unfortunately all witnesses of the group underwent subsequent Byzantine correction to a different degree. We have no pure witness. Θ is the best we have. Full collations of all remotely Caesarean witnesses might be in order to clear up the kinship.*

Regarding the "Western" text: *Is D a singular idiosyncracy? If "D+it" ever was a* ***Greek*** *texttype is questionable. Do all or most of the Old Latin witnesses go back to one single translation?*

Dr. Willker classifies readings according to a scale similar to the above (i.e. *Byz* or UBS clearly or slightly superior), save that he is more interested in the readings of the UBS edition than those of particular text-types. But he does include an appendix looking at the particular types. The display is graphic rather than tabular, but it appears that the results are roughly as follows:

Percentage of Secondary readings, By Text-Type

Text-Type	% Secondary Readings
Alexandrian	10%
“Western”	37%
Byzantine	42%
“Cæsarean”	45%

Hort, obviously, would be thrilled with these results.

I must emphasize that these are not my results, and the material I have from Dr. Willker does not permit me to directly verify the assessments of readings based on internal evidence. I suspect, looking at his commentary, that the data set includes many readings I would not have considered decisive. But we must give him credit: if his results can be verified, and stand up under statistical examination, they would appear to deliver nearly the final blow to the Byzantine text; while the type is not entirely bad, it has little claim to stand on its own.

C

Canons of Criticism

Introduction • Outline of the Canons * External Critical Rules * Internal Critical Rules * How to Use the Canons of Criticism * Footnotes

Introduction

Although detailed methods vary, there are really only two ways to edit a Bible text. One is to print a text based on some sort of external control (the *Textus Receptus*, the text found in the majority of manuscripts, the text found in B/03). This may be useful, and may fit the publisher's assumptions, but it hardly constitutes editing. Its's more an exercise in reading an illegible hand.

The only other way is some form of eclecticism — picking and choosing between readings. And, unless one is content to print a chaotic text, choosing between readings requires some sort of guidelines. These guidelines are the "canons of criticism."

Outline of the Canons

Different editors have listed different rules, and applied them in different ways. Some have listed dozens of criteria,[1] others only a handful. No matter how many rules they list, all fall into one of two categories: Internal criteria (pertaining to the logic of readings) and External criteria (pertaining to the manuscripts containing the readings). Thus there are only two fundamental canons:

I. The **External Canon:** Manuscripts Are to be Weighed and Not Counted.

II. The **Internal Canon**: That Reading Is Best Which Best Explains the Others.

1. Von Mästricht's 1711 edition — arguably the first to include rules for criticism — listed forty-three canons! Most of these are not what we would today call "criteria"; they are observations about (often attacks on) scribes, or methods for deciding what is or is not a variant. But they are historically important, since both Wettstein and Bengel were influenced by them.
   It should be noted, however, that the first real study of textual criticism from the modern standpoint is that of Wilhelm Canter in 1566. *Syntagma de ratione emendandi scriptores Graecos* outlined many classes of errors, and probably influenced Bengel at least.
   The best summary of the history of criteria is probably Eldon J. Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom," printed in Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Studies and Documents 45, Eerdmans, 1993). The extensive section on canons of criticism begins on page 144. The history shows clearly how much of the theory of criticism goes back to Bengel; see especially the summary on page 148.

All other canons — no matter how numerous or how detailed — are simply corollaries or specific examples of these two rules. (The only so-called "critical method" which does not operate on this basis exception is the Byzantine Priority technique which simply counts noses. As no editor has ever published an edition based solely on this criterion, we can ignore it.)

Still, as any mathematician will tell you, the general rule may be pretty, but it's usually much easier to apply specific formulae.[1] The sections which follow describe some of the better-known rules for criticism that various scholars have used. Note that, since each is a specific case of a general rule, they should only be applied in the appropriate situation. The discussion tries to describe the situations in which which each rule applies. I've also tried to list who first proposed the rule, or who popularized it.[2]

External Critical Rules (pertaining to manuscripts)

That reading is best which is supported by the best manuscripts. This was the fundamental tenet of Hort, and has been followed by many others — including even Lagrange and Weiss, who in theory explicitly rejected it. This is a good rule if all the best manuscripts support a single reading (i.e. if all the leading manuscripts of all the early text-types agree), but should not be applied by itself if there is disagreement among the text-types. Still, this rule may be the final arbiter if all other criteria fail. Also, to apply this rule, one must have a precise definition of the "best" manuscripts. Unless one is Hort, and prepared to follow B/03 blindly, this rule can be hard to apply.

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1. If you want an example, consider this: I learned to add starting in first grade. Thus I was doing arithmetic, following a specific rule, when I was six years old. It was not until I was a junior in college that I was first exposed to what mathematicians call "The Fundamental Theorem of Arithmetic" (that each number has a unique prime factorization). Thus I learned the specific rules a decade and a half before I learned the general rule. And, to this date, I have never *used* the Fundamental Theorem of Arithmetic.

2. The list given here is compiled from a variety of modern manuals, most of which list only the critical canons accepted and used by that particular author — if they list canons at all. This list attempts to show all the canons the various authors use, whether I approve of them or not. The list of works consulted includes Hammond, Metzger (both the *Introduction* and the *Textual Commentary),* Vaganay/Amphoux, Kenyon, Aland & Aland, Black, Lake, and Greenlee, as well as a variety of special studies, most particularly by Epp and Colwell. I also looked at several Old Testament commentaries, and of course the book by Pickering cited below. Not all of these books list canons of criticism (indeed, some such as Lake hardly even mention the use of internal criteria); in these cases I have tried to reconstruct from the examples or from miscellaneous comments. It will be noted that some of these rules are closely associated with classical textual criticism, but that others are unique or nearly unique. For example, New Testament criticism does not rely upon manuscript stemma to the extent that classical studies do. This is largely due to the massive numbers of Biblical manuscripts (among Classical sources, only Homer is within an order of magnitude of the number of NT sources), which make true genealogical studies very difficult.

The geographically superior reading is best. I deliberately state this criterion vaguely, because geography has been used in various ways by various critics. The usual sense used in New Testament criticism is Streeter's, who argued that the reading supported by the most diverse sets of "Local Texts" is best. I.e. his criterion is **That reading is best which is supported by the most geographically diverse manuscripts.** That is, if reading X is supported by manuscripts from Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria, while reading Y is supported only by witnesses from Byzantium, reading X is to be preferred. The rule goes back to Bengel, but was strongly reinforced and restated by Streeter. All things being equal, this is a good rule, but there are two limitations. First, good readings *may* be preserved in almost any text (e.g. there are many instances where scholars read the text of B/03, perhaps supported by a papyrus or two, against all comers). Second, this rule can only be applied if one truly knows the provenance of manuscripts. (For additional detail, see the entry on Local Texts.)

There is, however, another rule based on geography, more commonly encountered in classical criticism but with some application to New Testament criticism, especially in studies of text-types and smaller textual groupings: **The more remote reading is best.** That is, isolated sites are more likely to preserve good readings, because manuscripts preserved there are more likely to be free from generations of errors and editorial work. This criterion, of course, cuts two ways: While a remote site will not develop the errors of the texts of the major centres, it is more likely to preserve any peculiar errors of its own. Remote texts may well be older (that is, preserve the readings of an older archetype); they are not automatically more accurate.

That reading is best which is supported by the earliest manuscripts. This was the basis of Lachman's text; he used only the earliest manuscripts. Today, it finds support from Aland (who has referred to the papyri as "the original [text]") and also Philip Wesley Comfort, who has the tendency to treat all papyrus-supported readings as accurate. It is, of course, true that the papyri are valuable witnesses, and that the support of early manuscripts increases the likelihood that a reading is original. But other criteria must take precedence. This is a rule of last resort, not a rule of first resort.

That reading is best which is supported by the most manuscripts. This is, of course, the negation of the theory of Hort, whose primary purpose was to dethrone the *Textus Receptus*. Although this rule has some modern supporters (e.g. Hodges, Robinson), it is generally rejected. Certainly those with scientific training will not be impressed with "Majority Rule." Modern eclectics of all types generally feel that, at best, this rule should be avoided until all other means of decision have failed. (Note: This is not saying that the reading of the Byzantine text is wrong. It's just that it's only *one* text type; adding more and more witnesses to the type does not change that fact.)

That reading is best which goes against the habitual practice of particular manuscripts. So, for instance, P^{75} and B have been accused of having exceptionally short texts — of omitting (by design or chance) many pronouns and other "unnecessary" words. So where P^{75} and B have a long reading, their testimony bears particular weight. By contrast, D is considered to include many interpolations and additions. Where, therefore, it has a short reading, the short reading is considered especially probable. (This is the theory, e.g., behind the so-called "Western Non-Interpolations.") Note that this rule can only be applied if the habits of a particular manuscript are truly known.

That reading is best which endured longest in the tradition. That is, a reading which is found in manuscripts from (say) the ninth to fifteenth centuries is superior to one found only in the fourth and fifth centuries. This criterion, offered by Burgon, has recently been re-stated by Pickering.[1] Moderns apparently apply this rule in some cases (e.g. Eph. 1:1, where most scholars include the words "In Ephesus," even though the manuscript evidence against them

1. Wilbur N. Pickering, *The Identity of the New Testament Text*, p. 134. On pages 129–138, Pickering offers the first modern support for Burgon's seven "Notes of truth" — criteria by which a reading is determined to be original. These are:
   1. Antiquity, or primitiveness — which to Pickering means that an original reading must be found before the Middle Ages (!).
   2. Consent of witnesses, or number ("a reading attested by only a few witnesses is unlikely to be genuine").
   3. Variety of evidence, or Catholicity (witnesses from many different areas).
   4. Continuity, or Unbroken Tradition ("A reading, to be a serious candidate for the original, should be attested throughout the ages of transmission, from beginning to end.... If a reading died out in the fourth or fifth century we have the verdict of history against it. If a reading has no attestation before the twelfth century, it is certainly a late invention.")
   5. Respectability of witnesses, or weight. (Note that Pickering, in offering this criterion, adds "The oldest manuscripts can be objectively, statistically shown to be habitual liars, witnesses of very low character… " Since Pickering can be demonstrated to have about as much understanding of statistics as the average lungfish, one must wonder how seriously to take his comments here.)
   6. Evidence of the Entire Passage, or Context (referring not to internal evidence but to how reliable a particular manuscript is in a particular section of the text).
   7. Internal considerations, or reasonableness (Pickering applies this only to readings which are "grammatically, logically, geographically, or scientifically impossible," and gives as an example Luke 19:45, where he apparently prefers "The sun was darkened" to "the sun was eclipsed"; Pickering cites four other examples, but in none of them was I able to determine which reading he preferred and why.)

   It will be noted that all of Burgon's "Notes" except #4 (the canon to which this note refers) are accepted by other textual critics — but generally applied in very different ways! If Pickering's version of Burgon's criteria were applied consistently, then the search for "the original text" would be nothing more than an examination of the K^x recension. K^x is, by Pickering's standard, old (the earliest manuscript, E/07, dates from the eighth century); it is always the majority reading (according to Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence,* 53% of the manuscripts of Luke are K^x at least in part); its sheer bulk ensures its "catholicity," "continuity," and "weight," and — by virtue of being Byzantine, and therefore relatively easy — its readings are "reasonable."

— P^{46} א B 6 424** 1739 — is very strong). I know of no eclectic scholar who states the rule, though, and most of the time they actively reject its dictates; see, for example, 2 Cor. 12:9, where א** A** D** K L 0243 33 330 1739 *Byz* (sixth through sixteenth centuries) read "my power is perfected in weakness," while P^{46-vid} א* A*vid B D* F G latt sa (third through ninth centuries) omit "my." The fact that every truly early witness omits "my," and that these witnesses come from three different text-types, counts for nothing when using this criterion. Therefore scholars reject the rule; all editions since Tischendorf (save Hodges & Farstad and Pierpont & Robinson) have omitted "my."

Great diversity of readings often indicates early corruption and perhaps editorial work. This principle, in use since the last century, has recently been firmly restated by Kurt and Barbara Aland. The difficulty, of course, lies in figuring out which reading is original when confronted by a wide variety. It should be noted, however, that in the case of such corruption, the original may be found in manuscripts which otherwise would not be found reliable. A good example is 1 Thes. 3:2, where the best-attested reading would appear to be διακονον του θεου (א A P 424** bo arm). Of the half-dozen different readings here, however, the best appears to be συνεργον του θεου, supported only by D* 33 d Ambrosiaster.

The continuous reading is best. Maurice Robinson, who strongly supports this rule, states it in full as follows: "In any extended passage where multiple sequential significant variant units occur, those MSS which offer strong support in less problematic variant units are more likely to be correct in the more problematic units if such MSS retain their group support without serious fragmentation of or deviation from such group." This rule only applies in groups of three or more points of variation. Let us consider the simplest example, of three sets of variants (call them A, B, and C). Suppose you can clearly decide the correct reading in A and C, but are not certain about the reading in B. In that case, the manuscripts which are correct in A and C are likely to be correct in B as well. The logic is that scribes are basically careful. They transcribe accurately if they can, but one or another condition may cause them to slip. If a scribe is transcribing most variants in a passage accurately, chances are that he or she will have done equally well in variants where we cannot assure his or her accuracy.

This rule is difficult to demonstrate in practice, because of the great diversity of methods of criticism. A reading which one critic considers uncertain may seem quite assured to another critic. And critics do not agree on textual groupings, either. It may not be possible to offer an example of this rule which would be accepted by all critics. Certainly I know of none. So I will offer a hypothetical example, not because I like using artificial examples but because I'd rather have something that clearly demonstrates the point.

Consider the following passage, based loosely on John 11:25. The variants are enclosed in curly brackets. We will assume that each reading is supported by a certain collection of text-types: A=Alexandrian, B=Byzantine, C=Caesarean, W=Western. (Note that one need not accept the existence of any of these types; any set of groupings would be equally meaningful

here):
απεκριθη {Ιησους AB | κυριος Ιησους CW} {και ειπεν BC | *omit* AW}, {εγω BW | *omit* AC} **ειμι η αναστσις και η ζωη**
Most critics would agree, based on either internal or external evidence, that the short reading Ιησους is correct in the first variant. And stylistic considerations dictate that the third variant should read ειμι, not εγω ειμι. But what about the inclusion/omission of και ειπεν? One reading is shorter and more direct, the other more typical of Johannine usage. So internal evidence fails us, at least at a casual glance. In such a case, we turn to the criterion of the continuous reading. In this case, the Alexandrian text is clearly correct in the first and third readings. Chances are, then, that it is correct in the second reading also; we should omit και ειπεν.
The danger with this criterion lies in over-applying it. This is *not* the same as the rule that the best manuscript/text-type is best. (Though Maurice Robinson believes that this lesser rule generalizes to that greater principle.) This is a local principle, applying to relatively short passages. Moreover, it is a secondary rule, applying only to uncertain variants in the context of variants which are secure.

That reading found in the majority of early text-types is best. OK, a personal opinion here: This is *the* rule. The whole story. If you have three early text-types (call them "Ptolemaic," "Romanesque," and "Cilician,") and two of them attest to a particular reading, doesn't it stand to reason that the majority of the text-types — all of which go back to the original — is more likely to be right unless there is some other explanation for how they came to be corrupted? Curiously, no one seems to have applied this rule on a consistent basis. The problem, of course, lies in determining what *is* a Text-Types and which of them are early. This is an area that doesn't get nearly enough attention — which in turn means that this most basic and obvious and objective of rules is not stated, and rarely applied; no one is willing to do the work to apply it!

Internal Critical Rules (pertaining to the nature of variants)

The shorter reading is best *(Lectio brevior praeferenda).* This rule is found in most manuals, beginning with Griesbach, and certainly has its place. There were scribes who liked glosses, and there were scribes who would always prefer the longer reading (on the principle that it was better to have an extraneous word in scripture than to risk leaving something out). However, this rule must be applied with extreme caution (as Griesbach himself noted, adding exceptions for scribal errors and for minor omissions that do not affect the sense). The most common sorts of scribal errors (haplography) result in a shortening of the text. Also, there is a strong tendency among copyists to omit short words. (These first two errors are both characteristic of א, for example.) In addition, there were scribes (the scribe of P^{45} is perhaps the most extreme) who freely shortened the text. Finally, despite Boismard, the short reading

should not be adopted based only on arguments from silence (Boismard adopts a number of short readings in John on the grounds that patristic sources omit the words. This is not good evidence; the phrases in question may simply not have been relevant to the commentator's argument). Therefore the rule of the "shortest reading" should be applied only if the manuscripts with the short reading are reliable and if there is no evident reason why scribes might have deliberately or accidentally shortened the text. As a general rule, if a scribe makes a deliberate change, it will usually result in a longer text; if a scribe makes an error, it will more often result in a shorter text.

At this point it might be worthwhile to quote G. D. Kilpatrick: "There are passages where reasons can be found for preferring the longer text and there are others where we can find reasons for preferring the shorter. There is a third category where there does not seem to be any reason for deciding one way or the other. How do we decide between longer and shorter readings in this third category? On reflection we do not seem able to find any good reason for thinking that the maxim *lectio brevior potior* really holds good." ("The Greek New Testament of Today and the Textus Receptus," in Anderson & Barclay, *The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective,* 1965, p. 196.)

Still, there are cases where this rule is accurate, though usually for other reasons than simple brevity. An obvious example of the use of this rule is the several additions of "fasting" with "prayer," e.g. in 1 Cor. 7:5 (Mark 9:29 is also an example of this type, although it is perhaps a questionable instance since the external support for "and fasting" is very strong, and the words are found in all manuscripts which insert the sentence in Matthew. This implies that those who added the words to Matthew must have known them in Mark).

The hardest reading is best *(Difficilior lectio potior* or *Proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua).* First offered by Bengel (for whom it was the basic rule), this is a good criterion; scribes were generally more likely to make texts simpler rather than harder. But some caution must be applied; scribes were capable of making errors that led to prodigiously difficult readings. (A good example of this is the peculiar readings that litter P^{66}.) One should prefer the harder reading only when it is adequately attested and does not appear to be the result of error. Or, perhaps, the rule should be rephrased: *Among readings which are possible,* the hardest reading is to be preferred.

The reading most in accord with the author's style is best. This is a two-edged sword, since copyists were perfectly capable of conforming a peculiar passage to an author's style. Take the Gospel of John. There are dozens of instances of the phrase "Amen, amen, I say to you." Suppose the author had, in one instance, left out an "Amen"? Would this reading have survived in the tradition? Perhaps not. And if it had survived in one part of the tradition, might not an editor be inclined to reject it? If applied with caution, however, this rule can be very useful; it often allows us, e.g., to choose between verb forms (since most authors have a peculiar pattern of verb usage.) Of course, the usage of the author must be known very well.

The middle reading is best. This rule is rarely found in the textbooks, even though Griesbach had a form of it — though biological stemmatists have found it very important and useful. It obviously only applies in cases where there are three (or more) readings. If there are three readings, X, Y, and Z, and a simple change will convert X to Y, and Y to Z, but no simple change will convert X to Z or vice versa, then Y is the middle reading (the one that could have given rise directly to the others), and is to be preferred. Of course, this only applies where X, Y, and Z all have early attestation. If one of the readings is late, then it could be a tertiary corruption.

An example of the use of this rule occurs in 2 Pet. 2:13. Here P^{72} א A* C? 33 81 436 614 630 1505 2344 *Byz* read απαταις, A** B Ψ 623 1243 1611 vg read αγαπαις, and 322 323 945 (1241) 1739 1881 read αγνοιαις. Most editors explain away αγαπαις as an assimilation to Jude 12. However, there are good arguments for its originality. In addition, it is the middle reading; both απαταις and αγνοιαις could have arisen directly from αγαπαις but could not have arisen from each other. Since all three readings are early, and αγαπαις is the middle reading, it is to be preferred.

The reading which could most easily have given rise to the other readings is best. This approximates Tischendorf's formulation of the general rule "That reading is best which best explains the others." It is a direct Corollary of the basic rule, and has much the same force as the preceding rule and applies in all the same cases and more.

The reading which could not have arisen from lectionary use is best. Many continuous-text manuscripts were marked for lectionary use. Often this meant adding lectionary introductions, and often these introductions crept into the text (the praxapostolos 1799, for instance, is littered with lectionary incipits). If a reading might have arisen as the result of this error, it is probably to be avoided. Compare the following rule:

The reading which is counter to ecclesiastical usage is best. Offered by Eberhard Nestle, this applies mostly to passages found in the lectionary. It also argues against readings such as "Amen" at the end of epistles: With the exception of James (where "Amen" is found in 614 1505 2495 t hark *pc*), at least one uncial witness attests to "Amen" at the end of every New Testament epistle. However, the editors of *UBS/GNT* accept the word only at the end of Galatians, Jude, and — in brackets — 2 Peter.

The disharmonious reading is best. This rule is usually applied in the gospels, where assimilation of parallels is common. If one reading matches the text of another gospel, and the other reading does not, then the assumption is that the unique reading is best. (Von Soden noted a special instance of this: All things being equal, scribes tended to assimilate to Matthew as the "strongest" of the gospels. If no other rule resolves a variant involving parallels, **The reading which does not match Matthew is best.**) This is a good rule, but must be applied with caution. As Colwell has shown, the most common sort of assimilation is

assimilation to the immediate context. Also, scribes would sometimes assimilate to other, unrelated sources (e.g. hymns or other writings that sounded similar to the scripture being copied). So this rule should really be altered to read…

The less familiar reading is best. That is, if one reading is what you would expect a scribe to write, and the other is unusual or surprising, the latter is probably the correct reading. This is what Hort called "Transcriptional Probability." The only problem is guessing what was going on in the scribe's head as he wrote…

We can illustrate this with an example from the LXX. Consider Ezek. 38:13. The Hebrew text refers to "Tarshish." The translators of LXX glossed this to the more familiar "Carchedon" (Carthage). But the scribe of A was confused even by that, and converted it to "Chalcedon." We see this identical error in some classical texts, from the period when every Byzantine scribe knew the Council of Chalcedon but when Carthage was a forgotten city in the west: In Aristophanes, *Knights* 1303, manuscripts R V Φ refer to Carchedonians/ Carthaginians, but Γ^2 and some scholia mention Chalcedonians.

The reading which best fits the context or the author's theology is best. If we were absolutely sure of how the author thought, this would be a good rule. As it is, it is awfully subjective…

The reading which has the truest sense is best. Hort said that the best readings are those which, on the surface, don't make sense, but which, on reflection, show themselves more reasonable. Hence this criterion. Perhaps the best example of its application is the reading of *UBS/GNT* in 2 Cor. 5:3, where (following D* (F G) a d f** g) that text reads "if indeed, when we take it off, we will not be found naked." All other witnesses, starting with P^{46}, read ".... when we put it on, we will not be found naked." The UBS editors accept the reading "take it off" on the grounds that the other reading simply doesn't make sense.

The reading which avoids Atticism is best. With the Attic Greek revival of the early Christian centuries, Attic forms began to be used after some centuries of desuetude. Kilpatrick, in particular, called attention to Atticising tendencies. The caution with this rule is to determine what is a *truly* Attic reading and what is legitimate *koine*. Parallel to this rule are the three which follow:

The reading which is characteristic of Hellenistic usage is best. Since the *koine* used a number of unclassical and uncouth forms, later scribes with more classical education might be tempted to correct such "barbarisms." This is another of the stylistic criteria of Kilpatrick and Elliot. Fee, on the other hand, denies it; scribes seem often to have conformed readings to the *koine* and Septuagint idiom.

The reading which resembles Semitic usage is best. Since most of the New Testament authors were native speakers of Aramaic, they would tend to use Semitic idiom in violation of Greek usage. Copyists, as native Greeks, might be expected to correct such readings. This is

again the argument of the thoroughgoing eclectic school (compare the preceding rules), and again there are those who argue that scribes would be more likely to prefer Septuagintal usage.

Parallel to the two preceding is ***The reading which is less like the Septuagint is best.*** This is another of those tricky rules, though. It's certainly true that some scribes would tend to conform to the Septuagint. But this has even more than the usual complications. It must be remembered, for instance, that most copies of LXX were made by Christians, and they might often conform LXX to the New Testament usage more familiar to them — meaning that the harmonization, rather than being in the NT, is in LXX! And then, too, NT authors often deliberately used LXX language which scribes might mis-copy.

That reading which seems to preserve an ungrammatical form is best. A trivial example is Mark 6:29 (ηλθαν/ηλθον), where first and second aorist stems are interchanged. Most applications of this rule are to equally trivial matters — although sometimes they may reveal something about the scribe who produced the manuscripts.

If one reading appears to be an intentional correction, the reading which invited such a correction is best. Alternately, T**hat reading which is most likely to have suffered change by copyists is best.** Proposed by Tischendorf. This is fundamentally the same as preferring the harder reading. If a reading calls out for correction, of course some scribes will correct it. They are hardly likely to deliberately create a reading which requires such correction. An obvious example is Mark 1:2. Here א B (D) L Δ (Θ) (f^{1}) 33 565 (700) 892 1241 it arm geo read "As is written *in Isaiah the Prophet,"* while A W f^{13} 579 *Byz* read "As is written *in the prophets."* The citation which follows is, of course, from several sources, only one of which is Isaiah. While it is possible that scribes corrected "in the prophets" to "in Isaiah the Prophet" based on parallels (since so many NT citations are from Isaiah), it is much more likely that scribes corrected "in Isaiah the prophet" to "in the prophets" to eliminate the errant reference.

The reading which could have given rise to the others accidentally is best. Or, as P. Kyle McCarter puts it, **Look first for the unconscious error.** This is a very important rule in Old Testament criticism, where independent witnesses are few. It is less applicable in the New Testament, where witnesses are many and where errors of spelling or dittography are less likely to give rise to a meaningful variant. However, if one reading could have given rise to another by an accidental error (e.g. by omitting a doubled letter or a short word or syllable), that reading is clearly to be preferred.

The reading which is susceptible to a heterodox interpretation is best. This rule does not often apply, but when it does, it is important. A reading which lessens the dignity of Christ, for instance, is usually preferable (unless it is supported only by highly questionable sources). Examples of readings where this criterion applies include:

Matt. 24:36. א* B D Θ f^{13} 28 1505 a b c (e) f ff^2 q r arm geo^1 *al* read “Of that day and hour no one knows, neither the angels.... nor the son, but only the father.” א** L W f^1 33 892 *Byz* omit “nor the son.” The reading “nor the son” should obviously be retained, since it implies limits on Jesus’s omniscience.

Matt. 27:16–17. Θ f^1 700* sin arm geo^2 *pc* read “Jesus Barabbas.” All other uncials read “Barabbas.” “Jesus Barabbas” is to be preferred because scribes wouldn’t like a bandit to have the same name as the savior!

John 7:8. א D K 1241 1071 1241 a b c e ff^2 vg sin cur bo arm geo *al* read “I am not going to this festival.” P^{66} P^{75} B L T W Θ 070 0250 33 892 *Byz* have “I am not yet going to this festival.” The first reading is to be preferred because it implies that Jesus either lied or changed his mind.

John 7:39. P^{66}** P^{75} א N* T Θ Ψ *family* Π *pc* read “the spirit was not yet” (P^{66}* L W f^1 f^{13} 33 892 *Byz* have “the Holy Spirit was not yet”). Since this could be taken as implying that the Holy Spirit did not exist, some scribes (B (D) e f pc) corrected this to something like “the [Holy] Spirit had not been given.”

Perhaps a slightly less certain example is Luke 22:16. In (C) (D) (N) W (X) (Ψ) f^{13} 892 *Byz*, Jesus says, “I will not eat [the Passover] again until it is fulfilled in God’s kingdom.” In $P^{75\text{–vid}}$ א A B L Θ 579 1241 a cop *al*, however, we read that Jesus will not eat the Passover *at all.* This is, incidentally, evidence for John’s date of the crucifixion on Passover eve, but in any case, it contradicts synoptic chronology and would invite correction.

J. Keith Elliot also offers Mark 1:41 as an example of this phenomenon. Here D a ff^2 r^1* read, “Jesus grew angry [and healed the leper].” All other witnesses (except b, which omits the description) read “Jesus was moved.” Whether the reading “grew angry,” which makes Jesus seem less than perfect, is to be preferred will depend on how one balances internal and external criteria.

If there were any doubt about the operation of this rule (and there shouldn’t be, because we see Origen casting out the “Jesus Barabbas” reading because he didn’t like its implications), we can see its operation in action in classical texts. In the *Odyssey,* XIII.158, the manuscripts read μεγα δε, which causes Zeus to say to Poseidon, in effect, “Go ahead! Flatten those Phaeacians for being kind and hospitable to visitors.” This was so troubling that Aristophanes of Byzantium claimed the proper reading must have been μηδε, which makes Zeus reluctantly allow a limited punishment rather than adding refinements to Poseidon’s capricious cruelty. This sort of theological tampering continues today; the Richard Lattimore translation of the Odyssey accepts this reading!

The reading which contains unfamiliar words is best. Offered by Metzger (following Griesbach) in conjunction with some other observations about scribes. The change from the unfamiliar to the familiar can happen (it happens very frequently in oral tradition), but is not as likely as it sounds. (Consider the word επιουσιον in the Lord's Prayer. No one to this day knows what it means with certainty — but scribes never tried to change it!) If a scribe knows a word, he will not object to copying it. If the word is unfamiliar, how is the scribe to know what word to replace it with? In applying this criterion, it is best to know the peculiar habits of a particular manuscript.

If, in a variant reading, one reading is subject to different meanings depending on word division, that reading is best. I don't remember where I came across this, and I can't cite an example by chapter and verse; it certainly doesn't come up often. (Souter gives two examples, 1 Tim. 3:16, ομολογουμενως or ομολογουμεν ως and 2 Tim. 2:17, γαγγραινα or γαγγρα ινα. But neither of these involve variants in the actual text.) But I recall a variant something like this. Suppose some manuscripts read ΟΙΔΑΜΕΝ and others ΚΑΙΟΙΔΑ. Since the former could be read as either οιδαμεν (one word) or οιδα μεν (two words), and so is ambiguous, it is preferable.

If a reading is a conflation of two shorter readings, the shorter readings are best (though the correct reading must be decided on other grounds). This rule, used by Hort to demolish the *Textus Receptus*, is good as far as it goes, but conflate readings are actually very rare. The best-known example is probably Luke 24:53. Here P^{75} א B C* L sin cop geo read "blessing God," D a b e ff^2 read "praising God," and the remaining witnesses (including A C** W Θ f^1 f^{13} 33 892 1241 *Byz*) read "praising and blessing God." Since the reading "praising and blessing God" is a conflation of the Alexandrian reading "blessing" and the "Western" reading "praising;" it is to be rejected. As between "blessing" and "praising," the decision must be made on other grounds. (Most scholars would prefer "blessing," both because it is the Alexandrian reading and because it is more presumptuous — how dare people "bless" God? But that decision is made based on other rules. The rule against conflate readings *only allows us to eliminate the conflate reading.)*

Another good example is Matthew 10:3, where the readings "Lebbaeus called Thaddeus" and "Thaddeus called Lebbaeus" are obviously attempts to combine the Alexandrian reading Thaddeus and the "Western" reading Lebbaeus.

In using this rule, one must also be careful to try to reconstruct how the conflation came about. For example, in Mark 15:39 there is a possible conflation, since the various readings are εξεπνευσεν, ουτως εξεπνευσεν, κραξας εξεπνευσεν, and ουτως κραξας εξεπνευσεν. I have argued elsewhere that the manuscript evidence here indicates that the "conflate" reading ουτως κραξας εξεπνευσεν is most likely original.

The true reading is best. This is offered by Wordsworth and White, who stated it as, "The true reading wins out in the end." Although this might be interpreted as an argument for the

majority text, or the late medieval text, that is not how Wordsworth & White used it. How this rule is to be applied must therefore be left as an exercise for the reader.

The reading which is contrary to the habits of the scribe is best. This can be applied to individual manuscripts, in which case it is hardly a canon of criticism, but is very useful in assessing the habits of a particular scribe. For example, D/05 has been accused of being anti-Jewish and anti-Feminine. If, therefore, it has a reading that is pro-Jewish or pro-Feminine, that reading is likely to predate the prejudiced handling of D (compare the examples in the next item). Similarly, if P^{75} is given (as many believe it is) to omitting pronouns, and somewhere it has a pronoun not found in other Alexandrian witnesses, the evidence for the longer reading is strengthened because P^{75} went against its habit, implying that the reading comes from its exemplar. This criterion, although appealed to by eclectics of all sorts, is apparently particularly dear to Elliot and the thoroughgoing eclecticists. If applied at a level above that of individual manuscripts, though, it says little more than "study what Hort called 'transcriptional probability.'"

That reading which violates the prejudice of scribes is best. This may sound like the previous rule rehashed. It isn't, exactly, although it also applies first and foremost to individual manuscripts. This has been pointed up by Ehrman and others in connection with the Christian prejudice against Jews. So, for example, if one reading is anti-Jewish and the other is neutral, the neutral reading is to be preferred. (Ehrman offers John 4:22 as an example, where some versional witnesses read "salvation is from Judea" rather than ".... from the Jews.")[1] Also falling in this category is the treatment of Prisca the wife of Aquila. Her name occurs six times in conjunction with his. In four of these instances (Acts 18:18, 26, Rom. 16:3, 2 Tim. 4:19), her name appears first in the best witnesses (she is listed second in Acts 18:2, 1 Cor. 16:19). But in Acts 18:26, some manuscripts (D 1175 1739 *Byz*) demote her to the position after Aquila; the correct text is in P^{74} א A B E 33. In addition, in Rom. 16:3 (81 223 365 630 876 1505 1881** ful* pm), 1 Cor. 16:19 (C D F G 81 *Byz* a d ful tol), 2 Tim. 4:19 (206 223 323 429 436 876 2412 a ful al) the manuscripts listed demote her name from "Prisca" to the diminutive "Priscilla." This could just be assimilation to the more familiar usage — but it could be prejudice, too.

Where the same variant occurs in parallel passages, each variant is original somewhere. I have not seen this canon formally stated (and so provided my own statement), but it is used in a number of places (e.g. by the editors of the New English Bible). Three examples may best explain the situation:

1. Matt. 8:28=Mark 5:1=Luke 8:26, Gerasenes/Gadarenes/Gergesenes

1. Bart D. Ehrman, "The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity," printed in Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, eds, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (Studies and Documents 46, Eerdmans, 1995), p. 366.

2. Matt. 10:3=Mark3:18 Lebbaeus/Thaddaeus
3. 2 Pet. 2:13=Jude 12 ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ / ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ

In the first instance, the NEB reads Gadarenes in Matthew, Gerasenes in Mark, and Gergesenes in Luke. In the second, it has Lebbaeus in Matthew and Thaddaeus in Mark.
One must take great care in applying this criterion, however. The NEB approach is probably wrong, at least in the case of the Lebbaeus/Thaddaeus variants. The key observation has to do with text-types. In both Matthew and Mark, the Alexandrian text reads Thaddaeus, while the "Western" text reads Lebbaeus. (The Byzantine text conflates in Matthew.) In other words, this is not a case where the two gospels had different readings but where two different traditions had different names for this apostle. We are not trying to decide which name to use in which book; rather, we must decide between the two names overall. Whichever name is original in one book is original in the other.
This is not to say that this criterion is without value. One must simply be very careful not to use it where it is not relevant.

If similar variants occur in several places, the reading more strongly attested in the later points of variation is best. Or, as Maurice Robinson phrases it, "If a particular type of phrasing recurs several times within a book, but in a form rarer than that normally used by the writer, scribes would be tempted to correct such a reading to standard form at its earlier occurrences, but not in its later occurrences." This rule apparently goes back to Wordsworth and White.
As for what it *means*, it means that if a scribe is confronted with a particular reading — especially one which seems infelicitous or atypical of the author — he is likely to correct it the first few times he sees it. After seeing it a few times, he is likely to give in — either due to fatigue or as a result of saying something like, "Well, he's said it that way three times now; I guess he meant it."
We in fact see some instances of this in Jerome's work, though in his translation activity rather than in his copying; early in the Vulgate gospels, he was much more painstaking in conforming the Old Latin to the Greek; later on, if the Old Latin adequately translated the Greek, he didn't worry as much about making sure parallel Greek structures translated into parallel Latin structures. This seems to be a good rule, in principle. In practice, I can't cite a place where it would be used.

The Parsimonious Explanation is Best. As far as I know, this rule has never been used in a manual of textual criticism — but it is absolutely vital in science. "Parsimony" is sort of a technical term for Occam's Razor: The simplest explanation is best. To put it another way, **The Explanation Requiring the Fewest Assumptions Is Best.** Unnecessary assumptions are the root of all evil — at least when seeking knowledge.
It seems to me that this is best applied when dealing with Kurt Aland's "Local Genealogical

Method." The idea is to produce the simplest local genealogy.

I thought of this while having a row with one James Snapp over the ending of Mark. I am sure I will not present this in a way that is fair to him, but it makes a good demonstration of the number of different assumptions one *might* make to explain a variant. What follows is only my take on his presentation of the evidence. Note that what we really discussed was a matter of canonicity more than textual originality, but it can be handled as a textual issue.

Snapp's opinion is that "Mark 16:9–20" is probably not from the same author as the rest of the gospel, but that it was added to the Gospel before it began to circulate. To put it another way, it is not original to the author, but it is an original part of the published text.

He accepts that the gospel originally ended at 16:8 (either due to loss of text or because the author never managed to finish the gospel). But this was remedied at an early stage by the addition of the Longer Ending.

Snapp's suggestion is that some later authority disliked the Longer Ending (arguing that this authority intended to use the ending of John as a better ending for Mark, offering the Gospel of Peter as a parallel). So this person excised the Longer Ending and did — something. This, seemingly, was detected and the interpolation excised. Hence the version of Mark which ends at 16:8. This circulated widely enough that someone felt the need to add an ending. Hence the creation of the Shorter ending. From this situation — versions with no ending, with the Longer Ending, with the Shorter Ending, and with the Johannine Ending — the current mix of manuscripts evolved.

So Snapp's assumptions are:

1. Mark came to end, either deliberately or accidentally, at 16:8
2. At a period before the book was widely circulated, 16:9–20 was added. This makes it an original and canonical part of the gospel as published.
3. 16:9–20 was excised so that a different ending (from John?) could be added. (Interesting that this later editor could slice off the ending at the precise point where the style and content seems to change dramatically. But ignore that.) This left two versions in circulation: That with 16:9–20 and that with the Other Ending
4. The forgery of the Other Ending was detected and excised, leaving three endings in circulation: 16:9–20, Other Ending, no ending.
5. The Other Ending was lost, leaving in circulation 16:9–20 and the version with no ending
6. In a region where 16:9–20 was unknown, the lack of an ending was felt as a defect and the shorter ending was added.
7. The surviving endings (longer, shorter, no ending) combined to produce the current mix of manuscripts.

By comparison, here are the assumptions underlying the UBS assumption that 16:9–20 are simply an addition:

1. Mark came to end, either deliberately or accidentally, at 16:8
2. The lack of an ending was felt in at least two distinct places, resulting in the independent creation of two different endings, 16:9–20 and the Shorter Ending
3. The surviving endings (longer, shorter, no ending) combined to produce the current mix of manuscripts.

Snapp's reconstruction requires seven steps. The UBS version requires three (arguably four, if you count the Longer and Shorter Endings as separate creations). Snapp's reconstruction also involves a version which has been completely lost (except for debatable parallels such as the Gospel of Peter and Tatian's Diatessaron). Snapp disagrees vigorously with what I consider the list of assumptions, but this is how I slice it; parsimony argues very strongly against the assumption of canonicity for 16:9–20.

Like most canons of criticism, the most parsimonious explanation is not guaranteed to be correct. And it must be examined in light of the textual evidence. But the mere act of trying to identify one's assumptions, and seeing if any can be dispensed with, has shown itself to be an immensely powerful tool in the sciences; I suspect it will in textual criticism also.

Finally, never forget ***Murphy's Law of Textual Criticism: If you can imagine an error, a scribe has probably made it.*** (For that matter, scribes have made a lot of errors you can't imagine.) To put it another way: **Never underestimate the sleepiness of scribes.** Scribes who work long hours inevitably get tired, and as they reach the close of the day their vigilance will wane. (Zuntz thought he observed this in P^{46} in Hebrews, and I see signs of it in C^{3} throughout the New Testament.) The result can be hilarious errors. Perhaps the most famous is found Luke's genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3:23–38). In codex 109, the genealogy was copied from an exemplar where the genealogy was written in two columns. The scribe of 109 converted this into one — without observing the gap between the columns! As a result, instead of God standing at the head of the list, the ancestor of all is Phares and God is the son of Aram. It is possible that the strange version of the Parable of the Two Sons (Matt. 21:28–31) found in D lat is also the result of such a stupid error. Confronted with two versions of the story (one in which the first son went and the other in which the second did so), a very early "Western" copyist corrected one form part way toward the other — and wound up with the absurd conclusion that the son who refused to work was the one who did his father's bidding! This rule needs always to be kept in mind in assessing criteria such as "the harder reading."

We find another curious example from an Anglo-Norman manuscript of sermons by Robert de Greatham. Charlton Laird (*The Miracle of Language,* pp. 185–186) tells this story: "The scribe

who copied the manuscript finished a line which ended in a form of *peché* (sin). Whether or not this particular scribe had some Freudian interest in sin, when he flicked his eyes back to the manuscript he was copying from he hit upon another *peché* which was the last word in the seventh line previous. Accordingly, he copied the same seven lines twice.... No two of these lines agree. Here was the same scribe, with the same [original], who copied the same passage twice within a quarter hour, and he does not produce one single line which is identical in both copies. Nor is he consistent in his own spelling of common words."

Always look to see what errors a scribe could have made!

How to Use the Canons of Criticism

Different scholars apply the canons very differently. Some place most of the weight on external criteria; others on internal. Some analyse readings starting with internal criteria, others with external. In other words, people have different rules for using the rules![1]

An article such as this cannot, or at least should not, tell you what to do. But it might be appropriate to describe how some editors approach the problem.

As the least of all textual critics, I will start with me. I begin by looking at text-types. If all early text-types (of which there may be as many as four or five) agree, then I am done. If, however, the early text-types disagree, then I shift to examining the variant. If there are multiple readings, I attempts to construct a local stemma. (In doing so, we should note, the *evidence of the number of types is very important.* If one type has a certain reading, and all the others have a different reading, the more common reading is much more probable.) If a stemma can be constructed successfully, this resolves the variant. If no certain stemma can be constructed, I adopt the variant supported by the most text-types; if the types are evenly split, and only then, do I turn to the earliest/best type.

Hort's method (as reflected in the edition of Westcott & Hort) was basically similar, except that he had only two early text-types, and one of them (the "Western") was very bad. So Hort frequently was constructing stemma within the Alexandrian text, or simply setting aside the "Western" reading and adopting the text of B. Hort did not list canons of criticism, although he stressed the role of "intrinsic probability" (what the authors had written) and "transcriptional probability" (what scribes did with it). His summary of the causes and nature of errors is still relevant today.

1. Eldon J. Epp, in "Decision Points in New Testament Textual Criticism," printed in Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism*, pp. 39–42, speaks of "The Crisis of Criteria," and even goes so far as to describe the present use of "reasoned eclecticism" as a "cease-fire" between the proponents of internal and external criteria (p. 40). This obviously implies an earlier state that was nearly a shooting war....

The Alands stress the importance of "local genealogy" (the stemma of the various texts in a variant).[1] It is interesting to note, however, that their text very much resembles Hort's. In effect, they were bound by manuscripts as much as he was (note how many of their "Twelve Basic Rules for Textual Criticism," rather than being true canons of criticism, simply stress the importance of manuscripts, or are truisms — e.g. "only *one* reading can be original").

Von Soden's approach was genealogical in another sense. He tended to work based on the majority-of-text-types, after making allowances for corruptions (e.g. from Tatian and Marcion) and for harmonizations. His method, whatever its theoretical merits, was badly flawed by his imperfect text-types and his inadequate knowledge of the sources he blamed for corruptions.

Harry Sturz's proposed approach (which did not result in a complete text) is to print the reading found in the majority of text-types (Alexandrian, Byzantine, "Western"), with little or no attention to internal criteria. Since the Byzantine text, in the gospels, agrees with the other two more often than they agree with each other, his gospel text appears to be strongly Byzantine.

Also Byzantine are the texts of Hodges & Farstad and Pierpont & Robinson, both of which accept the Byzantine Majority text as original and apply various criteria to restore that text.

The "rigorous eclectic" school of Kilpatrick and Elliot gives almost all its attention to internal criteria. Although it is not entirely true, as some have charged, that they only use manuscripts as sources of variant readings, it is certainly true that they resolve most variants based entirely on internal criteria, and will accept readings with minimal manuscript attestation.

B. Weiss theoretically used techniques similar to those of the "rigorous eclectics," based primarily on internal criteria and with especial focus on suitable readings and those appropriate to the author's style. In practice, however, he came to rely rather heavily on B as the best manuscript (and so produced a text with significant similarities to Westcott and Hort).

Tischendorf's approach was in some ways similar; most of his criteria were based on internal evidence (though he stressed that readings needed to be found in old manuscripts). It is not too surprising that the text of his eighth edition (his ultimate work) heavily favored his personal discovery, א.

The method used in the first twenty-five editions of the Nestle-Aland text need hardly be discussed here, since it was based exclusively on earlier published texts. It was consensus text of Westcott & Hort, Tischendorf, and Weiss (after the third edition).

Lachmann printed the text found in the majority of the early manuscripts. His text therefore fluctuated badly depending on which manuscripts survived for a given passage.

1. Kurt Aland & Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (translated by Erroll F. Rhodes, 2nd Edition), p. 281, item 8 — and elsewhere.

So how does one decide what method to use, and which canons to emphasize? Despite the words of Michael Holmes, that still remains very much up to the reader. Perhaps this piece will give you a slightly fuller menu to choose from.[1]

The **Canon of the New Testament**

The canon of the New Testament (that is, the books which belong to the New Testament) is not properly a topic of textual criticism. Someone, not necessarily the critic, decides which books are canonical, and then the critic tries to reconstruct the text.

But there are many books (e.g. by Souter and Gregory) which combine the two topics, sometimes with greater emphasis on one, sometimes on the other. So this article attempts to give a very, very brief summary of the canonical lists found in some of the earliest documents.

This article will not even attempt to address the question of the canon of the Old Testament. The canon of the Hebrew Bible is hardly open to question; the canon of the Greek Old Testament is far too complicated for us to deal with. In any case, that is a very different sort of problem. In the New Testament, consensus was achieved (as it never really was in the Old Testament), and our goal is primarily to trace the steps by which that consensus was reached.

In the lists which follow, a “Y” indicates that the source definitely includes that book. A “N” indicates that the source definitely excludes the book. “X” indicates that the source is defective in such a way that it does not testify. “Y?” indicates that there is some reason to think the source includes the book, but it is not entirely explicit. “N?” indicates that there is some reason to think it excludes the book, but it is not entirely explicit (this usually comes up with reference to Paul, where a source might say “14 epistles” if it includes Hebrews, “13 epistles” if it does not).

For the references I have consulted in compiling the lists, see the notes below the table.

1. “In short, reasoned eclecticism is not a passing interim method; it is the only way forward. As long as our subject matter is, to paraphrase Housman, the human mind and its disobedient servants, the fingers, hopes for a more objective method will remain an impossible dream.” Michael W. Holmes, “Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,” printed in Ehrman and Holmes, p. 349.

	MATT	MARK	LUKE	JOHN	ACTS	ROMA	1 CO	2 CO	GALA	EPHE	PHLP	COLO	1 TH	2 TH	! TI	2 TI	TITU	PHLM	HEBR	JAME	1 PE	2 PE	1 JO	2 JO	3 JO	JUDE	APOC	OTHER
Marcion	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	
Irenaeus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N?	N?	Y	N?	Y	Y	N?	N?	Y	
Muratorian Canon	Y?	Y?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y?	Y?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y?	Y?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N?	N	Y?	Y?	N?	Y	Y	*
Peshitta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	
Jerome to Paulinus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y	Y?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y?	Y	Y?	Y?	Y	Y	
Codex Sinaiticus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Doctrine of Addai	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	N?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	
Mommsenian Canon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N?	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	
Eusebius	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y?	Y?	Y	Y?	Y	Y?	Y?	Y?	Y?	*
Athanasius's Festal Letter	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Synod of Carthage	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Anonymous Syriac Canon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	
Augustine of Hippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Eucharius of Lyons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	
Claromontine Catalog	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N?	Y	N?	N?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Gelasian Decree	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Cassiodorus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	
Isidore of Seville	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Council of Trent	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	

ADDITIONAL BOOKS found in the various lists:

Muratorian Canon: Apocalypse of Peter; Wisdom (of Solomon)

Codex Sinaiticus: Barnabas, Hermas (?)

Eusebius: 1 Clement (probably), Hermas (maybe)

Claromontine Catalog: Barnabas, Acts of Paul, Apocalypse of Peter, Hermas (? -- the text reads simply "Pastoris")

Books Now Considered Extra-Canonical But Included by Some Authorities

The following table shows the various books which are occasionally included in New Testament lists, with the authorities which support them.

Book	**Sources**
Acts of Paul	Claromontine Catalog
Apocalypse of Peter	Muratorian Canon, Claromontine Catalog
I Clement	(Codex Alexandrinus); (Eusebius in part)
Didache	Clement of Alexandria?
Epistle of Barnabas	Codex Sinaiticus, Claromontine Catalog, Clement of Alexandria?, Origen?
Shepherd of Hermas	Codex Sinaiticus, Claromontine Catalog?

References used to compile the above lists:

Anonymous Syriac Canon: The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* p. 226. The manuscript containing it is at Mount Sinai, and apparently the copy dates from *c*. 900, but Souter thinks the archetype dates from *c*. 400. He notes the absence of the Catholic Epistles, and observes that neither major Syriac author of this period (Aphraates or Ephraim) seems to refer to the shorter epistles. There is an error in the manuscript, causing it to list Philippians twice, but this seems to be a case of copying part of the line above and part of the line below.

Athanasius's Festal Letter: 367 C.E. Widely regarded as somehow defining the canon, because it is the first list to clearly and explicitly include exactly the modern New Testament canon. This is somewhat overblown — the letter was simply a bishop telling his flock what he thought was official. But it does mark the rough dividing line between the era when the canon was somewhat questionable and the era when the canon was fixed.

Augustine of Hippo: De Doctrina Christiana. Written no earlier than 397 C.E. The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* pp. 221–222.

Cassiodorus: Institutio. Of very uncertain date, probably between 540 and 562. In any case, it is noteworthy as a late source which omits a number of books. The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 230–231. As is often the case, it is not entirely clear which letters of Peter and John are omitted, but the strong presumption is that it is 2 Peter and 2 and 3 John. The list is confirmed by the fact that Cassiodorus claims a total of 70 Biblical books, and 48 in the Old Testament, leaving 22 in the New.

Codex Sinaiticus: Fourth century. Greek uncial manuscript, originally with complete Old and New Testaments. Most of the Old Testament now lost, but the canonical New Testament is complete. Barnabas follows the New Testament, then a portion of Hermas. B. F. Westcott, *On the Canon of the New Testament,* pp. 430–431, details the contents and notes an argument that Hermas "was treated as a separate section of the document, and therefore perhaps as an appendix to the more generally received books."

Council of Trent: The official Last Word of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1546, they finally declared a formal canon. The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* p. 236. It should be noted, however, that while the Council of Trent canonized the standard 27 books of the New Testament, they did not canonize the original text but rather the Vulgate — and, as the Clementine Vulgate would show, they didn't even know what Vulgate they were talking about!

Claromontine Catalog: Probably sixth century. A list of books and their lengths found in Codex Claromontanus. Found as appendix C of Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament* (p. 211). There are obvious errors in the lengths of the books (2 Corinthians is listed as only 70 lines!), so Souter thinks the several Pauline epistles omitted from the list should have been included in the catalog. This is reasonable but unprovable, so I have listed these books as "N?."

Doctrine of Addai: A Syriac letter instructing congregations on what to read in churches. It is very brief, listing in fact only "the gospel," "the Epistles of Paul," and "the Acts of the twelve apostles," without explicitly listing the content of the former two. The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 225–226.

Eusebius: Eusebius of Cæsarea in his history of the Church; the exact date is unknown but it was certainly completed in the 320s, after probably a decade or more of work. This is a difficult source because Eusebius — who was an abominable writer — uses rather confusing language. Indeed, he sometimes contradicts himself in various places. I have started from Appendix F of the G. A. Williamson translation, with its list of accepted, disputed, and rejected books, but I have evaluated the passages myself. For the books which are doubtful, the list below shows the passages which refer to the issue. I hope the list is comprehensive for Eusebius's own opinions, although I haven't bothered with some of the instances where he cites others.

1 Clement: III.16 (calls it a “recognized” letter), III.28 (“universally recognized,” but this may be a recognition of authorship rather than canonicity), IV.23 (more a statement of antiquity than true canonicity)

Hebrews: III.3 (says Paul wrote 14 epistles but admits that some churches question it as un-Pauline), VI.13 (calls it “disputed” without really expressing an opinion of his own); VI.20 (cites a Bishop Gaius who considered Hebrews uncanonical). In addition, at several places Eusebius cites other who think that the basic outline of Hebrews was Pauline but the actual text from someone else, such as Clement or Luke, who assembled/translated/polished it.

Shepherd of Hermas: III.3 (some reject; some call it vital for instruction), III.25 (declares it spurious without any discussion); V.8 (notes that Irenaeus accepted it)

James: II.23 (says it is disputed but used in many churches), III.25 (disputed but “familiar to most”)

2 John: III.25 (disputed; the work of John the evangelist or someone with the same name!), VI.25 (John wrote one letter, and “possibly two more”)

3 John: III.25 (disputed; the work of John the evangelist or someone with the same name!), VI.25 (John wrote one letter, and “possibly two more”)

Jude: II.23 (says it is disputed but used in many churches), III.25 (disputed but “familiar to most”), VI.14 (calls it disputed while noting that Clement of Alexandria commented on it)

2 Peter: III.3 (does not mention the second epistle and says that only one letter of Peter is authentic), III.25 (disputed but “familiar to most”), VI.25 (Peter left one, possibly two, letters, but the second is “doubtful)

Revelation to John: III.25 (may be canonical “if it is thought proper”); all other references seem to be to people who have cited it as scripture rather than opinions of his own regarding its canonicity.

Eucharius of Lyons: Author of a book of “difficult questions” about the New Testament, written between 424 and 455. It lists only 17 New Testament books, which makes one wonder if the copy is defective (the source, Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* pp. 228–229, says that there is an urgent need for a critical edition). But it seems to be just about the last Latin source to list something other than the familiar canon (even if all the other omissions are accidental, it pretty clearly lists only one letter of John and one to the Thessalonians!), so I thought it should be included, if only to show that Athanasius did not finally define the canon for all of Catholic Christianity.

Gelasian Decree: A document of uncertain date and origin; it has been attributed to Popes Damasus, Gelasius, and Hormidas. The best guess makes it the work of none of these, and

dates it to the sixth century. Its interest lies not in which books it includes (since it has the standard 27 book canon) but in how it attributes them: It says that one of the Letters of John is by John the Apostle, and two are by the "other" John, the Presbyter. And Jude is said to be by Judas the Zealot.

Irenaeus: Writer active around 180 C.E. He does not explicitly describe a canon — indeed, it is at least possible that his personal canon varied over his life — but his quotations are so extensive as to give us a pretty clear idea of which books he did and did not consider authoritative. For this I use the catalog found in note 2 on pp. 346–347 of B. F. Westcott, *On the Canon of the New Testament,* supplemented by Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* p. 170, who notes that Irenaeus also used 2 John, and thinks (but cannot prove) that he recognized Philemon and 3 John also.

Isidore of Seville: Bishop of Seville, who around 600 C.E. produced an encyclopedia. (A pretty inaccurate one, we would now say, but it was highly respected in an unscientific age.) The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* p. 233.

Jerome to Paulinus: A letter, written perhaps in 394, from Jerome to a presbyter named Paulinus. The interpretation of this letter is somewhat complex. It lists the gospels by name, but the epistles only by destination — Paul is said to have written to seven churches, plus Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. Hebrews is mentioned by name. Similarly we are told that there are letters by James, Peter, John, and Jude, plus the Apocalypse. The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, p. 220.

Justin Martyr: Writer active in the second century. Dates are rather uncertain, but it is suggested that he died *c.* 148, and his major literary activity was in the half decade or so preceding this. Like most second century writers (e.g. Irenæus), he does not really define a canon. We can only list the books he seems to cite with respect (and note that he often quotes them in very wild form, implying either an extensively rewritten tradition or a lousy memory or both. Also of significance is the fact that he almost never seems to cite a source by name; he just quotes it, unattributed. This makes it difficult to be absolutely sure he uses Mark, e.g., because so much of what he quotes from that book could also be from Matthew or Luke). I am following Westcott's opinions of which books he uses; other scholars, because of the freedom of the quotations, might disagree in some cases. The most interesting point about Justin is that he seems to show no knowledge at all of John, even though John would often have been the most useful of the Gospels for his purposes.

Marcion: Second century schismatic, originally from Rome, who regarded the God of the Old Testament as distinct from the God of the New. His is considered the first true canon of scripture, but he edited all the books to match his theological opinions. The book we call Ephesians he apparently called Laodiceans. No copies of his edition survives; we know of its

content only from sources such as Tertullian and Epiphanius. The list here is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* pp. 165–166.

Mommsenian Canon: Named for Theodor Mommsen, who discovered it in 1885. Also sometimes called the Cheltenham Canon, after the place where the first copy was found. The list refers simply to 13 Pauline epistles; presumably the omitted book is Hebrews. The list seems to explicitly deny the canonicity of 2 and 3 John and 2 Peter, since it lists one letter by each author and says it is "una sola." The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* pp. 212–213.

Muratorian Canon: Copied probably in the eighth century, perhaps by an Irish scribe, but believed to be a (very bad) Latin translation of a second century Greek original. Latin text in Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament* and, with some commentary and marginalia, in B. F. Westcott, *On the Canon of the New Testament;* English translation in Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church.* The fragment does not list the numbers of books by Paul, only their destinations, so we cannot be sure that there were two to the Corinthians or two to the Thessalonians. It has been proposed that the reference to the Apocalypse of Peter is an error and the reference should be to 1 Peter, but this is purely conjectural.

Peshitta Syriac Version: Syriac translation, taken from a (mostly Byzantine) Greek text probably in the late fourth or just possibly early fifth century. Source: almost any handbook of TC criticism.

Synod of Carthage: A report from a synod held in Carthage in 397. Neither the gospels nor the letters of Paul are listed by name, but since there are four of the former plus 13 of the latter apart from Hebrews, we can be confident that they intend the list shown here. The list is from Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament,* pp. 220–221.

Sources Not Cited

Tatian. Tatian's Diatessaron is usually considered as evidence that the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were canonical at his time. There are two problems with this: Since, despite extravagant claims, we do not know the exact contents of the Diatessaron, we cannot in fact be certain that it did not contain other material as well (likely the Gospel of the Hebrews), so we cannot in fact be sure which Gospels Tatian considered inspired. Second, the very fact that Tatian produced a conflation of the Gospels implies a different sense of canonicity than we now have — Tatian cannot really have considered the books inspired as they were, or he would not have tried to offer his combined version as anything except a sort of study aid. Although sometimes compared to what Marcion did, Tatian's efforts in fact are distinctly different: Marcion thought (falsely) that he was engaged in textual criticism; Tatian

was creating a new canonical work. Souter also thinks Tatian translated the Pauline corpus — but can offer no evidence at all for this.

Carpet Page

A characteristic feature of illuminated Celtic manuscripts. A carpet page is a page with no text, just an elaborate pattern like a carpet. Some carpet pages are built around a cross motif, but most of the more elaborate ones are not.

Catchword

An important concept in bookbinding, which can matter when trying to reassemble a damaged manuscript. Codices were, of course, copied off in quires, and it was the task of the binder to put the quires in order. The catchword was intended to help with this process. When a scribe finished copying a quire, he would write, at the bottom of the last page of the quire, the first word of the text on the next quire. So if, for instance, someone were copying "Hamlet" (for whatever reason), and the great soliloquy were at the bottom of the page, so that "Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to" were the last words on one quire, and "suffer" the first word of the next, the bottom of the last page would look something like this (catchwords were often written vertically in the far margin:

Enter Hamlet
HAMLET:
To be, or not to be — that is the
question:
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to

S
U
F
F
E
R

Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland's

Manuscript Categories

Introduction

In 1981, Kurt and Barbara Aland published *Der Text des Neuen Testaments* (English translation: *The Text of the New Testament,* translated by Erroll F. Rhodes, Second edition, Eerdmans/ E. J. Brill, 1989). The most noteworthy feature of this edition was its new classification of manuscripts. Based primarily on the "Thousand Readings in a Thousand Minuscules" project (the results of which are now being published in the series *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments,* K. Aland et al, 1987 and following), the Alands set out to place the vast majority of known manuscripts into "Categories."

As a classification scheme, their attempt was at once a success and a failure. A success, in that it has conveniently gathered data about how Byzantine the various manuscripts are. A failure, because it has not been widely adopted, and in any case does not succeed in moving beyond Byzantine/non-Byzantine classification.

The Categories

We may briefly outline their classification scheme as follows (excerpted from Aland & Aland, p. 106):

Category I: "Manuscripts of a very special quality which should always be considered in establishing the original text." (To this are added all manuscripts prior to the fourth century.)

Category II: "Manuscripts of a special quality, but distinguished from manuscripts of Category I by the presence of alien influences."

Category III: "Manuscripts of a distinctive character with an independent text.... particularly important for the history of the text."

Category IV: "Manuscripts of the D text."

Category V: "Manuscripts with a purely or predominantly Byzantine text."

The Alands base their categorizations on a very simple set of statistics. All of a manuscripts's readings are broken up into "Type 1" readings (Byzantine), "Type 2" readings (readings which agree with GNT, i.e. almost without exception Alexandrian readings; some readings, which are both Alexandrian and Byzantine, are "Type 1/2"), and "Type S" readings, which belong to neither Type 1 nor Type 2.

It will thus be observed that the Alands have only one way to measure the nature of a manuscript: By its ratio of Type 1 (Byzantine) to Type 2 (Alexandrian) readings. The Type S readings are completely unclassified; they might be "Western," "Cæsarean" — or anything else imaginable (including simple errors).

Thus in practice the Alands' categories become:

Category I: Manuscripts which have almost no Byzantine influence, and which often agree with the Alexandrian text (without necessarily being part of it, as in the cases of $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, B, and 1739)

Category II: Manuscripts with a generally Alexandrian text but with some Byzantine intrusion.

Category III: Manuscripts with a large Byzantine component but also a significant number of non-Byzantine readings.

Category IV: D/05 and only D/05. (The Alands place four other manuscripts here — P^{38}, P^{48}, P^{69}, and 0171 — but all of these are fragments placed here based on casual rather than analytical examination.)

Category V: The Byzantine text

A handful of examples will demonstrate the imperfections of this system (note that these are not defects in the data, merely the results of the Alands' simplistic analysis which counts only Type 1 and Type 2 readings, rather than the rates of agreement between manuscripts which they also calculated):

The Pauline manuscripts 1739 and 0243 are sisters or nearly. Yet 1739 is entered in Category I and 0243 tentatively in Category II.

The Pauline manuscripts F/010 and G/012 are also sisters or nearly, with most scholars considering G to be the more accurate copy of the two. Yet F is listed as Category II and G as Category III. What is more, F, G, and the earlier D/06 are clear relatives, and close to the Old Latin. They form their own text-type, usually (though perhaps on inadequate grounds) associated with Codex Bezae. Yet neither F nor G, nor D (category II; corrected to category III) is placed in Category IV along with Bezae.

The same problem occurs, to an even greater extent, among the Category III manuscripts. While almost every manuscript in this category is mixed, with Byzantine readings combined with other types, the nature of the mixture varies. We have Byzantine/"Western" mixes (629); Byzantine/"Cæsarean" mixes (family 1, family 13, 28, 565, 700), family 1739/Byzantine mixes (6, 323, 424**, 945, etc.), and a large number of Alexandrian/Byzantine mixtures (of which 104 and 579 are typical examples). Taking only Paul as an example, there are also at least

two family groups which are heavily Byzantine but highly distinct: Family 1611 (Family 2138): 1505, 1611, 2495, etc. and Family 330 (330, 451, 2492).

We should also note that the Alands fail to assign a category to many manuscripts. In general these are manuscripts with a small handful of non-Byzantine readings, but not enough to qualify as Category III. (In effect, one can treat unclassified manuscripts as another category.) This non-category Category has its own problems, however. For example, the leading manuscripts of the large and well-known Family Π — Π itself and K — are listed as Category V (which is fair enough, since this family is clearly Byzantine though obviously distinct from K^x and K^r). Of the minuscule members of the family, however, most are included among the Uncategorized.

We may also compare the results of the Alands' classifications with the results of the Claremont Profile Method in Luke. Wisse lists a total of 36 groups. Excluding Group B as a text-type rather than a legitimate group, we still find that in 19 of 35 cases the Alands reach no consensus as to the classification of the members of a group. That is, if we take all the members of one of Wisse's groups, we find that these members are classified by the Alands as being members of two categories — sometimes even three! In addition, we find in these groups that at least 25% of the members of the group fall into each of the leading two categories; only seven groups — including the members of K^x and K^r — are treated entirely consistently. For details see the entry on the Claremont Profile Method.) In some instances this is likely due to block mixture undetected by Wisse — but one must also suspect that the Alands did not rigidly define their categories. This generally will not matter in practice — but one should always allow for the possibility that a manuscript might need to "shift" a category following further examination.

What the Categories Mean

It should be evident from the above data that *as a genealogical description* the Alands' categories fail. A manuscript simply cannot be described by the few statistics they use.

However, the Categorization should not be deemed a complete failure. It is, in fact, one of the most important results of recent years. For the first time, we have a nearly-comprehensive and, within its limits, accurate examination of the minuscules. If Categories II and III, as well as the unclassified manuscripts, contain an immense diversity of material, Category V is absolutely clear: It *is* the Byzantine text. Manuscripts found there are Byzantine, and manuscripts found in Categories III and higher are not — at least not purely. In addition, the manuscripts in Category I (with the exception of the fragmentary early papyri, which are too short to classify this way, and 1175, which is block-mixed with the Byzantine text in Paul and the Catholic Epistles) are all very pure representatives of their types. As long as appropriate

care is taken to correctly understand the manuscripts in Categories I, II, and III, and the arbitrary Category IV is ignored, the system can be very useful.

See, however, Appendix II for some tweaks to the system.

Appendix I: How the Alands Classify the Leading Minuscules

The table below lists all the minuscules which are cited as "Constant Witnesses" in the Nestle-Aland 26th and 27th editions, along with their Aland categories in each of the five sections of the New Testament. The final column, Comments, shows the categorization I believe should be applied (where it differs from the Alands'), or gives further detail on their categorization.

MS.	e	a	p	c	r	Comment
1 eap	III	V	V	V		
13	III					
28	III (Mk), V (MtLk)					
33	II	I	I	I		
81		II	II	II		described as "at least Category II."
104		V	III	III	V	
323		III	III	II		Actually probably Category V in Paul; block-mixed and so probably Category III in the Catholics
365		V	III	V		Member of Family 2127. Most members of this family are listed as Category III, although 2127 itself is Category II.
565	III					"the average is raised by Mark, with Matthew and Luke far lower." (John appears to be more Byzantine than Mark but less so than the other gospels.)
579	II (MkLk)					Although it is not explicitly stated, the manuscript is probably Category II in John and Category III in Matthew.
614		III	III	III		Paul should be Category V, not Category III. Listed as a sister to 2412; the pair belong to Family 2138 in the Acts and Catholics but are Byzantine in Paul.
630		III	III	III		
700	III					

892	II					Portions of John from a later, much more Byzantine hand
945	V	III	V	III		
1006	V				II	
1010	V					Listed as a possible member of Family 1424, but 1010 is much more Byzantine than the other members of that group and probably does not belong with it. (So also Wisse.)
1175		I	I			Probably should be Category I in Acts, II in Paul (except for Romans, which is Byzantine), perhaps III in the Catholics (there are some interesting readings in the earlier letters, but the Johannine Epistles are Byzantine)
1241	III	V	III	I		Probably should be Category II in Luke, III in the other gospels, V in Acts, I in the Catholics. In Paul, the basic run of the text is Category V. The manuscript has supplements, however (possibly a third of the total) which are clearly Category III
1424	III (Mk) V (MtLk)	V	V	V		
1505	V	III	III	III		Pair with 2495. Member of Family 1611/ Family 2138 in Acts, Catholics, Paul
1506	V		II			Fragment in Paul, but clearly strongly Alexandrian. May be Category I in that corpus (based on unusual text which omits Romans 16!)
1611		III	III	III	II	Member of Family 1611/Family 2138 in Acts, Catholics, Paul
1739		II	I	I		Text of Acts is more Byzantine than in Paul or Catholics, but still stands at the head of an independent family, implying Category I
1841		V	V	V	II	
1854		V	V	V	II	
1881			II	II		

2030					III	Fragment (about six chapters); categorization must be considered tentative
2050					II	Fragment (about eight chapters); categorization must be considered tentative
2053					V	
2062					I	Fragment (about nine chapters); categorization must be considered tentative
2329					II	
2344		III	III	I	I	Classification in Catholics perhaps questionable. Manuscript is badly water-damaged and often unreadable
2351					III	Fragment (about thirteen chapters); categorization must be considered tentative
2377					III	
2427	I					Mark only. The evidence is strong that it is a forgery.
2464		II	II	II		Classification is too high; probably should be Category III. Romans is Byzantine.
2495	III	III	III	III	III	Listed as “Category III with reservations, but higher in the Catholic Epistles.” In fact a sister or nearly of 1505, and should be classified accordingly.
2542	III					

Appendix II: Testing the Classifications

The descriptions above generally cover the intent of the Aland classifications. But the result needs to be tested — we want to know how reliable are the classifications.

In an attempt to investigate this, I re-examined the data for some of the manuscripts. For this purpose, I took every manuscript, uncial and minuscule, whose statistics were listed in the second edition of The Text of the New Testament. I chose to use the gospels section as (I assumed) representative. (I’m not so sure this is true, now; it appears that the fraction of valuable manuscripts is much, much higher in the Acts and Epistles than in the Gospels.) I

took every manuscript for which there were at least fifty sample readings. In a few cases, where the Aland categorized books individually, I did the same.

It turns out that the Alands gave statistics for 101 manuscripts in the Gospels: א, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, K, L, M, N, S, U, V, W, X, Y, Γ, Δ, Θ, Λ, Π, Σ, Φ, Ψ, Ω, 047, 0211, 0233, 1, 5, 6, 13, 28, 33, 61, 69, 157, 180, 189, 205, 209, 218, 263, 330, 346, 365, 431, 461, 522, 543, 565, 579, 597, 700, 720, 788, 826, 828, 886, 892, 945, 983, 1006, 1010, 1071, 1241, 1243, 1251, 1292, 1319, 1342, 1359, 1398, 1409, 1424 (Mark), 1424 (Matthew+Luke), 1448, 1505, 1506, 1542b (Mark), 1563, 1573, 1582, 1642, 1678, 1704, 2127, 2147, 2193, 2200, 2374, 2400, 2427, 2492, 2495, 2516, 2523, 2542, and 2718.

The statistic I adopted for my analysis is the ratio of distinctly non-Byzantine readings to Byzantine readings. That is, the Alands classify readings into four groups: Group 1, which is Byzantine, Group 1+2, which are Byzantine readings also found in the UBS edition, Group 2, which are reading of UBS not found in the Byzantine text, and Group S, which is readings not found in either the Byzantine text or UBS. Generally speaking, we may assume that Group 1 readings are uninteresting, Group 1+2 readings unhelpful, and Group 2 and Group S readings are valuable for classification purposes. So I calculated (Gr2 Rdgs + GrS Rdgs)/(Gr 1 Rdgs).

For a purely Byzantine manusccript, this ratio would work out to 0. Theoretically, a manuscript entirely free of Byzantine influence would have an infinite ratio, since it would have no Byzantine readings. In practice, of course, no manuscript will have an infinite ratio.

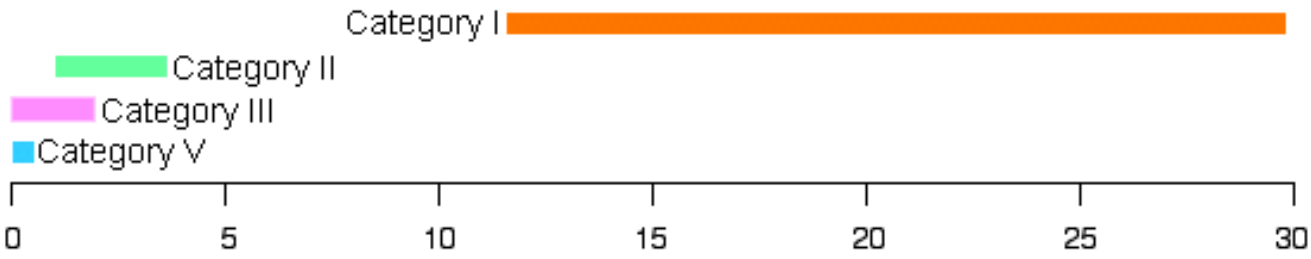
Though it turns out that very few have a ratio of even 1. Of the 102 test cases, only 12 — B, 2427 (which we now know to be a forgery), א, L, D, Θ, Ψ 892, C, W, 1, and 33 — have ratios of 1 or higher. The following table shows these manuscripts, with their Aland categories and their ratios:

Manuscript	Ratio	Category
B	29.78	I
2427	12.17	I
א	11.52	I
L	3.63	II
D	3.25	IV
Θ	1.91	II
Ψ	1.77	III
892	1.74	II
C	1.33	II
W	1.2	III
1	1.08	III
33	1.03	II

At the other extreme, 461, 1251, and 1642 have a ratio of only 0.04. Of the manuscripts listed by the Alands, the sixteen with the lowest ratios are all Category V. The lowest ratio for a Tier III manuscript is the 0.06 turned in by 1448. If we take the extremes for each tier, they are as follows:

Category	Highest Ratio for this category	Manuscript	Lowest Ratio for this category	Manuscript
I	29.78	B	11.52	א
II	3.63	L	0.97	579
III	1.77	Ψ	0.06	2495
V	0.54	69	0.04	1642

The graph below shows the range of the ratios in each category:



Thus it will be seen that every category except Category I substantially overlaps the next category down. To some extent, to be sure, there is an explanation (e.g. the Alands call 579 a Category II only in Mark and Luke, so Matthew presumably has a higher fraction of Byzantine readings) — but they do not break out the figures. In any case, the above result shows firmly the danger of relying on the Alands' subjective assessment rather than looking at the actual numbers — or, better yet, the actual readings of the manuscript.

The median ratio for each category is:

Category I: 12.17

Category II: 1.54

Category III: 0.58

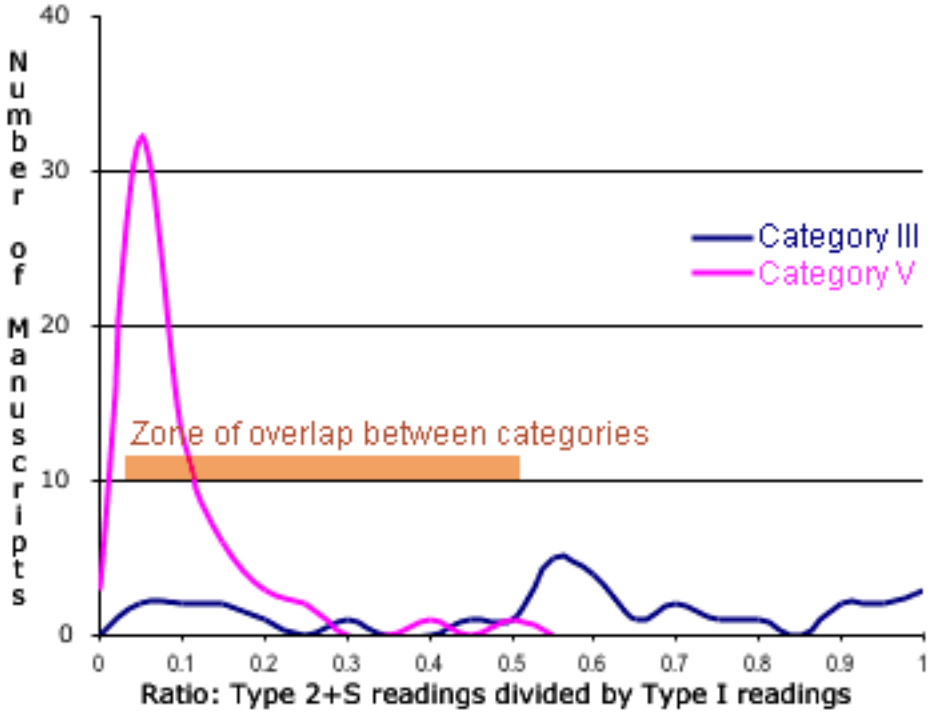
Category V: 0.09

So, in round numbers, a Category I manuscript is expected to be 90% non-Byzantine. A Category II is 60% non-Byzantine. A Category III is 30% non-Byzantine. And a Category V is 90% Byzantine.

But these are just the typical numbers. What we are interested in is the range. For the three categories that have enough manuscripts to allow meaningful samples (II, III, and V), then, let us look at the manuscripts within one (estimated) standard deviation — i.e., in this case, the two-thirds of manuscripts closest to the mean.

Category	Highest ratio among middle ⅔	Manuscript	Lowest ratio among middle ⅔	Manuscript
II	1.91	Θ	1.03	33
III	0.93	1342	0.16	0233
V	0.17	2200	0.05	Y

We can graph this data also. The graph below plots the ratio of Byzantine to non-Byzantine readings of the manuscripts of Category III and Category V, counting the number of manuscripts in each block (grouping the manuscripts into blocks of .05, e.g. 0.000 to 0.049, 0.050 to 0.099, 0.100 to 0.149, etc.).



Both distributions follow a roughly normal curve, with that for the Category V manuscripts centered in the range 0.05–0.10 and that for the Category III manuscripts centered at 0.55–0.60, but we notice that the Category III curve is very flat and very spread out, and that there is a very large overlap between Category III and Category V — confirming what we saw above in the graph of the extremes. That was not a fluke; the overlap between Category III and Category V is large; a better classification system would clearly have had a rigorous

mathematical definition ("what the Alands think" is *not* a rigorous definition!) that would have drawn a clearer distinction.

Nonetheless, the idea behind distinction between Category III and Category V is clear (and those between Categories I, II, and III even clearer), even if the Alands' actual classification does not entirely conform to it. But this hazy distinction largely demonstrates the point I am are trying to make: The Category distinction is a grade distinction, not a clade distinction. That is, the Aland categories tell us effectively nothing about the actual ancestry of the manuscripts; they just tell us, within limits, how large is their Byzantine component. We can't tell if that Byzantine component is the result of direct descent from a Byzantine ancestor, or the result of mixture via correction, and we can't tell what other components, if any, the manuscript contains. This does not make the Categories useless — but it does need to be kept in mind.

There is an interesting shift as we move into the Acts. In the Gospels, only 40 substantial manuscripts were Category III or higher. In Acts, despite a much smaller manuscript base, there are 58 substantial manuscripts of Category III or higher. There are 12 manuscripts the Alands call Category I or Category II, compared to nine in the Gospels. And, on the whole, these manuscripts appear to be better — though this depends on the statistic you use. In the gospels, recall, the median Byzantine/non-Byzantine ratio for a Category II manuscript was 1.54; that for Category III was 0.58. In Acts, the median for Category II is still only 1.50 (statistically equivalent to the figure in the Gospels), and the median for Category III is 0.61. But if we take the table of extreme values, we find this:

Category	Highest Ratio for this category	Manuscript	Lowest Ratio for this category	Manuscript
I	41.50	B	2.19	33
II	6.43	81	1.08	1409
III	1.48	610	0.08	1845
V	0.46	467	0.01	1424

If we again look at the manuscripts within one (estimated) standard deviation — i.e., in this case, the two-thirds of manuscripts closest to the mean — we find

Category	Highest ratio among middle ⅔	Manuscript	Lowest ratio among middle ⅔	Manuscript
II	3.77	C	1.22	E
III	1.26	1884	0.36	1838
V	0.26	2147	0.04	254

The interesting observation is that the most Byzantine manuscripts of Acts actually show a more extreme fraction of Byzantine readings than those of the Gospels (though this may merely reflect on the readings the Alands chose), but the overall curve is clearly less Byzantine than in the Gospels.

In Paul, we have an astonishing 88 manuscripts of Category III or higher — six of Category I (א A B 33 1175 1739), ten of Category II (C D* F — but not G! — 81 256 1506 1881 1962 2127 2464), and 72 of Category III. However, it turns out that a number of these Category III manuscripts have very low ratios of non-Byzantine readings; it appears that the Alands classified them based on Acts and the Catholic Epistles and ignored the weaker text of Paul. Probably between eight and fifteen of them should be demoted.

Once again let's look at the extreme values for the manuscripts of each category:

Category	Highest Ratio for this category	Manuscript	Lowest Ratio for this category	Manuscript
I	18.78	B	1.32	1175
II	4.17	C	0.95	2464
III	3.50	G	0.03	2412
V	0.43	2400	0.00	1841

Again let's examine standard deviations:

Category	Highest ratio among middle ⅔	Manuscript	Lowest ratio among middle ⅔	Manuscript
I	10.32	A	3.04	א
II	3.70	F	1.09	256
III	0.73	1573	0.09	1845
V	0.26	2147	0.04	254

In the Catholics, we have 76 manuscripts of Category III or above — nine (!) of Category I, 14 of Category II, and 53 of Category III. Here are the extreme values for each Category:

Category	Highest Ratio for this category	Manuscript	Lowest Ratio for this category	Manuscript
I	90.0	B	0.86	1175
II	4.00	1852	1.00	1292
III	1.69	1505	0.04	1841
V	0.43	1563	0.01	424*

And the manuscripts within one standard deviation:

Category	Highest ratio among middle ⅔	Manuscript	Lowest ratio among middle ⅔	Manuscript
I	4.17	A	2.95	33
II	3.24	Ψ	1.27	1067
III	1.00	2200	0.36	94
V	0.14	0142	0.05	049

It's worth noting that, although B has the highest ratio of any manuscript in all four of these sections, the ratio varies by a factor of more than four from one section to another. It is unlikely that this is the result of any change in B; it is simply the nature of the Alands' (non-random) samples.

Appendix III: A Rigorous Classification

The idiosyncratic sample base described in the previous appendix, combined with the way the Alands present their numbers, makes it difficult to accurately classify a manuscript based on their data. There are really only two measures we have available to us. We can take the ratio of Type I to Type II readings, which is a prejudicial statistic because it assumes the UBS/GNT text is accurate (I flatly would refuse to touch such a statistic), or one which includes the Type S readings. The problem with Type S readings is that they include everything from scribal errors to readings of significant manuscript groupings. A Type S reading in a badly-copied manuscript like 28 may just be an error; a Type S reading in a good manuscript like 1739 is important for classification and may well be original. We simply cannot tell.

Still, the Aland data is what we have. We would like to get the best classification scheme we can based on it. A *rigorous* classification. For this purpose, what I will do is look at the ratio given above — Byzantine to non-Byzantine readings — and attempt a quick classification on this basis. Note that this is only a classification of independence from the Byzantine tradition; it makes no attempt to determine the actual nature of the manuscripts involved. What I have tried to do is find a natural gap in the data to roughly separate the four categories.

Gospels

For the gospels, we have five manuscripts with a ratio greater than 3.25, and none between 1.91 and 3.25, so it seems obvious that manuscripts above 3.25 should be our "Category I." The five manuscripts involved are as follows (the figures in parenthesis are their Aland category and the manuscript's Non-Byzantine/Byzantine ratio):

Mathematical Category I: א (I: 11.52), B (I: 29.78), D (IV: 3.25), L (II: 3.63), 2427 (I: 12.17).

The gap between Category II and Category III is less obvious; we have a large gap from 1.33 to 1.74, a smaller one from 1.20 to 1.33, another from 1.08 to 1.20, and another from 0.91 to 0.81. Both the first and last gaps are tempting — the first because it is so large, the latter because there really are manuscripts clumped above and below it. But if we chose the first gap, we would have only three Category II manuscripts. So I will choose a cutoff of 0.9, giving us this list instead:

Mathematical Category II: C (II: 1.33), W (III: 1.2), Δ (III: 0.97), Ψ (III: 1.78), Θ (II: 1.91), 1 (III: 1.08), 33 (II: 1.03), 565 (III: 0.91), 579 (II: 0.97), 892 (II: 1.74), 1342 (III: 0.93), 1582 (III: 0.96)

The largest gap below this is from 0.30 to 0.41. This seems to be the obvious cutoff for Category III. So:

Mathematical Category III: 13 (III: 0.57), 28 (III: 0.58), 69 (V: 0.54), 205 (III: 0.81), 209 (III: 0.78), 346 (III: 0.45), 543 (III: 0.58), 700 (III: 0.61), 788 (III: 0.7), 826 (III: 0.55), 828 (III: 0.61), 983 (III: 0.56), 1241 (III: 0.63), 1424Mark (III: 0.66), 1424MtLk (V: 0.41), 1542bMk (III: 0.61), 2193 (III: 0.54), 2542 (III: 0.71)

We note that every manuscript in this group except 69 and 1424^{MtLk} is shown as Category III by the Alands. It is interesting to observe, however, that some relatively important manuscripts — A N X 157 1071 — fall below this threshold. It appears that the *truly* pure Byzantine manuscripts have a ratio less than about 0.15. So I would suggest that we define a Category IV, unlike the Aland Category IV, of manuscripts clearly Byzantine but with a significant number of interesting readings also:

Mathematical Category IV: A (V: 0.22), N (V: 0.26), X (V: 0.17), Σ (V: 0.29), Φ (V: 0.22), 0211 (V: 0.17), 0233 (III: 0.17), 61 (V: 0.2), 157 (III: 0.24), 1071 (III: 0.3), 1243 (III: 0.16), 1506 (V: 0.18), 2200 (V: 0.17)

It perhaps tells us something about how the Aland did their classifications that the uncials in this group are mostly Category V, the minuscules mostly Category III.

Finally, here are the manuscripts for which the Alands give statistics which are clearly Byzantine, with very little non-Byzantine text — what the Alands would call Category V. I will call them Category B, for Byzantine.

Mathematical Category B: E (V: 0.05), F (V: 0.07), G (V: 0.14), H (V: 0.05), K (V: 0.12), M (V: 0.09), S (V: 0.08), U (V: 0.11), V (V: 0.13), Y (V: 0.05), Γ (V: 0.07), Λ (V: 0.05), Π (V: 0.15), Ω (V: 0.06), 047 (V: 0.15), 5 (V: 0.09), 6 (V: 0.07), 180 (V: 0.08), 189 (V: 0.05), 218 (V: 0.11), 263 (V: 0.05), 330 (V: 0.08), 365 (V: 0.07), 431 (V: 0.05), 461 (V: 0.04), 522 (V: 0.07), 597 (V: 0.06), 720 (V: 0.09), 886 (V: 0.08), 945 (V: 0.07), 1006 (V: 0.12), 1010 (V: 0.06), 1251 (V: 0.04), 1292 (V: 0.05), 1319 (V: 0.12), 1359 (V: 0.05), 1398 (V: 0.09), 1409 (V: 0.05), 1448 (III:

0.06), 1505 (V: 0.06), 1563 (V: 0.12), 1573 (V: 0.14), 1642 (V: 0.04), 1678 (III: 0.1), 1704 (V: 0.13), 2127 (V: 0.1), 2147 (V: 0.09), 2374 (V: 0.05), 2400 (V: 0.1), 2492 (V: 0.1), 2495 (III: 0.06), 2516 (V: 0.09), 2523 (V: 0.07), 2718 (III: 0.12)

The general soundness of the Aland classification is shown by the fact that, of these 54 manuscripts, 50 are Category V in their system. But four of them managed to be classified Category III.

Acts

Without going into detail of the process of determining the groups, here are the equivalent categories for Acts. We might note that the dividing line between categories III, IV, and B was much more blurry in this case than in the gospels; the cutoffs I used were somewhat arbitrary (determined in part by what I knew of the manuscripts rather than the numbers. The categories are still determined solely by the ratios, but the dividing line were chosen in part to put the largest fraction of manuscripts in the groups where they seemed to belong).

Mathematical Category I: א (I: 7.82), A (I: 7.7), B (I: 41.5), C (II: 3.77), 81 (II: 6.43), 1175 (I: 3.61)

Mathematical Category II: D (IV: 2.29), E (II: 1.22), 33 (I: 2.19), 36 (II: 1.5), 181 (III: 1.47), 453 (III: 1.36), 610 (III: 1.48), 945 (III: 1.27), 1678 (III: 1.32), 1739 (II: 1.59), 1884 (III: 1.26), 1891 (II: 1.47), 2344 (III: 1.32)

Mathematical Category III: Ψ (III: 0.9), 5 (III: 0.41), 88 (III: 0.57), 94 (III: 0.87), 180 (III: 0.98), 307 (III: 0.52), 322 (III: 0.61), 323 (III: 0.61), 429 (III: 0.61), 431 (III: 0.9), 436 (III: 0.37), 441 (III: 0.65), 467 (V: 0.46), 522 (III: 0.54), 614 (III: 0.45), 621 (III: 0.49), 623 (III: 0.62), 629 (III: 0.89), 630 (III: 0.95), 915 (III: 0.43), 1292 (V: 0.36), 1409 (II: 1.08), 1505 (III: 0.44), 1611 (III: 0.42), 1642 (III: 0.96), 1704 (III: 1.1), 1751 (III: 0.74), 1838 (III: 0.36), 1842 (III: 0.51), 1875 (III: 1.09), 2138 (III: 0.55), 2200 (III: 1.00), 2298 (III: 0.71), 2412 (III: 0.43), 2495 (III: 0.47), 2718 (III: 0.51)

Mathematical Category IV: 6 (V: 0.27), 61 (V: 0.23), 69 (V: 0.21), 103 (V: 0.23), 104 (V: 0.28), 189 (V: 0.16), 206 (V: 0.3), 209 (V: 0.15), 218 (V: 0.17), 326 (III: 0.24), 459 (V: 0.22), 1243 (III: 0.18), 1319 (V: 0.27), 1359 (V: 0.17), 1718 (III: 0.23), 1735 (III: 0.31), 1852 (III: 0.33), 1877 (V: 0.18), 2147 (V: 0.26), 2544 (V: 0.19), 2652 (V: 0.28)

Mathematical Category B: H (V: 0.06), L (V: 0.06), P (V: 0.03), 049 (V: 0.09), 056 (V: 0.04), 0142 (V: 0.05), 1 (V: 0.03), 205 (V: 0.1), 254 (V: 0.04), 256 (V: 0.06), 263 (V: 0.05), 330 (V: 0.03), 365 (V: 0.1), 378 (V: 0.07), 424* (V: 0.04), 424c (V: 0.11), 451 (V: 0.04), 642 (V: 0.08), 911 (V: 0.04), 917 (V: 0.12), 1241 (V: 0.01), 1251 (V: 0.14), 1398 (V: 0.03), 1424 (V: 0.01), 1448 (V: 0.11), 1524 (V: 0.07), 1563 (V: 0.15), 1573 (V: 0.07), 1841 (V: 0.06), 1845 (III: 0.08),

1854 (V: 0.07), 1874 (V: 0.13), 2127 (V: 0.13), 2400 (V: 0.06), 2492 (V: 0.07), 2516 (V: 0.12), 2523 (V: 0.05), 2541 (V: 0.1)

Paul

Turning to Paul, the best cutoffs seemed to give the groups shown below. Note the large number of manuscripts with ratios above 3.0, giving us a very large class of Category I manuscripts. Nor is there much doubt that this is the location where the dividing line should be located, since the weakest of these manuscripts (which is, believe it or not, א) has a ratio of 3.04, and the next manuscript (1881) has a ratio of 1.81. Paul probably qualifies as the one section of the New Testament where you could construct a fairly adequate text by looking only at Category I manuscripts. The flip side is that Category II is relatively small (and I was tempted to make it even smaller and draw the line at 1.5, which would have put only 1881 and 1506 in Category II).

Mathematical Category I: א (I: 3.04), A (I: 10.32), B (I: 18.78), C (II: 4.17), D* (II: 3.63), F (II: 3.7), G (III: 3.5), 33 (I: 3.34), 81 (II: 3.86), 1739 (I: 4.6)

Mathematical Category II: P (III: 1.44), 256 (II: 1.09), 1175 (I: 1.32), 1506 (II: 1.75), 1881 (II: 1.81), 1962 (II: 1.04), 2127 (II: 1.11)

Mathematical Category III: D** (III: 0.57), Ψ (III: 0.58), 0150 (III: 0.87), 6 (III: 0.77), 104 (III: 0.70), 263 (III: 0.82), 365 (III: 0.87), 424** (III: 0.76), 436 (III: 0.60), 441 (III: 0.66), 442 (III: 0.97), 459 (III: 0.63), 467 (III: 0.56), 621 (III: 0.59), 1319 (III: 0.71), 1573 (III: 0.79), 1910 (III: 0.72), 1912 (III: 0.61), 1942 (III: 0.67), 1959 (III: 0.58), 2005 (III: 0.58), 2464 (II: 0.95)

Mathematical Category IV: 075 (III: 0.39), 5 (III: 0.22), 61 (III: 0.38), 69 (III: 0.34), 88 (III: 0.32), 103 (V: 0.17), 181 (III: 0.28), 218 (III: 0.35), 326 (III: 0.34), 330 (III: 0.36), 451 (III: 0.46), 623 (III: 0.22), 629 (III: 0.50), 630 (III: 0.49), 886 (V: 0.19), 915 (III: 0.37), 917 (III: 0.24), 1241 (III: 0.42), 1243 (III: 0.17), 1398 (III: 0.44), 1505 (III: 0.37), 1524 (V: 0.17), 1611 (III: 0.35), 1678 (III: 0.16), 1735 (III: 0.17), 1751 (III: 0.22), 1836 (III: 0.28), 1838 (III: 0.49), 1852 (III: 0.25), 1874 (III: 0.35), 1875 (III: 0.28), 1877 (III: 0.37), 1908 (III: 0.38), 2110 (III: 0.43), 2138 (III: 0.20), 2197 (V: 0.19), 2200 (III: 0.49), 2344 (III: 0.20), 2400 (V: 0.43), 2492 (III: 0.50), 2495 (III: 0.25), 2516 (III: 0.34), 2523 (III: 0.33), 2544 (III: 0.31)

Mathematical Category B: K (V: 0.12), L (V: 0.05), 049 (V: 0.03), 056 (V: 0.07), 0142 (V: 0.06), 0151 (V: 0.09), 1 (V: 0.03), 94 (III: 0.15), 180 (V: 0.04), 189 (V: 0.03), 205 (V: 0.05), 206 (V: 0.10), 209 (V: 0.06), 254 (V: 0.14), 322 (III: 0.08), 323 (III: 0.08), 378 (V: 0.03), 398 (V: 0.02), 424* (V: 0.04), 429 (V: 0.10), 431 (V: 0.04), 522 (V: 0.04), 614 (III: 0.04), 642 (V: 0.06), 720 (V: 0.12), 911 (V: 0.02), 918 (V: 0.04), 945 (V: 0.04), 1251 (V: 0.11), 1292 (V: 0.04), 1359 (V: 0.10), 1409 (V: 0.04), 1424 (V: 0.05), 1448 (V: 0.04), 1523 (V: 0.15), 1563 (III: 0.15), 1642 (V: 0.08), 1704 (V: 0.03), 1718 (III: 0.14), 1841 (V: 0.00), 1845 (III: 0.09), 1846 (III: 0.08), 1854

(V: 0.03), 1891 (V: 0.04), 2147 (V: 0.04), 2298 (V: 0.05), 2374 (V: 0.04), 2412 (III: 0.03), 2541 (V: 0.03), 2652 (V: 0.02), 2718 (III: 0.08)

We might note, incidentally, the danger that simple categorization causes. An example is 630. For Paul as a whole, e.g., 630 shows up in Category IV. But in fact it is block mixed (or progressively mixed, or something). In the early part of Paul, it is weak Family 1739, which would surely make it Category III. From about Ephesians on, it is purely Byzantine. So, properly, we should list it as III/B. No doubt there are other instances of this as well; we simply cannot tell from the Aland numbers.

Catholic Epistles

Finally, here is how things appear to break down for the Catholic Epistles. We again have a very large number of Category I witnesses, but there really isn't much doubt about this dividing line, since the weakest of these witnesses, 33, is at 2.95 and the next-best witness, 323, is at 2.37.

It might be worth noting that, even within Category I, there appears to be a bit of a gap: B is at 90.00 (!), 1739 at 5.40, and then the other nine witnesses I've grouped here are between 4.17 and 2.95. Thus B and 1739 stand far away from the pack. It is worth noting that, although we have about as many Category I witnesses here as in Paul, they do not represent the full range of manuscripts nearly as well. The members of Family 2138 — a very distinct and important group — are all mixed enough that none of them reaches Category I status. Indeed, it is arguable that none of them deserve Category II status. There were two possible gaps to define Category II: Between 81 (1.97) and 1505 (1.69), or between 2138 (1.42) and 1067 (1.27). The former gap is larger, but it would leave only four manuscripts in Category II (81, 322, 323, 2344), so I chose the latter gap (which had the secondary effect of putting several Family 2138 manuscripts, including 1505, 2138, and 2495, in Category II). But this is arbitrary; if you're willing to allow more than four non-Byzantine classses, there could be a cut between 81 and 1505.

Mathematical Category I: א (I: 3.43), A (I: 4.17), B (I: 90.00), C (II: 3.44), Ψ (II: 3.24), 33 (I: 2.95), 1241 (I: 4.12), 1243 (I: 3.18), 1739 (I: 5.40), 1852 (II: 4.00), 1881 (II: 3.38)

Mathematical Category II: 81 (II: 1.97), 322 (II: 2.37), 323 (II: 2.37), 1505 (III: 1.69), 1735 (II: 1.60), 2138 (III: 1.42), 2298 (II: 1.57), 2344 (I: 2.33), 2464 (II: 1.53), 2495 (III: 1.51)

Mathematical Category III: 5 (III: 0.94), 436 (III: 1.19), 442 (II: 1.19), 614 (III: 0.93), 621 (III: 0.96), 623 (III: 1.04), 630 (III: 1.00), 945 (III: 1.24), 1067 (II: 1.27), 1175 (I: 0.86), 1292 (II: 1.00), 1409 (II: 1.02), 2200 (III: 1.00), 2412 (III: 1.04), 2541 (III: 0.90)

Mathematical Category IV: P (III: 0.73), 6 (III: 0.60), 36 (III: 0.48), 61 (III: 0.50), 69 (V: 0.22), 88 (III: 0.42), 94 (III: 0.36), 104 (III: 0.46), 181 (III: 0.24), 206 (III: 0.53), 218 (III: 0.40), 254 (III:

0.47), 307 (III: 0.52), 378 (III: 0.56), 398 (III: 0.28), 424** (III: 0.48), 429 (III: 0.60), 431 (III: 0.29), 453 (III: 0.49), 467 (V: 0.30), 522 (III: 0.70), 629 (III: 0.80), 642 (III: 0.41), 720 (V: 0.32), 915 (III: 0.45), 918 (III: 0.48), 1359 (III: 0.45), 1448 (III: 0.47), 1524 (III: 0.48), 1563 (V: 0.43), 1678 (III: 0.52), 1718 (III: 0.47), 1751 (III: 0.24), 1838 (III: 0.48), 1842 (III: 0.31), 1845 (III: 0.53), 1875 (III: 0.23), 2147 (III: 0.64), 2197 (III: 0.51), 2374 (III: 0.59), 2492 (III: 0.47), 2544 (V: 0.29), 2652 (III: 0.64), 2718 (III: 0.34)

Mathematical Category B: K (V: 0.10), L (V: 0.10), 049 (V: 0.05), 056 (V: 0.14), 0142 (V: 0.14), 1 (V: 0.03), 103 (V: 0.11), 180 (V: 0.13), 189 (V: 0.07), 205 (V: 0.06), 209 (V: 0.1), 256 (V: 0.07), 263 (V: 0.06), 330 (V: 0.1), 365 (V: 0.15), 424* (V: 0.01), 451 (V: 0.10), 610 (V: 0.08), 911 (V: 0.04), 917 (V: 0.11), 1251 (V: 0.07), 1319 (V: 0.1), 1398 (V: 0.07), 1424 (V: 0.06), 1573 (V: 0.05), 1642 (V: 0.07), 1704 (V: 0.02), 1841 (III: 0.04), 1854 (V: 0.05), 1874 (V: 0.13), 1877 (V: 0.10), 1891 (V: 0.06), 2127 (V: 0.11), 2400 (V: 0.04), 2516 (V: 0.03), 2523 (V: 0.14)

The lists above, of course, include only the few hundred manuscripts for which the Alands supply data. They either do not supply data for the remaining manuscripts, or the manuscripts are too fragmentary for the data to be meaningful. The manuscripts for which they did not supply data are generally either unclassified or Category V. The above data shows that there is some overlap between what should be Category III and Category V (e.g., in the Catholics, there are thee manuscripts in Category IV which the Alands make Category V, and one in Category B which they list as Category III). But their accuracy rate is on the order of 85%, and it is very rare for them to miss by more than one category (except in the handful of cases where they apply one category to a manuscript which belongs in different categories in different sections). Thus it seems likely that the manuscripts they list in Category V can be safely ignored and represented by a sample. The trick remains to choose between the several hundred manuscripts of Category IV and higher.

I must stress that this is not the final word. The Aland samples are too small to be entirely reliable, especially if a manuscript is block-mixed, and the classifications above are based on only a single statistical measure, which is imperfect because of the difference between meaningful and meaningless non-type–1/2 readings. But it is at least a measure of Byzantine-ness based solely on mathematics.

A footnote: Some may object to my seeking gaps to define the differences between categories, pointing out — correctly — that I have elsewhere denied the existence or significance in gaps of percentage agreements.

The situations, however, are not parallel. It is, I repeat, a distinction between Grades and Clades. A text-type, as I define the term, is a clade, so percentages and gaps are not relevant.

But two of the bare handful of Assured Results of New Testament TC are the existence of the Byzantine Text and of mixture. This makes it meaningful to attempt to assess the degree of Byzantine mixture in a manuscript — and, while the Aland data does not allow us to really determine genetic ancestry, it is generally enough to determine degree of Byzantine influence.

Byzantine-ness is a grade distinction, nothing more: All we are seeking is percent of Byzantine readings. In *that* context, we need dividing lines between categories. We could of course be arbitrary; there is in this case no real problem with that. But since there are gaps (at least some of them), placing our category divisions within those gaps makes the distinctions between categories more distinctive. So I tried to find suitable gaps.

Chemistry, Chemical Reagents, Physics, and the History of Manuscripts

Please Note: This is not a complete article on how the physical sciences can be used to help us in textual criticism. This is an extremely broad field, with references scattered in journals of many fields and (as far as I know) no general manual. I have pulled material together from a lot of sources, but this is just a collection of notes, not a comprehensive summary of the field.

Chemical Reagents

Old manuscripts can be extremely difficult to read. The most obvious examples are Palimpsest, but even a manuscript's upper writing can fade.

Today, scholars have excellent tools for dealing with such problems (notably ultraviolet photography, though there are many other techniques in use). That wasn't so in the past, but the desire to read the manuscripts was just as great. In consequence, scientists developed a number of chemicals for trying to bring out faded or eradicated ink. The first ink restorer seems to have been oakgall (gallic acid or, technically, trihydroxybenzoic acid, $C_6H_2(OH)_3COOH$), used as early as the early seventeenth century (possibly earlier), but much stronger chemicals were eventually discovered. Some of the reagents used in the nineteenth century include ammonic sulphydrate, potassium nitrate, potassium bisulfate, and Gioberti tincture — successive coats of hydrochloric acid and potassium cyanide (!).

Supposedly (according to E. Maunde Thompson's *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography,* p. 65), the "most harmless [reagent] is probably hydro-sulphuret of ammonia." Similarly, M. R. James wrote that *"ammonium bisulphide.... unlike the old-fashioned galls, does not stain the page."* Which mostly tells you how damaging the others are. Hydro-sulphuret of ammonia is a strong hair dye, with acid properties. It is certainly capable of damaging manuscripts.

If you somehow talk someone into letting you use this gunk on an old manuscript, be sure to dab or pat it onto the parchment. Do not paint it (which can cause the ink to smear) or spray it (which will apply more than you need).

The problem with these chemicals is that, although they can bring out the writing in the short term, they destroy the manuscript in the slightly longer term. They can cause the ink to blot and the parchment to decay. (As a result, there was a brief period during which scholars applied their glop, photographed the results, and washed the chemicals off. Somehow this doesn't seem much better than leaving it on the manuscripts.) Among New Testament manuscripts, this sort of defacement happened notably to C (though it is not clear whether Tischendorf, who is frequently blamed for it, was guilty; other scholars seem to have been the primary culprits). The problem is especially bad when multiple chemicals are applied — as was done, e.g., to the manuscript of *The Poem of the Cid);* not only does this damage the parchment, but it also renders ultraviolet photography less effective. Ian Michaels, in his introduction to the Penguin bilingual edition *The Poem of the Cid,* tells us on p. 15 that "the reagents have not only blackened the folios where they were applied but also appear to have eaten through the parchment in the worst affected places; they have also left a flourescence which greatly reduces the effectiveness of ultra-violet light." The chemicals used were apparently ammonic sulphydrate plus, in a few cases, "yellow potassium prussiate" and hydrochloric acid.

Chemical "enhancement" of manuscripts is now strongly frowned upon, and has effectively stopped — having been replaced by much less damaging techniques. Unfortunately, there are instances of the use of chemicals as late as the 1920s; many manuscripts which survived the Middle Ages have now been permanently damaged by more modern scholars who generally did not learn much as a result of their vandalism.

It's interesting to note that some of these chemical reagents were known long ago. Pliny the Elder was perhaps the first to describe an invisible ink. Of greater significance, perhaps, is a remark by Philo of Byzantium, who refers to an ink of nutgalls which could be developed with what we would now call copper sulfate. Since many ancient inks contained nutgall, Philo deserves credit, in a sense, for the first method of "developing" palimpsests.

Paints and Pigments

Chemistry can be a powerful tool for textual criticism in its paleographic aspects — specifically dating and verification of manuscripts. Spectroscopy and other tests can reveal chemicals contained in inks or paintings without damaging the manuscript. And if a manuscript contains a chemical not in use at the time it was thought to have been written, well, that implies a problem. This line of argument has been used, e.g. to implicate 2427 as a forgery, since it probably contains Prussian Blue, a dye not invented until the eighteenth

century, well after 2427's alleged date. The problem with such arguments is that they depend to a strong extent on our knowledge of history of chemical use; there is currently a major argument about another chemical, titanium dioxide, thought to be modern but now found in small amounts in ancient inks.

(Incidentally, while Prussian Blue is the most famous, and most easily detected, of modern colours used to fake artifacts, it is not the only one. The infamous Piltdown Man hoax of the early twentieth century involved bones of a human being and an orangutan being jumbled together, broken up, filed — and stained to make them look like a match. Some of the staining was done with a commercial paint, Vandyke Brown. Vandyke Brown is not as chemically unique as Prussian Blue, but it will surely be evident that million-year-old fossils didn't go around staining their teeth with paint manufactured around the beginning of the twentieth century!)

Another recent surprise came when a technique called Raman spectroscopy was used on the British Library's King George III copy of the Gutenberg Bible. According to a (non-technical) article in *Renaissance* magazine (issue #45, p. 18), the inks used to illuminate that printed book (which of course is contemporary with some late manuscripts) included cinnabar for bright red (as expected), carbon for black, azurite for blue (not a surprise, though some blues use lapis lazuli), calcium carbonate (chalk) for white, malachite for olive green, and verdigris (copper ethanoate) for dark green. More notably, the Göttingen copy was found to contain anatase and rutile, which had been regarded as modern compounds. This may be the result of contamination, but it may be a hint that we may still have more to learn about ancient inks.

Some pigments can be detected simply by the way they decay over time. An example is paint using white lead. White lead was prepared by exposing elemental lead to the fumes of vinegar (acetic acid) to create lead acetate (also called lead (II) ethanoate, $Pb(CH_3COO)_2$) and sundry hydrates. This is a delicate white, much liked both for a wall covering and for detailed paint. Often it was mixed with other pigments to produce pale shades such as pink. Sadly, paintings made with it are unlikely to look pink any more. If exposed to hydrogen sulfide (a common by-product of gas lighting and especially of coal-burning), it reacts to form lead sulfide (PbS), which is black. The decay of white lead has been known for centuries (Cennino mentioned it in the early fifteenth century), but it was such an excellent white that it continued to be used — there was no good alternative until zinc white was discovered after the manuscript era, and there was no good and cheap alternative until titanium white came along in the early twentieth century. So if you see a painting of someone's face which looks as if it had been expected to be pink, but now looks dark brown or black, odds are that it used white lead.

Unfortunately, the use of white lead isn't very useful as a dating method; its preparation was first described by Theophrastus (372–286 B.C.E.), and it was widely used by the Romans.

(Information in this paragraph primarily from John Emsley, *Nature's Building Blocks: An A-Z Guide to the Elements,* corrected edition, Oxford, 2003). It was still being used as a pigment as late as the time of England's Queen Elizabeth I (died 1603); her extremely heavy makeup was said to be founded upon white lead. (I can't help but wonder if it shortened her life.)

Speaking of pigments and makeup — keep in mind that most manuscripts with illuminations were painted before the invention of oil paints (the best of the natural oil bases, linseed oil, was known from the eighth century but reportedly was not used for painting until the fifteenth). Earlier paints were almost like wet versions of pancake makeup, using materials such as egg white or fish glue to attach the pigments to the page. This affected how they were laid down, how they were mixed, and how they survived. Many illuminated manuscripts seem to be in a rather un-modern style. But this may have had more to do with the paint than the painter.

Table of Common Chemicals Used in Ancient Inks and Pigments

Please note: This list isn't even close to complete; I'm adding chemicals as I learn of them.

Also, without listing them in the table below, we should probably list the two most common components in ancient paints: Egg white and egg yolk. These were not used for color; rather, they were binders, holding the pigment to the page. Egg white is usually refered to as "glair"; egg yolk was used to make tempera paint. Both were common, tempera probably more so. In general the pigments were ground, then dissolved in a small quantity of water, which was then mixed with the egg yolk. Once the yolk fully dried, it proved quite stable; even water affected it only slightly. Yolk contains enough oil to be rather like oil paint, except rather duller and less reflective.

Common Name	Chemical Formula	Color	Comments
Azurite	$Cu(CO_3)_2(OH)^2$ Hydrous copper carbonate	Blue	Often found with malachite. A very hard mineral, which required much grinding before it could be used as a pigment (and which, even when ground, retains its crystalline structure). Because it is so difficult to prepare, it quickly went out of use when modern blues became available. Moderns may also find it listed as “blue bice” or “blue verditer”; this too is copper carbonate, but prepared chemically rather than from natural deposits. A truly pure azurite will be a very deep blue, but because it is often mixed with malachite, it is likely to look blue-green. Indeed, in early times the mixed material was sometimes called “verde azzurro,” “blue-green,” or “acquamarine” because it was used to create sea colors.
Bistre	complex organic	orange or brown	Made by burning the roots of certain resinous trees. It is not a very stable color, so it probably was not often used, but because it was not developed until the fourteenth century, it can be used to date such manuscripts as do use it.

Bone Black	complex organic	Black	Lampblack was probably the best black available to the ancients, since it was almost pure black carbon, but the supply was limited. Among the substitutes sometimes used was bone black — charred bone. Although this contained only about 10% carbon, with most of the rest being calcium phospate plus a few percent of calcium carbonate and other things, it was a very good black if properly prepared. However, it was trickier than lampblack because the bone had to be very finely ground to be usable, and heated very carefully to prevent it burning away. Typically it was more of a brown than a black color as a result. There are stories of human bones being used to make bone black. I know of no verified evidence for this, but it is certainly possible. The only question is, why would anyone do it when other bones were available? Certainly such ink would not have been used by, e.g., Jews.
Calcite	$CaCO_3$ Calcium Carbonate	usually white	Calcium carbonate occurs in a wide variety of forms. There are three crystal forms (calcite, aragonite, and vaterite, though the last of these is very rare and the second unstable and tends to decay into calcite), and is even more common in non-crystalline form as limestone and chalk. Pure forms are usually white or clear, though impurities can cause it to take on almost any colour. It often is found as part of other rocks (see the notes on lapis lazuli). The form found in pigments is typically chalk, used for white paint or to change the brightness of mixed pigments.
Carmine	*(See Kermes)*		

Cinnabar	HgS Mercury Sulfate	Red or red/ brown	Sometimes called vermillion. Ores usually found in Spain, Italy, Balkans. A very vivid red, but rather dangerous to deal with because it was relatively easy to liberate the mercury. Another name occasionally used for it is minium, although that name is more frequently and more properly used for red lead (Pliny referred to cinnabar as the best form of minium and to red lead as *minium secondarium,* second-rate minium, presumably because it was cheaper but not as bright, but Gerber, who eventually became a more important authority, reserved the term minium for red lead). In early times, cinnabar seems to have been mined; later, purer forms were created from elemental mercury (often derived from natural cinnabar!) and sulfur.
Dragon's Blood	complex organic	reddish	A purple-red resin-based compound, difficult to identify because it looks much like other reds, but almost certain to be old (it is no longer sold). It reportedly came from the Arabian Peninsula and beyond, so it was probably more common in eastern manuscripts. It appears a few alchemists referred to cinnabar by the name Dragon's Blood, which might explain the name, but I know of no artists who used the term.
Egyptian Blue	Copper Calcium Cilicate	Blue	This has been called the first artificial pigment, although the name "Egyptian Blue" is modern. It is not known how it was prepared in ancient times, but it is used in many Egyptian monuments, and the color survives to the present day. I have found no reports of it being used in Greek or Latin illuminated manuscripts, but it might someday turn up in documents from Egypt.

Gesso	$CaSO_4$–1/2H_2O and other materials	(White)	Not really a pigment; gesso is a substrate, used to attach pigments or (often) gold leaf; it is a combination glue, colorant, and surfacer. The basic ingredient is slaked Plaster of Paris — hydrated calcium sulfate, usually purified. It was often prepared by heating gypsum to drive out the water, then rehydrating it to achieve the exact desired consistency. There were other ingredients, however. Many mixes include significant amounts of white lead for color (up to 25%). Gesso that was to be used as a substrate for gold leaf often had Armenian bole or another reddish earth added (so it would be less noticeable if the gold rubbed off. The red was due to iron oxides). Sugar might be added as a dessicant, and gum to make it cohere better. Finally, water and egg glair (made from egg whites) would be added, the former to moisten the mix so it could be applied to the page, and the latter to make it stick. It was applied with a pen, then allowed to harden. The overall effect seems to have been rather like water-based correcting fluid. After it had dried, a layer of gold leaf might be burnished on top of the gesso (usually after waiting at least a day). Sometimes gesso was placed behind other pigments as well. It is likely that this was done to brighten the pigment — it would not change the color of the painting, but it would cause it to reflect any light which passed through. The effect was a bit like painting over a mirror.

Green earth	Ferric and ferrous oxides plus silicates	Green	Often called *terra verde* or *terre verte,* with the same meaning as “green earth.” This is said to have been the most common green pigment in the middle ages; it was a by-product of iron mining. As a pigment, it was a rather dull green, of varying hue, from olive-green to apple green. Its chemical composition varies, being mostly a mix of minerals, glauconite and celadonite. Ferrous oxides (Fe_2O_3) and silicates seem to be the most common components.
Indigo	(complex)	Blue	One of the earliest known permanent dyes, found in both indigo plants (from Asia) and woad plants (known, e.g., in Britain), although the concentration in woad is far less than in indigo plants (which apparently led to early protectionist measures as dyers who used woad tried to block importation of indigo). The blue is the color of “blue jeans,” which are colored with indigo. It was also used as a medicine, being a powerful astringent. The chemical is complex (if I counted right, it has three sodium atoms, thirty hydrogens, 35 carbons, three sulfurs, two nitrogens, and nine oxygens; there are four benzene rings, one modified benzene ring, and three $NaSO_3$ groups). Nonetheless it has been synthesized by moderns — there are even bacteria which have been modified to produce it. It is not as rich a blue as lapis lazuli or the copper compounds, and suffers from the fact that it is not very opaque (it is a far better dye than pigment) but was used because it was more available than the inorganic blues.

Indian Yellow	magnesium euxanthate	Yellow or yellow-orange	Apparently known from ancient times in India and surrounding regions. It is usually stated that it was made from the urine of cows fed on mango leaves — a practice now outlawed as it is hard on the cows. It should be noted, however, that Victoria Finlay tried to investigate this process in the part of India where the product was made, and couldn't find anyone who knew anything about it. Whatever the original source, the pigment can now be made with magnesium and euxanthic acid ($C_{19}H_{16}O_{10}$). It reportedly did not make its way to the west until the nineteenth century. Thus its presence in a manuscript illumination of a Latin manuscript would indicate a very late date, although a Greek or Syriac manuscript might have contained it earlier.
Iris Green	(complex)	Green	A rare but very attractive green, made from the juice of iris flowers plus alum. It was commonly used for manuscript illumination in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but rarely if ever before that.
Iron pigments	*(see red ochre, yellow ochre, green ochre under Ochre)*		
Jade	usually jadeite, sodium aluminum silicate, $NaAl(SiO_3)_2$; sometimes nephrite, $Ca_2Mg_5Si_8O_{22}(OH)_2$	(many colors, but often green)	The informal name "jade" is used for two different minerals, both found in large enough blocks to be suitable for sculpting, but attractive enough to be considered a semi-precious stone. Jades range in color from white to green to black; green jade is probably the most desirable, and was used in eastern countries to produce the pigment known as "spinach green." I gather that this form was occasionally ground up to produce a green pigment, although this was more common in the east; I do not know of instances of green jade in western illuminated manuscripts. But my knowledge is far from complete!

Kermes	(complex)	red	This pigment is believed to be the one referred to in Genesis 38:28; indeed, the word “crimson” is said to derive from kermes. But it can’t have been common outside the Mediterranean (although it is said to have been used in the Lindisfarne Gospels). It was not prepared from a mineral but from the bodies of small red insects which inhabited evergreens along the Mediterranean. This or something similar can also be found under the name “cochineal,” although this color (which can be more purple than red) is not very stable under light — especially if it is not treated with alum to fix it. Supposedly the kermes was extracted from the insects by drowning them in vinegar or killing them with vinegar fumes. (Modern kermes insects, it is way, are not easily killed this way; perhaps they have evolved an immunity to acetic acid.) Interestingly, the Americas also boast a pigment, carmine, derived from the bodies of insects (both insects reportedly being of the cochineal family). In recent years it has become a major commercial product in Latin America, where there are farms of prickly pear cactus set up to support the insect. This is a much more successful industry because the carmine insect produces more of the chemical than the kermes bug. The name carmine is also derived from kermes.

kermes, continued			Carmine and kermes are not the same chemical, but they are closely related. The proper name of carmine is 7–D-glucopyranosyl–3,5,6,8–tetrahydroxy–1–methyl–9,10–dioxoanthracene–2–carboxylic acid. Not too surprisingly, this is sometimes called by the shorthand “Carminic acid.” Kermes has as its active ingredient “Kermesic acid,” which is chemically similar but not as complex (both have the same structure of benzene-like rings at one end, but there is a chain of carbons and hydroxyls at one end, and the chain on carminic acid is four links longer). Some have said that the Hebrews used Kermes to dye the curtains in the Temple. This obviously is beyond proof, but it is not unreasonable that Solomon would spring for such an expensive but excellent color. (And expensive it certainly was, since it supposedly took about 150,000 insects to produce one kilgram of the color!) It will perhaps make some readers less than happy to realize that cochineal is an approved red food coloring, used e.g. in certain candies. There are some amazing stories about kermes being used for tribute in Roman times, and about wild escapades by nations and individuals trying to gain a part in the kermes or cochineal trade. Those interested may refer to Victoria FiNlay, *Color: A Natural History of the Palette*. This book has information on some of the other colors listed here as well, but the kermes story is perhaps the most adventurous…. Those who study alchemy may find references to a kermes mineral, but this is certainly not the same substance, although it is far from clear what inorganic compound is being referred to.

Lampblack	Carbon, C	Black	Pure carbon is one of the purest blacks known, and as such was used both in ink and in paint to supply blacks and mixed tones. Its use reportedly goes back to ancient Egypt, at least 1500 years B.C.E. It has always surprised me that so few inks used lampblack — but poor monasteries which used mostly natural lighting might have a limited supply, and lampblack — being a non-acidic suspension — would not cling to the parchment as well as more acidic inks. The problem of limited supply could sometimes be solved by creating carbon by other means, e.g. bone black. The problem of the ink coming off the page is more severe; it is possible that many pages written in lampblack simply lost their writing and were not preserved. (I know of no studies on this point.)

Lapis Lazuli	[lazurite: $(Mg,Fe)Al_2(PO_4)(OH_2)$] and others	Blue	Unlike most common pigments, lapis lazuli is not a simple compound. Rather, it is composed of lazurite (a deep blue compound, sometimes called ultramarine) mixed with calcite and often small amounts of other compounds such as pyroxenes. The calcite generally serves to lighten the color of the rock; lapis lazuli is always blue, but how dark a blue depends on the exact nature of the mix. The stone is considered a semiprecious gem, and the best source for lapis lazuli is said to be Afghanistan, so there is probably some geographic variation in its frequency of use. It was rare enough that there are reports of it being scraped off manuscripts for reuse. Indeed, it is said to have been the most expensive pigment known to the ancients other than gold; a writer complained in 1508 that it cost 100 florins per pound. It has been hypothesized that Michelangelo's unfinished painting "The Entombement" was left incomplete because no one could find or afford the required ultramarine paint. In addition to its rarity, lapis lazuli required very complex handling in order to extract the desired color. Modern methods involve materials such as linseed oil that the ancients probably would not have used, but they likely had some sort of grinding-and-kneading procedure to extract the color. This was work enough that it might have added still more to the price. Byzantine illuminations using lapis lazuli have been dated as early as the seventh century. In the late middle ages, it was largely displaced by smalt, which is a less attractive blue but was cheaper and had better hiding power.

Lapis Lazuli, continued			More recent preparations from lapis lazuli would try to separate the blue crystals from the calcite and others to produce a more intense blue. This is not a good indication of date, however, because the effects will depend on just how pure the original stone was. Modern ultramarine blue pigment, which different sources date to 1814 or 1829, is chemically identical to lapis lazuli, and will look much the same at a casual glance — but because the lazurite is prepared artificially, the particles are much smaller than in lapis lazuli paint; microscopic examination can often distinguish them. In addition, early ultramarine often contained some sulfur which made it look somewhat more purple. Ultramarine was considered a blue for (dark) skies, as opposed to azurite (occasionally referred to as aquamarine), which was for sea blues.

Red Lead	Lead tetroxide, or Lead (II, III, IV) oxide, Pb_3O_4	Red	There are actually two red oxides of lead, lead oxide, PbO, or litharge, and lead tetroxide, Pb_3O_4, sometimes known as minium (although that name is sometimes, confusingly, used for cinnabar; see the note there; Vitruvius called lead tetroxide sandaraca). Lead tetroxide is what is usually know as red lead, and was prepared by heating white lead. Lead oxide was made by simply heating lead metal and allowing it to oxidize. I suspect, since ancient red lead is sometimes referred to as orange, that it was sometimes a mixture of oxides, since another crystalline form of PbO formed yellow crystals (see yellow lead). Red lead is used notably in the Lindisfarne Gospels to produce a sort of red shadow for the outlines of letters. It is said that over 10,000 dots of red lead were used on one of the pages of that gospel (beginning of Luke, where every letter is outlined in two or more rows of dots). It was known as a poison at least from the time of Nicander of Colophon (second century B.C.E.). For some reason — perhaps because of its dangers — use of red lead tended to decline over time, with vermillion becoming a more popular replacement. If you ignore its poisonous aspects, it is an excellent pigment, with a clear red color, good hiding power, and small particle sizes that make it easy to mix and apply. As a result, in addition to its use as a pigment, it has sometimes been used as a primer, binding to the page (or other materials such as metal), with a second, harder-to-appy, pigment being laid over it. The Romans seem to have used it extensively as a wall paint, which can't have helped their health.

White Lead	Lead acetate: lead (II) ethanoate, $Pb(CH_3COO)_2$	White	The preparation of white lead is described above under red lead. It is used both as a white paint and as a whitener (that is, it would lighten the shade of other paints). Unfortunately, it decays over time to toward dark shades (the result of exposure to hydrogen sulfide), producing artwork which often looks very strange (since, the lighter the original color, the darker the final shade). It was sometimes referred as ceruse. It was known as a poison at least from the time of Nicander of Colophon (second century B.C.E.). Modern paints based on white lead often contained mixtures of compounds, perhaps 70% white lead and 30% lead hydrate. White lead has another interesting use: It can sometimes by employed to reveal when a painting has been corrected. It was the original “white-out,” used to paint over a mistake. And, because lead is very heavy and stops x-rays, these corrections will show up as a blank area if a painting is x-rayed. Titian’s “The Death of Actaeon,” for instance, shows that the artist re-did the image of Actaeon himself. Whether there are manuscripts which have been re-painted enough for this to matter I do not know.

Yellow Lead	Lead chromate: $PbCrO_4$	Yellow	As with red lead, there are two compounds which might be known as yellow lead. Today the term seems to be used primarily for lead chromate, or chrome yellow. I suspect, however, that the usual form known to the ancients was lead oxide, PbO. (Supposedly chrome yellow and the related chrome orange were not manufactured until the early nineteenth century.) Note that this lead oxide is chemically identical to litharge, the lead oxide form of red lead. The difference is in the structure of the crystals, with one form being converted to the other by heat. This would theoretically allow the possibility that red pigments would turn yellow over time, but since the heat of conversion is in excess of 400° C, this would not have happened extensively. Yellow lead oxide was apparently known as massicot.
Malachite	$Cu_2CO_3(OH)_2$ copper carbonate hydroxide	green	Frequently found in the same deposits as azurite (which see), but more common. The properties are similar. A more modern formulation has been sold under the name “mountain green,” but it is no longer used as a pigment in the West. See also verdigris. As a pigment, malachite had the difficult characteristic that it could not be ground too finely, because it lost its color. But it was so common that it appears that the Egyptian word for green, *vatch*, is the same as the word for malachite.
Minium	(See red lead; also cinnabar)		

Naples Yellow	Lead antimoniate: $Pb_3(SbO_4)_2$	Orange-Yellow	A synthetic yellow first found in the late middle ages, and used primarily in pottery glazes rather than paint. But it was known early enough that it is possible it would have been found in some late manuscript illuminations — the Chaldeans used it as a pottery glaze during the time of the Babylonian Empire, but it does not seem to have been common as a pigment until much later. (The way the Babylonians made it is unknown; no other ancient people seems to have adopted the method.) The eye pigment known as *khol* is also antimony-based, but does not seem to have been used in manuscript illustrations.
Green Ochre	impure Iron (III) oxide hydrate	(green)	Although one sometimes finds references to green ochre, this is not a pure substance; it is yellow ochre with impurities, typically magnesium or aluminum cilicates. See also “Green Earth.”
Red Ochre	anhydrous iron (III) oxide: Fe_2O_3	red/ brown	See under yellow ochre.

Yellow Ochre	Iron (III) oxide hydrate: $Fe_2O_3 \cdot H_2O$	Yellow	Yellow ochre, and the related red ochre (the anhydrous form) are among the oldest pigments known to humanity; there are neandertal grave sites with sprinklings of red ochre, and others with red ochre stones — it is widely suggested that the bodies of the dead were coated with ochre, and the stones used as grave goods, although this is controversial. It is certain that red ochre is still used as a body pigment today by some peoples, and was valued by some tribes of Australian aborigines because of its use in drawing. It is also sold as red chalk. Red ochre, and other red iron oxides, have long been used as pigments, e.g. "Venetian red," as initially sold, was an iron oxide pigment. The more common form of ochre is, however, yellow ochre, which is the hydrate; red ochre will in time turn to yellow in the presence of water, so red ochre is found mostly in dry environments. Both forms of ochre are used as pigments; yellow ochre has the advantage over orpiment (another common yellow pigment) of being much safer to handle. But the color is not as brilliant, which is why orpiment is also used. Red ochre, which is pure iron (III) oxide (Fe_2O_3) can be prepared from yellow by baking the water out of it. It is a reddish-brown color, also used in pigments. For brighter reds, however, something such as cinnabar must be used. The modern colors raw sienna, burnt sienna, raw umber, and burnt umber are also based on iron compounds and are related to the ochres. Modern, synthetic ochres are apparently sold as "Mars pigments."

Yellow Ochre, continued			Ochre has another significance to manuscript historians, in that (under extremely limited circumstances) it can be used as a dating method. (This works better for murals and other artwork with a permanent orientation.) As an iron compound, ochre responds to magnetism, and when freshly applied, the ochre will align itself with the north and south magnetic poles — then will freeze in place as the substrate hardens. Since the magnetic poles wander about, the way the ochre points can sometimes be used as a dating method.

Orpiment	Arsenic (III) sulfide: As_2S_3	yellow	Probably the brightest and clearest yellow pigment known to the ancients — so much so that the Roman Emperor Caligula allegedly tried to organize a project to turn it into gold; in later times it was called King's Yellow. The name itself is said to be a distortion of Latin *auri pigmentum,* i.e. gold paint. Early orpiments were natural, but alchemists eventually synthesized it. We find early mentions of it in Egypt (Leiden Papyrus, third century C.E.) and Greece (Democritus, second century B.C.E.). It is frequently found with realgar, another arsenic compound, with a reddish tinge; mixtures might appear orange. Despite orpiment's brilliant color, it was somewhat hard to work with; it did not mix well with other colors (e.g. it hastened the process by which white lead turned dark, and could also cause other pigments to turn), and of course as an arsenic compound, it was fairly poisonous. In fact, it was known in Greek as αρσενικον, the source of our word "arsenic," a name thought to be derived ultimately from Old Persian. The compound was found in Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Hungary, so it perhaps would be more common in eastern than western manuscripts. Orpiment is not entirely stable if exposed to oxygen (the arsenic sulfide slowly turns to arsenic oxide), and if so exposed, it not only loses its color but ceases to attach to the page, so it is another pigment that might vanish in the course of time. Alchemists sometimes referred to the arsenic compounds orpiment and realgar as the "two brothers," "two kings," or "two friends."

Realgar	Arsenic sulfide: As_4S_4	orange-red	Chemically similar to, and often found with, orpiment, another arsenic sulfide. The name is said to be from Arabic *Rahj al ghar.* It seems to have been used primarily if not exclusively in the eastern Mediterranean and points east of there. It is used in wall paintings as well as illustration. Like orpiment, it is poisonous — if anything, even more so; it has been called the most poisonous of all ancient pigments. It is sometimes known as ruby sulfur, and was called sandaraca by Pliny, although this name is more typically used for red lead. Realgar is not very stable, especially under bright light; it will decay into yellow orpiment, which is why most instances of realgar paint look orange rather than bright red. Alchemists sometimes referred to the arsenic compounds orpiment and realgar as the “two brothers,” “two kings,” or “two friends.”

Saffron	complex organic ($C_{44}H_{64}O_{24}$)	yellow	A very delicate yellow, but chemically complex (the chemical diagram of the molecule takes up a whole page, and I won't swear I counted its components correctly); the ancients could not synthesize it, and had to rely on saffron plants. So it wasn't often used due to the high expense. (The pigment, which is also a spice, comes from a very small part of the flower; it takes great numbers to make a usable quantity of saffron — supposedly 170,000 flowers to yield one kilogram. And, even in modern times, the stigma have to be separated out by hand, and even champions can only pick about one every two seconds. Plus the flower blooms only briefly, and withers if not processed quickly, making it almost impossible to mass-harvest it). But the fact that it was so expensive means that it is more common in manuscript illuminations (which were small, and given to rich patrons) than in paintings. Saffron eventually came to be farmed in large areas of Europe, leading at times to collapses in the market. I suspect that it would be possible, if a sufficiently detailed chemical analysis were done, to tell classic oriental saffron from more recent European saffron based on the impurities. But I know of no work being done on this subject.
Spinach Green	*(See jade)*		
terra verde	*(See green earth)*		

Sepia	complex organic	brown/ black	This is, to moderns, a confusing name, because sepia has become a name for a color rather than a pigment (e.g. we see “sepiatone” photos). The original sepia was derived from the “ink” of the squid, which it uses as a smoke screen to escape danger. The ink was collected and made into — ink. Although squid ink appears black in water, when used on paper it usually appears brown, and rather transparent. As a paint, it is nearly useless, because it is not opaque, but some manuscripts are written with it, and some drawings sketched with it.
Smalt	*(see smalt in the section on Chemicals* Not *Found in Ancient Manuscripts)*		
Turnsole	complex organic	blue or purple	Made from seeds of plants in the Crozophora family
Tyrian Purple	complex organic	purple	This is a dye, not a pigment; it was derived from mollusk shells, and was used to supply the purple color in the togas of Roman senators and emperors. It was very expensive, and the limited supply was largely reserved for clothing (for the logical reason that it was one of the few reasonably permanent dyes known to the ancients). Even had the supply been greater, it is unlikely that it would have been used in paintings, because (like most dyes) it had little hiding power. But it has importance for students of manuscripts anyway — it was the dye that made purple manuscripts purple.
Ultramarine	*(see Lapis Lazuli)*		

Verdigris	(various)	green	Verdigris *(vert de Grece)* is not the name of a particular chemical; it is what we call the green patina of reacted copper. There were at least three compounds called verdigris. The most common was probably copper (II) carbonate, $CuCO_3$. This is the patina that usually forms on copper; it might hydrate to form malachite. Near the seaside, however, or where there is another source of chlorine, the patina might be primarily copper chloride, CuCl or $CuCl_2$. These were not green, but the latter would hydrate to become copper (II) chloride dyhydrate ($CuCl_2 \cdot 2H_2O$), which is blue-green. Finally, there is copper acetate, $Cu(C_2H_3O_2)_2$, which is the one of these which could be made artificially and quickly, by exposing metallic copper to vinegar fumes or hanging it over the lees of wine; Theophrastus and Pliny both describe how to make it. Alchemists sometimes referred to it as “Spanish green.” All these forms of verdigris formed brilliant greens, but whether they were light-fast depended on the paint substrate. Verdigris is said to be stable in oil, but far less so in other media; Da Vinci noted that it had to be varnished quickly if the color was to hold. Thus we sometimes find pigments which should have been green have turned to brown or near-black over time. A second difficulty is that it could not be used with white lead; the two reacted quickly to destroy the colors of each. A third is that, over time, verdigris could damage the canvas — although a small amount of saffron in the green supposedly could stabilize this. Alchemists seem to have referred to verdigris as “Seed of Venus.” I know of no such references among artists.

Vermillion	*(see cinnabar)*

Chemicals *Not* Found in Ancient Manuscripts

If the chemicals listed above can be shown to be ancient, certain pigments were not invented until after the manuscript era closed. If these colors turn up in a manuscript, the manuscript must be a recent forgery.

As with the list of pigments above, this is not an attempt to list every color created since the manuscript era ended. Indeed, such an attempt would be misleading, because an individual artist might have created a new color, or extracted one somewhere. The pigments listed here are *classes* of pigments, identifiable by spectroscope, which are most unlikely to have been used in early centuries because they are difficult or dangerous to make and unlikely to be found in isolation.

Barium Yellow: see Lemon Yellow.

Cadmium pigments. Cadmium sulphides can range in color from yellow (the usual form of the pure material) to deep red (the reds usually contain selenium as well). They are made by working with cadmium metal, which was not isolated until after the manuscript period (in 1817, to be specific). The first cadmium pigments were created around 1850. It is unlikely that they would have been used before that, partly because cadmium is rare (it occurs mostly in ores of zinc, from which it is difficult to separate, and zinc was not used in ancient pigments either) and partly because it is highly toxic and difficult to work with. In appearance, cadmium red is quite similar to cinnabar, which it has largely replaced.

Chromium pigments. Chromium is so called because its compounds come in so many colors; Chrome Yellow, Chrome Orange, Chrome Red, and Chrome Green are all commonly-used pigments (the former three being lead chromates; Chrome Green is Chrome Yellow plus Prussian Blue). The color know as viridian (Guignet's green, a bluish-green) also came to be a very popular pigment; it is a chromium oxide. It is just possible that some ancient might have found one of these pigments — probably chrome yellow — and used it in a painting, but chromium metal was not discovered until well after ancient times, so a chromium spectral signature is a strong hint of a modern painting.

Cobalt pigments: See smalt. Other cobalt pigments, such as cerulian blue (which was made available in the 1860s), are too modern to appear in manuscripts.

Emerald Green. This compound — copper acetoarsenite — is one of the best dating hints available. It became available in 1814, and quickly became popular because it is such a strong green. But it is also highly poisonous, and not particularly stable. It went out of use in the early twentieth century. So a painting which shows the traces of this chemical was without doubt painted in the century after 1814.

Closely related to Emerald Green is Scheele Green, which is also a compound containing copper and arsenic. The famous chemist Carl Wilhelm Scheele discovered Scheele Green in 1778, and it became popular for a few decades — popular enough that it has been speculated that it was responsible for the arsenic poisoning which may have killed Napoleon. Then Emerald Green was created by a modification of Scheele Green, and quickly displaced it. So a copper/arsenic spectrum indicates one of these two, both of which can be dated precisely, and if it can be determined whether the compound is Emerald Green or Scheele Green, it is possible to date it to within a few decades.

Lemon Yellow (and other barium pigments). This became a popular pigment due to its bold hue, but was first created in 1809 and cannot be found in any ancient manuscript.

Manganese pigments. Manganese forms compounds with blue and violet colors which have become popular — but the first manganese pigment, manganese violet, was not produced until 1890. Spectral evidence of manganese is therefore strong evidence of inauthenticity.

Phthalocyanine Green. This is a very recent pigment, first used in Europe apparently in 1938. I know of no instances of it being used in a Biblical forgery, but it was used in the forged paintings in the Archimedes Palimpsest.

Prussian Blue. This is a famous pigment for a variety of reasons (among other things, it is the blue of blueprints), and has been used to detect many forgeries. It was one of the first synthetic pigments, and the first synthetic blue, first made available in the 1720s. It is called Prussian Blue because it was produced by Diebach, a Berlin experimenter (by accident; he was trying to produce a red, but the mixture became contaminated). The result is a dark blue, almost blue-black. It's not as pretty as some of the earlier natural blues, but the color is quite distinct. The first Prussian blues were a mix of chemicals, but the dominant component is a hexacyanoferrate.
Note the "cyano-" in that description. That's "cyano-" as in "cyanide." The key element of Prussian Blue is the cyanide ion CN-. Cyanide chemicals are, of course, highly poisonous, and there are no known natural sources for cyanide compounds of iron. The cyanide group is easily detected spectroscopically, and can only come from a cyanide pigment. Since there were none of these known before Prussian Blue, a cyanide spectrum in a pigment is a reliable indication of a late date.
It is ironic to note that Prussian Blue, made from poisonous components, is the antidote for another poison. A person suffering from thallium poisoning is given Prussian Blue, because the potassium in the dye will exchange with the thallium, restoring potassium balance and allowing the thallium to be eliminated from the body.

Scheele('s) Green: See emerald green.

Smalt. A blue compound containing cobalt and potassium (said to have been made from ground potassium glass mixed with cobalt), discovered in the late renaissance. Thus it is just possible that it might be found in a fifteenth century manuscript — but not an early one. Since cobalt is quite similar to iron in behavior, and was not discovered until fairly recently, it is highly unlikely that any cobalt pigment other than smalt will be found in a manuscript. Nor is smalt a particularly good color for manuscript illuminations, since it has poor hiding power and is easily overwhelmed when mixed with other pigments. Thus it seems to have been used only from the fifteenth century until the invention of Prussian Blue, which is similar in color but much stronger.
Unfortunately, the word smalt is sometimes used to refer to other colors; some have claimed that the Egyptians used smalt. Thus a *reference* to smalt, as opposed to the use of cobalt oxide and potassium silicate, is not indicative of date.

Strontium Yellow and other strontium pigments. A pigment very similar to lemon yellow (it is chemically much the same except for the substitution of strontium for barium), but it is a very recent invention and uses a rare element that would not easily be found naturally.

Titanium White. Because it is fairly inexpensive, non-toxic, and a bright white, titanium dioxide (TiO_2) has become a very popular modern pigment — it is the replacement for white lead in house paint. But it is quite modern; although the mineral form rutile has been known in rocks for centuries, it is usually too impure to be useful in pigment. Titanium white paint was not sold until around the time of the World War I. Thus its use is a clear sign of forgery. We do seem to find rutile in the Göttingen copy of the Gutenberg Bible — a finding which caused substantial surprise — but finding a titanium signature in a pre-fifteenth-century manuscript is certainly grounds for suspicion.

Zinc pigments. There are primarily two, zinc white, discovered in the eighteenth century and made available in the nineteenth, and zinc yellow, a zinc/chromium mix from the nineteenth century. Because the element zinc was well known to the ancients, it is barely possible that there might be a manuscript using zinc white — but it is unlikely, both because zinc white was discovered later (first listed as a pigment in 1782 and first sold in 1834) and because it is not very opaque. Although I would not consider a zinc spectral reading sufficient reason by itself to declare a painting a forgery, it is a very strong hint. Zinc yellow, which was not sold until the mid-nineteenth century, probably would be sufficient reason in itself to declare a forgery.

Carbon Dating

The sciences have, over the last half century, given us many new ways to date early objects. The methods vary widely in both their accuracy and their side effects (e.g. electron spin resonance is largely non-destructive, but can be performed only once), but the earliest and the best-known remain the methods based on radioactive decay.

The principle of radioactive dating is this: If you have a radioactive isotope, it decays at a fixed fractional rate rate. (If you don't know what an isotope is, see the section on Isotope Analysis.) If 20% of the original sample has decayed after a thousand years, then in the thousand years after that, 20% of what remains will have decayed (meaning that 36% will have decayed in that time), and 20% of the remainder after another thousand years (meaning that 48.8% will be gone, and 51.2% remaining). This is why we speak of radioactive half-lives: It is convenient to describe the time it takes for exactly half of a sample to decay.

The general formula for radioactive decay is

$$N = N_0 e^{-\gamma t}$$

Where N_0 is the number of atoms of the material you start with, N is the number you still have after time *t*, and γ is the so-called decay constant, a measure of the rate at which the isotope undergoes radioactive decay. A little algebraic manipulation will show that the half life *h* is therefore given by

$$h = -ln(0.5)/\gamma$$

Or equivalently that

$$\gamma = -ln(0.5)/h$$

(With appropriate units, of course.)

Note what this means: If you have a sample of something containing a radioactive element, and seal it up for some period, you can determine how long it was sealed by taking the ratio of the element and its by-products. (It might even be possible to determine this simply by seeing how radioactive it still is.)

Alternately, if you have a sample which started with multiple isotopes of the same element, some stable and some radioactive, and you know the initial relative quantities of the isotopes, you can seal it up and wait for some years and again compare the ratios, and on this basis determine how much of the radioactive isotope has decayed, and on this basis you can determine how long it was sealed.

There are many of these "atomic clocks." A popular one is potassium–40 and argon–40. Potassium–40 has a half-life of 1.248×10^9 years — that is, one and a quarter billion/milliard years. It is thus very good for dating ancient rocks, since even the oldest rocks still have a substantial fraction of their initial Potassium–40.

There are difficulties, however. Radioactive dating is only accurate to within about 5% of a half-life (sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on a lot of things including the size of

the sample. Take it as a rule of thumb). For potassium–40, that means a dating error of ± 60 million years. That's no help dating a manuscript that was written some time between 100 C.E. and 1900 C.E.!

Hence the need for shorter clocks. The half-life of carbon–14 — radiocarbon — is 5715 years, or alternately γ is –0.000121. And that is a short enough period to allow useful datings of almost any product of human civilization — it was used, for instance, to demonstrate the the Shroud of Turin was from the medieval era, not the New Testament era.

Carbon–14 is formed in the atmosphere when nitrogen–14 is hit by cosmic rays, causing one of the protons in the nitrogen atom to turn to carbon. The total carbon produced this way is estimated at seven killograms per year. That's not a huge amount, but at any given time it means that about 40 metric tons of carbon–14 is in circulation — most of it as a chemical component of living things, where carbon is absolutely essential. And this is the only source of carbon–14; it cannot be found in rocks or anything that is not derived from the atmosphere, because all the carbon–14 inside the earth has long since decayed.

The key fact which follows from this is that plants and animals only soak up carbon–14 from the atmosphere, or from other living things, for as long as they are alive. Once they die, the carbon–14 supply is cut off. From then on, the quantity of carbon–14 can only decline, as individual atoms decay back into nitrogen.

The rest of the carbon in the dead material is non-radioactive. It sticks around forever. So the age of a particular organic material can be dated by comparing the ratio of carbon–14 atoms to the atoms of stable carbon–12 and carbon–13. (We should note that the original method was developed by Willard F. Libby, and that it won him the 1960 Nobel prize, although the refinements made since are in many ways more important than Libby's original invention.)

Unfortunately, for the most part, testing for carbon–14 requires destroying a sample. Fortunately, the tests have improved dramatically over the years, giving greater accuracy while requiring less material. Today, if the object is a few thousand years old or less, a mere sliver of material can give a date within a few hundred years. Older materials are harder to test, because the number of carbon–14 atoms will be very small; the upper limit on dating is somewhere around 30,000 years, and even that probably would require more material than we would like to spare.

For all its limitations, carbon dating has the tremendous advantage of being a dating scheme that is objective and (relatively) repeatable. It seems to me that it would be a great boon to textual scholars if some of the more important manuscripts were tested and dated, giving us a check on paleographic dating.

And, once in a great while, it can be done non-destructively — if the sample is of known chemical composition, so that the expected amount of carbon is known. If that is the case, it is

sometimes possible simply to count radioactive decays to know the amount of carbon–14 in the sample. It's just that this cannot be relied upon.

Spectroscopy

This is far too complex a subject to cover in detail, but it is a very powerful tool now becoming available to textual scholars. Behnam Sadeghi, for instance, was able to use the facilities at SLAC to determine much useful information about the copy of the Quran known as Ṣan'ā' 1.

To vastly oversimplify, spectroscopy consists of shining a light on something and seeing what reflects back (or, if it emits light by itself, looking at the nature of that light). All elements and compounds have their characteristic spectrum — the wavelengths of light they absorb and emit.

The reason for this was not known at the time spectroscopy was discovered, but it turns out to have to do with the energy of electrons. The rules of quantum mechanics mean that an electron in an atom or molecule can possess only certain amounts of energy. It's like a ladder: You can only stand in the places where there are rungs. If the steps of the ladder are 20 centimeters apart, you can't go ten centimeters up the ladder — there is no rung there. If you throw energy at an electron, it won't do anything until you give it enough energy to move a step up the ladder, at which point — pop! — it instantly moves up a rung. Since this stepping-up always requires the same amount of energy, the electrons of a pure chemical always absorb light of exactly the same color (since the color of light tells you just how much energy is in the photons that make up the light).

And electrons don't like to stay high on the ladder. They have a strong tendency, after being excited to the higher energy level, to give back the energy and return to the "ground" state. (The fact that physicists call it the "ground" state shows how close is the analogy to a ladder.) When it gives up the energy, the electron emits a photon of light which has exactly the amount of energy it absorbed to move up the ladder.

So, for instance, if you shine a white light (which contains photons of all energies) through a sample of sodium, the sodium will capture two different colors of yellow light and leave all the rest alone. If you scatter the white light through a prism, you will see a rainbow spectrum like this one:

But if, before you pass it through the prism, you expose the light to sodium, which absorbs two wavelengths of orangish-yellow light, you will instead see this:

Note the two dark lines in the yellow region. This is the light that has been absorbed by the sodium. That pair of dark lines is unique to sodium; if you see those bands in a sample of white light, you know it has been influenced by sodium.

Because every chemical has its unique spectrum, spectroscopy is an amazingly powerful tool. In the nineteenth century, e.g., it was used to identify the element helium in the sun — an element which was not discovered on earth until later. In the early twentieth century, spectroscopy allowed us to discover the expansion of the universe. The spectroscope has proved one of the most important scientific tools in the history of chemistry and astronomy.

And that was with primitive spectroscopes. The equipment today is much better. We can (non-destructively) scan the ink used to write a manuscript. We can identify stains. With sufficiently high-quality equipment, we can even look at what lies under, say, a painting (this was done, e.g., with the Archimedes Palimsest).

Unless a manuscript is particularly important, it probably isn't worth going over every stain and smudge to determine its chemical composition — especially since the stains may well be later than the manuscript. But testing the ink of the original scribe could be informative. If it shows a signature of an unusual chemical, it might help us localize the manuscript. We might also be able to work on the dating of various ink formulations.

Isotope Analysis

This is a relatively new technique for dating and (more importantly) locating manuscripts, although (like carbon dating) it is destructive.

As you probably know, an atom consists of a nucleus comprised of protons and neutrons (themselves made of quarks, but that need not detain us), circled by electrons. The electrons are what produces chemical behavior, and the number of protons in the nucleus determine how many electrons an atom "wants" to have. So the number of protons in the nucleus determines the element to which the atom belongs.

The number of neutrons, as far as chemical behavior is concerned, is irrelevant. A carbon atom has six protons. Most carbon atoms have six neutrons as well, but we find atoms with seven neutrons, or even eight — the version with eight neutrons is the carbon–14 used in Carbon Dating. Different atoms with the same number of protons but different numbers of neutrons are called isotopes, so-called because they're chemically the same but structurally different.

The number of neutrons does not affect the chemical behavior in any way. But neutrons have mass — the isotope of carbon with six protons and six neutrons is lighter than the one with six protons and eight neutrons. This means that you can separate heavier from lighter isotopes.

The typical method of doing this is the mass spectrograph or the centrifuge — you take the atoms and, in effect, give them a push. The light ones will fly a little farther than the heavy ones. By counting how many go a long way, and how many travel only a relatively short distance, you can tell the ration of heavy to light isotopes.

This is basically the method used to create nuclear weapons by separating U–235 (which is usable in bombs) from U–238 (which does not fission). However, separating U–235 from U–238 is not a very efficient process. In enriching uranium, centrifuges work on a compound known as uranium hexaflouride, UF_6. The molecular mass of UF_6 349 if it has an atom of U–235, 352 if it has an atom of U–238. That's less than a 1% difference, and the centrifuging is a slow process that must be done repeatedly to purify the U–235.

Isotope analysis is different. The usual method involves oxygen, particularly isotopes O–16 and O–18, often in molecules of water. A molecule of water with in which the oxygen atom is O–16 has a molecular mass of 18 units, one based on O–18 has a mass of 20 units — a 10% difference. This is much, much easier to measure.

This technique is useful because climate affects the mix of isotopes. Water based on O–18 tends to sink lower than that based on O–16. The two may also form ice at different rates. Based on facts such as these, one can sometimes use isotope analysis to determine the date or location in which a material originated. I know this was used at least once to determine that the parchment in a manuscript came from the Mediterranean basin.

Detecting Forged Manuscripts

There are many ways in which a textual scholar can detect a forged manuscript. Not all are based on science, but some are. The list below attempts to catalog most of the more common methods available to a scientific manuscript detective:

Carbon Dating of the parchment. If the parchment is clearly newer than the claimed date of the manuscript, the manuscript is a forgery. Old parchment, of course, does not prove an early date, but it helps.

Spectral imaging. If the illustrations, or even the ink, contain chemicals not known in the manuscript period, the manuscript is a forgery. The already-mentioned case of 2427 is an example. An even more amazing instance is the Archimedes Palimpsest, studied by J. L. Heiberg in the first decade of the twentieth century. It vanished after that, not to be restored to public view until the 1990s. At some time in that period, it had acquired four paintings — completely irrelevant paintings, placed at absurd spots in the manuscript. (Reviel Netz and William Noel, in T*he Archimedes Palimpsest,* speculate that the owner in 1940 was a Jew trapped in Nazi-occupied France, and made up the paintings to try to get the Nazis to preserve the book because it was "art." This explanation makes sense but cannot be proved;

mostly what it shows is that the book should not have been in private hands!) The forged paintings, astonishingly, were recreations of illustrations in other manuscripts and were based on images published by Henri Omont in 1929 (Netz/Noel, p. 163).

Other forms of imaging, such as X-ray, ultraviolet, and infrared can sometimes reveal artifacts not visible to the naked eye, although each has certain cautions (X-rays, having very high energy, can denature some pigments; ultraviolet images, which operate largely by florescence, can't do much with varnished paintings, since varnish is florescent; infrared has less resolving power). If the artifact is more recent than the purported date of the manuscript (say, a reference to a later historical event), then there is obviously a problem.

Mistaken information which a contemporary scribe should have known. If a colophon contains too many historical oddities, it is a strong indication that the manuscript, or at least the colophon, is forged; 1505 is an example of this. Some care is required here, however: A also has a false colophon, but this is clearly a later addition, whereas the colophon of 1505 indicates that the manuscript was created as a forgery. And a colophon may sometimes be a copy of an earlier colophon that was legitimate in the source manuscript.

Modifications of artwork. This is much more common in paintings, where a signature will sometimes be faked onto a piece to raise its value, but it might possibly happen in a manuscript as well. This can sometimes be detected by the nature of the paint — an older portion of the drawing may become cracked, and the forgery may have paint spilling into the crack rather than being cracked along with the rest. Of course, we must be careful to distinguish between attempts at forgery and attempts at repair.

Dating the binding. Many books (and paintings) have bindings of wood, and the wood can be dated by dendrochronology (tree rings). Of course, in this case, one must be absolutely certain that it is the original binding. The best use of dendrochronology is to give us a latest possible date for a book.

Turpentine in illustrations. Turpentine as a painting medium, like oil, is a relatively recent invention. Although spirits of turpentine, derived from balsam (or pine, lrch, or fir) trees, was known since ancient times, the first real turpentine was not made until about the eighth century, and it does not seem to have been used in painting until about the time of the Renaissance. Thus if a manuscript uses turpentine paint, but claims to be from (to be very generous) the twelfth century or earlier, it is either a fake or has been over-painted.

Another point to keep in mind: Modern painters buy manufactured paints; they go to art supply stores and buy a tube of Cerulian Blue or Cadmium Red or whatever. The squeeze tube wasn't even invented until 1841; until that time, paints were usually stored in pig bladders, and usually had to be used quickly before they dried out. During the manuscript period, artists rarely were able to purchase finished paints. At best, an apothecary would have

the purified source materials, which had to be mixed with a substrate. More often, the artist went out and collected the materials himself, and ground and mixed them. Many of the formulae were secrets, which the artist kept to himself or passed on only to his apprentices. These early formulations will not be as consistent as modern pigments. This has many implications which might be used to detect forgery apart from the chemical hints above.

Chrysography

The process of writing in gold — mixing powdered gold with some sort of binder and using it as an ink.

The Claremont Profile Method

Introduction

The Claremont Profile Method (often "CPM") stands as the first attempt in the history of New Testament Textual Criticism at a complete, comprehensive, and repeatable classification of manuscripts. The CPM was created in the 1960s for the International Greek New Testament Project (IGNTP). The IGNTP was preparing a critical apparatus of Luke, and needed a method to determine which manuscripts should be included. The result was the CPM, which eventually was used to classify some 1500 manuscripts of Luke.

The reasons for the creation of the CPM are given by Eldon Jay Epp in "The Claremont Profile Method for Grouping New Testament Minuscule Manuscripts" (first read to the Pacific Coast Section of the Society of Biblical Literature, and now published in Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism,* Studies and Documents 45, Eerdmans, 1993, pp. 211–220). The method itself is fully detailed in Frederick Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence,* Studies and Documents 44, Eerdmans, 1992. As both of these books are readily available, the procedure will only be sketched here.

It will be noted that Wisse often calls the CPM simply the "Profile Method." This should be strenuously avoided. Profile methods abound; Bart D. Ehrman's "Comprehensive Profile Method" is only the best-known of the techniques based on manuscript profiling (the present author has developed three different ones by himself). Thus one should always specify that one means the **Claremont** Profile Method.

The Procedure

The Claremont procedure is relatively simple. A section of text (typically one chapter of a Biblical book) is selected as a sample base. A group of manuscripts (preferably a large group)

is collated over this sample, and their variant readings recorded. The Textus Receptus is used as a collation base. Readings are recorded as agreeing or disagreeing with the Textus Receptus. (It will be noted that this procedure does not assign any value to the Textus Receptus; it is simply a collation base. Any text could reasonably have been used.) Although it is not explicitly stated, it seems to have been the goal of the profilers to break as many variants as possible into binaries (i.e. variants where only two readings exist).

From this collation set a series of "profiles" emerge. Each manuscript casts a profile — an image of its agreements and disagreements with the Textus Receptus. The result is something like a binary stream of data, for example agree-agree-disagree-agree-disagree etc. This can be represented physically in several ways (this is one of the senses in which the word "profile" applies). One is to represent agreements by spaces and disagreements by crosses; in this case, the above profile becomes

_
_
X
_
X

Or we could put agreements in the left column and disagreements in the right:

A
A
  D
A
  D

In any case, we have a "shape" of a manuscript. Where enough manuscripts have similar shapes, we label this a "group profile." Manuscripts which have this approximate profile belong to this group.

Having defined our profiles, we can simply compare any new manuscripts with the extant group profiles and quickly analyse the manuscript.

This was the procedure followed by Wisse and his colleague Paul R. McReynolds for Luke. Starting with several hundred manuscripts already on file, they created group profiles and then set in to classify the manuscripts of Luke (using three chapters for their classifications).

The Results

The first result of the CPM was the analysis by Wisse and McReynolds of the manuscripts of Luke. This was in many ways a triumph. For the first time, solid and useful data on over a

thousand manuscripts was available. Another benefit was that the Byzantine text was finally successfully analysed. Von Soden had noted a number of Byzantine subgroups (K^r, K^x, Family Π, etc.). Although some of these groups (e.g. K^r) had been verified by outside studies, no one had ever covered the complete Byzantine spectrum. The CPM allowed this complete classification, in the process verifying many of Von Soden's groups while modifying others.

This appears to be the true value of the Claremont Profile Method: It succeeds as no other method does in "splitting hairs" — in detecting and analysing subtle differences between closely related textual groups. Thus it is very useful in analysing the Byzantine text.

But problems appear as one moves on to larger groups. The classic example is Wisse's grouping Codex Bezae with the Alexandrian text. But the problem is actually more obvious in Wisse's so-called "Mixed" manuscripts. This category includes, among others, such crucial manuscripts as C W Θ 157 700 1071 — manuscripts which *ought* to be classifiable (at the very least, Wisse should be able to tell us what is mixed with what).

W. L. Richards's CPM-inspired study *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* (SBL Dissertation Series 35, Scholars Press, 1977) suffers the same problem: It finds three non-Byzantine groups (Family 2138, the mainstream Alexandrian text, and Family 1739, respectively) — but insists that all three are Alexandrian groups when in fact Family 2138, at least, is non-Alexandrian.

The reason appears to be that the CPM does not have a definition of what constitutes a true group. It is not rigorous. There are no necessary and sufficient conditions to group profiles into families, clusters, text-types. This doesn't matter when dealing with tightly-clustered manuscripts (which all show nearly identical profiles, alleviating the need for precise definitions), but it means that the CPM is ill-equipped to deal with amorphous groups such as the Alexandrian text, where all members of the group are mixed and there often is no true "group reading." (Here one is reminded of Colwell's belief that a text-type is a group of manuscripts and not a collection of readings.)

This should not be taken to mean that the CPM is worthless. Its value has been demonstrated, both in the IGNTP Luke and in its analysis of the Byzantine text. One must simply be aware of what the method cannot do.

Wisse's Groups and the Alands' Categories

One thing we can do to refine the CPM somewhat is to compare Wisse's groups in Luke with the Aland Categories of manuscripts. Although this is not its express purpose, the Alands' system is, in effect, a ranking of Byzantine influence. The following table shows a complete list of Wisse's groups, with the Aland category assigned to most of the witnesses of the group. Recall that Category I is the least Byzantine and Category V the most; category IV, however,

is not a rating of Byzantine influence, and the many manuscripts the Alands do not classify are usually more Byzantine than Category III but less Byzantine than Category V. Observe that, in some cases such as Group B, the Alands will assign different categories to stronger and weaker witnesses to the type. Note: Groups are listed in order of the key witness or group name (e.g. Group **B**, Cluster **1675**, with letters preceding numbers. Manuscripts have only been tested if they belong to the same type in all three of Wisse's test chapters in Luke.).

Wisse Group Name	Aland Category
Group B	Category I (B, א); II (L, 33, 579, 892, etc.), III (157, 1241, etc.); IV (D)
Kr	Category V
Kx	Category V
Group Λ	Category V (Λ, 199, 262, 1187, 1205, etc.) or uncategorized (161, 164, 166, 174, 211, 230, 709, 899, etc.)
M groups	Category V (M, 27, 159, 350, 410, 414, 443, 498, 692, 750, 1024, 1202, 1208, 1220, 1222, etc.) or uncategorized (10, 71, 349, 569, 609, 895, 947, 1047, 1091, 1170, 1194, 1237, 1386, 1413, 1415, 1458, 1466, 1484, etc.).
Π Groups	A (only) is Category III; the uncials (K, Y Π) and some minuscules (68, 220, 280, 365, 1056, 1200, 1313, 1319, 1355, 1375, etc.) are category V; most of the minuscules (e.g. 114, 175, 178, 265, 389, 489, 557, 581, 679, 706, 726, 931, 992, 1079, 1113, 1138, 1159, 1219, 1272, 1346, 1398, 1463, etc.) are uncategorized.
Group 1	Category III (though "further study of the unusually numerous distinctive readings may indicate [category] II" for 1582)
Cluster 7	267 is Category V; all others uncategorized.
Group 13	Category III
Group 16	The manuscripts in this group are split between uncategorized (16, 693, 1528, 1588) and Category V (119, 217, 330, 491).
Group 22	Most manuscripts of this group (22, 697, 791, 1005, 1192, 1210, 1278, 1365, 2372) are uncategorized; some (134, 149, 660, 924, 2670) are Category V.
Cluster 121	Mostly Category V; 64 and 1665 are uncategorized
Cluster 127	2530 is uncategorized; all others are Category V.
Cluster 163	All manuscripts are uncategorized.
Cluster 190	190 is Category V. The others are unclassified but have high Gregory numbers and may not have been examined by the Alands.
Cluster 276	The four low-numbered members of the group (276, 506, 1011, 1057) are Category V; the high-numbered members (1666 and up) are unclassified.

Group 291	With the exception of the final three members of the group (2346, 2603, 2728, some of which may not have been examined), all members of this group are Category V.
Cluster 343	343 and 494 are Category V; 716 is uncategorized.
Cluster 475	475 and 2373 are Category V; 2609 is uncategorized
Cluster 490	926, 1486, and 2321 are uncategorized; the other five witnesses are Category V.
Cluster 585	331 and 585 are Category V; 545 and 2375 are uncategorized.
Cluster 686	The two witnesses 686 and 748 are both Category V.
Cluster 827	1050 is Category V; the other four are uncategorized.
Cluster 1001	782 is Category V; the other two are uncategorized.
Group 1167	Most of the witnesses are Category V, though a few (1167, 1473, 2229, 2604) are uncategorized.
Cluster 1012	2096 is Category V; the other four are uncategorized.
Cluster 1173	The two unmixed manuscripts are both Category V.
Group 1216	Most members of the group are uncategorized, although 1243 is listed as Category III (!), while 477 and 977 are Category V.
Cluster 1229	All manuscripts are uncategorized.
Cluster 1252	1252 and 2459 are Category V; 1533 is uncategorized.
Cluster 1442	987 and 999 are Category V; 1442 and 1450 are uncategorized.
Group 1519	Mostly Category V; 871, 1321, and 1519 are uncategorized.
Cluster 1531	185 is Category V; all others are uncategorized.
Cluster 1675	1424 is Category III in Mark; 517, 954, and 1675 are uncategorized.
Cluster 1685	60 is Category V; 1454 and 1685 are uncategorized.
Cluster 2148	All manuscripts are uncategorized.

Classical Textual Criticism

The method by which classical works are reconstructed. In general the method is quite different from New Testament textual criticism, being largely dependent on the use of a Stemma. See Non-Biblical Textual Criticism.

Codex

Plural *codices*. As used in NT circles, the characteristic format of Christian literature. The Christian church adopted this format almost universally in its early years, at a time when both Jews and pagan writers continued to use scrolls. Among known Christian manuscripts, all but four are written in codex form (the four exceptions, P^{12}, P^{13}, P^{18}, and P^{22}, are all written on

reused scrolls; there is thus no known instance of a scroll being deliberately prepared for use in Christian literature).

The codex was in fact what moderns think of as a book — a series of leaves folded and bound together, usually within covers. Codices could be made of parchment or papyrus (or, of course, paper, once it became available). Whichever writing material was used, a series of sheets would be gathered and folded over, meaning that each sheet yielded four pages. These gatherings of leaves are normally referred to as quires.

Many of the earliest codices consisted of only a single quire of many pages. Examples of single-quire codices include P^{5} (probably), P^{46}, and P^{75}. Single-quire codices, however, are inconvenient in many ways: They do not fold flat, they often break at the spine, and the outside edges of the page are not even. Still more troublesome is the fact that the scribe had to estimate, before the copying process began, how many leaves would be needed. If the estimate was inaccurate, the codex would be left with blank pages at the end, or — even worse — a few extra pages which would have to be somehow attached to the back of the document. As a result, it became normal to assemble books by placing smaller quires back to back. This can be seen as early as P^{66}, which uses quires of from four to eight sheets (16 to 32 pages). Quires of four sheets (16 pages) eventually became relatively standard, although there are many exceptions (B, for example, uses five-sheet quires).

It is sometimes stated that the Christians invented the codex. This is of course not true; the word itself is old (Latin *caudex* properly refers to a tree trunk, hence to anything made of wood, and hence came specifically to mean a set of waxed tablets hinged together. E. Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography,* p. 51, notes that Ulpian in the third century makes reference to literary codices). Indeed, we have quite a few examples of pagan literature on codices in the early centuries of the Christian Era; David Diringer (*The Book Before Printing,* p. 162) surveyed known manuscripts from Oxyrhynchus (as of half a century ago), noting that of 151 pagan documents known to him from the third to sixth centuries, fully 39 were codices. And Jerome mentioned a number of pagan codices in his possession (Thompson, p. 53). It has been suggested that, prior to the church's adoption of the form, the scroll was for literary works intended to be read while the codex was for reference works. But the church does seem to have been responsible for the popularity of the codex format (e.g. in Diringer's example, of 82 Christian documents, 67 were codices), and scrolls seem to have remained the preferred format for pagan literary works after codices were adopted for most other purposes. There is even an instance (in the Stockholm Codex Aureus) of an illustration in which Matthew the Evangelist is shown holding a scroll and an angel carrying a codex; this is thought to mean that Matthew is holding the Law of the Old Testament but is being handed a codex which will represent the New.

We should also note that a sort of proto-codex existed in the form of the Orihon.

We observe that the codex has both advantages and disadvantages for literature, especially when dealing with papyrus codices. It requires less material (which may be why the Christians adopted it), and it's easier to find things in a codex. But it's rather harder to write (since one must write against the grain on a papyrus, or on the rough side of a piece of vellum), and one also has to estimate the length of the finished work more precisely. The latter disadvantages probably explain why the Christians were the first to use the codex extensively: They needed a lot of books, and didn't have much money; pagans didn't need so many books, so they felt the disadvantages of the codex more, and the advantages less.

Codices have another advantage, though it wasn't realized at the time: They survive abuse better. Being flat, there are no air pockets to collapse, and they protect their contents better. At Herculaneum, thousands of scrolls were discovered, rolled up and damaged by the conditions that buried them. Centuries of efforts to open and read them accomplished little except to ruin the documents involved. Had the documents been stored in codex form, their outer leaves would have been destroyed but the inner would likely have been in much more usable shape.

The sections of codices were usually numbered. But unlike modern books, it was not individual pages that were numbered, but whole quires. This suggests, to me at least, that the primary purpose was not to make it easier to find things in the volumes but rather to tell the binder the order of the quires. It was not until about the fourteenth century that actual page numbering became common, and even then, it was tied to quire numbering (e.g. the first page would not be "1" but "A.i" and the seventeenth, which would be the first of the second quire in a typical book, would not be "17" but "B.i").

Manuscript Collation

Introduction

The *manuscript collation* is perhaps the most fundamental of all the tool of textual criticism — the essential source of the data of the discipline.

The purpose of a collation is to transmit all basic information about the text of a manuscript without publishing the text of the manuscript in full. It does this by comparing a manuscript against a standard printed edition (usually the *Textus Receptus*) and noting all "significant" differences. The amount of space this can save is tremendous. The collation of 1739 by Lake and New, for instance, requires 24 pages to cover all of Paul, when printed in large print. The Nestle-Aland edition, printed in small print, requires 179 pages for the same books. Even allowing for the space required for the the critical apparatus of the Nestle text, this is a savings of at least a factor of five. And this for a manuscript with a relatively large number of

deviations from the *Textus Receptus*! A Byzantine manuscript of the same books would result in a much shorter collation.

There is, unfortunately, no universally recognized standard method of collation even for Greek New Testament manuscripts, let alone for texts of other works. Different transcribers use different base editions, and have different styles of collation. The problem of base editions is probably beyond solution; the edition generally regarded as standard (the 1873 Oxford edition of the *Textus Receptus* for the Greek New Testament) has been out of print for a very long time, and no new standard is emerging. (Latin scholars are slightly better off; the Clementine Vulgate is the sort-of standard.) Some have proposed collating Greek manuscripts against the United Bible Societies text, but this would mean that older and newer collations would be based on different texts — a notion unfortunate enough that collations against the TR will probably continue for the foreseeable future. The TR also has the advantage of being a relatively Byzantine text, so that it takes relatively little space to collate Byzantine manuscripts against it (which also reduces the effort needed for the collation, which in turn probably reduces the number of errors). Ideally, we would like to see an electronic version of the Oxford edition made available online at no cost, but this does not appear likely at this time.

The form of collations is somewhat more standardized, though not perfectly so. In general, a collation consists of a series of variations recorded in the following form: Chapter and verse number, lemma (the text of the proof edition), and the variant (the text of the manuscript). The text of the lemma and the variant are normally separated by a square bracket, thus:]

So, for instance, the first variation in the Nestle-Aland apparatus occurs in Matthew 1:3. Here the majority of witnesses, including the *Textus Receptus*, read Ζαρα. In B, however, we read instead ZAPE. So the collation of B against the *Textus Receptus* would read

1:1 Ζαρα] ZAPE

There are, of course, variations on this; see the section on Samples of Collations. The most common variation involves omissions. For instance, in Mark 1:1, 28 (and several other manuscripts) omit the words υιου θεου. This may be noted in several ways, e.g.

1:1 υιου θεου] OM. (the standard way), *or*

1:1 OM. υιου θεου

It is also quite common to see changes in word order marked ~. Ideally (to prevent ambiguity) both the word order of the collation base and the reading of the manuscript should be noted. You may also see “+” or “add” for additions to the text and “-” for omissions.

If a manuscript has been corrected, these readings should be noted. The reading of the original hand should, of course, be marked with the asterisk (*). If there are multiple correctors, care should be taken to distinguish them if it is at all possible to do so. Some

collations will include readings of the correctors in the body of the collation; others add them as comments. Which is more effective may depend on the frequency and nature of the corrections.

Editors disagree about the exact amount of detail to be recorded in a collation. Some, e.g., would include variations involving nu movable, while others would omit it. Most would exclude punctuation, since this is known not to be original (the situation might be different in more recent works). Itacisms are also frequently excluded (although if they are very frequent, it should probably be noted in a comment on the collation). The use of Nomina Sacra normally is not noted unless an abnormal form is used or in some way it affects the interpretation. But there are no hard and fast rules — except two: First, a collation should announce what features it does and does not include, and second, if a reading may or may not have textual significance (e.g. in the case of an itacism), it must be noted. To put it another way: When in doubt, note the variant.

In general, one should try to collate "whole variants" — that is, if two consecutive words form a logical entity, one should record changes to both together, but if they are unrelated, treat them as two different variants.

Another difficulty arises with damaged texts. One needs a way to indicate both *completely illegible* letters (e.g. where there is a hole in the page containing a whole letter) and *partially legible* letters. The notation for the former is usually a dot (e.g. "Λ . ΓΕΙ" indicates a λ followed by a defect large enough for one letter, then γει If the defect is large enough for two letters, one uses two dots, etc (e.g. "Λ . ΓΕΙ" is ΛΕΓΕΙ with one letter missing, while "Λ . . ΕΙ" would be the same word with a gap of two letters, etc.). Gaps of more than a few letters are often marked in the margin (e.g. if a manuscript were defective for the first verse of John's gospel, we would say something like "N.B. MS. defective for "εν.... ην ο λογος").

A notation is also needed for a partially legible letter (and such are common; suppose a page has lost a margin, and the last thing at the edge of the page is a vertical stroke ι. Depending on how the scribe wrote, this could be a portion of any number of letters, e.g. Γ Η Ι Κ Μ Ν Π Ρ). The standard notation in such cases has been for the collator to guess what the letter probably was, then mark it with a dot below the letter, e.g. Ạ or ọ or ẓ. As this is difficult to do in electronic formats, other solutions have been devised, such as placing the letter in parenthesis or in some sort of symbolic notation (the COLLATE program uses a tag pair, [ut] … [/ut]). This should be made clear in the introduction to the collation. (And it should be repeated that this information must be provided. Printing a reconstructed text without noting this fact is purely inexcusable. Indeed, if there is any real doubt about the letter in the manuscript, and multiple readings are possible, these should probably be noted in the margin.)

A good collation should probably also be prefaced by information about the manuscript — e.g. a list of lacunae (even though these will also be noted in the body of the collations), characteristics of the scribe, description of non-Biblical materials included in the volume. This information may not be of significance for the text, but it may well indicate something about the history of the volume — which, in turn, may provide clues about the text in the book.

It is possible to collate multiple manuscripts in one collation — indeed, very many collations follow this format, as it saves space. One simply notes which manuscripts have which readings by listing them after the variant. So, for example, the first few lines of Clark's collations of 223, 876, 1022, 1799, 1960, 2401, 2412, and 2423 in 1 Thessalonians reads:

1:1 θεσσαλονικαιων 223, θεσσαλονικεων 1022 θεω + και 876
1:5 υμας(1)] ημας 1960 -εν (3) 1022 2423**

Thus we see that, in 1 Thessalonians 1:1, 223 and 1022 have various misspellings for θεσσαλονικεων; the other manuscripts (876, 1960, 2401, 2412, and 2423; 1799 is defective here) agree with the reading of the *Textus Receptus*. Later in the verse, 876 has θεω και πατρι for the θεω πατρι of the other manuscripts and the TR. From there on, all the manuscripts agree with the TR until 1:5, where 1960 reads εις ημας for the ειω υμας of the other manuscripts and the TR. Finally, where most of the manuscripts read και εν πνευματι αγιου, 1022 and the corrector of 2423 omit εν.

Beyond this, the only way to get a feeling for collations is to work with them. The following samples provide a very brief introduction to this process…

Samples of Collations

The table below shows several samples of collations, all taken directly from published and relatively widely available editions of manuscripts. The first column of the table shows the text of Ephesians 1:1–6 as found in the *Textus Receptus*. The next three columns show the texts of manuscripts 330, 1739, and 1799 (taken, respectively, from the collations published by Davies, Lake and New, and Clark). The differences from the TR text are shown in bold (with omissions being marked [—], in order to make the omissions obvious). This is followed by the actual text of the collations (sometimes with some extraneous material about other manuscripts removed), so that the reader can see how each of these three collators approached their task. (Of the three, the collation of 330 by Davies is much the most idiosyncratic.)

TR	330	1739	1799
Eph. 1[1] Παυλος αποστολος Ιησου Χριστου δια θεληματος θεου, τοις αγιοις τοις ουσιν εν Εφεσω και πιστοις εν Χριστου Ιησου • [2] χαρις υμιν και ειρηνη απο θεου πατρος ημων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.	**Eph. 1**[1] Παυλος αποστολος **Χριστου Ιησου** δια θεληματος θεου, τοις αγιοις τοις ουσιν εν Εφεσω και πιστοις εν Χριστου **[—]** • [2] χαρις υμιν και ειρηνη απο θεου πατρος ημων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.	**Eph. 1**[1] Παυλοσ αποστολος Ιησου Χριστου δια θεληματος θεου, τοις αγιοις τοις ουσιν **[—]** και πιστοις εν Χριστου Ιησου. [2] **[—]**	**Eph. 1**[1] Παυλος αποστολος Ιησου χριστου δια θεληματος θεου, τοις αγιοις τοις ουσιν εν Εφεσω και πιστοις εν χριστοω Ιησου. [2] χαρις υμιν και ειρηνη απο θεου πατρος ημων και κυριου Ιησου χριστου.

[3] Ευλογητος ο θεος και πατηρ του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου, ο ευλογησας ημας εν παση ευλογια πνευματικη εν τοις επουρανιοις χριστω, [4] καθως εξελεξατο ημας εν αυτ προ καταβολης κοσμου, ειναι ημας αγιους και αμωμους κατενωπιον αυτου εν αγαπη, [5] προορισας ημας εις υιοθεσιαν δει Ιησου χριστου εις αυτον, κατα την ευδοκιαν του θεληματος αυτου [6] εις επαινον δοξης της χαριτος αυτου, εν η εχαριτωσεν ημας εν τω ηγαπημενω…	[3] Ευλογητος ο θεος και πατηρ του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου, ο ευλογησας ημας εν παση ευλογια πνευματικη εν τοις επουρανιοις χριστω, [4] καθως εξελεξατο ημας εν αυτ προ καταβολης κοσμου, ειναι ημας αγιους και αμωμους κατενωπιον αυτου εν αγαπη, [5] προορισας ημας εις υιοθεσιαν δει Ιησου χριστου εις αυτον, κατα την ευδοκιαν του θεληματος αυτου [6] εις επαινον δοξης της χαριτος αυτου, **ης** εχαριτωσεν ημας εν τω ηγαπημενω **υιω αυτου**…	[3] Ευλογητος ο θεος και πατηρ του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου, ο ευλογησας ημας εν παση ευλογια πνευματικη εν τοις επουρανιοις **εν** χριστω, [4] καθως εξελεξατο ημας εν αυτ προ καταβολης κοσμου, ειναι ημας αγιους και αμωμους κατενωπιον αυτου εν αγαπη, [5] προορισας ημας εις υιοθεσιαν δει Ιησου χριστου εις αυτον, κατα την ευδοκιαν του θεληματος αυτου [6] εις επαινον δοξης της χαριτος αυτου, **ης** εχαριτωσεν ημας εν τω ηγαπημενω…	[3] **αδελφοι** ευλογητος ο θεος και πατηρ του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου, ο ευλογησας ημας εν παση ευλογια πνευματικη εν τοις επουρανιοις χριστω, [4] καθως εξελεξατο ημας εν αυτ προ καταβολης κοσμου, ειναι ημας αγιους και αμωμους κατενωπιον αυτου εν αγαπη, [5] προορισας ημας εις υιοθεσιαν δει Ιησου χριστου εις αυτον, κατα την ευδοκιαν του θεληματος αυτου [6] **[—]** εν η εχαριτωσεν ημας εν τω ηγαπημενω…

Davies's collation of 330 (without the collations of 436, 462, 2344):

1. ~ χριστου α. ιησου.
   OM. ιησου2.
6. ης / εν η.
   + υιω αυτου ρ. ηγαπμενω

N.B.: In this collation, / replaces] and lemma appears *after* rather than before the slash. (This takes a great deal of getting used to!) Also, the abbreviation α. is used for "before" ρ. stands for "after." The symbol "~" is used here (as often elsewhere) for a change in word order.

Lake and New's collation of 1739:

i.1. om εν εφεσω
2 om χαρις .... χριστου
3 χριστω praem εν
6 εν η] ης

N.B.: The notation *praem* means "add before the lemma" or "is prefixed by." Similar Latin notations may be encountered elsewhere in this collation.

Clark's collation of 1799:

3. +αδελφοι [ευλογητος
6 - εις επαινον δοξης της χαριτος αυτου

N.B.: This collation uses both [and]. [indicates an insertion before the word listed in the lemma. Note also the use of + to indicate an addition and - for an omission.

For a fuller sample of a collation, one is invited to examine the author's own collation (or, rather, a collation I combined from various sources) of 0243 and fourteen other manuscripts of Hebrews.

Long and Short Collations

The descriptions above are of simple text collations. That is, all they contain is the comparison of two sources (usually a manuscript and a printed text). This we might label a short collation.

To fully describe a manuscript calls for some additional information — data about the form of the manuscript, in addition to its textual content. Montague Rhodes James, who did an amazing job of cataloging most of the manuscripts in Cambridge University, its colleges, and some other libraries, lists the following information which should also be supplied:

1. Material — i.e. papyrus, parchment, paper, or a mixture. It is also worth noting the arrangement of the material. Paper and parchment, if mixed at all, were generally mixed in a regular pattern, and parchment, if used throughout, will usually be arranged so hair side faces hair side and flesh faces flesh. If there is a disruption of this pattern, it may indicate missing material.
   If the material is paper, and the paper is recent enough to have watermarks (rare but not unknown for NT manuscripts), the watermarks should be listed, as they are indications of date and provenance. Note that every page needs to be checked for watermarks, as the paper may well come from different lots.

2. Description of the page — the size (height and width), the manner of ruling, and the number of lines per page. Also the method used for ruling: a dry point (which leaves grooves but no marks) or a plummet, which leaves a faint brown line.

3. Binding — both the modern binding and any indications of an earlier binding (e.g. if a book was once chained, but is so no longer, there will likely be traces of rust on the outer pages. If a book has been rebound and trimmed, marginal material may be cut off).

4. Number of (surviving) leaves. Also, if the leaves are numbered, the number which appear to have been initially present.

5. Arrangement of quires. Although most books use a four-sheet standard (meaning each quire has eight leaves of 16 sheets), it is the opinion of James that the majority of books have at least some irregularity — leaves cut out, or an extra leaf inserted into a quire at some point other than the middle. In counting the size of quires, the first thing to look for is of course the string used to bind the quires into a volume. There may also be Catchwords or phrases in the extreme margin, showing the last word on the page and/or the first on the next page, to help the binder organize the quires — but these are often cut off after binding, so they are not to be relied upon.
   The standard notation for a quire of a given length is x^n, where x is a letter denoting the quire, and n is the number of leaves (not pages or sheets) in the quire. So a description a^8b^6 means that we have a codex which now has two quires, the first of eight leaves (four sheets) and the second of six leaves (three sheets). If a quire is described as "(wants n)," it means that leaf n has gone; if it has afterward "(+n* *text)*" it means that a leaf has been added after leaf m.
   So here might be a typical example of this sort of collation:
   a^8(wants 1) b^8 c^8 d^8(wants 3) e^8(+6* εαν) f^4
   The above means that we have a codex of six quires, the first five of which (numbered a, b, c, d, e) originally had had eight leaves (four sheets, 16 pages) and the last of which (f) had four leaves (2 sheets, 8 pages). The first quire has lost its first leaf (not a rare occurrence). In other words, it has lost pages 1 and 2. Quires b and c are intact. Quire d has lost its third leaf — in other words, the fifth and sixth pages of this quire (which would be pages 53 and 54 of the manuscript as a whole). The fifth quire, e, also originally had eight sheets, but after the sixth sheet, an additional leaf has been inserted, which begins with the word εαν. The final quire, f, is apparently intact but has only four leaves (two sheets). Thus the total manuscript started with 44 leaves (22 sheets, 88 pages), but two leaves have been lost and one additional leaf added.

6. History. Any indications of ownership or past location. This of course includes scribal colophons — but also information in the binding or leaves at the front. Many owners

will have written at least their name in the manuscript, often with a date and perhaps a place. These will generally be reliable (unlike colophons, which may be fake), and will give a latest possible date for a manuscript, as well as perhaps hinting at the place where the manuscript was written. It is suggested that all such information be recorded even if it does not appear to have much use; later scholars might have access to historical data the collator does not.

7. Contents. Although some manuscripts contain nothing more than the Gospels or Epistles or whatnot, most will contain at least some additional material — prologues, Eusebian tables, something. All such elements should be listed even if they are not collated.

8. Illustrations. To truly catalog the illustrations in a manuscript requires a specialist, but some information should be given: The dimensions of the illustration (not necessarily in inches or centimeters, but as a fraction of the page — e.g. full width, half height). The general subject of the illustration should be described if it can be determined, as well as characters in the picture and their clothing. Also, many illustrations will have some sort of background (white, red and white squares, blue and green lozenges). This is often characteristic of a particular school, and should be mentioned. If any lettering is found in the illustration, it should be noted.
   In New Testament manuscripts, the most common illustrations are of course of the Evangelists. But several things should still be noted — e.g. whether they are shown in company with their symbolic representations (man, ox, lion, eagle), whether they are shown in contemporary garb or in what a scribe might think was Palestinian clothing, how they are writing (sitting or standing, at a desk or somewhere else), and whether they are alone or in company (e.g. since John is sometimes said to have dictated his gospel to Prochorus, it is not unusual to see him alongside another person). It seems to me in addition that halos are more common in late illustrations than early, although I have not tested this formally.
   Non-Biblical manuscripts have a greater variety of illustrations — e.g. our only illustrations of Chaucer are in Chaucerian manuscripts, but generally he does not take up the whole width of the page; the image is shown in a sort of a sidebar, perhaps with the poet pointing to a particularly interesting passage. Information about non-stereotyped illustrations of this sort can be particularly helpful.

What we learn from collations

It may seem that working with collations is a rather specialized task, and that the use of a critical apparatus is enough for the ordinary student. This is true in some instances, but much oversimplified. A collation can teach us a great deal about a manuscript that cannot be learned from the apparatus criticus.

The collation, unlike the apparatus, teaches us something about the nature of the manuscript itself. If we examine the collation of Hebrews, for instance, we observe that Codex Claromontanus (D) regularly confuses the endings -θε and -θαι, even when there is no variation in the other manuscripts. We learn, therefore, that Claromontanus has no authority when there are genuine variants of this type.

Most manuscripts have some such idiosyncrasies. א, for instance, regularly confounds EI and I, while 056 and 0142 have a habit (derived probably from their common ancestor) of adding extra iotas. 1799 regularly inserts αδελφοι into texts (probably based on the lectionary), and so is unreliable for the handful of legitimate variants involving this word. And so forth. None of these facts can be learned from a critical apparatus, and most are quickly obvious in a collation.

In addition, a collation is a *complete* catalog of the readings of a manuscript, whereas a critical apparatus is always limited. As an example, consider the collation of Hebrews already cited above. This collation includes fifteen manuscripts, and shows 61 variants in Hebrews 1. The Nestle-Aland text, by contrast, cites only 21 variants, despite having 23 so-called "constant witnesses." Most of the extra variants in the collation are, of course, trivial — spelling mistakes and the like — but by working with the critical apparatus rather than the collations, one forfeits the ability to decide which variants are important. In addition, most critical apparatus have an associated critical text. This critical text will, almost inevitably, bias the user toward its readings. Whereas a collation, since it is based on a non-critical text (the *Textus Receptus*), should not result in any pre-judgement of the readings.

Collations in Other Languages

Greek is not the only language for which we need collations, of course. Any text existing in multiple copies calls for collation of these copies. And they may show the same sort of variety as we see in the Greek witnesses.

Let's take a couple of examples from the Vulgate. The following is a proper collation of Matthew 6:7–15. The text on the left is the Clementine Vulgate; that on the right is the text of Codex Lichfeldensis (as given by Hopkins-James). Divergences are shown in bold. The collation follows the text.

Clementine

6[7] Orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici; putant enim quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur. [8] Nolite ergo assimilari eis; scit enim Pater vester, quid opus sit vobis, antequam petatis eum. [9] Sic ergo vos orabitis: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, [10] adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo, et in terra. [11] Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie, [12] et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, [13] et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo. Amen. [14] Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, dimittet et vobis Pater vester caelestis delicta vestra. [15] Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus, nec Pater vester dimittet vobis peccata vestra.

Lichfeldensis

6[7] Orantes **autem multum** loqui sicut **ci** putant enim **qui** inmulti loquiosuo exaudiantur [8] nolite ergo **adsimillare** eis scit enim pater uester, **quibus** opus sit uobis ante quam petatis eum ∴, [9] Sic ergo uos orabitis ∴ / **tur nomentuu** Pater noster quies incaelis, **scifice** nomen tuum, [10] **et ueniet** regnum tuum fiat uoluntas tua sicut incaelo et interra [11] panem nostrum **cotidianum** danobis **odie** [12] et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos **demittimus** debitoribus nostris [13] et ne nos inducas **intemptemtationem** sedlibera nos **amalo** ∴ [14] Si enim **demisseritis** hominibus peccata eorum **demittet** et uobis Pater uester caelestis delicta uestra. [15] Si autem **nondemisseritis** hominibus nec Pater **uester caelestis dimittet** uobis peccata uestra

Collation of Lichfeldensis against the Clementine Vulgate:

6:7 nolite] *omit*
ethnici] ci *(sic.)*
quod] qui

6:8 assimilari] adsimillare
quid] quibus *(scribe initially wrote quid then corrected it)*

6:9 orabitis] orabitis tur nomentuu
sanctificetur] scifice (i.e. sanctifice)

6:10 adveniat] et ueniet

6:11 supersubstantialem] cotidianum
hodie] odie

6:12 dimittimus] demittimus

6:13 in tentationem] intemptemtationem
Amen] *omit*

6:14 dimiseritis] demisseritis
dimittet] demittet

6:15 non dimiseritis] nondemisseritis
vester] uester *[i.e. vester]* caelestis
dimittet] demittet

This is a fairly standard collation format. That doesn't mean it's always followed! Just to show the possible variations, here are samples of the marginalia to this passage in several Latin editions. I have in my library one publication of a Latin Gospel manuscript (Lemuel J. Hopkins-James, *The Celtic Gospels,* an edition of Codex Lichfeldensis, used to create the above collation of that manuscript) and three critical editions: The smaller Wordsworth-White, Merk, and the Nestle Greek/Latin/English triglot. Let's show a handful of variants to show how Latin collations and critical editions are sometimes done (for the symbols used for the manuscripts, see the section on the Vulgate in the article on the Versions). As a sample, let's reproduce the text and apparatus of all four volumes for Matthew 6:7–13, then do comparisons side by side for several readings.

Hopkins-James

Text	Apparatus
6[7] Orantes autem multum loqui sicut ci putant enim qui inmulti loquiosuo exaudiantur [8] nolite ergo adsimillare eis scit enim pater uester, quibus opus sit uobis ante quam petatis eum ∴, [9] Sic ergo uos orabitis ∴ / tur nomentuu Pater noster quies incaelis, scifice nomen tuum, [10] et ueniet regnum tuum fiat uoluntas tua sicut incaelo et interra [11] panem nostrum cotidianum danobis odie [12] et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos demittimus debitoribus nostris [13] et ne nos inducas intemptemtationem sedlibera nos amalo ∴	7 -nolite after autem. qui Y for quia 8 adsimillare (gat adsimilari) with the first *l* erased for assimilari *The Hereford text is resumed here from the leaf (misplaced) inserted at* viii.4 *containing* v.28 *to* vi.8.*There is also a break here in the text of d from* vi.8 *to* viii.27. quibus is what the scribe wrote and is VO's reading, but the us has been erased not without leaving its traces. Enough of *b* was left to become part of an ugly *d.* It was thus corrected to quid which has the support of a b f ff_1 h q Aug her gat 𝔐 D Q R C T W O V Z vg. In opus the *us* is in ligature. At the end of the verse is an example of the corrector's stop, a comma in addition to the scribe's stop viz. ∴,. 10 et ueniet (ff_1 ueniat) foradueniat 11 cotidianum. This is the O.L. text found in *a f* ff_1 g_1 *h q* and others though with some it has the *tt,* her lam IL 𝔓mg D E C T W (gat has quotidianum with uel supersubstantialem between the lines). In St. Matthew, St. Jerome substituted supersubstantialem in its place but went back to the old word in St. Luke. The O.L. form, however, has not been displaced in public and private prayer. In our text the Lord's Prayer was transcribed again at the end of St. Mark with the reading sub stantialem showing the process whereby the O.L. text was corrected to the Vulgate standard. odie for hodie. 12 demittimus 𝔐 O K V X for dimittimus 13 nos inducas 𝔓 𝔐 E R W M Θ K vg for inducas nos. temptemtationem (temptationem *b k f h* Σ) for temtationem.

Merk

Text

6[7]Orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici; putant enim quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur. [8] Nolite ergo assimilari eis; scit enim Pater vester, quid opus sit vobis, antequam petatis eum. [9] Sic ergo vos orabitis: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, [10] adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo, et in terra. [11] Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie, [12] et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, [13] et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Apparatus

8 quid OZJMaDQRKVCTW] quibus *rel*.
11 supersubst.] cotidianum SmDssCTW
12 dimisimus Ep*Z*B*JD
13 amen > *codd.*

Nestle

Text

6[7]Orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici; putant enim quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur. [8] Nolite ergo assimilari eis; scit enim Pater vester, quid opus sit vobis, antequam petatis eum. [9] Sic ergo vos orabitis: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, [10] adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo, et in terra. [11] Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie, [12] et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, [13] et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Apparatus

8 quid] quibus *13* > inducas nos l - amen

Wordsworth/White (editio minor)

Text

6[7]Orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici: putant enim quia in multiloquio suo exaudiantur. [8] Nolite ergo adsimilari eis: scit enim Pater uester quibus opus sit uobis ante quam petatis eum. [9] Sic ergo uos orabitis: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum, [10] adueniat regnum tuum: fiat uoluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra. [11] Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie: [12] et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris: [13] et ne inducas nos in temtationem, sed libera nos a malo.

Apparatus

[7] **ethnici** + faciunt 𝔖 **quia**: quod 𝔖 𝔘

[8] **quibus**: quid 𝔖 𝔘

[11] **supersubstantialem** AHMVZ *al.* 𝔖 𝔘 : cotidianum CD *al.* ; supersubstantialem cotidianum F

[12] dimisimus DZ*

[13] >nos inducas 𝔖 𝔘; patiaris nos induci D *(cf. Tert. 'de Orat.' viii)* **malo** + amen 𝔖 𝔘

Other examples of the various styles:

Mark 12:29. The Clementine text reads *Dominus Deus* ***tuus****;* this has the support of Dublinensis, Sangermanensis, Vallicellanus, and others; Amiatinus and other early manuscripts read *Dominus Deus* ***noster*** (compare the Greek). Our authorities describe the variant as follows:

Text	Apparatus
Hopkins-James text: *dns ds* ***tuus***	(not cited in apparatus)
Merk text: *Dominus Deus* ***tuus***	tuus X*IGDLVThW] noster *rel.* vl pl.
Nestle text: *Dominus Deus* ***tuus***	tuus] noster (i.e. A F both read noster for the tuus found in the text)
Wordsworth-White text: *Dominus Deus* ***noster***	**noster**: tuus DGV 𝔖 𝔘:

Luke 2:2. The Clementine text reads *Cyrino*, supported by the large majority of manuscripts. The Wordsworth/White text reads *Quirino* on the basis of harleianus (and the historical name Quirinius). Our authorities describe the variant as follows:

Text	Apparatus
Hopkins-James text: *quirno*	quirno (her cirino) for Cyrino
Merk text: *Cyrino*	Quirino ZsL Hier
Nestle text: *Cyrino*	quirino (no supporting evidence cited)
Wordsworth-White text: *Quirino*	**Quirino** Z: Cyrino ACDFHMV 𝔖 𝔏

At least Latin is widely read and has relatively stong standards. In less-common languages, establishing a text can get even more difficult. The following shows the opening of two editions of the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood.* Both are based on the same manuscript (the Vercelli Book), though with different orthographic styles. I parallel the first ten lines of the poem as presented by (1) Bruce Dickens and Alan S. C. Ross, *The Dream of the Rood,* Methuen's Old English Library, 1963; and (2) John C. Pope, *Seven Old English Poems*, Norton, 1981.

	Dickens/Ross	Pope
(1)	Hþæt, ic sþefna cyst, sec ȝan þylle,	Hwæt, ic swefna cyst secgan wille,
(2)	hþæt me ȝemætte to midre nihte,	hwæt me gemætte to midre nihte,
(3)	syðþan reordberend reste þunedon.	siþþan reord-berend reste wunodon.
(4)	Þuhte me þæt ic ȝesaþe syllicre treoþ	Þuhte me þæt ic gesawe seldlicre treo
(5)	on lyft lædan leohte beþunden,	on lyft lædan leohte bewunden,
(6)	beama beorhtost. Eall Þæt beacen þæs	beama beorhtost. Eall Þæt beacen wæs
(7)	be ȝoten mid ȝolde; ȝimmas stodon	begoten mid golde; gimmas stodon
(8)	fæ ȝere æt foldan sceatum, sþylce Þær fife þæron	fægere æt foldan sceatum swelce Þær fife wæron
(9)	uppe on Þam eaxl ȝespanne. Beheoldon Þær en ȝeldryhte,	uppe on Þam eaxl-gespanne. Beheoldon Þær engel-dryhta fela,
(10)	fæ ȝere Þurh forð ȝesceaft; ne þæs Þær huru fracodes ȝeal ȝa.	fægere Þurh forð-gesceaft; ne wæs Þær huru fracuðes gealga,
	---	---

(1) Hþæt: MS Hþæt with large *h* enclosing capital þ (2) hþæt Grein[1]: MS *hæt*. (9) *eaxlȝespanne* Sweet: MS eaxle ȝe spanne. *enȝeldryhte*: MS *enȝel dryhtlnes ealle.*

Emendations: **2** hwæt] MS hæt **9** eaxl] MS. eaxle. engel-sryhta fela] MS engel dryhtnes ealle.

Variant spellings in the MS: **1** wylle. **3** syðþan. wunedon. **4** syllicre. treow. **8** swylce. **10** fracodes.

The physical task of collating

For the reasons described above, it is strongly suggested that every student undertake a collation or two. It need not be of an actual manuscript (though this is best). Simply take one printed or electronic text and compare it against another. (Printed texts are probably better than electronic, since a true collation will normally involve a physical manuscript.) Ideally it should be an actual manuscript text, but if worst comes to worst, one can (say) collate the UBS text against the *Textus Receptus*.

The results can be educational and humbling, especially if you are able to compare the result with an existing collation of the manuscript. Collation is a difficult and stressful occupation, even with the best manuscripts (generally the easiest are the better-preserved uncials). When dealing with a more difficult manuscript (e.g. 6, which is written in such a small hand that some people need to magnify it to read it; or 33 or 2344, damaged by damp; or a Palimpsest; or any of the hundreds of manuscripts written by scribes with bad handwriting), the task becomes even more daunting. To give a personal example: The collation of Hebrews mentioned above was based entirely on already-extant transcriptions, so eyestrain was not a factor. (Fortunately for me, as I have very weak eyes!) It was not, for obvious reasons, checked by anyone else, and I myself checked only the non-orthographic variants. The result is only about a dozen pages long, even in large print. And even so, it took me dozens of hours (spread over several months) to compile. And there are doubtless several errors even so.

At that, the task is easier than it used to be. Today, we can collate with a computer, either in a word processor or using a program such as COLLATE. Older collations were done on paper or other non-electronic form. Moorman, for instance, suggested index cards, with the lemma typed at the top of each card and the lines on the card representing the various manuscripts to be collated. For example, here is my collation of several texts of an old folk song, “Boney on the Isle of Saint Helena.” Moorman’s cards would look like

1.1A	Oh, Bony	has	gone
W	—	he has	
R	—	he has	
H	Bonaparte	is	
S	Now Napoleon	he has done	

1.1B	from	his	wars	and his	fighting
W				all	a-fighting
R				of all	
H					fightings
S	with				

One important point to remember in preparing a collation is that, if you are collating a classical manuscript, your collation will likely be used in preparing a stemma, and it may be so used even if it is a Biblical manuscript (if the manuscript belongs to a family such as Family 13 or K^{r}). You should operate on this basis, e.g. by highlighting readings which are likely to have genealogical significance.

The task being what it is, careful preparation is required to create a good collation. Experts make the following recommendations for accurate collations:

All manuscripts should be "twice checked." *Two* collations should be made, without reference to each other, and compared. For a collation which is to be published or used for a major critical apparatus, it should not only be double-checked and compared, but the work should be done independently. That is, the initial collations should be done by two different individuals, and the results compares by a third individual, who will make reference to the manuscript where the two collations differ.

Before beginning a collation, one should familiarize one's self with the manuscript. The best way to do this is to collate a chapter or two (preferably not the first chapters one will collate "for real"), then *throw this collation away.* Its only purpose is to make the collator familiar with the manuscript — the handwriting style, the scribal peculiarities, the organization of the pages.

One should maintain a proper schedule. Spending too much time collating will result in poor quality work, and may lead to eyestrain as well. Ideally, one should not collate for more than two hours a day, and one should not allow more than four hours of work under any circumstances. One should take regular breaks, and assure that there is proper lighting and working conditions. Distractions such as phone calls should be avoided if at all possible. I probably shouldn't have to point out that you should not try to multitask (no texting while collating!), but I'll say it anyway, just in case.

Even if you cannot bring in someone else to check your collations, use as many cross-checks as possible. The method you use depends on your techniques. You might, for instance, read back your collation (aloud) to see if you have transcribed the words correctly. You might "collate back" into the *Textus Receptus*, and read *that* back, or compare it with your original manuscript.

Never assume, because a word has the right beginning and ending, that it is the "correct" word. Variant spellings, some of which could represent different words or word forms, are very common.

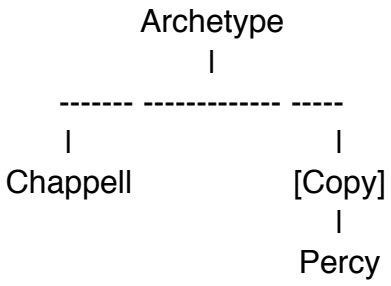
Before beginning the collation, examine the corrections to the manuscript. Try to determine how many correctors there have been, and perhaps their habits.

If you are working as part of a project, and so are called upon to follow a particular collation format, study the format in detail before beginning. Look over other collations in this format. Practice using the format. (This is distinct from practicing with the manuscript. Don't try both at once; you're likely to lose track of one or the other.)

Another suggestion, this one personal: Don't start with a collation in a foreign language! Start by comparing two texts in your own language. A good place for this is in collections of old folk songs or modernized editions of an ancient text. This lets you practice the physical task of collation without having to worry about understanding a foreign language as well.

Charles Moorman, *Editing the Middle English Manuscript,* p. 46, gives another warning: "The editor cannot afford to become himself a scribe if he can avoid it." Moorman was writing in the 1970s, before personal computers, so some of his reasons are rather irrelevant. But the basic argument is sound: If you are transcribing the manuscript in full, you are not collating, and you are making errors of your own. If there already exists an edition of the work you are collating, collate against that, no matter how obscure, just to reduce the error rate. This is not always possible for classical documents, but in the New Testament, most important sources have been printed by someone. So take advantage.

For those who wish to have something to work from, and whose native language is English, here are two transcriptions of a fifteenth century English text, "The Agincourt Carol." (This should, incidentally, put to rest the notion that "carols" are Christmas songs; they are a particular form of religious ballad.) The first is from Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (also variously known as *Old English Popular Music,* etc.); the second is from Percy's *Reliques*. The Percy text was transcribed from a manuscript copied from the manuscript used by Chappell. That is, the genealogy is this:


Archetype
Chappell
[Copy]
Percy

The Chappell Text

Deo gracias anglia,
Redde pro victoria

1 Owre kynge went forth to normandy,
With grace and myght of chyvalry:
Ther god for him wrought mervelusly.
Wherfore englonde may calle and cry
Deo gracias…

2 He sette a sege the sothe for to say,
to harflu toune with ryal aray;
that toune he wan, and made afray,
that fraunce shal rywe tyl domesday.
Deo gracias…

3 Than went owre Kynge with alle his oste,
thorwe fraunce for all the frenshe boste:
he spared no drede of leste ne most,
tyl he come to agincourt coste.
Deo gracias…

4 Than forsoth that knyght comely,
in agincourt feld he faught manly:
thorw grace of god most myghty,
he had bothe the felde and the victory.
Deo gracias…

5 Ther dukys and erlys, lorde and barone,
were take and slayne, and that wel sone,
and some were ladde into Lundone
with ioye and merthe and grete renone
Deo gracias…

6 Now gracious god he save owre Kynge,
his peple, and all his wel wyllynge:
gef him gode lyfe and gode endynge,
that we with merth mowe savely synge,
Deo gracias…

The Percy Text

Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria!

1 Owre kynge went forth to Normandy,
With grace and myyt of chivalry;
The God for hym wrouyt marvelously,
Wherfore Englonde may calle, and cry
Deo gratias:
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.

2 He sette a sege, the sothe for to say,
To Harflue toune with ryal aray;
That toune he wan, and made a fray,
That Fraunce shall rywe tyl domes day.
Deo gratias &c.

3 Than went owre kynge, with alle his oste,
Thorowe Fraunce for all the Frenshe boste;
He spared 'for' drede of leste, ne most,
Tyl he come to Agincourt coste.
Deo gratias &c.

4 Than for sothe that knyyt comely
In Agincourt feld he faught manly:
Thorow grace of God most myyty
He had bothe the felde and the victory.
Deo gratias &c.

5 Ther dukys, and erlys, lorde and barone,
Were take, and slayne, and that wel sone,
And some were ledde in to Lundone
With joye, and merthe, and grete renone.
Deo gratias &c.

6 Now gracious God he save owre kynge,
His peple, and all his wel wyllynge,
Gef him gode lyfe, and gode endynge,
That we with merth mowe savely synge
Deo gratias &c.

(We note incidentally that, using these texts, we can detect the loss of an obsolete letter, just as Homeric scholars can detect the fact that Homer used the digamma. The Middle English

text of this song clearly used the yogh, ȝ. In Chappell, this was replaced — as is now fairly normal — by gh; the Percy text substitutes y.)

Columns and Page Arrangement

As far as I know, there has been no detailed examination of column layouts in New Testament manuscripts — at least in any context relating to textual criticism. But it seems likely that manuscripts were written in columns from the very earliest days — scrolls, after all, had to be written in columns. The Greek word for a column is σελις, although this the word originally meant instead the space between the columns.

It is often stated that, with the exceptions of א and B, all continuous-text New Testament manuscripts are written in one or two columns. This is not quite true (048 and 053 are also in three columns, as is the minuscule 1957 and, of necessity, the trilingual minuscule 460 — and of course there are many commentary manuscripts which use irregular page formats), but not far from the mark. The following table shows, by century, the number of manuscripts with one, two, three, and four columns. (Note: Manuscripts must be substantial enough for the determination to be certain.) For the first five centuries, the manuscripts themselves are listed. The percentage of manuscripts in each category is also listed. The data is as given in the first edition of the *Kurzgefasste Liste* (note that paleographic estimates in the *Liste* are not always reliable, and this list is only approximate).

Century		Number of Columns				
		- 1 -	- 2 -	- 3 -	- 4 -	Scroll
I/II		P^{46} P^{66}				
III		P^{45} P^{47} P^{72} P^{75} 0212 0220 0232				P^{13}
IV		0162 0169 0176 0181 0189 0206 0228	057 058 0171 0185 0207 0214 0221 0230 0231	B	א	
V		C I W 059 061 069 0163 0172 0173 0174 0175 0182 0217 0244	A Q T 062 068 0160 0165 0166 0201 0216 0218 0219 0226 0227 0236 0239 0242	048		
VI		13 (24%)	42 (76%)			
VII		7 (28%)	18 (72%)			
VIII		9 (39%)	13 (61%)			
IX	unc	17 (38%)	27 (60%)	[053] (2%)		
	min	9 (75%)	3 (25%)			
X	unc	8 (53%)	7 (47%)			
	min	89 (85%)	16 (15%)			
XI	unc	1				
	min	283 (81%)	68 (19%)			
XII		461 (87%)	69 (13%)			
XIII		458 (89%)	59 (11%)	[460]		
XIV		454 (91%)	45 (9%)			
XV		193 (90%)	21 (10%)	[1957]		
after XV		145 (88%)	19 (12%)			

It is sometimes stated that the reason א is written in four columns is that this gives the appearance of a scroll. It should be noted, however, that the papyri are usually in one column, so Christians had clearly already abandoned the “scroll look” before א was written. It seems more likely that א, which is one of the largest uncials known (indeed, based on the data in the first edition of the *Kurzgefasste Liste,* it is as presently bound the largest uncial known), was written in four columns to keep the width of each column close to the standard column width found in other manuscripts.

It is also worth noting that 2–columns format was standard for uncials (57% of uncials are in two columns), and also very common for lectionaries, but while obviously acceptable, it was certainly *not* normal for minuscules (only 13% of minuscules have more than one column, and many of those are diglots). One may speculate that this has to do with readability. Uncials, particularly early uncials which lacked punctuation, word spacing, and breathings, were difficult to read. To reduce the stress of reading, scribes may have resorted to narrower columns. When the more readable minuscules became standard, scribes turned to the easier-to-copy-but-harder-to-read one-column format. (It is now known that there is an optimal column width for reading; a column which is requires the reader's eyes to move more than five or six times makes reading more difficult. Ancient scribes could not have known this, but they could well have sensed that narrower columns were easier to read than wide.)

Note that this applies only to Greek manuscripts. Other traditions will have other histories. Indeed, Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* p. 91, states that "at the beginning of the twelfth century many manuscripts were still in a single column format, but by about 1170 manuscripts were generally larger and often in two columns." De Hamel does not say which manuscripts this applies to; it appears to be Latin manuscripts (because he goes out of his way to ignore the very existence of anything in Greek), but he does not specify. Still, it shows how different traditions differ: at a time when Greek manuscripts were, on average, reducing their number of columns, he finds an increase among the manuscripts in his sample base.

Commentary Manuscripts

Introduction

Most manuscripts of the New Testament are straight-text manuscripts. The price of books being what it was, anything unnecessary was carefully eliminated, since additional text required more writing material and more scribal time.

But while manuscripts with commentaries are not common, they are not rare, either. Many commentaries, such as those of Oecumenius (and his imitator the pseudo-Oecumenius) and Andreas of Cæsarea, were intimately linked to the Bible text. Anyone who wanted to read those commentaries would need the text at hand. Why not combine them in a single volume?

The result is that some 20% of all New Testament manuscripts — nearly 600 all told — include some sort of regular commentary. Some contain commentaries from only one author (e.g. the dozens of manuscripts of the Apocalypse which also contain Andreas's commentary.) Others contain a *catena*, or chain commentary (from the Latin word for "chain, fetter"). Catena manuscripts contain comments from several sources linked into the text; hence the title. In addition, a number of manuscripts are fitted with commentaries which are

not so closely associated with the text. An example is 1739, which has hundreds of comments from various sources in the margin.

The earliest commentary manuscript is the uncial Ξ, while the most important textually (and one of the most important for its commentary) is 1739.

Von Soden was of the opinion that commentary manuscripts formed a special class of manuscripts, and classified commentary manuscripts solely on the basis of the commentary, without examining the text. Maurice Robinson, based on his examination of manuscripts of John in the vicinity of the story of the Adulteress, agrees in part: "The interspersed type of commentary in my opinion should **never** be considered in the same ballpark as a 'continuous-text' MS, simply because it is **not** such, even if the complete biblical text can be extracted therefrom. Such interspersed commentaries also stem **directly** from their archetype in almost all copies, and the only item of text-critical importance is recovery of the archetype text of that commentator… ([e.g.] Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, or Niketas), and the many MSS of such a commentator say nothing much beyond what the patristic archetype was, so thus they are not really 'NT' MSS even though counted as such in the list.

"Commentary MSS in which the catena or commentary **surrounds** the biblical text are a different matter, and these should be counted as continuous-text MSS. In fact some of this category were in unfinished state as I examined them on microfilm, and it was clear how the process operated: the biblical text was copied first in a centered portion of the page; the complete biblical book was finished; and only then was the catena or commentary added, often from another source MS in which the text reflected in the commentary often differed from that in the biblical text of the new MS… "

Nonetheless, no detailed check has been performed on von Soden's thesis (Wisse, e.g., did not profile commentary manuscripts).

Noteworthy Commentaries

Although almost any Father could be consulted for a commentary manuscript, certain editions, such as those of Andreas and Oecumenius, became peculiarly linked with the Bible text. These text-plus-commentary manuscripts seem to have circulated in their own special editions. This, at least, was the view of Von Soden, who created several special symbols to for groups of commentary manuscripts. These include (some minor commentaries are omitted):

The Antiochene commentary on the Gospels. In Matthew and John, it was based on the work of Chrysostom; in Mark, on Victor of Antioch, and in Luke, on Titus of Bostra. Von Soden identified dozens of manuscripts of this type, which he symbolized by an A with a superscript

number (e.g. A^{3} is the uncial X). Noteworthy manuscripts of this group include Ξ, X, 053, and 304.

Andreas the Presbyter's commentary on the Acts and Catholic Epistles. Symbolized by $A^{\pi\rho}$ (e.g. $A^{\pi\rho 1}$ is K^{ap}). Noteworthy manuscripts of this group include K, 36, 307, and 453.

Andreas of Cæsarea's commentary on the Apocalypse. In terms of frequency of use, probably the most widespread of the commentaries, found in perhaps a third of the Apocalypse manuscripts. Symbolized by Av (e.g. Av^{2} is 051). Noteworthy manuscripts of this group include 051, 052, 1^{r}, 94, 2059, and several others. Associated with this (as the two were sometimes combined) is the commentary of Arethas; Von Soden's $A\rho^{70}$ is 2116.

The so-called "anonymous catena" on the Gospels, symbolized by C^{ι} (e.g. by $C^{\iota 1}$ is 050). Von Soden separated this by books (Matthew, John, and Paul). Noteworthy manuscripts of this type include 050, 0141, and 304.

Zigabenus's commentaries on the Gospels (Z^{ε}) and Paul (Z^{π}). This group does not appear to contain any noteworthy or well-known manuscripts.

Theophylact's commentaries on the Gospels (Θ^{ε}) and Paul (Θ^{π}). Although both of these groups are large (over a hundred of the former and several dozen of the latter), few if any of the manuscripts of this type have received much critical attention.

Theodoret's commentary on Paul (Θδ). This group does not contain any noteworthy manuscripts.

John of Damascus's commentary on Paul. (I, i.e. I^{1} is K^{ap}). This group contains only two manuscripts: K^{ap} and 2110. 0151 probably also belongs here, but von Soden did not so classify it.

Cyril of Alexandrian's commentary on John (K^{ι}). This group does not contain any noteworthy manuscripts.

Nicetas's commentaries on John (N^{ι}), Luke (N^{λ}), Matthew (N^{μ}), and Paul (N^{π}). These groups do not contain any noteworthy manuscripts.

Oecumenius's commentaries:

On the Praxapostolos (O, e.g. O^{7} is 056); contains 056, 0142, 424, 441, and 442. This is actually the work of the pseudo-Oecumenius.

On the Apocalypse (O^{α}, e.g. $O^{\alpha 31}$ is 2053); contains 2053, 2062.

On Paul (O^{π}, e.g. $O^{\pi 3}$ is 075); contains 075 and 1908 (though the marginalia of 1908 are also associated with 1739). Since this is part of the Praxapostolos, it follows that work is believed to be pseudepigraphal.

On the Acts and Catholic Epistles ($O^{\pi\rho}$). This group does not contain any noteworthy manuscripts. Since this is part of the Praxapostolos, it follows that work is believed to be pseudepigraphal.

Oecumenius on the Acts and Catholic Epistles plus Theophylact in Paul (OΘ, e.g. $O\Theta^{28}$ is 103). The most noteworthy manuscript of this group is 103.

Chrysostom on Paul (X, e.g. X^{2} is 0150). Noteworthy manuscripts of this type include 0150, 0151, and 1962.

Noteworthy Commentary Manuscripts

Von Soden's detailed summary of commentary manuscripts is badly out of date. So at present we can only list which manuscripts have commentaries (Von Soden's description of the commentary, where known, follows the manuscript name). Uncials with commentary include:

K^{ap}/018 (Andreas on Acts/Cath) and its near-sister 0151 (Chrysostom on Paul)

Ξ (Titus of Bostra on Luke)

050 (Anonymous)

051 (Andreas)

052 (Andreas)

053 (Antiochene)

(055 -- commentary with only partial text)

056 and its near-sister 0142 (both Oecumenius)

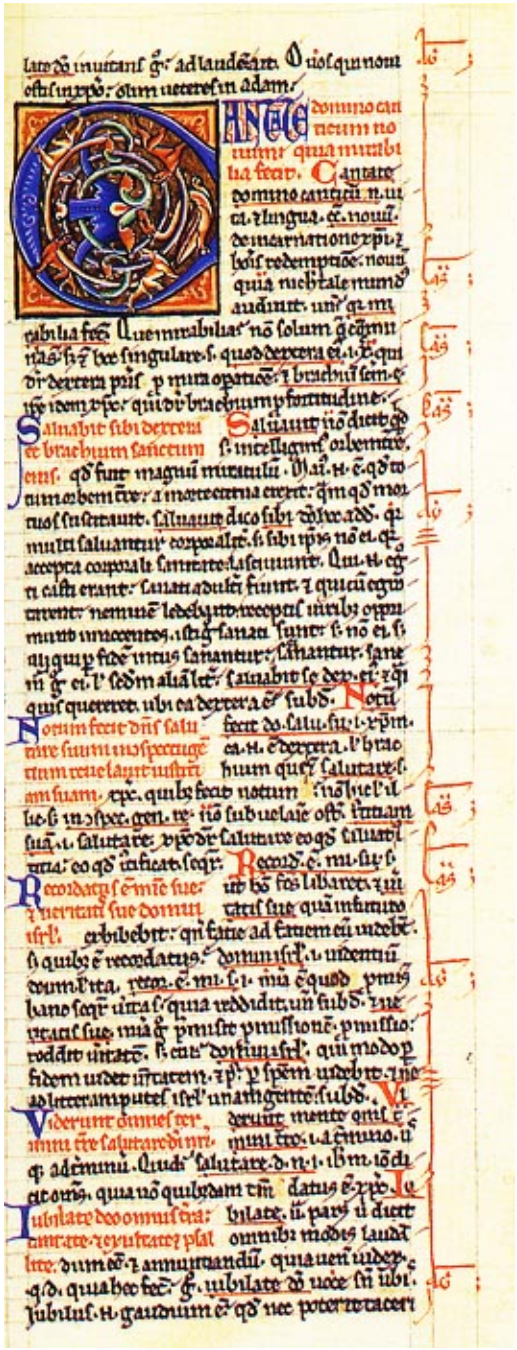
075 (Oecumenius)

0141 (Anonymous)

0150 (Chrysostom)

0151 (Chrysostom)

0256.



At right: *A single column of a Latin commentary manuscript, Scheyen MS. 258, folio 128r, second column, described as Peter Lombard's Great Gloss on the Psalms. The Biblical text is in red, the commentary in black. Observe the marginal notation showing the source of the commentary -- in this case, mostly Cassiodorus, with a few from Augustine.*

Minuscules with commentary are too numerous to list, but in the Alands' list of manuscripts of Category III or higher, the following are commentary manuscripts:

94 (Oecumenius, Andreas)

103 (Oecumenius, Theophylact)

(218)

254 (Oecumenius, Theophylact)

307 (Antiochene — but 307 does not contain the Gospels!)

441 (Oecumenius)

442 (Oecumenius)

453 (Andreas on Acts/Cath)

610 (Andreas on Acts/Cath),

(621 (Oecumenius))

623

720 (Oecumenius, Theophylact)

849 (Cyril of Alexandria)

886 (Theophylact)

911 (Oecumenius; Andreas)

1424

1506 (Theophylact)

1523 (Oecumenius, Theophylact)

1524 (Oecumenius, Theophylact)

1678 (Theophylact, Andreas)

(1739 — not listed as a commentary manuscript by the Alands)

1842 (Oecumenius)

1844 (Oecumenius)

1908 (Oecumenius)

1910 (Oecumenius)

1942 (Chrysostom)

1962 (Chrysostom)

2053 (Oecumenius)

2062 (Oecumenius)

2110 (Antiochene)

2197 (Theophylact)

2351

2596

2812

Complutensian Polyglot

For more than half a century after the first printed Latin Bible, there was no printed copy of the Greek New Testament. The first to take the matter in hand was Cardinal Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros.

It is worth noting that the Complutensian was not the first attempt at a polyglot. It appears that the great printer Aldus Manutius set up samples for some sort of an edition, and in 1516, a *Pentaglott Psalter* was published in Genoa with texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and Arabic. (Why start with a psalter? This isn't clear. The psalter was by far the most popular part of the Old Testament, but the New Testament was more popular still.) But Ximenes deserves credit for both attempting the first New Testament, and the first full Greek Bible, and the first polyglot with the New Testament. Cisneros started the project in 1502; some say it was in celebration of the birth of the heir to the Habsburg dynasty, the future Emperor Charles V.

The place of the printing was Alcalá (Complutum). The Old Testament was to include Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with Aramaic (the Targum of Onkelos) as a footnote to the Pentateuch; the New Testament was given in Greek and Latin, with additional scholarly tools. The editors were an interesting and distinguished group — Ælius Antonius of Lebrixa, Demetrius Ducas of Crete, Ferdinandus Pincianus, Diego Lopez de Zuñiga (Stunica, the fellow who eventually had the controversy with Erasmus over 1 John 5:7–8), Alfonsus de Zamora, Paulus Coronellus, and Johannes de Vergera (the last three converted Jews, and Ducas presumably the descendent of Byzantine Christians, so they represent a wide range of viewpoints. It is interesting to note that different modern texts give different lists of editors — not just spelling the names differently but adding or omitting various people; I've included every name I've found).

The planning for the volume began in 1502, though it took almost a dozen years for printing to begin. There were six volumes, and the whole thing is estimated to have cost 50,000 ducats — a large fraction of the revenues of the entire diocese of Alcalá.

The printer was Arnald William de Brocario. It is reported that 600 copies were printed, of which three were on vellum, the rest on paper. Almost a hundred of them still survive. Volume V, containing the New Testament, was finished early in 1514 (it is worth noting that Paul precedes the Acts in this volume). Volume VI, with a lexicon, index, and other aids, was completed in 1515, and the other four volumes, containing the Old Testament (with, of course, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical books) came off the press in 1517. Ximenes unfortunately died late in that year. Papal approval was much delayed (some have said the Pope wouldn't approve the book until borrowed manuscripts were returned, or that the death of Ximenes caused problems, but we don't really don't know the reason); the imprimatur came in 1520, and the volumes were finally made available to the public apparently in 1522.

The format and type face of the Greek New Testament have sparked much discussion. (Interestingly, the Greek of the Septuagint is in a more normal Greek style, and uses a font similar to those produced by Aldus Manutius for his Greek books.) It is sometimes said that nothing like the font used for the New Testament has ever been seen. This is exaggerated. What is unusual is not the font but the orthography. There are no rough or smooth breathings, and the accents are peculiar. (Make you wonder if Demetrias Ducas spoke an odd dialect or something. Scrivener, to be sure, denies this, pointing out that Ducas composed some Greek verse which was perfectly well-written and pointed, so he could write "proper" Greek.) The font itself is not particularly unusual. Metzger-Text, p. 85, says the "type used in the New Testament volume is modelled after the style of the handwriting in manuscripts of about the eleventh or twelfth century, and is very bold and elegant." Bold and elegant is certainly is — but also much simplified from hand-written models. It is very much closer to an earlier Greek typeface, used by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1465 to print Lactantius. There are differences, to be sure (the delta in the Polyglot is more uncial, while the Lactantius is like a minuscule delta; the Lactantius uses only one form of the letter sigma, the Lactantius uses an uncial gamma and a very strange beta). But the feeling of the two is very similar; the Complutensian is simply a much more refined version of the same style.

The interesting question is why the compositors changed fonts; why, after using such a beautiful Greek face for the New Testament, did they shift to the ugly Aldine fonts for the Old? The Aldine fonts were immensely complicated (see the article on Books and Bookmaking); was it merely that they hadn't managed to cut such a font in time? Were there complaints about the modern-looking fonts? (And if so, why, given that no one except the publishers had seen the books?) Was it something about the source manuscripts? (This seems unlikely, but since the manuscripts are unknown, it's perhaps possible.) Did the publisher bring in new

typesetters who could set the more elaborate Aldine faces and keep track of the accents? My guess is the latter, but it is unlikely that we will ever now.

As mentioned, the manuscripts underlying the Complutensian Polyglot have never been identified, though there is no doubt that the text is largely Byzantine. (Scrivener, p. 180, says that there are 2780 differences from the Elzevir text — 1046 in the Gospels, 578 in Paul, 542 in Acts and the Catholic Epistles, 614 in the Apocalypse — which about the same as the number of differences between Elzevir and the true Majority Text. And Scrivener says there are only about 50 typographical errors.) The editors did thank the Pope for use of manuscripts, but there are chronological problems with this; it is likely that, if the Vatican supplied Greek manuscripts, they were used only for LXX, not the NT. (Several scholars say explicitly that two Vatican manuscripts were used for LXX, perhaps those numbered 108 and 248.) Stunica makes explicit reference to one Greek manuscript in the New Testament, but this manuscript (Tischendorf/Scrivener 52a) is lost.

Scrivener notes some interesting and unusual readings of the Polyglot's Greek text (e.g. Luke 1:64 αυτον **διηρθρωθη** και ελαλει with 251 and a handful of other manuscripts; Luke 2:22), and observes that some have seen similarities to 4^{e}, 42, 51. There seems to have been no real attempt to follow up these hints, probably because the Polyglot had no real influence on later printed editions. I strongly suspect that, if anyone really cared, we could identify most of these manuscripts now, simply because we have much more complete catalogs of variants.

It may be that relatively little attention was devoted to the Greek text by the editors. That the Latin was considered more important than the Greek is obvious from the handling of 1 John 5:7–8 (and even more from the comment on the Old Testament that they had placed the Latin in the middle column, between Hebrew and Greek, like Jesus between the two thieves), but Scrivener denies that the Greek was systematically conformed to the Latin — he believes *(Plain Introduction,* fourth edition, volume II, p. 177) that the crack about the two thieves was an indication that the editors though the Greek and Hebrew corrupted, and so trusted the Latin more.

The Greek text of the New Testament isn't the only peculiar attribute of the Polyglot. The Hebrew of the Old Testament is not pointed according to the usual method; rather, it appears to conform to the Babylonian pointing. Manuscripts of this type are now few; it is likely that the Polyglot used some now-lost sources (unless, as with the Greek, the editors simply adopted their own pointing system). This would seem to imply that the Complutensian is more significant for Old than New Testament criticism.

Conjectures and Conjectural Emendation

The New Testament is full of difficult readings. There are probably hundreds of places where one scholar or another has argued that the text simply cannot be construed. Westcott and

Hort, for instance, marked some five dozen passages with an asterisk as perhaps containing a primitive error. (A list of these passages is found in note 2 on page 184 of the second/third edition of Bruce M. Metzger's *The Text of the New Textament.)* Not all of these are nonsense, but all are difficult in some way.

In classical textual criticism, the response to such "nonsense" readings is usually conjectural emendation — the attempt to imagine what the author actually wrote. Such an emendation, to be successful, must of course fit the author's style and the context. It should also, ideally, explain how the "impossible" reading arose.

The use of conjectural emendation in the classics — especially those which survive only in single manuscripts — can hardly be questioned. Even if we assume that there is no editorial activity, scribal error is always present. Thus, for instance, in Howell D. Chickering, Jr.'s edition of *Beowulf*, we find over two hundred conjectures in the text, and a roughly equal number of places where other sorts of restoration has been called for or where Chickering has rejected common emendations. All this in the space of 3180 lines, usually of six to ten words!

Even quite recent compositions can need this sort of work. *A Gest of Robyn Hode* was composed probably some time in the fifteenth century, and we have one complete printed copy from about 1506 and an incomplete copy of a second edition from about this period, yet at least three lines of the 1800+ in the original manuscript have been lost, and my personal guess is that the number is closer to a dozen, plus there are a great many smaller defects. We have only two choices in this case: To emend or to print a lacuna.

In the New Testament the situation is different. There is one (badly burned) manuscript of *Beowulf*. The major works of Tacitus survives in several manuscripts, but they do not overlap, and while there are four manuscripts of the *Agricola*, it appears that three of them are descended from the fourth. Polybius and Livy, too, survive only in part. Asser's *Life of Alfred* exists only in a printed transcript. But for the New Testament, every passage survives in at least two hundred witnesses (excluding the versions), and outside the Apocalypse the number of witnesses rises into the thousands.

So how does this wealth of copies affect the tradition? In one sense it is an immense boon; it means that we can see our way around the peculiarities of any particular copy. Does this mean that there is no need for conjectural emendation?

Various scholars have answered this differently. Most contend that there should be no need for conjectural emendation. Others, such as Zuntz and Holmes, allow for the possibility; Holmes writes, "That there is considerably less need for emendation of the NT text than that of comparable documents is indeed true, but we must not confuse *less* need with *no* need." (Michael W. Holmes, "Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,"

printed in Bart D. Ehrman & Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* 1995, page 348. This section, pp. 346–349, is probably the best brief summary of the need for a more "classical" style of criticism.) And Kenneth Sisam comments of the difference between printing an attested and an unattested reading, "To support a bad manuscript reading is in no way more meritorious than to support a bad conjecture, and so far from being safer, it is more insidious as a source of error. For, in good practice, a conjecture is printed with some distinguishing mark which attracts doubt; but a bad manuscript reading, if it is defended, looks like solid ground for the defence of other readings." (Kenneth Sisam, "The Authority of Old English Poetical Manuscripts," now available in *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, p. 39. This volume, despite its title, is largely devoted to textual questions, and much of the advice, including the above, is capable of application outside the context of Anglo-Saxon.)

Of the *theoretical* possibilities for conjectural emendation there can be no question. It is likely that there are several New Testament books where all extant copies are derived from an ancestor more recent than the autograph. In the case of Paul, most copies are probably derived from the original compilation of the letters rather than the originals themselves. In each of these cases, errors in the remote archetype will be preserved in all copies. As a result, we see editors sometimes mark certain readings as corrupt (such as the aforementioned "primitive errors" obelized by Westcott and Hort).

But how does one detect these errors? Simply by looking for "nonsense" readings? But one scholar's nonsense is another's subtlety. In any case, can it be shown that all nonsense readings derive from copyists? I hardly think so. Much of the New Testament was taken from dictation. Can we be certain that even the original scribe had it right? And what proof is there that the original author was always grammatical and accurate? I have yet to see an author who *never* made an error in writing. And even if you think you've found an error, as Westcott and Hort did, how do you reliably correct it?

Take a concrete example, in 1 Corinthians 6:5. The Greek text reads διακριναι ανα μεσον του αδελφου αυτου, "to judge between his brother." Zuntz, would emend to διακριναι ανα μεσον του αδελφου και του αδελφου αυτου, "to judge between the brother and his brother." *(The Text of the Epistles,* p. 15). This is technically not pure conjecture, since it has some slight versional support, but Zuntz thinks, probably rightly, that these are conjectures by the translators; he is just adopting their conjecture.

Now it's likely enough that Zuntz has the sense of this passage correct. But does that mean it is actually the autograph wording? People *do* leave words out sometimes. And there is at least one other possibility for emendation: instead of adding και του αδελφου, we might emend ανα μεσον — i.e. to read something like "to pass judgment *upon* his brother" instead

of “to pass judgment *between* his brother.” Observe that, even if we are sure we need to emend (and we aren’t), we are not certain how to emend. That’s the heart of the problem.

With all these factors in mind, it is worth noting that conjectural emendation is not entirely dead; the UBS text prints a conjecture in Acts 16:12 (the reading is supported by codices Colbertinus Theodulfianus of the Vulgate, as well as by the Old Church Slavonic, but these are clearly variants peculiar to the version rather than their underlying text). Hort conjectured εθελοταπεινοφρονυνη for θελων εν ταπεινοφροσυνη ιn Col. 2:18. But it should be frowned upon; we note that, when selecting a reading from among variants, one generally choses the one which *best* explains the others. But when adopting a conjectural emendation, one should only accept a reading which *completely* explains the others. This happens so rarely that we can almost ignore it — particularly since such corrections can still be wrong. An example comes from Langland’s Vision of Piers Plowman. In the *editio princeps*, which for a long time was the only text available, the very first line read

In a somer seson whan set was the sonne
(“In a summer season, when **set** was the sun”)

“Set” is perhaps meaningful, but does not scan. Therefore attempts were made to correct it. The most popular emendation was “hotte,” “hot.”

The correct reading, as now known from many manuscripts, is “softe,” “soft.” Thus the proposed emendation, although perfectly sensible and meeting all the desired criteria, in fact gives a meaning exactly opposite the true reading.

Or we might illustrate an example from Beowulf, where we do not know the correct reading. Line 62, as found in the manuscript, reads (in Old English and translation):

hyrde	ic	þ	elan	cwen
heard	I	th(at)	ela’s	queen

Which doesn’t make any more sense in Old than Modern English. There is a missing noun. The context is a list of the children of Healfdene; we are told there are four, and three have been listed (Heorogar, Hrothgar, and Halga); we expect the name of a fourth. Old English word order would allow the name to appear in the next line — but it doesn’t. And this line is defective, missing a stress and an alliteration.

What’s more, there is no known King Ela for this unnamed girl to marry. This suggests an easy emendation: “ela” is short for “Onela.” If we insert this likely emendation and the verb was, as well as expanding the abbreviation þ for that, we get

hyrde	ic	þæt	wæs	Onelan	cwen
heard	I	that	was	Onela’s	queen

Now we need a name. It must be feminine, it must complete the alliteration, it must fill out the line.

The moment I saw this, without a moment's hesitation, without even knowing Old English, I suggested the emendation "Elan," which meets every requirement. And it would explain how the error came about: A haplography elan1.... elan2. In other words, our line would become

hyrde	ic	þæt	Elan	wæs	Onelan	cwen
heard	I	that	Elan	was	Onela's	queen

This conjecture has been proposed before — and rejected because there is no evidence that Onela had a wife Elan. (Of course, there is also no evidence that he didn't — if we had good evidence about this period, we very well might have another copy of *Beowulf*, and the whole discussion would be moot.)

As a result, at least two other conjectures were offered for the name. One suggested the name Yrse (Grundtvig, Bugge, Clarke). This, too, faces the problem of being a poorly-attested name. So a third suggestion was "Signi" (or similar). This is on the basis that the "real" Signi was the sister and bedmate of Sigismund, and our unnamed wife of Onela is also accused of incest. The problem is that, if we wish to preserve the alliteration, this forces further emendations to the line, changing (On)ela to "Saevil" or some such.

Still others propose to leave the line as it is and emend in a half line below this. (Though it appears that no such emendation really works). A fifth proposal is to emend the line to omit any name of the woman and just read "a prince," or some equivalent non-name, for Onela.

I happen to have eight complete editions of Beowulf (mostly in translation, but some in Old English), plus an essay by Norman E. Eliason on this very subject (Norman E. Eliason, "Healfdene's Daughter," pp. 3–13 in Lewis E. Nicholson and Dolores Warwick Frese, editors, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation.* The various solutions they adopt are as follows (first the name of the girl, then the name of the man who married her):

no name/Ela (and mark an error in the next line): Thorpe

Yrse/Onela: Crossley-Holland, Chickering

Signi/Onela: R. K. Gordon

no name/Onela: Bradley, Hieatt, Wright

Emend to read "Onela" but do not conjecture a name for the woman: Donaldson

no name/no name: (Eliason/secondary choice)

No Emendation: Eliason

So here is the situation: We have an obvious error, and an obvious emendation, and *no one* accepts the obvious emendation, and we see two different alternate conjectures, two other conjectures for the form of the line, two different primitive errors marked, and one editor who refuses to admit that nonsense is nonsense. It's not the most impressive performance.

For these reasons, with all due respect to Zuntz et al, who correctly point out that conjectural emendation may be needed to restore the original text, we must always be cautious of going too far. As Duplacy remarks (quoted in Vaganay & Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism,* English translation, p. 84), "The supreme victory of internal criticism is.... conjectural emendation, especially when it is the original text itself which is emended." Unless we are certain we are not making that mistake, conjectural emendation should be avoided.

To give a concrete New Testament example, consider the third part of Matthew's genealogy, Matt. 1:12–16 (the portion of the genealogy *after* the exile, where we have no other sources to compare against). Matthew 1:17 implies that there should be fourteen names here, but there are only thirteen. It may be that Matthew goofed (in fact, it's quite clear that this genealogy cannot be complete — thirteen names spread across 570+ years is 45+ years per generation, which is simply not possible). But it is also reasonable to assume that one name was lost from the genealogy at a very early date — in other words, there is a primitive error here. But can we correct it? The answer is simply *no*. We may think a name is missing, but we have no grounds whatsoever for determining what it might be or where it is lacking. Although we see the need for emendation, we have no tools for correctly performing it.

Copy Texts

It has been said that F. J. A. Hort, in constructing the text of the Westcott & Hort edition, simply looked for the readings of B and followed those.

This is just about precisely backward. Hort did not start from some anonymous text and then start looking for ways to correct it toward B. Rather, he started from B and then looked for places where it should be rejected. In other words, he used B as a "copy text."

It is curious to note that the copy text (also known as a proof text), one of the fundamental devices of most classical textual criticism, doesn't even seem to be *mentioned* in most manuals of NT criticism. Simply put, the copy text is the starting point for an edition. An editor, after examining the various witnesses, picks a particular manuscript as the best source and then, in effect, collates against it looking for places where a better text presents itself. As G. Blakemore Evans puts it in the textual introduction to the *Riverside Shakespeare*, "an editor today, having chosen for what he considers sound reasons a particular copy-text, will adhere to that copy-text unless he sees substantial grounds for departing from it" (p. 37).

This, we should note, does not mean slavishly following the copy text. Hort didn't follow B closely; a good editor will be open to good readings from any source. But the copy text is the starting point. It is followed unless there is a clear reason to do otherwise. So, for example, one would tend to follow the copy text spelling of various proper names, or on points of Attic versus non-Attic usage, or on inflected versus non-inflected Semitic names. And, of course, in the case of readings where the canons of criticism offer no clear point of decision, you follow the copy text. It gives you a fallback if you have no other grounds for decision.

Note that this is in strong contrast to most methods of Eclecticism. Eclectics generally don't start anywhere; they have to decide *everything* — even such trivialities as spelling variations — from the manuscripts or from some external reference. It's a lot of work for slight reward — and it arguably produces a rather inconsistent text.

Now we should note that the Copy Text notion arose in situations with very few witnesses — e.g Shakespeare, where there are never more than three independent witnesses, usually not more than two, and occasionally only one. However, the idea has been successful enough that it is now applied to texts with far larger numbers of witnesses — e.g. Chaucer, where some passages have as many as 75 witnesses. There is no inherent reason why the method could not be applied to the NT as well.

Of course, if one is to choose a copy text, there is the question of *which* copy text. This is rendered much more complicated by the nature of New Testament witnesses: Most of the important ones, the papyri and uncials, lack accents, breathings, punctuation, and spaces between words. Should one adopt a copy text which includes these features (in which case it will be much more recent than what are usually considered the best witnesses), or choose a text with the best text apart from readers' aides? Or even choose one text for the text and another for the aids?

If you prefer the Byzantine text, it probably isn't an issue. Others will face a harder choice. Personally, I would incline to take the best text, while allowing for the possibility of a text with more reader aids.

On that basis, I would suggest the following:

Gospels: B. Or P^{75} where it exists, but consistency argues for using B throughout. There are no other real candidates. א is mixed and rather badly copied, and every other copy except D has Byzantine mixture. (Of course, if you prefer the Byzantine text, you can have a copy manuscript — probably E or perhaps Ω.

Acts: Again, B. Although there are proportionally more good manuscripts, none can claim superiority over Vaticanus.

Paul: Now this one is complicated, as there are fully four reasonable candidates: $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, B, א, and (improbable as it sounds to list a minuscule) 1739. Nonetheless, I would argue that 1739 is the best of the choices. The best texts — at least in my opinion and that of Stephen C. Carlson; compare also Zuntz — are P^{46}, B, and 1739. But P^{46} is very incomplete, and also contains a much-too-high rate of scribal errors. B is better on this count, but it too is defective. Adopting 1739 gives us a very good text, complete, and supplied with accents and breathings. The other alternative, א, will appeal primarily to those, such as the UBS committee, who believe in Alexandrian Uber Alles without noting that the quality of the different types changes from corpus to corpus.

Catholics: Here again we have several options: B, P^{72}, א, A, C, and 1739 are all possibilities. P^{72} is probably eliminated by its incompleteness and its errors plus its wild text of Jude. A is the head of the main branch of the Alexandrian text, but while that is the largest group, it does not appear the best. C would have a strong case if it were complete — indeed, if it were complete, it would be my first choice — but it's too fragmentary. Textually, א stands almost alone; so does B, whereas 1739 heads a large group. Ultimately, I would say the choice comes down to B or 1739. I would incline very slightly toward B.

Apocalypse: Here again we have four choices: A, C, א, or P^{47}. The latter is eliminated by its fragmentary state. א isn't a particularly good text. C may well be the best text, but it once again has too many lacunae. We must choose A almost by default.

We should recall, however, that the copy text concept can be applied to more than just the text of the New Testament. An edition of one of the versions might well be founded on a particular copy text (and some have been — e.g. the Hopkins-James edition "The Celtic Gospels," an attempt to recreate the early Vulgate texts used in the British Isles, is based on Codex Lichfeldensis). So we should probably enumerate points to be considered in choosing a copy text.

Dialect. Many of the versions exist in multiple dialects (Slavonic is perhaps the most exteme example). It may well be that the text which most clearly preserves the *wording* of the original is not the one which most clearly preserves the *language* of the original (we could offer as a parallel a manuscript of the Greek Bible which is faithful in wording but which heavily Atticises the word forms). In such a case, one must decide whether it is easier to adopt the textually better manuscript, the linguistically better manuscript, or to in some way compromise.

Alphabet. Alphabets do evolve over time. In English, the token of this is the use of eth (ð), thorn (þ), and yogh (ȝ). Early (or archaizing) manuscripts of a particular work may use some or all of these letters; late ones may use th or z or gh, as appropriate. Again, the better text may use the later and less authentic letterforms.

Copyist Accuracy. The problem here is that a scribe may be very bad while copying from a good original. (An example of this is P^{66}.) This poses a difficult choice for one selecting a copy text: Should one adopt a badly copied text (which is likely as a result to contain many errors of spelling and the like), or should one try for an accurate manuscript with a poorer text? There is no simple answer here, but given that one of the purposes of the copy text is to set the orthography, the textually worse but scribally better manuscript may well be the better choice.

Correctors and Corrections

Introduction

Ancient scribes were at least as aware of scribal errors as moderns. Since all manuscripts were copied individually, each needed to be individually checked for errors. This process eventually came to be standardized.

We don't know how or whether early manuscripts were corrected. In a scriptorium, however, it was the practice that a manuscript be checked as soon as it was finished. This was the task of the διορθωτης, literally "one who straightens," which we might loosely render as "guy supposed to make this thing right." The *diorthotes* was often a scribe specially trained to find and rectify mistakes, though we often find a scribe acting as his own *diorthotes*.

The *diorthotes* was often the last scribe to work on a manuscript. (This is particularly true of Byzantine manuscripts.) But manuscripts represented a lot of expense and work; an owner might be reluctant to discard a manuscript simply because its text did not meet the tastes of the times. So we see many manuscripts, including Sinaiticus and Bezae, repeatedly corrected to bring them more in line with the Byzantine text.

Where a manuscript has been corrected, it is customary to refer to the original reading with an asterisk. Thus D* in a critical apparatus indicates that this reading is supported by the original hand of D.

Conventions for the correctors have varied. The simplest is to use additional asterisks to refer to the correctors. Thus, if D* refers to the original hand of D, D** refers to the first corrector, D*** to the second, etc.

The problems with this notation are obvious. If a manuscript has many correctors, simply reading the apparatus is a chore. (Quick! Which corrector is D*******?) In addition, there is an æsthetic difficulty — D**, despite the presence of two asterisks, refers to the *first* corrector.

The solution was to use superscripts. So, instead of D**, one would write D^{c}.

This is, of course, all very well where one corrector is involved. But suppose there are two or three, or even more (as sometimes happened)? In this case, the superscripts were retained, but different symbols used.

In the past, correctors were often referred to by a superscript letter. So א^{a} referred to a reading from the first corrector of Sinaiticus, while א^{b} would refer to the second. It is now more normal to refer to correctors by number, making א^{1} the first corrector, א^{2} the second, etc. If a manuscript had only a single corrector, of course, the simple ^{c} notation is retained.

A distinction is sometimes made between "amateur" and "professional" correctors. This is an unfortunate notation; in the period after the split of the Roman Empire, professional scribes were very nearly the only people who could read and write, and therefore *all* correctors were professional. If we change the designations to something like "systematic" and "casual," however, the distinction is accurate. A systematic corrector is one who goes over a section of text in detail, comparing it to some sort of exemplar. A casual corrector is one who notices a variant or two, probably in the course of reading, and makes some sort of correction. A casual corrector will make only a few corrections in a manuscript, and may not be dignified with a separate superscript number.

While we usually speak of correctors as working on the text of a manuscript, there are a few instances of correctors working on the artwork as well. An early Syriac bible known as the Rabbula Gospels, for instance, has had many of the paintings retouched, presumably to make them conform more nearly with the opinions and attitudes of the correctors.

Detecting Corrections

Detecting corrections can be easy: If a scribe makes a correction by putting dots over a reading, and writing the alternative in the margin, you can spot it instantly. And this is the way most correctors worked. Almost all corrections not made by the original scribe involved a system of marking as incorrect and writing the correction.

Not so with corrections made by the original scribe. If the scribe worked on papyrus or paper, he probably had to use the mark-out method — but if he worked on parchment, the relatively impervious surface meant that the ink would not soak in. So the scribe could erase the ink with sponge or knife or scraper. (This was much harder later on, because the sponge or even the knife might damage other lettering. It was an option of use primarily to the scribe.)

If the scribe used a sponge, that is the end of it. The ink was gone, and few if any traces would be left. But a knife or scraper might leave some ink — and even if it didn't, it would leave a rough spot. These spots can sometimes be seen — they have a tendency to collect dirt, e.g., and even if they don't, the rough surface will reflect light differently. So a scraped spot can be detected, and an alert student can perhaps determine what was erased. Of

course, many of those mistakes detected at the time will simply be casual errors with no genealogical significance. In general, it probably isn't worth studying manuscripts for scraped spots.

The list below describes some of the more noteworthy corrected manuscripts and the scribes who corrected them.

Noteworthy Corrected Manuscripts

The following list describes most of the manuscripts which have experienced noteworthy corrections.

P^{66}. P^{66} is, in terms of scribal accuracy, one of the most poorly-written manuscripts known to us. Although it contains only the gospel of John (and portions even of that have been lost), it contains roughly 450 corrections! As Colwell comments ["Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits," now published in E. C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament;* p. 121], "Wildness in copying is the outstanding characteristic of P^{66}." This means that many of the corrections in the manuscript were early alterations made to correct the scribe's own errors; Colwell [p. 118] reports "P^{66} seems to reflect a scribe working with the intention of making a good copy, falling into careless errors, particularly the dropping of a letter, a syllable, a word, or even a phrase where it is doubled, but also under the control of some other person, or second standard, so that the corrections which are made are usually corrections to a reading read by a number of other witnesses. Nine out of ten of the nonsense readings are corrected, and two out of three of all his singular readings." (It should be noted that Colwell, p. 109, finds no fewer than 482 singular readings in P^{66}; this would imply that two-thirds of the corrections in P^{66} correct singular readings — an astonishing proportion. Colwell also reports, p. 111, that "two out of five [of P66's singular readings] are nonsense readings," leaving 289 "Sensible Singular Readings.")
It does appear that P^{66} was eventually corrected from a different exemplar. The nature of this exemplar is difficult to determine due simply to the mass of nonsense and singular readings requiring correction. Nonetheless, the original text of P^{66} seems to have been Alexandrian, and the corrections do not seem to have changed this much. (Various scholars have mentioned what they regard as "Western" readings, but most are "Western" only in the false sense "Non-Alexandrian;" many of these readings appear to be simply scribal slips.)

א. Sinaiticus is one of the most-corrected of all Biblical manuscripts; Tischendorf lists nearly 15,000 alterations (some of them involving multiple changes in the same place), and this is based only on the London portion of the text. At this rate there would have been in excess of 25,000 corrections in the entire manuscript (Old and New Testaments). It is believed that nine correctors (perhaps more) have worked on the manuscript (though not all engaged in the New

Testament), dating from the time it was written to perhaps the twelfth century. For reasons of simplicity, however, a rather more limited set of sigla has been used for these correctors:

א^{a} is contemporary with the scribe, or nearly (i.e. fourth century). This corrector made a relatively slight number of changes, not all of them in the direction of the Byzantine text (e.g. this corrector apparently marked Luke 22:43–44 for deletion). Hort, e.g., thought the readings of this scribe to be of value nearly equal to the original readings of the text. Tischendorf believed this copyist was one of the original copyists of the manuscript, specifically, the scribe D who wrote a few random leaves of the New Testament (probably to correct pages he felt incurably flawed).

א^{b} dates probably from the fifth/sixth century. This corrector made many changes in the first few chapters of Matthew (generally bringing it closer to the Byzantine text), but did very little other work.

א^{c} actually refers to a large group of scribes (perhaps five) who worked in the seventh century and made the large majority of the corrections in the manuscript. Often they cannot be reliably distinguished. The most important (and probably the first) of these is known as א$^{c.a}$, who did a great deal to conform the manuscript to the Byzantine text (and not infrequently undid the work of א^{a}). The next phase of corrections, labelled א$^{c.b}$, may perhaps have been the work of three scribes, who added a few more Byzantine readings. In addition, the symbols א$^{c.Pamph}$ is sometimes used to refer to a scribe who worked primarily if not exclusively on the Old Testament (his corrections, in fact, seem to be confined to 1 Kingdoms-Esther), who recorded that he was working from a Pamphilian manuscript, while א$^{c.c}$ and א$^{c.c*}$ refer to two minor correctors from late in the seventh century; many of their changes are in the Apocalypse. We may ignore א^{d}; this symbol is not generally used.

א^{e} refers to the last known corrector, who made a few alterations (Tischendorf reportedly lists only three) in the twelfth century.
The current Nestle-Aland edition has simplified this notation; א^{a} and א^{b} are now subsumed under the symbol א^{1}; all the א^{c} correctors now appear in the guise of א^{2}; the handful of corrections of א^{e} are placed under the symbol א^{c}.

B. The corrections in B are, in a sense, far less significant than those in the preceding manuscripts. There are corrections, but they do not fundamentally change the manuscript's text-type. But in another sense, they affect the entire text of the manuscript.
Traditionally B has been regarded as having three correctors: B^{1}, contemporary with the original writing; B^{2}, of about the sixth century, and B^{3}, probably of the ninth or tenth century. (A few later corrections are also found.)
B^{3} is the most important of these correctors, as this scribe retraced the entire manuscript (except for a handful of words and phrases he regarded as spurious). This scribe added

accents, breathings, and punctuation at the same time. Presumably he made some reference to another manuscript during the process (since he did make some few textual changes), but the changes are slight. The primary effect of the retracing was to ruin the beauty of the ancient lettering.
In the Nestle-Aland text, the readings of the correctors B^1 are labelled B^1, while those of B^3 are labelled B^2.

C. Codex C is, of course, a Palimpsest, which makes it even harder than usual to assess its correctors. The fullest study of the correctors of C was made by Tischendorf, but naturally this was done before ultraviolet photography and other modern techniques were available. Robert W. Lyon offered corrections to Tischendorf, but even these are regarded as inadequate. Thus the only fully current information is that offered by the apparatus to the current Nestle-Aland edition — which is accurate but of course not complete. So all the information here must be considered tentative.
Traditionally, C is listed as having had three correctors: C^1 (C^a), C^2 (C^b), and C^3 (C^c). C^1 is the symbol used for the *diorthotes*. However, there are no readings which can be attributed with certainty to this corrector, and many scholars omit this hypothetical scribe from the list.
The existence of C^2 and C^3 can hardly be denied, however, as each made some hundreds of corrections to the text. (The Nestle-Aland text shows about 251 corrections by C^2 and about 272 by C^3). C^2 is believed to have worked in the sixth century, possibly in Palestine; C^3 worked in the ninth century, perhaps at Constantinople.
Neither corrector was really thorough. Both seem to have alternated between moderate attention and extreme inattention. This is particularly true of C^3, who all but ignored large fractions of the text. For example, C3 offered only three corrections in the Catholic Epistles and only 20 corrections in Mark. The table below summarizes the extent to which the two correctors worked on various parts of the New Testament (the Apocalypse is omitted because NA^{27} shows only 3 corrections of C in that entire book! All numbers are approximate).
Examination of the readings shows that the text of C^3 is almost purely Byzantine. That of C^2 is more complex. The Byzantine element is still dominant, but there are occasional readings which go against the Majority Text. Few of these agree with the earliest Alexandrian witnesses, but they are often shared with late Alexandrian manuscripts.

Book/ Section	Corrections in	
	C^2	C^2
Matthew	33	42
Mark	48	20
Luke	31	42
John	49	89
Acts	21	24
Catholics Epistles	26	3
Pauline Epistles	41	51

D^{ea}/05. Codex Bezae is unique. (Oh, you knew that?) No other manuscript departs so far from the New Testament norm. It is a testimony to the value of manuscripts, and the effort required to make them, that it was preserved and repeatedly corrected, rather than thrown away.
Scrivener counts a total of fifteen correctors who worked on the manuscript; nine worked on the Greek side (the others confined their attention to the Latin or the margins). The earliest of these is contemporary with the writing (the original scribe occasionally sponged and/or scraped away errors); the last dates from the eleventh or twelfth century. Gregory summarizes the earliest of these as follows: “The first one made about 181 changes in a careful beautiful hand in the sixth century. The second was probably of the seventh century, and made about 327 changes, besides adding some spiritus and accents and other signs. The third, it may be towards the end of the seventh century, made 130 changes, and the fourth, of the same age, 160 changes, mostly in Acts” (*The Canon and Text of the New Testament,* p. 352).
Scrivener, naturally enough, designated the various correctors by the letters A through M (the use of twelve letters — I/J are treated as one — is explained by the fact that correctors E and G worked only on the Latin side). In Tischendorf’s edition this was simplified; D^A becomes D^1, D^B and D^C retain their symbols; the rest are subsumed as D^2. In the Nestle text this is further simplified; the early correctors D^A, D^B, D^C, and D^D are summarized as D^1; the middle correctors (D^F, D^H, D^J, D^K, and D^L, all of around the ninth century) are given the symbol D^2, and the eleventh/twelfth century corrector D^M becomes D^c.

D^p/06. Codex Claromontanus resembles Codex Bezae in many ways. It is a diglot, it dates from about the sixth century — and it has been heavily corrected. Tischendorf distinguished nine correctors, though only four were really significant. These four he assigned the symbols D^b (D**, seventh century?), D^c (D***, ninth century; whom Tischendorf regards as actually the fourth corrector. It should be noted that Tischendorf often marked corrections $D^{b\ et\ c}$, indicating that this corrector agreed with D^b), plus the nearly-contemporary correctors D^d (D****) and D^{nov}, which must be after the ninth century. (In the Nestle-Aland text, D^b becomes $D^{1}1$, D^c becomes D^2, and D^d and D^{nov} together constitute D^c.)

Of these, the most significant was the ninth century corrector (Nestle-Aland's D^2), who, according to Scrivener, made "more than two thousand critical changes in the text, and added stops and all the breathings and accents." The text used by this corrector, as might be expected, was almost entirely Byzantine.

H^p (015). H is not as noteworthy for its corrections as for their claimed source. Originally written in the sixth century, some centuries later a second hand went over the manuscript adding accents and breathings as well as badly retracing letters. Of greater interest is a note affixed to the end of Titus. This claims that the manuscript was corrected from a manuscript written by Pamphilius and kept at Cæsarea. (The wording of the note is εγραψα και εξεθεμην κατα δυναμιν στειχηρον. τοδε το τευχος παυλου του αποστολου προς εγγραμμον και ευκαταλημπτον αναγνωσιν. των καθ ημας αδελφων. παρων απαντων τολμης συγγνωμην αιτω. ευχη τη υπερ εμων. την συνπεριφοραν κομιζομενος. αναβληθη δε η βιβλος. προς το εν καισαρια αντιγραφον της βιβλιοθηκης του αγιου παμφιλου χειρι γεγραμμενον αυτου). This note is dated by Tischendorf to the seventh century — i.e. to a date after the manuscript was written. However, it seems almost certain that the note is either wrong or misunderstood. It is highly unlikely that a Pamphilian manuscript would have a purely Byzantine text — but the handful of surviving corrections in H that involve a change of text (as opposed to spelling, accents, etc.) — will be seen to be almost invariably Byzantine, with the others being perhaps from the Lectionary. Readings marked * are not in the Nestle apparatus, and so have been given in full; for the other variants listed here, the reader is referred to NA^{27}:

1 Cor. 10:28 — H* with א A B C* D F G P 33 81 365 630 1175 1739 1881; H^c with K L *Byz*

2 Cor. 11:28 — H* with P^{46} א B D F G 0243 33 81 1175 1739 1881; H^c with I^{vid} K L 0121 *Byz*

Col. 1:29 — H δυναμει with P^{46} א A B C D F G K L P 330 436 1739 *Byz* vg; H^c adds θεου (I know of no other support for this reading)

Col. 2:7 — H* with א* 33 81 1175 1739 1881; H^c with B D^2 K L *Byz*

Col. 3:4 — H οταν with P^{46} א A B C D F G K L P (330 οταν ουν) 436 *Byz* vg; H^c 1799 αδελφοι οταν read (from the lectionary?)

1 Tim. 1:13 — H* with א A D^* F G I P 6 33 81 365 1175 1739 1881; H^c with D^2 K L *Byz*

1 Tim. 1:17 — H* with א* A D^* F G 33 1739; H^c with $א^2$ D^1 K L 1881 *Byz*

2 Tim. 2:3 — H* with א A C^* D^* F G I P 33 81 365 1739 1881*vid; H^c with C^3 D^1 K L *Byz*

Heb. 1:3 — H* with א A B D1 P 33 81 1175; H^c with (P^{46}) $D(*)^2$ K L 0243 1739 1881 *Byz*

Heb. 10:34 — H* with P^{13} P^{46} א* A D H* 33 1739^c?; H^c with $א^c$ D^2 K L 1739* 1881 *Byz*

Heb. 10:38 — H* with P^{46} א A 33 1739; H^{c} with P^{13} D^{2} I K L 1881 *Byz*

424. 424 is the only minuscule known to have been heavily corrected. There were actually three stages of correction (denoted simply 67** in Tischendorf, and 424** by Souter, etc., but in K. Aland et al, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments,* the hands are distinguished as 424^{1}, 424^{2}, and 424^{3}). Of these, the second set of correctors are by far the most important, introducing thousands of changes (especially in Paul, but also in the Catholics; the Acts are relatively unaffected).
Even more interesting than the fact of these extensive corrections is their nature: instead of its corrections moving the manuscript *toward* the Byzantine text (as has taken place in every other heavily corrected manuscript), the changes in 424 move it away from the Byzantine text and toward the text of Family 1739 (especially toward 6).

Almost all other manuscripts contain corrections, of course. But few if any contain corrections such as those found in the manuscripts listed above, which actually change the nature of the manuscript. Descriptions of these manuscripts are therefore omitted.

The Significance of Corrections

Most corrections in most manuscripts merely correct slips of the pen. These are usually obvious, and have no textual significance. But the manuscripts listed above are another matter. א, D, and 424 in particular were clearly corrected against manuscripts of completely different types.

This forces us to look at exactly what we know about those other manuscripts used as a source of corrections. Can we exactly reconstruct their texts? The answer is *no*. If the corrector leaves a reading alone, we cannot be certain that the manuscript he worked from actually agreed with the manuscript in our hands. The corrector may simply have ignored the alternate reading, either accidentally or on purpose. The useful readings are the corrections, not the uncorrected portions. (There is an analogy to this in Shakespeare criticism, in the many cases where the handful of witnesses are partially but not fully independent. Where the semi-independent witnesses agree, the reading is actually *less* weighty than where the disagree, because the agreement may be coincidence in error, but where they disagree, it is nearly sure that at least one witness is correct.)

So, in assessing a corrected text, we should examine first the corrections in isolation and only then the text as corrected. 424 proves this point well: Examining the corrections shows us that the direction of the corrections was toward the 1739 type of text; looking at 424–as-corrected shows a clear kinship to 6. This is obvious when examining both; it is less clear when examining either in isolation.

Critical Editions of the New Testament

Introduction

Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) broke with the *Textus Receptus* in 1831. This, then, was the first "critical edition" of the New Testament — an edition compiled using specific rules based on the readings of a significant selection of important manuscripts. Since then, many others have appeared. Some of these (Lachmann's own, and that of his younger contemporary Tregelles) are now almost completely obscure. Others — notably those of Westcott and Hort and the United Bible Societies — have exercised great influence.

Ideally, a critical edition will include an apparatus supplying information about how the readings were decided upon. There are, however, critical editions (e.g. that of Westcott & Hort) which do not include such information. The list below describes most of the major editions since Tischendorf's vital eighth edition.

Aland: *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*

Editor. Text and apparatus edited by Kurt Aland.

Date of Publication. The first edition appeared in 1963. A revised edition, listed as the fourth, appeared in 1967; another revised edition, the ninth, came out in 1976. The final major revision, the thirteenth, was published in 1985. The first three major editions (officially listed as the first through twelfth) use the same basic arrangement of the text; the revisions took place primarily in the apparatus. The thirteenth edition entirely recast the work; a new text was adopted and a new apparatus created. The structure of the synopsis was unchanged, but otherwise it was an entirely new publication.

The Text. The text of the first twelve editions is essentially that of the early Nestle-Aland editions. With the thirteenth edition, the text was adjusted to match that of the Nestle-Aland 26th edition.

The Aland *Synopsis* is one of the more substantial now available. All four gospels are presented in full, and there is a complete text of the Gospel of Thomas (in Latin, English, and German; neither Coptic nor Greek texts are offered!). The critical apparatus is also more than usually complete; an apparatus is usually supplied wherever a passage is cited, not just at its "main" appearance. In addition, the apparatus gives a fairly full list of variants — many more than are found in the equivalent editions of the Nestle-Aland text, and not limited simply to harmonization variants. While *SQE* will not allow the student to completely reconstruct the cited manuscripts (especially the minuscules), it includes enough data to allow a valid comparison of the various text-types. (This cannot be said of NA^{27}!)

For compactness, SQE uses the same set of critical symbols as the Nestle text (for details, see the picture in that article).

Unfortunately, the apparatus does have its drawbacks. (We are now referring specifically to the recent editions, from the thirteenth on.) For one thing, it has a high number of errors (most of them seemingly errors of the press; these are slowly being corrected). The selection of witnesses is also questionable. The Byzantine text of the uncial era, for instance, is represented by four manuscripts, E F G H. All of these, it should be noted, belong to the K^x recension. Thus, although there are *more* Byzantine witnesses than in the Nestle-Aland edition (which offers only K and Γ), they offer less diversity (of the witnesses in Nestle-Aland, K is a member of Family Π, while Γ is K^x). The new minuscules are also an odd lot. Why would anyone make 1006 (purely Byzantine) an explicitly cited witness, while omitting 1241 (arguably the most Alexandrian minuscule of Luke)? As a final note, we should observe that while *SQE* cites many member of Family 1 (1 and 209, as well as 205, 1582, 2542 not cited explicitly as members of the family) and Family 13 (13, 69, 346, 543, 788, 983; note that the best family witness, 826, is omitted), it cites them in such a way that the readings of the individual manuscripts can only be determined when the manuscript is cited explicitly (that is, if — say — 346 is not cited explicitly on either side of a reading, it may agree either with f^{13} or 𝔪.

To sum up, *SQE* is a good synopsis with a useful critical apparatus, but one should take care not to rely upon it too heavily (due both to its inaccuracies and its slightly biased presentation of the evidence).

Bover

Editor. Text and apparatus edited by José Maria Bover, S.J.

Date of Publication. The first edition, *Novi Testamenti Biblia Graeca et Latina,* appeared in 1943. The first four editions (1943–1959) are essentially identical; the fifth edition of 1977 and following (revised by José O'Callaghan Martínez) is slightly different, but primarily in the area of the parallel texts.

The Text. The Latin text of Bover, until the fifth edition, is simply the Clementine Vulgate (in the fifth edition the Neo-Vulgate was substituted and a Spanish version added). Thus the Latin text has no critical value.

The Greek text is somewhat more reputable. It is a fairly typical Twentieth Century product, compiled eclectically but with a clear preference for Alexandrian readings (though not as strong a preference as is found in the Westcott & Hort and United Bible Societies editions). It has been esteemed by some for its balanced critical attitudes; others might view it as having no clear guiding principle.

The Apparatus. Bover's Latin text has no apparatus at all (from the critic's standpoint, there is really no reason for it to be there), and the Greek apparatus is limited. Bover's manuscript data, like that of Merk, comes almost entirely from von Soden. Like Merk, Bover cites a few manuscripts discovered since von Soden's time (papyri up to P^{52}, including the Beatty papyri; uncials up to 0207; a few of the minuscules up to 2430, plus a modest handful of lectionaries).

In construction Bover's apparatus strongly resembles Merk's, using essentially the same manuscript groupings and much the same set of symbols. (For an example, see the entry on Merk). The most significant difference between the two in their presentation of the data is that Bover also lists the readings of the various editions — T=Tischendorf, S=von Soden, V=Vogels, L=Lagrange (Gospels, Romans, Galatians only), M=Merk, H=Westcott & Hort (h=Hort's margin; (H)=Hort's text against the margin); W=Weiss; J=Jacquier (Acts only), C=Clark (Acts only), A=Allo (1 Cor., Rev. only).

These critical editions also define the apparatus; Bover only offers manuscript information at points where the critical editions disagree. His apparatus is thus much more limited than that of Merk or even Nestle Editions 1–25. It also shares the defects one would expect from a work based on von Soden: Many of the collations are inaccurate or imperfectly reported (for details, see the entry on Merk). Bover's transcription of von Soden's symbols is somewhat more careful (and often more explicit) than Merk's, and is therefore perhaps slightly more reliable. It is, however, less full even for the readings it contains — citing, e.g., fewer fathers (the introduction does not even list the fathers cited!) and fewer versions. And Bover has recast Von Soden's groupings a bit — instead of having five sets of witnesses (for Gospels, Acts, Paul, Catholics, Apocalypse), he uses the same groupings for Acts, Paul, and Catholics. This is reasonable in one sense — the groupings for the three are fairly similar — but it makes it harder to use the apparatus, as one is always having to look up exceptions (e.g. 1739 files with H in Paul, but I in the other two). Also, a warning for those with older eyes: The typeface (at least in some editions) is rather unsuitable for the purpose; the symbols l and] — keys to understanding the apparatus — are almost indistinguishable.

Hodges & Farstad

Editors. Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad

Date of Publication. The first edition, *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text,* appeared in 1982. A slightly revised second edition appeared in 1985.

The Text. Unlike most critical editions, that of Hodges and Farstad does not attempt to reconstruct the original text on the basis primarily of the earliest manuscripts. Rather, it assumes that the Byzantine Majority text is the original text, and reconstructs this text. For the most part, this is done by "counting noses" — looking for the reading which has the highest number of supporters (which in the gospels often becomes a matter of printing the reading of

K^x). In the Apocalypse and the story of the Adulteress, however, H & F resort in a limited way to stemmatics, meaning that they print a few readings which, although well-supported, are not *the* majority reading.

It should be noted that Hodges and Farstad did not assemble their text based on manuscript collations; rather, for the most part they simply followed Von Soden's **K** text and its subgroups (which, in their edition, is denoted ♏ when entirely unified and **M** when a portion of the type defects). Thus the edition may not always represent the actual majority text. Even so, H & F is the only edition of the Byzantine text-form to have an apparatus of any sort. This makes it useful to anyone who wishes to examine the strength and depth of the Byzantine tradition. (The critic does not have to subscribe to the editors' theories to find the edition useful.) The edition also serves as a useful demonstration that the Byzantine text-type, although more united than any other known type, is not the monolithic entity its opponents sometimes make it out to be.

The Apparatus. The H & F text has two apparatus. The first, and more important for the editors' purposes, is the apparatus of variants within the Byzantine tradition. Here the editors list places where the Byzantine tradition divides, even noting some of the strands identified by Von Soden (e.g. H & F's M^r is von Soden's K^r; their M^c is von Soden's K^c, etc.) They also note the variant readings of the *Textus Receptus* (demonstrating, incidentally, that the TR is a poor representative of the Byzantine type). This first apparatus, which contains relatively few readings, has its variants marked in the text with numbers and has lemmata in the margin.

The second apparatus lists variants between the H & F text and the United Bible Societies edition. A quick sample indicates that these are roughly three times as common as variations within the Byzantine tradition. For these variants the editors use the same symbols as the recent editions of the Nestle-Aland text.

A handful of witnesses — Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Ephraemi Rescriptus, and certain papyri — are noted in both apparatus, but their readings are noted only for variants included for other reasons. The H & F apparatus gives far less information about these manuscripts than even the Nestle apparatus, and cannot be used for textual classification of any specific witness.

Although the apparatus of H & F is very limited, it serves a useful purpose even to those who do not believe in Byzantine priority. It is the only available tool (other than von Soden's cryptic edition) for determining if a reading is *the* Byzantine reading, *a* Byzantine reading in cases where that text divides, or entirely non-Byzantine. This can be important when dealing with mixed manuscripts. Also, H & F includes some variants *not* covered in NA^{27}.

Huck (Leitzmann, Opitz, Greeven)

The name “Huck,” like the name Nestle, is actually a term for a constellation of editions (in this case, of a gospel synopsis rather than a critical edition), with various editors over the years. The two, in fact, are almost of an age. Albert Huck published his first synopsis in 1892, but this was designed for a particular class and synoptic theory; the third edition of 1906 was the first for general use. With the ninth edition of 1936, the book passed from the hands of Albert Huck to H. Lietzmann and H. G. Opitz. At this time the text was revised (Huck’s own editions were based on Tischendorf’s text; Lietzmann used a text approximating that of Nestle). The 1981 edition was taken over by H. Greeven, and the arrangement of pericopes significantly altered. Greeven also altered the text, using his own reconstruction rathr than any previous edition.

Editors. Albert Huck; later taken over by H. Lietzmann, H. G. Opitz, H. Greeven

Date of Publication. The first edition was published in 1892; a revised third edition came out in 1906, another revision constituted the fourth edition of 1910. The revised ninth edition of Lietzmann-Opitz was published in 1936. Greeven’s thirteenth edition appeared in 1981.

The Text. Prior to the appearance of Greeven’s edition, Huck could not really be considered in any way a critical edition. Huck used Tischendorf’s text, Lietzmann a modification of Nestle’s. Neither editor provided a full-fledged critical apparatus. (Lietzmann admitted to having a “limited” apparatus. Not only was the number of variants limited, but fewer than a dozen Greek witnesses were cited, and the data on the versions was much simplified.) The value of Huck, at that time, lay in the arrangement of the parallel gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke; John was not included). This, obviously, was sufficient to keep the book in print for nearly a century, but the editions have little value to the textual critic. For this reason, the remainder of this discussion will be devoted to Huck-Greeven, which simultaneously provided a new text (edited by Greeven), a much fuller apparatus (also by Greeven), and a modification of the synopsis itself, including more parallels as well as some portions of the gospel of John.

The text of the Greeven revision is somewhat problematic. Greeven claims that it averages about nine variations per chapter from the UBS/Nestle text. This would be about typical for a modern edition — if anything, it’s at the low end of the scale. The problem is, Greeven gives not a hint of his critical principles. Nor does Greeven give us a list of differences from UBS. Thus it is almost impossible to reconstruct his method. This makes it difficult to know how far to rely upon his text. My impression, in compiling its readings for the list of Highly Uncertain Readings, is that, in those readings at least, it inclines very strongly toward the Byzantine text; the result is probably about like von Soden in its “feel,” though the rate of actual agreements may not be excessively high.

The apparatus is as peculiar as the text. In no sense is it complete; the focus in upon parallels, almost to the exclusion of other variants. It is at first glance an easy apparatus to read; each reading begins with the lemma, followed by its supporters if they are relatively few, then a square bracket] followed by the alternate readings and their support; different variation units are separated by large spaces and bold vertical lines. Deciphering the list of witnesses is a much different matter. Witnesses are grouped by type (though Greeven denies that his groups have any actual meaning), and cited by group symbols (e.g. λ φ are the Lake and Ferrar groups), and are cited in group order. However, Greeven does not list the order of the witnesses outside the four groups (Alexandrian, Lake, Ferrar, Soden). Nor are the contents of the various fragments listed explicitly. Thus it is almost impossible to be certain which manuscripts are actually cited within the notation *Rpl* (referring to all uncials not explicitly cited and the large majority of minuscules). It is best to trust the apparatus only where it cites a witness explicitly. And even there, it appears that many of the citations are from von Soden.

The citation of the versions, as opposed to the citing of the Greek witnesses, is excellent. All Old Latin witnesses are cited by name, with lacunae indicated. Where the Harklean Syriac attests to multiple readings, Greeven shows the nature of each variant. Where the manuscripts of the various Coptic versions do not show a consensus, Greeven indicates the number on each side of the reading. Unfortunately, the Armenian and Georgian versions are not handled with anything like the same precision, but this is no reason to condemn the edition; most others treat these versions with equal disdain.

The list of Fathers cited is quite full and unusually detailed, listing both the language and the date of the author, and including at least a handful of Syriac, Coptic, and even Arabic sources as well as the Greek and Latin Fathers. A wide variety of Harmonies are also cited (under a symbol which implies they are versions of the Diatessaron, though this is not stated). The introduction gives a good concise description of these harmonies.

Great care must be taken to understand Greeven's apparatus, which is strongly dependent not only on the order of the witnesses, but on the typographic form in which they are presented (e.g. **Or** in bold type does not mean the same thing as Or in plain text, even though both refer to Origen).

To sum up, the apparatus of Greeven is very difficult, though it offers a wide variety of useful information, and does not list all the variants one would "expect" to find. Students are therefore advised not to rely solely upon it, but to use at least one other source — both to get a full list of variants in a particular gospel and to check one's interpretation of the apparatus for the variants it does contain. Greeven can give a sense of the support for a reading. It cannot and does not give specifics capable of being transferred to another apparatus.

Merk

Editor. Text and apparatus edited by Augustinus Merk, S.J.

Date of Publication. The first edition, *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine,* appeared in 1933. The tenth edition, issued nearly four decades after the editor's death, was published in 1984. Overall, however, the changes in the edition, in both text and apparatus, have been minimal.

The Text. Merk's Greek text is a fairly typical mid-Twentieth-Century production, an eclectic edition which however leans strongly toward the Alexandrian text. The Latin text, as one would expect of a Jesuit, is the Clementine Vulgate.

The Apparatus. The significance of Merk lies not in its text but in its apparatus — by far the fullest of the hand editions, and accompanied by a serviceable critical apparatus of the Vulgate (a noteworthy improvement, in this regard, over the otherwise fairly similar edition of Bover).

Merk's apparatus is largely that of von Soden, translated into Gregory numbers and slightly updated. Merk includes almost all the variants in von Soden's first two apparatus, and a significant number of those in the third. In addition to the manuscripts cited by von Soden, Merk cites several manuscripts discovered since von Soden's time (papyri up to $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$, including the Beatty papyri; uncials up to 0207; minuscules up to 2430, although all but four minuscules and three lectionaries are taken from von Soden). Merk also cites certain versions and fathers, particularly from the east, not cited in von Soden.

But this strength is also a weakness. Merk's apparatus incorporates all the errors of von Soden (inaccurate collations and unclear citations), and adds errors of its own: his translation of von Soden's apparatus is occasionally inaccurate, plus the edition suffers from a very high number of errors of the press and the like. Merk does not even provide an accurate list of fathers cited in the edition — e.g. the Beatus of Liébana is cited under the symbol "Be," but the list of Fathers implies that he would be cited as "Beatus." The Venerable Bede, although cited relatively often (as Beda), is not even included in the list of Fathers! The list of such errors could easily be extended (a somewhat more accurate list of fathers cited in Merk is found in the article on the Fathers).

Thus the student is advised to take great care with the Merk. As a list of variants, no portable edition even comes close. Every student should have it. But knowing how far to trust it is another question. The following table shows a test of the Merk apparatus, based on the readings found in the apparatus of UBS^4 in three books (Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians). The first column lists the manuscript, the second the number of readings

for which it can be cited, the third the number of places where Merk's apparatus disagrees with the UBS apparatus, and the fourth the percentage of readings where they disagree.

Manuscript	Readings	Disagreements	Percent Disagreement
P^{46}	45	1	2%
א	67	0	0%
A	63	0	0%
B	63	1	2%
C	34	1	3%
D	63	0	0%
Ψ	63	7	11%
6	63	5	8%
33	63	3	5%
81	63	1	2%
104	63	4	6%
256	59	5	8%
263	59	8	14%
330	59	9	15%
436	59	9	15%
462	58	5	9%
1175	51	4	8% (but see below)
1319	59	3	5%
1739	63	1	1%
1912	63	4	6%
2127	59	4	7%

(Note: Data for 330 and 462 taken from the collations by Davies.)

We should add one caveat, however: Merk does not list where manuscripts such as P^{46}, C, and 1175 have lacunae — in the case of 1175, he cites the manuscript explicitly for certain readings where it does not exist! In addition, it is often impossible to tell the readings of the manuscripts in the bottom parts of his apparatus, as they are cited as part of *al* or *rel pl*. Thus the table cites 256 for 59 readings instead of the 63 citations for the Old Uncials because there are four readings where it is simply impossible to know which reading Merk thinks 256 supports.

Still, we see that overall the Merk apparatus is almost absolutely accurate for the Old Uncials (though it sometimes fails to note the distinction between first and later hands). Minuscules vary in reliability, though there are only three — 263, 330, and 436 (all members of I^{a3}, which seems to have been a very problematic group) — where Merk's apparatus is so bad as to be

of no use at all. The conclusion is that students should test the apparatus for any given minuscule before trusting it.

The Merk apparatus, adapted as it is from Von Soden, takes getting used to. The apparatus always cites the reading of the text as a lemma, then cites variant(s) from it. Normally witnesses will be cited for only one of the two readings; all uncited witnesses are assumed to support the other reading. To know which witnesses are cited for a particular reading, however, requires constant reference to Merk's list of groups (given in the introduction), as witnesses are cited by position within the groups, and often in a shorthand notation — e.g. 1s means "1 and the witness immediately following" — which in the Gospels is 1582; 1ss would mean "1 and the two witnesses immediately following" (1582 and 2193).

Note that "1s" *is not the same as* "1^{s}." 1^{s} means "1 and all manuscripts which follow to the end of the group." So where 1s means 1 1582, 1^{s} means 1 1582 2193 (keep in mind, however, that if the subgroup is large, not all manuscripts of the group may be intended). 1^{r} has yet another meaning: from 1 to the end of the major group — in this case, from 1 to 131.

All this is not as bad as it sounds, but the student is probably well-advised to practice it a few times!

Other symbols in Merk's apparatus include >, indicating an omission; ^{l}, indicating a part of a versional tradition (or the Greek side of a diglot where the Latin disagrees); "rel" for "all remaining witnesses," etc. Many of the remaining symbols are obvious (e.g. ~ for a change in word order), but the student should be sure to check Merk's introduction in detail, and never assume a symbol means what you think it means!

The example below may make things a little clearer. We begin with the table of witnesess — in this case for Paul.

Group Witnesses

H P^{46} BS(=ℵ)CA 1739 424^{c} 1908 33 PΨ 104 326 1175 81 1852(R) HIM(1 2CHb) 048 062(G) 081(2 C) 082(E) 088(1C) 0142 $P^{10\cdot13\cdot15\cdot16\cdot40}$ l

Ca^{1} D(E)G(F) 917 1836 1898 181 88 915 1912 l

Ca^{2} 623 5 1827 1838 467 1873 927 489 2143 l

Ca^{3} 920 1835 1845 919 226 547 241 1 460 337 177 1738 321 319 69 462 794 330 999 1319 2127 256 263 38 1311 436 1837 255 642 218 l

Cb^{1} 206 429 1831 1758 242 1891 522 2 635 941 1099 l

Cb^{2} 440 216 323 2298 1872 1149 491 823 35 336 43 l

Cc¹ 1518 1611 1108 2138 1245 2005 l

Cc² 257 383 913 378 1610 506 203 221 639 1867 876 385 2147 l

K KL l

Let us take Romans 2:14 as our example verse. Merk's text of the verse (without accents) reads:
(14)οταν γαρ εθνη τα μη νομον εχοντα φυσει τα του νομου ποιωσιν, ουτοι νομον μη εχοντες εαυτοις εισιν νομος
In the apparatus we have
14 γαρ] δε G^{l} ar Ωρ^{l} — i.e. for γαρ, the reading of Merk's text, the Greek side of G (but not the Latin), the Armenian, and part of Origen read δε. All other witnesses support Merk's text.
ποιωσιν B SA-1908 104-1852 Ds 467 1319-38 436 43 Cl Ωρ] ποιη rel — i.e. ποιωσιν is supported by B, S (=א), the witnesses from A to 1908 (=A, 1739, 6, possibly 424**, and 1908), the witnesses from 104 to 1852 (=104, 326, 1175, 81, 1852), by D and all other witnesses to the end of its group (=D G 917 1836 1898 181 88 915 1912, with perhaps one or two omitted), by 467, by the witnesses from 1319 to 38 (=1319 2127 256 263 38), by 436, by 43, by Clement, and by Origen. The alternative reading ποιη is supported by all other witnesses — i.e. by the uncited witnesses in the H group (in this case, P Ψ), by the entire **Ca²** group except 467, by the uncited witnesses of **Ca³** (=920, 1835, etc.), by all witnesses of the **Cb** groups except 43, and by all remaining witnesses from 1518 on down to L at the end.
ουτοι] οι τοιουτοι G d t vg Ωρ^{l} — i.e. for ουτοι G (and its Latin side g), the old latins d t, the vulgate, and part of Origen read οι τοιουτοι. Again, all other witnesses support Merk's text.

The Nestle Text

The history of the "Nestle" text is complex; the text has undergone one major and assorted minor revisions, while the apparatus has been upgraded repeatedly. The sections below outline the history of the early versions of the edition, then proceeds to describe the modern form (Nestle-Aland 27 and its predecessor Nestle-Aland 26).

Nestle Editions 1–25

The first edition of "Nestle" was prepared in 1898 by Eberhard Nestle (1851–1913). It was not really a critical text; Nestle simply compared the current editions of Westcott & Hort, Tischendorf, and Weymouth. The reading found in the majority of these editions became the reading of the text (if the three disagreed, Nestle adopted the middle reading). The apparatus consisted variant readings from the three texts (plus a few variants from Codex Bezae).

The text was slightly revised with the third edition, when the text of Bernhard Weiss was substituted for that of Weymouth. With some further slight revisions, this remained the "Nestle" text through the twenty-fifth edition.

The nature of "Nestle" changed radically with the thirteenth edition of 1927. This edition, under the supervision of Eberhard Nestle's son Erwin Nestle (1883–1972), for the first time fully conformed the text to the majority reading of WH/Tischendorf/Weiss. It also added in the margin the readings of von Soden's text. But most importantly, it included for the first time a true critical apparatus.

Over the following decades the critical apparatus was gradually increased, and was checked against actual manuscripts to a greater extent (much of this was the work of Kurt Aland, whose contributions first began to appear in the twenty-first edition of 1952). More manuscripts were gradually added, and more variants noted. It should be kept in mind, however, that the "Nestle" apparatus remained limited; often no more than five or six manuscripts were noted for each variant (it was exceedingly rare to find more than twelve, and those usually comprehended under a group symbol); most manuscripts were cited only sporadically; the Byzantine text was represented by the *Textus Receptus* (𝔯) the Egyptian text (𝔢) was cited under an inadequate group symbol. Also, the apparatus included fewer variants than might be hoped — not only fewer variants than von Soden and Tischendorf (which was to be expected), but also fewer variants than Merk. Even the readings of Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, the papyri, and the *Textus Receptus* were inadequately noted.

In addition, some regard the form of the apparatus as a difficulty. Instead of noting the text of variants in the margin, a series of symbols are inserted in the text. The advantages of this system are brevity (the apparatus is smaller) and also, to an extent, clarity; the scope of variants can be seen in the text. (Though the reason appears to have been rather different: the Nestle apparatus was as it was because the editors continued to use the original plates of the text, meaning that any apparatus had to fit in a fairly small space.)

The illustration below illustrates several of the major features of the Nestle apparatus, along with some explanations. The form of the apparatus resembles that of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh editions, but the same symbols are used in all editions. (Note: If you cannot read the symbols clearly, try changing to a font with full unicode support).

° means that the following word is to be omitted.
▫… ` means that the words between ▫ and ` are to be omitted
⊤ means that the word(s) in the margin are to be added
⌜ means that the word(s) in the margin are to be substituted for the word in the text.
⌜… ` means that the word(s) in the margin are to be substituted for the words in the text

˹… ˺ means that the order of the words in the text are to be rearranged as described in the margin.

Where a symbol is followed by a dot or a superscript number, it means that there are multiple instance of that sort of variation in the verse, and one is again referred to the appropriate point in the margin. So, for instance, if there are multiple omissions of single words in a verse, the symbols will be °,°¹, °², etc. If there are multiple insertions in the text, the notation will be ᵀ, ᵀ˙, ᵀ¹, ᵀ², and so forth. Multiple substitutions are marked ⌜, ⌜˙, ⌜¹, etc.

An artificially constructed sample of how the above might work is given below. The sample is of the beginning of Matthew 1, but the apparatus, with the exception of the variant in verse 3 which is found in the actual text, is entirely fake, being set up to show how the Nestle apparatus works. The Nestle symbols are shown in red; the uncertain text in blue.

1 Βίβλος γενέσεως ˹ʾΙησοῦ Χριστοῦ˺ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ ▫υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ˴,
2 Ἀβραάμ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαάκ, ˊἸσαάκ δὲ˴ ἐγέννησεν °τὸν Ἰακώβ, Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς °¹αὐτοῦ. **3** Ἰούδας δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Φάρες καὶ τόν ⌜Ζάρα

The apparatus would appear as follows (this lists witnesses more typical of the twenty-sixth edition than the earlier editions, but the general thrust is the same):

1 ˹ B l ▫ L *pc* • 2 ˊ και Ισαακ א l ° B D *al* l
°1 B L 892 sa *pc* ¦ P¹ א D W f¹ f¹³ 33 𝔐 latt sy •
3 ⌜ Ζαρε P¹ B mae

Here is how this is to be interpreted:

1 ˹ B indicates that B (only) rearranges the words in the order Χριστου Ιησου l ▫ L *pc* indicates that L and a few other, lesser witnesses omit the words υιου Αβρααμ •2 ˊ και Ισαακ א indicates that א (only) reads και Ισαακ for Ισαακ δε l ° B D *al* indicates that B, D, and a selection of other witnesses omit τον l °¹ B L 892 *sa* pc ¦ P¹ א D W f¹ f¹³ 33 𝔐 latt sy indicates that B, L, 892, the Sahidic Coptic, and a few lesser witnesses omit αυτου; the word is found in P¹, א, D, W, family 1 (f¹), family 13 (f¹³), the Majority Text (𝔐) and the witnesses included in it (e.g. K, Γ, Δ, Ψ, 28, 565, 579, 1010, 1424), the entire Latin tradition (latt), and the Syriac tradition (sy). 3 ⌜ Ζαρε P¹ B mae indicates that P¹, B, and the Middle Egyptian Coptic, and those three witnesses only, read Ζαρε for the Ζαρα of the text.

This notation has been preserved in all texts of Nestle, despite occasional complaints. Most of the other problems mentioned above were removed in the completely redone Twenty-sixth edition:

Nestle-Aland Editions 26–27

The twenty-sixth edition of Nestle-Aland, published in 1979, was the first to be produced entirely under the supervision of Kurt Aland. The result was very nearly a new book.

The Text. The text of NA[26] is, in all major respects, the same as that of the United Bible Societies edition, of which Aland was an editor. The only differences lie in matters not directly associated with textual criticism, such as accents, punctuation, and arrangement of paragraphs. The characteristics of the text are described under the section on the UBS edition.

The Apparatus. The apparatus of NA[26] is equally radically revised. Instead of the haphazard citation of witnesses found in the earlier editions, a select list of witnesses is cited for all readings. The witnesses cited include all papyri, all early uncials, and a selection of late uncials and minuscules — usually about twenty witnesses for each reading. The most important of these witnesses, the papyri and the early uncials, are cited explicitly. (In the twenty-seventh edition, certain important minuscules — 33, 1739, 1881, 2427 — are elevated to the ranks of the explicitly cited witnesses.) The remaining witnesses, mostly Byzantine or mixed, are cited explicitly only when they differ from the Byzantine text; otherwise they are contained within the Majority Text symbol ℳ (that is a Gothic M; your e-reader may or may not display it correctly). An example of the use of the Majority Text symbol is shown in the example above.

This apparatus offers distinct advantages. It cites many important manuscripts in a minimum of space, and is quite convenient to use once one becomes accustomed to it. In addition, the Nestle-Aland apparatus is probably the most accurate since Tischendorf. The several appendices offer additional useful information, e.g. about the differences between the major twentieth century editions. The margin has a much fuller set of cross-references than most comparable editions, and includes several ancient systems of enumeration.

There are still a few drawbacks. Some witnesses have lacunae which are not noted in the appendix. The reader may therefore assume, falsely, that a witness agrees with the majority text when in fact it is defective. (This was a particular problem in the twenty-sixth edition with 33, which is often illegible. This was solved in the twenty-seventh edition by citing 33 explicitly. However, the even more problematic 1506 is still not cited explicitly. In addition, the Nestle text does not list lacunae precisely; when it says, e.g., that 81 lacks Acts 4:8–7:17, 17:28–23:9, it means that it lacks those verses *in their entirety.* The verses on the edge of these lacunae — Acts 4:7, 7:18, 17:27, 23:10 — will almost certainly be fragmentary, so one cannot trust citations from silence in those verses.)

The set of variants in NA[26] is still relatively limited; with minor exceptions, only those variants found in NA[25] are cited in NA[26]. The thorough critic will therefore need to use a fuller edition — Tischendorf, Von Soden, or Merk — to examine the full extent of variation in the tradition.

Students are also advised to remember that Nestle-Aland cites only Greek and Latin fathers. The eastern tradition is entirely ignored. Those wishing to know the text of Ephraem, say, will have to turn to another source.

Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus

Editor. Volume 1 (Catholic Epistles) edited by K. Junack and W. Grunewald; **Volume 2** (Romans, Corinthians) edited by K. Junack, E. Güting, U. Nimtz, K. Witte; additional volumes forthcoming.

Date of Publication. Ongoing. First volume published 1986.

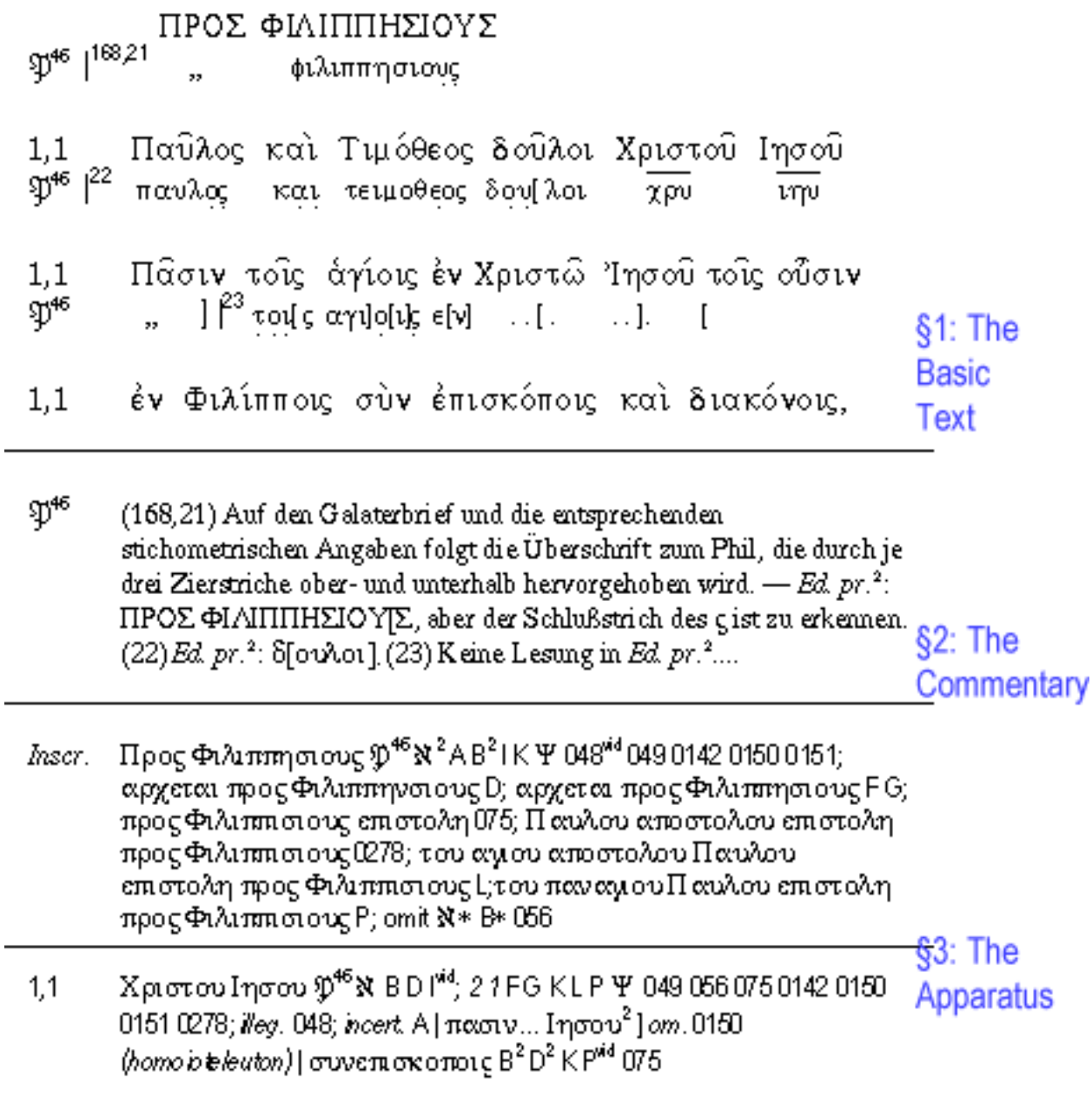
The Text. This is not truly a critical text; in one sense it is not a text at all. A continuous text (that of the United Bible Societies Edition) is printed, but this is followed by continuous texts of the various papyri extant for the particular passage.

The significance of this edition, therefore, is not for its text but for its apparatus, which is the fullest collection of the texts of the papyri and uncials now known. It is also esteemed as highly accurate.

The apparatus in general falls into three parts: The text (as found in UBS and any extant papyri), the commentary on the papyri (describing their readings as well as information on early editions), and the full apparatus, noting readings of all papyri and uncials extant for this passage.

It should be noted that the edition is not a true collation of the uncials, though it is a full transcription of the papyri. While every significant variant in the uncials is noted, spelling and orthographic variants are not noted, nor peculiar forms used in the manuscripts (e.g. the text does not note places where D/06 confuses the endings -θε and -θαι).

The apparatus of the Auf Papyrus edition is unusually simple and straightforward. The three basic sections of the apparatus are shown in the sample below (adapted, obviously, from the apparatus for Philippians 1:1. This is the actual apparatus, save that it has been reset for on-screen clarity and omits all sections not relevant to Philippians 1:1).



§1: *The Basic Text:* The UBS reading, with the readings of P46 below (in smaller type).

§2: *The Commentary:* describing the details of what the papyri read, including comments on previous editions. Note that, had other papyri contained this passage, their readings would also have been discussed under separate heads.

§3: *The Apparatus (in two parts):* showing the major readings of both papyri and uncials. The section for Philippians 1:1 is exceptional in that it has a part both for the book *title* and the text itself. Most pages will show only one part.

The first section, at the top of the page, shows the readings of P^{46} in detail, setting them off against the UBS text. Note that the apparatus shows even the page layout (e.g. the line ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ is page 168, line 21. This is noted with the notation "$l^{168,21}$"). Where the text of the papyrus agrees exactly with the UBS text for a given word, this is noted with the ditto mark (,,). If there is any difference, or if some of the letters in the papyrus are uncertain or illegible, the word is spelled out, with (as is normal) dots below letters indicating uncertainty and letters in brackets [ ] indicating lacunae. Observe that P^{46} is totally defective for the final words of verse 1, and so there is no text cited below the UBS text for that line.

Below the actual text is the discussion, describing the actual readings and the differences between editions. Notice, first, the discussion of order, followed by the discussion of individual lines. So, e.g, we learn that the Kenyon edition (*Ed. pr.*^{2}) omitted the terminal sigma of ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ in the title, as well as the two uncertain vowels of δουλοι in line 22 and all letters in line 23.

Below the discussion of the papyri we see the actual apparatus. This is exceptionally clear and easy to understand. To begin with, it lists *all* papyri and uncials which contain the passage (though lacunae in the uncials are not noted with the fullness of the papyri). The apparatus is straightforward: Every variant starts with a lemma (the UBS text of the variant in question), along with a list of supporters if appropriate. This is followed by the variant reading(s) with their supporters.

Again, we should note what this edition is not. It is *not*, despite the very full apparatus (which genuinely invites comparison to Tischendorf, save that it is restricted to readings found in papyri and uncials), a collation. Since the orthographic variants of the uncials are not noted, you cannot use it to reconstruct the actual text of an uncial. And if you wish a collation of a papyrus, you will have to do it yourself. Finally, if you wish to know *which* corrector of an uncial gave rise to a correction, you may have to refer to another edition.

Despite these drawbacks, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus* is one of the most useful tools available — the first real step in many years toward a full critical apparatus of the Epistles. It's most unfortunate that it is priced so high; this volume should be on every textual critic's desk, not confined to seminary libraries.

Souter

Editor. Critical apparatus by Alexander Souter; the text itself is considered to be that underlying the English Revised Version of 1881.

Date of Publication. The first edition, *Novvm Testamentvm Graece,* appeared in 1910. A revised edition (offering, e.g., the evidence of the Beatty papyri) was released in 1947.

The Text. The text of Souter is that of Archdeacon Edwin Palmer, and is considered to be the Greek text underlying the English Revised Version. This produced a rather curious edition. To begin with, the scholars responsible for the RV were mandated to make the fewest possible changes in the text of the King James Version. It was decided that changes in the text could only be made by a two-thirds majority of the committee.

What is more, the committee had a rather haphazard method for determining the original text, allowing Hort (who generally favoured the Alexandrian text) and Scrivener (who preferred a more Byzantine text) to state their cases, then choosing between the two. The result is a text which frequently follows Hort, but sporadically adopts Byzantine readings as well.

Palmer's method exacerbated this problem. Since he wished to keep the text as close as possible to the KJV and the *Textus Receptus,* he made only the minimal number of revisions to the Greek text. Thus the text of Souter always follows the TR at points of variation which cannot be rendered in English, while more often than not following the text of Westcott & Hort at points where the variation affects the sense of the passage.

At least, this is what commentaries on the edition say. Interestingly, Souter's introduction does not mention Palmer. Even more interesting, a check reveals that the text of the Apocalypse was not prepared by this method; it regularly goes against the TR in variants which have no significance in English. I do not know the source of Souter's text of that book. Mark's text also has many agreements with Westcott and Hort where a TR reading would be expected, though here it is less consistent. One suspects that Palmer was not very careful in this book.

Still, that leaves perhaps 25 books largely based on the *Textus Receptus*. For this reason, critical editors rarely pay much attention to the text of Souter. The apparatus is another matter.

The Apparatus. Souter's apparatus lists only a limited number of variants (perhaps a third the number found in Nestle-Aland). The apparatus is, however, exceptionally clear and easy to use (which is fortunate, since the introduction consists of a mere two and a half pages, in Latin). The reading of the text is given, usually followed by its support (in the order papyri, uncials, minuscules, version, fathers; Souter does not classify witnesses into types). The variant readings and their support follow (in some readings where the variant is thinly supported, the evidence for the text is not listed).

A noteworthy feature of Souter's apparatus is the degree of detail it gives about the Fathers. These are cited in careful and specific detail. This is one of the best features of Souter's edition.

The revised edition of Souter cites papyri through P^{48}, uncials through 0170, minuscules through 2322, a full list of versions (including Armenian, Gothic, Georgian, and Ethiopic), and nearly two hundred fathers of all eras. The Byzantine text is cited under the symbol ω.

Swanson

Editor. Critical apparatus and parallels compiled by Reuben J. Swanson. The text is that of the United Bible Societies edition.

Date of Publication. Published in several volumes, and ongoing. The first volume, *The Horizontal Line Synopsis of the Gospels, Greek Edition; Volume I. The Gospel of Matthew*, was published in 1982 (and has since been republished with the text of Codex Vaticanus replacing the original text). At present, the four gospels and the Acts have been published (in separate volumes), and Paul is underway.

The Text. The Greek text of Swanson, as noted, is that of the UBS edition (now being replaced by Vaticanus), and has no independent interest. The value of Swanson lies in its bulky but extremely clear apparatus.

The Apparatus. Swanson's apparatus, in the gospels, consists of three parts: Texts with parallels, critical apparatus, and list of Old Testament allusions (the later simply a list of the Gospel verses and the Old Testament passages they cite).

The apparatus of parallels is perhaps the simplest of any now available. The first line of the text is that of the Gospel under consideration. (This text can readily be recognized by the typeface; in Matthew, e.g.,it is underlined.) Below it are the texts of the other gospels. This arrangement in parallel lines has the advantage of allowing much easier comparison with the other gospels. The parallels are pointed up by the type, since places where the other gospels match the chosen edition are printed in the same style. The example below illustrates the point for the opening words of Matthew 9:1 and its parallels in Mark 5:18, Luke 8:37b.

M 9. 1		Και εμβας		εις	πλοιον	
Mk 5.81		και εμβαινοντος αυτου		εις το	πλοιον	παρεκαλει αυτον ο δαιμονισθεις
L 8.37b	αυτος	δε εμβας		εις	πλοιον	

The apparatus is equally straightforward (and equally bulky). The apparatus for the above line of text, for instance, appears as follows, showing the full text of all the witnesses Swanson cites, including variations in spelling:

M 9.1	εμβας		εις	πλοιον		אBL 1.565.1582
	εμβας		εις το	πλοιον	ο Ιησους	C*
	εμβας	ο Ιησους	εις το	πλοιον		C^{c}
	εμβας		εις το	πλοιον		EFKWΠ
	ενβας		εις	πλοιον		Θ*
	ενβας	ο Ιησους	εις	πλοιον		Θ^{c}
	εμβας	ο Ιησους	εις	πλοιον		13

This strength of Swanson is also a weakness, as it results in extremely massive volumes. Swanson's volume of Matthew, for instance, requires 362 pages of text and apparatus. Taking page size into account, this is 15.4 square metres of paper surface. By comparison, the Aland synopsis of all four gospels takes only 29.1 square metres, and manages to include more material (more manuscripts in the apparatus, if perhaps a poorer selection; citations from non-canonical gospels and other sources; a fuller set of cross-references, etc.)

The list of witnesses cited in Swanson is, in many ways, superior to the various Aland editions. It is a relatively short list, omitting fragmentary manuscripts and (for obvious reasons, given the nature of the apparatus) versions and fathers, but the witnesses are generally balanced (as opposed to the Aland apparatus, which is biased toward the Alexandrian text and heavily biased against the Byzantine). Again taking Matthew as an example, Swanson includes the earliest Alexandrian witnesses (א B C L), the one and only "Western" witness (D), several leading "Cæsarean" witnesses (Θ 1 13 28 565 1582), two important mixed witnesses (P^{45} W), and (most unusually) an adequate set of Byzantine witnesses (A E F G K Y Π). While the apparatus contains some errors (inevitable in a project of such scope), it is generally accurate, and contains details not found in any other critical edition. It is also interesting to examine a passage such as Matthew 15:22, where the Nestle text seems to indicate a fairly stable tradition (no variant with more than four readings), but Swanson reveals no fewer than thirteen variants in this passage, despite only fifteen of his witnesses being extant.

Tasker

Editors. Text and apparatus compiled by R. V. G. Tasker based on the version translated in the *New English Bible.*

Date of Publication. The *New English Bible* itself appeared in 1961; Tasker's retroversion into Greek, *The Greek New Testament, Being the Text Translated in The New English Bible,* appeared in 1964. (As noted, Tasker's text is a retroversion; for the most part the NEB committee did not actually prepare a text.)

The Text. As has often been the case when a text is compiled by a translation committee, Tasker's text is rather uneven. It has been admitted that the reading adopted is often simply that preferred by the person who first attempted a translation. The result is a text largely Alexandrian (normally following the pre-UBS Nestle text on which it is largely based), but with odd mixtures of "Western" and Byzantine readings depending on the opinions of the translators. This text, since it does not adhere to any textual theory or display much coherence, has not met with widespread approval.

The Apparatus. Tasker's apparatus is very limited; it discusses only the few hundred variants noted in the NEB margin. Only a handful of manuscripts (including 11 papyri up to P^{51}, 27

uncials up to 0171, and 44 minuscules up to 2059) are cited, and those sporadically. It is a rare note that cites more than ten manuscripts. On the other hand, the notes do describe *why* the committee adopted the reading it did — a useful practice since adopted by the UBS committee in its supplementary volume.

Tischendorf

Editors. Text and apparatus edited by Constantin von Tischendorf.

Date of Publication. Tischendorf published no fewer than eight major editions in his life, as well as abridged editions and various collations and facsimiles. His magnum opus, however, was the *Editio octava critica maior* (1869–1872), which remains unsurpassed as a complete edition of the New Testament text.

The Text. Tischendorf's text is eclectic, taking readings from many sources; Tischendorf did not have a detailed textual theory. In practice he had a strong preference for the readings of his discovery א, especially where it agreed with D. His text thus has something of a "Western" tinge, although it is generally Alexandrian (insofar as that text was known in the mid-mineteenth century, before B was made widely known). The resulting text, therefore, is not held in particularly high regard; the value of Tischendorf lies in…

The Apparatus. Tischendorf's apparatus was, in its time, comprehensive, and it remains the most complete available. It cited all major readings of all major manuscripts, offering the evidence of almost all known uncials, plus noteworthy readings of many minuscules, the versions, and the Fathers.

Tischendorf's apparatus is generally easy to read, particularly if one knows Latin. A lemma is cited for all variants. If each variant has significant support, the evidence for the text is listed following the lemma, followed by the variant reading(s) and their support. If the variant is supported by only a few witnesses, the variant reading is cited immediately after the lemma. So, for example, in Gal 1:4 the apparatus reads:

περι cum א*ADEFGKLP al^{50} fere syr^{p} Or^{1,238} etc .... ς (= Gb Sz) υπερ cum א^{c}B 17. 67** al sat mu Ign^{intpol314} al

This translates as: περι, the reading of Tischendorf's text (read also by the uncited editions, i.e. Lachmann and Tischendorf^{7}) is supported by the uncials א* A D E(=D^{abs}) F G K L P and about fifty other witnesses plus the Harklean Syriac (syr^{p}) and the cited text of Origen. The variant υπερ is supported by the *Textus Receptus* (ς) and the editions of Griesbach and Scholz; by א^{c}, B, 17 (=33), 67** (=424^{c}), by many other Greek witnesses, and by the cited text of Ignatius.

The greatest single difficulty with Tischendorf's apparatus is the nomenclature. Tischendorf died before he could finish his introduction, so many of the witnesses cited were difficult to identify (this is particularly true of the Fathers, cited by a complex system of abbreviations). Another complication is attributions; Tischendorf lived in the nineteenth century, and even *he* did not have the time or the resources to verify everything he cited (nor could he always identify the manuscripts cited in prior editions). So one often encounters a notation such as "6 ap Scri" (i.e. 6 according to Scrivener) or "cop^{ms} ap Mill et Wtst" (i.e. a manuscript of the [Bohairic] Coptic according to Mill and Wettstein). An introduction supplying much of the needed background was supplied by Caspar Rene Gregory in 1894, but it is worth remembering that Tischendorf wrote *before* Gregory revised the manuscript numbering system. Thus almost all minuscules (except in the Gospels), and even some of the uncials, have the wrong numbers. In Paul, for instance, the minuscules most often cited include 17, 31, 37, 39, 46, 47, 67, 71, 73, 80, and 115; in modern notation, these are 33, 104, 69, 326, 181, 1908, 424, 1912, 441+442, 436, and 103. In addition, the names used for the versions have sometimes changed (e.g. syr^{p} is the Harklean version, not the Peshitta!). To make matters worse, Tischendorf often did not even use numbers for manuscripts; the sigla for more recently-discovered documents often consists of a letter and a superscript indicating a collator, e.g. a^{scr} means the "a" manuscript collated by scr=Scrivener. This is the manuscript we know as 206. Most of the manuscripts cited under these symbols are relatively unimportant, but it is worth noting that lo^{ti}=p^{scr} is the important minuscule 81.

To save space, in the Gospels Tischendorf cites a group of uncials as unc^{9}; these represent a block of Byzantine uncials.

In addition to manuscripts, Tischendorf cites the readings of earlier editions: the Stephanus and Elzevir editions of the *Textus Receptus*, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf's own previous edition). (In fact, Tischendorf's *editio minor* includes only those variants where these editions disagree.) Tischendorf also gives more explicit Latin evidence than most editions; see the notes on Tischendorf under the Latin Editions.

United Bible Societies Edition

Editors. Original edition compiled by Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren; Carlo M. Martini joined the committee for the second and third editions; the fourth edition was prepared by Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Martini, and Metzger.

Date of Publication. The first edition, *The Greek New Testament,* appeared in 1966. The second edition, slightly revised, appeared in 1968. The third edition (1975) contained a significantly revised text (now generally cited as *UBS* or *GNT*) and a slightly revised

apparatus. The fourth edition (1993) has the same text as the third, but a significantly revised apparatus.

The Text. The UBS^3 text, which is also shared by the 26th and 27th editions of Nestle-Aland, was prepared by a committee. As a result, it has few of the erratic readings which might be found in the text of a single editor (a fact which has been in large measure responsible for its widespread adoption). On the other hand, it is a strongly eclectic text, with no clear textual theory behind it. In general it follows the Alexandrian witnesses, and is closer to the Westcott & Hort text than most of the other modern editions, but it is not as radically Alexandrian as Westcott and Hort.

The supplementary volume to the edition describes how the committee decided its text — but only by example. The volume gives the basis of why the committee chose many readings — but makes no attempt to describe the theories followed by the five editors. Nor do we know how the individual editors voted on the various readings (except for the handful of readings where they have filed signed "minority opinions"). We have very little real sense how the text came about. Despite its widespread acceptance, it does not really conform to any particular theory of the text.

The Apparatus. The apparatus of UBS is extremely limited; it is concerned only with variants "meaningful for translators." In any given chapter of a book, one can expect to find only a half dozen or so variants. Thus the apparatus can in no sense be considered complete.

On the other hand, the apparatus is easy to use and very full. For each reading, all papyri, all early uncials, and a handful of late uncials are cited, as are several dozen minuscules, an assortment of lectionaries, a number of versions, and a wide selection of fathers. All witnesses are explicitly cited for all variants, usually in the order papyri, uncials, minuscules, lectionaries, versions, fathers. (There are a few minor exceptions to this; lectionaries are generally grouped under the symbol *Lect*, and in the fourth edition certain uncials are listed following the symbol *Byz*, denoting the Byzantine text.)

Care must be taken with the list of witnesses, however. UBS^1–UBS^3 contain lists of uncials and minuscules cited; however, many of the uncials (e.g. E F G H of the gospels) are cited only exceptionally (this even though the list implies they are cited fully), and many of the minuscules are cited for only part of their content. The correct list of minuscules cited for each section of UBS^3 is as follows:

Gospels: (family 1) (family 13) 28 33 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174

Acts: 33 81 88 104 181 326 330 436 451 614 629 630 945 1241 1505 1739 1877 2127 2412 2492 2495

Paul: 33 81 88 104 181 326 330 436 451 614 629 630 1241 1739 1877 1881 1962 1984 1985 2127 2492 2495

Catholics: 33 81 88 104 181 326 330 436 451 614 629 630 945 1241 1505 1739 1877 1881 2127 2412 2492 2495

Revelation: 1 94 1006 1611 1828 1854 1859 2020 2042 2053 2065 2073 2081 2138 2344 2432

This problem has been reversed in UBS^4, which explicitly lists which minuscules are cited for which sections — but no longer lists the actual contents of the manuscripts. This information must now be gathered from other sources.

Vogels

Editor. Heinrich Joseph Vogels.

Date of Publication. Original Greek text published 1920; Latin parallel added 1922; final edition published 1955.

The Text. It's hard to imagine a critic who would rate this text highly. The editing principle, if there is one, seems to have been "choose the Alexandrian reading unless the Byzantine is easier." This is especially true in the gospels, where the Byzantine element is very strong (almost strong enough that we could call it a Byzantine edition for those books), but has some truth elsewhere also. The text has many major agreements with the Byzantine text (e.g. Colossians 2:2, where Vogels chooses the Byzantine reading against the united opinions of every modern editor), but also curious agreements with the Alexandrians. It is thus the most Byzantine of the major editions, with some influence from Von Soden, but not Byzantine enough to be considered even faintly a Majority Text edition.

The Latin side, as one would expect of a Roman Catholic scholar, is the Clementine Vulgate.

This perhaps explains the nature of the text. This is not really a Greek edition. It is the Vulgate in Greek dress. Vogels, by and large, took the Latin, found the closest Greek reading among the manuscripts, and adopted it. There is very little critical sense to the result, and even less value in the result. Vogels had no theory of the text; he was just making a crib.

The Apparatus. The apparatus is as frustrating as the text. The number of variants cited is at the low end of adequate, the number of witnesses cited is small — and the minuscules are cited by Tischendorf numbers!

It's not hard to read the apparatus; it uses the fairly standard system of citing the lemma, then a bracket], then the variant readings, then their support. Vertical bars | separate the variants. The real question is, why would anyone want to use the apparatus? If you're going to have to

deal with Tischendorf numbers anyway, why not use Tischendorf (since it's now available online)?

The Latin apparatus records a handful of variants, but without indication of the manuscript tradition behind them (it could be Amiatinus or it could be most of the tradition); it's even less use than the Greek apparatus.

Westcott & Hort

Editors. Brooke Foss Westcott (1825–1901) and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828–1892)

Date of Publication. The text was published in 1881 (under the title *The New Testament in the Original Greek;* an *Introduction [and] Appendix,* authored by Hort, appeared in 1882 (revised edition by F. C. Burkitt in 1892).

The Text. The WH text is a very strongly Alexandrian text — so much so that Hort has been accused of constructing his text simply by looking for the reading of Codex Vaticanus. The situation is not that simple; a better statement would be to say that the edition used B as a copy text. Hort (who was the chief architect of the textual theory of the book) would follow other witnesses if the internal evidence was sufficiently strong. The most noticeable instance of this is the famous Western Non-Interpolations. Still, it is fair to say that Hort's text falls closer to B than does any other critical edition — and that Westcott & Hort is the *only* New Testament edition which approaches the method, used in some forms of non-Biblical criticism, of editing from a proof text.

The Apparatus. The WH edition has no true critical apparatus; not one manuscript is cited in the main body of the edition. There are a few variant readings in the margin; these are readings where the two editors disagreed on the text or were very uncertain of the original readings. They also have a list of "interesting" variants. In neither apparatus do they supply a list of witnesses. The only textual evidence they give is in the discussion of readings in their *Introduction [and] Appendix,* and even these are difficult to use as manuscripts are (inevitably) cited using Tischendorf numbers.

The lack of an apparatus in WH has been criticised by some. This is rather unfair in context. They worked very shortly after Tischendorf published his eighth edition; they had nothing to add to it. (As both men were caught up in academic and pastoral duties, they did not have the leisure to go and examine manuscripts in odd places. In any case, all manuscripts known to be valuable, save B itself, had been studied by Tischendorf.) The problem with the WH edition is not its lack of an apparatus, but the fact that the coordinated apparatus (Tischendorf's) is now hard to find and hard to read.

The WH edition has another interesting feature: Some dozens of readings are obelized as "primitive errors" — i.e. passages where the original reading is no longer preserved in the extant manuscripts. Westcott and Hort did not see fit, in these cases, to print conjectural emendations (they printed what they regarded as the oldest surviving reading), but the presentation of their data makes it clear that they felt it to be needed in these passages.

Summary: A Comparison of the Various Editions

This section offers various comparisons of the materials in the sundry editions, to show the qualities of each edition. (Note: Some editions, such as Swanson, are not included in certain of the comparisons, because they count variants in different ways.)

For a truly detailed comparison of the major editions for the book of Colossians, see the Sample Apparatus of Colossians.

Statistic 1: Variants Per Chapter

Let's take a few selected chapters, and count how many variants are cited in each chapter by the various editions (note: variants are usually but not quite always counted based on the way the editor of the edition divides them; the fact that SQE[13] and Huck/Greeven both show 76 variants in Matthew 10, for instance, does *not* mean that they have the same variants or even include similar classes of variants, just that they have about as many separate citations in the apparatus):

Sample 1: Matthew 10

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Aland: *SQE* ed. 13	76 (as shown on pp. 138–149)
Bover	21 showing ms. support; 2 more where only editors cited
Hodges & Farstad	10 MT variants; 19 MT vs. UBS variants
Huck/Greeven	76 (as shown on pp. 57–60)*
Merk	55 (+27 variants in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	43
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	50
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	58
Souter	12
Tasker	1
Tischendorf	147
UBS Ed. 3	5
UBS Ed. 4	2
Westcott & Hort	4 with marginal variants, 3 “noteworthy rejected”

* For comparison, the equivalent sections in Huck/Lietzmann show 5 variants

Sample 2: Mark 2

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Aland: *SQE* ed. 13	109 (as shown on pp. 60–66)
Bover	36 showing ms. support; 3 more where only editors cited
Hodges & Farstad	11 MT variants; 46 MT vs. UBS variants
Huck/Greeven	102 (as shown on pp. 49–66)*
Merk	70 (+27 variants in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	47
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	50
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	48
Souter	8
Tasker	None
Tischendorf	140
UBS Ed. 3	10
UBS Ed. 4	8
Westcott & Hort	13 with marginal variants, 1 “noteworthy rejected”

* For comparison, the equivalent sections in Huck/Lietzmann show 12 variants

Sample 3: John 18

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Aland: *SQE* ed. 13	96 (as shown on pp. 455–475)
Bover	36 showing MS support; 1 more where only editors listed
Hodges & Farstad	13 MT variants; 40 MT vs. UBS variants
Merk	65 (+32 variants in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	42
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	49
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	72
Souter	6
Tasker	1
Tischendorf	162
UBS Ed. 3	4
UBS Ed. 4	3
Westcott & Hort	7 with marginal variants, 1 “noteworthy rejected”

Sample 4: Acts 6

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Bover	5
Hodges & Farstad	3 MT variants; 5 MT vs. UBS variants
Merk	37 (+11 variants in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	24
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	27
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	26
Souter	9
Tasker	None
Tischendorf	78
UBS Ed. 3	3
UBS Ed. 4	2
Westcott & Hort	3 with marginal variants; 0 “noteworthy rejected”

Sample 5: Acts 18

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Bover	15 showing MS support; 1 more where only editors listed
Hodges & Farstad	8 MT variants; 26 MT vs. UBS variants
Merk	53 (+22 variants in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	56
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	60
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	59
Souter	24
Tasker	2
Tischendorf	134
UBS Ed. 3	11
UBS Ed. 4	10
Westcott & Hort	4 with marginal variants; 2 “noteworthy rejected”

Sample 6: 1 Corinthians 13

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Bover	8 showing MS support; 6 more where only editors listed
Hodges & Farstad	2 MT variants; 10 MT vs. UBS variants
Merk	26 (+11 variants in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	16
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	17
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	13
Souter	2
Tasker	1
Tischendorf	46
UBS Ed. 3	1
UBS Ed. 4	3
Westcott & Hort	2 with marginal variants; 1 “noteworthy rejected”

Sample 7: Colossians 2

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Bover	14 showing MS support; 2 more where only editors cited
Hodges & Farstad	8 MT variants; 14 MT vs. UBS variants
Merk	37 (+36 in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	31
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	31
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	31
Souter	14
Tasker	None
Tischendorf	98
UBS Ed. 3	6
UBS Ed. 4	7
Westcott & Hort	9 with marginal variants (3 being primitive errors), 0 “noteworthy rejected”

Sample 8: James 2

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Bover	10 showing MS support; 2 more where only editors cited
Hodges & Farstad	5 MT variants; 19 MT vs. UBS variants
Merk	41 (+24 in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	36
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	39
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	49
Souter	13
Tasker	1
Tischendorf	67
UBS Ed. 3	3
UBS Ed. 4	4
Westcott & Hort	6 with marginal variants (one being a punctuation variant), 0 “noteworthy rejected”

Sample 9: 1 John 4

Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Bover	7 showing MS support; 1 more where only editors cited
Hodges & Farstad	4 MT variants; 7 MT vs. UBS variants
Merk	39 (+24 in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	28
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	29
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	35
Souter	5
Tasker	None
Tischendorf	57
UBS Ed. 3	4
UBS Ed. 4	5
Westcott & Hort	5 with marginal variants, 1 “noteworthy rejected”

Sample 10: Revelation 8

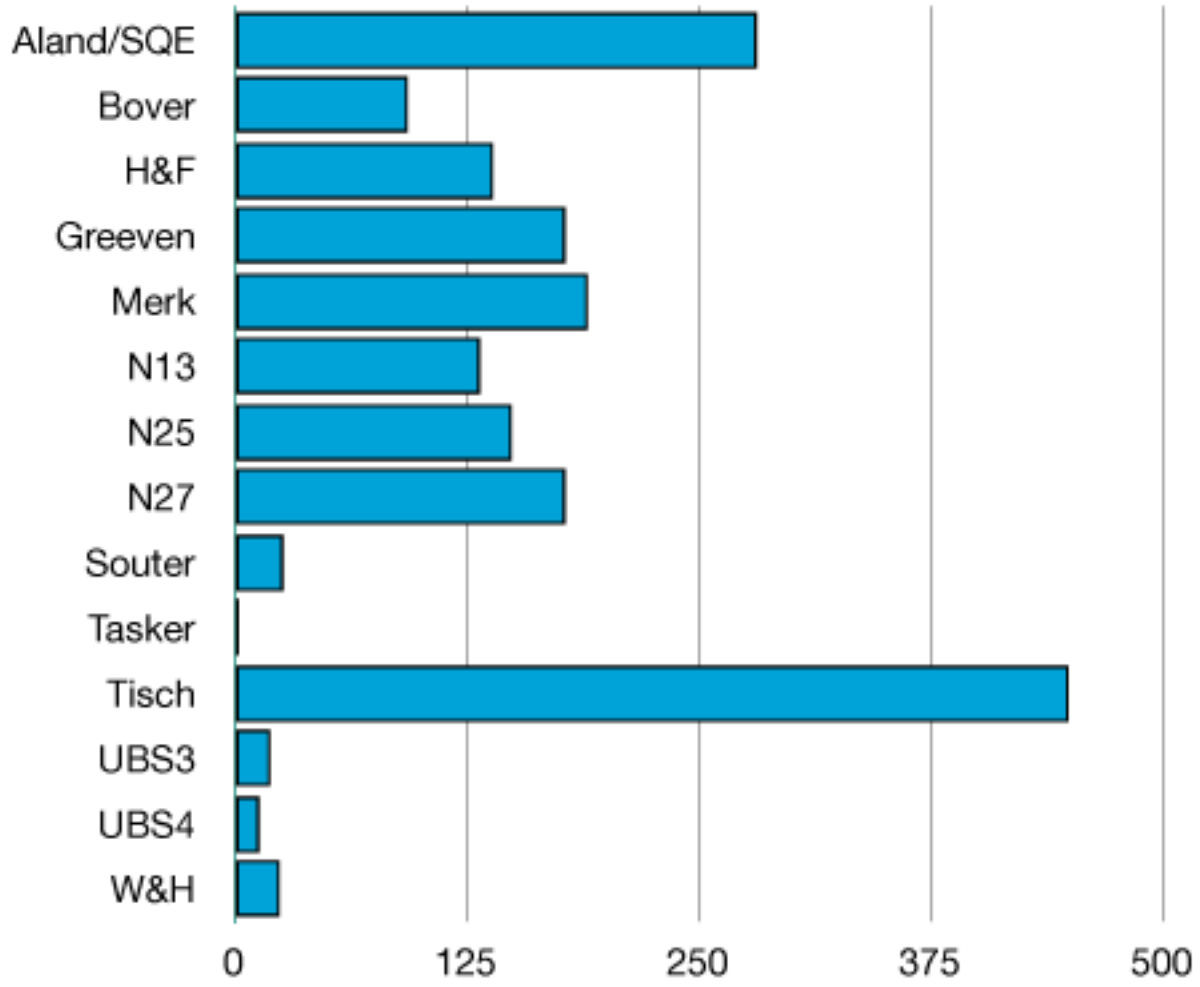
Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Bover	7 showing MS support; 1 more where only editors cited
Hodges & Farstad	17
Merk	29 (+30 in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	19
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	19
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	29
Souter	9
Tasker	None
Tischendorf	56
UBS Ed. 3	1
UBS Ed. 4	None
Westcott & Hort	4 with marginal variants, 1 “noteworthy rejected”

Sample 11: Revelation 15

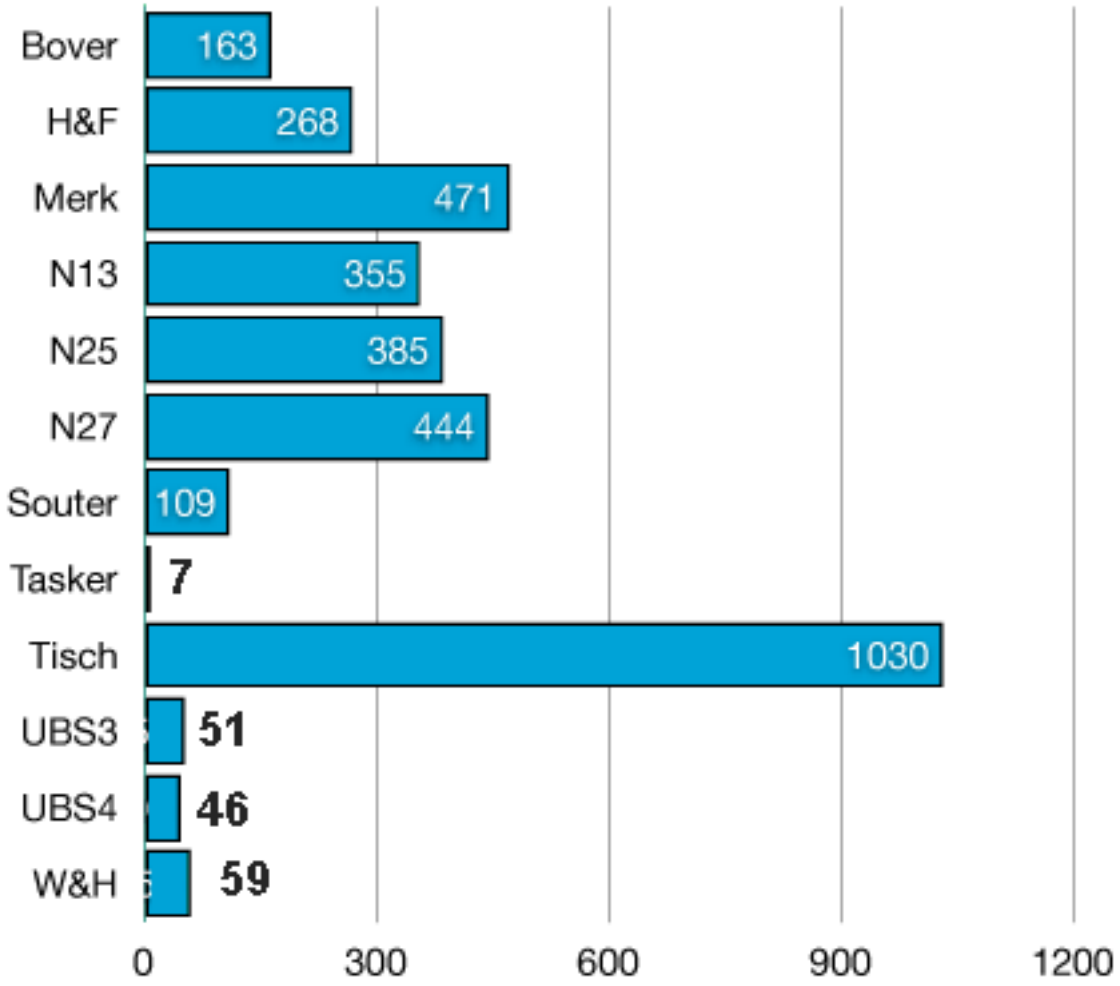
Edition	Variants in Apparatus
Bover	4 showing MS support; 2 more where only editors cited
Hodges & Farstad	20
Merk	19 (+23 in the Latin parallel)
Nestle ed. 13	13
Nestle-Aland ed. 25	14
Nestle-Aland ed. 27	24
Souter	7
Tasker	1
Tischendorf	45
UBS Ed. 3	3
UBS Ed. 4	2
Westcott & Hort	2 with marginal variants, 0 “noteworthy rejected”

Possibly this is worth graphing, to give a comparison. I will offer only two graphs, one for the Gospels only (so that we can include the synopses) and one for the New Testament as a whole.

Variants in the Gospels, total for Matthew 10, Mark 2, John 18:



Here are the totals for the entire New Testament based on the chapters above:



Appendix: Latin Editions

In addition to a full set of Greek editions, a thorough student of the New Testament text should have access to a variety of Latin editions. We will not dwell at length on the various Latin editions, but the following section supplies brief notes.

Observe that *only editions with an apparatus are listed.* So, for example, the Latin text of Bover, which is the Vulgate without apparatus, is ignored. Similarly the widely available Neo-Vulgate, published by the Catholic Church in 1979, is not listed; although it is a modern edition with a modern text, it is not something one can use for text-critical work, having been conformed largely to the Greek and usually published without manuscript variants.

Merk. (For publication data, see the entry on Greek Merk). This is in many ways the handiest of the Latin editions, as it combines Greek and Latin editions side by side, with a critical apparatus of each. The Latin text is the Clementine Vulgate, but the apparatus (quite full for a manual edition) makes it easy to ascertain which variants are older. More than three dozen Vulgate witnesses are cited in total, with usually several dozen in each book; in addition, the Old Latin codices are cited heavily.

Unfortunately, the result is not as accurate as might be hoped. Tests against Tischendorf and the smaller WW edition seem to indicate a high rate of errors, at least for am and ful. If exact knowledge of the readings of these manuscripts is for some reason essential, the student is advised to rely on other sources if possible.

Nestle. This exists both as a standalone edition and as a Greek/Latin diglot; I've used the diglot. The scope of the edition is extremely limited: The text is the Clementine Vulgate, and the only variants noted are those in Amiatinus (A), Fuldensis (F), and editions such as the Sixtine and Wordsworth-White editions. In addition, the presentation is such that it is often nearly impossible to determine which just which manuscripts support which readings. As a parallel to Greek Nestle, Latin Nestle has some slight value (mostly because the parallels line up nicely). It is not, in itself, a particularly useful edition, either in text or apparatus.

Note that this should not be confused with the more recent Nestle-Aland Greek-Latin diglot, which uses the Neo Vulgate; the latter is of no use for textual critics although it might be a nice crib for Catholics. For the limitations of the Neo Vulgate as a critical tool, see the entry on the Vulgate.

Tischendorf. Tischendorf published Latin editions (what didn't he publish?), but this is a reference to the eighth edition of his *Greek* New Testament. This, of course, lacks a Latin text, but if you are using the Latin solely for purposes of examining the Greek, Tischendorf's edition is more useful than several of the other editions here. Tischendorf cites the Clementine Vulgate (vg^{cle}) and four manuscripts consistently: am(iatinus), demid(ovianus), fu(ldensis) and tol(etanus), with their consensus being noted simply as vg. He also cites others, such as harl(eianus), occasionally. It's only a handful of manuscripts, but at least you know exactly what you are getting.

Weber (the **Stuttgart Vulgate**). The vg^{st} of the Nestle editions. In some ways, the best of the hand editions; it is the only edition other than Wordsworth-White (on which it is significantly dependent) to have a critical text, and the only one other than Merk to have a real apparatus with a significant selection of witnesses. Plus, it notes the exact extent of all the manuscripts cited. And, unlike Merk, the apparatus is generally regarded as accurate. Sadly, it has two drawbacks: Not enough variants, and not enough range of witnesses. To demonstrate the point about variants, we look at 1 Thessalonians. The Stuttgart edition has, by my casual count, 88 variants, often of very slight scope. This is twice the count of the lesser Wordsworth-

White — but Merk has 104 variants, often covering more text, in this book. Thus, as with the Greek, one really should have two hand editions. For the Greek, it's Nestle for accuracy and Merk for a full list of variants; on the Latin side, one should have vg^{st} for accuracy and Merk for range.

Wordsworth-White *Editio Minor.* This is probably the sort of edition that should have been used in the Nestle diglot. It is a critical text (identical in some parts to the larger Wordsworth-White edition, though distinct in certain books where the larger edition was unfinished at that time). The critical apparatus cites enough good manuscripts to be useful, as well as the readings of the Sixtine and Clementine editions. That's the good news. The bad news is, the manuscripts are not cited with any regularity. All variants in the editions are noted, but readings of the manuscripts only rarely. Taking as a random example the book of 1 Thessalonians, the edition cites a total of 45 variants. Only five of these cite the manuscripts; the rest cite only editions. Thus the apparatus, while generally accurate, is quite limited.

Wordsworth-White *Editio Maior.* Although now out of date (since much of it is a century old), this remains the most complete critical edition. The problem is that it's big and expensive; even if you can afford the expense, you aren't going to carry it around with you…

Alexandrian **Critical Symbols**

The scholars of the ancient Alexandrian library are often credited with inventing textual criticism, primarily for purposes of reconstructing Homer. This is a somewhat deceptive statement, as there is no continuity between the Alexandrian scholars and modern textual critics. What is more, their methods are not really all that similar to ours (they would question lines, e.g., because they didn't think Homer could write an imperfect line). But their critical symbols will occur on occasion in New Testament works as well as (naturally) classical works. In addition, Origen used some of the symbols in the Hexapla.

In fullest form, the Alexandrians used six symbols:

Symbol	Name	Purpose
-	*Obelus*	Oldest and most basic (and occasionally shown in other forms); indicates a spurious line. (Used by Origen in the Hexapla to indicate a section found in the Hebrew but not the Greek. For this purpose, of course, it had sometimes to be inserted into the text, rather than the margin, since the LXX, unlike Homer, was prose rather than poetry.)
>	*Diple*	Indicates a noteworthy point (whether an unusual word or an important point of content). Often used in conjunction with scholia.

⸖	*periestigmene* (dotted diple)	Largely specific to Homer; indicates a difference between editions
※	*Asteriskos*	A line repeated (incorrectly) in another context (the location of the repetition was marked with the asterisk plus obelus). (Used by Origen to note a place where the Greek and Hebrew were not properly parallel.)
※-	Asterisk plus obelus	Indicates the repetition of a passage which correctly belongs elsewhere (the other use, where the passage is "correct," is also marked, but only with the asterisk)
⊃	*Antistigma*	Indicates lines which have been disordered

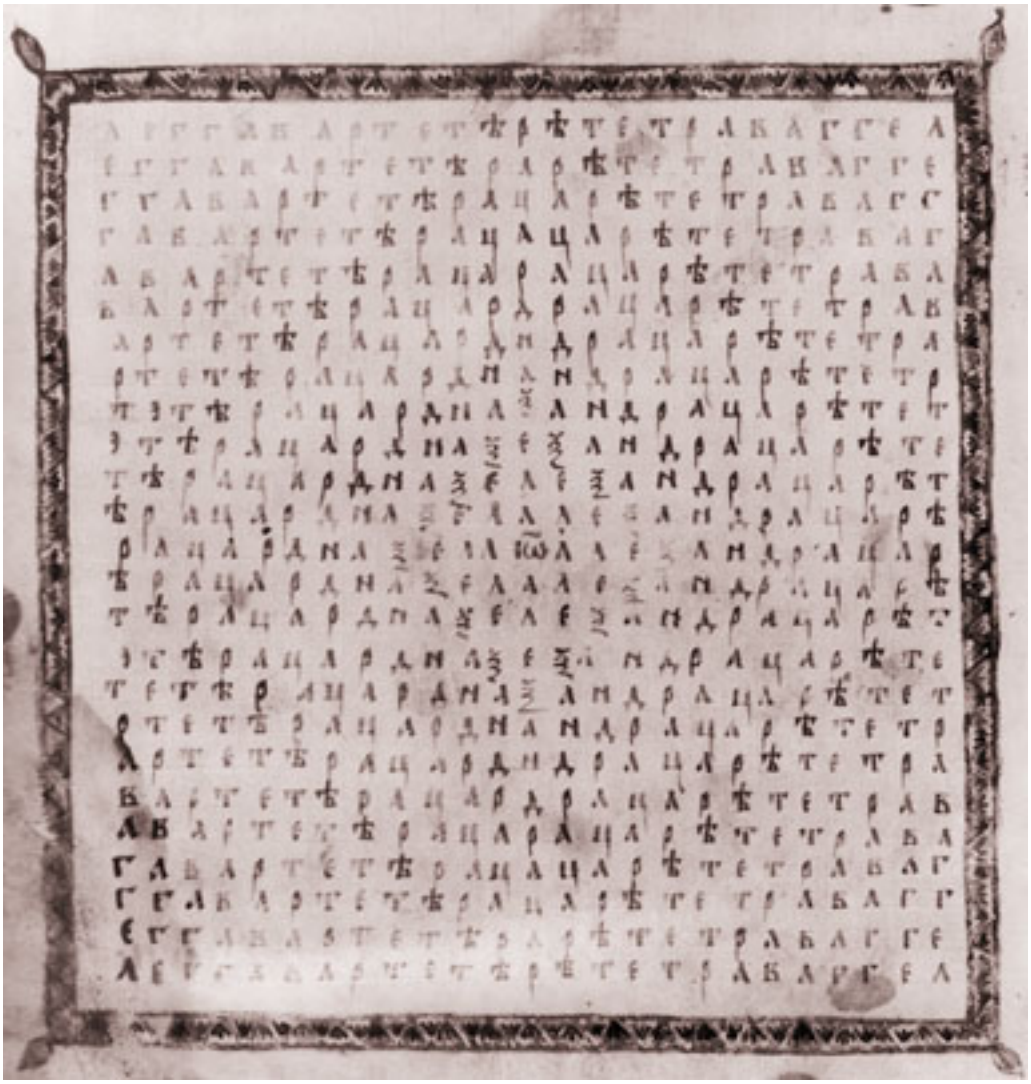
Cryptography, Ciphers, and Hidden Texts

Introduction

It may seem a little silly to include a section on cryptography (the science of creating and revealing secret messages) in an encyclopedia of textual criticism, and the author can hardly deny that cryptography is not a main concern of textual critics — or even of serious Biblical scholars (as opposed to the sort who go about trying to "solve the mystery" of the Apocalypse when the only genuine mystery is why people keep thinking they can "solve" it). But it's worth noting that the well-known Biblical scholar Ronald Knox was actually a cryptologist, working with Britain's famous "Room 40" to solve German ciphers during World War I; in addition, one of the men who cracked the vital Zimmerman Telegram was William Montgomery, who edited an edition of Augustine's *Confessions.* Others involved in British cryptography at this time include the papyrologist A. S. Hunt and the paleographer Ellis H. Minns. Ward M. Manly, one of the leading lights of the American MI–8 intelligence service in World War I (responsible among other things for the instruction of new cryptographers) did not work on classical or biblical literature, but he did co-edit the Manly-Rickert edition of The Canterbury *Tales,* the leading critical edition for many years. There seems little question that the same skills that make good textual critics also make good cryptographers. (I will admit that both interest me, though I am no cryptographer and my place in textual criticism is at best debatable.)

And it's worth remembering that we *do* find encryptions of sorts in the Bible: Jeremiah 25:26, for example, has an encrypted name, and presumably the "Number of the Beast" in Revelation 13:18 represents some sort of cryptogram. I have also seen it claimed that some of the place names in the book of Judith are cryptograms — though I think it highly unlikely that anyone will be able to work out a cryptogram designed in Hebrew and then turned into Greek. It's just possible that there are others — if we knew where to look.

Plus David Kahn's famous book The Code *Breakers* claims that Daniel's famous reading of the mysterious phrase "mene mene tekel and parsin" made that worthy the world's first cryptanalyst.



And there are instances of cryptograms of sorts in the marginalia of Biblical manuscripts. I seem to recall hearing of a few instances where scribes' names appeared to be hidden in code — sometimes by using vowels for consonants and consonants for vowels (presumably so that they could record their names without getting in trouble for pride). And there is a famous Slavonic gopels, the Gospels of (Bulgarian) Tsar Ivan Alexander, British Library Additional MS. 39627 (dated 1356) which contains a "magic square" (in effect, a transposition code) with information about the manuscript's history. In the case of Tsar Ivan's gospels, that information is hardly needed, since there is full information elsewhere in the manuscript. But if the true colophon had been lost, the ability to read the Magic Square could have been vital. (A

reduced black and white scan of this Magic Square is shown at right. A larger image, with an extensive description of the manuscript though no text, can be found in the British Library's volume *The Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander.)*

There are also cases in ancient manuscripts where a cryptogram may possibly reveal the name of the author of a piece. I know of no Biblical instances of this, but the poems of the Old English author Cynewulf were identified on this basis.

There is at least one instance where a cryptogram may affect textual criticism directly, though it's Old Testament criticism. A very famous copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch is attributed by its colophon to the thirtieth year after the Israelites arrived in Canaan and claims to have been written by the great-grandson of Aaron. This is of course absurd. But it has been claimed that this colophon is in fact a cryptogram for the actual date. Not having seen the actual data behind this claim, I cannot judge its accuracy — but it provides a good reason why textual scholars would want to be aware of the possibilities of cryptograms.

We find encrypted passages in other manuscript-era works as well, such as an astronomical treatise from the era of Chaucer. It's even thought that some Egyptian hieroglyphs are encrypted messages. It seems certain that we have encoded Babylonian astrological tablets — tablet British Library 92685, for instance, is a table of some sort, with six columns of numbers (coordinates?) and then what appears to be an explanation. Since we have only part of the tablet, and it is encoded, not one has ever figured out this particular scheme.

Let's start with a few terms. First, **encryption** is the process of taking some sort of message and concealing it by turning the meaningful message (the "**plaintext**") into something that, at first glance, looks meaningless (the "**ciphertext**"). **Decryption** is the process of taking the ciphertext and converting it back to the original plaintext. There are two sorts of decryption — what we might call "hostile" and "friendly." Friendly decryption occurs if you are the intended recipient and have been told what you have to do to convert the message. The method used to convert it is known as "the **key**." A key usually consists of two parts: A method for decrypting and a specific piece of data upon which the method operates — usually, in cryptography, a set of letters and numbers used to conceal the message. Think of a combination lock: To open it, you must know how all combination locks work (right to the first digit, left to the second, right to the third) *and* the combination (23–16–21, or whatever). Because cryptographic methods are fairly standard, it is common to refer to the "combination" alone as the "key," rather than applying that term both to method and specific data.

Hostile decryption (now usually technically known as **"cryptanalysis"**) occurs if you intercept the message and manage to decrypt it even though the key has not been voluntarily revealed to you. Typically this entails deducing the key, by logic or by trial and error.

There are, in general, two ways to encrypt a message: By **code** and by **cipher.** Codes consist of substituting one set of words for another — e.g. one might say "Throw out the garbage tomorrow morning" to mean "attack at dawn" or "Tomorrow's menu includes sausage" for "buy pork bellies." A famous real-world example is the Japanese government's signal "East wind, rain" to announce war with the United States in 1941. We also see codes, of a primitive sort, in the Bible, e.g. at Rev. 14:8, 16:19, 17:5, 18:2, 10, 21, where "Babylon" is used as a substitute for Rome.

Serious codes are generally nearly unbreakable without some sort of key (unless you have large numbers of messages, anyway, and at least an idea of what some of them are about) — but they have restrictions which somewhat limit their usefulness.

Note that this "nearly unbreakable" description does not apply to *all* codes. It is possible to make a code that is pretty easy to break. A normal code has two "books," or translation tables — one to convert plain text to the code, the other to convert the code back to plain text. But, as Rudolph Kippenhahn notes on page 48 of the English edition of *Code Breaking,* there were such things as "one-book codes," in which a single list is used to do both conversions. This is possible, of course, only if both the plain text words and the code words are in the same order. Below are examples of a few words as they might appear in a one-book and a two-book code:

One-book Code

Code	Plaintext
0001	a
0002	abeam
0003	about
0004	according
0005	after
0006	again

Two-book code

ENCODING TABLE

Plaintext	Code
a	0501
abeam	4869
about	1759
according	0001
after	1666

DECODING TABLE

Code	Plaintext
0001	according
0002	east
0003	advance
0004	time
0005	Rome

Observe that, once you crack any part of a one-book code, the rest unravels rapidly — e.g. if you know that 0001 is "a" and 0005 is "after," you know that 0002, 0003, and 0004 can only represent words starting with aa, ab, ac, ad, ae, and af. A two-book code has no such weakness, and is at least partially secure as long as any code group remains unknown.

Also, a code is all-or-nothing. If a code is compromised (by the capture or theft of a codebook), it is gone forever. The only option is to create an entirely new code.

The other problem with codes is their inflexibility — if you don't have a code symbol for "enemy on our flank," and the enemy *is* on your flank, you have no way to encrypt this vital message.

Hence the cipher. Ciphers, instead of replacing words and phrases by other words and phrases, replace letter by letter (or, these days, in blocks of letters) Since there are only a finite number of letters (26 in the Roman alphabet, plus whatever other symbols you wish to include such as spaces and numbers and punctuation), you can make up a rule to cover *all* possible messages. And, if your first version is compromised, you can just change the key and you are once again safe, at least temporarily.

Concealed messages have an ancient and venerable lineage, and though messages in the past were most often concealed **steganographically** (i.e. they were physically hidden, written in invisible ink or hidden inside other objects), true cryptography was also occasionally used. Ciphers have been known since ancient times, though the earliest ciphers were almost pathetically simply compared to modern encryption schemes. We won't worry about such modern devices as the Enigma machine or public key cryptography, which (while fascinating) truly have no part in textual criticism. But classical scholars *do* care about ancient ciphers.

And that means textual critics must care. The reason is that encrypted information is easy to damage. That usually matters relatively little if you know the key to the cipher, and the cipher is a simple one-to-one replacement; you can decrypt the message, fix the errors, and then correct the encrypted form. But if you *don't* know the key, and have to decrypt the message, think how complicated it is to decrypt it! Even if you have the correct key, you may get nonsense.

Let's give an example of this point, using a simple cipher known since ancient times: The "Caesar cipher." Julius Caesar, to encrypt his messages, used a simple substitution, usually a three-letter offset (i.e. A became D, B became E, C became F, and so on to X, which became A, etc.). So the text "THIS IS A CIPHER" would become "WKLV LU D FLSKHU." (This cipher technique is described, e.g., in Suetonius, *Julius* LVI. *Augustus* LXXXVIII tells of the variant used by that monarch: A single-letter shift, A becoming B, B becoming C, etc., up to X becoming AA; if Suetonius is right, this is less secure, because the fact that A would occur only rarely, and always twice, is a clue to the form of the cipher.)

OK, now assume that, instead of an encrypted passage one sentence long, you have many paragraphs in cipher text. Or, rather, assume you're a *scribe* confronted with this. What are the odds that all that nonsense will be copied correctly?

And now assume that you come along much later and have to decrypt this damaged message and have to figure out what it says. There are tools available for decrypting ciphers — indeed, the author is not aware of any unsolved ancient cryptographic methods. But the easy methods of decrypting all assume an intact original, making it simple to recognize the cipher. That, in fact, appears to be why we can't solve the Babylonian cipher cited above: We don't have the first part of the ciphertext to give us some idea of what we're looking at! We may illustrate this easily by looking at the "Caesar cipher" above. Suppose that, instead of

```
WKLV LU D FLSKHU,
```
the scribe had copied it as
```
WRLV LU D FLSKHU
```
(changing the second letter from “K” to “R”— a change that could easily happen in some Roman writing styles). You come along and say, “Hm. Looks like a Caesar cipher.” So you start working back, and find that the first word decrypts as TOIS. If you believe the message to be in English, this makes nonsense, so you conclude, incorrectly, that it is not a Caesar cipher.

The good news is that modern cryptographic methods, which are very susceptible to damage and which are unusually difficult to crack, are just that: *modern.* They require advanced machinery (these days, usually computers, but the German Enigma machine was mechanical and required mass-produced encoder/decoder cams).

Basically, ancient ciphers followed one of three methods: substitution, transposition, and summarization.

Summarization

Summarization (my own term) is perhaps best dealt with first, since it’s actually a class of methods, and it’s also formally uncrackable (you can never *know* you have the right answer). This is because it destroys information. A summarized message gives no clue to its meaning; it’s just some sequence which equates to the value of the message. For example, we already mentioned Revelation 13:18 and the “number of the beast.” This is actually what a computer person would call a checksum: Take the numerical values of the letters, add them up, and record the result. Your computer in fact is doing it all the time — it’s the same method as the “parity check” used to test memory.

We can do this for English messages — e.g. assign the value A=1, B=2, C=3.... Z=26. If we take our “THIS IS A CIPHER” text, for instance, it has the following checksum:

```
T H I S     = 20 + 8 + 9 + 19          =  56
I S         = 9 + 19                   =  28
A           = 1                        =   1
C I P H E R = 3 + 9 + 16 + 8 + 5 + 18  =  59
                                TOTAL  = 144
```

Unfortunately, this information is completely un-decryptable. Suppose you know that a message has “value” 144. The number of possible such messages is very large. It could represent “This is a cipher.” It could also represent 144 instances of the letter A. Or six instances of the letter X. Or twelve instances of the letter L. Only a computer could list all the possibilities, and the number of possible readings gets larger and larger as the number gets

larger. With a checksum of 144, we know that the number of letters is at least six and no more than 144. Now imagine a checksum of, say, 40,000. That's a minimum message length of 1539 letters, a maximum of 40,000, and a likely value of about 3400 letters. (In a long sample, you can estimate that the total number of letters is about equal to the total divided by 11.7; that's the "average value" of a letter in English, which tends to use the letters early in the alphabet more often than those late in the alphabet.) I doubt even a computer could grind out all the possible values for a checksum of 40,000 in a reasonable time.

And even if you somehow knew the values, it doesn't do you any good, because you don't know their order. Take our message "THIS IS A CIPHER." The letters in this message are ACEHHIIIPRSST. We can arrange these in all sorts of ways. For instance, for all we could tell, it might stand for

IS THIS A CIPHER

or

THIS A CIPHER IS

or, if we are deliberately trying to confuse potential spies,

IS THA CIPHER, IS

(mis-spelling words and adding waste syllables is a recognized method of making deciphering harder).

It could also stand for

ACE HIRST IS HIP

(meaning perhaps that it is safe to talk to Ace Hirst).

And there are doubtless other possibilities I could find if I used a computer rather than my head.

Which brings us to our second method of summmarization, the **anagram.** ACEHHIIIPRSST, for instance, is an anagram of THIS IS A CIPHER. Same letters, different order.

This is a well-known method of publishing hidden messages. Christiaan Huygens, for instance, announced his discovery of the ring(s) of Saturn with an anagram — a long message which only he could unscramble:
AAAAAAACCCCCDEEEEEGHIUIIIIIILLLLMMNNNNNNNNNOOOOPPQRRSTTTTTUUUUU
which rearranges to spell
Annulo cingitur tenui plano, nusquam cohaerente, ad ecliptican inclinato
allowing him to claim credit without looking stupid if he turned out to be wrong. (On the other

hand, Huygens was clearly a coward or he would have stood up and *announced* rather than using a trick to claim credit from someone else who had the courage to say what he saw!). Galileo had earlier done something similar, telling Kepler of the phases of Venus with the anagram
Haec immatura a me jam frustra leguntur OY
which rearrances as
Cynthiae figuras aemulatour mater amorum.
Similarly, he described his observations of Saturn with the anagram
SMAISMRMUKMEPOETALEVMIBVNENVGTTAVIRAS
which rearranges as
altissimvm planetam tergeminvm observavi
(which doesn't really explain much — just that Saturn appears to be a triple planet — but Galileo, it seems clear, had no idea what he was seeing).
Anagramming may sound like it wouldn't work very well as a method of assuring meaning or secrecy, but it does. Taking a long string of letters and rearranging it to mean something is tricky; note that Galileo's rearrangement of the message about Venus left him with two leftover letters (OY) which he had to stick on the end. Thus an anagram is a safe way to assure priority.

A third, partial, form of summarization may just possibly be used in the Old Testament. It's easier to explain in English. The method consists of mashing the whole alphabet into half. So if we line up all 26 letters of the English alphabet with 13 in the first row and 13 in the second, as follows,

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z

we then set *both* A *and* N equal to A (or, theoretically, to N), both B and O equal to B, etc. Under this method, e.g., THIS IS A CIPHER becomes GHIF IF A CICHEE.

Theoretically, if one used an alphabet with a different number of letters, one could have other such "mashing" methods. A 24–letter alphabet allows unusually many possibilities — you can line up the first twelve letters with the second twelve, or have three lines of eight letters (e.g. alpha, the first letter; iota, the ninth, and rho, the seventeenth, would all be reduced to alpha), or even four rows of six letters each. The latter form certainly would offer a great deal of security…

The possible instance of the Hebrew form of this, known as "albam," occurs in Isaiah 7:6, which refers to the invading powers setting up the "son of Tabeel" to rule Judah. Tabeel is unknown. The proposal of the *Midrash Rabbah* on Numbers 18:21 is that "Tabeel" (TBL) is an albam of "Remaliah" (RML), obviously without the last syllable. As with most summarization

ciphers, this is possible — but only possible, and the Midrash gives no reason to actually think it happened. Historical chronicles are full of instances of names we simply can no longer identify, which might be albam-encrypted — but probably aren't.

If a summarization encryption is textually damaged, there really is no recourse. Take that case of Revelation 13:18. We're quite confident that the number of the beast is 666. But we have a variant of 616. Suppose that variant had been more popular, or that some other variant (say 566) had been widely known. Without knowing the thing summarized, and with no basis for decision based on external evidence, how can we ever solve the cipher? We *think* it refers to Nero — and yet, this really doesn't make much sense; the emperor Domitian is a much more likely target. So are we sure we know what 666 means? No. (And, indeed, many other suggestions besides "Nero(n) Caesar" have been proposed. John Allen Paulos, in his book *Innumeracy,* p. 68, mentions suggestions that it is based on the Greek spelling of "Latins," that it was equivalent to the name "Martin Luther" in Latin, and even a proposal that adding the values of the letters of "Vicar of the Son of God" in Latin — i.e. the Pope — yielded the dreaded number. Since Martin Luther did not exist when the Apocalypse was written, and the Papacy was at best in its infancy, the latter two are absurd — but they show how easily meanings can be invented.)

A fourth sort of summarization cipher is found in certain texts from the Cairo Geniza, although it is not exactly a powerful secret. It has been called, for some reason, "trellis" writing, and consists of taking a familiar passage and abbreviating it. The first few words are spelled out in full, but then only the first letters of the rest are supplied. So the beginning of the Gettysburg Address would be

Fourscore and seven y a o f b f…

for

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth…

This would keep the true text a secret only in exceptional cases, but it is an attested form of encoding, so I thought I had better mention it.

Substitution

Fortunately, we have more hope when dealing with **substitution ciphers.** These retain redundancy, so it is sometimes possible to eliminate errors.

A substitution cipher is one in which one letter is substituted for another. The "Caesar cipher" is a substitution cipher: A became D, etc. Caesar is also said to have sent messages in Latin but written in Greek letters (i.e. "THIS IS A CIPHER." would become "ΘΙΣ ΙΣ Α ΣΙΦΕΡ)."

The historian Polybius suggested another substitution cipher, more useful as an encoding scheme (that is, a way of transmitting data, like morse code) than as an actual means of concealment. The idea was to convert letters to numbers by putting them in a table like this:

	10	20	30	40	50
1	A	B	Γ	Δ	E
2	Z	H	Θ	I	K
3	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O
4	Π	P	Σ	T	Y
5	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω	

This makes every letter into a number smaller than 55 — the phrase ο θεος would for instance be 53*32,51,53,44. This could actually be conveyed as a series of dots or flag-waves (e.g. Γ, which in this system is 31, could be *** *) It also suggests a very long list of possible encoding schemes, none of which are known to have been used but which could have been. One could, for instance, subtract the number worked out above. from a known set of numbers. Suppose, for instance, that we decided on the sequence 55, 60, 65, 70, 75. Then ο θεος would become

```
KEY: 55 60 65 70 75
-    53 32 51 53 44
     02 28 14 17 31
```

That is, you subtract 53, the value for “o,” from 55, your first “code key.” Then you subtract 32, the value for “θ,” from 50, the second number. Then 51, the value for “ε,” from 65. And so forth.

To a modern cryptographer, this system would be trivial, but in a world where a Caesar cipher was tricky, it would be secure.

Modern substitution ciphers have become very elaborate, using all sorts of tricks to fool potential decoders. For example, we see the use of nulls. Instead of just using 26 letters, an encoder might throw in a half dozen other symbols at random (so instead of an alphabet of A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z , you might use ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ#$%&!@, with #$%&!@ being merely symbols you throw in at random; they have no meaning. Alternately, you can use extra characters as multiple expressions for the same letter. E.g., since E is the most common letter in English, you could let either # or ! stand for E, so that neither # nor ! is the most common symbol. It is also a good idea to assign a single symbol for qu, so that no one can see that one a particular

symbol is always followed by the same symbol). Another trick is continuously varying the ciphering algorithm. For example, you could apply a continuous Caesar cipher: In the first letter of the message, offset by one letter (so A becomes B, etc.). For the second letter, offset by two (A becomes C, etc.). For the third, offset by three. And so forth. All of these methods are designed to fool deciphers who work based on the table of frequencies of letters.

None of which was needed in ancient times. In the Biblical era, as best we can tell, no one knew which letters were most frequently used. So a simple substitution (one letter always replaces by the same letter — a so-called **mono-alphabetic substitution**) was fairly secure. (Before you say, "Well, just try some combinations," remember that the number of such ciphers is huge. There are only 26 Caesar ciphers, but 26 factorial possible substitution ciphers. That's 403,291,461,129,999,980,156,682,240 possible monoalphabetic substitutions for the 26–letter Latin alphabet. For the Greek alphabet, it's 620,448,401,730,000,065,134,592 possibilities (more if we include the three numbers not used as letters). You can't hope to crack that by trial and error without a crib.

It is said that Arabic scholars studying the Quran were the first to learn the rules for decrypting simple substitution ciphers. (One suspects that Hebrew scholars, with their detailed attention to the individual letters of the MT, also had the data they needed. But they probably weren't sending too many secret messages in Hebrew; the language itself, by then, was a pretty good secret medium!) In any case, the substitution code used in the Bible (the above-cited case of Jeremiah 25:26, etc.) is very simple: it's called *atbash,* because it involved reversing the alphabet. Aleph became taw; bet became shin, etc. An equivalent for the Latin alphabet would be *azby,* because a becomes z, b becomes y, etc. Under azby, "THIS IS A CIPHER." becomes GSRH RH Z XRKSCI.

We should note that this method is more effective in Hebrew, which has no vowels, than Greek, which does. That is, the result looks more sensible. A reversed Hebrew word is still a consonental text, readable as long as proper vowels are supplied. A Greek word is likely to become nonsense — ΙΗΣΟΥΣ becomes ΠΣΘΚΕΘ, which even if it were pronounceable, wouldn't be spelled that way. You could invoke a variation on this, in which consonants substitute for consonants and vowels for vowels. In this case, we have

A	Ω
E	Y
H	O
I	I
O	H
Y	E
Ω	A

β	ψ
γ	χ
δ	φ
ζ	τ
θ	σ
κ	ρ
λ	π
μ	ξ
ν	ν
ξ	μ
π	λ
ρ	κ
σ	θ
τ	ζ
φ	δ
χ	γ
ψ	β

Under this, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ becomes the odd-but-at-least-pronounceable ΙΟΘΗΕΘ.

Even this could probably be improved — for example, to maintain (mostly) proper inflections, one could use some sort of transposition ignoring the vowels and nu and sigma. Obviously that wouldn't do much with ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, but ΠΕΤΡΟΣ under the above scheme would be ΛΕΖΚΟΣ, which is pretty funny-looking, but pronounceable and inflectable.

There is no obvious evidence of such usage in the New Testament — but who knows? Maybe you can find one. (I have a feeling I just created an excuse for a few zillion wild emendations.... Anyone have a way to reorganize the alphabet so "Thaddeus" becomes "Lebbaeus"?)

There are many more advanced forms of substitution ciphers. One method involves adding symbols for particular words (e.g. in English a symbol for "the" would be most helpful, and also for "and" and some other words). Others involve tricks such as the continuous Caesar cipher described above. Fortunately, these were largely unknown in the manuscript era, so we can pass them by. Nor will the author offer advice on the solving of most substitution ciphers. The problem is that different languages involve different frequency tables and different rules. In English, for example, the most common word is "the." Technically, this is true in Greek also — but Greek inflects the article, so particular forms (e.g. ο, το) are *not* as common as the uninflected word και. Each language — indeed, each dialect — involves its own tools for deciphering. (For a Greek example, see below) The *principles* are the same, but the data used differs.

We should perhaps add a warning here: One must always be careful to assure that there is an actual cipher in use. Trying to "solve" something that isn't in fact encrypted can produce extreme silliness — as the various attempts to decrypt the Apocalypse show. Another example of this is the diary of Samuel Pepys. When it first was discovered, everyone thought it was encrypted, and various people went to great lengths to "crack" his cipher. It wasn't until decades later that it was discovered that Pepys wasn't using a cipher; he was simply using Shelton's method of *tachygraphy,* a well-known shorthand system which also had the advantage of using less space than ordinary writing. What the experts thought was encryption was in fact merely a method of what we would now call compression, and all that should have been needed to crack it was to open up a copy of Shelton's widely available book. And while I know of no Greek tachygraphic systems, there are instances of Latin "shorthands." None of these, to my knowledge, is Biblical — but who knows what might turn up next?

There is an interesting encryption of sorts based on making messages longer — specifically, of concealing them in prayers! This was invented by Johannes Trithemius after the invention of printing, but early enough that it might show up in a useful source. Trithemius assigned each letter to a Latin word. So the letter a was encoded by "Deus," b by "Creator," c by "Conditor," d by "Opifer," e by "Dominus," f by "Dominator," etc. So to spell the message "Face E," (that is, turn the army to face eastward), one would send
Dominator Deus Conditor, Dominus, Dominus…
In terms of space, it's highly inefficient, but as a scribble on a note carried by a clergyman, it might easily avoid detection.

Even more hilarious is Athanasius Kircher's reconstruction of Egyptian hieroglyphs. According to Simon Singh's *The Code Book,* p. 204, Kircher translates the name of Pharaoh Apries as "the benefits of the divine Osiris are to be procured by means of sacred ceremonies and of the chain of the Genii, in order that the benefits of the Nile may be obtained." This was bad enough in dealing with an ancient language — but think what such ambiguous decrypts could produce when dealing with a real cipher. A proper cipher will be unambiguous when decrypted — that is, while you may have choices in enciphering (e.g. in a cipher which uses numbers for letters, 12, 13, 33, and 48 might all mean e, but each of those numbers means e and *only* e). Ambiguous readings — except in summarization ciphers — destroy the whole point.

Transposition

So let's turn to the other major sort of ancient encryption, the **transposition cipher**. Unlike a substitution cipher, where one letter is replaced by another, a transposition cipher involves rearranging the *order* of a message. For example, one trick is to take alternate letters and place them in order. To once again use "THIS IS A CIPHER," think of placing alternate letters on alternate lines:

```
T I I A I H R
 H S S C P E
```

Then combine the lines to yield TIIAIHRHSSCPE. To decipher, you just cut the message in half and then reverse the above procedure. The advantage of transposition ciphers is that, though they preserve the standard frequency table of letters, the results make no sense.

Transposition ciphers, in fact, began with what appears to have been the oldest-ever encryption machine, the Spartan σκυταλη, a stick with the edges shaved into the shape of a prism (described by Thucydides). A message written on a straight piece of parchment was wrapped around the σκυταλη, then copied down the columns, and transmitted; it was read by means of a σκυταλη with the same number of sides. Since the σκυταλη necessarily had more than two sides, it produced if anything a more complex transposition than the above (though it's hard to believe that others did not imitate the thing).

The key to recognizing a transposition cipher is to note that the frequency table matches that for an unencrypted message. That is, if the message is in English, it will contain very many instances of E, T, and A, and very few of Q or Z. Something similar will be true with other languages, though their frequency tables differ.

To repeat, modern ciphers are much more complex than the above, but they are not our concern. The currently-popular method of public key cryptography, for instance, is possible only with computers. (It relies on finding very large prime numbers.) So far as we know, all ancient ciphers were either simple substitutions or simple transpositions — and I know of no instances of the latter in literary works, though my knowledge may well be incomplete. (There are a few ancient messages, to be sure, and not all of these have been solved, simply because our samples are so small.)

In any case, we as textual critics do not have to be concerned with the original "autographs" of the messages. If the encrypted message is intact, textual criticism does not come into play. Our concern is the case where the message has been damaged in transmission. When one has an intact message, one generally can be confident that it has been decrypted when the entire message, as decrypted, makes sense. With a corrupted original, this will not happen.

The trick in that case is to decide how much error one can accept. Let's look at the error we had above, in which we THIS IS A CIPHER was encoded with a Caesar cipher, but then erroneously transmitted as WRLV LU D FLSKHU. This decrypted as TOIS IS A CIPHER. To "correct" this to THIS IS A CIPHER means changing only one letter, and that an error relatively easy to make (K and R are readily confused in some scripts).

But now suppose you encounter a message WKLV MU D FLTKHU. Using the Caesar decrypt gives you THIS JS A CIRHER. You have two errors, both interesting — because both could

more easily occur in the plain text than in the cipher text! Was there an error in the original, or an error in the copying — or have you not solved the cipher?

In fact, you have not solved the cipher, not quite. The above example was encrypted using a modified Caesar cipher: The bulk of the message was shifted three letters (standard Caesar), but every fifth letter (in this case, the first letter of IS and the P in CIPHER) were encrypted with a Caesar shift of *four* letters instead of three. In a sample this small, you can't really prove the matter. In a longer passage, such regular errors would be more obvious.

So we must somehow evolve criteria for dealing with that question, How much error can we accept while still pronouncing that we have "solved" our cipher? *That* is really the point of the whole exercise.

There is no simple answer for this. We can't even base our calculations on what we know of the scribe's reliability elsewhere. An encrypted text may force the scribe to be more careful, and so *reduce* his error rate. And it remains the editor's task to try to determine *why* particular errors took place. In other words, one must proceed along three lines: The actual decrypting process, a measure of goodness-of-fit for the decrypting scheme, and an examination of the textual factors which might have led to corruption.

Which leads us to another interesting point: Decrypting an unknown cipher is much like making sense of an unknown language. (The two processes, in fact, use much of the same vocabulary.) For hints on how to proceed from here, the interested reader, as well as studying texts on cryptography, might want to examine the various accounts of the deciphering of Linear B and other ancient languages.

Which brings us to another warning. Something may look like an encoded message without being one. Scribes did, at times, set out to mess with the minds of their readers. A recent example of this has been somewhat in the news (at least, I found articles about it in a science and an antiquities magazine in the same month). The item involved is the so-called "Voynich manuscript," This first appeared in 1586, when it was purchased by the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II, and later vanished until re-discovered by Wilfrid Voynich.

The Voynich manuscript, which gives the appearance of being written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, is in an unknown script which nonetheless appears to be alphabetic. It is quite extensive — 230 pages! The contents resemble no known language, and yet the sheer bulk of the manuscript, plus its interesting regularities, make it appear an actual cipher and not just a collection of gibberish.

Yet ninety years of effort have completely failed to crack the cipher. Surely, if it were a known language, it would have been decrypted by now. Yet it has not been solved, and it is too recent for there to be any likelihood that it is based on a dead language. The suspicion is that it is a hoax (the name of the Elizabethan forger Edward Kelley has been mentioned as a

possible hoaxer). Recently, Gordon Rugg has reconstructed a method, based entirely on techniques known in the sixteenth century, which could have been used to produce the manuscript. It is nearly certain, now, that the document is a forgery (though the connection with Kelley is of course unproved).

This does not tell us anything about any other ancient encrypted message, of course. But it does remind us that hoaxes did and do exist; not every seemingly-garbled message actually has meaning behind it!

An Example

If you actually want to try your hand at some Greek cryptography, we can offer examples showing the technique. We'll start with a fairly simple one. Here is the message you might receive. Two clues: It's a monoalphabetic substitution cipher, and space means space. (A major help, that.)

Cryptogram 1

ΗΙΠΚΩΟΦ ΛΔ ΧΗΦΙΦΗ ΥΦΜΠΨΕΠ ΘΗΦΨ ΩΣΠΨΦΜ ΗΚΚΗ ΘΔ ΑΗΑΦΗ ΜΔΧΦΗΞΠΘΠ ΘΗΦΨ ΙΠ ΩΣΠΨΦΜ ΘΠΚΠΦΟΦ ΥΦΜΠΨΕΠ ΠΜ ΘΓ ΜΟΛΓ ΥΠΥΣΗΧΘΗΦ ΟΘΦ ΠΜ ΠΘΠΣΟΥΚΓΨΨΟΦΨ ΑΗΦ ΠΜ ΡΠΦΚΠΨΦΜ ΠΘΠΣΓΜ ΚΗΚΔΨΓ ΘΓ ΚΗΓ ΘΟΤΘΓ ΑΗΦ ΟΤΙ ΟΤΘΓΨ ΠΦΨΗΑΟΤΨΟΜΘΗΦ ΛΟΤ ΚΠΥΠΦ ΑΤΣΦΟΨ ΓΨΘΠ ΗΦ ΥΚΓΨΨΗΦ ΠΦΨ ΨΔΛΠΦΟΜ ΠΦΨΦΜ ΟΤ ΘΟΦΨ ΧΦΨΘΠΤΟΤΨΦΜ ΗΚΚΗ ΘΟΦΨ ΗΧΦΨΘΟΦΨ Δ ΙΠ ΧΣΟΩΔΘΠΦΗ ΟΤ ΘΟΦΨ ΗΧΦΨΘΟΦΨ ΗΚΚΗ ΘΟΦΨ ΧΦΨΘΠΤΟΤΨΦΜ

If you want to read through a posible method of solution, go to the next page. The solutions page also contains several other ciphers you can try, and some additional tools.

Recall that our original text is:

Cryptogram 1

ΗΙΠΚΩΟΦ ΛΔ ΧΗΦΙΦΗ ΥΦΜΠΨΕΠ ΘΗΦΨ ΩΣΠΨΦΜ ΗΚΚΗ ΘΔ ΑΗΑΦΗ ΜΔΧΦΗΞΠΘΠ ΘΗΦΨ ΙΠ ΩΣΠΨΦΜ ΘΠΚΠΦΟΦ ΥΦΜΠΨΕΠ ΠΜ ΘΓ ΜΟΛΓ ΥΠΥΣΗΧΘΗΦ ΟΘΦ ΠΜ ΠΘΠΣΟΥΚΓΨΨΟΦΨ ΑΗΦ ΠΜ ΡΠΦΚΠΨΦΜ ΠΘΠΣΓΜ ΚΗΚΔΨΓ ΘΓ ΚΗΓ ΘΟΤΘΓ ΑΗΦ ΟΤΙ ΟΤΘΓΨ ΠΦΨΗΑΟΤΨΟΜΘΗΦ ΛΟΤ ΚΠΥΠΦ ΑΤΣΦΟΨ ΓΨΘΠ ΗΦ ΥΚΓΨΨΗΦ ΠΦΨ ΨΔΛΠΦΟΜ ΠΦΨΦΜ ΟΤ ΘΟΦΨ ΧΦΨΘΠΤΟΤΨΦΜ ΗΚΚΗ ΘΟΦΨ ΗΧΦΨΘΟΦΨ Δ ΙΠ ΧΣΟΩΔΘΠΦΗ ΟΤ ΘΟΦΨ ΗΧΦΨΘΟΦΨ ΗΚΚΗ ΘΟΦΨ ΧΦΨΘΠΤΟΤΨΦΜ

In solving such a message, there are several things we start by examining. First and foremost is the frequency of each letter in the message. In total, there are 292 letters in the message. Their frequency is as follows:

Φ - 43, 14.7%	Μ - 16, 5.5%	Σ - 7, 2.4%	Ε - 2, 0.7%
Π - 33, 11.3%	Κ - 15, 5.1%	Υ - 7, 2.4%	Ξ - 1, 0.3%
Ψ - 33, 11.3%	Τ - 12, 4.1%	Α - 6, 2.1%	Ρ - 1, 0.3%
Η - 27, 9.2%	Γ - 11, 3.8%	Ι - 5, 1.7%	Β - 0, 0.0%
Θ - 25, 8.6%	Χ - 8, 2.7%	Λ - 4, 1.4%	Ζ - 0, 0.0%
Ο - 25, 8.6%	Δ - 7, 2.4%	Ω - 4, 1.4%	Ν - 0, 0.0%

Another point to note is which letters end words. Although 21 of the 24 letters appear in our cipher, only nine occur as the final letter of a word. The list below shows these letters, with their frequency at the end of words:

Γ - 6	Ι - 1	Τ - 3
Δ - 3	Μ - 11	Φ - 9
Η - 6	Π - 6	Ψ - 12

Finally, we look at short words. There is only one single-letter word in our message: Δ.

There are seven two-letter words:

ΗΦ	ΘΔ	ΛΔ	ΠΜ (x3)
ΟΓ (x2)	ΙΠ (x2)	ΟΤ (x2)	

Armed with this data, we get to work. We start with the frequency table for Biblical Greek. Based on the UBS text of Matthew, the frequency of the various letters is:

A -- 11.0%	T -- 7.4%	Π -- 3.1%	B -- 0.6%
E -- 10.1%	Y -- 6.0%	Λ -- 2.8%	X -- 0.6%
O -- 10.1%	H -- 3.9%	M -- 2.6%	Φ -- 0.6%
I -- 9.5%	P -- 3.3%	Δ -- 2.0%	Ξ -- 0.3%
N -- 8.2%	K -- 3.3%	Θ -- 1.7%	Z -- 0.2%
Σ -- 7.6%	Ω -- 3.2%	Γ -- 1.6%	Ψ -- 0.1%

There are several ways to start our attack. One is to work directly with the above table of letter frequencies. This is usually the best approach in English or German, where the letter "E" predominates so much that it will be the most common message in almost any monoalphabetic cipher where the sample exceeds 100 letters. But it will be obvious that this is *not* true in Greek. A E O I are all almost tied, with N Σ T close enough that one of them might be more common in a short message than one of the big four.

An easier line of attack, in this case, is the last letters. Two letters -- N Σ -- are overwhelmingly the most common terminal letters for Greek words. And we note that there are two letters which are overwhelmingly the most common in our terminal letters list: M Ψ. Thus it is highly likely that one of these represents N and the other Σ.

(This approach, incidentally, has had great use in Biblical linguistics, in the deciphering of Ugaritic. Hans Bauer's attack on the Ugaritic alphabet started with the assumption that it was a Semitic language, and that this regulated which letters were to be found at the beginnings and ends of words. That let him make up a short list of possible meanings for several letters, which could be tested -- whereupon many more fell into his lap. Several rounds of this broke the Ugaritic alphabet, and then it was a matter of figuring out the language -- no easy task, to be sure, but a lot easier than it was when the alphabet was unknown!)

Then we look at our two-letter words. The most common is ΠM. Among the most common words in Biblical Greek is EN. And Π is the second-most-common letter in our sample. So it's a pretty good bet that ΠM is EN. Which, incidentally, gives us another likely word: ΔE is another common IΠ occurs twice in our two-letter-word list.

But if
M stands for N, then the other letter common at the end of words, Ψ should be Σ. So let's assume

Π ⇒ E

M ⇒ N

I ⇒ Δ

Ψ ⇒ Σ.

That makes our message appear as this (note: we will show "solved" letters in UPPER CASE, unsolved in lower):

ηΔΕκωοφ λδ χηφΔφη υφΝΕΣεΕ θηφΣ ωσΕΣφΝ ηκκη θδ αηαφη ΝδχφηξΕθΕ θηφΣ ΔΕ ωσΕΣφΝ θΕκΕφοφ υφΝΕΣεΕ ΕΝ θγ Νολγ υΕυσηχθηφ οθφ ΕΝ ΕθΕσουκγΣΣοφΣ αηφ ΕΝ ρΕφκΕΣφΝ ΕθΕσγΝ κηκδΣγ θγ κηγ θοτθγ αηφ οτΔ οτθγΣ ΕφΣηαοτΣοΝθηφ λοτ κΕυΕφ ατσφοΣ γΣθΕ ηφ υκγΣΣηφ ΕφΣ ΣδλΕφοΝ ΕφΣφΝ οτ θοφΣ χφΣθΕτοτΣφΝ ηκκη θοφΣ ηχφΣθοφΣ δ ΔΕ χσοωδθΕφη οτ θοφΣ ηχφΣθοφΣ ηκκη θοφΣ χφΣθΕτοτΣφΝ

At this point, things start to get trickier; we have to supply some actual thought.. But note that interesting word ωσΕΣφΝ which occurs twice in the first line or two. That looks very much like a verb. Can we, then, do something with that letter φ? On this logic, it has to be a vowel. It isn't E, because we've assigned that. It could be H or Ω. But observe that φ is the most common letter in our frequency list. H and Ω aren't common enough. Y is unlikely in such a situation. Our choice is between A, I, and O.

But note that nine words end with φ, and that two of them are αηφ -- a rare letter (in our sample) followed by two common letters. Note also that there are only seven three-letter words in the whole message, and that two of them are αηφ. The obvious conclusion? αηφ represents KAI -- the most amazing thing being that it shows up only twice in the message!

That gives us three more letters, and the following version of the message:

AΔΕκωοΙ λδ χΑΙΔΙΑ υΙΝΕΣεΕ θΑΙΣ ωσΕΣΙΝ ΑκκΑ θδ ΚΑΚΙΑ ΝδχΙΑξΕθΕ θΑΙΣ ΔΕ ωσΕΣΙΝ θΕκΕΙοΙ υΙΝΕΣεΕ ΕΝ θγ Νολγ υΕυσΑχθΑΙ οθΙ ΕΝ ΕθΕσουκγΣΣοΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ρΕΙκΕΣΙΝ ΕθΕσγΝ κΑκδΣγ θγ κΑγ θοτθγ ΚΑΙ οτΔ οτθγΣ ΕΙΣΑΚοτΣοΝθΑΙ λοτ κΕυΕΙ ΚτσΙοΣ γΣθΕ ΑΙ υκγΣΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΣδλΕΙοΝ ΕΙΣΙΝ οτ θοΙΣ χΙΣθΕτοτΣΙΝ ΑκκΑ θοΙΣ ΑχΙΣθοΙΣ δ ΔΕ χσοωδθΕΙΑ οτ θοΙΣ ΑχΙΣθοΙΣ ΑκκΑ θοΙΣ χΙΣθΕτοτΣΙΝ

We don't have much in the way of complete words yet, but the *form* of what we're seeing looks good. This looks like Greek. That's promising.

From here we have several ways we could proceed. One that often works well is to look for common words. In a monoalphabetic cipher, these will be the same each time you encounter them -- they always encrypt according to the same pattern (as was, for instance, the case of και above). So, for example, look at that word ΑκκΑ, which occurs three times. There aren't many words which fit this pattern. You could argue that it's ABBA or ANNA -- but what are the odds of those words three times in a short message that's worth encrypting? A much better bet is ΑΛΛΑ.

And then look at all those words like θοΙΣ and θΑΙΣ. This is a strong indication that θ is τ -- and hence that ο in fact represents itself. (Note that having an occasional letter represent itself does *not* represent a weakness in the cipher; in fact, not allowing a letter to represent

itself is a weakness, because it reduces the number of possible ciphers). If we make those changes, we have:

ΑΔΕΛωΟΙ λδ χΑΙΔΙΑ υΙΝΕΣεΕ ΤΑΙΣ ωσΕΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ Τδ ΚΑΚΙΑ ΝδχΙΑξΕΤΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΔΕ ωσΕΣΙΝ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ υΙΝΕΣεΕ ΕΝ Τγ ΝΟλγ υΕυσΑχΤΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΕΝ ΕΤΕσΟυΛγΣΣΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ρΕΙΛΕΣΙΝ ΕΤΕσγΝ ΛΑΛδΣγ Τγ ΛΑγ ΤΟτΤγ ΚΑΙ ΟτΔ ΟτΤγΣ ΕΙΣΑΚΟτΣΟΝΤΑΙ λΟτ ΛΕυΕΙ ΚτσΙΟΣ γΣΤΕ ΑΙ υΛγΣΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΣδλΕΙΟΝ ΕΙΣΙΝ Οτ ΤΟΙΣ χΙΣΤΕτΟτΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑχΙΣΤΟΙΣ δ ΔΕ χσΟωδΤΕΙΑ Οτ ΤΟΙΣ ΑχΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ χΙΣΤΕτΟτΣΙΝ

We're really almost there. We have quite a few unidentified letters -- but almost three-quarters of the message text is cracked, and we can easily figure out most of the remaining letters from context. For example, the first word is obviously αδελφοι, so ω is Φ. Also, it's quite clear that the combination Τδ is τη. That, by elimination, means that Τγ is τω. Consider, too, the phrase ΟτΔ Οτ. Clearly τ stands for υ.

At this point, we have:

ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ λΗ χΑΙΔΙΑ υΙΝΕΣεΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΦσΕΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗ ΚΑΚΙΑ ΝΗχΙΑξΕΤΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΔΕ ΦσΕΣΙΝ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ υΙΝΕΣεΕ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΟλΩ υΕυσΑχΤΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΕΝ ΕΤΕσΟυΛΩΣΣΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ρΕΙΛΕΣΙΝ ΕΤΕσΩΝ ΛΑΛΗΣΩ ΤΩ ΛΑΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΙΣΑΚΟΥΣΟΝΤΑΙ λΟΥ ΛΕυΕΙ ΚΥσΙΟΣ ΩΣΤΕ ΑΙ υΛΩΣΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΣΗλΕΙΟΝ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ χΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑχΙΣΤΟΙΣ Η ΔΕ χσΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ ΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΑχΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ χΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ

From the second word it would appear that λ is μ, and checking the remaining words seems to confirm this. Again, it seems clear that σ is ρ and χ is π. Making those changes, we get:

ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΜΗ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ υΙΝΕΣεΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΦΡΕΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗ ΚΑΚΙΑ ΝΗΠΙΑξΕΤΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΔΕ ΦΡΕΣΙΝ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ υΙΝΕΣεΕ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ υΕυΡΑΠΤΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟυΛΩΣΣΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ρΕΙΛΕΣΙΝ ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΛΑΛΗΣΩ ΤΩ ΛΑΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΙΣΑΚΟΥΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΛΕυΕΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΩΣΤΕ ΑΙ υΛΩΣΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΙΣΤΟΙΣ Η ΔΕ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ ΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ

At this point I'm not even going to bother any more. You should be able to figure out the rest for yourself. The solution is from 1 Corinthians 14:20-22:

ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΜΗ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΦΡΕΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗ ΚΑΚΙΑ ΝΗΠΙΑΖΕΤΕ ΤΑΙΣ ΔΕ ΦΡΕΣΙΝ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΕ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΟΜΩ ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΓΛΩΣΣΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΧΕΙΛΕΣΙΝ ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΛΑΛΗΣΩ ΤΩ ΛΑΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΙΣΑΚΟΥΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΛΕΓΕΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΩΣΤΕ ΑΙ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΙΣΤΟΙΣ Η ΔΕ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ ΟΥ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ

Thus the complete complete key is (note: I've included the three letters not found in the above sample of text, since I didn't know I wouldn't be using them):

Plaintext	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Y	Φ	Ψ	Ψ	Ω
Cipher Key	H	B	Y	I	Π	Ξ	Δ	E	Φ	A	K	Λ	M	N	O	X	Σ	Ψ	Θ	T	Ω	P	Z	Γ

As a footnote: It always seems, when I read one of these examples, that the person solving the cryptogram cheats, knowing the solution in advance. This can happen; had I not known the answer, for instance, I might have tried assuming that ϕ, the most common letter in the ciphertext, represented α, the most common letter in most passages. But this sample was short enough that this was *not* the desirable technique. It's best to attack, as we did here, from all angles: counting letters, counting last letters of words, counting short words. That led me to a shorter solution without errors.

That's if you know where the words end. Since classical works were generally written without word divisions, they are usually encrypted the same way. If you want another challenge, you may try this:

Cryptogram 2

NZΓOΨΓΘEYZΦOΞOΓTNΘPTOΣΘEA NPXNΦZΞXΔΨPNTXNZXNPTOΦΔΔ XΘΩOΨΘOZXNPΞAΨNTPΦNPNXPΩ YΨYΞPΞOΩNΦΘΨNZΞXYPΞΨOΔEΓ ΘΓNTΘTOBΨPΞNZXNΩEΔΨYΦOXY TΘΓTYTΘPΞΘEΓΔMOPNZXYΞΩOΞP ΞΨOΔEΞYΓΔΞΘXOP

(Please note: the word/line breaks here are purely arbitrary, to make this fit on your screen. They should be ignored for frequency analysis.)

I won't walk you through the solution to this one. But if you want to see it, it's on the next page:

Recall that our first original text is:

Cryptogram 2

NZΓOΨΓΘEYZΦOΞOΓTNΘPTOΣΘEA NPXNΦZΞXΔΨPNTXNZXNPTOΦΔΔ
XΘΩOΨΘOZXNPΞAΨNTPΦNPNXPΩ YΨYΞPΞOΩNΦΘΨNZΞXYPΞΨOΔEΓ
ΘΓNTΘTOBΨPΞNZXNΩEΔΨYΦOXY TΘΓTYTΘPΞΘEΓΔMOPNZXYΞΩOΞP
ΞΨOΔEΞYΓΔΞΘXOP

The key to this one is as follows:

A	B	X	Δ	E	Φ	Γ	H	I	K	Λ	M	N	O	Π	Θ	P	Σ	T	Y	Ω	Ξ	Ψ	Z
O	Π	B	Σ	Θ	A	Γ	Δ	P	M	E	Φ	T	N	Ω	Γ	Ψ	Ξ	X	Z	Y	Λ	K	I

And the solution is from Romans 11:25-26:

OYΓAPΘEΛΩYMAΣAΓNOEINAΔEΛΦOITOMYΣTHPIONTOYTOINAMHHT
EΠAPEAYTOIΣΦPONIMOIOTIΠΩPΩΣIΣAΠOMEPOYΣTΩIΣPAHΛΓEΓONE
NAXPIΣOYTOΠΛHPΩMATΩNEΘNΩNEIΣEΛΘHKAIOYTΩΣΠAΣIΣPAHΛΣ ΩΘHΣETAI

Which if we add spaces becomes:

OY ΓAP ΘEΛΩ YMAΣ AΓNOEIN AΔEΛΦOI TO MYΣTHPION TOYTO INA MH HTE ΠAP EAYTOIΣ ΦPONIMOI OTI ΠΩPΩΣIΣ AΠO MEPOYΣ TΩ IΣPAHΛ ΓEΓONEN AXPIΣ OY TO ΠΛHPΩMA TΩN EΘNΩN EIΣEΛΘH KAI OYTΩΣ ΠAΣ IΣPAHΛ ΣΩΘHΣETAI

Now to give you the *real* challenge.... Here is one that offers the full range of difficulty known to the ancients. This is a monoalphabetic substitution, but it is *not* a simple cipher. Rather, it is a *nomenclator* (from Latin *nomen calator,* "name caller") which is a cipher with code elements. A proper *nomenclator* will eliminate certain common words by replacing them with symbols (e.g. in English, the word "the" might be replaced by **%** or some other token), will probably include two forms of common letters (e.g. in English, "E" might be replaced by either **G** or **!**), will eliminate letters often found together (e.g. English "SH" might become **$** and "QU" should certainly be replaced by something, perhaps <), may include nulls (that is, characters simply to be eliminated), e.g. **#** might simply stand for "ignore me") and may include modifiers (e.g. **2** might stand for "repeat previous letter" or "repeat following letter").

Cryptogram 3

For this, because it's much harder, we'll give you several samples. Some are Biblical, some are not; two are from classical authors, although the Greek will be understandable to those who know only koine. You'll notice something of a theme to these quotations. If you can solve them, there is at least some chance it applies to you.

Note that, as above, the line breaks are purely arbitrary (and represent the same number of characters on each line, though this may not be evident depending on your font metrics). All quotes are reasonably grammatically complete.

Σ=$AYBΛΩAI*ΔΛMYAΨMYΩΞAZY~ΨAY%MH+YΠNΞAZ**MHΩΠΓZΛ~NΩH
ΩΔΨΞAZYΨ~AY%M\ΓΔMΛΨNΞ*AZMΛ~KΛMΛ~

BΛTAYMY~%E%XAY+ΠOA*IΔΩ\KANΓZΛΩAYΩ

XAOΔBΠ*YBZY~E%Σ=OO**ΛΩH+ΛΨKA=ΠKΔΩAYΩ%Y

^KMHΨHKΠKΘ=ΔΩ%ΩBZΔΩΦ=ΛΩAY*BH^BAΦHOΔ~HΨM%Ψ\B\ΨΠNMΔΩ

ΞZΛMAZ%ΞΠΩMΔΩAKMY~MΠY+Y%$ΨNΩA~YΨΓZΛΩHΨAΔ~ATΠYΔΩΛΨ

AYBAMYΨNEΔΩOAYΞAM%Y+YΠ~ΠYMAYMΔΞΠZΠM\BYBΛΩMΛΨXA\Ξ%~Y
Ω%ΞOΔΨ$^ΛΩAYBYΦΛΩMΣ=Λ~$BΛX**HΨAMΠY%NMΔΠYMAYMΔBAAΩΞY
~MAY^BAΩBY%KZYΩΛE*AΩΛΨΛIΠZBYΓ=%KZYΩΛE*AΩΛ~AΛYKAΩKON
BΔΩYX%OΠΨ~HΨΠΩAEYΦΛEAΩΔ$ZYΞYΦΛEAΩΔ

ΛI%ZMΛYΞZΛ*^XANΨHΞΠΩM%AΞYMZΛΞAN\~%MΠXHΩMM%ΞZΛΩP=ΛY%Ξ
ΩANΣ=EΠAΩX*AZEΛΩΔΨΞAZΛZI%ΩΛΩNΞΛP%OO\~ΠMHΓNΨAYΠΞΠ~YE
AMΓ=ABΔKAΩΠΨΔEM\OΛI\EAMA~ΘABAAK**%ΨMΛΩ\ΞAZHBNΩΠMΛ

HBA~ΞΓY%ΞΛ**XAΩANZAXHΞΛYΛΨBAMΛΞΛΨA~MY**ΩMHΨAΞYΨMH^~
\KΛYBAΩPZΛMΛΨΛBAΩΠ*NMH~\BA^ANZAXHAΩ%ΩXZΔΞΛY~Λ=

Because this is so difficult, I'll give you a series of hints if you choose to take them. To help those who don't want to cheat (you don't get hints in a real cryptogram!), I've put them in white type. You can copy them and paste them into another program to read them, or simply drag across them; they should show up in inverse type. The goal, of course, is to use as few hints as possible. I'll put another version on the next page where you can read it, but this way, you can decide how much you want.

HINT 1: ==
==

HINT 2: == ==

HINT 3: ==
==

HINT 4: ==
==

HINT 5: ==
==

HINT 6: == ==

HINT 7: == ==

HINT 8: ==
==

HINT 9: == ==

HINT 10: == ==

Keep in mind: Stop here unless you want to see the hints!

Hints, repeated — this time in visible type:

HINT 1: All letters stand for letters; the only characters which stand for something other than a single letter are the symbols =, *, %, etc.

HINT 2: The only whole word to be replaced by a symbol is KAI

HINT 3: There are three other combinations of letters replaced by a single symbol, but these may be replaced within words. The three combinations are OY MH ΣOΦ

HINT 4: Two letters have been split in two (i.e. are represented by two different symbols): A Σ

HINT 5: The two remaining special symbols are NULL (i.e. simply omit from the plaintext) and DELETE PREVIOUS (i.e. this character and the character before it should be omitted). To prevent confusion, the latter symbol is not allowed to be doubled.

HINT 6: The only New Testament passage is James 1:5-6.

HINT 7: The passage from James is the sixth message.

HINT 8: There are four passages from LXX: Ecclesiastes 2:13, Proverbs 3:31, Sirach 1:4, Job 28:12-13, in that order -- but of course there are some other quotes intervening.

HINT 9: The symbol used for E is A

HINT 10: The first letters of the eight actual plaintexts are K Δ Θ M Π E O H

The key:
A nomenclator consists of two parts: A cipher key and the additional encoding elements. The cipher key to the nomenclator is:

Α	Β	Χ	Δ	Ε	Φ	Γ	Η	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ο	Π	Θ	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Ω	Ξ	Ψ	Ζ
Π	Ρ	Θ	Β	Α	Γ	Ι	Η	Υ	Κ	Ο	Ε	Ω	Λ	Ξ	Χ	Ζ	Ψ	Μ	Ν	Δ	Τ	Σ	Φ

But we have our eight other symbols, which are as follows:

*	Null (i.e. simply ignore)
=	delete preceding character
$	ΚΑΙ (whole word only)
\	ΟΥ (as letters as well as a whole word)
^	ΜΗ (as letters as well as a whole word)
%	Α (second version)
~	Σ (second version)
+	ΣΟΦ

So the plaintext of our several messages is as follows:

Ecclesiastes 2:13 LXX (Rahlfs)
ΚΑΙ ΕΙΔΟΝ ΕΓΩ ΟΤΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΕΙΑ ΤΗ ΣΟΦΙΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΝ ΑΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ
Ν ΩΣ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΟΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ

Euripides, *Bacchae* 480 (Loeb)
ΔΟΞΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΑΜΑΘΕΙ ΣΟΦΑ ΛΕΓΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΥ ΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ

Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 453 (Loeb)
ΘΕΛΩ Δ ΑΙΔΡΙΣ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Η ΣΟΦΟΣ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ

Proverbs 3:31 LXX (Rahlfs)
ΜΗ ΚΤΗΣΗ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΟΝΕΙΔΗ ΜΗΔΕ ΖΗΛΩΣΗΣ ΤΑΣ ΟΥΔΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ

Sirach 1:4 (Rahlfs)
ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΚΤΙΣΤΑΙ ΣΟΦΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ ΦΡΟΝΗΣΕΩΣ ΕΞ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ

James 1:5-6 (UBS)
ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΥΜΩΝ ΛΕΙΠΕΤΑΙ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΑΙΤΕΙΤΩ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΔΟΝΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΣΙΝ
ΑΠΛΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΟΝΕΙΔΙΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΑΥΤΩ ΑΙΤΕΙΤΩ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ
ΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ Ο ΓΑΡ ΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΟΙΚΕΝ ΚΛΥΔΩΝΙ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ
ΑΝΕΜΙΖΟΜΕΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΡΙΠΙΖΟΜΕΝΩ

The Emperor Julian (the Apostate), Oration VI (to the New Cynics) 182.D (Loeb)
Ο ΓΑΡ ΤΟΙ ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ Η ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥΟΥΣΑ ΤΑ ΘΗΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΝΘΕΡΜΟΝ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ ΥΠΟΒΑΛΛΟΥΣΑ ΤΗ ΦΥΣΕΙ ΑΠΑΣΙ ΜΕΤΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΑΣΩΜΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΕΤΕΣΧΕ ΔΕ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΟΥΠΕΡ ΗΔΥΝΑΤΟ

Job 28:12-13 (Rahlfs)
Η ΔΕ ΣΠΦΙΑ ΠΟΘΕΝ ΕΥΡΕΘΗ ΠΟΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΣ
ΟΥΚ ΟΙΔΕΝ ΒΡΟΤΟΣ ΟΔΕΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΗ ΕΥΡΕΘΗ ΕΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ

Additional Hints and Techniques

All of the above assumes, in essence, that you know what encryption method is used. What if you don't?

For the elementary ciphers of ancient times, it's surprisingly easy to get a clue to the messages. The starting point is always to determine the number of symbols. If the message is in Greek, and has only 24 (or fewer) symbols, then it is an alphabetic system of some sort: Either a substitution or a transposition. If it has more than 24, then it is probably a nomenclator (either that, or it uses numerical symbols or symbols for punctuation). If it is a nomenclator, of course, you're going to have to start collecting additional samples.

If, however, it has only 24 (or fewer) symbols, then there are three basic possibilities: transposition, monalphabetic substitution (where one letter in the ciphertext always represents the same letter in the plaintext), or polyalphabetic (where one letter in the ciphertext represents different letters in the plaintext). A simple frequency count will tell you which one is used.

Recall our Greek frequency table. We listed it in terms of the most common letters. But let's list it in alphabetical order. That gives us

A -- 11.0%	H -- 3.9%	N -- 8.2%	T -- 7.4%
B -- 0.6%	Q -- 1.7%	X -- 0.3%	U -- 6.0%
G -- 1.6%	I -- 9.5%	O -- 10.1%	F -- 0.6%
D -- 2.0%	K -- 3.3%	P -- 3.1%	W -- 3.2%
E -- 10.1%	L -- 2.8%	R -- 3.3%	C -- 0.6%
Z -- 0.2%	M -- 2.6%	S -- 7.6%	Y -- 0.1%

This is actually something we can graph. Here is the "shape" of the above frequency distribution (each * represents half a percent).

A -- 11.0%	**********
B -- 0.6%	*
G -- 1.6%	***
D -- 2.0%	****
E -- 10.1%	**********
Z -- 0.2%	
H -- 3.9%	********
Q -- 1.7%	***
I -- 9.5%	**********
K -- 3.3%	*******
L -- 2.8%	******
M -- 2.6%	*****
N -- 8.2%	**********
X -- 0.3%	*
O -- 10.1%	**********
P -- 3.1%	******
R -- 3.3%	*******
S -- 7.6%	**********
T -- 7.4%	**********
U -- 6.0%	**********
F -- 0.6%	*
W -- 3.2%	******
C -- 0.6%	*
Y -- 0.1%	

If an enciphered message matches this frequency distribution (i.e. A E I N O S T are among the most common letters), then it is enciphered in a transposition cipher.

If the message fails the test, then sort the letters from most to least common. If we again graph our letters, sorting that way, we get this distribution:

A -- 11.0%	**********
E -- 10.1%	**********
O -- 10.1%	**********
I -- 9.5%	**********
N -- 8.2%	**********
S -- 7.6%	**********
T -- 7.4%	**********
U -- 6.0%	**********
H -- 3.9%	********
K -- 3.3%	*******
R -- 3.3%	*******
W -- 3.2%	******
P -- 3.1%	******
L -- 2.8%	******
M -- 2.6%	*****
D -- 2.0%	****
Q -- 1.7%	***
G -- 1.6%	***
B -- 0.6%	*
F -- 0.6%	*
C -- 0.6%	*
X -- 0.3%	*
Z -- 0.2%	
Y -- 0.1%	

If the message, upon sorting, reveals this sort of distribution, then it is a monalphabetic substitution.

If the frequency distribution is noticeably flatter than the above (that is, if the most common letters aren't as common as in the above table, and if the least common letters are more common than in the above), then chances are it's polyalphabetic. A typical early polyalphabetic technique is to use a keyword to shift between "Caesar" alphabets. (This is known as a Vigenère cipher; there are more sophisticated forms of this thing, where the alphabets aren't mere Caesar shifts, but we're trying to keep this short.) Let's take our old pal THIS IS A CIPHER as our plaintext, and use as our keyword the short phrase "MANY." What we do is encode the first letter of THIS IS A CIPHER with the M of Many, then the second letter using A, then the third with N, then Y, then use M again. So, for example, the Caesar alphabet corresponding to M is:

Plain:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
Cipher:	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L

The alphabet corresponding to A is the regular alphabet. That corresponding to N is:

Plain:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
Cipher:	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M

That corresponding to Y is:

Plain:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
Cipher:	Y	Z	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X

So we encode THIS IS A CIPHER as:

Plaintext:	T	H	I	S		I	S		A		C	I	P	H	E	R
Keyword:	M	A	N	Y		M	A		N		Y	M	A	N	Y	M
Ciphertext:	F	H	V	Q		U	S		N		A	U	P	U	C	D

So THIS IS A CIPHER becomes FHVQ US N AUPUCD.

Now let's apply this knowledge. I've taken two messages (both in English, because it takes a spreadsheet to do this without error, and when I started this I didn't have a spreadsheet that could operate using the Greek alphabet). Each message is enciphered three ways: Once with a transposition, once with a monalphabetic substitution, and once with a polyalphabetic substitution. We of course omit spaces and punctuation; line breaks in the items below are arbitrary.

Version 1:

```
XBYOPMKBCTYDXMJAWDWTXBYOCOMJBYEUDJMKKXBYOUBJPWTZZBWYOTJBNO
YMZNDANBRTZQZYDZTTYOTJBNOYKTYQZZYJBRTDWYDUBWBZOYOTXDJLXTMJ
TBWYDSBWAQHYOTWMYBDWZXDQWAZYDCMJTUDJOBPXODZOMKKOMRTSDJWTYO
TSMYYKTMWAUDJOBZXBADXMWAOBZDJHOMWYDADMKKXOBCOPMEMCOBTRTMWA
COTJBZOMVQZYMWAKMZYBWNHTMCTMPDWNDQJZTKRTZMWAXBYOMKKWMYBDWZ
```

Version 2:

```
XSAEUXSNDEUNHIOTLTIAECMWHNOILTILTAAWDEHTNRAOIWNWSEDNVRULASEO
RFLAYAHTROICEAGNEPGCOMANTRSEIIWFNMHLTLITDSUNSAAJTIATRNIEHGHS
DRAHENAHSICEDETSVOGIUSGSMCVEAHCYIHAIERTHEESHGITOTAHWONADLLOH
UROETTESVISLAIPRHWODOSNDFSEHIOTNTHINDHIWRNAOSIFEKRTNAROEIEWW
EBLTENRHTATONTANPIBUEHDOHHBELSOLVAAHNUTSOOIWDNSTRRWMOACFIHEO
```

Version 3:

```
MCBJWBCWYRYCTJLPCGBZAZEHBFDFOJSNQBBCZSVYVCRLYCWGNMEEHDPLUN
JUAIYEXWRRXIPCIETWHCIITGGROSZKMAVBJMSKAYCCRHUHZHCINZRJUHOX
UCVVYCZBZHUHENHMIACIWNZUMBVHUSUZGPPIVEZBVLBBMADVVZVMOQLHHN
UVIVDMVOJQKCOQCELARJARYDGGVCXFBIPDPUCWYQKERWTBSMVGYTEUCDBJ
SBMTSTYOFHXHXWXXPKHDRXAEZAHOSEHOQESJSHIJGXWXIXLVVPCYASGRBY
```

If we look at these three ciphers, we get the following set of distributions:

Version 1				Version 2				Version 3		
Letter:	Occurs:	Percent:		Letter:	Occurs:	Percent:		Letter:	Occurs:	Percent:
A	11	3.8		A	27	9		A	11	3.8
B	26	9		B	3	1		B	17	5.9
C	7	2.4		C	7	2.3		C	21	7.2
D	23	7.9		D	12	4		D	8	2.8
E	2	0.7		E	28	9.3		E	13	4.5
F	0	0		F	5	1.7		F	4	1.4
G	0	0		G	6	2		G	10	3.4
H	3	1		H	25	8.3		H	19	6.6
I	0	0		I	26	8.7		I	13	4.5
J	16	5.5		J	1	0.3		J	11	3.8
K	13	4.5		K	1	0.3		K	5	1.7
L	1	0.3		L	13	4.3		L	7	2.4
M	26	9		M	5	1.7		M	11	3.8
N	6	2.1		N	23	7.7		N	7	2.4
O	25	8.6		O	23	7.7		O	9	3.1
P	5	1.7		P	3	1		P	9	3.1
Q	6	2.1		Q	0	0		Q	6	2.1
R	5	1.7		R	16	5.3		R	12	4.1
S	3	1		S	21	7		S	12	4.1
T	26	9		T	26	8.7		T	7	2.4
U	5	1.7		U	8	2.7		U	12	4.1
V	1	0.3		V	5	1.7		V	18	6.2
W	22	7.6		W	12	4		W	10	3.4
X	12	4.1		X	2	0.7		X	12	4.1
Y	26	9		Y	2	0.7		Y	13	4.5
Z	20	6.9		Z	0	0		Z	13	4.5

Can you tell, just by these numbers, which cipher is which? It's easy enough once you know what to look for. Observe version 2 first. Look at the figures for A, E, I, and T -- all in the vicinity of 9%. Compare the figures for Q and Z, which do not occur at all. This is the standard English distribution, with its "tail" of low-frequency letters at the end. Clearly this is the transposition cipher.

Version 1 is equally clearly the monalphabetic substitution; it doesn't follow the standard English frequency table, but it has much the same numbers: B, M, T, and Y all around 9%, and F, G, and I non-existent.

With two versions of the message, you should probably be able to solve the substitution cipher by inspection.

But what about version #3? Based on the first two encryptions, we know, in this "laboratory" setting, what it says. But what about in the real world?

Observe that the distribution is much more level than either #1 or #2. The rarest letter is F, which occurs four times; only one other letter, K, occurs fewer than six times. And the most common letter, C, occurs only 7.2% of the time, and only two other letters, H and V, occurring over 6% of the time. There can be no doubt, in this case, that the substitution is polyalphabetic. It's not an ideal polyalphabetic, in which all letters occur with roughly equal frequency, but with such a small sample, it will be hard to solve.

Fortunately, we aren't confined to such a small sample. I promised one other cipher using the same system. So let's try it.

Version 1:

```
KHNQBULBWGJZVOIDIZSBSFOSDLVSUVGIPUJERPUJTXLNAULVZMIQAKJLPOBCBAST
WONSWCJLUDGQWIKKSEVCLUNJCVVRFZFLEFQQRWMABIYKVXEMRZVOSBQUKMNOUFFZ
IXQQSLCDXZYTGCRFEVIZYRJCSAIJFVXHQLWZGOEZWRFLAYUFNVYCVTWYQWYUYRT
OHCMEVISLHQKIMITIUFHWXJOKHJDTUOPXZZNRYJOODMBVRFZFKJSTXUFUQAZDXP
```

Version 2:

```
XEUNSXYNUDUTONLEUFNTTARUFIILLNWLIBAORGSDEOFHOOTYITRITAGSEHNAEANIMS
NFKNOEETSNURPAOICYETHTCHTAFOFDYANATRAOEKTSFIILLRILIBAENNSETIHICEKT
SFCMRIYAORFTLLWEBAFIFELEYTEWGRRNEHIAILBOEHSSTFMWTHPRTHGNIEIINLONEO
YWKLERTLGDACACUJIRRLEVIOFHEEWYNISIHEMWHCTEITRONOTIEHTDALEWAWLSOLYA
```

Version 3:

```
QWUDJYQWMYTKEUDJYOTNDDAZTWZTDUPMWLBWAYOTUMCYDUYOTBJUMKKBSBKBYEBZ
UMJUJDPCMJJEBWNYOTXTBNOYBWYOTBJHJMCYBCMKVQANTPTWYXOBCOBZMKXMEZMK
KDXTAYDBYBWYOTDJEUDJXOBKTTRTJEDWTXTKKLWDXZOBPZTKUYDSTUMKKBSKTUT
XYOBWLBYWTCTZZMJEYDYMLTMWEHJTCMQYBDWZMNMBWZYYOTBJDXWUMKKBSBKBYE
```

Again, the frequency distribution:

Version 1				Version 2				Version 3		
Letter:	Occurs:	Percent:		Letter:	Occurs:	Percent:		Letter:	Occurs:	Percent:
A	7	2.8		A	19	7.2		A	4	1.6
B	8	3.1		B	4	1.5		B	26	10.2
C	9	3.5		C	7	2.7		C	7	2.8
D	7	2.8		D	5	1.9		D	17	6.7
E	7	2.8		E	28	10.6		E	9	3.5
F	14	5.5		F	13	4.9		F	0	0
G	5	2		G	5	1.9		G	0	0
H	6	2.4		H	13	4.9		H	2	0.8
I	13	5.1		I	26	9.8		I	0	0
J	12	4.7		J	1	0.4		J	15	5.9
K	9	3.5		K	4	1.5		K	18	7.1
L	12	4.7		L	18	6.8		L	4	1.6
M	7	2.8		M	4	1.5		M	19	7.5
N	7	2.8		N	19	7.2		N	5	2
O	12	4.7		O	17	6.4		O	13	5.1
P	5	2		P	2	0.8		P	4	1.6
Q	12	4.7		Q	0	0		Q	4	1.6
R	10	3.9		R	15	5.7		R	1	0.4
S	12	4.7		S	12	4.5		S	4	1.6
T	8	3.1		T	24	9.1		T	27	10.6
U	15	5.9		U	7	2.7		U	13	5.1
V	15	5.9		V	1	0.4		V	1	0.4
W	10	3.9		W	9	3.4		W	17	6.7
X	9	3.5		X	2	0.8		X	9	3.5
Y	9	3.5		Y	9	3.4		Y	24	9.4
Z	14	5.5		Z	0	0		Z	11	4.3

Once again, let's analyze these. The one that sticks out like a sore thumb is 2: 10.6% E, 9.1% T, 0% Q, 0%Z, 0.4% V. Pretty definitely a transposition.

Version 3 also has a strongly characteristic profile: 10.6% T, 10.2% B, 9.4% Y, 0% F, G, and I. Clearly it's a monoalphabetic substitution.

And then there is version 1. No letter occurs more than 5.9% of the time, and nothing occurs less than 2% of the time. Again, clearly, a polyalphabetic substitution.

So now what? The monalphabetic substitution is trivial. What about the others?

We aren't going to go into details; that's the province of a real book on cryptography. Still, the transposition cipher shouldn't be too tough. There are some potentially useful hints here. The two samples we have of the transposition cipher have lengths 288 and 264, respectively -- interesting numbers, because they differ by 24, and both are multiples of 24. That's a strong hint that, in addition to being a transposition cipher, it operates on blocks of 24 units or some even fraction of that figure (12, 8, 6, 4, 3, 2), with the most likely being toward the high end of that range. Presumably messages which don't have the right number of items are padded out somehow.

The real problem, though, is the polyalphabetic substitution. Long after experts had solved monalphabetic problems, polyalphabetic substitutions were thought impossible; to crack them, you needed the key phrase, and there was no place to attack it.

In fact, there *was* a point of attack. It requires, however, a much larger sample of text than ordinary monalphabetics, with the factor increasing at about the same rate as the (unknown) length of the keyword. And messages can change keywords.

Is it possible to determine if two messages have the same keyword? The answer, surprisingly, is yes. This follows from the work of W. F. Friedman around the time of the First World wWar. Friedman's work, in fact, is absolutely general: It can discover if *any* two messages were encoded using identical methods.

This follows from the fact that some letters are more common than others. What does this mean? Consider what happens if you take two random sets of letters. Simple probability says that, if we line them up letter by letter, you will get the same letter at any given position only one time in 26 (about 4%) for the Roman alphabet, or one time in 24 (also around 4%) in Greek.

Is that how it works in reality? Not at all. *Because* some letters are more common than others, two meaningful English messages will correspond not one time in 26, or 3.85% of the time, but almost exactly one time in 15, or 6.67% of the time.

We can demonstrate this. I took a King James Bible and randomly opened it and pointed to a verse to get two test passages. The first proved to be Ezekiel 39:2f. --
And I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee, and will cause thee to come up from the north parts, and will bring thee upon the mountains of Israel: (3) and I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand, and will cause thine arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

Passage 2 is John 5:28ff. --
Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in graves shall hear his voice, (29) and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and

they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation. (30) I can of mine own self do nothing....

The table below lines up these two passages one above the other; where the same letter occurs in the same position in each passage, it's marked *. We use the first 208 letters of each passage.

```
ANDI WI LLTURNTHEEBACKANDLEAVEBUTTHESI XTHPARTOFTHEEAND
MARVELNOTATTHI SFORTHEHOURI SCOMI NGI NTHEWHI CHALLTHATAR
          *

WI LLCAUSETHEETOCOMEUPFROMTHENORTHPARTSANDWI LLBRI NGTH
EI NGRAVESSHALLHEARHI SVOI CEANDSHALLCOMEFORTHTHEYTHATH
  *     *       *                                      * *

EEUPONTHEMOUNTAI NSOFI SRAELANDI WI LLSMI TETHYBOWOUTOFTH
AVEDONEGOODUNTOTHERESURRECTI ONOFLI FEANDTHEYTHATHAVED
      * *       * * *           *  *          *         * *

YLEFTHANDANDWI LLCAUSETHI NEARROWSTOFALLOUTOFTHYRI GHTH
ONEEVI LUNTOTHERESURRECTI ONOFDAMNATI ONI CANOFMI NEOWNSE
   *                          *    *                  * *
```

In all, there are 21 letters marked * out of 208 letters total — a shade over 10%.

Compare what happens when we use random letters for the second test — in this case, just the alphabet repeated eight times:

```
ANDI WI LLTURNTHEEBACKANDLEAVEBUTTHESI XTHPARTOFTHEEAND
ABCDEFGHI JKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZABCDEFGHI JKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
*                                                    *

WI LLCAUSETHEETOCOMEUPFROMTHENORTHPARTSANDWI LLBRI NGTH
ABCDEFGHI JKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZABCDEFGHI JKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
                  *                          *

EEUPONTHEMOUNTAI NSOFI SRAELANDI WI LLSMI TETHYBOWOUTOFTH
ABCDEFGHI JKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZABCDEFGHI JKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
          *                  *                  *

YLEFTHANDANDWI LLCAUSETHI NEARROWSTOFALLOUTOFTHYRI GHTH
ABCDEFGHI JKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZABCDEFGHI JKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
                           *               *
```

This gives us a mere nine hits in 208 letters -- not quite 4.5%, or about what we would expect of unrelated messages.

This is only an example, but the rule is general: messages where we have more than the expected level of correspondence of about 4% have a meaningful relationship (such as being in the same language). There is, of course, a lot of associated math to deal with the amount of error from the norm, but we can let that slide.

But, I can hear you objecting, the message is ciphered! That will destroy the correspondence between the letters.

But that's the whole point. As long as the two messages are enciphered using the same cipher method, so that the same letter at the same position will produce the same cipher letter at the same cipher position, *the frequency argument applies.* If a plaintext A in position becomes a Q (say), then you'll have a Q in both messages, and you'll still have a correspondence.

In fact, taking our two samples of a polyalphabetic above, we find that in 254 letters, there are 13 correspondences, or 5.1%. That's a close call -- about halfway between the expected values -- but it appears that there is correspondence. (If we really cared, there is a test, the phi test, to determine if the correspondence is statistically significant, but we aren't really that concerned.)

The trick, then, is to find the keyword or keyphrase used to encrypt the passage. The easiest way to do this, if we have have enough text, is to determine the *length* of the phrase, and then do frequency analysis on the individual letters of the phrase. That is, if we know the key phrase is (say) 10 letters long, then letters #1, #11, #21, #31, etc. are all enciphered using the same alphabet; #2, #12, #22, #32 are enciphered with another alphabet, #3, #13, #23, #33 with a third, and so forth.

Can we determine the key length? Quite possibly.

The trick is to look for strings of similar letters. It's possible that one could have, e.g., the string FYSI occur twice in a message simply by accident -- but the chances are much higher that it is the same four-letter plaintext enciphered with the same four letters of keytext. So the trick is to search messages for strings of repeated letters (preferably blocks of three or more).

In the case of the first cipher, we find “HCI” at positions 77-79 and 106-108 and “XWX” at 245-247 and 274-276.

In the second cipher, we have the extremely significant 5-letter sequence “VRFZF” at positions 91-95 and 236-240 (the longer the sequence, the higher the odds that it represents an actual correlated text. A two-letter correspondence may be significant but will occur by coincidence. It is rare, though not unknown, for a 3-letter sequence to be coincidence. A 5-

letter sequence, however, is almost certainly the result of an actual alignment -- though there is a famous instance of such a long coincidence puzzling a famous cryptographer for a very long time).

Now we look for the repeat length. That's found by measuring the distances between our repeat blocks and taking prime factors:

106-77 = 29 = 29x1
274-245 = 29 = 29x1
236-91 = 145 = 29x5

Since 29 is a factor of all our repeats -- the *only* factor of all our repeats (other than 1, which can't be the answer since a repeat length of 1 represents a monalphabetic substitution), we know with near-certainty that we have a polyalphabetic substitution with key length 29.

So we just line up our two messages in blocks of 29 characters:

```
MCBJWBCWYRYCTJLPCGBZAZEHBFDFO
JSNQBBCZSVYVCRLYCWGNMEEHDPLUN
JUAIYEXWRRXIPCIETWHCIITGGROSZ
KMAVBJMSKAYCCRHUHZHCINZRJUHOX
UCVVYCZBZHUHENHMIACIWNZUMBVHU   <-- Message 1
SUZGPPIVEZBVLBBMADVVZVMOQLHHN
UVIVDMVOJQKCOQCELARJARYDGGVCX
FBIPDPUCWYQKERWTBSMVGYTEUCDBJ
SBMTSTYOFHXHXWXXPKHDRXAEZAHOS
EHOQESJSHIJGXWXIXLVVPCYASGRBY


KHNQBULBWGJZVOIDIZSBSFOSDLVSU
VGIPUJERPUJTXLNAULVZMIQAKJLPO
BCBASTWONSWCJLUDGQWIKKSEVCLUN
JCVVRFZFLEFQQRWMABIYKVXEMRZVO   <-- Message 2
SBQUKMNOUFFZIXQQSLCDXZYTGCRFE
VIZYRJCSAIJFVXHQLWZGOEZWRFLAY
UFNVYCVTWYQWYUYRTOHCMEVISLHQK
IMITIUFHWXJOKHJDTUOPXZZNRYJOO
DMBVRFZFKJSTXUFUQAZDXP
```

Again, at this point the standard approach is to read down each column and take frequency analysis of that. Sadly, our sample is awfully short -- 19 letters for most columns, and in a few cases, only 18. This is not necessarily as bad as it sounds. We assume (since this is an primitive cipher) that there is a meaningful keyphrase, capable of being remembered -- and hence reasoned back to.

There are several possible lines of attack. One is to operate based on our found repeats. In the first cipher, we had two repeats of three letters. It's not too bad a bet to assume these, or at least one of them, represents the word "the." If we assume a Caesar cipher based on the keyword (the standard form of early Vigenère), then knowing the plaintext, we can reason back to the keyword.

Another approach is to take the frequency analysis for each column and guess that the most common letter is E and see what that yields. It's almost certain that that won't work in at least *some* of those instances, given the small text of the sample, but it might give us a clue. For example, the distribution in column 1 is
J, S, U - 3; K, V - 2; B, D, E, F, I, M - 1
That's not much help, since, of course, we have three letters which are most common. Odds are, though, that those three include three of the eight A, E, I, N, O, R, S, T. That's a lot of possibilities (120, to be exact), but we're assuming a Vigenère cipher, which means that the letters should be in order. So we can seek an alignment. Our three letters are:

```
.........J........S.U.....
```

We expect them to align with

```
A...E...I....NO..RST......
```

That is, since we're assuming that every letter in the set {J,S,U} corresponds to a letter in the set {A,E,I,N,O,R,S,T}, and we assume that the letters in the set {J,S,U} are in order, it must be that, if we list them in order and compare against the letters of the alphabet, then every letter in the set {J,S,U} will match a letter in the other set. So we start trying solutions. For example, taking the above case (which assumes no cipher), we have

```
.........J........S.U.....
A...E...I....NO..RST......
```

This gives us a hit at S=S, but no correspondence at J or U; this is no good. So we shift the top alphabet over one letter, giving us:

```
..........J........S.U....
A...E...I....NO..RST......
```

This time, we have a hit at S=T, but no match for J or U. So we keep looking. Sparing you the details, for column one there is only one solution which gives us hits on all three letters:

```
PLAIN: A...E...I....NO..RST......
CIPHER:........J........S.U.....
```

It turns out, however, that this alignment is wrong. In fact, the alignment will turn out to be (note that we still have two hits):

```
PLAIN: A...E...I....NO..RST......
CIPHER:..S.U.............J.......
```

Still, if we attack on enough such points, we can probably deduce the keyword. Since this is beyond our scope, we'll stop there and just give the solutions:

The first passage is from Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural address, given March 4, 1865, but still words worth remembering.

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

The second is from John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty,* in the section "Of the Liberty of Thought and Discussion."

Unfortunately for the good sense of mankind, the fact of their fallibility is far from carrying the weight in their practical judgement, which is always allowed to it in theory; for while every one well knows himself to be fallible, few think it necessary to take any precautions against their own fallibility.

The transposition cipher operates in blocks of 12 characters, taking them in the order 4,8,12,11,7,3,2,6,10,9,5,1. These blocks are then further scrambled, with the last block, then the first block, then the next-to-last block, then the second block, then the second from the last, then the third, etc. This transposition, of course, requires a message with a length that is a multiple of 12 letters. So we pad the end: After the last character, we include a letter X (two, if there is room), and then random text.

The monalphabetic substitution uses this pattern:

Plaintext:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
Ciphertext:	M	S	C	A	T	U	N	O	B	V	L	K	P	W	D	H	I	J	Z	Y	Q	R	X	F	E	G

The keyword for the polyalphabetic substitution is QUICK BROWN FOX JUMPS OVER LAZY DOG. This is chosen deliberately because it contains so many different letters, which will tend to flatten the frequency distribution. Though, in fact, it has a disadvantage also: It's 29 letters long, which is prime; this means that repeats every 29 letters will stick out like sore thumbs; it's better to use keywords with lengths that have a large number of factors.

The above line of argument, of course, all depends on recognizing when two messages are encrypted with the same system. The test we described above is technically called the "kappa test." This is after the two parameters involved, κ_r (kappa sub r) and κ_p (kappa sub p). The former is the expected rate of correspondence between two random collections of letters (the subscript r stands for "random"); the latter is the rate of correspondence for two messages encrypted the same way (the subscript p is for "plaintext."). Calculating κ_r is trivial: It's one

divided by the number of letters in the alphabet or symbol set. So, as noted above, κ_r for English is 1/26 or 0.38. For Greek, the figure is 1/24 or 0.42.

Calculating κ_p is only slightly harder if you know the frequency distribution for your selected language. For any random alphabet with n letters, where f(n) represents the frequency of the nth letter,

$\kappa_p = f(1)^2 + f(2)^2 + ... + f(n)^2$

So in English, this would be the frequency of the letter A (about .08) squared, plus the frequency of B (about .01) squared, plus the frequency of C (about .03), etc., through the frequency of Z. This rule applies for *any* language (even syllabic and ideographic languages, though of course those will have higher kappa figures). David Kahn's *The Codebreakers* reports that Russian yields a value of 0.53 for κ_p, while French is .078, German .072, Italian . 074, and .078 for Spanish. A different source, Frederick Gass, "Solving a Jules Verne Cryptogram," printed in *Mathematics Magazine,* Volume 59, Number 1 (February 1986) gives slightly different figures: English, 0.066; French, 0.076; German, 0.076; Portugese, 0.079; Russian, 0.053; Spanish, 0.078.

Looking back at our table for Biblical Greek, we find that κ_p works out to .071. Tables for Hebrew, Latin, Syriac, etc. are left as exercises for the reader, since I don't have frequency data for any of those languages.

There is another interesting footnote to this study, in that there is an actual test for determining if one has successfully decrypted a message -- the Shannon unicity test. When applied to a text which seems to be partially solved (e.g. a message shortened by leaving out unneeded vowels, as we might write THS IS A CPHR for THIS IS A CIPHER), it determines if the level of sense is more likely to arise from an actual decryption or from random factors. This test too is beyond the scope of this article. But readers dealing with real cryptographic systems should be aware that these tests exist.

Cumdach

The Irish name for a “book shrine.” These were often highly elaborate protective covers. Sometimes the very case was revered, but they could also be effective guards for the contents — there is at least one instance of a book in its cumdach being tossed into the sea and later being recovered essentially intact. The covers of the most valued manuscripts were often decorated and even inlaid with gold or jewels.

D

Dating Systems and Dates of Manuscripts

Introduction

The majority of manuscripts, particularly the oldest manuscripts, bear no dates. This is unfortunate, as it forces us to try to date these documents — which are the basis for most modern editions of the New Testament — on the basis of Paleography.

Happily, a number of manuscripts do have dates, found normally in the colophons. Most of these dates are not, of course, in the common era. We have to translate them.

The Year of the World

The most common method of dating found in colophons is the "Year of the World" or the "Year of the Creation of the World." The Byzantines dated the creation to, in our terms, 5508 B.C.E. Thus, to obtain the Common Era date from a World Year date, one subtracts 5508. (Note, however, that the Byzantine year began on September 1. So for dates from September to December, one subtracts 5509.)

Example: Manuscript 861 is dated to (to use modern month names) to May 7, 6343. From 6343 we subtract 5508 to learn that 861 was copied in 835 C.E.

Indictions

Strange as it may sound, not all manuscripts with hints about their origin give an exact date. And some that do (e.g. 1505) bear false dates. As a cross-check and source of additional information, many manuscripts give the year according to the year of the indiction.

The Indictions initiated with the (pagan) Emperor Diocletian, who imposed a fifteen-year cycle of property taxes. According to William G. Sinnigen and Arthur E. R. Boak, A *History of Rome to A.D. 565,* sixth edition, MacMillan, 1977, p. 445, "The total land tax was announced in an annual proclamation called an indiction *(indictio)*, which also specified the amount assessed against each province, and a revaluation of the tax units was made periodically. The term indiction was also used for the period between two reassessments, which occurred at first every five years and after 312 every fifteen years."

Despite their secular origin, the indictions were maintained by Constantine and other followers, and long survived in church datings.

The indictions followed a fifteen year cycle beginning in 312 C.E. (generally dating from September 1; this was known as the Indiction of Constantinople. But others dated from September 24, 312, or from October 1, 312, or from January 1, 313). Indictions ranged from 1 to 15, and the year September 1, 312–August 31, 313 was indiction 1. So the technical formula for the indiction of a year X is given by

Indiction= (X+2) MOD 15 + 1

In other words, take the number, add two, then take the remainder when divided by fifteen and add one. Alternately, you can take the number and add three, then divide by fifteen and take the remainder of that. If the remainder is zero, the indiction is fifteen; otherwise, the indiction is the remainder. If *that* also seems to complicated, just count up by fifteens from the year 312/313 (which is, of course, Indiction 1), or use the following table (remembering that this *only* applies to the first eight months of the year:

Indiction	Years with this indiction
1	313 328 343 358 373 388 403 418 433 448 463 478 493 508 523 538 553 568 583 598 613 628 643 658 673 688 703 718 733 748 763 778 793 808 823 838 853 868 883 898 913 928 943 958 973 988 1003 1018 1033 1048 1063 1078 1093 1108 1123 1138 1153 1168 1183 1198 1213 1228 1243 1258 1273 1288 1303 1318 1333 1348 1363 1378 1393 1408 1423 1438 1453 1468 1483 1498 1513 1528 1543 1558 1573 1588
2	314 329 344 359 374 389 404 419 434 449 464 479 494 509 524 539 554 569 584 599 614 629 644 659 674 689 704 719 734 749 764 779 794 809 824 839 854 869 884 899 914 929 944 959 974 989 1004 1019 1034 1049 1064 1079 1094 1109 1124 1139 1154 1169 1184 1199 1214 1229 1244 1259 1274 1289 1304 1319 1334 1349 1364 1379 1394 1409 1424 1439 1454 1469 1484 1499 1514 1529 1544 1559 1574 1589
3	315 330 345 360 375 390 405 420 435 450 465 480 495 510 525 540 555 570 585 600 615 630 645 660 675 690 705 720 735 750 765 780 795 810 825 840 855 870 885 900 915 930 945 960 975 990 1005 1020 1035 1050 1065 1080 1095 1110 1125 1140 1155 1170 1185 1200 1215 1230 1245 1260 1275 1290 1305 1320 1335 1350 1365 1380 1395 1410 1425 1440 1455 1470 1485 1500 1515 1530 1545 1560 1575 1590
4	316 331 346 361 376 391 406 421 436 451 466 481 496 511 526 541 556 571 586 601 616 631 646 661 676 691 706 721 736 751 766 781 796 811 826 841 856 871 886 901 916 931 946 961 976 991 1006 1021 1036 1051 1066 1081 1096 1111 1126 1141 1156 1171 1186 1201 1216 1231 1246 1261 1276 1291 1306 1321 1336 1351 1366 1381 1396 1411 1426 1441 1456 1471 1486 1501 1516 1531 1546 1561 1576 1591

5	317 332 347 362 377 392 407 422 437 452 467 482 497 512 527 542 557 572 587 602 617 632 647 662 677 692 707 722 737 752 767 782 797 812 827 842 857 872 887 902 917 932 947 962 977 992 1007 1022 1037 1052 1067 1082 1097 1112 1127 1142 1157 1172 1187 1202 1217 1232 1247 1262 1277 1292 1307 1322 1337 1352 1367 1382 1397 1412 1427 1442 1457 1472 1487 1502 1517 1532 1547 1562 1577 1592
6	318 333 348 363 378 393 408 423 438 453 468 483 498 513 528 543 558 573 588 603 618 633 648 663 678 693 708 723 738 753 768 783 798 813 828 843 858 873 888 903 918 933 948 963 978 993 1008 1023 1038 1053 1068 1083 1098 1113 1128 1143 1158 1173 1188 1203 1218 1233 1248 1263 1278 1293 1308 1323 1338 1353 1368 1383 1398 1413 1428 1443 1458 1473 1488 1503 1518 1533 1548 1563 1578 1593
7	319 334 349 364 379 394 409 424 439 454 469 484 499 514 529 544 559 574 589 604 619 634 649 664 679 694 709 724 739 754 769 784 799 814 829 844 859 874 889 904 919 934 949 964 979 994 1009 1024 1039 1054 1069 1084 1099 1114 1129 1144 1159 1174 1189 1204 1219 1234 1249 1264 1279 1294 1309 1324 1339 1354 1369 1384 1399 1414 1429 1444 1459 1474 1489 1504 1519 1534 1549 1564 1579 1594
8	320 335 350 365 380 395 410 425 440 455 470 485 500 515 530 545 560 575 590 605 620 635 650 665 680 695 710 725 740 755 770 785 800 815 830 845 860 875 890 905 920 935 950 965 980 995 1010 1025 1040 1055 1070 1085 1100 1115 1130 1145 1160 1175 1190 1205 1220 1235 1250 1265 1280 1295 1310 1325 1340 1355 1370 1385 1400 1415 1430 1445 1460 1475 1490 1505 1520 1535 1550 1565 1580 1595
9	321 336 351 366 381 396 411 426 441 456 471 486 501 516 531 546 561 576 591 606 621 636 651 666 681 696 711 726 741 756 771 786 801 816 831 846 861 876 891 906 921 936 951 966 981 996 1011 1026 1041 1056 1071 1086 1101 1116 1131 1146 1161 1176 1191 1206 1221 1236 1251 1266 1281 1296 1311 1326 1341 1356 1371 1386 1401 1416 1431 1446 1461 1476 1491 1506 1521 1536 1551 1566 1581 1596
10	322 337 352 367 382 397 412 427 442 457 472 487 502 517 532 547 562 577 592 607 622 637 652 667 682 697 712 727 742 757 772 787 802 817 832 847 862 877 892 907 922 937 952 967 982 997 1012 1027 1042 1057 1072 1087 1102 1117 1132 1147 1162 1177 1192 1207 1222 1237 1252 1267 1282 1297 1312 1327 1342 1357 1372 1387 1402 1417 1432 1447 1462 1477 1492 1507 1522 1537 1552 1567 1582 1597

11	323 338 353 368 383 398 413 428 443 458 473 488 503 518 533 548 563 578 593 608 623 638 653 668 683 698 713 728 743 758 773 788 803 818 833 848 863 878 893 908 923 938 953 968 983 998 1013 1028 1043 1058 1073 1088 1103 1118 1133 1148 1163 1178 1193 1208 1223 1238 1253 1268 1283 1298 1313 1328 1343 1358 1373 1388 1403 1418 1433 1448 1463 1478 1493 1508 1523 1538 1553 1568 1583 1598
12	324 339 354 369 384 399 414 429 444 459 474 489 504 519 534 549 564 579 594 609 624 639 654 669 684 699 714 729 744 759 774 789 804 819 834 849 864 879 894 909 924 939 954 969 984 999 1014 1029 1044 1059 1074 1089 1104 1119 1134 1149 1164 1179 1194 1209 1224 1239 1254 1269 1284 1299 1314 1329 1344 1359 1374 1389 1404 1419 1434 1449 1464 1479 1494 1509 1524 1539 1554 1569 1584 1599
13	325 340 355 370 385 400 415 430 445 460 475 490 505 520 535 550 565 580 595 610 625 640 655 670 685 700 715 730 745 760 775 790 805 820 835 850 865 880 895 910 925 940 955 970 985 1000 1015 1030 1045 1060 1075 1090 1105 1120 1135 1150 1165 1180 1195 1210 1225 1240 1255 1270 1285 1300 1315 1330 1345 1360 1375 1390 1405 1420 1435 1450 1465 1480 1495 1510 1525 1540 1555 1570 1585 1600
14	326 341 356 371 386 401 416 431 446 461 476 491 506 521 536 551 566 581 596 611 626 641 656 671 686 701 716 731 746 761 776 791 806 821 836 851 866 881 896 911 926 941 956 971 986 1001 1016 1031 1046 1061 1076 1091 1106 1121 1136 1151 1166 1181 1196 1211 1226 1241 1256 1271 1286 1301 1316 1331 1346 1361 1376 1391 1406 1421 1436 1451 1466 1481 1496 1511 1526 1541 1556 1571 1586 1601
15	327 342 357 372 387 402 417 432 447 462 477 492 507 522 537 552 567 582 597 612 627 642 657 672 687 702 717 732 747 762 777 792 807 822 837 852 867 882 897 912 927 942 957 972 987 1002 1017 1032 1047 1062 1077 1092 1107 1122 1137 1152 1167 1182 1197 1212 1227 1242 1257 1272 1287 1302 1317 1332 1347 1362 1377 1392 1407 1422 1437 1452 1467 1482 1497 1512 1527 1542 1557 1572 1587 1602

To find indictions before the year 312 (although there is no reason to do so), simply note that 1 C.E. is indiction 4.

Other Indications of Date

Colophons could contain many other sorts of information that could be used for dating. The aforementioned colophon to 1505, for instance, contains nine indications of date: the year, the indiction, and all of the following:

Monarch (Alexius Comnenus)

Sun cycle

Moon cycle

Sunday of abstinence from meat

Legal passover

Christian Passover (Easter)

Length of the Fast of the Holy Apostles

Given the wide variety of information available, I'm not particularly interested in offering tables for all of these various possibilities. We can, however, offer this list of Byzantine Emperors from the year 800 on (note the occurrence of various rival emperors).

797–802	Irene
802–811	Nicephorus I
811	Stauracius
811–813	Michael I
813–820	Leo V
820–829	Michael II
820–842	Theophilus I
842–867	Michael III
867–886	Basil I "The Macedonian"
886–911	Leo VI
912–913	Alexander II
911–959	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus
920–944	Romanus I Lecapenus
959–963	Romanus II
963–1025	Basil II Bulgaroctonus
963–969	Nicephorus II Phocas
969–976	John I Tzimisces
976–1028	Constantine VIII
1028–1050	Zoë
1028–1034	Romanus III
1034–1041	Michael IV
1041–1042	Michael V
1042–1055	Constantine IX
1055–1056	Theodora
1056–1057	Michael VI
1057–1059	Isaac I Comnenus

1059–1067	Constantine X	
1068–1071	Romanus IV	
1071–1078	Michael VII	
1078–1081	Nicephorus III	
1081–1118	Alexius I Comnenus	
1118–1143	John II Comnenus	
1143–1180	Manuel I Comnenus	
1180–1183	Alexius II Comnenus	
1183–1185	Andronicus I Comnenus	
1185–1195	Isaac II	
1195–1203	Alexius III	
1203–1204	Isaac II *(restored)*	
1203–1204	Alexius IV	
1204	Alexius V	
	— Crusader Conquest of Constantinople: 1204 —	
	Frankish Emperors	Nicaean Emperors
1204–1205	Baldwin I	1204–1222 Theodore I Lascaris
1205–1216	Henry	
1216–1217	Peter of Courtenay	
1217–1219	Yolande	
1219–1228	Robert of Courtenay	1222–1254 John III
1228–1261	Baldwin I *with*	1254–1258 Theodore II Lascaris
1231–1237	John of Brienne	1258–1261 John IV Lascaris
	— Greek Rule Restored —	
1259–1281	Michael VIII Palaeologus	
1282–1328	Andronicus II with	
	1295–1320 Michael IX	
1328–1341	Andronicus III	
1341–1347	John V Palaeologus	
1341–1354	John VI	
1355–1376	John V *(restored)*	
1376–1379	Andronicus IV	
1379–1391	John V *(restored)*	
1390	John VII	
1391–1425	Manuel II Palaeologus	
1425–1448	John VIII	
1448–1453	Constantine XI Palaeologus	
1453	— Ottoman conquest of Constantinople.	

Other Systems of Dates

Although New Testament manuscripts, if dated at all, will usually be dated by one of the systems above, other dating systems will be encountered in secular manuscripts (against which the NT documents may be compared). Among these are:

The Seleucid Era. Dating from 312 B.C.E. Obsolete by NT times.

A.U.C. Dating. The standard Roman system, based on the legendary founding of Rome in 753 B.C.E. (or thereabouts). Commonly used in the early part of the Christian era, but largely forgotten by late Byzantine times.

The Olympic Era. Every four years represented an Olympiad, with the Olympic Era beginning in 776 B.C.E. Thus the first year of the first Olympiad would be 776; the third year of the fourth Olympiad 762. The year 1 B.C.E. would be the fourth year of the 194th Olympiad, and the year 1 C.E. the first of the 195th. The Olympics, and hence the Olympic Era, were long extinct by the time NT manuscripts were being copied.

The Moslem Era. Dating from 622 C.E. Might be encountered in manuscripts copied under Islamic rule.

Destruction and Reconstruction

One of the curiosities of textual criticism is its assumption of continuous processes: It is usually assumed that a text, once it started in a direction, just kept going in that direction. So the Alexandrian text just kept getting shorter, the Byzantine smoother, etc.

It should instantly be evident that this notion contradicts most theories of the text. Those theories assume that most major variants arose before the manuscript era. But if they predate the manuscript era, then there was a change in the process: The production of variants *stopped*.

It is quite likely that the history of manuscripts is not a continuous process, but rather a complex history of destruction and reconstruction — of copies getting gradually worse with each generation and then periodically being subjected to a systematic improvement.

Consider: It is universally agreed that the most common variant in copying a manuscript is haplography — a loss of certain words or individual letters. If this process continued unchecked, *every late text would be short.* Yes, manuscripts were corrected after copying — but correctors don't catch everything. Even if only half a dozen haplographies sneak through one copy, run such errors down a dozen generations and you get a short, badly corrupt text.

And yet, our late manuscripts, whatever else they are, are *not* short and show none of the errors of this sort of repeated bad copying (for a text that *does* show this sort of problem, look at I Samuel).

The logical conclusion is that Biblical texts have been subjected to reconstruction — that is, that the old copies have been carefully examined and improved to correct the various losses.

The meaning of "destruction" is probably obvious. Scribes make haplographies. Pages may be lost from their exemplars. (This is demonstrably true in manuscripts of Arian, but it may also explain the loss of Mark 3:28–4:4 in 579.) A word or two may be damaged by damp. Errors will naturally multiply.

Reconstruction is a more complicated matter, which gets little attention. Critics admit two levels of attempts to repair texts: Correction and recension. Reconstruction is neither of these; it falls somewhere in between.

Correction is a relatively feeble process. At best, correction can only improve a text to the measure of the standard against which the document is compared. That is, if Y is a copy of X, and after correction, Y is compared against X, this process can only find places where Y deviates from X. It cannot produce better readings than those found in X. And if Y is corrected against something other than X (call it Z), it still can't produce anything better than Z.

And chances are that Y won't be even as good as X, or Z, because the scribe making the corrections probably missed some things.

We can see this in action, by looking at, for instance, Codex Claromontanus. This manuscript started with a "Western" text. It was corrected, repeatedly, against the Byzantine text. I examined the readings of Colossians (as found in the *NT auf Papyrus.)* All told, I found 121 places where D* went against the clear reading of the Byzantine text. 105 of these readings were eventually corrected — after two major and sundry minor corrections of the manuscript. That still means that more than one error in eight went uncorrected — and the correctors introduced some few errors of their own. Plus, Claromontanus was copied before the final correctors worked, and the scribe who copied it had difficulties with some of the correctors' notations. So D^{abs}, intended to be a Byzantine manuscript, wound up with dozens of deviations from the Byzantine text — most but not all of them in the direction of the "Western" text. *Simple correction, no matter how many times repeated, cannot prevent destruction of the text.* It merely slows the process. To give an analogy: Correction alone is like giving transfusions to a man dying of blood loss. It slows the death. But unless the wound is closed, the bleeding will continue until the victim dies.

Thus there is need for the rehabilitation of texts. Sometimes this rehabilitation is the result of recension: The detailed comparison of multiple texts to produce a full-blown new edition intended for widespread publication. We know that Alcuin and Theodulf produced recensions of the Vulgate. It is also extremely probable that the K^r edition of the Greek Bible is the result of recension.

But recension is a very major undertaking. It entails gathering several sources, comparing them, producing a composite edition — and convincing others to adopt it. This takes both resources (access to multiple copies, plus a good deal of time and material) and prestige (a recensional text produced by someone with no authority isn't likely to be widely promulgated).

What's more, recension implies a very strong goal: To impose one's corrected text. It's not likely that most scribes had such lofty expectations. They just wanted a good text for their own use. For this purpose, they wouldn't go out and compare a dozen manuscripts; instead, they would take what they already had, and compare it with perhaps one other, or go over their text and look up particularly troublesome passages.

This is where knowledge of items other than the Bible can help. We have very many instances of this phenomenon in other works. Take, for example, the traditional song "Boney on the Isle of Saint Helena." This particular song, about the death of Napoleon Bonaparte, is fascinating because — although recent by folk music standards — it has gone very badly to pieces. I've had occasion to examine ten collected versions of this song, no two of which were identical. It happens that two of these were collected from the same singer, eighteen years apart. The second collection differs substantially from the first, notably in the inclusion of an additional verse. It appears that, in the interim, the singer had listened to additional versions of the song (very widespread in his area of North Carolina), and built up his own text. The result was the fullest text of "Saint Helena" known to me — but also, based on the evidence, the best. It wasn't a recensional product — but it was the result of working over other versions as the singer came across them.

We see something similar in certain Shakespeare plays. As an example, consider *Titus Andronicus.* The editions of this play reveal quite a bit. There was an early printing (Q1) from 1594. This printing served as a basis for a printing in 1600 (Q2). However, the copy of Q1 used to set Q2 was damaged, and the compositor of Q2 emended it conjecturally. Q2 was used as the basis of Q3 (1611). Q3 was used as the basis for the First Folio (F1) printing. However, someone (perhaps even Heminge or Condell, the actors who promoted the publication) seems to have noted a missing scene. As a result, F1 contains, for the first time, a text of Act III, scene ii. In general, F1 has a late and inferior text — but it has been reconstructed at this point, and is superior to all other witnesses for that scene.

That is not to claim that reconstructed texts are generally superior to unreconstructed texts. They are merely *longer*. Consider, for instance, the case of Codex Vercellensis (a) of the Old Latin. Here we can literally see reconstruction taking place. The old text of the ending of Mark has been excised (with a knife!) and a new text supplied. It is believed that a in its original state lacked Mark 16:9–20. So a vulgate text of these verses was supplied. We note that the result has absolutely no critical interest or value (we have plenty of copies of Jerome's version of Mark 16:9–20, and none of whatever text existed in a). But it shows a reader examining the text, being concerned, and attempting repairs. Multiply this by dozens of instances (from the careful work done on 1739 to the likely use of conjectural emendation on D/05) and you see why New Testament manuscripts, despite the general tendency for texts to decay, managed to stay quite full until the very end of the manuscript era.

I can, as I write this, feel the fans of the Byzantine text latching onto this description with glad cries and preparing to use it to condemn the Alexandrian text. It's not that simple. I am prepared to allow that the Alexandrian text is almost certainly too short. That does not make it inferior. A crucial question is, when did reconstruction begin? If the Byzantine text is reconstructed from the Alexandrian (which is possible), then *in general the Alexandrian text is still superior.* It's defective, but it has not had the additional layer of bad reconstruction we find in the Byzantine text. (In Hort's view, for instance, the Byzantine text came about, in effect, by reconstructing the Alexandrian text using the "Western" text as a source of variants.) Only if the Byzantine text is a result of reconstruction beginning before the current condition of the Alexandrian text does it have independent value. And even then, it is merely independent value.

Keep in mind that reconstruction is not really a single process. Some manuscripts, like 1739, have been reconstructed by comparison with other texts. Others, especially early in their history, were probably reconstructed by conjectural emendation. Other forms of reconstruction might occur in special cases — e.g. a one of the synoptic gospel might be compared against another gospel (one wonders if this might not explain some of the heavily harmonized "Caesarean" texts), or against the Diatessaron, or even against a version in another language.

In the history of most ancient texts, including the New Testament, there were several points at which reconstruction was almost imperative: The times when new "features," such as accents, breathing, punctuation, or word division, took place. In addition, there was the conversion from uncial to minuscule. When any such process is undertaken, the copyist must examine the text in detail, deciding where to put the features. This will force removal of ambiguities. In some cases, the scribe will do it by reference to another copy, though there will probably be instances of conjectural emendation also. Another possible inspiration to reconstruction might be the preparation of commentary manuscripts: If the

editor who inserted the scholia observed that they differed from the text of the manuscript, he might adjust the manuscript. Or a scribe copying a commentary manuscript might level the differences.

Commentary manuscripts offer another opportunity for reconstruction: The time when the commentary was added. Indeed, the addition of almost any sort of marginal equipment would encourage reconstruction. If a scribe is adding the Eusebian apparatus, for instance, this encourages the scribe to look at the text to see just where the markings go in.

For a true commentary manuscript, with marginal scholia of some sort, the temptation must have been even stronger, and there are suddenly two possible sources of variants: The text of the manuscript supplying the scholia and the scholia themselves. The tendency to level would have been great — and not necessarily confined to the text being modified. If the copyist found that both the text before him and the scholia assumed one reading, but the text of the original commentary manuscript read something else, might not the corrections go the other way?

If it be objected that we have no evidence of this latter process, I will admit that this is true. But this process took place mostly in the "silent centuries": The sixth through seventh centuries, from which we have almost no substantial manuscripts. From the fifth century and earlier, we have a variety of full manuscripts, with at best intermittent reader helps, and a variety of text-types. When the dark age ends, with E and L and their followers, we have manuscripts well endowed with the reader helps. We also have a much more Byzantine constellation of witnesses. Coincidence? Maybe. We have no way to tell.

Dittography

A particular form of scribal error, in which a scribe accidentally repeats a letter or sequence of letters which should be written only once. Most such readings can be detected instantly, but in some instances where a sequence of letters occurs once in some manuscripts and twice in others, it is not clear whether the double reading is the result of dittography or whether the single reading follows from haplography. A famous example of this is in 1 Thes. 2:7, where we see a variation between εγενηθημεν **ν**ηπιοι and εγενηθημεν ηπιοι. A relatively common dittography involves the conjunction μεν, in readings such as οιδαμεν (or οιδα μεν) versus οιδαμεν μεν.

Divisions and Organization of the Text

Introduction

Historically, the New Testament has been divided and organized in many ways. Some divisions, such as our modern chapters and verses, are merely cataloguing schemes, used to find passages quickly. Others, such as the Eusebian apparatus, served scholarly purposes. This document will briefly outline some of the methods used over the centuries and preserved in the manuscripts. In addition, it will describe some of the more common marginalia found in the manuscripts.

This is followed by a description of some of the orders in which books occur in the New Testament.

For information on the ways early manuscripts divided words and paragraphs, see the article on Word Divisions.

Chapters and Verses

We may first dispose with the modern scheme of divisions.

The modern division of the Bible into chapters is believed to have been the work of Stephen Langton, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury (1207–1228) during the reign of the English King John. This system of chapters is found in many Latin Bibles, but only a few of the most recent Greek manuscripts; it has no historical significance.

Our modern verses have even less importance; they were devised by Robert Estienne (Stephanus) for his edition of the Textus Receptus, and have survived in printed editions ever since. They do not, however, occur in the manuscripts.

κεφαλαια, τιτλοι

The κεφαλαια, or Major Headings, the approximate ancient equivalent of our modern chapters, are the most widespread form of organization in the ancient gospel manuscripts. Their exact date is not known; they have been ascribed to such worthies as Tatian. Their absence from the Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, however, argues against such an early date. We first find them in the Codices Alexandrinus and Ephraemi of the fifth century (in the gospels; for the other books see the sections on the Euthalian Apparatus and Andreas's Divisions). It will be noted that the κεφαλαια, constitute a series of numbers which restart with each book, but not with the first word of the book. In Matthew, for instance, the first entry coicides with 2:1; in Mark, the first notation occurs at 1:23; and similarly throughout. The locations of the κεφαλαια, are noted (with italic

Arabic numerals) in the margins of the Nestle-Aland editions, and so are readily accessible today.

Corresponding to the major κεφαλαια are the τιτλοι or Titles. These are simply short summaries of the actions which happen in each section. Tables of τιτλοι are often found at the beginnings of the gospels, and the headings themselves may appear at the heads of pages or the margins of manuscripts. The titles usually take the form "περι (something)," e.g. "About the Wedding at Cana."

The Divisions in Vaticanus

We noted above that Vaticanus does not use the κεφαλαια. Instead it has its own system of chapter numeration — in places two of them. The system in the gospels is rather less orderly than the κεφαλαια, as the sections vary greatly in length (some as short as a sentence, others many paragraphs long). These numbers were written in red, though the chapter divisions in the other part of the New Testament are in ordinay ink. The divisions in the gospels are also found in Ξ but not in any other Greek manuscript.

In the Acts, Vaticanus has two systems of division, of different ages and independent of each other. The first-written of these was also available to the scribes of Sinaiticus, as it also has some of these numbers (up to Acts 15:40, where the numbering in א breaks off).

In Paul we also find two unique systems of numbering. The older system has interesting trait that the entire corpus was numbered consecutively. This also reveals the interesting fact that, although Hebrews follows 2 Thessalonians in Vaticanus, the numbering is derived from a manuscript in which Hebrews followed Galatians (this follows since Galatians ends with §58, while Hebrews starts with §59; Vaticanus breaks off in Hebrews in the middle of §64, and we find §70 as the first entry in Ephesians).

In the Catholic Epistles we yet again find two systems of numbers, with the interesting feature that 2 Peter is not numbered. Presumably it was not regarded as canonical when the system was devised.

The Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canon Tables

The sections described above were simply that: Sections. Ways of finding things. They had no other purpose, and little real value. They were like a table of contents rather than an index.

Not so the Eusebian apparatus, which was an early (and amazingly good) cross-referencing scheme for the Gospels.

The system had its roots in the work of one Ammonius of Alexandria, who at some time in the second century arranged a sort of partial gospel harmony, taking the text of Matthew as his base and paralleling it with sections of the other gospels. Each section was numbered, and the numbers are referred to as the Ammonian Sections. (Confusingly, the Ammonian Sections are sometimes referred to as κεφαλαια. This usage is to be avoided. Not only is it confusing, but the Ammonian Sections average much shorter than the κεφαλαια — e.g. in Matthew there are 355 sections but only 68 κεφαλαια.)

Roughly a century later, Eusebius of Cæsarea (the famous church historian) hit on a scheme to dramatically improve the Ammonian apparatus, by allowing any section of any gospel to serve as the basis point while still letting the reader look up parallels. Starting from the Ammonian divisions (which he may have modified somewhat), he created a set of lookup tables (to use a modern computer term) for finding cross-references. To each Ammonian number, he affixed a canon table number, showing the table in which the reader was to look for the cross-references. The contents of the tables were as follows:

- Table I contained passages paralleled in all four gospels
- Table II contained passages found in Matthew, Mark, and Luke
- Table III consisted of passages in Matthew, Luke, and John
- Table IV listed the parallels of Matthew, Mark, and John
- Table V contained parallels between Matthew and Luke
- Table VI included the parallels between Matthew and Mark
- Table VII listed the relations between Matthew and John
- Table VIII contained parallels between Mark and Luke
- Table IX dealt with the parallels between Luke and John
- Table X (in four parts, but they hardly matter; this table did not even need to be copied) included sections which had no parallels in the other gospels.

The Eusebian system is not perfect; apart from occasional imperfections in the parallels, it was much easier to look up passages from Matthew than the other gospels (since the sections had to be listed in the order they occurred in one gospel, and Matthew was the chosen one). They were, however, compact (much more compact than our modern systems of parallels), and they *worked*. They worked well enough that they were found in most later gospel manuscripts, and are even found in the modern Nestle-Aland margin (though with the section numbers transcribed into Arabic numerals and the canon numbers, perversely I think, converted to Roman numerals in the modern style — i.e. IV

for IIII and IX for VIIII). An example of its use is shown below, based on the opening sections of Matthew.

Modern Verse	Ancient Canon	Modern Canon	Equivalent
Matt. 1:1 (through 1:16)	α Γ	1 III	Item 1, found in Table III: Matthew #1 = Luke #14 (Luke 3:23f.) = John #1 (John 1:1f.)
Matt. 1:17	β I	2 X	Item 2, found in Table X: Table X means no parallels
Matt. 1:18	γ E	3 V	Item 3, found in Table V: Matthew #3 = Luke #2 (Luke 1:35f.)
Matt. 1:19	δ I	4 X	Item 4, found in Table X: Table X means no parallels

Most manuscripts with the canon numbers naturally also included the canon tables, as well as Eusebius's Letter to Carpianus which explained the system, but this was by no means universal.

There are some variations in the canon system (in some cases, such as the ending of Mark, caused by variations in the text); the Nestle-Aland apparatus shows the variations found in many earlier editions of the canon tables (though manuscripts are not cited).

Finally, we should point out that the Eusebian apparatus did not always list actual parallels as we would understand the term; some items were linked only by theme (as witness the first example above: The genealogy of Jesus in Matthew is quite properly linked with the genealogy in Luke — but also to the hymn to the incarnate Word in John).

There is one other interesting aspect the the Eusebian apparatus: It was often the only instance of pictorial illumination in a manuscript. The Eusebian tables were almost always enclosed in a series of arches, at once making them easy to notice and easier to examine. Some of these arches were quite plain, but most were given at least some ornamentation.

Historical Note: Some have suspected that the Ammonian Sections did not exist prior to Eusebius's work. In support they urge the fact that the first manuscript to contain either (Alexandrinus) has both. (The numbers are also found in Sinaiticus, but from a later hand. N Σ Φ have them from the first hand, but they were added later in Bezae). We should note, however, that a significant number of manuscripts exist with the sections but no canon numbers or tables. In some cases this may mean that the manuscript was never truly finished (the canon numbers were usually added after the manuscript was completed, as they were usually written in colour; Eusebius had preferred that they be written in red. Also, some manuscripts listed the actual parallels at the bottom of the

page, but this was easier done after the manuscript was finished). However, it seems more likely that the canons and sections truly were separate entities.

The Euthalian Apparatus

The most important supplements to the Acts, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles are associated with the name of Euthalius (or Evagrius). Who Euthalius was we do not know, nor can we even fix his dates (suggestions range from the fourth to the seventh centuries, though the fourth century is the usually accepted date, and he is sometimes described as Bishop of Sulci). Euthalius prepared an edition of the Acts and Epistles in sense-lines (this survives in manuscripts such as H^p; see the section on Stichoi and Stichometry below).

In addition to his text, which occurs only in a few manuscripts, Euthalius compiled various helps for the reader; these are much more commonly found. Working, seemingly, from an earlier edition (Mill conjectured that it was that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose work was officially unacceptable due to his alleged unorthodoxy), Euthalius produced a system of sections and titles for Paul (similar to the κεφαλαια system in the gospels), and later extended it to the Acts and Catholic Epistles (these perhaps based on the work of Pamphilius).

Euthalius also organized the Old Testament quotation in the various Pauline Epistles, numbering and cataloguing them.

Finally, Euthalius is credited with the prologues and/or subscriptions to the various Epistles found in many manuscripts. This is, however, less certain — and, as Scrivener remarks, the prologues "do no credit to the care or skill of their author," for they are patently inaccurate.

Andreas's Divisions

In the Apocalypse, the leading system of divisions is that of Andreas of Cæsarea, who lived in the sixth century and wrote the commentary that is found in so many of the Apocalypse manuscripts. Andreas's divisions are highly artificial (and not very well preserved, as the variations in the Nestle margin will show). Andreas arbitrarily divided the book into 24 sections (λογοι); this seems to have been inspired by the 24 elders of Rev. 4:4. Each section was subdivided into three κεφαλαια, (these inspired, apparently, by body, soul, and spirit). Thus there are 72 divisions in all in the Apocalypse, which the Nestle text numbers continuously though they are properly divided into groups of three.

Since these divisions were not invented until the sixth century, it will be evident that none of our oldest manuscripts (P^{47}, א, A, C) contain them. Andreas summarized his sections,

but since the number of divisions was arbitrarily set, it will be observed that these sections do not really accord with the logic of the book's arrangement.

Stichoi and Stichometry

Greek στιχος means literally "line" (with many of the same extensions the English word has, e.g. a rank of soldiers or a line of a poem). In literary circles, however, it had a more specific meaning: The standard Homeric line of fifteen to sixteen syllables (about 35–50 letters). (This line is also sometimes called an επος, but this usage was in disuetitude by New Testament times.) This "standard line" came to have important implications. Seemingly by the fourth century B.C.E., the notion of *stichometry*, or measurement by lines, was in existence (although it is officially credited to Callimachus c. 260 B.C.E.). The earliest actual count of στιχοι seems to be from an third century B.C.E. papyrus of Euripides.

Stichometry had several uses for scribes and their patrons. It was the ancient equivalent of a "word count," used to determine what a scribe should be paid for a particular work. It could also be used to determine if a manuscript had been copied fully and correctly. And it could even be used as an approximate way to find quotations in a text. Thus it became standard practice to determine the number of *stichoi* in works that were regularly copied.

There is a complication which can occur here: Although *stichos* was usually used technically of the Homeric line, it easily took on other meanings. Since it meant any sort of line, it could be used as a description of sense lines (*cola*) rather than Homeric lines. At least one authority (Juannes Siculus) describes a *comma* as a sense line of fewer than eight syllables; a line of eight to 17 sullables is a *colon*. Thus a line count might be (in effect) a syllable count or a thought count. Properly stichometry applies to the count of syllables and letters, while the count of sense lines is *colometry*. But this distinction was not rigidly kept.

Stichometry seems to have been applied to the New Testament fairly early; Eusebius quoted Origen as commenting on the stichometry of various books. Perhaps as early as the fourth century, and certainly by the seventh, we find Euthalius/Evagrius preparing an edition of the Acts and Epistles based on stichographic principles (although sense, rather than syllable count, had some part in the Euthalian edition; not all the lines are exactly one Homeric stichos long. Thus these books are properly arranged in *cola et commata*, rather than stichometrically). A stichometric edition of the Gospels is also known, though its compiler is not.

Relatively few New Testament manuscripts were copied in *cola*; sense-lines wasted too much expensive writing material. Also, a *stichos* is a rather long line, and early manuscripts tended to use shorter lines. So stichoi count rarely corresponds to the actual

number of lines in a manuscript. Among the relatively few manuscripts arranged in *cola* are D^{ea}, D^{p}, E^{a}, and H^{p}. In addition, F^{p} and G^{p} seem — based on the size and arrangement of letters — to derive from an original in *stichoi*, though the lineation has not been preserved directly; the same is true of Δ. A number of vulgate manuscripts, includling Amiatinus, are also arranged in sense lines.

But the rarity of these manuscripts means that the stichometry of the New Testament was not well-known; although manuscripts beginning with P^{46} include stichometric information (usually in colophons), the figures quoted often vary significantly. The most common stichometry of the Gospels, according to Kirsopp Lake (K. Lake, *The Text of the New Testament,* sixth edition revised by Silva New, p. 61), "gives 2600 [lines] for Mt., 1600 for Mc., 2800 for Lc., and 2300 for Jo.; but these are probably corruptions of 2560, 1616, 2750, and 2024 respectively, which are found in several MSS., and imply the presence of xvi.9–20 in Mark, and the omission of vii.53–viii.12 in John" (Lake does not, however, offer an explanation for this supposed "corruption." Also, Scrivener gives 2740 rather than 2750 as the number of lines in Luke). The table at the end of this article summarizes various stichometries, including the "common" one, the partial one in P^{46}, and the early but rather defective one found in Codex Claromontanus (D^{p}; note the absence of four of the Pauline Epistles, although the omission of Philippians and the Thessalonian letters, at least, are likely accidental). In addition to the canonical works, the Claromontanus canon lists four extra-canonical works, Barnabas (850 lines), Hermas (4000 lines), Acts of Paul (3560 lines), and the Revelation of Peter (270 lines). The Revelation to John is listed among these semi-canonical works, as is, amazingly, the Acts of the Apostles.

In the time of Diocletian (301 C.E.), that emperor issued an edict making the pay for copying 100 *stichoi* to be 25 or 20 denarii depending on whether it was first-quality or second-quality copying. Even allowing for the rapid inflation in this period of the Empire, I suspect this includes the cost of the papyrus on which the passage was copied.

Table Summarizing the Various Divisions

The following table (adapted with some additions from Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,* fourth edition, p. 68) summarizes the number and extent of the various divisions of the New Testament.

Book	Vaticanus		τιτλοι	Euthal.	Ammoni.	Στιχοι			Ρηματα
	Older	Newer		Div.	Sections	Common	P^{46}	Clarom	(from f^{13})
Matthew	170	—	68		355	2560		2600	2522
Mark	62	—	48		236	1616		1600	1675
Luke	152	—	83		342	2740		2900	3803
John	80	—	18		232	2024		2000	1938
Acts	36	69		40		2524		2600	
James	9	5		6		242		220	
1 Peter	8	3		8		236		200	
2 Peter	—	2		4		154		140	
1 John	14	3		7		274		220	
2 John	1	2		2		30		20	
3 John	2	—		3		32		20	
Jude	2	—		4		68		60	
Romans	1–58	8		19		920	1000	1040	
1 Cor.		19		9		870		1060	
2 Cor.				11		590		70 (=570?)	
Gal.		3		12		293	375	350	
Eph.	70–93	3		10		312	316	375	
Philip.		2		7		208	225 (222?)	-	
Colos.		3		10		208		251	
1 Th.		2		7		193		-	
2 Th.		2		6		106		-	
1 Ti.	(lost)	(lost)		18		230		209(?)	
2 Ti				9		192		289(?)	
Titus				6		97/98		140	
Philem.				2		38		50	
Hebrews	59–64 (69)	5+		22		703	700	-	
Rev.	(lost)	(lost)				1800		1200	

Order and Arrangement of New Testament Books

In discussing the order of New Testament books, we should keep several points in mind. The first is that the books of the New Testament were canonized over a period of time, and the second is that the vast majority of surviving manuscripts contain only parts of the New Testament.

Taking the last point first, it's worth remembering that, until the era of the minuscules, there is *not one Bible* which demonstrably contains exactly and precisely our modern New Testament, even if one allows for damage to the manuscripts. Of the five major uncials (א A B C Ψ), א and A contain all the books of the New Testament, but have extra books as well; Ψ omits the Apocalypse; B is defective for the latter part of Paul and may never have contained the Apocalypse. C, based on the surviving leaves, contains only the books we now think of as the New Testament — but this cannot be proved; too many leaves are missing. We cannot be sure that it did not contain other books as well. C probably contained our present New Testament, but we dare not be dogmatic.

Most Biblical manuscripts consist of only a subset of the New Testament. Normally one finds the books grouped into subsets: Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles (these two are very rarely separated, though there are a few exceptions), Paul, Apocalypse. This explains the common abbreviation "eapr" (or "eapcr") for the contents of the New Testament: e=gospels, a=Acts (plus Catholics), p=Paul, r=Apocalypse.

Almost every combination of these units is found. The majority of manuscripts are Gospels alone — there are thousands of such manuscripts. The most next common is Acts (including Catholics) plus Paul; there are hundreds of books of this form. The Apocalypse very often stands alone (not infrequently with non-canonical works), though it might be attached almost anywhere. But we also find the following (based on the data in the first edition of the *Kurzgefasste Liste;* the list is neither complete nor guaranteed):

- Gospels + Acts: P^{45} (may or may not have included the Catholics) D/05 (possibly; the only surviving books are the Gospels, Acts, and a bit of 3 John in Latin; it has been theorized that D contained the Apocalypse and the letters of John rather than the Catholic Epistles) 197 (damaged manuscript containing portions of Matthew, Mark, James) 536 (badly damaged) 832 (Matthew, John, and Catholic Epistles only) 956 (damaged) 1073 2137 2249 (damaged) 2488 (damaged; lacks Catholics) 2492 2555
- Acts, Paul, Apocalypse: P 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 1277 1611 1719 1728 1732 1733 1734 1740 1745 1746

1757 1760 1795 1828 1841 1849 1852 1854 1857 1862 1864 1865 1870 1872 1876 1888 1893 1894? 1903 2080 2147 2175 2344 2431 2625 2626

- Gospels, Acts, Paul: Ψ, possibly B, plus many minuscules including 1^{eap} 3 5 6 33 38 43 51 57 76 90 105 122 131 133 142 189 204 226 228 234 263 330 363 365 390 393 394 400 431 440 444 479 480 483 489 491 496 547 592 656 676 712 720 794 796 801 823 901 927 928 941 945 959 996 997 999 1003 1040 1058 1127 1149 1240 1241 1242 1243 1246 1247 1248 1250 1251 1287 1292 1297 1315 1319 1352a 1354 1359 1367 1382 1390 1398 1400 1404 1409 1425 1433 1448 1456 1482 1490 1495 1501 1505 1508 1509 1521 1548 1563 1573 1594 1595 1598 1599 1609 1618 1619 1622 1628 1636 1642 1643 1646 1649 1656 1661 1673 1702 2093 2127 2131 2138 2191 2201 2221 2255 2261 2356 2374 2385 2400 2404 2466 2475 2483 2502 2508 2516
- Gospels + Apocalypse: 60 792 1006 1064 1328 1551 2323 (damaged) 2643
- Gospels + Paul: 891 (damaged) 1267 (damaged and partial) 1506 (damaged) 2103
- Johannine writings (John, 1–3 John, Apocalypse): (D/05? see note above) 368 743
- Paul + Apocalypse: 1772 (damaged; probably a fragment of a manuscript of apr or eapr) 1934 1948 1955 (damaged) 1957 2004 (probably part of a larger manuscript)
- Acts + Apocalypse: 1859 (damaged; perhaps part of a fuller manuscript of some sort) 2186 (Catholics + Apocalypse) 2619

The order of these divisions is fairly standardized. The gospels are almost always the first thing in a codex (and at least some of the exceptions are the result of rebinding). Acts and Catholic Epistles generally precede Paul, though this is not universal. The Apocalypse is generally last.

For the order of books within the four sections, there is rather more variety. The most notable case of a “movable book” Hebrews, found at various places within the Pauline corpus. Usually it follows either 2 Thessalonians or Philemon, but it has occurred in many other places (as it followed Galatians in the ancestor of Vaticanus). The order of some of the other shorter books also varies, e.g. Philippians may swap with Colossians. The first four books (Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians) almost always occur in that order. Other variations might possibly be scribal — e.g. a scribe finished Ephesians, quit for the day, and accidentally copied Colossians next rather than Philippians, then went

back and copied the other. There is no proof of this happening, but it is much more likely in Paul than any other section.

The Gospels almost always occur in the order Matthew-Mark-Luke-John. But there are exceptions, and most of them are early. The most common variation on this order is the so-called “Western” order, found in D, W, and probably P^{45}: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

The Catholic Epistles probably show the most variation, especially in early manuscripts, since some of the books (James, 2 Peter, 2 John, 3 John, Jude) were of questionable canonicity. The Peshitta, for instance, includes only James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. It will be evident that the order of the books will be dependent upon which books are included.

Drollery, Drolleries

A peculiar feature of late Illuminated Manuscripts, though more often found in secular than biblical documents. A drollery, in this context, was a fantastic creature, often drawn in the margins of a manuscript. Below: Two drolleries from a French manuscript, perhaps intended to be a duck-billed elephant and a bird-horse chimera.

We might note that not all drolleries are strange creatures set in margins. In the Lindisfarne Gospels, for instance, letters may become drolleries. The first two letters of Jerome’s preface to the Gospels are P and L (from “plures”). The P is a snake with the head of a dog (I think) but the tongue of a serpent; the L is perhaps intended to be a snake with a bird’s head. There are many other instances of these snakes-with-bird-heads. These might not always be called drolleries (they might be regarded as illuminations), but the resulting creatures are generally quite improbable. And they may well be the ancestors of true drolleries; in the Lindisfarne Gospels, although there is much decoration of letters, we see no letters containing miniature pictures. This is thought to have begun about a half a century later (i.e. around 750), and it was in these miniatures that drolleries became commonplace.

E

Easily Confused Letters

Many mistakes in copying arise when a scribe misreads the exemplar. Handwriting being what it is, chances are that, on occasion, almost everything has been read as something else. But some errors are much more likely than others. In Greek uncials, for example, the letters shown below were frequently and easily confused:

In Greek minuscule hands, with many different styles and vast numbers of ligatures, there were many more combinations which might be confused occasionally. Some of the most common confusions, however, include

β κ μ
μ ν
ευ

It will be noted that errors which could occur in uncials are more important for the history of the text, as these errors could have arisen early in the history of copying.

Similar confusions could, of course, occur in other languages. The list for Coptic, for instance, closely resembled the Greek list, as Coptic letters were based on the Greek. Latin had its own list. In uncials, the primary problems were:

I L T
F P R
C E O G U
EU COG

(the list for inscriptional capitals is somewhat different, as E, for example, was straight in capitals but curved in uncials. Since, however, there are no known copies of the New Testament inscribed on stone tablets, this is of little concern.)

Easily confused letters in Latin minuscule script include

a u
o e
cl d
n u
s f
c t

In addition, almost any combination of letters with many vertical strokes (such as i l m n t) could cause confusion. Particular scripts might add additional confusions; Beneventan script, for instance, used an odd form of the letter t which closely resembles the letter a!

Also, it's worth remembering that the above lists are based on book hands. In the days when almost all copying was done by trained copyists, one could expect nearly everything to be written in such hands. But as literacy became widespread, this tended to break down. Casual writers could produce almost anything. A book on English letterforms, for instance, gives samples of sixteenth century writing which show forms of the letter a which look like b, n, u, and w; many writers made c resemble t; d and e could both look like a θ (!), and so forth.

A final reminder concerns numbers. In Greek as in most modern languages, a number could be written as a numeral or spelled out (e.g. in Rev. 13:18, the "number of the beast" could be εξακοσιοι εξηκοντα εξ or ΧΞΣ'). It will be evident that this can produce different confusions. (Though this class of error is perhaps more likely in Latin, with its repeated I and X symbols, than Greek.)

Eclecticism

What is "eclecticism?" In simplest terms, it is the process of compiling a text from multiple sources. This is in contrast to the notion of editing from a "copy text," in which one follows a chosen text unless there is an overwhelming reason to do otherwise.

In New Testament criticism, there are basically three approaches: "Thoroughgoing" eclecticism (also known as "radical" eclecticism), "Reasoned" or "Rational" eclecticism, and "Historical/Documentary criticism." The first two approaches are always eclectic, compiling a text from multiple sources, and the third may be eclectic also.

In simplest terms, thoroughgoing eclecticism consists of taking all manuscript readings and choosing the best based solely on internal criteria. Historical/documentary criticism consists of choosing readings based solely on their manuscript attestation, by some means such as preparing a Stemma or counting text-types or just following the best manuscript. And reasoned eclecticism consists of splitting the difference: Evaluating variants based on *both* their attestation and their intrinsic merit.

It will be evident that this is actually a continuum: All editors are eclectic to some extent, and all use internal and external evidence to a degree. But the extent varies greatly, and sufficiently that it is reasonable to speak of three camps.

Currently, reasoned eclecticism is the dominant force in New Testament criticism; those who engage in other forms of criticism are a relatively small minority, who can find some difficulty in having their work respected.

It has not always been so. It is noteworthy that this sort of eclecticism is *not* considered proper in most areas of classical textual criticism. In Shakespeare criticism, for instance, the standard method for editing is to take a particular copy text (usually the First Folio, but sometimes one of the quarto editions), and follow that except where the evidence of some other source is overwhelming. In other words, *all* modern Shakespeare critics are historical/documentary critics, generally of what would in New Testament circles be considered the most extreme type.

And this method has been followed in New Testament criticism, though the matter is rarely described in that way. The edition of Westcott and Hort, to a significant degree, is compiled using B as a copy text. Tischendorf's eighth edition is almost as strongly influenced by א. Few other editions are so strongly dependent on single manuscripts, but there is a lot of D in the Clarke text of Acts, and the recent Majority Text traditions could almost be treated as being taken from a single proof text of that text-type.

It should be noted that the three categories of eclecticism described above are not actually methods of editing the New Testament text. They are, rather, approaches to creating a method. Historical/Documentary criticism, for instance, says, "determine the relationships between the manuscripts and reconstruct the text based on that." If you determine that the best manuscripts are the Alexandrian, you get the edition of Westcott & Hort; if you determine the Byzantine are best, you get Hodges & Farstad; if you treat all types equally, you'll probably get something like Von Soden.

Similarly, the approach of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism is to "determine the best rules of criticism and determine the best text based on that." Since editions based on this principle are very few, we cannot show how different forms of the method produce different texts — but it's easy to imagine the results. Take just one rule, "prefer the

shorter reading." Some critics swear by this rule, other reject it almost completely. Suppose there were two editors, one of whom considered the shorter reading the primary evidence of originality while the other considered the longer reading universally best. Imagine how different their texts would be!

Reasoned Eclecticism splits the difference, saying, "Determine the relations between the manuscripts and the best rules of criticism, and proceed from there." As it turns out, most recent editors have agreed, at least in outline, on both the best manuscripts and the best rules, so the modern editions compiled based on Reasoned Eclecticism (i.e. Bover, Merk, and UBS) are all fairly similar. But this is not inherently so; Harry Sturz would probably qualify as a Reasoned Eclectic, but had he edited a text, it probably would not have looked much like Merk or Bover — it would certainly have had more Byzantine readings, and possibly some other surprises.

It is quite difficult to offer examples where all three methods produce divergent results, particularly if one uses the Westcott & Hort text as the "standard" for historical-documentary criticism. If we take Hodges & Farstad as the standard instead, we have slightly better luck — though still limited, simply because there are so few places where different editors adopt three different readings.

One I know of is Matthew 22:7. Here the UBS text reads

ο δε βασιλευς ωργισθη

The Kilpatrick edition, the first text to be compiled based on thoroughgoing eclecticism, reads

ακουσας δε ο βασιλευς ωργισθη

H&F have

και ακουσας ο βασιλευς εκεινος ωργισθη

The Kilpatrick reading is supported by 33 (alone or nearly), and is adopted apparently because it best explains the at least six different readings in this passage:

ακουσας δε ο βασιλευς
ο δε βασιλευς
και ακουσας ο βασιλευς εκεινος
εκεινος ο βασιλευς ακουσας
και ακουσας εκεινος ο βασιλευς
ο δε βασιλευς ακουσας

The UBS editors probably preferred their reading because it is supported by several good witnesses — א B L 1 700 892* 1582 — and because it could easily have given rise to certain other variant readings, notably the reading ο δε βασιλευς ακουσας of Θ 13.

And Hodges and Farstad preferred their reading because it had the best support from the Byzantine manuscripts: E F G (K) Y Π etc.

The Greek Text behind the

English Versions

For a true textual critic, the text of a modern translation of the Bible is of little real significance. It is based exclusively on materials the critic has made available, and almost never represents an advance in the theory of the text. But, since moderns are often interested in the text underlying their translations, the following table summarizes the text used to create the New Testament of various modern English translations. (If someone wants to send me an equivalent list for German or another language, I will happily add it, but I'm not in position to create such a list myself.)

Except for the pre-King James versions, I freely confess that I have include only those translations I have on my shelf. With the recent explosion in Bible translations, I can't possibly acquire every version in print, and to be honest, I don't have the slightest urge to try. Many of these translations strike me as frankly silly; the only translations I ever really use, these days, are the New Revised Standard Version (my basic everyday Bible), the Revised English Version (when I want something with real stylistic merit and don't care about literal accuracy), the King James Version (solely for research into folklore based on it), and my own literal translation.

For those with very little background in the types of texts, I have also included a "star rating," giving each version from 1 to 10 stars (★). This is, of course, personal opinion, and in fact I do not give any version more than eight stars (because I don't consider any texts to be entirely properly done). As a data point, I consider a version based on the *Textus Receptus* to be worth three stars; translations based on source texts in other languages will be worth less. Others will disagree quite violently with my ratings, of course. And, it must be stressed, a version can have a good text and be a bad rendering, or have a bad text and be a good rendering. *The ratings are based solely on the quality of the Greek text of the New Testament.* (So, for example, the Challoner translation is much better, simply as an English version, than the Rheims translation; it

is in good English and renders the Latin carefully. But both Rheims and Challoner are based on the Vulgate, and on poor Vulgate manuscripts at that; in both cases, the text is very bad. Other translations can have other problems. There is political influence — indeed, we should probably say "sucking-up" — in the Coverdale version; of the two earliest editions of that translation, one is dedicated to Queen Anne Boleyn, but after her fall, a new edition was hastily produced with a mention of Queen Jane Seymour. But the text was still what it was.)

Note that the dates refer to the publication date of the New Testament; the Old Testament and Apocrypha may have been published at other times, and some (like Tyndale) published the New Testament in pieces. This is the best date I can come up with for a complete version. If there are two dates, they generally refer to the *first* edition of the work and the *final* edition.

Version	Date	Textual Source and Description	Rating
Wycliffe	1384, 1388 (Purvey revision)	(no reference to the Greek; made from Vulgate MSS)	★
Tyndale	1525, 1534	*Textus Receptus* (Erasmus), with influence from Luther	★★★
Coverdale	1535	Based mostly on Tyndale plus the Vulgate, Luther's German, and some other Latin references	★★
"Thomas Matthew" (John Rogers)	1537	A minimal revision of Tyndale, still based on the Textus Receptus	★★★
Taverner	1539	Revised for style with reference to the Greek, but based mostly on Tyndale, "Thomas Matthew," and the Vulgate	★★★
The Great Bible	1539	A cleaned-up version of Tyndale executed by Coverdale	★★
Becke	1549	Although sometimes listed as a separate translation, this is really Matthew's Bible with a new set of notes by Edmund Becke. The underlying Greek of course is the same as Matthew's (and hence Tyndale's).	★★★

Geneva Bible	1557, 1560	*Textus Receptus* (Stephanus, plus probably information from Beza); first English Bible to note textual variants, though it rarely departed the TR (and the textual notes were pretty well buried among the extremely tendentious and controversial notes of other sorts). During the many editions of this translation, the notes were sometimes modified, but the text remained largely constant. (There was a 1576 revision by Tomson which made a few modifications based on Beza's Latin translation of the Greek; obviously this can't have helped the text much.)	★★★
Bishop's Bible	1568	Compiled by Matthew Parker, supposedly with the assistance of other scholars, but there really seems to have been relatively little original scholarship; the result was pedestrian and never popular. The Greek was, once again, the *Textus Receptus*, with influence from Great and Geneva Bibles	★★★
Rheims/ Douai	1582, 1610	Catholic translation from Vulgate manuscripts. The title page makes clear both its editorial goals and its thoroughly bad text: "The Holie Bible Faithfully Translated into English, Out Of the Authentical Latin. Diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other Editions in diverse languages. With Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters: Annotations: Tables: and other helpes, for better understanding of the text: for discoverie of Corruptions in some late translations: and for clearing Controversies in Relgion." (In this one case, I can't help but add: If the translators wanted readers to understand the text, far better to translate it into actual *English*, rather than literal word-for-word nonsense in which they often printed the Latin word minus its ending, and forget their stupid tendential notes.)	★
Authorized/ King James	1611	Textus Receptus (primarily Stephanus and Beza, but with influence from Erasmus via Tyndale, who was the source for much of the wording)	★★★

Rheims/ Challoner	1749	Clementine Vulgate	★
(English) Revised Version	1881	Text created by vote based on arguments from F. H. A. Scrivener (arguing for a text close to the Textus Receptus) and F. J. A. Hort (arguing for a text like Westcott-Hort). The result is a strange compromise with a mix of Byzantine and Alexandrian readings. The Greek text was reconstructed by Palmer and made the base of Souter's critical edition, though Palmer's production isn't really a very good representation of the text the revisors probably intended.	★★★★ ★
American Standard Version	1901	A slightly modified variant on the English Revised Version, with a few differences in text but overall much the same strengths and weaknesses	★★★★ ★
Moffatt	1913, 1935	Von Soden, with a few small changes. Almost all of the few marginal notes are on textual topics	★★★★ ★
Goodspeed	1923	Westcott & Hort, though Goodspeed seems to have occasionally adopted readings from the margin rather than the text.	★★★★ ★★★
Challoner/ CCD 1941 rev	1941	Although reference is regularly made to the Greek in the notes at points where the Greek differs from the Clementine Vulgate, and quite a few readings lacking in the Greek are placed in square brackets (with or without footnotes), the Vulgate is regularly followed, so we must still consider this based on the Vulgate. Note, e.g., that it actually includes 1 John 5:7–8, although in brackets. Still, the attention to the Greek makes this a significant advance over the previous Catholic versions, and the English is improved as well.	★★

Revised Standard Version	1946, 1971	The translators expected to produce an eclectic text; the starting point was, very loosely, the 17th edition of the Nestle text. The result was not as expected. The notes on the text by Frederick C. Grant in *An Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament,* p. 41, confess, "[I]t is really extraordinary how often, with the fuller apparatus of variant readings at our disposal, and with the eclectic principle now more widely accepted, we have concurred in following Westcott and Hort. Not that we agreed in advance in favor of Hort — quite the contrary, there was no such unanimity." The scholars who produced the 1971 edition backed away from this slightly, however, notably in putting the longer ending of Mark back in the text. In the table below, the second edition of the RSV is used as the basis for the list of readings.	★★★★ ★★★
Phillips	1947–1962	The introduction claims to be based on the "best available Greek text" (which at the time would mean either Westcott-Hort, von Soden, or Nestle), but Phillips seems in fact to have been somewhat eclectic (and, in a few cases, to have paraphrased his way out of the situation. My favorite is Ephesians 1:1, where the text reads "to all faithful Christians at Ephesus (and other places where this letter is read)"!)	★★★★

New English Bible	1961, 1970	The translators started from a Nestle edition, but determined their own text — and they have admitted that the resultant text was not edited according to one particular principle, but was often heavily influenced by the particular scholar who proposed the first draft of each individual section. As a result, it has a tendency to lurch between a very Westcott & Hort type text and one heavily influenced by the "Western" witnesses. The reconstructed text (with commentary on variants found in the margin) was published by Tasker, but given the inconsistency of the compilation process and the fact that the NEB is a rather loose translation, this should not be considered a very reliable text.	★★★★★
Jerusalem Bible	1966, 1968	A peculiar edition, supposedly taken from the "ancient languages" but with marginal material, and suggestions for translation, based on the French *La Bible de Jérusalem.* The result is obviously eclectic, with more Vulgate influence than is probably desirable (though much less than in the earlier Catholic translations; on the whole it is closer to the Greek than the Vulgate), and rather erratic. If there is any sort of critical principle in here, I truly cannot find it.	★★★★
New American (first edition)	1970	The first Catholic Bible to be made directly from the original languages, there are perhaps some teething pains in the first edition. (E.g. the verse numbering is strange — where a verse is omitted, the previous verse is often split to cover it. So John 5:3b becomes 5:4, and Romans 16:23b becomes 16:24.) The text is mostly modern, but the Vulgate still exercises influence. Some other textual peculiarities may be hidden under the loose rendering.	★★★★★

New American (revised edition)	1986	The text of this revised edition has been largely adjusted to match the UBS edition — but with peculiarities. For example, it includes both the longer and shorter endings of Mark, but with a footnote declaring that the church has found the longer ending canonical. A strange way to approach the matter, which I have observed in the catalog of major variants below by printing (GNT) when the text agrees with GNT but the margin has a comment disagreeing with this.	★★★★ ★★★
New American Standard	1960–	This is a continuously updated version, so it is hard to give it an exact date; the most recent copyright date in the edition I'm using is 1977. (It's an astonishing edition, which doesn't even have the word "Bible" on the cover. The major headline is "Good News America, God Loves You." It literally just showed up on my doorstep — and left me rather afraid of seeking a more normal copy of the NAS.) The text is strange at best. It claims to be based on Nestle, but most of the major additions in the Byzantine text are included. In brackets, to be sure, or with footnotes, but a casual reader is unlikely to understand what that means.	★★★★

New International	1970–1978, 1984	Even though published well after the release of the UBS text, the initial edition is eclectic, with no clear editing criterion that I can see. It does not strike me as a particularly original or valuable text. It is perhaps worth noting that, though the translators claim “no sectarian bias,” the introduction refers to the Bible text as possessing “infallibility.” Although I can’t point to a particular reading or rendering which reveals that, the whole text feels that way, somehow — as if they’re trying to be good modern scholars of the text, but their hearts aren’t in it. I have based my textual tests on the 1978 edition, though there was a slightly revised edition released in 1984 (and more recently a “Today’s New International Version” and other side branches).	★★★★★
New King James	1979, 1982	The introduction makes the astonishing claim that “a growing number of scholars now regard the Received Text as far more reliable than previously thought.” This, of course, is not true; scholars such as Hodges, Farstad, and Robinson regard the Byzantine Text as valuable, but the Byzantine Text is *not* the Received Text. The introduction does not say which version of the Textus Receptus is used, but it is noteworthy that it does include the long form of 1 John 5:7–8 — the only modern version translated from the Greek to include this clearly extracanonical passage. Although I have to give this translation’s text three stars on the grounds that I gave every other version based on the Textus Receptus three stars, in terms of the knowledge of the translators, it deserves lower than any other translation given here, including those not taken from the Greek.	★★★

New Jerusalem	1985	Claims to be translated from “the Greek text as established in modern times by critical work,” but even a casual inspection shows that this is not the United Bible Societies text, nor Westcott & Hort; it doesn’t look like any of the Nestle versions either. Although it claims to be translated from the Greek, there seems to be a lot of French and Latin influence, and the resulting text is eclectic and erratic. Overall, it still seems to be quite close to the original Jerusalem Bible.	★★★★
Revised English	1989	The introduction says that the UBS^{4} text was a “major point of reference,” but examination shows that it is still an eclectic text with many similarities to its immediate predecessor, the New English Bible.	★★★★ ★★
New Revised Standard	1989	UBS^{4} with minor modifications	★★★★ ★★★★
New Living Translation	1996	The text claims to be translated from UBS^{4} and NA^{27}. The original Living Bible was not based on anything; it wasn’t even a translation, properly speaking — the compiler had no Greek, and just assembled the readings he liked from many different versions. This version does have reference to the original text, but I would still call it a paraphrase, and a very free one; at many places, it hardly matters what the Greek reads.	★★★★ ★★

Today's New International Version	2001, 2005	A revision of the New International Version, with some change in translation philosophy (it seems to me, though this is not stated in the introduction very clearly: The new version seems freer than the old — frankly, it's reached what I would consider the point of paraphrase — and it also seems to have less King James influence). The text is stated to be "an eclectic one based on the latest editions of [Nestle-Aland and UBS]." Although this could be read as referring either to the TNIV or the UBS text as eclectic, it seems to refer to TNIV — which is closer to UBS^4 than was the NIV, but still differs in some places. The handling of the notes can sometimes be rather peculiar — e.g. long sections such as Mark 16:9–20 and John 7:53–8:11 are in the text but printed in italics. There is no sign of the shorter ending of Mark. In general, though the text is closer to the United Bible Societies text, the feeling is still that of the original NIV, with all that implies. To be blunt, I'll take a volume with a real UBS^4 text, such as the NRSV, any day. Not that I'll have much choice. The original NIV is the preferred translation of modern conservative Christians (which is why it is the best-selling modern translation). This revision drew so much criticism (apparently for its use of gender-neutral language) that the translation is being withdrawn. I imagine it will still be sold for the moment, but it is a dead end. The next revision of NIV will be based on the original NIV, not the TNIV. One has to suspect that, since the translation will be de-modernized, it may also revert to a less modern text.	★★★★ ★★

To give a very slight feeling for the versions cited, I have taken a selection of variant readings, all significant enough that we can without doubt know what text underlies the English translation (or so I thought until I started reading some of the wild paraphrases in some translations!), and marked how each of the post-King James translations reads it. In the list below, "GNT" represents the reading of the United Bible Societies text;

“Byz” represents the Byzantine text (as usually found in the King James); I also occasionally cite “West” for Western text, “Alex” for Alexandrian, “WH” for the Westcott-Hort text, and Vg^{CL} for the Clementine Vulgate. (N.B. GNT and Alex are assumed to agree unless otherwise specified.)

The list of readings follows the table below.

	Matt 6:13	Matt 12:47	Mark 6:22	Mark 16:9f.	Luke 8:43	Luke 24:40	John 5:3[b]-4	Acts 8:37	Acts 15:34	Rom. 16:24	1Co 13:3	Eph 1:1	Col 3:13	1 Jo 5:7-8	Rev. 15:6
Westcott & Hort	GNT	Alex	GNT	GNT	WH	West	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Alex	GNT	GNT	Alex
von Soden	GNT	Alex	Byz	(Byz)	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	GNT	Byz	GNT	GNT
Nestle-Aland[25]	GNT	GNT	Byz	GNT	WH	West	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
English Revised (1881)	GNT	GNT	Byz	Byz	WH	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	Byz	GNT	GNT	Alex
Goodspeed (1923)	GNT	Alex	Byz	(Byz)	WH	WH	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	WH	GNT	GNT	GNT
Moffatt (1935)	GNT	Alex	Byz	GNT	WH	GNT	Byz	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	Alex	Byz	GNT	GNT
Challoner (CCD 1941)	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	GNT	GNT	Byz	Byz	Byz	Byz	Byz	GNT	GNT	Vg[CL]	GNT
Phillips (1962)	GNT	GNT	Byz	Byz	WH	West	Byz	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	(both)	GNT	GNT	GNT
Jerusalem (1968)	GNT	Alex	Byz	Byz	WH	GNT	Byz	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	Alex	GNT	GNT	GNT
New English (1970)	GNT	GNT	Byz	(Byz)	WH	WH	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
New American (1970 edition)	GNT	GNT	Byz	(GNT)	GNT	GNT	West	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
New American (1986 edition)	GNT	GNT	Byz	(GNT)	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
Revised Standard (1971)	GNT	Alex	Byz	Byz	WH	West	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	Alex	GNT	GNT	GNT
New American Standard (1977)	Byz	GNT	Byz	Byz	WH	GNT	Byz	Byz	Byz	Byz	Byz	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
New International (1978)	GNT	GNT	Byz	Byz	WH	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
New King James (1982)	Byz	GNT	Byz	Byz	Byz	GNT	Byz	Vg[CL]	Byz	Byz	Byz	GNT	Byz	Vg[CL]	GNT
New Jerusalem (1985)	GNT	GNT	Byz	Byz	WH	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	Alex	GNT	GNT	GNT
New English (1989)	GNT	GNT	Byz	Byz	WH	WH	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	Byz	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
New Revised Standard (1989)	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
New Living translation (1996)	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT
Today's New International (2005)	GNT	GNT	Byz	GNT	WH	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT	GNT

Readings Examined

Matt 6:13: add “for yours is the kingdom and the might until the age of ages” *Byz*; omit *GNT West*

Matt 12:47: add “Someone said to him, ‘Your mother.... seeking to speak to you” *Byz West [GNT]*; omit *Alex*

Mark 6:22 substitute “the daughter of Herodias” *Byz*; “his daughter Herodias” *GNT*

Mark 16:9–20 add *Byz, West, [[GNT]]*; omit *Alex*. NOTE: For this variant, I consider a version to agree with *Byz* if it includes 16:9–20 with no clear indication in the text that the verses are questionable. (A footnote is not enough to make them questionable.) I consider it to agree with *GNT* if, like the NRSV and Moffatt, it includes both the longer and shorter endings or if, like the first version of RSV, it omits the ending altogether.

Luke 8:43 add “and had spent all her living on healers” *Byz [GNT]*; omit *WH*

Luke 24:40 add “And having said this, he showed them hands and feet” *Alex Byz UBS;* omit *West WH*

John 5:3b–4 add 5:3+5:4 *Byz* Vg^{CL}; add 5:3b only *West* $Vulg^{mss}$; add 5:4 only *MSS*; omit both verses *GNT*

Acts 8:37 add verse “If you believe with all your heart.... the son of God” Vg^{CL}; omit *GNT*

Acts 15:34 add verse “But it seemed good to Silas to stay there” *Byz (West)* Vg^{CL}; omit *GNT*

Rom 16:24 add verse “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is with you all” *Byz West* Vg^{CL}; omit *GNT*

1Co 13:3 substitute “my body to be burned” *Byz West;* “my body in order to boast” *GNT*

Eph 1:1 add “in Ephesus” *Byz West [GNT]*; omit *Alex*

Col 3:13 substitute “just as Christ has forgiven you” *Byz*; “just as the Lord forgiven you” *Alex West GNT Vulg*

1Jo 5:7–8 add “the Father.... three on earth” Vg^{CL}; omit *Alex Byz GNT*

Rev 15:6 substitute “clothed in pure bright linen” *Byz GNT* Vg^{CL}; “clothed in pure bright stone *Alex*

Addendum: The English Text of the King James Bible

Those interested in textual criticism may note with some irony that the text of the King James Bible is itself uncertain. There is no original printer's copy. And, it appears, there are two first editions. It has been suggested that the initial printing called for 20,000 copies. This was apparently more than a single print house could produce in one run. As a result, there were two impressions of this first edition — and they aren't the same.

Should you chance to come across one of the first editions, the impressions can be told apart by looking at Ruth 3:15. In one impression, the verse reads "SHE went into the citie" the other has "HE went into the citie." Not too surprisingly, they are therefore called the "He" and "She" Bibles. (Interestingly, although "He" is the correct translation, it is said that the majority of later KJV editions print "She." Both of my King James editions are guilty of this, e.g.)

The first major attempt to clean up the printing errors in the King James Bible was made in 1638. This Cambridge edition became the standard for many years to come. It did not, however, entirely eliminate errors from subsequent printings. Several editions became famous for some rather strange errors:

The Ears to Ear Bible of 1810 prints Matthew 13:43 as "Who has ears to **ear**, let him hear."

The Murderers' Bible of 1801 prints Jude 16 as "These are **murderers**, complainers, walking after their own lusts. The correct word is "murmurers."

The Printer's Bible of c. 1702 has Psalm 119:161 read "**Printers** have persecuted me without cause" (should be "Princes," although, to be fair, anyone who has slogged through 161 verses of Psalm 119 ought to be granted a little slack…).

The Rebecca's Camels Bible of 1823 has Genesis 24:61 read "Rebecca arose, and her **camels**" (should be "damsels").

The Standing Fishes Bible, from 1806, prints Ezekiel 47:10 as And it shall come to pass that the **fishes** shall stand… (should be "fishers").

The To Remain Bible of 1805 has Galatians 4:29 read "Persecuted him that was born after the spirit **to remain**, even so it is now." The words "to remain" were a proofreader's mark regarding a comma that the typesetter put into the text.

The Unrighteous Bible of 1653, which read "Know ye not that the **unrighteous** shall inherit the Kingdom of God?" in 1 Cor. 6:9. The verse should of course read "shall not inherit." Omitting negatives was apparently a habit of this typesetter, who in Romans

6:13 printed “your members as instruments of righteousness unto sin” where the text should read “instruments of unrighteousness.”

The Vinegar Bible. This edition of 1717 is so named not because of an error in the actual Biblical text but in a section heading: Instead of the Parable of the Vineyard in Luke 20, it refers to the Parable of “Vinegar.”

The Wicked Bible. This term is sometimes used to refer to the Unrighteous Bible (see above), but typically the name is reserved for a 1631/1632 edition which makes one of the Ten Commandments read “Thou shalt commit adultery.”

The Wife-Hater Bible. In this 1810 edition, Luke 14:26 reads “If any *man* come to me, and hate not.... his own **wife** also”; the word should be “life.” (Presumably this is an assimilation to the mention of the wife earlier in the verse).

Of no particular textual note, but a fascinating example of how printers could get in trouble, is the “Leda Bible.” Like many books of the period, it had illustrations — in this case, illustrations borrowed from an edition of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. One of these, which was used in Hebrews, was an illustration of Zeus, ahem, “visiting” Leda while in the form of a swan. (This would, of course, result in the birth of Apollo.) The result, not too surprisingly, was a lot of protests!

Incidentally, there are “named Bibles” other than the King James. Some of the stranger ones:

The Bug Bible: Coverdale’s edition. So called because Psalm 41:5 is translated “Thou shalt not nede to be afrayed for eny **bugges** by night.” The word Coverdale rendered “bugs” should be translated as “terror” or something similar.

The Place-Maker’s Bible: An edition of the Geneva Bible which has “Blessed are the **placemakers**” instead of “Blessed are the peacemakers” in Matthew.

The Treacle Bible: The Bishop’s Bible. So-called because it has Jeremiah 8:22 refer to “**treacle** in Gilead,” where most modern editions read “balm in Gilead.” (Coverdale also translated as “treacle,” which may have inspired the Bishop’s Bible reading.)

Eusebian Canon Tables

A system, created by Eusebius of Cæsarea, for simplifying cross-references among the gospels. It took the older Ammonian Sections and created a way to look up equivalent parts of the other gospels. See the article on Divisions and Organization of the Text.

Examples: Some Sample Variant Readings and How Critics Resolve Them

Introduction

The purpose of New Testament Textual Criticism is to recover the original New Testament text. This, obviously, requires the textual critic to resolve variants. This entry gives an assortment of variants, plus descriptions of how they have been resolved by various scholars .

Entries in the document fall into two parts: Those where most if not all modern scholars agree, and "challenge readings" — places where different scholars assess the readings differently. The first section can therefore be used to see the agreed-upon methods of interpretation; the second allows you to examine methods used only be certain scholars.

Each entry begins with a presentation of the evidence, in the fullest possible manner. The variant portion of the reading is shown in **bold**. All major variants are presented (with the variant preferred by the UBS editors listed first), with support listed in the usual order (papyri, uncials, minuscules, versions, fathers). The printed texts that support the reading will also be listed. This is followed by the various scholars' interpretations.

Widely Accepted Readings

The examples in the section which follows are accepted by all, or nearly all, modern scholars. (The major exception, in most cases, is the scholars who believe in Byzantine Priority.) They thus serve as good examples of the ways in which scholars work, and demonstrate the methods used.

Mark 1:2

1. EN **ΤΩ ΗΣΑΙΑ ΤΩ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗ** — "in Isaiah the prophet" — א B (D Θ f^{1} 700 1071 1243 *pc* ℓ^{253} ℓ^{844} ℓ^{2211} Epiphanius omit EN) L Δ 33 565 892 1241 *al* a aur b c d f ff^{2} l q am ful pesh hark^{marg} sa bo arm geo Irenaeus Origen [UBS WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels NEB Souter Greeven]
2. EN **ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙΣ** — "in the prophets" — A E F H P W Γ Σ f^{13} 28 579 1006 1010 1342 1424 1505 1506 1546 *Byz* (r^{1-vid} "in Isaiah and in the prophets"!) hark^{text} bo$^{ms-marg}$ eth slav [Hodges-Farstad TR]

Preferred reading: #1

This reading (except for the question of including or excluding EN, which is relatively trivial) can be resolved based on either internal or external evidence. The external evidence overwhelmingly favours the reading “Isaiah the Prophet;” it is supported by the Alexandrian (א B L Δ 33 892 1241 sa bo), “Western” (D it vg), and “Cæsarean” (Θ f^{1} 565 700 arm geo) texts. In favour of “in the prophets” we have only the Byzantine text.

Internal evidence is equally decisive — because the quotation is not from Isaiah alone, but from Malachi and Isaiah. The attribution to Isaiah is an error, and scribes would obviously have been tempted to correct it. (Neither of the parallels in the other gospels mentions Isaiah.) Thus it becomes certain that the original reading was “In Isaiah the prophet.”

✦✦✦

Luke 11:2

1. ΠΑΤΕΡ — “Father” — P^{75} א B (L pc arm ΠΑΤΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ/Our Father) 1 22 700 1342 1582 aur am cav ful hub sang tol theod sin [UBS WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels NEB Souter Greeven]
2. ΠΑΤΕΡ **ΗΜΩΝ Ο ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΙΣ** — “Our father, the one who is in heaven” — A C D E F G H K P W X Γ Δ Θ Π Ψ 070 f^{13} 28 33^{vid} 157 205 565^{supp} 579 892 1010 1071 1079 1241 1243 1424 1505 1546 *Byz* (a c ff^{2} i “holy father”) b d e f l q r^{1-vid} dubl harl* per rush cur pesh hark sa bo eth geo slav [Hodges-Farstad TR]

Preferred reading: #1

At first glance it may seem that the evidence for the longer reading is overwhelming in its magnitude. Careful consideration shows this not to be the case. The shorter reading is clearly that of the earliest Alexandrian texts (P^{75} א B), and it is also the apparent “Cæsarean” reading (1+1582 22 700). It also has the support of the original vulgate. Thus its external support is at least as strong as, if not stronger than, that for the longer reading.

But it is the internal evidence that is absolutely decisive. The longer reading is, of course, that found in Matthew 6:9, and in Matthew there is no variation. Equally important, every one of the copyists must have known his paternoster, and they would all know it in Matthew’s form (since it is at once fuller and earlier in the canon). If they found a short form in Luke, they would inevitably have been tempted to flesh it out. And under no circumstances would they ever have removed the longer words. Thus it is morally certain that the short form is original (here and in the several other expansions found in the Lukan version of the Lord’s Prayer).

✦✦✦

John 7:53–8:11

1. Include the story of the Adulteress after John 7:52 (with major variations among the manuscripts) — D ((E) S 1006 1424^{marg} with asterisks, possibly indicating a questionable passage) (Λ Π omit 7:53–8:2 and place the rest in asterisks) F^{vid} G H K M U Γ 28 180 205 579 597 700 892 1009 1010 1071 (1077 1443 1445 ℓ ^{184} ℓ ^{211} 387 514 751 773 890 1780 include 8:3–11 only) 1079 1195 1216 1243 1292 1342 1344 1365 1505 1546 1646 2148 2174 Byz aur c d e (ff^{2} omits 7:53) j r^{1} vg pesh^{mss} hark^{mss} pal bo^{pt} slav$^{mss\text{-}marg}$ eth Ambrosiaster Ambrose Jerome [(UBS in [[ ]]) (Soden) (Vogels in [[ ]]) Merk Bover (Souter in [ ]) Hodges-Farstad TR]
2. Include the story after Luke 21:28 — f^{13} (13 69 346 543 788 826 828 983)
3. Include the story after Luke 24:53 — 1333**
4. Include the story after 7:37 — 225
5. Include the story after John 21:25 — (1 with critical note) 1076 1582 arm^{mss}
6. Include the story as a separate item — [(WH in [[ ]]) NEB]
7. Omit 7:53–8:11 — P^{66} P^{75} א (A defective but does not leave space) B (C defective but does not leave space) L N T W X Y Δ Θ Ψ 0141 0211 22 33 157 209 565 1230 1241 1242 1253 1333^{txt} 1424* 2193 2768 *pc* a f l* q cur sin pesh^{mss} hark^{mss} sa pbo ach^{2} bo^{mss} arm^{mss} geo goth slav Origen^{vid} [Tischendorf]

Preferred reading: #7

There are two questions about this reading: Is it part of the Gospel of John, and if not, where and how should it be printed? The fact that most of the editions include the passage in the text in some form does not address whether they regard it as original.

The external evidence against the reading is almost overwhelming; it is omitted by all significant Alexandrian witnesses except except 579, 892, and some Bohairic manuscripts (all of which are secondary texts) and the “Cæsarean” witnesses omit it or move it elsewhere. It is found in some “Western” texts, but others (including the very important a) omit, and even the earliest Byzantine texts, such as A N, lack the reading. The external evidence alone is sufficient to prove that this is no part of the Gospel of John.

Some scholars have tried to rescue the passage on internal grounds, arguing that scribes would omit it because they disapproved of mercy to an adulteress. But while this

might explain its omission from a few texts, it cannot possibly explain its absence from so many — nor why it appears so often as a correction.

It should also be noted that the passage has a style very unlike the rest of John, and uses a great many words not found elsewhere in that gospel.

There is a mention in Eusebius (at the very end of book III) of a story told by Papias and found in the Gospel of the Hebrews of a woman falsely charged with many sins. It has been suggested that this is the origin of the story of the adulteress. This is perfectly reasonable, but the evidence at our disposal does not allow us to say more than that.

This is not a statement about the truth or falsity of the story — if it goes back to Papias, it is at least a very early tradition from a good source. But there can be little doubt that the story of the adulteress is no part of the original gospel of John.

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Acts 8:37

1. omit verse — P^{45} P^{74} א A B C L P Ψ 049 056 0142 33vid 81 88* 104 181 330 436 451 614 1175 1241 1505 2127 2344 2492 2495 Byz am* cav ful sang pesh sa bo eth^{ms} [UBS WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels NEB Souter Hodges-Farstad]

2. 2. Include verse 37, with variations: ΕΙΠΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩ ΕΙ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΣ ΕΞ ΟΛΗΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ ΣΟΥ ΕΞΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΠΟΚΡΙΘΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΕΙΠΕ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΩ ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΙΗΣΟΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ — “And he said, ‘If you believe with your whole heart, you may.’ And he answered, ‘I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God’” — (E e (Bede^{mss}) make major changes, e.g. making “Philip” explicit and omitting “Jesus”; there are many other variants in the manuscripts) 4^{marg} (36) 88** 307 (323) 453 (629) 630 945 1678 (1739) 1877 1891 pc 59 592 1178 gig l p t w am** colb dem dubl hub val hark** meg arm geo eth^{ms} slav Speculum Irenaeus Cyprian [TR]

Preferred reading: #1

This reading is interesting because it has been omitted from every critically prepared edition ever published, including even the Majority Text editions. But it is found in the Textus Receptus and the King James version.

The evidence for verse 37 is usually stated to be weak. It isn’t, really; the verse has the support of the “Western” text (D is defective here, but we find it in E and the Old Latins), as well as Family 1739 (323 630 945 1339 1891). Still, it is missing from the Alexandrian

text, and probably also from Family 2138. So the external evidence is slightly against the verse.

Internal evidence also argues against the verse. Its style is regarded as un-Lukan, and there is no reason for it to have been omitted had it originally been present. The best explanation for its appearance seems to be that scribes felt that the eunuch needed to make some sort of confession of faith before baptism, and so added one. Thus it seems best to omit the verse.

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Romans 6:11

1. ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΗΣΟΥ — "in Christ Jesus" — P46 A B D F G Ψ 629 630 1739* (1852) 2200 pc a b d f m (r omits entire reading) am bodl ful harl hark sa geo1 Speculum [UBS WH Tischendorf Merk Bover NEB]

2. ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΗΣΟΥ **ΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΗΜΩΝ** — "in Christ Jesus our Lord" — P9^{4-vid} א C K L P 6 33 81 (104 *pc* omit ΙΗΣΟΥ/Jesus) 256 263 330 365 436 451 614 1175 1241 1319 1505 1506 1573 1739** 1881 1962 2127 2464 2492 2495 *Byz* (dem) (pesh) (pal) bo arm geo^{2} slav Ambrosiaster [Soden (Vogels in [ ]) Hodges-Farstad TR]

Preferred reading: #1

This reading can be approached based on either internal or external evidence. The internal evidence says that longer readings are often suspect — at least when they are more liturgical or Christological. Thus the reading with "our Lord" is highly questionable. It has been suggested that the words are derived from verse 23 — though there is no real need for such an explanation, as there is absolutely no reason why the words might be omitted had they originally been present.

The external evidence points the same way. Although the longer reading has the support of most parts of the Alexandrian text (א C 81 1506 family 2127 bo), the words "our Lord" are omitted by P^{46}–B-sa, by the "Western" text (D F G 629 Old Latin and all the best Vulgate witnesses), and by Family 1739 (1739* 630 2200). Thus the plurality of text-types also stand against the reading. We can be confident that the words "our Lord" are spurious.

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James 2:20

1. Η ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΕΡΓΩΝ **ΑΡΓΗ** ΕΣΤΙΝ — "faith without works is unproductive" — B C* 322 323 945 1175 1243 1739 am** cav colb dem div dubl ful harl hub sang tol val sa arm [UBS WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels NEB Souter]

2. Η ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΕΡΓΩΝ **ΝΕΚΡΑ** ΕΣΤΙΝ — "faith without works is dead" — א A C** K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 33 81 88 104 436 614 629 630 1067 1241 1505 1611 1735 1852 2138 2298 2344 2412 2464 2492 2495 Byz p t am* pesh hark bo eth slav [Hodges-Farstad TR]

3. Η ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΕΡΓΩΝ **ΚΕΝΗ** ΕΣΤΙΝ — "faith without works is empty" — P^{74} ff?

Preferred reading: #1

The external evidence here is rather split; a large part of the Alexandrian text, including א A 33 81 436 bo, read "dead"; they are supported by the entirety of Family 2138. "Unproductive," however, also has good Alexandrian support (B 1175 sa), as well as many of the better Family 1739 manuscripts (322 323 945 1739). (The reading "empty" of P^{74} may have been suggested by ΚΕΝΗ in the preceding clause.)

If the external evidence is divided, the internal evidence is clear. In verses 17 and 26, we read that faith without works is dead. And there is no variation in either of those verses. Since assimilation to local parallels is an extremely common sort of corruption, we may feel confident that the reading "dead" is a corruption, and "unproductive" original.

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1 John 2:23

1. Ο ΟΜΟΛΟΓΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΕΧΕΙ — "the one who confesses the son has the Father also" — א A B C P Ψ 5 33 223 323 614 623 630 1022 1243 1505 1611 1739 1799 2138 2412 2495 am cav ful hub sang theod tol val pesh hark sa bo^{mss} arm eth Origen Cyprian [UBS WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels NEB Souter]

2. **omit** — K L 049 6 69 81 181 330 436 462 876 1175 1241 1319 1424 1518 1738 1891 Byz harl bo^{ms} [Hodges-Farstad TR]

Preferred reading: #1

This reading illustrates well the danger of applying rules over-critically. The canon "prefer the shorter reading," if applied without discretion, might lead us to prefer reading #2. This is simply a mistake. The shorter reading obviously arose due to homoeoteleuton (the preceding clause also ends with ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΕΧΕΙ). When one observes that the longer reading is also supported by the best representatives of all the text-types (Alexandrian: א A B 33 and the Coptic versions; Family 2138: 614 630 1505 1611 1799 2138 2412 2495 and the Harklean Syriac; Family 1739: C 323 1739 Origen; also the vulgate), it becomes clear that the longer reading is original.

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Readings Not Universally Accepted

The readings in this section are not universally accepted by critical editors. However, there seems to be no reason in these instances to depart from the accepted readings of the UBS/GNT editions (which usually, but not always, follow the readings of Westcott and Hort). They are thus offered for further guidance, with the note than some editors will produce different results by different methods.

Matthew 27:16–17

1. ΔΕΣΜΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΝ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ **ΙΗΣΟΥΝ ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΝ.... ΙΗΣΟΥΝ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΝ** — "a famous prisoner called Jesus Barabbas.... Jesus Barabbas" — f^{1} 241* 299** (Θ 700* omit ΤΟΝ) sin pal^{mss} arm geo^{2} (many mss known to Origen) [(UBS in [ ]) NEB]
2. ΔΕΣΜΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΝ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ **ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΝ.... ΤΟΝ ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΝ** — B 1010 [(WH in [ ])]
3. ΔΕΣΜΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΝ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ **ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΝ.... ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΝ** — "a famous prisoner called Barabbas.... Barabbas" — א A D E F G H K L W Δ Π Σ 064 0250 f^{13} 33 157 205 565 579 700** 892 1071 1079 1241 1243 1342 1424 1505 1546 *Byz* latt pesh hark palms cop geo^{1} slav eth (mss known to Origen) [Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels Hodges-Farstad TR Souter Greeven]

Preferred reading: #1

The evidence of text-types here is clear: The "Caesarean" text reads *Jesus Barabbas;* all other texts omit *Jesus*. On this basis we are inclined to omit *Jesus*, but we must look at internal evidence to determine the history of the passage. And it is clear that the reading *Jesus Barabbas* can explain the reading *Barabbas*, but not vice versa. (Kirsopp Lake and Silva New proposed that the reading with *Jesus* arose first in 27:17, when a

scribe copied υμινβαραββαν as υμινινβαρραβαν by dittography, noticed his mistake, and marked the second ιν with dots for deletion, which a later scribe interpreted as a n abbreviation for ιησουν. But this reading would then have to spread to 27:16, and the article τον would have to be added. That's simply too complicated.) Origen himself shows how likely a change would be; although most of the manuscripts he knew read *Jesus Barabbas*, he preferred *Barabbas*. Many other scribes must have felt this way, meaning that the reading *Jesus Barabbas* is almost certainly original.

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1 Corinthians 13:3

1. ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΙΝΑ **ΚΑΥΧΗΣΩΜΑΙ** — "and deliver my body so that I may boast" — P^{46} א A B 048 0150 33 1739* sa bo [UBS WH]
2. ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΙΝΑ **ΚΑΥΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ** — "and deliver my body to be burned" — C D F G L 81 104 263 436 630 945 1175 1881* 1912 [Bover Merk NEB Soden Tischendorf Vogels]
3. ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΙΝΑ **ΚΑΥΘΗΣΩΜΑΙ** — "and deliver my body of burning" (paraphrase to show improper grammar) — K Ψ 6 256 35 424 1319 1739^{c} 1852 1881^{c} 1962 2200 2464 *Byz* [Hodges-Farstad TR]
4. ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΙΝΑ **ΚΑΥΘΗ** — "and deliver my body burning" (another paraphrase) — 1505 2127 hark

Preferred reading: #1

A surprising number of editors have preferred reading #2, probably because it sounds so much better. The problem here is a case of internal and external criteria conflicting. Internal criteria argue for the Byzantine reading ΚΑΥΘΗΣΩΜΑΙ, because it, and only it, can explain the other two readings in one step (that is, the other two both differ from ΚΑΥΘΗΣΩΜΑΙ by only one letter). However, a reading supported only by the Byzantine text is extremely unlikely to be original. So we are confronted with either #1 or #2. But that implies that to get from #1 to #2, or vice versa, requires two changes, an accidental change from the original reading (whether ΚΑΥΧΗΣΩΜΑΙ or ΚΑΥΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ) to ΚΑΥΘΗΣΩΜΑΙ, and then a secondary change from ΚΑΥΘΗΣΩΜΑΙ. Confronted with this complication, we observe tat reading #1 is supported by P^{46}–B-sa, by א-A–33–bo, and by 1739* — our three earliest and best sets of witnesses. Reading #2 is supported primarily by D F G — witnesses known to be prone to paraphrase. So the strong evidence is that reading #1 is original, because to assume anything else forces us to a highly improbable historical reconstruction.

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Very Difficult Readings

The readings in this section illustrate points where critical editions are very divided. They are presented to illustrate the difficulty of resolving certain readings.

Matthew 10:3 || Mark 3:18

These readings, like many others in the Synoptic Gospels, can only be considered together. The setting is the listing of the Twelve, and the evidence for each reading is set out in this table:

Reading	Matt. 10:3	Mark 3:18
Θαδδαιον/ Thaddeus	א B 69 788 826 892 983 ℓ 185 ℓ 2211 aur c ff^{1} l vg sa meg bo Jerome Augustine [UBS WH Merk Bover Vogels Souter]	א A B C E F G H (K Δαδδαιον) L Δ(* Ταδδαιον) Θ Π Σ 0134 f^{1} f^{13} 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1010 1071 1079 1241 1243 1342 1424 1505 1546 *Byz* aur c f l vg sin pesh hark sa bo arm geo goth eth slav Origen [all editions]
Λεββαιον/ Lebbaeus	D d (k) μ Origen^{lat} [Tischendorf NEB]	D a b d ff^{2} l q r^{1}
Θαδδαιος ο επικληθεις Λεββαιος/ Thaddeus called Lebbaeus	13 346 543 828 547	
Λεββαιος ο επικληθεις Θαδδαιος/ Lebbaeus called Thaddeus	C(*) E F G K L N W X Δ Θ Π Σ f^{1} 28 33 157 565 579 700 1010 1071 1079 1243 1342 1424 1505 1546 *Byz* f pesh hark pal^{mss} (arm) geo (eth) slav [Soden Hodges-Farstad TR]	
omit		W e
Judas Zelotes	a b g^{1} h q (pal^{ms})	
Judas of James (and transpose)	sin	

Preferred reading:
Matthew: Thaddeus
Mark: Thaddeus

Despite the confusion of readings here, it is obvious that, in both Matthew and Mark, the original reading must be either *Thaddeus* or *Lebbaeus,* not one in one book and the other in the other; the important witnesses all have the same reading in the two gospels. The difference is between text-types, not books, and the conflate readings in Matthew are clearly attempts to combine the two names.

But which is original?

In this case, the easiest place to start is Mark. Although internal evidence doesn't really apply here (neither name has any particular significance, since this particular disciple doesn't ever do anything), the external evidence clearly favours "Thaddeus." This reading has the support of every Alexandrian, "Cæsarean," and Byzantine witness; the supporters of "Lebbaeus" are all "Western." While we cannot be certain in such a case, the reading "Thaddeus" seems much the stronger of the two.

So what does this say about Matthew? Here the matter is much less clear, since only the Alexandrian text unequivocally supports "Thaddeus." Ordinarily we might suspect that this variation arose because Matthew and Mark had different readings. This is, in fact, why the NEB chose the reading it did, giving one reading in each book.

But look at the situation again. In both gospels, we find "Thaddeus" supported by the Alexandrian witnesses (with some supporting evidence), while we find "Lebbaeus" exclusively in "Western" witnesses. In other words, each of the two main text-types had its own reading, which it used consistently. There is no confusion in the witnesses, merely disagreement.

This argues that only one reading is original; one or the other text-type (for some unknown reason) altered both lists. And if this is the case, it is almost certain that it is the "Western" text which did the adapting. We therefore, and with much hesitation, adopt the reading "Thaddeus" in both passages.

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Readings Offered for Consideration

The readings in this section were selected by Robert Waltz to conform with my views on textual criticism. Note that most of these examples will be rejected by the majority of scholars.

I am what is called a “historical-documentary” scholar — that is, I start by examining the manuscripts and searching for early text-types. Only after I have determined the text-types do I turn to variants. If all the text-types agree, well and good. If not, I try to construct a local genealogy to explain the variants.

It should be obvious that, in order for this method to work, the history of the text must be known in the greatest possible detail. In Paul, for example, I find four basic non-Byzantine text-types: P^{46}/B (P^{46} B sa), “Alexandrian” (א A C I 33 bo; also 81 1175 etc.), “Western” (D F G Old Latin; also 629), and family 1739 (1739 0243; also 0121 1881 6 424** 630 2200 etc.). In the Catholics there are three: “Alexandrian” (p^{72}+B, א, A +33+81+436+bo), family 1739 (C 1241 1739; also 323 945 1881 2298 etc.), family 2138 (614 630 1505 1611 1799 2138 2412 2495 Harklean etc.). In the gospels my results are incomplete, and in Acts and the Apocalypse they are barely begun; therefore I concede that my results there are tentative.

Mark 15:39

1. ΟΤΙ **ΟΥΤΩΣ** ΕΞΕΠΝΕΥΣΕΝ — “that he thus gave up his spirit” — א B L Ψ 892 (1506) sa (2148? bo omit ΟΥΤΩΣ) fay [UBS Tischendorf WH Soden Merk Bover Vogels Souter NEB]

2. ΟΤΙ **ΚΡΑΞΑΣ** ΕΞΕΠΝΕΥΣΕΝ — “that having cried out he gave up his spirit” — W Θ 565 1542 2542 844 sin arm geo Origen^{lat}

3. ΟΤΙ **ΟΥΤΩΣ ΚΡΑΞΑΣ** ΕΞΕΠΝΕΥΣΕΝ — “that having cried out he thus gave up his spirit” — A C (D d ΟΥΤΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΞΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΠΝΕΥΣΕ and omit ΟΤΙ) E G H N S U V X Γ Δ Π 0233 f^{1} f^{13} 28 33 157 579 700 1010 1071 1079 1241 1342 (1424) 1505 1546 2427 Byz aur c ff^{2} (i) (k) l n q vg pesh hark eth goth slav Augustine [Hodges-Farstad TR Greeven]

Preferred reading: #3

It’s rare to see the evidence so nicely divided as this. The Alexandrian text clearly supports ΟΥΤΩΣ, the “Caesarean” ΚΡΑΞΑΣ, and the Western (with some minor variations) ΟΥΤΩΣ ΚΡΑΞΑΣ. Critical editors have hastened to adopt the Alexandrian reading, perhaps explaining the presence of ΚΡΑΞΑΣ as coming from Matthew 27:50. But this verse isn’t really parallel; if it had been harmonized, why was ΚΡΑΞΑΣ the only word to show up? Given that the three early text-types differ, we must ask ourselves which reading best explains the others. Is the Western/Byzantine reading conflate? Possibly — but if so, it is a remarkably early conflation. It also produces a difficult construction. It is easier to believe that the longer reading is original, and that the Alexandrian and “Caesarean” copyists separately shortened it.

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Luke 11:33

1. ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΛΥΧΝΟΝ ΑΨΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΚΡΥΠΤΗΝ ΤΙΘΗΣΙΝ ΟΥΔΕ **ΥΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΜΟΔΙΟΝ** — "No one, having lighted a lamp, puts it in a cellar, nor under the basket" — א A B C D E G H K W X Δ Θ Π Ψ 13 28 33 157 346 543 (565 1365 1424 *pc* H for ΟΥΔΕ) 579 700** 892 983 1010 1071 1079 1342 1505 1546 *Byz* lat (cur) (pesh) hark pal (bo) eth slav [(UBS in [ ]) WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels Souter Hodges-Farstad TR]

2. ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΛΥΧΝΟΝ ΑΨΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΚΡΥΠΤΗΝ ΤΙΘΗΣΙΝ — "No one, having lighted a lamp, puts it in a cellar" — P^{45} P^{75} L Γ Ξ 0124=070 f1 69 700* 788 1241 2542 pc sin sa arm geo [NEB Greeven]

Preferred reading: #2

This complex reading requires careful analysis. In looking at text-types, it is clear that the "Western" text included the longer reading. The "Caesarean" manuscripts are divided, but even so, it is clear that the type omits (since the reading is missing from family 1, family 13 (part) 700* arm geo). The evidence of P^{45} for a reading such as this is little help; this is just the sort of phrase it likes to omit. This leaves the Alexandrian text. Which is distinctly divided; א B C 33 579 892 bo include the reading while p^{75} L Ξ 070 1241 sa omit. If we consider the "phases" of the Alexandrian text, however, we find that the earlier (P^{75} sa, though not B) and the latest (L Ξ 070 1241) omit; only the middle phase (א C 33 579 892 bo) includes the words. Thus the evidence of text-types stands slightly against the reading.

The internal evidence is also slightly mixed, since this passage has no exact parallels. However, the partial parallels in Matt. 5:15 and Mark 4:21 are probably enough to account for the addition here. It is hard to see how the phrase could have been lost; perhaps it was haplography, or the loss of a line from a manuscript with about sixteen letters per line, but both explanations are far-fetched. Thus both the evidence of text-types and internal evidence are against the reading; it is better to omit the phrase.

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John 3:31

1. Ο ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ **ΕΠΑΝΩ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ** — "The one who comes from heaven is above all" — $P^{36\text{–vid}}$ (P^{66}) $א^{2}$ A B E F G H L W^{supp} Δ Θ Π Ψ 063 083 086 f13 28 33 579^{vid} 700 892 1071 1079 1241 1342 1424 1505 1546

Byz aur c f q vg (sin) pesh (hark) bo fay goth [(UBS in [ ]) WH^{txt} (Soden in [ ]) Merk Bover Vogels Souter Hodges-Farstad TR]

2. Ο ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ — "The one who comes from heaven" — P^{75} א* D f1 22 565 pc a b d e ff^{2} j l r^{1} cur sa arm (geo) Eusebius [Tischendorf WH^{margin} NEB]

Preferred reading: #2

To my mind, this reading shows clearly the danger of assessing readings starting from the internal evidence. It gives the critic too much chance to be imaginative.

This reading is settled instantly on the evidence of text-types. Clearly the "Western" text omitted the reading (so א* — here "Western" — D it). So too, clearly, did the "Caesarean" text (family 1 22 565 arm geo). But so too, evidently, the earliest phase of the Alexandrian text, since the words are missing from p^{75} sa. There really isn't any reason to look at internal evidence (though it's worth noting that it is indecisive); the words should be omitted.

✦✦✦

2 Corinthians 2:17

1. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΜΕΝ ΩΣ ΟΙ **ΠΟΛΛΟΙ** ΚΑΠΗΛΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ — "For we are not, like so many, peddling the word of God" — א A B C K P Ψ 075^{supp} 0150 0243 33 81 104 256 263 330 365 424 436 451 629 876 1175 1241 1319 1739 1881 1912 1962 2127 2464 2492 *pm* a b d f vg cop geo eth slav Irenaeus Ambrosiaster [UBS WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels Souter Hodges-Farstad^{variant} TR NEB]

2. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΜΕΝ ΩΣ ΟΙ **ΛΟΙΠΟΙ** ΚΑΠΗΛΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ — "For we are not, like the others, peddling the word of God" — P^{46} D F G L 6 181 223 326 614^{supp} 630 945 1022 1505 1611 1799 1960 2005 2200 2412 2495 *pm* sy arm Chrysostom [Hodges-Farstad^{text}]

Preferred reading: #2

At first it might seem that the evidence of text-types would favour ΠΟΛΛΟΙ/*many*. This is true in part; clearly this is the reading of the Alexandrian text and of family 1739. But the "Western" text favours ΛΟΙΠΟΙ/*[the] rest,* and p^{46} and B are split. (The Byzantine text is also split, but this has little effect on our deliberation except to explain why 6 and 630 defect from family 1739.) Although the external evidence favours *many*, the margin is very slight; we must look at internal evidence. And this clearly favours *[the] rest*. Either

word could easily have been confused for the other, but which is more likely to survive? Obviously *many*. Scribes would not approve of Paul lumping all other preachers — including themselves! — as God-peddlers. The fact that the reading *[the] others* survived at all is a strong testimony for its originality. And Paul was certainly willing to use such extreme language (note his condemnation of everyone except Timothy in Phil. 2:21). While the matter cannot be certain in the face of the external evidence, ΛΟΙΠΟΙ is clearly the better reading.

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Ephesians 5:31

1. ΑΝΤΙ ΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΕΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ (ΤΟΝ) ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ (ΤΗΝ) ΜΗΤΕΡΑ **ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΛΛΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ** — "For this reason a man leaves father and mother and clings to his wife" (cf. Gen. 2:24 LXX, Mark 10:7?) — א^{2} B D2 K L Ψ 0278 104 223 330 365 436 630 876 1022 1175 1505 1739^{margin} 1881 1960 2412 2464 2495 *Byz* (Origen?) [UBS WH^{txt} Soden Merk Bover Vogels Souter Hodges-Farstad TR NEB]

2. ΑΝΤΙ ΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΕΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ (ΤΟΝ) ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ (ΤΗΝ) ΜΗΤΕΡΑ **ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΛΛΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ** (cf. Gen. 2:24 LXX^{A}) — "For this reason a man leaves father and mother and clings to his wife" — P^{46} א^{1} A P 0285 33 69 81 462 1241^{supp} (2344 omits ΚΑΙ ΕΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΥΟ) latt? [WH^{margin}]

3. ΑΝΤΙ ΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΕΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ (ΤΟΝ) ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ (ΤΗΝ) ΜΗΤΕΡΑ **ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΛΛΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ** — "For this reason a man leaves father and mother and clings to the wife" — א* [Tischendorf]

4. ΑΝΤΙ ΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΕΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ (ΤΟΝ) ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ (ΤΗΝ) ΜΗΤΕΡΑ **ΚΑΙ ΚΟΛΛΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ** — "For this reason a man leaves father and mother and joins his wife" (cf. Matt. 19:5) — D* F G

5. ΑΝΤΙ ΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΕΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ (ΤΟΝ) ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΚΑΙ (ΤΗΝ) ΜΗΤΕΡΑ — "For this reason a man leaves father and mother" — 1739* 6 Cyprian Jerome Origen? Marcion? Tertullian?

Preferred reading: #5

As always, I start by looking at text-types. But text-types aren't much help here. It is evident that the Alexandrian text read ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΛΛΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ, the "Western" text read ΚΑΙ ΚΟΛΛΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ and family 1739 omitted. The P^{46}/B text is divided. Thus no reading commands the support

of the majority of text-types. Indeed, none of the readings can even be said to have "strong" support (though the support for ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΛΛΗΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ is strongest). So we turn to internal evidence.

In assessing this, we note that readings 1, 2, and 4 are all harmonizations, and 3 is singular and probably an error for 2. Is it possible that one of these three could have given rise to the others? Of course. But it is by no means obvious which reading of the three is most original.

On the other hand, if we assume that reading five, which omits the phrase, is original, then all becomes clear. Scribes, confronted with this quotation, would observe that the middle phrase had been left out. They would instinctively conform it to the version most familiar to them. And once the phrase was in place, there would be few further alterations.

It has been proposed that the omission in family 1739 was caused by homoioarcton. This is possible, leaps from ΚΑΙ to ΚΑΙ were common enough. But this would be an awfully suspicious location for it to happen.... why at this place where so many other readings exist? It is also possible that the omission from 1739 came because scribes marked in some sort of correction which was interpreted as a deletion. But, again, it is such a convenient error.

Back in the nineteenth century Hort said of the possibility of omitting the phrase, "A singular reading, which would not be improbable if its attestation were not exclusively patristic; the words might well be inserted from Gen ii 24." We now know that the reading is not exclusively patristic. Although the manuscripts which omit it are few, its support among the fathers is diverse, and on internal grounds it is well-founded. Although we cannot be sure in this case, this seems to me to be clearly the best reading.

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1 Peter 4:11

1. ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ **ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ** — "forever and ever" — א A B K L P 33 81 323 1241 *Byz* cav dubl hub harl tol sa^{ms} bo [UBS WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels Hodges-Farstad TR NEB]
2. ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ — "forever" — P^{72} 69 206 614 623 630 945 1505 1611 1739 2138 2495 al r am ful hark sa^{mss} bo^{mss} arm^{mss}

Preferred reading: #2

Until the discovery of P^{72}, no one paid much attention to this variant. The fact that scribes were more likely to add than subtract ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ was largely ignored.

It should not have been so. Even if we ignore 69 as prone to such errors, the words are missing from family 1739 (945 1739) and from family 2138 (206 614 630 1505 1611 2138 2495 hark). This leaves, apart from the Byzantine text, only the Alexandrian text-type to support the longer reading. When we note that the earliest witnesses of this type (P^{72} and many Coptic manuscripts) omit, and that they are joined by the best of the Latins, the short reading becomes distinctly preferable.

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2 Peter 2:13

1. ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ **ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ** ΑΥΤΩΝ — "In their dissipation" — P^{72} א A* C K L P 049 056 0142 33 81 88 104 330 424* 436 451 614 629 630 1175 1505 1735 1852 2127 2138 2298 2344 2412 2492 2495 Byz harktext samss bo arm slav [UBS WH^{text} Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels Hodges-Farstad TR NEB]
2. ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ **ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ** ΑΥΤΩΝ — "In their love-[feasts]" — A** B Ψ 623 1243 1611 2464 pc vg phil $hark^{margin}$ sa^{ms} geo eth Speculum [WH^{margin} Souter]
3. ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ **ΑΓΝΟΙΑΙΣ** ΑΥΤΩΝ — "In their ignorance" — 322 323 424** 945 (1241 ΑΓΝΕΙΑΙΣ !) 1739 1881 pc

Preferred reading: #2

Most editors have preferred the reading ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ, regarding ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ as an assimilation to Jude 12. If there were only two readings here, this might be logical. But there are *three*. We must examine the reading more fully.

As far as the evidence of text-types goes, ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ appears to be Alexandrian, but arguably the later form of the Alexandrian text. ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ has less Alexandrian support, but what it has is generally early (A** B sa). It also appear to be the reading of family 2138 (although the majority of that family supports ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ, this appears likely to be a Byzantine correction; the earliest reading is probably ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ, as in 1611 and the Harklean margin). Finally, ΑΓΝΟΙΑΙΣ is read by family 1739.

It is obvious that we cannot make a decision based on text-types, But we must observe that *all three* readings are attested in early text-types. This means that the middle reading is most likely to be original. And the middle reading is obviously ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ. It's easy to see how it could have turned into ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ — and also how it could have

become ΑΓΝΟΙΑΙΣ. Whereas it is almost impossible to see how ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ could have become ΑΓΝΟΙΑΙΣ or vice versa.

The argument that ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ is an assimilation to Jude 12 is also weakened when we recall that Jude is after 2 Peter in canonical order, that Jude was accepted into the canon very late, and is generally a weak epistle. Also, there is variation in Jude 12 (where A C^{vid} 1243 al read ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ and 6 424** read ΕΥΩΧΙΑΙΣ). Colwell has shown that assimilation of distant parallels is less common than previously assumed. So it should not be assumed here. Eberhard Nestle offered cogent internal reasons why ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ should be regarded as original in 2 Peter. Surely these offset the internal evidence of assimilation. The reading ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ belongs in the text.

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Jude 1

1. ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝ ΘΕΩ ΠΑΤΡΙ — "the ones (loved/sanctified) in God [the] Father" — P^{72} א A B K L P Ψ 81 436 630 1175 1735 2298 *Byz* vg sa bo geo (eth) slav Origen [UBS WH Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels Souter Hodges-Farstad TR NEB]
2. ΤΟΙΣ **ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ** ΕΝ ΘΕΩ ΠΑΤΡΙ — "the nations (loved/sanctified) in God [the] Father" — (6 omits ΕΝ ΘΕΩ) 322 323 424** 614 876 945 1241 1243 1505 1611 1739 1852 1881 2138 2412 2492 2495 *al* phil hark arm

Preferred reading: #2

Of all the New Testament books, Jude is probably the most afflicted by textual variation, and it is often difficult to decide where one variant ends and the next begins. I think, though, that this variant (add/omit ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ) can be treated in isolation.

Most scholars look at this reading and say, "ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ? Found only in minuscules. Forget it." The evidence of text-types says otherwise. It's true that the Alxandrian text omits the word, and obviously the Byzantine text does also. But the word is found in both family 1739 (6 322 323 424** 945 1241 1243 1739 1881) and family 2138 (614 1505 1611 2138 2412 2495 hark) — two early and unrelated text-types. In other words, *on the basis of text-types, it has as strong a claim to originality as the text without it.*

Internal evidence, if anything, favours the reading. There is no text anywhere in scripture which is even vaguely parallel; the reading is unexpected and strange. Frankly, it's easier to see scribes omitting ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ than adding it. It might even have been an haplography induced by the following ΕΝ ΘΕΩ. I agree that it's hard to adopt a reading

which completely lacks uncial support. I'm far from certain this is correct. But I think ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ belongs in the text.

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Revelation 2:10

1. ΙΝΑ ΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΗΤΕ ΚΑΙ **ΕΞΕΤΕ** ΘΛΙΨΙΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ — "That you might suffer and will have affliction for ten days" — א 046 94 1006 1611 1828 1841 1859 2020 2042 2050 2138 2329 2351 2377 pm *Byz*^{K}? a t vg sy? arm? [UBS WH^{margin} Tischendorf Soden Merk Bover Vogels Souter^{text} Hodges-Farstad TR NEB]
2. ΙΝΑ ΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΗΤΕ ΚΑΙ **ΕΧΗΤΕ** ΘΛΙΨΙΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ — "That you might suffer and may have affliction for ten days" — A P 254 598 1854 2019 2065 2344 2432 bo? *pc* Primasius [WH^{text} Souter^{margin} (also Lachman)]
3. ΙΝΑ ΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΗΤΕ ΚΑΙ **ΕΧΕΤΕ** ΘΛΙΨΙΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ — "That you might suffer and have affliction for ten days" — C 1 104 181 459 2026 2031 (2053) 2056 2059 2073 2081 2186 2286 sa? pm *Byz*^{A}? [WH^{margin}]
4. ΙΝΑ ΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΗΤΕ ΚΑΙ **ΕΞΗΤΕ** ΘΛΙΨΙΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ — "That you might suffer and might have affliction for ten days" — 88 110 627 2048 2074
5. omit ΚΑΙ.... ΘΛΙΨΙΝ — gig

Preferred reading: #3

No doubt my advocacy of a reading ignored by most other scholars will seem surprising. Strong internal grounds have been adduced for ΕΞΕΤΕ, and it also has strong manuscript support.

However, the evidence of text-types does not favour it. A C have other readings (admittedly *different* readings), and Andreas also defects. Under the circumstances it can be said that all of the first three readings are old — old enough to possibly be original. In which case the reading most likely to be original is the middle reading, EXETE. From here to the other two involves a change of only a single letter.

I admit that these are awfully thin grounds. But the evidence for the other readings is not overwhelming. When in doubt, one should follow the rules.

Exemplar

The manuscript from which a manuscript was copied (compare "Abschrift," the resulting manuscript, that is, the copy of the exemplar). We know the exemplars of certain manuscripts (e.g. D^{p}/06 is the exemplar of D^{abs1}), but generally the term refers to lost manuscripts.

Explicit

Originally used of scrolls — it refers to their unrolled state. Used to mark the end of a major section of text, e.g. the end of a particular gospel in a codex of the four gospels.

External Evidence

Evidence based on the readings found in the manuscripts (as opposed to Internal Evidence, which based on the nature of the readings). External evidence is based on the number and nature of the witnesses supporting a particular reading. For further details see External Critical Rules under Canons of Criticism.

F

The **Fallacy of Number**

The belief that frequency of copies indicates authority.

This is one of the arguments often cited by those who favor the Byzantine or the Majority Text. It is, however, simply invalid. Hence the term Fallacy of Number.

To be clear, a fallacy is something which does not follow logically. For example, it's easy to prove that 1=2 if you allow division by zero. But you can't divide by zero. The proof is false because it relies on impermissible methods.

Why is counting numbers of manuscripts invalid? Because it only works if all manuscripts are copied and destroyed at the same rate. If simply counting numbers were sufficient, then the Latin Vulgate would be the original New Testament — there are more Latin than Greek New Testaments in existence.

We can in fact demonstrate that there are cases where the majority is not the original. Almost all our manuscripts of Euclid are of Theon's recension. It says in the manuscripts that they're rewritten! But they are still the majority. Similarly, the majority of manuscripts of Terence are from an edition by Calliopius — which shows clear evidence of either bad editing or a bad manuscript base. They are still the majority; it was only luck that preserved any text not from this edition.

There are lots of ways in which an un-original text can become common. It might look more authoritative for some reason. A particularly strong church figure might promulgate it. It might come from a region where persecutions against Christians were few, so manuscripts weren't destroyed. It might be the local text of a region where the Christian population is particularly large. Most of these have been urged as arguments for and against the Byzantine text. We do not, at present, know which of them are true — if any. We do know that they are sufficient to disallow us from counting manuscripts to determine which text is original.

The fallacy is sometimes called the "Democratic Fallacy." The Democratic Fallacy is that, just because people believe something, it's true. For most of history, the majority of people believed that the sun moved around the earth — which is, simply, false. The fact that lots of people believed it doesn't make it true. A more recent example, which shows the fallacy even more clearly, is the American war in Iraq. In 2003, most Americans believed it was right. In 2007, most believed it wrong. Was the war right? Wrong? People will probably disagree for as long as it is remembered. What is certain is, if it

was right in 2003, it was right in 2007; if it was wrong in 2007, it was wrong in 2003. *In one year or the other, the majority was wrong.*

Note that the fallacy of number is merely a fallacy. That is, number has *absolutely no bearing* on what was the original text. The Byzantine text may be original. Most think not, but the fact that the advocates of the Byzantine text cite numbers should not be held against it (except in the indirect sense that, since the Byzantine advocates cite numbers, they imply that they are sorely lacking in valid arguments. To me, the fact that they even cite numerical preponderance is proof of desperation — they want the Byzantine text, for whatever reason, and so grasp at straws. But this is no more evidence of the falseness of the Byzantine text than is numerical preponderance evidence for it).

But I must emphasize: The Fallacy of Number *is* a fallacy. It is an argument that should be retired, forever. Most arguments in textual criticism are about data or interpretations. This one is not. It is purely about mathematical logic. There *is* a right answer — and the right answer is that counting noses doesn't work.

For more mathematics on this point, see the article on Fallacies in general.

G

The **Genealogical Method**

Considered to be the method practiced by F. J. A. Hort in the preparation of the Westcott & Hort edition of the New Testament. (Though in fact Hort did not use genealogy, just the presuppositions of genealogy.) In theory, the basic procedure resembles that of Non-Biblical Textual Criticism performed in a sort of an abstract way: Examine the witnesses and group them into text-types, then examine the text-types. This evidence then can be used to determine the original text. (It should be noted, however, that if Hort ever really did quantitative study of text-types, he left no evidence of this. He simply *assumed* the types, without examining them in detail.)

Hort's use of the genealogical method led him to the theory of "Neutral," Alexandrian, "Syrian" (Byzantine), and "Western" texts which formed the basis of the Westcott-Hort edition. This textual theory has been modified in some instances, with the result that the "genealogical method" is now rather in dispute. This is rather unfair; although Hort's results cannot stand, and his description of his method is too theoretical (and was not, in fact, the entire basis of his text), the *principle* of grouping and editing by text-types has by no means been disproved. See, e.g., the section on the Use of Text-Types in the article on Text-Types.

Genetics, Evolutionary Biology, and Evolutionary Variation

Introduction (and Semi-Disclaimer)

I'm calling this an article about genetics. It is such. But — fair warning — it is also, and most especially, an article about evolution, because genetics and evolution are inextricably linked. Obviously this is controversial among non-scientists (although hardly among scientists, because the evidence is overwhelming), but I have to do my best to cover all aspects of textual criticism. And, if you study evolution, and then read this article, you will surely see why I decided I had to write this. If you want to skip the disclaimer, go ahead and proceed to the section on Evolution and Textual Criticism.

Much of this has been very difficult to write; I've already produced at least half a dozen different versions just of this disclaimer, doubtless spending vastly more time than it's worth. I've tried to figure out a way to finesse this — to argue that the question of whether evolution is "real" is not very important — but I don't think the argument can be sustained. You can be a good textual critic whether you believe in evolution or not —

but, after some months of study of the recent changes in the understanding of the theory of evolution, I am completely convinced that you will be a better one if you can learn from what we know about evolution. This apart from the fact that a correct understanding of evolution is vital in politics, because the implications of evolution require certain policies which politicians and the general population are often unwilling to admit. (There is nothing unique about that. The same goes at least double for thermodynamics. There are times when I think that the best way to succeed in American politics is to go into therapy to have all knowledge of science erased from one's brain.)

So let it be stated: I believe in evolution. I believe it because all life on earth shares the same genetic code — that is, all species use the same DNA encoding for amino acids, meaning that a gene from, say, corn, can be inserted into, say, an ape and still produce the same protein. This means that bacteria and viruses can (and do) share genes, meaning that evolution, even if it didn't happen in the past, *will* happen in the future. I believe in evolution because it's happening right now. Indeed, it can be made to happen in the lab. I believe in it because it explains so much that is bad about human behavior — wars, murders, crime, false advertising. Indeed, one recent theory has it that the reason humans developed large brains is for purposes of manipulating and tricking each other. There are only two species in which males band together to make war on their neighbours. They are human beings — and, it turns out, chimpanzees, our closest relatives. (And we thought they were our closest relatives even before this behavior was discovered.) I don't much like evolution, given how it seems to be working out. Much as I'd like to deny it, I can't see a way to avoid it.

An alternate point: Suppose the Biblical account of creation is literally true. This means that all human beings are descended from Ham, Japeth, and Shem, who had their first children some 4500 years ago. (Which, curiously, is *after* the earliest historical records from Egypt and Mesopotamia.) In that time, the children of the three brothers would have to differentiate into Inuit (dark skin, short, squat, designed to be well-insulated), Northern Europeans (blonde or red-haired, with light skin to capture vitamin D), Africans (dark, often very slender), and other types. If that isn't evolution, what is?

Let me offer an analogy as to why I think it matters even if perhaps it isn't "true." If evolution did not create biodiversity, then the Creator created it to *look* as if evolution created biodiversity, by supplying fossils and such. This is like looking at a clock which reads, say, 7:00 a.m. You can't tell by looking at the clock if it started months ago and has been running ever since, or if someone five minutes ago set it to read 6:55 and started it running. You get the same result either way. The universe is like that clock: It may be 13 billion years old, or it may be that it is a clock created a few thousand years ago to read "13 billion years." (For all we can *prove*, in that sense, it could be a clock

created a second ago, and all our memories before that time were created with it.) Either way, the universal clock reads 13 billion years.

I'll leave out the further impassioned appeals. They won't change anyone's minds; there is now evidence that certain religious beliefs and thought patterns are hardwired into our minds, so what is logical and true for one is not logical to others. Perhaps our greatest need is to be understanding; if you don't believe in evolution, I can only ask that you keep an open mind about what follows, because others are made differently.

For those who want such a thing, I have given an argument (see the note) for why evolution and the Big Bang do not contradict the Biblical account — but I doubt this helps much. I could repeat that much of what follows is less evolution than simple genetics, which for some reason is non-controversial. But evolution is inherent in genetics: If you have genes, and if you have some genes surviving and some not, you will get evolution. If you want to skip the evolution material, you can derive some benefit from skipping to the appendix on Genetics.

Also, evolution isn't just about bacteria developing antibiotic resistance or *Homo erectus* turning into *Homo sapiens*. It's about anything with a gene analogy being placed under pressure to survive. This has led to a concept known as "universal Darwinism." That is, the belief that natural selection applies to more than just living things. Where there is competitive pressure, meaning that only *some* members of a population can survive, the larger share of those that survive will be the ones which best meet the selection criteria. It's statistical, and it depends on conditions, and it takes time (quite a lot of time if the selective pressure is slight, which it usually is) — but it is sure to apply as long as there is some sort of selection. A possible example of this is the meme. Similarly, all else being equal, well-written books will sell better than poorly-written books, so as time passes, libraries tend to contain more and more readable books. Good television shows get renewed; bad ones get cancelled. Politicians who are willing to do and say anything beat those who take stands and cause portions of the population to disagree with them. You could argue that the canon of the Bible, or of other religious books, is an example: If scribes and parchment were infinite, many more books might have been retained in the canon. But since only so many copies could be made, a canon had to be fixed so scribes would not waste their time on relatively unimportant works. And with the canon fixed, those other documents — the Letter of Barnabas, the Didache, etc. — effectively died out. The rules of natural selection vary (the primary attribute of a successful television show seems to be stupidity, which obviously is not a very useful trait in nature). But natural selection has to take place.

We might add that evolution as understood today is not really the same as what most of us encountered in school. Part of this, at least in American schools, is the ongoing

dumbing-down of the science curriculum for political reasons. But evolutionary theory itself is changing; except for the concept of Natural Selection, what remains is distinctly different from Darwin. (Or, in one case, it is very much like Darwin, but unlike his successors. Darwin proposed that selection was driven by two types of selection: Natural Selection and Sexual Selection. Natural Selection was, so to speak, a hit: Biologists understood it easily and adopted it at once. But sexual selection, which explains such things as the peacock's tail and the bowerbird's bower and the bright coloration of parrots, was almost completely ignored for a century after Darwin — even though there is now overwhelming evidence that it affected, for instance, the development of humans.) The latest great change was brought about by none other than that infamous zealot Richard Dawkins. For many years after Darwin, people thought of evolution in terms of organisms and species. Even after genes were discovered, they were just the mechanism of evolution — even though genes, once understood, solved a problem that Darwin had never solved: how survival adaptions managed to avoid being diluted by all the un-adapted creatures. (In Darwin's day, heredity was thought to be a sort of an analog process: Children were mixures of their parents' traits. With genes, suddenly, instead of children getting half of a longer beak, they either had a long-beak gene or a short-beak gene. No half-way measures any more.)

Dawkins further modified this by bringing forward the notion of the "Selfish Gene." The survival imperative applies to *genes*, not whole organisms. Mostly it is expressed in organisms — but a gene for blue eyes doesn't benefit directly if it's linked with (say) a gene for light skin; genes can and do evolve and survive separately. It's hard to discuss this without implying purpose on the parts of genes, which is wrong, but it is crucial to understand that each gene is in it for itself; survival of other genes, even of the whole species, is incidental to them. The Selfish Gene view, we note, brings evolutionary biology that much closer to textual criticism. Manuscripts, e.g., do not replicate themselves exactly and in their entirety; they replicate passage by passage and word by word. Usually, if a manuscript is copied, most parts will be replicated. But note the situation is just like a gene: As a gene is either passed on or not, a particular passage is either copied accurately or not. A manuscript may be 99.9% identical to its ancestor — but any given sentence or word is either 100% identical or it has been changed.

(A side comment on Dawkins. In recent years, he has gone from avowed atheism to open attacks on religion, up to and including his recent publication of *The God Delusion* — a book I have not read, and which I think incredibly unfortunate. Having heard Dawkins talk about it, I know that many of his points are valid — certainly, as one who is trained as a scientist, I know that the American prejudice against anyone who even hints of atheism is strong, ignorant, and unfair! — but I also know that his book is not going to

do any good, and that Dawkins should have known it would not do any good. But we must distinguish Dawkins the scientist — author of *The Selfish Gene* and *The Extended Phenotype* and, at a more popular level, *The Ancestor's Tale* — from Dawkins the militant atheist. Dawkins the scientist is a great man. Dawkins the atheist, at best, is someone who completely fails to understand the views of the other side. But we'll ignore that Dawkins.)

A strong note: throughout this article, I use the words "if" and "assume" and "suppose" in the mathematical sense: To say "in the event this is true, that other thing will follow." At no point should this be taken to mean that the "if" statements imply either belief or doubt on a particular point (except the one that is stated above, that evolution is happening *now*, which is a fact and so need not be questioned).

Also, while what follows will make occasional reference to interesting Biblical parallels, it will pull no punches on evolutionary theory — e.g. it just assumes humans are descended from apes, which are a branch of primates, which are a particular type of mammals, etc. In fact, there is a stemma of human evolution at one point (mostly because the popular treatments of this are so consistently out-of-date and inaccurate. I can't promise to be accurate, since I'm not a biologist, but my stemma is based on comparing five books by paleontologists, all published within the last ten years as I write).

Evolution and Textual Criticism

There are, to my knowledge, at least four scientific/cultural areas which follow true stemmatic models: The origin of biodiversity, the differentiation of human language (and, perhaps, culture), the transmission of written texts, and the transmission of oral texts.

Darwin himself was aware of the relationship with languages; he mentioned it in *The Descent of Man*. He does not seem to have been aware of the link with manuscript transmission, but I am not the first to mention it; Daniel C. Dennett, in *Darwin's Dangerous Idea,* p. 136f., compares evolutionary theory to the textual criticism of Plato being done at the same time. This article, however, will try to show how evolutionary theory informs textual criticism, rather than the reverse.

Note that when I say "stemmatic," it means something much more specific than the ordinary use of "evolution" and "evolutionary." The latter can be used for, say, "the evolution of nursing home care" or "the evolution of aircraft manufacture." The latter two are not truly evolutionary; they are merely progressive — each step goes beyond what is before. Karl Popper and his followers would call this evolution, but it is not in any way the same as what happens in biology. The process of a technology is a series of inventions which do not inherently follow one from the other. A true evolutionary process

is one where you start from a small population of types or individuals and watch it increase to a large population of types or individuals, with more diversity, but with each new individual directly descended from some subset of the previous individuals. You also see many if not most of the earlier specimens die out — and, potentially, you see certain traits die out with them. We must stress that that, in biology, evolution is *not* progress; it's just change — or even, in some cases, a lack of change. Evolutionary success, in an ironic way, consists in not evolving; it means a species has successfully found a niche in which it can survive for a long time. *Evolution does not have a goal,* so it cannot make progress. Whereas aircraft manufacture has a specific goal: Optimizing cargo capacity and speed while minimizing cost of manufacturing, maintenance, crew size, and fuel. Yes, one or two of these may be more important than others — if fuel is cheap, energy efficiency is a low priority; if fuel is expensive, good "mileage" becomes vital. So there is some selective pressure. But the point is, it's *directed* pressure, whereas evolution is a sort of vector sum of all the conditions in the environment. The two are simply not comparable.

Evolution is what happens when a population is capable of reproducing indefinitely — when numbers grow and grow and grow. You can easily see such a population explosion at home (I lifted this idea from Daniel C. Dennett): Put a little yeast in bread. As Paul said, a little yeast leavens the whole lump of dough — and, if you take a little of it and mix it with another lump of dough, it will leaven that, too.

For a while. If you notice, a loaf of bread will not rise indefinitely. It runs out of sugar, and the yeast run out of food and shut down.

It was Thomas Malthus, not Darwin, who discovered the key point: That there is a limit to population expansion. The most basic laws of the universe — the laws of thermodynamics — say that anything which uses resources (which is everything) will eventually run out of something. Population cannot expand indefinitely. At some point, something will act to limit it.

But Malthus said nothing about which reproductive lines would survive and which die out. For him, in effect, extinction was random. It was Darwin who realized that this was not so. The creatures which could survive best in conditions of scarcity would be the ones which survived. Malthusian population control was essentially random. Darwinian was not — it picked out the strongest lines and let them survive and expand. Thus is became a stemmatic process: Everything traces back to the handful of surviving ancestors which bred best.

The analogy to the New Testament is obvious. Take, say, the fourth century. There were many manuscripts then, including B. Yet it appears that B left no descendants (other than the peculiar case of 2427). The ancestor(s) of the current Byzantine text do not

appear to have survived — but they must have existed (even if they didn't look much like the current Byzantine text).

There are still other processes which are evolutionary — even stemmatic — without following the course of biological evolution. Musical genres are an example. Early British folk music has left a number of descendants: Modern British folk in England, New England folk music in, well, New England, southern folk music in the American South. The latter is now called "Country music" — and it in turn has spawned offspring. The early country is now called "old time country." This was succeeded by "classic country," in which electric instruments began to replace acoustic and the songs were more often composed than traditional. This in turn has been succeeded by pop country, which has very little old-time influence at all, is almost entirely electric, and which is much more centered in contemporary than in timeless themes; almost no one likes both old-time and pop country. The evolution, and even the stemma, is clear — but the old generations have not died off. Old-time country is not very commercially successful, but it endures, and today's performers are actually more technically proficient than the older musicians. (And, in a deep irony that bears real thinking about, the modern performers, all of whom are deeply devoted to the forms and styles of the past, are consistently liberal, often to the point of radicalism, while the more numerous fans of pop country, a musical form mostly invented in their lifetimes, are the most reactionary conservative population in the United States.) Old music forms are not replaced by new; the market just gets more crowded. This is unlike biological evolution, where all creatures die, and rather unlike even manuscript evolution, where a few last a very long time but most eventually are destroyed.

Even the four processes I specified (living creatures, texts, languages, oral traditions) are different in some regards. Living things, for instance, have genes, which restrict their ability to evolve. A creature with genes can only evolve by Darwinian evolution. Processes without genes can sometimes be altered by Lamarckian evolution (in which they acquire desirable traits due to desire or an external force and then pass them on). This is related to the fact that biological evolution has no (observed) "editor," whereas a text or a traditional folk song can be subjected to deliberate redaction. Then again, where a written text can sometimes be recalled and corrected, an oral text can't. Still another difference is that living creatures can generally reproduce on their own; texts require outside assistance (a copyist). This, in a way, resembles the reproductive cycle of a virus.

Another important point of comparison manuscripts and living creatures is parentage. Creatures which reproduce sexually (which includes almost everything we think of as an animal, and most large plants) have two parents. They have inherently mixed ancestry. This contrasts to most of the other processes. Languages are rarely very mixed (though

English, with its Germanic base and its heavy Norman French overlay, is in fact a mixed language). Biblical manuscripts are, almost without exception, mixed, but the mixture is intermittent: Most of the transmission stages in a manuscript's ancestry involve only one parent, but at various times, individual generations will have two, as a text is corrected from a different manuscript than the one used to copy it. This is unlike animals, but quite like a lot of plants, such as strawberries or elms: They sent out clones of themselves, by runners or the like, but also reproduce sexually at times. (It has been speculated, though I don't believe it's been proved, that most of these dual-reproduction species use the two methods differently: Cloning is for populating the local area as much as possible, since the plant's own genes have been successful in that environment. Sexual reproduction, which mixes genes, is for sending seeds out far and wide, where a different combination of genes might be more successful.)

Thus every one of the four processes has its own characteristics, and the differences are often much more important than the similarities. Textual Criticism, for instance, is trying to look back to the original document. Evolutionary biology seeks to explain present creatures and perhaps predict what will come next. But each can, potentially, inform the others. There are plenty of parallels, from the crucial to the trivial (e.g., just as old manuscripts are sometimes cut up to be sold in pieces to collectors, sometimes fossils are broken so that the fragments can be sold in pieces to archaeologists).

I will admit that my thinking about this was sparked by reading *The Ancestor's Tale* by Richard Dawkins. I had already known that biological evolution had parallels to textual — but Dawkins kicked up so many interesting analogies that I decided it was time to bring them into TC as best I could. Which probably isn't very well, since my training is in physics, not biology. But maybe it will point the way for someone else.

Where possible, I express as what follows as questions, since in some places the parallels are partial, and in others no one has even looked for parallels.

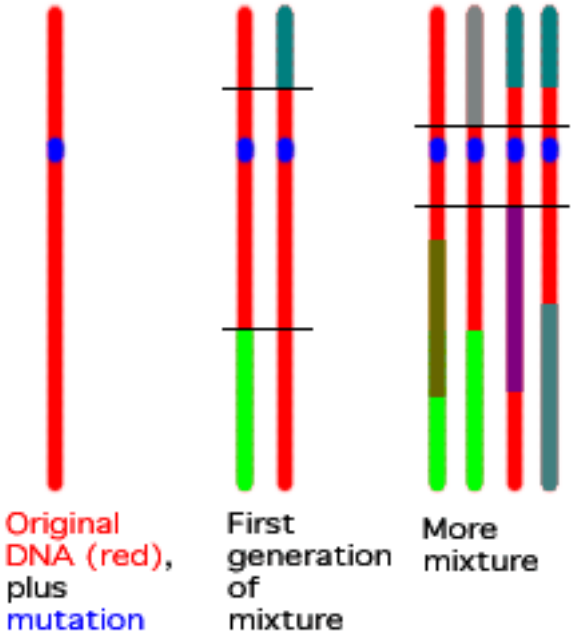
I already noted one of the key points about biological evolution: That it proceeds through genes. Genes are, in some regards, crucial: A person whose parents both have type O blood, for instance, cannot have type A or type B blood; the genes aren't there. And the only way one can create a new blood type — "Type C," let us say — is by mutation. Such dramatic mutations are much more likely to be fatal than to give rise to something new and useful, or even new and neutral.

Are mutations, then, the analogy to scribal errors? A lack of analogy lies in the way they are treated. A single scribal error will almost certainly not be fatal to the manuscript. The possibilities are not that it will be kept or thrown out, but that it will be corrected or it will not. If it is corrected, the error will not propagate. If it is not corrected, it still may not

propagate — if it makes nonsense, it will be replaced with something else, though this correction may not be the same as the pre-error reading.

Genetic mutations have another interesting trait: Those which survive come in two types. Some mutations are "founder mutations," others are "hot spot mutations." A "hot spot mutation" is a gene which is particularly susceptible to damage, in which case the mutation can happen again and again. The disease achondroplasia, which results in dwarfism, seems to stem from this. Hemophilia, too, apparently — the hemophilia gene Queen Victoria spread around Europe is believed to be a mutation she herself suffered, since none of her parents' relatives appear to have been carriers.

Other mutations are believed to have happened only once, with a "founder" who passed them on. Sickle cell trait is a likely example of this: Someone developed a single copy of the gene — and was advantaged, because sickle cell trait helps prevent malaria. So that person (probably African) left many descendents (none of his or her children would have sickle cell anemia, note, because the other parents were free of the trait. The first chance for sickle cell disease, as opposed to sickle cell trait, to appear would have been in the grandchildren, and that only if siblings mated; in practice, it was probably at least four or five generations before the first child with sickle cell anemia appeared. And by then the gene was widespread — and odds are that no one could tell where the disease came from, even assuming the culture believed in inheritable disease, which few did).



Biologists now are using founder mutations to try to trace the age of particular traits. They do this by comparing the DNA *around* the mutated site: the more similar DNA the

carriers of the trait have, the more recently it must have developed. The illustration above shows this: The first strand of DNA (the mostly-red vertical line on the left) is the DNA of the original chromosome in which the mutation happened. Red DNA (plus the blue mutation) comes from that original mutated individual. DNA of any other colour is from someone else. In generations following the first, the chromosomes mix, with more and more non-red DNA becoming part of the daughter chromosomes. But they mix only slowly, with typically only a few mixes per chromosome per generation; most genes stay with their chromosomal neighbors in any given generation. As time passes, you have more and more swaps, so that less and less of the DNA near the mutation stays with it. (The black lines in the drawing show the common DNA in each generation. Note how much more there is in the middle generation than the final generation.) By comparing the DNA of several people with the mutation, and seeing how much DNA they have in common, one can estimate the age of the mutation. Textual critics do not have this sort of "clock" for variants, but certainly the types of variants will be familiar. "Hot spot" variants are those which could occur to scribes individually — h.t. errors would be an obvious example. Assimilation of parallels could also occur this way (this may even be the reason for the claimed existence of the "Cæsarean" text-type), and maybe the expansion of Christological titles. But a radical change like adding the longer ending of Mark must be a "Founder mutation" — someone wrote it, and it stuck. (Note incidentally that we cannot always tell which type a variant is just by looking at the variant: In the case of Mark 16:9–20, it is a founder mutation if the longer ending is not original, but if it *is* original, and was deleted, it might be a hot spot mutation, lost in several copies of the book since it was near the end of the scroll. In biology, we can usually tell which form is original. Perhaps less so in textual criticism.)

Even ancient founder mutations, which are old enough to have very little context left, can sometimes be dated — in mitochondrial DNA. Nicolas Wade, in *Before the Dawn,* pp. 106–107, tells of the work of Martin Richards on populations in Europe. He created a family of DNA mutations — a relatively straightforward task — and then noted the order in which mutations "joined." This gives him the ability to approximately date them. This technique could presumably be used in dealing with unmixed local texts. It is less obvious how it can be used in mixed texts. The fact that Richards applied his technique only to mitochondrial DNA, which does not mix, is significant.

The obvious analogy to the splicing together of chromosomes is block mixture, though there might also be some analogy to the case of different scribes writing different parts of a manuscript. They will at least make different sorts of spelling errors, even if it doesn't affect the text-type.

There is another key similarity between genetic and textual mutations: A change in a single gene in the genome of a living creature doesn't affect anything else (at least

directly). Similarly, a change in a particular reading does not change the rest of the overall text. (This is unlike language, where a change in grammar at least will affect the whole language, and also unlike oral tradition, where the loss of a line or two of text may force a major reshaping.) The real difference lies in the fact that genes have boundaries; texts don't. Scribes copy in all sorts of ways — letter by letter, word by word, phrase by phrase. Something that is a genetic unit to one scribe won't be to another.

Still, the fact that scribes copy in pieces brings us to an interesting point. Different stretches of text can in fact have different ancestry. *The family tree of a passage need not be the same as the family tree of the manuscript as a whole.*

Dawkins refers to this as the "historical" and "genetic" ancestors.

Turning to one of our parallel disciplines, we can examine the folk ballad known as "Barbara Allen." This is probably the best-known song in the history of the English language, having been collected roughly 1000 times (and as a result, I've used it in several examples, notably in the article on oral transmission). Two folklorists, Charles Seeger and Ed Cray, once set out to examine its ancestry. Seeger looked at the tunes, Cray the texts, and they did not compare their results until they had done their basic classification.

Seeger found that the song had four basic tunes. Cray found that it had four basic text-types. It is logical to assume that, since there were four texts and four tunes, that text-and-tune pairs arose together — that is, at one time, text-type A had a particular tune associated with it, and text-type B had its own tune, and so forth.

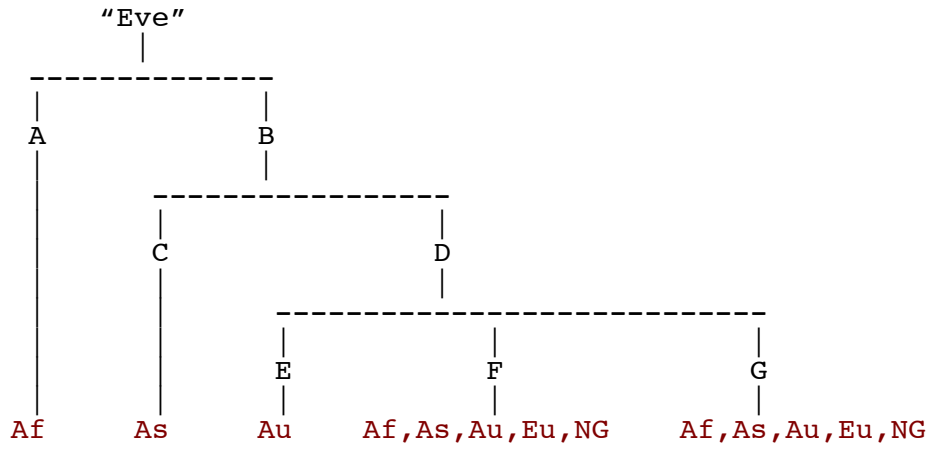
Not any more. Texts and tunes are completely dissociated. (It has been shown in other contexts that people frequently swapped tunes for songs.) Although any particular version will presumably go back, without much mixture, to one of the early song groups (the historical ancestor) it may well have derived its tune from another group (the genetic ancestor).

To take an example of how this works in biology: Most genes are passed via mixture: You can get them from either parent, and so you can't tell, just by looking at the end product, which ancestor supplied a particular gene. But there are two exceptions: Mitochondrial genes, and Y chromosomes.

We already mentioned mitochondria once; let's talk about that a little more. Mitochondria are the cells-within-cells that supply the power used to run the rest of the cell. They are found in all cells — but the father's sperm don't transmit them to children; only the mother's eggs do that. And mitochondria have their own DNA — just a handful of genes, but they are genes. So every child gets his mitochondrial DNA from his or her mother, and from her mother before that, and her mother before that, and so on forever.

Theoretically, it all goes back to a hypothetical first mother. (In fact, it appears that there is a first mother, from whom all human mitochondria are descended. She is called “Eve,” naturally, and is estimated that she lived about 140,000 years ago.)

Incidentally, the tracing of mitochondrial DNA gives evidence, stemmatically, that the origin of humanity was in Africa, or at least that there was a choke point in Africa from which all later humans descended. This is shown by a stemma first published in *Nature* in 1987 (I found it printed in James Shreeve, *The Neandertal Enigma,* p. 56). It’s so complicated that it is printed as an arch, with 135 data points arranged in a tree. But let’s take only its first few branches and see where they lead. Note that each branch is a genetic variant: Either your mitochondrial DNA has one reading or it has the other. Barring coincidental agreement (i.e. two pieces of DNA suffering the same mutation, which is possible but unlikely), this gives an absolute stemma. At the end of each branch, I show the continents where it is found: Af (Africa), As (Asia), Au (Australia), NG (New Guinea), Eu (Europe).

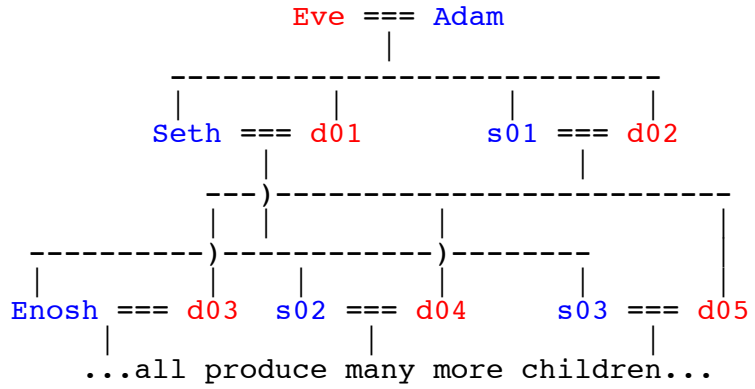


Now it must be stated that this stemma admits of two possible interpretations, depending on how we root the stemma: First, that the B version is the original, probably in Asia (since that’s the place common to C and D), with humanity spreading from there; second, that the original sequence (which could have been A or B; we cannot tell) originated in Africa, and split there, with only a small population of B migrating into Asia and hence into Europe, Australia, and so forth. Other data seems to at least partially support this interpretation; according to a study described in the October 2010 *Scientific American,* a study of several genes found that most alleles fell into one of three possible patterns: They are found in all populations outside Africa but not in Africa (the “Out-of-Africa sweep”), or they are found in Europe, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent (the “West Eurasian sweep,,” which to me looks like the sweep of Indo-European), or they are found only in China and East Asia, Australia, the Pacific and

Indian Ocean Islands, and in the natives of the Americas (the “East Asian Sweep”) This implies a branch point between Africa and Asia, another somewhere around the Caspian Sea, and a third in China, but with the most fundamental being the Asia/Africa split. This is, ultimately, the Bédier Problem of a two-branch stemma — but in this case there is so much variation in the descendants of A that the biologists think the point of origin must have been in Africa.

Just as mitochondrial transmission is exclusively in the female line, the Y chromosome is exclusive to males, meaning that any man got it from his father, and his father’s father before that, and so on back to the beginning. As with mitochondrial DNA, the divergences in *its* DNA can be diagrammed. This points to an “Adam” who lived about 60,000 years ago.

To console the creationists, we note incidentally that this does not automatically mean that there cannot have been a contemporary Adam and Eve, though it obviously seems unlikely. The Biblical Adam and Eve, if they existed, were the *earliest* common ancestors of all humanity. The “Adam” and “Eve” of the molecular biologists are, respectively, the *last* common male ancestor of all males and the last common female ancestor of all humans. There is no inherent reason they should live at the same time. The following genealogy shows how this could happen, where s01, s02.... represent unnamed sons, d01, d02.... represent unnamed daughters, and === represents a marriage.



Now observe: If you trace all the children back in female line, some are descended from d01 and some from d02. Thus their most recent female ancestor is Eve. But every male offspring is descended from Seth, via Enosh, s02, or s03. Their most recent common ancestor is Seth, who lived later than Eve. *This does not mean that s01 had no descendants; he has as many as Seth.* But, because they were all daughters, *his y chromosome is extinct;* only Seth’s is preserved. In fact, were this genealogy correct,

Seth's X chromosome would also be extinct, because he had only sons, but we can't prove that because we can't trace the genealogy of X chromosomes as we do Y.

For that matter, we would note that, if the Biblical account is literally true, then the last common male ancestor cannot be earlier than Noah (since all males who survived the flood were his sons), but the females must go back some time before that. Personally, I find that kind of spooky, since it matches the Biblical results (except for the fact that the time periood is much longer).

(Though another possible explanation should be noted. If we look at history, when one people conquers another, the tendency is to kill all the males and take the females — at least the pretty ones — as slaves and concubines. Thus a tribe's mitochondrial DNA can survive when its Y chromosomes are extinguished. If warfare was sufficiently common at an early period, then we would expect to see the ancestral Y chromosome to be at least as recent, and perhaps more recent, than the ancestral mitochondrial DNA.)

This has other implications for Biblical history: Dean Hamer's book *The God Gene,* chapter ten, "The DNA of the Jews," starting on page 180, tells of a study of the Jewish "Cohens" — the people who claim to be the descendents of the ancient Aaronite priestly family. The study seems to reveal that they really are a family: based on the Y chromosome data, the "Cohens" almost all derive from a common male ancestor who lived at least two thousand and possibly as much as 3250 years ago. In other words, the modern Jewish priestly lines go back at least to the end of the Second Temple era, and possibly even to the period of the Judges or the end of the Exodus. We can't prove that the common ancestor was Aaron or Eleazar — for all the data proves, it could be Simon Maccabee or even, theoretically, Annas or Caiaphas — but it proves that these people are indeed descended from one common ancestor.

We can go beyond this. Just as, ultimately, there can only be one autograph of a New Testament book (or, at least, only one first draft, since the author may have published multiple editions), there *must* — by virtue of the fact that humans have not always existed — be a human being who is an ancestor (not *the* ancestor, but *an* ancestor) of all future human beings. This process has been studied a great deal; Dawkins talks about it on pp. 42–44 of *The Ancestor's Tale*. It can also be shown that, if we go back a certain number of generations, *every person* (and so every manuscript) is either the ancestor of all manuscripts or is an ancestor of none — and, in a typical population, more of those who reach breeding age are ancestors of all than are ancestors of none. We'll see more implications of this below.

Most reproductive processes have this phenomenon of earliest and latest common ancestors. For mammalian life, it's likely that the earliest recognizable ancestor is some

ancient creature that was the first eukaryote (that is, the first being with a clearly delineated nucleus, mitochondria, and other characteristics of modern cells). But the common ancestor even of such seemingly-unrelated creatures as human and trees is probably more recent than that — in the case of, say, humans and apes, it's much more recent.

Similarly with languages. German and English, for instance, have a known common ancestor in proto-Indo-European, thousands of years ago. But their most recent common ancestor is Old Germannic (or whatever you want to call it), and the two diverged only about 1500 years ago. And even after the divergence, they were still mutually comprehensible for some hundreds of years, and probably swapped a few new words.

In the case of literary texts, the analogy is in this case quite exact: the earliest common ancestor is the autograph, while the latest is the archetype. The analogy is precise in another way, too: You can only reconstruct back to the latest common ancestor. The ancestors of the Indo-Europeans surely spoke some language. But we can't reconstruct it (at least until we can bring still more languages, which diverged earlier, into the Indo-European family tree). In the case of language, we can't even prove that there *was* a single original language; many linguists think there was, but this strikes me as a little strong; the divergence in styles of language is so great that it seems to me quite possible they came about *after* the earliest population had split (i.e. the language capability was there but initially unused). With such uncertainty, we surely cannot recreate the "original language." All we can do is recreate proto-Indo-European, the language as it was spoken at the time of the first split in the family. Similarly, if the archetype is more recent than the autograph of a particular literary work, you can only reconstruct the archetype; beyond that, all is conjecture.

We note incidentally that the reconstruction of language can often interact with other rather stemmatic disciplines. Starting in the early 1960s, Joseph H. Greenburg began a systematic attempt to link all languages together into families. His success has been mixed; very many linguists now accept his results for the "Afroasiatic" superfamily (consisting of the Egyptian, Omotic, Cushitic, Berber, Chadic, and — notably for our purposes — Semitic families), but they are less sure of his other results. The interesting point is that his results have often been correlated with other sorts of data, such as DNA evidence of people. (See Nicholas Wade, *Before the Dawn,* pp. 218–232.) I find myself wondering if we might not learn something by trying, say, DNA analysis of the parchment from various manuscripts. It wouldn't tell us where the manuscript was copied — but it might tell us where the skins came from!

Population genetics has had other interesting results which might affect our analysis of the New Testament tradition. A detailed comparison of the population of Iceland showed two interesting things, both of which affect the claim of "normal transmission" proposed by the advocates of the Byzantine Text. One is that not all populations reproduce at the same "generational speed" — in Iceland, the average interval between generations was 29 years for females, 32 for males. Presumably this is because females marry younger, but still, populations clearly do reproduce at different rates. In addition, the work of DeCode Genetics has shown that 92% of Icelandic women born since 1972 were descended from just 22% of the women born 1848–1892, and 86% of men born since 1972 were descended from just 26% of the pre–1892 group. It has long been suspected, mathematically, that populations reproduced this way; now it has been shown empirically (see Wade, p. 244).

But it needs to be repeated that "common ancestor" is a sort of a relative term, because genetic and historical ancestors may be different. This is true in two different senses. One is genetic reduction: A human being or other creature inherits only half his chromosomes from either parent. So if our Ancestor is A, his child A1 has exactly half the content of his chromosomes. A1's child A2 has only, on average, half of half, or a quarter of A's genes. A3, the child of A2, has only an eighth, A4 has only 1/16, A5 has only 1/32, A6 has only 1/64, A7 has only 1/128, and so on.

But note that human beings have only 46 chromosomes. 1/64 of 46 chromosomes is less than one; 1/128 of 46 chromosomes is less than half a chromosome. In other words (barring reinforcement by inbreeding), after seven generations, odds are that an offspring shares no chromosomes with any random ancestor. The same might well be true of a text that has been through enough stages of mixture: It might have an Alexandrian ancestor, say, but after enough Byzantine corrections, it's no longer possible to tell. Each generation of mixture has taken more of its Alexandrian-ness away.

(Note: The above statement is very oversimplified. Chromosomes in fact are not conserved across generations. As we saw above, except for sex chromosomes in males, the chromosomes swap genetic material from generation to generation — a phenomenon known as "crossing over." It is thought that the purpose may be to control a vicious genetic phenomenon known as "segregation distorters" — genes which try to hog reproduction by making themselves more common than the alternate genes on other chromosomes. Since such genes usually aren't good for much else except making themselves common, they are dangerous to all the other genes, and so the system uses crossing over to try to break them up. This is one reason why human chromosomes are so chaotic, with parts of singles genes scattered all over the place. It may also be why the X chromosome is so much larger than the Y chromosome: The Y

chromosome contains genes not found on X — those genes which make a person male, obviously — and so cannot cross over. This means that there are wars between X and Y genes — and the X genes tend to win, because there are three times as many X as Y chromosomes out there. So the Y chromosome now has almost no genes left except those needed to make males. But while crossing over is very important for actual evolution and molecular genetics, it concerns us not at all. The only thing we need to remember is that one can be descended from a person *without having a single gene derived from that person.* It sounds insane, but it is not. The relevance is this: Manuscripts which are the result of mixture reproduce in the same way as genes: Some parts come from one parent and some from another. Given enough generations, there may be no readings left which derive uniquely from the ancestral manuscript. An Alexandrian ancestor can be mixed to the point where its offspring becomes purely Byzantine, or vice versa. It doesn't even take that many phases. Given the level of correction found in, say, C, it would take only about four generations to go from Alexandrian to Byzantine.)

The other part about genetic and historical ancestors can perhaps be illustrated by using blood types again. Human beings have two major types of blood clotting factors, A and B; the absence of these gives type O blood.

But, interestingly, it has been shown that chimpanzees also have type A-B-O blood. I've also seen it stated that gorillas have A-B-O blood, but I haven't seen this confirmed. I've found the A-B-O split in chimps stated in several places. (Matt Ridley, on page 26 of *The Agile Gene*, states that chimps have types A and O blood, while gorillas have type B. The stemmatic implication, obviously, is that the common ancestor of humans, chimps, and gorillas already had types A, B, and O.) No matter what the exact distribution of clotting factors, it is clear that the evolution of the factors *predates the split between humans and chimps*, thought to have taken place about six million years ago. If the report about gorillas is true, then the A-B-O split took place one or two million years before that.

Now compare this to the dates for "Adam" and "Eve" given above. The blood type split, since it goes back six million years, is *at least thirty times older than Eve.* And, as regards blood type, one can be more related to a chimp with one's own blood type than with a human of a different blood type. For example, I am type O. I share the genes for clotting factors with all type O chimps — and I *don't share them with you if you are type A, B, or AB*. (Note: Because type O is a recessive, that's not entirely true. If you are A or B, I may share one type O gene with you. But I may not. And if you're AB, then I know I don't share any genes with you.) Although I am historically descended from human beings and not from chimps, as regards blood type, I am more closely related to some chimps than I am to some people.

Note that, again, this does not require some descendant of “Eve” to have mated with a chimp or the like. If “Eve” had, say, A-O genes, and “Adam” had B-O, or Eve and Adam had OO and AB, or vice versa, then the blood types could all be descended directly from them. That’s the whole point: We aren’t talking ancestry but common genes. Because of the genetic reduction — which can become genetic drift — with regard to a particular gene, I may be unrelated to “Eve” or “Adam” — or even both.

An even more obvious example of this is the distinction between male and female. Different creatures have different ways of determining sex — among some fish and reptiles, it’s dependent on environment, e.g. But in mammals, it’s genetic. There are a handful of Y chromosome genes which cause maleness by turning on a few switches. This is universal in all mammals. Thus, if you are male, the basic genes to make you male have to go back all the way to the earliest mammals, if not earlier. In regard to those genes, *a male human is closer to a male rabbit or horse than to a female human.* Patently absurd in an overall way — more than 97% of a male’s genes are found in female humans, and they aren’t found in horses or rabbigs — but true for those specific genes.

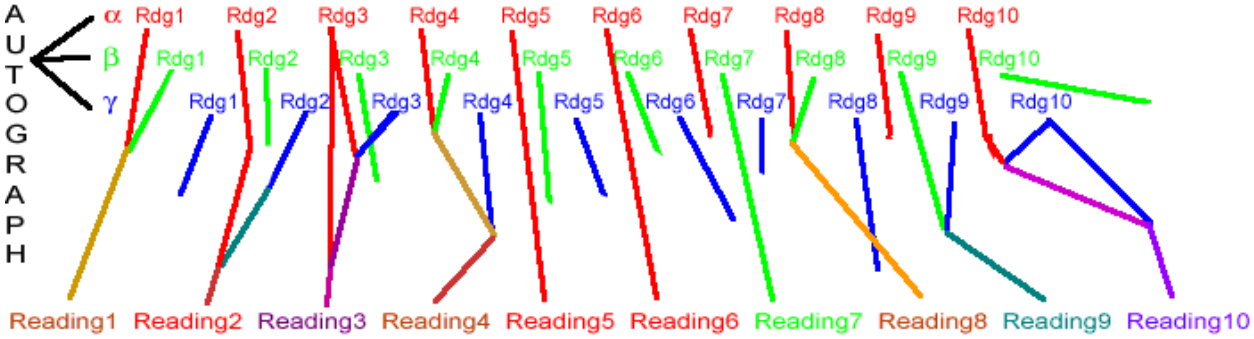
The analogy to text-types is interesting. If a manuscript mixed in a foreign element, that element is more related to the source of the mixture than the historical ancestor. So, for example, “John 7:53ffff.” probably originated in the “Western” text-type. But it’s found in some manuscripts which are otherwise mostly Alexandrian. Chances are that it was introduced by mixture, and that *that* passage, even in L or 579 or whatever, is genetically “Western,” not Alexandrian.

This invites a very different way of looking at stemmatics. We tend to think of genealogy in a top-down sense, with an autograph, then various copies, and copies of the copies, down to the manuscript. And we may think of the manuscript as being derived from a variety of sources going back to the original — a bottom-up approach.

But in light of DNA descent, we might have to think of this in different terms. Each *manuscript* has a historical descent which takes it back to the autograph. But each *reading* can have a different descent.

This may sound a bit like the Alands’ local-genealogical method. It is not. A better analogy might be to a train: Each car on the train comes from a specific place — but not always the same place. Indeed, each of the cars may contain packages from multiple sources. The model we see is much more three-dimensional than our traditional view. Each reading has a specific path back to its origin (which may be the autograph or may be a corruption). The diagram below may give some idea of this. There are three text-types, called by Greek letters but shown as red, green, and blue. At the bottom we have

a particular manuscript with a particular set of readings, all derived from one or more of the three types.



This picture can make life look despairingly complex. Complex it is, but there is hope. Because we can demonstrate that *every manuscript has a common ancestor.* Somewhere. It may be the autograph. But it's there. Similarly, every reading has a common ancestor.

Take each readings in the final manuscript individually. Reading 1 is has red and green ancestry. Reading 2 is red and blue. So is reading 3. Reading 4 has influence from red, green, and blue. Reading 5 is pure green, reading 6 pure red. If we chart this, we find that each of the text-types contributed to certain readings:
RED: Readings 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10 (total of 8 readings)
GREEN: Readings 1, 4, 7, 8, 9 (total of 5 readings)
BLUE: Readings 2, 3, 4, 9, 10 (total of 5 readings)

Note that no type contributed to *all* of the readings. But consider red, with influence in eight out of ten readings (including two, #5 and #6, which are purely red). It is safe to call this a "red" manuscript. When we are in doubt about a particular reading's origin, it is not a bad bet to assume that it's red, though the matter is not certain. We just have to understand that a manuscript of a particular type may have readings not of that particular type — as a person of Scandinavian origin might have inherited a few genes which go back to the Middle East or China.

This is the solution of the seeming paradox above, that, if we go back a certain number of generations, every manuscript is either an ancestor of all manuscripts now surviving, or of none, and more were ancestors of all than of none. Of the first few dozens copies, most — if not destroyed without being copied — would have influenced surviving manuscripts. They would be historical ancestors. But would they have contributed significantly? Probably not. It's quite possible that a manuscript of a separate text-type (say the Greek that underlies one or another Latin or Syriac version) could have influenced all our modern manuscripts — and not have a single one of its unique

readings survive! Obviously this could affect how we view our particular collection of mixed manuscripts…

To this peculiar-sounding proposition we can also compare the ancestry of books in a corpus. The earliest copies of the Pauline corpus, for instance, came together before all the books were accepted as being part of it. (Hebrews obviously was not included in some early copies; compare also the contents of P^{46}.) Might books which circulated on their own and were eventually added to a corpus have gone through a history unlike the other books in the later copies of the corpus?

This brings us to another problem that doesn't get much thought. Most people agree that text-types exist, though they disagree on how to use them. But when and why did they come to exist? This is more complicated than saying, "The Byzantine text was in existence by the fifth century." If we ignore the effects of mixture, there was some point at which any two text-types split — that is, there was some manuscript of which we can say, "This is the ancestor of all Byzantine (or Alexandrian, or Western) texts, and it is *not* the ancestor of all non-Byzantine (or non-Alexandrian, or non-Western) texts." But that manuscript will be closely related to other texts of which this statement is not true. It may be the ancestor of all Byzantine texts, but it is not itself characteristically Byzantine! It's a lot like those other texts which are *not* ancestral to the Byzantine text. So should it be called Byzantine?

Dawkins gives an analogy of this in terms of the transition from monkeys to apes. The usual distinction between monkeys and apes is that monkeys have tails. At some point, a female monkey bore an offspring which would be ancestral to all modern apes (and humans). But that ancestral creature, the offspring of a monkey, surely had a tail. It was, to all appearances at least, a *monkey* — and surely still capable of breeding with other monkeys. At what point did that lineage become apes? When the tail was lost? What if the tail was lost gradually — there are a lot of monkeys with short tails. There is no answer to this. It merely teaches us an important rule about evolution: That trends and processes are more important than the staging points along the way. We call the ancestors of humans by names such as *Homo habilis* and *Homo erectus.* But these actually represent more a trend than anything else — a trend toward bigger brains. There is no place or time at which you can halt and say, "This is completely different from everything that came before or after." Does this affect how we use manuscripts? Probably — because every manuscript, except the autograph, is just a stage in such a process. It's a fossil representing a stage in the history of transmission. It is not the beginning, and not the end. The goal is presumably to see where it points.

In this context, it's worth remembering that evolutionary steps consistently happen *one at a time,* and each has to be a reasonable step in the process. You did not, for

instance, have a fish step out of water and instantly develop two legs and two wings and become a bird. No, first it had to become a reptile, with four legs, then as a secondary change, the two front legs became wings. This is informative with respect to a reading such as 1 Corinthians 13:3, where the readings are καυχησωμαι or καυθησομαι or καυθησωμαι. Most editors have preferred either the first or the second — the first on the grounds of its external attestation, the second on the grounds of its suitability. But it is important to note that it takes *two* changes to get from one of these to the other — an exchange of χ/θ and an exchange of ο/ω. This means that one or the other of the two preferred readings *must derive from* καυθησωμαι. Either καυθησωμαι is the original, and the other two readings direct modifications of it; or καυχησωμαι is the original, perhaps accidentally changed to καυθησωμαι and then deliberately corrected to καυθησομαι; or καυθησομαι is original, and was miscopied as καυθησωμαι, then corrected to καυχησωμαι. That last process strikes me as most improbable (who would correct καυθησωμαι to καυχησωμαι rather than καυθησομαι?). Thus καυθησομαι, though widely printed, is in fact a very nearly impossible reading, simply because evolution must proceed one step at a time.

Another interesting analogy to Paul exists in the case of the human chromosome 2. It is a curiosity that all (other) apes consistently have 48 chromosomes, but humans have only 46. It is now pretty well established that the reason is that our chromosome 2 (which is, of course, the second largest in the genome) is in fact a combination of two shorter ape chromosomes. In this sense at least, humans *are* different from apes. Compare this to 2 Corinthians, which certainly appears to be fragments of two or three or four letters squished together.

The assembly of books into a corpus, or of separate letters into a sort of a whole, incidentally has another evolutionary parallel, though this is much more speculative. One of the great problems of biology is to explain how the current system of our cells came to be. We have a controlling mechanism, the DNA, which stores the information needed to create and control a cell — but which is useless for anything else except information storage. We have a bunch of proteins, many of them enzymes, which can actually do things, but which cannot store information or reproduce. For life to come about, at first glance, it would appear that these two would have to come into existence together — the so-called “irreducible complexity” argument.

Which is, however, false. The argument is false in general, because it ignores the usual trend of evolution, which is toward simplicity (that is, natural selection sheds all unneeded features; if something is truly irreducibly complex, odds are that it is at the end of a long chain of evolution based on less effective, more complex methods). And it is false in this particular case because it appears to ignore how life started. The goal is

to find a “naked replicator” — the original molecule that could make copies of itself. Neither DNA nor proteins fit this description; they’re too specialized.

But there is another molecule found in nucleii: RNA. While we can’t prove it (yet), it appears likely that RNA was the original replicator. Unlike proteins, it can reproduce — although inefficiently and with a lot of errors. Unlike DNA, it actually has some ability to act on its environment — indeed, the ribosome, which converts DNA sequences to proteins, contains RNA as well as protein, but no DNA. And it is RNA, not DNA, which transmits the actual sequence of proteins to be encoded.

This is notably significant, because most of this process has been recreated in the laboratory — that is, people have recreated the conditions on the early earth, and added energy. The first experiments of this type, in the mid-twentieth century, quickly yielded amino acids. More recently, we’ve started to move toward an actual RNA factory (see Matt Ridley, *Genome*, pp. 18–21; in addition, Dawkins, in *The Blind Watchmaker*, p. 190, tells how Manfred Eigen evolved RNA in the lab without any influence from existing life, though he started with raw materials slightly more complicated than just the carbon dioxide, water, methane, and such of the amino acid experiments. According to John Maynard Smith, *The Theory of Evolution*, pp. 9–11 of the 1993 Canto edition, an even more interesting aspect of this process is that, when run several times, it produces similar but not identical end results, showing that natural selection does operate to favor the same types of results but not the same exact results). Add it up and it’s clear that humanity has recreated something pretty close to a modern virus: Some viruses (called, for obvious reasons, RNA viruses) have no DNA, just RNA and protein. Modern viruses probably don’t go back to the days of the “RNA World” (there wouldn’t have been anything for them to infect), but our recreations are very likely similar to life forms of that era.

Incidentally, Dawkins, *The Ancestor’s Tale,* pp. 576–578, describes an experiment undertaken by Sol Spiegelman on the RNA of a bacteriophage (virus which infects bacteria) called Qβ. Spiegelman not only caused its RNA to reproduce without a bacterium (indeed, without parts of the original virus), but he induced it to evolve. The final RNA strand was only a seventh of the size of the original, and no longer had the genes to invade bacteria — but it could reproduce faster and more effectively in the lab setting Spiegelman had created. It was, by any rational definition, a new species.

Turning back to ancient history — having created those RNA replicators, the next step must have been for them to group themselves together. After all, one RNA replicator can only perform one or two functions apart from replicating. But if they group, they can combine to perform multiple functions. This is the analogy to the collecting of books in a library.

And once they are grouped, then it becomes possible to branch out. RNA is not a very good replicator. It's unstable, and inefficient at duplicating, and while it can influence the outside world, it can't do so very easily. A more stable replicator and a more complicated set of enzymes would work better. With a bunch of RNA working together, so that some could do the work of surviving while others experimented with replicating, it was possible to make the relatively minor chemical changes needed to turn RNA into DNA. And once that was done, the replicator system could truly take off.

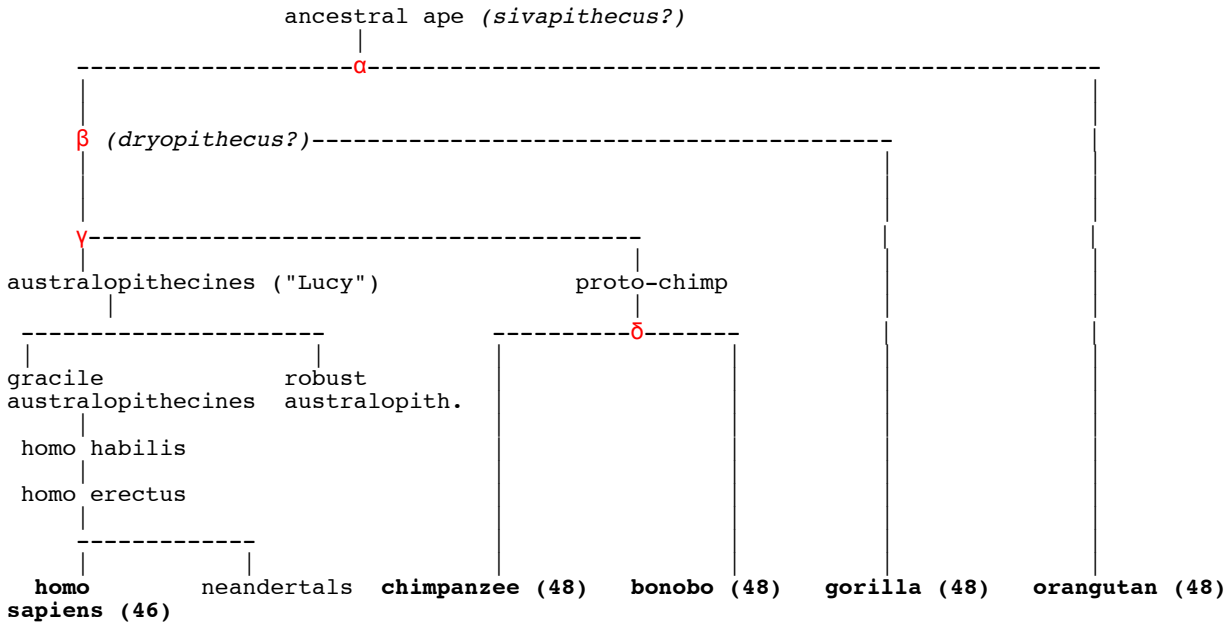
Allow me an analogy. Think of life inside a nucleus as being like a computer. There is memory (DNA) and input and output devices (proteins). It might seem that a computer could not exist without both — that both had to come into being at together and all at once.

But it's not true. Think of the first American computer, ENIAC. It didn't have a display as we'd now think of it, nor a keyboard or mouse, and it didn't have the huge collection memory chips a modern computer possesses. A task was actually wired in, and computed, and the result read off of the state of the vacuum tubes, or something equivalent. This is the computer equivalent of the RNA universe: It doesn't work very well, but it works well enough that you can start fiddling with it, adding on a serial output rather than a bunch of blinking lights, adding a few memory cells to allow stored calculations, and so on. Once you have something that works, it can be improved.

The key in all this is the grouping: There was one sort of evolution before RNA molecules came together. It was all very different afterward.

Incidentally, since we're talked about human and ape chromosomes, we can show how stemmatics affects evolutionary arguments. Recall that humans have 46 chromosomes, while apes have 48. How do we decide how many chromosomes the last common ancestor had? If humans and apes split separately (that is, if we have a binary tree, with apes on one side and humans on the other), then we would have no way of knowing. But it appears on other grounds that the correct stemma is as follows, with surviving species shown in bold and their number of chromosomes in parentheses. (Note: There is not universal agreement on this. Richard Leakey and others still seem to hold to the view that *Homo habilis* is not derived from the australopithecines but is their contemporary. But he is in the minority, and his theory requires a much more complicated genealogy with more "missing links." I don't think it will hold up. There are lots of other minority theories, too — one would dissolve *Homo habilis.* Another would reclassify *Homo habilis* as an australopithecine, which shows mostly how hard it is to define different genus. Many would now subdivide *Homo erectus* into *Homo ergaster* and *Homo erectus*, with the former being perhaps the ancestor of modern humans and the latter an extinct offshoot. Many would put *Homo heidelbergensis* between erectus/

ergaster and the sapiens/neandertal split. Another scheme would convert the robust australopithecines into a separate genus. Consider the stemma below simplified: These are the parts almost everyone agrees on. At least in outline; *Homo habilis,* e.g., may be "technically" an australopithecine, but it's still the link between the other gracile australopithecines and *Homo erectus*.)



Now look at the five surviving species: us (homo sapiens), chimpanzee, bonobo, gorilla, orangutan. I've labelled four ancestors: α is the common ancestor of all surviving apes and humans. β is the ancestor of humans, chimps, and gorillas. γ is the common ancestor of humans and chimps. And δ is the common ancestor of chimps and bonobos. It is evident that δ had 48 chromosomes. γ is not certain if we look at the offspring — but we note that δ and the gorilla both have 48 chromosomes. So β must have had 48 chromosomes, and it is highly likely that γ had 48 chromosomes. And so did α. Hence, 48 chromosomes is the norm for apes. Somewhere between γ and ourselves (that is, in the last six million years or so), two ape choromosomes combined to form our chromosome 2. (I've heard it speculated that this was the moment at which humans became human, that is, the creature made in the image of God. Hard to prove that scientifically....) We don't know when it happened — and our only DNA samples come from the post-homo erectus stage, which is probably at least a million years too late to be useful — but it happened somewhere. It might be logical to assume that it came at the *Homo habilis* stage, since that's considered a new genus, but again, nobody really believes those genus designations, so that's no help. Rather than speculate too much, I'm just trying to note how stemmatics and evolutionary biology use exactly the same rules.

Let's go back and consider one more point regarding genetics and blood types, as regards Adam and Eve and the dominance of the Byzantine text. If one assumes that all blood types go back to the ancestors, then the Biblical Adam and Eve (if they existed) must, between them, have had the genes for A, B, and O types. We noted a couple of ways this could have happened above. There are only a handful of possible genetic possibilities to allow this situation to survive. The list below shows the two genes possessed by each of the two parents. (It doesn't matter, in this case, which is Adam and which Eve; just that one parent has each of the gene combinations shown below.)
AA BO
AB AO
AB BO
AB OO
AO AB
AO BO

Each of these sets of genes would, if perpetuated equally, produce certain ratio of A to B to O blood types in the children. Taking the last, for instance, we have 25% A genes, 25% B genes, and 50% O genes. Recall that the O gene is recessive; the only way to have type O blood is to have OO. A and B are dominant, so AA and AO both give the offspring type A blood; similarly, BB and BO both yield type B blood. So ancestors with the combination AO and BO would yield the following expected values for the prevalence of types A, B, AB, and O blood:
A: 5/16
B: 5/16
AB: 1/8
O: 1/4

This, note, is the highest possible probability for type O (or any other recessive gene) when there are only four ancestral genes available: One in four, or 25%. Any other combination of genes in the ancestors will give only one person in 16 with type O blood. No matter what the genetic situation, type O should be rarer than A or B. In fact, we see no such thing: Type O blood is the most common blood type. Different populations vary, but probably about half the world's people have type O blood, roughly a third have type A, an eighth or so have type B, and a few odd percent have type AB. We don't know how this situation arose, but presumably it's in response to *some* sort of circumstances which have caused differential selection of blood types.

There is also the curiosity that some populations have very different type ratios than the overall world population — e.g. Scandinavians, I've heard, have a much higher than average rate of Type A blood than the average. Type B blood is never common, but in parts of central Asia, 30% of the population is Type B. On the other hand, Type B blood

is so rare in American Indians that it seems likely that it it all due to recent contamination by Europeans. Another blood factor, the Rh- type, is found in only about a tenth of the world's overall population — but hardly ever in native Africans, Asians, or Australians. All Rh- blood seems to be derived from Europe, with the most extreme population being the Basques, a third of whom are Rh-. (This to me raises the interesting question of whether Rh- blood might somehow be related to the Neandertals, who were entirely European and lasted longest in areas fairly near where the Basques now live, but that's entirely another issue.)

Remember that A-B-O, at least, predate the rise of humanity. (I'm not sure about Rh factors.) That means that the ancestors of any population will have had access to A, B, and O types. Yet there are no Indians with type B blood, as noted, and the various tribes have different ratios of A to O type blood, with extremes of more than 80% of one type or the other. This is an example of the well-known phenomenon of "genetic drift" — in a small population, a particular gene can simply drop out of the gene pool. (Nicolas Wade, *Before the Dawn,* p. 117, reports on a study which appears to show that certain tribes were genetically isolated for seven thousand years!) Clearly when Native Americans came to North America, they were so small a population that Type B blood died out, and in the closed circles of some of the other tribes, types A and O came close to doing the same; it may well be that the handful of people with A or O blood in those tribes are due to incidental recent contamination. (This, incidentally, may be one reason why Indians were so easily stricken by European diseases: They had fewer "polymorphisms" of blood and other traits. According to Matt Ridley's book *Genome*, p. 141, type O blood confers some slight resistance to malaria, which could explain why it is relatively rare in Scandinavia: malaria has never been an issue there. A and B, on the other hand, while they leave people more vulnerable to malaria, improve resistance to cholera, with the handful of people with AB blood being nearly immune. Having all three blood types around thus confers immunity to a wide range of diseases — not directly for individuals, but for the population as a whole, and if enough people are immune, it's harder for a disease to take hold. A polymorphism is simply a case of different characteristics among different individuals, making it harder for a particular invader to prey upon all of them. This particular aspect of genes and evolution probably is not of textual significance, though it's perhaps an argument for not following one text-type slavishly, because the textual equivalent of genetic drift will almost certainly cause at least some good readings to die out in all text-types.)

The moral is clear: Both overall distribution of blood types, and the distribution within local populations, show different types becoming more or less common. One simply cannot assume, as Byzantine prioritists sometimes do, that texts reproduce "normally." It may happen sometimes — but it must be demonstrated, not posited.

Looking at genetic differences between species brings up other interesting points. It should be noted that there are a lot of genes that function in almost exactly the same way in all mammals, from mouse to human. A mouse muscle cell does much the same thing as a human muscle cell; the difference is not how muscle cells are made but how many of them each creature has and where they are located. Similarly with very many other genes. (This probably explains why mice and humans have about the same number of genes. Most genes are muscle genes or blood genes or brain genes or liver genes, for making muscle or blood or brain or liver cells; humans and mice make the same parts. There are only a few genes — the Hox genes and a few like them — that tell the body where to put a muscle cell or a brain cell or a liver cell. And it doesn't take *more* Hox genes to say "make a huge human brain" than to say "make a small mouse brain"; it just takes different ones, calling for different numbers of cells. Hox genes are found in just about every animal tested, from humans to mice to fruit flies, and they work in almost the same way. And even a fruit fly, which has something like a two millionth of the mass of a human being, has about a quarter of the hox genes that a human has.)

We might well also compare the relationship between species with the way we group manuscripts. Just as animals are divided into species, genuses, families, and so forth, we group manuscripts into families, text-types, and perhaps other groupings. In this particular case, the various sets of terminology in the different fields have actually informed each other, with Cladistics even starting to blur the lines between disciplines.

But, as Dawkins notes *(The Ancestor's Tale,* p. 399), of all these various levels of biological kinship, only one — the species — is rigorously defined: If two creatures interbreed, they belong to a single species. If they don't interbreed, they aren't. (Even this gets a little complicated when dealing with creatures such as bacteria which reproduce asexually, and there are other complications involving species which sometimes hybridize. But it's a workable starting point.)

The situation in textual criticism is similar: The only *certain* relationships are those involving immediate kin. Parent and child manuscripts are generally pretty clearly defined. (I wish I could say the same of sister manuscripts; they certainly *should* be clearly defined. But, having seen manuscripts which clearly are not sisters called sisters, we can't trust some declarations about that level of kinship.)

Just as any biological relationship other than the species is imperfectly defined, so a textual relationship beyond the immediate kinship level is somewhat arbitrary. Does this, then, mean that there are no other relations?

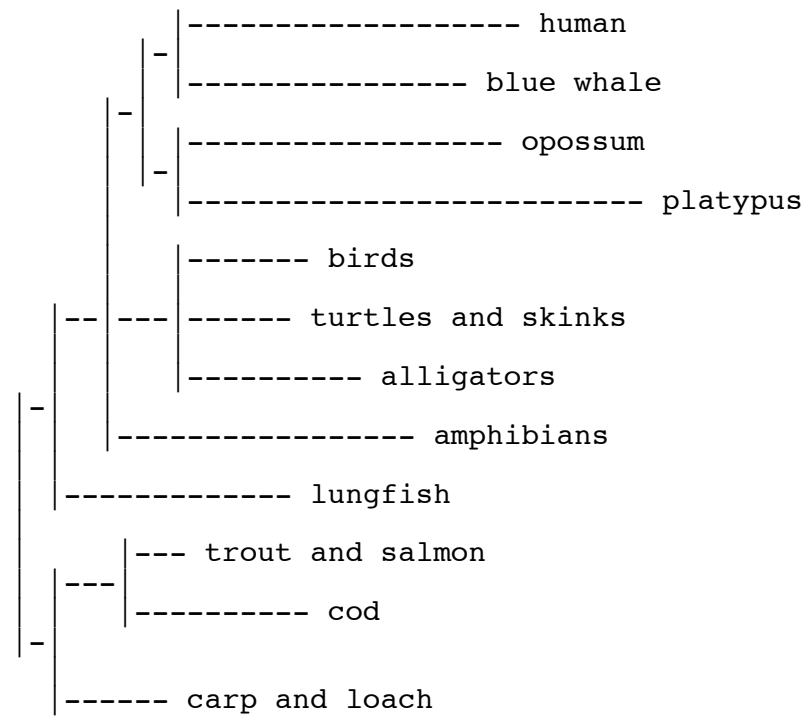
This can hardly be the case. The exact moment at which species split, and split again, and split again is uncertain — such evidence as we have indicates that it is not a rigid dividing line, such that beforehand you have *Homo erectus* and afterward *Homo*

sapiens, or beforehand a generic cat-like creature and afterward a lion. The distinction is clear now only because all the intermediate creatures — the semi-lions and the intermediate-between-homo-erectus-and-sapiens have vanished. (Which adds to the confusion regarding manuscripts, since manuscripts of all ages survive. Biologists have only a few fossils. We have fewer manuscripts than we like, but it seems clear we have a higher fraction of old manuscripts than biologists have of the surely millions of members of species such as *Homo habilis* or *Homo erectus*. What's more, many of the creatures whose fossils have survived died young, without offspring, whereas the extant manuscripts may well have been copied.) But, with regard to manuscripts, we know that every one was copied from some number of source manuscripts and corrected from some number of others. We are guaranteed that splits occur, though we don't know when and at which point. The trick is to define the splits. Just as species did not instantly convert from one form to another, you probably can't say that a particular manuscript is of some type and a copy of it is of some other type. And, just as some species are closer to each other than others, so may one text-type be closer to another.

Dawkins, in fact, has a warning from biology about this, which surely applies in textual criticism as well: "Members of the cladistic school of taxonomists can become positively evangelical… [in] proclaiming the non-specialiness of fossils.... They take the sensible statement, 'It is unlikely that any particular fossil is the ancestor of any surviving species,' and interpret it to mean, 'There never were any ancestors!' Obviously this book stops short of such an absurdity. At every single moment of history there must have been at least one human ancestor.... even if any particular fossil almost certainly isn't it." Similarly, in textual terms, every manuscript traces back to the autograph through similar manuscripts, even if those manuscripts haven't survived. L in the gospels probably is not descended directly from B, and B is probably not descended from P^{75}, but L certainly has an ancestor written about the same time as B which was much like B, and B has an ancestor that was much like P^{75}. Manuscripts with similar texts will have links at least somewhat more recent than the autograph.

Colwell once said that "Weak members of a Text-type may contain no more of the total content of a text-type than strong members of some other text-type may contain" *(Studies in Methodology,* page 33). This entirely fits what we learn from evolution. If I read Dawkins correctly, for instance, it appears that rabbits and mice split before humans and lemurs. Yet, based on the external characteristics at least, it appears that rabbits and mice are more similar than humans and lemurs. Humans and lemurs are more closely akin in terms of branching — but the level of evolution along the primate branches has been extreme, whereas the rodents and lagomorphs (rabbits) have evolved more by specialization than by creation of new characteristics.

In this context, we note that *degree of evolution* is not the same as *degree of kinship*. Dawkins *(The Ancestor's Tale,* p. 323), prints an evolutionary tree (phylogram) showing degrees of evolutionary divergence from the ancestor. I'm going to print a very simplified (and probably not very accurate) version of this as a demonstration. The longer a particular line, the more change in the creatures since the branching point.



Note what this says: Although mammals such as humans and whales have undergone a much higher *rate of evolution* than trout or cod or carp, we are not *descended from* trout or cod or carp — indeed, we are less related to them than to the surviving lungfish, even though lungfish are still pretty much fish and we are, well, us. All of the species involved have changed. It's just that we've changed more obviously. But we're all equally separated from the common ancestor. (Indeed, the fish are probably *more* separate in terms of generations; a fish generation is typically one year or less, whereas a hominid generation is many years.) Then there is the platypus: It's usually regarded as "primitive," and certainly it has primitive features such as laying eggs and secreting milk through the skin rather than having distinct nipples. But this doesn't mean it hasn't evolved. To survive with these primitive features, it has in fact evolved very heavily, developing (for instance) an electrical sense in its bill that allows it to detect small prey with its eyes closed. To get from the earliest mammals to human beings involves few "inventions" — we have a big brain, and hands — but all mammals at least have some brains, and forelimbs. We have no new features, merely changed features. To get from

early mammals to a platypus involves a new invention: That electrical beak. To develop that requires a lot of genetic change.

This again goes back to Colwell's point: Just as we are more related to birds than to cod, even though the differences between humans and birds are in many ways more dramatic than the differences between humans and fish, so the variations *within* an early text-type may seem nearly as dramatic as the differences between an early and a late text-type.

There is an interesting side point here, not experimentally verified but with some good mathematics about it, based on the work of E. Mayr. Mayr examined the process of speciation — what happens when one species becomes two. It is widely believed that this usually happens because of some "separation event." A "separation event" comes about when some outside factor causes a population to split in two — an example might be a river changing its course and dividing what, until then, had been a local population of some sort of mice, say, which cannot swim across the river.

As long as the members of the species could interbreed, it was hard to separate into two species, because everybody could breed with everybody else. New genes would tend to be swamped.

Divide the species in two, and there is no longer any interbreeding. The two halves will start to evolve separately, and so may more easily become separate species. This is not certain, note, but the separation makes it easier.

Thus far is generally agreed. Mayr's work comes in looking at the two populations. The conclusion is that the smaller population is more likely to change dramatically. This is simple mathematics: If a small mutation occurs, it is much more likely to survive in a small gene pool where it is less likely to be overwhelmed. The smaller the population, the faster new genes can spread — plus it's quite possible that a smaller group will be subjected to more selection pressure.

When I read about this, I instantly thought of the Local Texts idea and their evolution. If you have a lot of manuscripts, change will be slow: There are always many manuscripts around to cross-check against. If a manuscript contains an error, it can be compared against another and corrected.

Now imagine a manuscript in an isolated monastery or some such place, with few other manuscripts to compare against. Perhaps they started with only one (or perhaps one of each section, or only one of the Apocalypse), and it not well copied. Having no other manuscript to be compared against, its errors will either survive or be fixed by conjectural emendation. As copies are made, additional errors will creep in. And, if the original was a papyrus manuscript, it will likely wear out in short order and no longer be

available for comparison. *Where there are fewer manuscripts, there may well be more diversity.*

Now consider the Byzantine text: It is the most common text-type, and very unified. The Alexandrian text is smaller and less unified. The "Western" text is smaller still and even more diverse — so diverse that we can't even agree on its boundaries. Is it a wild text — or was it simply never widely copied? Mayr's theory implies it might be either.

A small population isn't the only thing that can cause wild modifications of a species, to be sure. Darwin proposed not one but *two* methods of evolution. This follows from the fact that evolutionary success requires an animal to do two things: It must survive — and it must reproduce. Survival is the province of natural selection, which is the best-known part of Darwin's theory. But reproduction is the province of "sexual selection." Sexual selection operates when one sex (usually females) has a choice of members of the other sex (usually males), and chooses for reasons not directly related to survival. Examples of this include female swallows which prefer males with longer tails (when experimenters randomly lengthened or shortened the tails of certain swallows, it caused the long-tailed males to have more children and the poor guys with the short tails to be discriminated against) and many species of fish, where the females prefer certain colours (experimenters increased some males' reproductive success by painting them red).

What is interesting about sexual selection is that it can lead to a rapid "runaway" effect. Take the swallows: Because females prefer long-tailed males, they breed with them, and genes for short tails die out very quickly. So now you have a population in which the average tail size has increased. Are the females satisfied? No, they now have an even longer-tailed set of males to choose from, and will still go for the longest tails. So a tail which, some generations ago, would have seemed very long suddenly seems rather shrimpy. The population develops longer and longer tails until such time as natural selection kicks in and makes the cost of a longer tail so high that it starts killing off males which have one of these uber-tails. This is what is thought to have happened with peacocks, for instance. Peahens went for the males with the big fancy tails, so the tails eventually became really extreme — so extreme that, if they got much bigger, the peacock simply couldn't survive.

(It is sometimes objected that this process won't work, because there are females who prefer short tails and mate with short-tailed males and preserve the genetic diversity of the species. This turns out not to be true. There are two possibilities. Either the females who don't care about long tails are in fact attracted to short tails, or they are indifferent. If it is the former, then you'll always have short-tailed males mating with short-tail-loving females, and you get *two* runaway processes which result in the creation of two

species, one short-tailed and one long-tailed. In the case where some of the females prefer long tails and some are indifferent, long tails will still come to dominate, because the long-tail-loving females will mate with long-tailed males — and so will a lot of the females who don't care about tail length, because they don't care. So more and more males in each generation will have long tails, and the long tails will eventually dominate. The "runaway" effect is almost uncontrollable once there is a significant preference for an arbitrary "fashion.")

It is possible that an analogous process explains some of the characteristics of text-types — the alleged abruptness of the Alexandrian text or the smooth feel of the Byzantine text. Suppose a particular bishop, or even a handful of scribes, decided that the best texts were full and smooth. They would choose the fullest available manuscripts to copy. If a particular passage twice read "the Lord Jesus Christ" and once read simply "the Lord Jesus," they might well modify the third instance to match the other two. Over time, they would tend to produce fuller and fuller texts. They would prefer the risk of including a few non-canonical words to the risk of excluding a few canonical words.

But another scribal school, determined to have no word that was not scriptural even if it meant omitting a few canonical words, chooses short texts, omits articles and Christological titles when they are lacking in parallel passages, and so forth.

Alternately, just consider a manuscript which has some marginal comments — say, where the text reads "Jesus," the margin says "This should be 'the Lord Jesus,'" and the next time the text reads "Jesus," the margin read "This should be 'the Lord Jesus' also." The next time the scribe reads "Jesus" in the text, the tendency might be to correct "the Lord Jesus," and a runaway process gets started.

Note that each of these processes will be self-perpetuating as long as the same scribal principles apply. Thus you get an excessively full Byzantine text and an excessively short manuscript like P^{75}. And just as we have runaway readings, we also get what we might call runaway editors — people like Westcott and Hort, who tend to prefer the shorter reading no matter what, and the Byzantine prioritists, whose rule comes close to being "prefer the longer reading." (The problem is, of course, that in a biological "runaway" there is no issue of what is right or wrong or original. Editors are supposed to worry about that, but can suffer from a runaway love for a particular canon of criticism…)

There is another rule of evolution which perhaps also applies here — the rule of "local maxima." Daniel Dennett, in *Darwin's Dangerous Idea* (1995), p. 190, states this as "never step down; step up whenever possible." That is, when on a "fitness landscape," evolution will always favor the form which is more fit in its immediate context — even if

there is an even more fit form at a slightly greater distance. Evolution tends to "get stuck" on local peaks. Compare a text: At any given point, it will tend to adopt the "more reasonable" local reading even if it produces problems overall. (Another name for this is the QWERTY effect, so-called because we still use QWERTY keyboards even though they are not very efficient. It's a fossil format we can't get rid of, because we're too used to it. There are better keyboards — DVORAK, for instance — but to get there, we would all have to un-learn QWERTY and be, for a time, completely keyboard-incompetent. In evolution, it can't happen; in keyboards, it can only happen if we decide to hand all our kids DVORAK keyboards.)

This also brings up the constant question of "lumping" or "splitting." These have now become rather standard terms, with "lumpers" being biologists who place similar but not identical specimens in a single species, while "splitters" divide anything not shown to be identical. This can get pretty strange even for existing species — in my lifetime, two types of birds, the Baltimore and Bullock's Orioles, initially listed as separate species, were lumped into one species, the "Northern Oriole," then split back into separate species again. And these are living creatures where we can observe their breeding habits! In the case of fossils, splitting can become so extreme that just about everything becomes its own species.

And species is the one definable term in biology. Splitting or lumping a family or phylum is certainly more arbitrary. Similarly, splitting or lumping text-types has to be arbitrary. The obvious defining point would be the last common ancestor — but without having that common ancestor in hand, we don't have much to go on, we are forced to try to reconstruct. And that's with even if we ignore mixture.

The splitting/lumping issue is a significant problem. Suppose that the Byzantine prioritists are right and the K^x group of manuscripts in fact represents the original text. In that case, the Family Π group of manuscripts probably could be considered a separate text-type. But if the Byzantine type is not original, then the Π manuscripts are at best a sub-text-type.

This reinforces a point made above with regard to text-types. Evolutionary phyla do not have to be equidistant from each other. Some *are* closer than others. There has to be some level of difference, but there can be more than the minimum — and the minimum can be relatively small. Rigid definitions are a mixed blessing: They allow us to speak precisely, but they must not be allowed to bind. New data *must allow us to change our definitions*, just as biologists have changed the genus and family classifications of many species over the years, and as astronomers recently (and quite correctly) downgraded Pluto from a planet to a dwarf planet. (They did so correctly because there is a difference in *kind* between Pluto and the other planets: Pluto is a typical Kuiper Belt

object; there are lots of things in the same general area much like it. There is nothing like Jupiter in Jupiter's orbit.) The comparison to the Colwell-Tune 70% criterion for differentiating text-types should be obvious: The 70% difference plus gap was for the Alexandrian and Byzantine texts. There is no particular evidence that it applies to anything else. It's just as if you said that, because mammals and reptiles differ in 47 particulars (or whatever number you produce), then reptiles and birds must differ in exactly 47 or they can't be separate groupings.

This problem even infects the mathematical models of biological stemma. This is known as "long branch assimilation." If two particular species diverge far from the main bulk of specimens, parsimony analysis can pull them together. (Genetic trees with branches of this type are said to fall within the "Felsenstein Zone.") This certainly reminds me of the Claremont Profile Method and its infamous lumping of Codex Bezae with the Alexandrian Text. Keeping in mind also Colwell's warning that strong members of distinct text-type may share more readings than strong and weak members of the same type, might there not be other unnoticed examples of the same thing? (For a slightly artificial example of how this might actually come about with a text, see the appendix on the Bédier Problem in the article on Non-Biblical Criticism).

The key point here is how we use text-types. If they have any use at all, it is to supply relatively independent paths back to the archetype. This obviously argues strongly for the "ancestral" model of a text-type rather than the statistical model used by followers of the Colwell-Tune definition — in other words, a Clade rather than a Grade definition.

One place where genetics has curious traits is with regard to mixture. Generally when a lineage splits, that's it — there can be no recombination. Dawkins in *The Blind Watchmaker,* p. 248, notes for instance that humans have eight distinct genes for making globins (hæmoglobin, etc.) These genes are all believed to be descended from a single original globin gene, even though they now exist on separate chromosomes. Because they are separate genes, in separate places, they can no longer mix; we can create a stemma and perhaps recreate the original globin. But if we did, it couldn't be *used* for anything; the current globins are now separate and individual. At least in theory. It's largely true in practice, too, for animals, since they only mate with their own kind. It's a lot more complicated with plants, where foreign pollen can sometimes show up. I have, frankly, no idea how this affects things; it might be worthwhile to find out.

While we're talking species, and text-types, and mixture, we might also mention the curious phenomenon of "ring species." This is an unusual phenomenon because it requires a sort of habitat loop — a region of territory where animals can live at the boundary but cannot cross the middle. An example is the shores of a very large lake (either in or out of the water), or a particular elevation in a valley surrounded on all sides

by mountains. Dawkins *(The Ancestor's Tale,* p. 301) offers the example of California's Central Valley and the *Ensatina* salamanders. These salamanders live only at a certain elevation. Since the valley is entirely enclosed, their habitat looks like a very elongated letter "O," about four times as tall as it is wide, with a very large region in the middle where the salamanders cannot live. If you start in the southwest corner of the loop, you'll find salamanders with plain skins. Move north along the western side of the valley, and you'll gradually see slight blotches appear on their skins. Once you reach the north end, turn south, and travel along the east side of the valley, you'll find that the salamanders' skins will get more and more blotchy; eventually, when you get to the southeast corner of the ring, they are extremely blotchy.

Now here is the interesting point. Start at any point along the ring, except the southernmost part, and salamanders will breed with their neighbours to the clockwise and counterclockwise directions. There is no species distinction. But, down at the southern part, you have plain-skinned and blotchy-skinned salamanders, and they *will not interbreed.* In other words, there is a species distinction there, even though there is continuous variation around the circumference of the ring. (Anti-evolutionists claim we've never seen a new species created in the lab. The ring species, however, is a pretty good example of how it comes about. If a flood or earthquake or human activity were to destroy the northern end of the Central Valley, this continuous species would suddenly become two species! Thus we *could* do it if we wanted to.)

Ring species probably can come about in either of two ways. One is to have an intermediate species split in two (in the example above, a slightly blotchy species of salamander might have arrived at the northern part of the central valley and spread in two different directions); the other is to start with one distinct type and have it slowly crawl "around the circle" (in the above case, the ancestor was either a very plain salamander in the southwest or a very blotchy one in the southeast, which bred only one way around the circle). Could textual "mixture" also arise by both means? That is, could one "mixed" manuscript be the ancestor of two distinct types of text (a common original splitting in two because of genetic drift), while another derives from combining two types of text (a hybrid)? There is no logical reason why not. The implications, however, are very different. In the former case of a split, both types have value (since they lead back to an earlier archetype), and their agreements have particularly high value. In the case of the hybrid, though, the hybrid text has no value unless the ancestral texts are lost. (This sort of hybridization is, of course, precisely what Hort believed was responsible the Byzantine text, and why he denigrated it. And no one has seriously contested the logic; the question is whether his history of the text is accurate.)

The example above also points up the generally-agreed cause of separation into species: Sudden (usually unexpected) geographical separation. If a lake is split in two

by an earthquake, say, fish in the two halves, originally one species, may evolve into two. Indeed, Dawkins *(The Ancestor's Tale,* p. 341) observes that, for some fish species, a gap of just two kilometers between reefs in a lake is enough to cause genetic separation. Is this not much the same as the proposed origin of Local Texts, where a particular region gradually standardizes on a peculiar text?

Evolution may also say something about the nature of variants. You've probably heard that most creatures' DNA is rather a jumble of stuff. It isn't as if someone set it up in an intelligent, orderly manner; it's scattered all over the place on the chromosomes. (Just about what you would expect of stuff that has evolved and changed and developed new purposes over the years.) Some of it, in fact, no longer has any purpose at all, and is not used. (This might, for instance, include DNA for making gills in humans: we don't live underwater any more, so we don't need gills — and even if we had them, as warm-blooded creatures we can't derive enough oxygen from sea water to meet our needs.) This is the so-called "junk DNA" — a name which accurately describes how useful it is, though a better historical name might be "fossil" or "discarded" DNA.

The interesting thing is, this unexpressed DNA tends to change faster than DNA that actually does something. This makes sense, when you think about it. If a gene needed to create, say, the human lung mutates, the probability is high that the mutation will be detrimental — quite possibly fatal. It will probably die out. But a mutation that affects the no-longer-used genes that make gills or whatever can be preserved, because the changes have no effect on the survival of a human who doesn't use gills anyway.

(Junk DNA and its high rate of mutation, incidentally, has some significance as we consider which variants are and are not genealogically meaningful; see the article on Saturation.)

This at least bears thinking about. There are only two significant many-verse variants in the New Testament: Mark 16:9–20 and the story of the Adulteress. There are more than that many add/omit article variants in the average *chapter*. You might argue that the latter is a meaningful variant — but it isn't very meaningful. In the case of a definite article before a name, it means almost nothing — and these are incredibly common. (If you check the section on Most Uncertain Readings, examining just the Gospel of John, we find two dozen variants ιησουϛ/ο ιησουϛ. That's not variants in one or two minor manuscripts, note; they are variants substantial enough to cause real differences between editors.) Could it be that minor variants will survive better than major? Of course, that needs to be tested — but there are at least a few manuscripts that seem to bear this out. A in the Gospels is mostly Byzantine — but it has a much higher number of major Alexandrian variants than lesser Alexandrian variants, as if its ancestor were a

Byzantine manuscript loosely corrected against an Alexandrian manuscript, but with only the major differences noted.

There is a curious analogy to this in some a sexually reproducing species. Most species of rotifers reproduce sexually, the equivalent in a text of mixture. But there is a group that reproduces asexually — no mixture, just direct copying. It seems pretty clear that they are descended from an ancestral species that reproduced sexually, since their chromosomes still come in what superficially appear to be pairs (five pairs, ten chromosomes total).

Now here is the interesting point. These bdelloid rotifers are now regarded as having divided into 360 species. All derive from one ancestor and her ten chromosomes. All have undergone some mutation and evolution. But, because the chromosomes no longer mix and match, the chromosomes of each pair are free to evolve away from one another. There is no longer a need for chromosome 4–left to be interchangeable with 4–right. And indeed, they no longer are. What were once five pairs of chromosomes are now, in effect, ten single chromosomes.

And it gets more interesting than that: Often the chromosomes display less difference between species than within species. That is, if you compare 4–left in species A, it is more like 4–left in species B than it is like 4–right in species A. Indeed, there may be *more variation in 4–left within species A than there is between A's 4–left and B's 4–left.* Here the analogy is perhaps to text-types; if we cannot know how much internal variation there is within a species, does that not imply that we cannot know how much internal variation is in a text-type?

(As an aside: The survival of bdelloid rotifers is rather an evolutionary scandal. Although there are a lot of asexual multicellular species, almost all are members of very small groups. Asexuality keeps coming up, but on the evidence, it also results in the species dying off, presumably because it can't adapt to new conditions very well. But there are 360 species of bdelloid rotifers, and they've been around for more than fifty million years. Clearly asexuality works for them. No one could figure out why — but, according to a recent report on National Public Radio's "Science Friday" program, we may at last have the answer. In certain circumstances, bdelloids can borrow genes from other species and attach them to the ends of their chromosomes. The evolutionary advantage of this is clear: They can bring in new genes, but also gain the advantages of not being *forced* to bring in new genes. The dangers of asexual reproduction are much like repeated copying a manuscript without ever correcting it or comparing it against other manuscripts: Repeated errors will occur, and each copy will be more remote from the original than the one before. Eventually you get a copy too corrupt to be usable. But if a copy is proofread and any nonsense reading corrected, the decay will be slowed

significantly. It isn't as good as complete and regular corrections, but it may actually result in some good conjectures....)

A sidelight on this is provided by the human X and Y chromosomes, the only unpaired chromosomes in the genome. These chromosomes have developed what are called "sexually antagonistic genes." The X and Y chromosomes, being distinct, no longer need to share genes, and in fact can develop genes which suppress each others' actions. This, in fact, is pretty much what it means to be male: A handful of genes on the Y chromosome have suppressed the process of becoming female. The fact of sexually antagonistic genes, in fact, is believed to be why the human Y chromosome is so small: In the population as a whole, it's outnumbered 3:1 by the X chromosome, meaning that X can evolve much more quickly. So where the two conflict, Y is going to lose. As a result, it abandons the battle; there are few genes still in use on Y. Small as it is, it's mostly junk DNA. Most of the genes that used to be on Y are believed to have moved to other chromosomes.

This antagonism can be extraordinarily real. This has been shown in fruit flies. The seminal fluid of the male has been shown to try to increase female ovulation and suppress the sexual urge — in other words, the male fly uses its semen to try to make sure the female doesn't mate with anyone else. The female genes, naturally, want to keep their choices open, so they evolve immunity to the chemicals in the semen.

At least, in nature they do. Matt Ridley, in *Genome*, pp. 113–114, describes an experiment undertaken by William Rice, in which a population of male flies were allowed to keep evolving more aggressive semen, while a population of females was made to keep its old semen resistance genes. After 29 generations, Rice reunited the breeds — and the male semen had grown so strong as to be irresistable, even fatal, to the unevolved females. (This, incidentally, should pretty well answer any questions about evolution not creating new species. Rice's flies are already on the brink of speciation; another few dozen generations of that and the old and new flies functionally couldn't interbreed at all — the males might try, but since the females would produce no eggs, the matings would be infertile.)

This sort of thing probably can't happen in the Bible text, because mixture does not involve the same sort of antagonism. (Also, the Bible doesn't breed as fast. There is some mathematical work on how fast a population can be traced back to a common ancestor; Dawkins summarizes it on pages 42–45 of *The Ancestor's Tale.* It involves many assumptions, and we have to add more to apply it to the text, but as a *general* model, it appears there are only about fifteen generations between the manuscripts surviving today and their primary archetype, and only seven to ten between that archetype and the autograph. This isn't enough generations to allow speciation except

in the most extraordinary circumstances.) But it bears some thinking about. When text-types mix, which readings will tend to be perpetuated? Answer: It appears, in general, the longer ones; scribes didn't want to risk leaving out any words that might be original. There are exceptions (424 being the obvious example). But they do appear to be the exceptions.

Note the implication: Because the Byzantine text is the longer, fuller text, i*ts readings will tend to prevail at any stage of mixture.* Does this mean that this is how the Byzantine text came to prevail? No. What it does mean is that, all else being equal, *the Byzantine text could be expected to prevail.*

So much for "normal transmission." It applies, at best, only where there is no mixture.

Some footnotes. There seems to be a common belief that evolution has some sort of appointed end (typically us). This is an extreme and dangerous misconception. Evolution always operates after the fact: First variations arise in the population, then natural selection acts on them. To give an analogy: Suppose you're on the way somewhere (say a shopping mall) and you come to a branch in the road. From there, there are two ways to get to the mall, depending on whether you take the left or right fork. Once you take the a particular fork, your route is pretty well determined. But until you make that decision, it's entirely up in the air.

Similarly, many evolutionary problems have multiple solutions. As an example, consider the disease rickets, caused by an inadequate supply of Vitamin D. This was not a problem for the dark-skinned early humans, who lived in Africa; they didn't need to cover their skin for warmth very often, and they got full sunlight all year long.

Take someone like that to Scandinavia and he or she might well die of vitamin D deficiency. (Or so I heard many years ago; I don't know if this analysis has held up in the days of DNA analysis. In any case, the analogy is correct.)

There are several possible solutions to this problem. The body could evolve to manufacture vitamin D some other way. Or it could discover some alternate source (this is what the Inuit did, for instance — they get their vitamins from the organ meat of seals, and remain relatively dark-skinned). Or — Scandinavians could develop light skin, allowing sunlight to create Vitamin D more easily. All three of these techniques are equally valid (at least for the vitamin D problem). But Europeans ended up with #3, while the Inuit use #2.

Evolution is always like that. It does not necessarily find the *best* solution to a problem; it finds *better* solutions than what went before. A species suffering too much predation may learn to run faster, or develop better camouflage — or it might just start breeding faster to keep the population up. Do this long enough, and you might get a very superior

creature of some sort — but it can take a very long time, and the outcome can be quite unexpected. Indeed, it can be a very *poor* adaption for any circumstances but its own; this is why it was so easy to drive so many species, such as dodos, extinct. An example of an adaption that works only in its peculiar context is the cave fish that have lost their eyes: In pitch darkness, eyes don't help and leave them with a vulnerable spot. Occasionally, of course, such fish get washed out of the cave and into daylight, where they find themselves at a huge disadvantage. That being the case, the best solution for the cave fish would not have been to lose their eyes but to develop some sort of very strong eyelid to protect it. But, *for the fish still in the cave,* this solution is no better than losing their sight, and probably harder to develop. So the fish go blind because it's a workable answer to a genuine problem. Such "quick fixes" are found in the human genome, too: we've already mentioned the sickle cell mutation. This seems to have been quick-fix human answer to malaria, which became more common when human clear-cut land, making more breeding sites available for malaria mosquitoes. A better solution would have been to develop real immunity to malaria, but sickle cell was better than nothing, and it was an easy mutation to create. Similarly, the cystic fibrosis gene is effectively fatal to people who have two copies — but people with one copy seem to be nearly immune to typhoid (see Kevin Davis, *Cracking the Genome,* p. 47). So that gene, which is as dreadful as the sickle cell gene, is common in Europe.

This is perhaps a useful warning for the textual critics who have tried to reduce scribes to automata. A scribe confronted with what appears to be an error may try to fix it — but you probably can't predict the fix. If it's a "good" fix (according to whatever definition of "good" other scribes use), it may well propagate. But you can't predict the fix before it's made.

Another interesting point about evolution is the modern concept of "punctuated equilibrium." Evolution is not continuous — when conditions are stable, evolution operates very slowly, with few changes over the years. Upset the stable conditions — due to climate change, or the arrival of a new species from outside, or just a wildly successful mutation — and the whole thing has to, in effect, scramble to find a new equilibrium. These are the conditions under which species more rapidly go extinct and new species are created.

Now think, for instance, of the various persecutions of Christianity. Emperors such as Diocletian destroyed every Bible they could get their hands on, and took out a certain number of scribes as well. This means that there is little opportunity to compare manuscripts, and many of them will be copied secretly and by amateur scribes. This will probably encourage "mutations" — new variants and text-types evolving. We don't have much direct evidence for this (the persecutions and later barbarian invasions took place

at a time when the manuscript record is very thin), but it seems reasonable that this might happen.

While we're looking at history, let's take one note from another evolutionary process: That of language. We mentioned above the Proto-Indo-European language that is the ancestor of (among others) English, German, Latin, and Greek. Since we have a stemma of sorts for this language's descendants, we can reconstruct most of the language (basically by taking the grammar of Sanskrit and reconstructing the vocabulary by stemmatic principles). This reveals interesting points. For example, the reconstructed language has a number of words pertaining to agriculture. This implies that it originated after agriculture had spread to their regions. (It has been hypothesized that the success of the Indo-Europeans was due to their possession of agriculture). Certain other words — e.g. relating to pastoralism and to metals — are not found, implying that it predates the introduction of those habits.

This sort of conclusion based on linguistic data is pretty fragile, especially as regards the argument from silence. (It's theoretically possible, e.g., that the Indo-Europeans herded, say, gerbils, but because none of the societies descended from them did gerbil-herding, all relevant words died out and were reinvented later.) But sometimes they can be important. There are occasional analogies to histories of texts. I can't think of a good one for the New Testament, but consider Isaiah 7:14. If a version translated from the Hebrew says that a *young woman* shall bear a son (which is, of course, the correct reading of Isaiah), it tells us very little. But if a version translated from the Hebrew says that at *virgin* shall bear said son — a misrendering which originated with the Septuagint — there is probably Christian influence in there somewhere. Or at least LXX influence.

One key aspect of evolution has little relevance to Biblical texts: The so-called "arms race." This is what comes about when two species are in particularly close competition — say an herbivore and a predator, where the predator is the primary killer of the herbivore and the herbivore is the predator's primary food. Call them, for the sake of simplicity, antelope and leopard. They can't escape each other (barring a habitat change or the intervention of another species). If antelope start running faster, then leopards will get faster in response. If antelope learn to hide more effectively (by disguising their appearance or scent), then leopards will develop better eyes or ears. If antelope start to breed faster, then more leopards will be able to survive to consume the larger population. No matter what one species does, the other will find an answer (or go extinct). As the years pass, they have to devote more and more energy to leg muscles, or to fancy fur patterns, or extra offspring, or whatever it takes to survive. If there were a way to call the whole thing off — for the antelope just to give in and say, "Here. Take ten percent of us each year (or whatever percent the leopards actually take) and stop evolving," it would make life easier for both species. But they can't; they're stuck.

Ultimately, this is very like the mathematical problem known as the "prisoner's dilemma" (see the article on Game Theory).

This, as noted, does not occur in textual criticism — though it does sometimes seem to occur in denominations, as preachers desperate to build congregarions threaten worse and worse hellfire. I do sometimes wonder about a sort of a race between plain-text manuscripts and lectionaries — since lectionaries were more useful in churches, there would be pressure on plain-text manuscripts to become more and more useful for church reading, so that lectionary incipits and such would be put into the margin — and even into the text (as happened, e.g., with 1799). I doubt this has affected manuscripts seriously — though it's had some pretty strange effects on English translations. (I have a New Revised Standard Version with a marginalia designed, I think, for a King James Version by a very conservative scholar. At times, it seems as if text and margin are at war; at others, the marginalia, by adding section headings and such, appear to me to at least distort the meaning of the text by dividing sections which should be united.)

Finally, another word about evolutionary *progress* versus evolutionary *direction* versus *randomness*. I've repeated several times above that evolution does not result in progress — that, e.g., a mole is not "better" than, say, a weasel, at least in the general sense of surviving; they're just *different*. There is a tendency to think that, if a process doesn't have a destination, it must be random. This is not at all true. Evolution doesn't have a destination, but it is rarely random. Dawkins, in *The Blind Watchmaker* (starting around page 65), points out the difference between *random selection* and *cumulative selection.* This is a very important point. Random selection, in which you simply throw a bunch of traits together, has no direction and would almost never produce improvement. Cumulative selection is altogether different.

Let's take a very simple test (Dawkins does something like this, but I'm going to produce a variation which I think makes it clearer). Let's produce 10–digit strings of numbers, consisting of the digits 1–3. Call each 10–digit sequence a "creature." So 1111111111 is a creature, and 1231231231 is a creature. It can be shown that there are 59049 different creatures of this type.

Now here is our goal: We want to create a creature that has all digits belonging to one set. We don't care *which* set; just all belonging to the same set.

Remember that there are 59049 creatures. There are only three of them which meet our criteria: 1111111111, 2222222222, and 3333333333. So if you just set up a random creature generator and have it spit out creatures, only one creature in 19683 (59049 divided by three) will be of this type.

To demonstrate this point, let's try 25 generations of random selections. My trusty spreadsheet gave me this list:

3232232231
2123121131
2222221132
3223112123
1323112223
2223112312
1321331222
3223113112
1223333321
1123233333
2222133331
3322323323
2123322232
1332311311
2111132322
1133123223
1311113132
3121213322
2211223121
2313313223
2131132323
3223222222
2313121322
1112312211
1223213312

Not one of them is acceptable — in fact, only eight of them have even the first two digits the same!

That's random selection. Chance never gets us anywhere. If by some coincidence you get something close to an acceptable form — well, it will all be jumbled in the next generation, so even being 90% right is no good. Under random selection, you have to have *everything right the first time.* Some people claim that this is so improbable that evolution can't work. And they may well be right — except that random selection isn't how evolution operates.

Keep the problem of random selection in mind as we consider cumulative selection. Here's how cumulative selection works: Once you find a partial solution, you refine it

and converge toward a better form of it. For example, take our first creature above: 3232232231. It has, by chance (or, perhaps, by defect of Apple Computer's built-in random number generator), only one case of 1, five of 2, and four of 3. So this creature "inclines toward" 2.

So our goal is to "evolve it" toward 2. Note that the choice of 2 is entirely arbitrary. If there had been more instances of 1 than of 2, we'd say our creature inclined toward 1, and evolve that way. But this one inclines toward 2. So what we do is, we hold every instance of 2 to be fixed, and let *only the other digits* evolve. How long does it take to get from 3232232231 to 2222222222?

Answer: In my first run, it took all of three generation:

3232232231
1222222223
1222222223
2222222222

Remember, in random selection, it would almost certainly have taken thousands of generations.

Of course, this is extreme. We started with a number that was very two-heavy. Let's try this a few more times. Remember that we will select for whatever is the most common number in our first try. Here are the results of six more tries:

1122311331	3233123222	1112332333	1331213223	3331213223	2311123132
1121211321	2223321222	1213331333	3333213123	3333213123	2211122121
1131111121	2221322222	2223333333	3333313313	3333313313	1111121111
1111111131	2221322222	2313333333	3333333313	3333333313	1111111111
1111111131	2221222222	1313333333	3333333313	3333333313	*3 generations*
1111111121	2222222222	2323333333	3333333313	3333333313	
1111111131	*5 generations*	2333333333	3333333313	3333333313	
1111111131		1333333333	3333333323	3333333323	
1111111111		3333333333	3333333333	3333333333	
8 generations		*8 generations*	*8 generations*	*8 generations*	

Artificial though this is, it shows the absolutely astonishing power of cumulative natural selection. We have achieved our result about a thousand times faster than randomly assembling traits. And if we were trying to achieve something like a living being, with an even lower random probability, the advantage of cumulative selection would be even greater. (There appears to be a logarithmic relationship here, though I haven't seen

math on this and am too lazy to work it out. Suffice it to say that cumulative selection produces a huge improvement in evolutionary speed.)

The example above may sound improbable — shouldn't there be a best way for a species to survive? This is an easy fallacy for humans to fall into, because we are by far the smartest, most tool-making, fastest-spreading species on the planet. So we have a tendency to think that we (or at least our key trait, which is intelligence) are the purpose of evolution. By no means. As we've noted several times, many survival problems have multiple solutions (e.g. better concealment, better eyesight to spot predators sooner, higher speed to outrun predators, or faster reproduction to have offspring before the predator can kill you). Sometimes the different "cures" can be just about very similar in style and nearly equal in effectiveness. Let's try one more example — consider an arbitrary species of flowers (call them rolys — sort of half way between a rose and a lily) and pollinators. It happens that bees cannot see the color red, so they will not pollinate red flowers. Hummingbirds, as a result, are specially attracted to red flowers, and pollinate them; if there are enough red flowers, they may ignore something with petals of another colour.

Now suppose a species pf rolys shows up where some of the flowers are red and some are blue. The red ones will be pollinated by hummingbirds, the blue by bees. A red flower, as a result, will never be pollinated by blue pollen, and and blue flower will never get red pollen. There are only two possible outcomes: Either cumulative selection will apply, and one or the other color will come to dominate (presumably red flowers if hummingbirds are more common, or blue if bees are the primary pollinator) — or the species will split into two, with red rolys and blue rolys not interbreeding and eventually becoming separate species.

This could perfectly easily happen to literary events, too. One that occurs to me is the reporting of miracles. Christianity regards miracles as validating its truth. As a result, we see non-miraculous events treated as miracles (see, e.g., the story of Eutychus in Acts 20:9–12. Paul didn't *do* anything; he didn't heal the boy, and for all we know, Eutychus died later or was permanently crippled. But it's given the feeling of a miracle. Or consider Elisha and the Shunammite's son. 2 Kings 4:34 describes what sounds like mouth-to-mouth resuscitation — but, again, it's treated as a miracle).

Islamic tradition is the reverse: Mohammed denied that he was a miracle-worker. I can't recall a single human-worked miracle in the Quran — not that I'm expert. But I consulted the translation of Abdullah Yusuf Ali, which is carefully indexed. It led me to Surah 29:50, which notes the lack of miracles; "The Signs are indeed with God [and not human beings]." The rather indignant footnote complains about unbelievers asking for signs (beyond the what are regarded as the self-evident signs of the existence of the

universe, life, and such): “Everything is possible for God, but God is not going to humor the follies of men or listen to their disingenuous demands. He has sent an Apostle to explain His Signs clearly, and to warn them of the consequences of rejection. Is it not enough?”

You don’t have to believe in Christianity or Islam to see how extremely divergent these positions are! Clearly, if a slightly strange event happens, Christian folklore will tend to turn it into a miracle; Islamic folklore will have no such tendency.

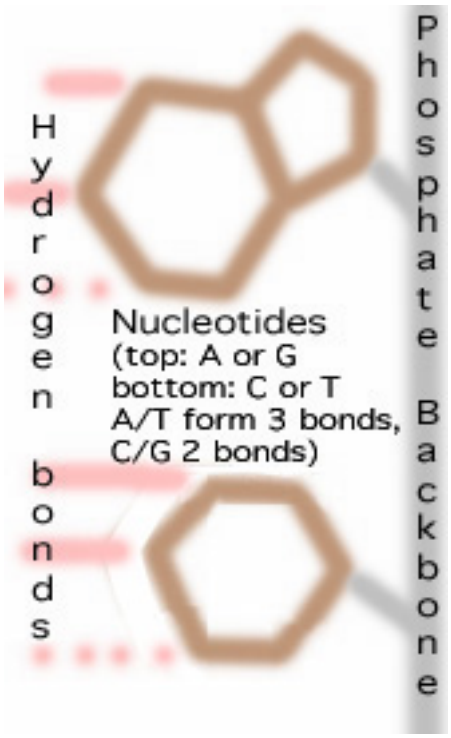
Now forget folklore, and miracles, and think *texts*. Start with the same original text, then hand it to an orthodox Christian, an Arian (who considered the Son to be inferior to the Father), and a Nestorian or other monophysite who believed that Jesus was God and not man, or man and not God, or a figment of the imagination, or something like that. Without deliberate alteration, each scribe will probably make errors that support his theology. The resulting text will clearly be Orthodox, or Arian, or Monophysite — and will encourage its copying by other scribes with that theological tendency, making the second generation even more partisan, and so on. It’s very much like the cumulative selection case. Once the process starts, it will tend to proceed in the same direction because it’s self-reinforcing.

Are there other lessons to be learned from evolutionary biology? Possibly. For example, we may need to rethink our canons of criticism. The canon “Prefer the middle reading” is so obscure that most manuals don’t even mention it. And yet, it is *fundamental* to evolutionary biology: Where there are three patterns of, say, mitochondrial DNA, and where A and B differ by one base pair, and B and C differ by one base pair, but A and C differ by two base pairs, the general assumption is that B is the ancestral sequence and A and C are offspring. That is, B is the middle reading. (See Bryan Sykes, *The Seven Daughters of Eve,* p. 139.) If we say that any stemma must allow only one change per “generation” of genealogy, then we have only three possible stemma. This rule says that the preferred genealogy is:

Appendix A: Genetics

Much of what has been said above is about evolution. I want to repeat something I mentioned above: Evolution today is not your parent’s evolution, nor Darwin’s. We are living in the era of genetic Darwinism — neo-Darwinism.

By that I mean that the modern understanding of DNA has completely changed the field. To see why, we probably need to say a few words about genes and genetics. I won't burden you with much history. Suffice it to say that, by the mid-twentieth century, it was clear that most of the chemical work in the cells was done by enzymes, and enzymes were made of proteins, and that the data needed to assemble those proteins was stored in DNA — deoxyribonucleic acid. Despite the name, DNA is not a single molecule, but rather an infinite class of molecules, built from five smaller molecular components which in turn combine into four basic pieces of DNA. The five molecules are of two types. Four — the "nucleotides" — are used to store information, while the fifth provides the framework in which the other four are stored. The four pieces can be thought of a T-shaped elements which assemble like a puzzle. The cross bar of the T is a phosphorus-based "backbone" (this, incidentally, explains why phosphorus spills at sea cause algae blooms: Phosphorus, since it is part of DNA, is absolutely essential to all life — and phosphorus is present in a much lower proportion in sea water than in living creatures. The limiting factor on an ecosystem, especially a water ecosystem, is almost always phosphorus. Add phosphorus and you get a population explosion lasting until something else becomes the limiting factor. Life is "accustomed" to phosphorus shortages; it is not "accustomed" to phosphorus abundance, and goes out of control if the supply is large enough.)

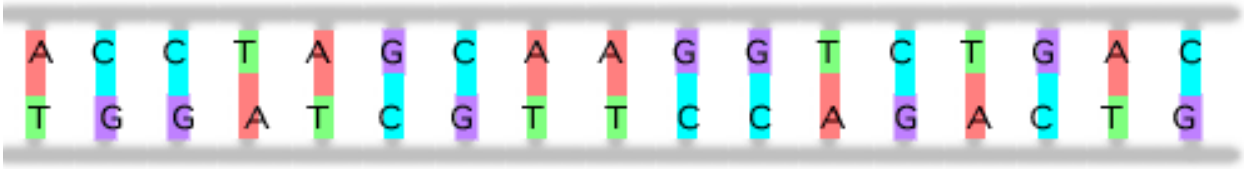


The stem of the T is where the real information is stored — in an elaborate hexagonal or hexagonal-plus-pentagonal structure . These structures consist of one of the four nucleotides. The four are usually referred to by initials, A, C, G, and T; they are properly called adenine, cytosine, guanine, and thymine. (In RNA, which is a parallel to DNA with a somewhat different backbone, U=uracil replaces thymine. Chemists refer to adenine and guanine as purines, cytosine and thymine as pyrmadines.)

The result really is like a children's toy. There is the rigid brace of the phospate backbone, the structure of the nucleotide coming off of it, and a couple of spots where hydrogen bonds can hook, like the joins of tinker toys or the raised bumps on Lego blocks.

Note how beautifully functional all this is: Two of the nucleotides, A and G, are wide, with a double ring; the other two, C and T, are smaller. This means that the two possible links, A+T and C+G, are the same width. The one major difference is that the A/T linkage, which has three hydrogen bonds, is slightly stronger (and in fact is slightly more common in DNA; it has been speculated that this is so the DNA itself is more firmly held together).

That clever linkage, in which the A+T and C+G assemblies are the same size, means that DNA can form the famous "double helix," If we untwist a strand of DNA into a sort of ladder, it might look something like this:



Normally, of course, this is twisted around itself — hence the "double helix" description (actually only a single helix, merely one with a twisted ladder-like form rather than a straight strand, but let's not worry about that).

Since there are four and only four possible nucleotides as we read along the DNA strand, it will be evident that this is a digital code, done in base four.

Well, theoretically base four. In fact, like Hebrew, "words" are grouped in blocks of three letters. That means there are 64 possible "words."

In a curious feature of the code, which has its advantages and disadvantages, all of these 64 words have meanings, even though there the number of messages is smaller than 64. That is, there are only so many messages a word has to convey. Possible meanings are one of the twenty amino acids used to make proteins, plus a few control commands (e.g. there needs to be something to say "stop" or "this is the end of the

protein.") So the sequence AAA might stand for the amino acid alanine, AAC for argenine, AAG for asparagine, etc., Once you have finished those 20+ commands, the other 40+ possible sequences could be left as blanks, with no meaning at all.

It doesn't work that way. Every one of the 64 possible words stands for *something*, meaning that there are about three ways to encode for each of the standard commands. (In fact some amino acids are represented by as many as six different codes, others by just one.)

One noteworthy element of the system is that *all* creatures tested use *the same* DNA code. This is, in one sense, astonishing — one DNA code is as good as any other in terms of information storage. So if all species were independently created, they would be expected to use different codes. But once a code is established, it's effectively impossible to change it; the result is chaos. So the fact that all known creatures use the same code *strongly* implies common origin.

The obvious disadvantage of the all-codes-have-meaning system is that it makes it hard to detect damage — if we had only 21 codes (say, arbitrarily, AAA through CCA, or perhaps some other scheme where the codes are spread throughout the alphabet), then if AAA mutated into GAA, we could be sure there was a mutation and set about trying to fix it. (Francis Crick, the co-discoverer of the double helix, in fact proposed an encoding scheme with a very strong error-correcting element in it: it made it impossible to misread DNA. Unfortunately, the language of DNA is not intelligently designed, and doesn't follow Crick's encoding pattern.) The side effect of this system with no error correcting is that a lot of genetic diseases can crop up by random mutation at a single nucleotide — as Queen Victoria of England apparently suffered a mutation which gave her one gene for hemophilia. She herself, having a good gene to cover for it, did not suffer hemophilia. But many of her descendants did — including, famously, the son of Nicolas II of Russia, with truly disastrous consequences.

The other side of the coin is, this system does make mutations easier. Most mutations are deleterious, as in Queen Victoria's case — but some are advantageous. Apparently bad mutations are not too high a price to pay, as long as there are occasional good mutations, too. (This actually makes some sense: Most individuals in most species don't live long enough to breed, so losing a few sick individuals to bad mutations costs little, while even a few advantageous mutations can have a high payoff. It is, by ordinary standards, very cruel — but it makes sense, evolutionarily.)

But this makes geneticists practice a discipline almost like textual critics. DNA is a series of words — words which are all the same length, and with a total vocabulary of only 64 words, but they are words. And they form sentences — complete genes, which

encode complete proteins. And the sentences, unlike the words, can be almost infinitely long and complex.

Consider the implications. Suppose we compare the genes for making, say, hair in five different species. I'm just making this up to demonstrate the point, but the principle holds. Suppose the hair gene looks like this in our five species:

```
WORD:   1     2     3     4     5     6     7     8     9     10
chimp: AAA * GAC * GAG * CAG * GAA * TAA * TAG * GAT * CCC * CAG ...
hippo: AAA * GAC * CGG * CAG * GGA * TTA * TAG * GGT * CCA * CAG ...
human: AAA * GTC * GAG * CAG * GAA * TAA * TAG * GAT * CCA * CAG ...
mouse: AAA * GAC * GGG * CAG * GAA * TTA * TAG * GAT * CCA * CTG ...
whale: AAA * GAC * CGG * CAG * GGA * TTA * TAG * GAT * CCA * CAG ...
```

Now here is the part that resembles textual criticism: We can and should actually prepare a collation of this data. In this very simple example, we can do this by listing which species have which coding for each word. That's this (we should note that I've create a very high rate of variation. It's quite likely that, for any given gene found in all five species, there will be less than one variant in every ten words, rather than the seven per ten words I've illustrated). I've listed the majority reading first in all cases, taking humans as the standard in the event of a tie.

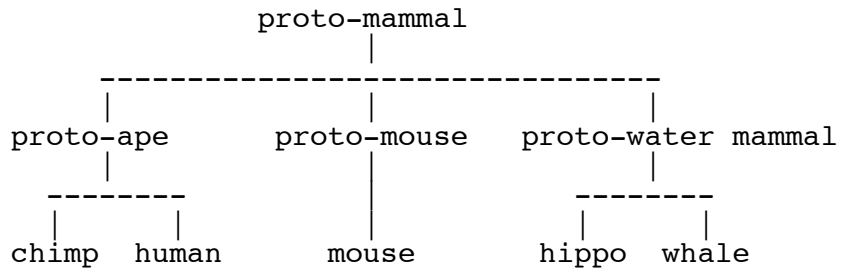
Word 1: AAA (all species)
Word 2: GAC (chimp, hippo, mouse, whale)] GTC (human)
Word 3: GAG (chimp, human)] GGG (mouse) l CGG (hippo, whale)
Word 4: CAG (all species)
Word 5: GAA (chimp, human, mouse)] GGA (hippo, whale)
Word 6: TTA (hippo, mouse, whale)] TAA (chimp, human)
Word 7: TAG (all species)
Word 8: GAT (chimp, human, mouse, whale)] GGT (hippo)
Word 9: CCA (hippo, human, mouse, whale)] CCC (chimp)
Word 10: CAG (chimp, hippo, human, whale)] CTG (mouse)

As noted, we have seven variants. Four of these (words 2, 8, 9, 10) consist of singular variants. That leaves three variants we can consider meaningful:

Word 3: GAG (chimp, human)] GGG (mouse) l CGG (hippo, whale)
Word 5: GAA (chimp, human, mouse)] GGA (hippo, whale)
Word 6: TAA (chimp, human)] TTA (hippo, mouse, whale)

Note that, in these variants, chimp and human agree every time except for the singular reading at word two (we might wildly guess that this is the gene that allows humans to grow long hair; nearly all other mammals, including chimps, have genes which give them a fixed hair length). Hippo and whale also agree in all three cases, with mouse

agreeing once with chimp/human, once with hippo/whale, and once being singular. Based on this evidence, the genealogy for these creatures is:



This is, of course, far too little evidence to go on, and the entire example is faked — but the principle is perfectly valid, and shows how closely parallel genetic analysis is to stemmatics.

There is another note here. It's one thing to have a gene, and another to use it. We mentioned above that genes are like a digital data store. They resemble computers in other ways, too: They resemble computer subroutines, and the whole thing is a vast computer program. Like a computer subroutine, the same gene can be used by other genes for various purposes (there are actually molecules to turn a gene on or off, and many genes respond to multiple different activating molecules. Indeed, they may produce different proteins based on different activators). The whole system is very much like passing parameters to a subroutine.

This also explains why some cells are different. Many programs are customizable — every word processor I've encountered in recent years has some sort of "work" menu on which you can stash commands you use a lot. Cells are like that, too: Very early on in the life of the organism, they get a chemical cue which activates a few master genes, and those master genes then tell them to become heart or liver or skin cells. And, in the very early stages of development, many of those cues come from chemicals passed on by the mother or the father — a phenomenon known as imprinting. This is a relatively recent discovery, and I can't go into it deeply (I don't know enough, and the field is moving so fast that whatever I could write would soon be out of date anyway). But this gives us one more analogy to scribal copying — a scribe might well be given instructions by his superiors to incorporate this, that, or the other set of marginalia, or to copy in uncials or minuscules, or any of a dozen other things. The basic text — the "genes" of the manuscript — may be unchanged even while looking very different and serving a very different function.

Footnote on Science and Creation

The statement at the top of this page about scientific theories of creation — that the Big Bang, evolution, etc. are compatible with the Bible — probably isn't going to convince anyone who isn't convinced, but on the off chance that there is a person out there who actually wants to give the matter a hearing, I'm going to offer further justification. Pointless, I know — but hey, voting is pretty pointless (since I'm outnumbered two hundred million to one), and I still vote anyway; I just never see anyone worthwhile elected. So I'll spend a little time tilting at this windmill.

I'm not even going to address Intelligent Design, since it is a farce posing as science — and nobody believes it anyway. This is addressed solely to the issue of whether there is a fundamental conflict between Genesis and scientific theories of creation (as they are understood early in the third millenium of the common era; there is of course every expectation that they will change. Scientific alternatives have long been offered to the Big Bang. Personally, I've never been very fond of the Big Bang — it's rather a lot of theorizing based on very little data. But it's currently the accepted model of universal formation, and it's certainly the one most like Genesis. In any case, eliminating the Big Bang doesn't eliminate the stumbling block of evolution; every scientific model of the universe assumes evolution as the source of biodiversity on earth.)

I would argue as follows. The current "inflation" model of the Big Bang very closely resembles Genesis — e.g. in the early moments of creation, everything was a big jumble. There is no better description than "without form and void." The whole thing was a plasma. Then the three linked forces, strong nuclear, electromagnetic, and weak nuclear, split, "and there was light."

Gradually the whole mess settled down, and then life started to appear. It wasn't all at once, but nowhere does Genesis say bacteria and frogs and lions were created at the same time, merely that they were created at the same stage of creation — after the creation of the universe, and before humanity. Humanity came last — and, indeed, we are one of the last evolutionary results of one of the most recent branches of the evolutionary tree.

There are other interesting places where evolutionary theory can explain some curious aspects of the Bible. For example, why is it that the lifespans of the Patriarchs in Genesis keep getting shorter? It must be remembered that evolution doesn't care what happens to a living thing after it breeds. Mayflies and Pacific Salmon breed and die — they don't even try to survive after laying their eggs. So there is no evolutionary reason *not* to experience senescence if you can breed well before that.

And mutations can cause senescence. The vast majority of mutations are detrimental — e.g. cystic fibrosis, which is caused by a single change in a single gene, kills people young, and in most circumstances is purely detrimental. These mutations die out (cystic fibrosis still exists because it's a recessive gene and because it can happen by new hot spot mutations).

But there are mutations which can have mixed effects — suppose, e.g., that human females once could have only three children. If a mutation came along that allowed them to have twenty children, but caused them to grow old faster, well, from the standpoint of evolution, that's a *good* gene. Chances are that aging is in some way a side effect of mutations like this, and their evolutionary consequences. (In fact, I just heard a very brief item about a gene that is known to do exactly that: The gene prevents cancer but accelerates aging. In a situation where few individuals live long enough to die of old age anyway, the cancer-preventing effects are doubtless worth the cost.)

I admit that it's a long, long stretch from this to the Patriarchs, but it's an interesting case of Genesis paralleling something that really does seem to have happened. It is particularly noteworthy that the steep decline in lifespan came in the generations after Noah — noteworthy because the Flood would have caused a sharp constriction in the gene pool (something that geneticists have long thought to be true because the human genome has so few variations, something which could imply that, at one point, the population shrank almost to vanishing. The disaster involved may not have been a flood, but there was *something*.) A small population, subject to genetic drift, could easily lose certain genes, including those which promote longevity if they affect fertility (which they seemed to do in the Biblical case; consider how old most of the patriarchs were when they had their first children).

Again, if you think about it, the first humans were hunter-gatherers. Farming and pastoralism came later — exactly as happened in the Bible. In the world of science, the New Stone Age began ten thousand years ago, in the world of the Bible, six thousand years ago. A trivial difference, in geologic terms; the Bible by this token appears to have preserved a folk memory that was largely forgotten elsewhere.

Add it all up, and it seems to me that the fact that Genesis so closely parallels the conclusions of scientists is evidence for the truth of Genesis — it's being independently verified, even if there are a few footnotes being added.

The real stumbling block, it seems to me, is the word "day." The Big Bang (or the Steady State, or any other scientific model of the universe) didn't all happen in 144 hours — the first part took moments, and the rest took billions of years.

But what is a day? On earth, now, it is 24 hours. It was somewhat less in the past — the day was a few seconds shorter even in Biblical times; tidal effects are slowing earth's rotation. Nor is it a constant slowing; sometimes, for peculiar reasons, the earth's rotation suddenly changes ever so slightly.

Now consider this: On Jupiter, a day is about twelve hours.

On Venus, a day is 243 earth days — longer than Venus's period of rotation around the sun (that is, a Venus day is longer than a Venus year).

An object in the Kuiper Belt beyond Neptune, if it is phase locked with the sun (as is likely true in many cases), will have a day in excess of 100 earth years. An object in the Oort Cloud, if it is phase locked, will have a day of thousands of years.

Theoretically, there could be a rock orbiting the sun with a year, and hence a phase-locked day, of two billion years (which would make seven days the total age of the universe so far). Kepler's third law tells us that this planet would be at a distance of a bit under 1,600,000 A.U. (where one A.U. or Astronomical Unit is the distance from the Sun to the Earth). That works out to a distance of about 150,000,000,000,000 miles, or 240,000,000,000,000 kilometers. That's a distance of 25 light-years, which means that that planet does not in fact exist in our solar system — but, conceivably, there might be such a planet around an isolated star somewhere between galaxies. A planet with a period of half a billion years would be only 625,000 A. U. away; a planet with a period of a hundred million years would be 200,000 A. U. away. It is thus genuinely possible that there is a planet with a day of about 25 million years orbiting the sun.

The sun orbits the center of the Milky Way in a period estimated at 220 million years. The sun has a separate day, but a planet at this distance might be phase locked to the center of the galaxy and so have a 220 million year long day. The outermost stars of the galaxy appear to have an orbital period of over half a billion years. The data I have on this is sketchy, but it is clear that a planet orbiting the Milky Way at a sufficient distance, if it is phase locked, could have a day of two billion years.

On the other hand, an extrasolar planet was discovered in 2005 that has a *year* that is less than two earth days long. If there are any planets in that solar system even closer to the sun, they might have a year that is less than a day long!

Even on Earth, a day is six months long at the north and south poles. Away from the poles, different places have daylight at different times. If, as some have argued, it was sunset (or high noon, or sunrise) at Jerusalem when the first light came, then the first day over the Pacific Ocean was not evening and morning but morning and evening.

And then there is relativity. Time dilation. For a person or object moving at a speed near the velocity of light, a subjective 24–hour period could be a hundred years, or a thousand, or even two billion.

If you went to a planet around Alpha Centauri or Epsilon Eridani, and it had intelligent inhabitants, and you were translating the Bible, how would you translate Genesis? “And there was evening, and there was morning, the first 86400 seconds, where one second is defined as 9192631770 periods of the light emitted by cesium–133 as it shifts electrons between the two lowest states”? Go ahead, try it in English and see how many converts you get.

So what is a day? Answer: Unless otherwise specified, it’s almost any period of time. *Classical Hebrew doesn’t have words for “geological epoch,” or “plasma,” or “strong nuclear force.”* (It does have a word for dust, and — interestingly in light of Genesis 3:19 — we are made of the interstellar dust which gave rise to stars and planets.) If you’re going to tell the story of the Big Bang in classical Hebrew, what can you do except use a word like “day” for “epoch” and “water” (i.e. liquid, fluid) for “plasma”?

And are we really so arrogant as to think that God runs the entire universe based on our local earthly timescale? A God great enough to create on this scale is surely not parochial; why create a revelation that works only on one planet?

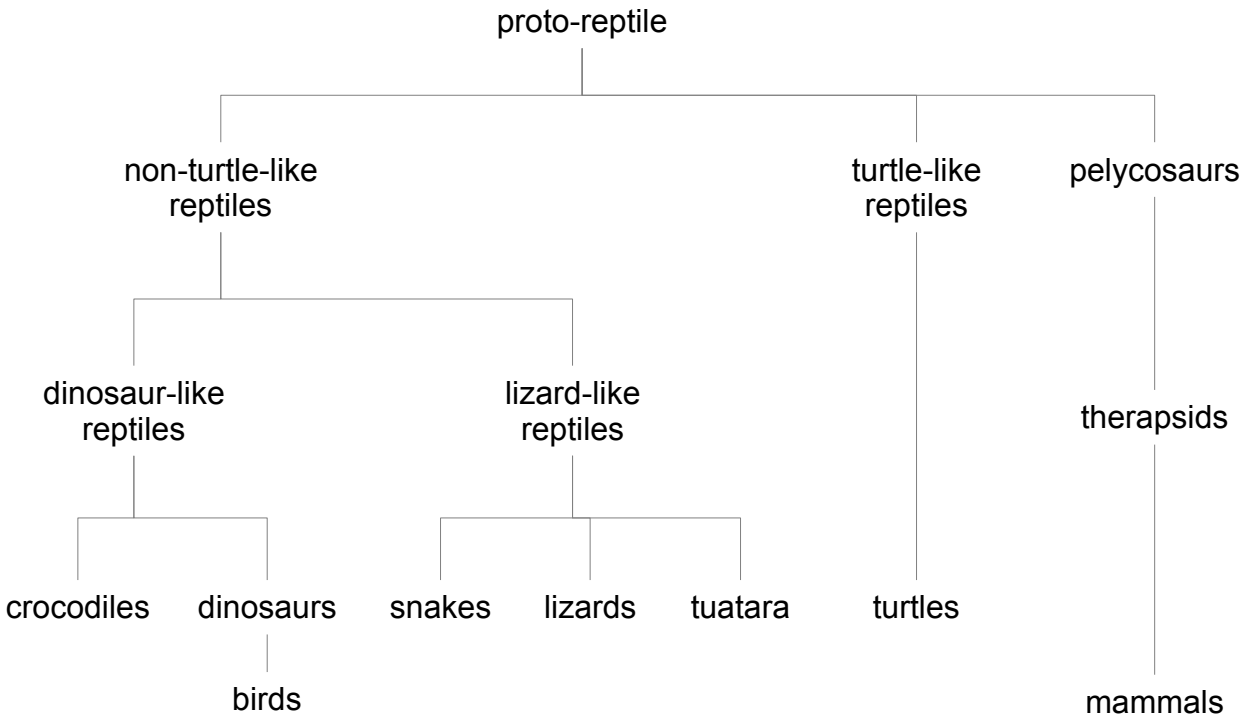
The fact that early Biblical commentators interpreted “day” to mean “24 hours” is surely not binding on God! After all, a thousand years are to God as one day…

Grades and Clades

Much of the confusion in textual criticism in recent years comes from a failure to distinguish *genetic* similarity from mere coincidence of reading. Similar readings often imply kinship, to be sure — but in a particular case, it may be the result of accidental levelling. Instances where this can happen especially easily include haplograpic errors, assimilation of parallels, and expansion of Christological titles.

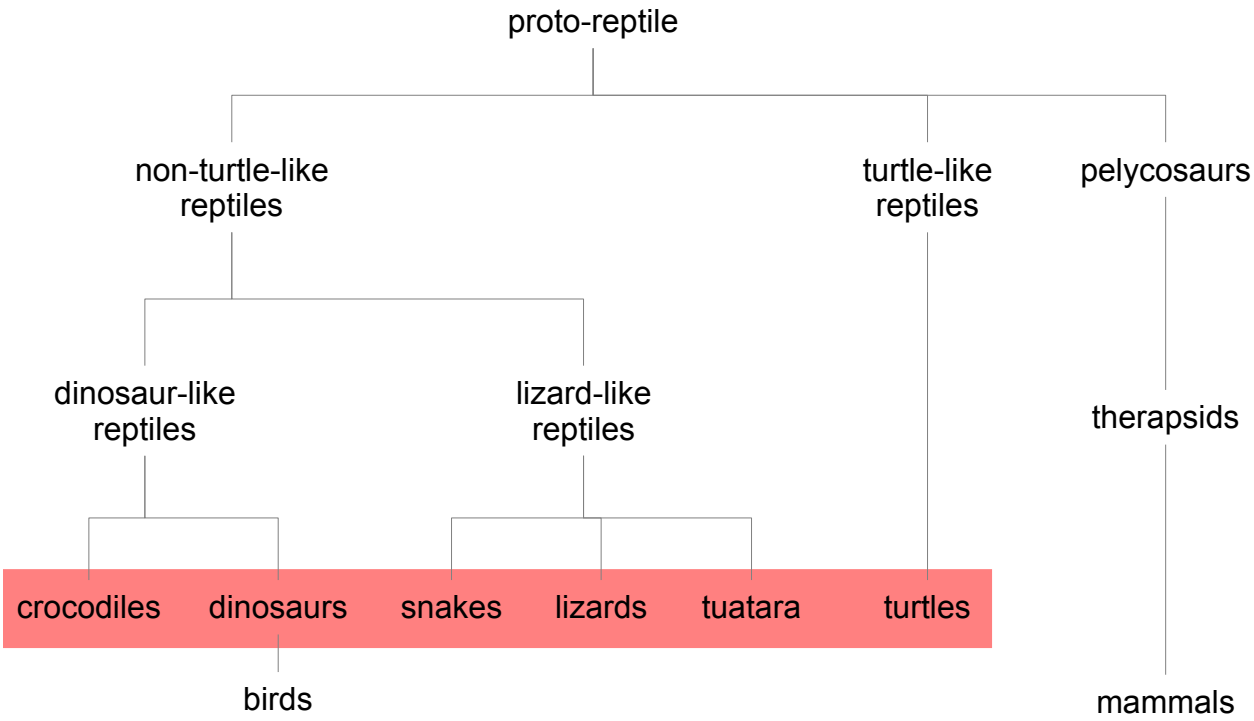
The biological sciences have been aware of this problem for decades, and have evolved terminology to deal with it. The term for a set of things (species, manuscripts) with a similar set of characteristics is a *grade*; the term for a set of things which evolved from each other is a *clade*.

To illustrate how this works in biology, consider this family tree of the reptiles and their descendants (as best I understand it, with some attempt to translate this into clearer jargon than the books I’ve read):



In viewing this, the key point is to realize that *all* living reptiles are descended from that first proto-reptile, and no amphibians, fish, non-vertebrates, plants, or unicellular organisms are descended from it. That proto-reptile is the ancestor only of living reptiles, mammals, and birds.

Note that, when we speak of reptiles today, we mean only a subset of the creatures shown above:



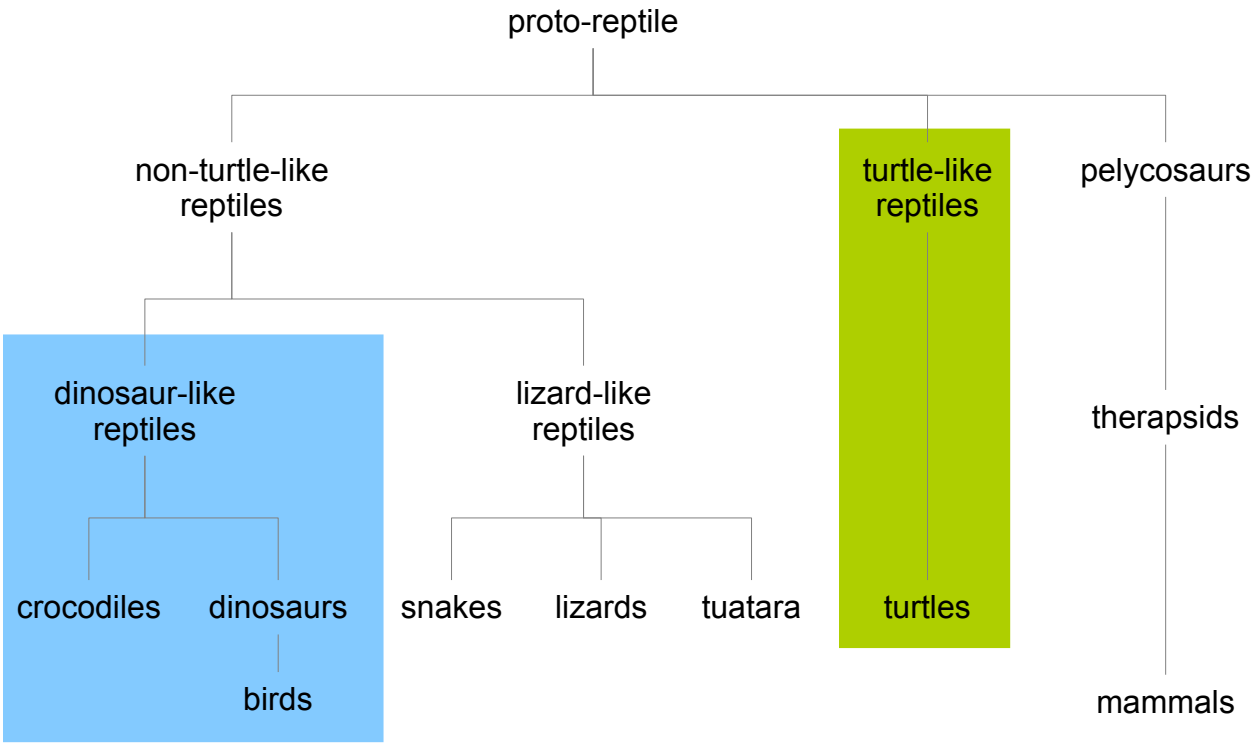
This is based on a definition of reptiles as cold-blooded creatures which breathe air during their entire lives, do not secrete milk, do not have hair or feathers, and lay shelled eggs. Note that this is a definition based solely on characteristics.

Note also something rather absurd: If this genealogy is correct, modern birds are more closely related to crocodiles, and indeed to snakes and lizards and tuataras, than they are to turtles and tortoises. And yet, turtles are “reptiles” and birds are not; they’re listed as birds.

The word “reptile,” then, is grade terminology. It is based on characteristics only, with no genetic or genealogical component. The word “amphibian” is also a grade; descendents of the first amphibians include not only frogs and salamanders and such (which we call amphibians) but also reptiles and mammals and birds (which we do not call amphibians).

A “clade” is entirely different: It consists of all creatures descended from a common ancestor, no matter how similar or dissimilar they are. (The other technical term for this is *monophyletic*, but since it seems to refer to phyla — sort of the biological equivalent of text-types — it’s probably clearer to avoid the term.)

If we wish to look at clades in the reptile diagram, the version below shows several (not all, of course)



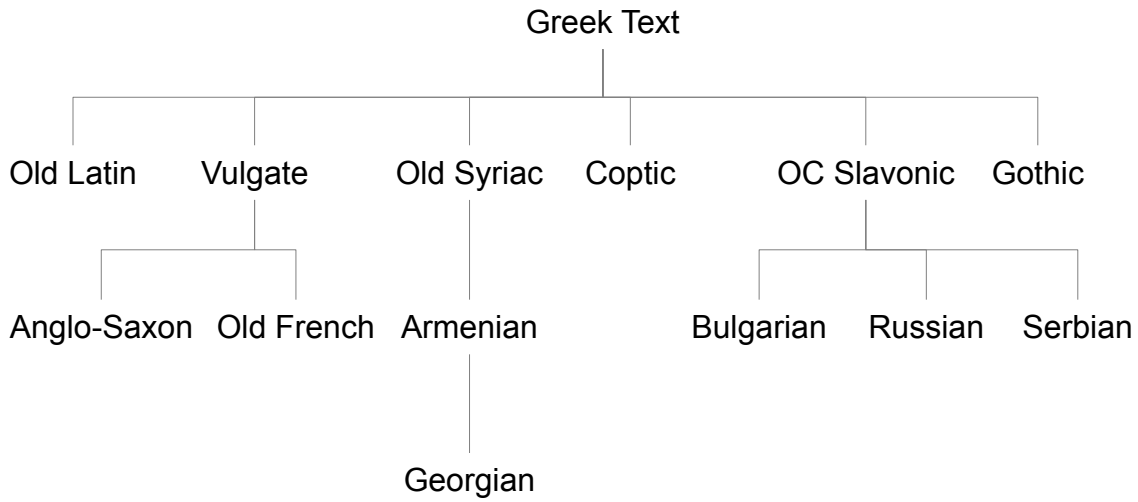
Note that the leftmost clade shown, from dinosaur-like reptiles to birds, involves creatures we call reptiles and creatures we call birds, and it involves both living and extinct species — but all are descended from the ancestor of the group. By contrast, though snakes and lizards (say) are both reptiles, they are not descended from the ancestor of croodiles and dinosaurs and birds, so they are not part of this clade.

There actually are clade names for a lot of the groupings above. All creatures descended from that first proto-reptile are “amniotes” — so named because the eggs of reptiles contain an amniotic membrane to allow them to retain moisture when laid outside water. The group of all amniotes which are not mammals (that is, the turtles, birds, and what we now call “reptiles”) are “sauropsids.” The lizard-like reptiles are “lepidosaurs.” The non-turtle-like reptiles, plus birds, are “diapsids.” The group I’ve called “dinosaur-like reptiles” (crocodiles, dinosaurs, birds) are the “archosaurs.” And the dinosaurs and birds, without crocodiles, are “ornithodires.” But when have you ever heard any of those names used?

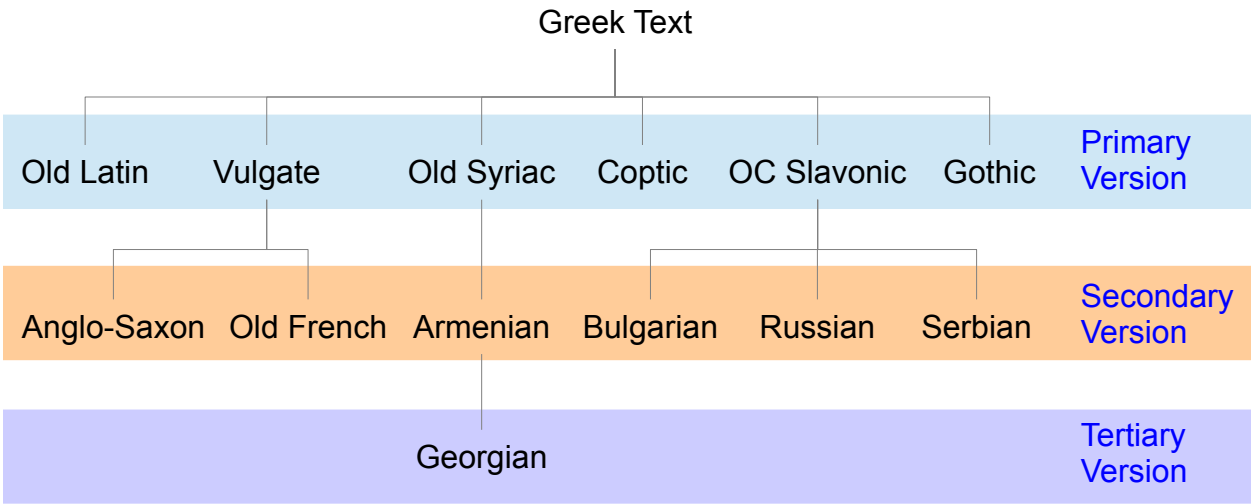
One might think of clades as “vertical” relationships, from an ancestor to descendants. Grades are “horizontal” — all the children in a school class, perhaps. They’re all the same age, but they aren’t from the same family.

There are several ways in which this distinction can be applied to manuscripts and the history of the text. Manuscripts of, say, the ninth century are a grade but not a clade; there is very little genetic relationship between, say, 33 and 461, but they are the "ninth century" grade. On the other hand, D^{p}, D^{abs1}, and D^{abs2}, while not of the same century, are clearly related; since the latter two are copied from the first, they are unquestionably a clade.

Now consider a genealogy of the Versions of the New Testament. (Please note that this is much simplified and very theoretical; not everyone agrees with this. Indeed, I don't agree with it myself. But we have to do something for demonstration purposes.)



Now let's divide this into grades:



(In this context, I am using the terms primary version, secondary version, tertiary version not in terms of the *importance* of the version but in terms of their relationship with the Greek text: A primary version is taken directly from the Greek, a secondary is taken from a primary version rather than the Greek, and a tertiary is taken from a secondary version rather than from the Greek or a primary version.)

There can be, in some cases, some real use to this grade classification — for instance, if you are dealing with grammatical questions about the original text, a primary version is much more likely to carry useful information than a secondary or tertiary, simply because such distinctions will become progressively more blurred with each language the text is translated through. So the distinction between primary and secondary versions is quite important for, say, the Hebrew Bible, where the versions are almost the only sources independent of the MT. But we don't need such help very much in connection with the Greek New Testament, where we have so many independent witnesses.

Which means that grades of versions aren't much use in NT textual criticism. The Old Church Slavonic may be a primary version in terms of its origin — but it is translated from the Byzantine text. Even if you are a believer in Byzantine priority, it's pretty useless, because there are older and better Byzantine sources in Greek. On the other hand, the Armenian may be a secondary version (this is of course much disputed), but it is a secondary version from an interesting and early source. Thus the Armenian version, though of an inferior grade, is of a superior clade.

If that is all that knowledge of grades and clades told us, it would be just a bit of minor terminology that we could all ignore. The true importance, however, lies in what we can learn from the biologists. The essential point is that *clades are much more useful than grades.* Especially if you want to know something about earlier ancestors. In an evolutionary context (which the progressive change of manuscripts clearly is), grades are meaningful only if all change is in the same direction. The chart above, for reptiles, shows this. The grade "reptile" is meaningful if you think evolution had a goal, to get from amphibians to reptiles to mammals. But it is demonstrable that this was *not* the goal; this is shown by the fact that many thousands of unevolved reptile species still exist, and the reptiles also evolved into birds. Reptiles were not some sort of way station from amphibians to something "higher"; they are simply a type of thing. To treat them as if they are something to progress past is equivalent to saying that, because you drive through Baltimore on your way from Washington, D.C. to Philadelphia, that Baltimore isn't a city and no one goes there!

And this matters because of — Text-Types. (You probably knew all along that I'd get to this eventually.) Or, rather, attempts to define text-types.

In recent years, I have been, frankly, disgusted by attempts to discuss text-types based on things like the Aland Categories and the Colwell-Tune Definition. Reading about grades and clades finally made me realize what the problem is: All these definitions are grade definitions! Colwell has a 70% agreement rule. The Aland categories are basically categories of Byzantine-ness: Category I has almost no Byzantine influence, Category II is perhaps 50% conformed to the Byzantine text, Category III up to 75% Byzantine, uncategorized manuscripts are less than 90% Byzantine, and Category V are more than 90% Byzantine.

The results thus produced are as useful as anything based on grades can be. And it is much easier to determine membership in a grade than membership in a clade. But they are just grades; they *are not clades.* This means that the results of these these classification schemes cannot be used genealogically. Of course, many these days do not use genealogical methods. But it is important to realize that these classifications simply aren't capable of being so used.

For more information on how biologists seek to find clades, see the article on Cladistics.

Greek Numerals and Mathematics

Greek numbers are based on their alphabet, with some additional symbols; their mathematics is the most rigorous in the ancient world. There are instances where we may need to apply textual criticism to the numbers in the New Testament text; see the section on Ancient Mathematics.

Gutenberg Bible

The earliest significant printed work, a copy (Old and New Testaments) of the Latin Vulgate. It was published probably around 1455. See Books and Bookmaking.

H

Haplography

In broadest terms, haplography is the loss of letters in a text. It occurs when a scribe skips ahead one or more letters in a manuscript, omitting the intervening letters. Haplography is thus the inverse of dittography. Haplography may arise from many causes (homoioteleuton and homoioarcton being the most common), and while it can usually be detected by a casual reader, in some cases it may produce a variant which could also be the result of dittography (see the examples in that entry). The phenomenon will sometimes be called “lipography” in manuals of classical textual criticism, though I have never seen that word used in any New Testament manual of criticism.

Hebrew Numerals and Mathematics

Hebrew numbers are based on their alphabet; their mathematics was very primitive. There are instances where we may need to apply textual criticism to the numbers in the New Testament text; see the section on Ancient Mathematics.

The Textual History of the Books of the New Testament

Introduction

The history of the New Testament text cannot be written based on our present knowledge. We do not know, and likely will never know, how the original text was transmuted into the forms found in our present manuscripts.

And yet, knowing textual history is important for criticism. The more we know about it, the better we are able to reconstruct the original text. And there are certain things which all critics will agree on — e.g. the existence of the Alexandrian and Byzantine text-types, and the broad nature of (though not the reason for or significance of) their differences.

This article attempts to briefly outline what little we know about the history of the various New Testament books. Much of what is said here parallels the material in the article on Text-Types, but the emphasis is different. The discussion is concerned primarily with major changes and deliberate (recensional) activity.

The sections which follow are organized by corpus, and then by book within the corpus. In general this document does not attempt to give a definitive history, but merely to outline the questions while allowing the student to form conclusions.

The Gospels

Most of the evolution of the gospels took place after they were gathered into a single corpus. Of the four widely-acknowledged text-types, three (the Alexandrian, Byzantine, and "Western") are universally agreed to be found in all four gospels. This is less certain in the case of the "Cæsarean" text, which has been studied primarily in Mark — but if it exists at all, it almost certainly exists for all four gospels.

Both the Alexandrian and "Western" text-types appear to date back to at least the second century. In the case of the Alexandrian text, this is based on the age of the early papyri, most of which, including P^{66} and P^{75}, have Alexandrian texts. The age of the "Western" text is based on the witness of early writers such as Irenæus.

The date of the "Cæsarean" text is uncertain. It is often described as a combination of the Alexandrian and "Western" texts, but this is not true. (If it were, it would imply that the "Cæsarean" text is the result of recensional activity. But the type is not unified enough for this.) Rather, it has a combination of readings characteristic of those text-types (this is inevitable, since most variants are binary), with some variants of its own (e.g. "Jesus Barabbas" in Matt. 27:16–17; also a very high number of harmonizing variants, at least in Mark). If those who champion the text-type are correct, it was in existence by the third century, when Origen used it.

The earliest Greek witness to the Byzantine text is the uncial A, of the fifth century. The Peshitta Syriac is also largely (though not overwhelmingly) Byzantine; its date is uncertain though it is usually ascribed to the fourth century (and can hardly be later than this).

Hort thought that the Byzantine text was recensional (i.e. that someone, perhaps Lucian of Antioch, assembled it). Certainly it is more unified than any of the other text-types. But it is now generally believed that even the Byzantine text evolved naturally. There is thus no evidence of recensional activity in the gospels as a whole.

Matthew

Of the gospels, Matthew shows the fewest signs of recensional activity. There are no changes in writing style and few truly major variants. Unlike in Luke, the text of Codex Bezae appears to have evolved naturally. It is perhaps not surprising that Matthew is relatively free from modifications; it is usually the first and most-quoted gospel. It influenced the others rather than being influenced by them. It would seem likely that we have it very nearly as it was written *(c.* 80 C.E.?).

Mark

If Matthew has suffered the least textual activity, Mark has probably suffered the most. Generally held in low esteem and rarely quoted, it is always vulnerable to assimilation to Matthew or Luke.

The other side of this is that scribes have been less concerned with the text of Mark. Since no one used it, why bother correcting it to the prevailing text? This means that there are a number of manuscripts — among them Δ Ψ 28 565 — which are much more interesting in Mark than elsewhere.

But though minor changes in Mark are common, they seem to have happened almost at random. Few serious attempts seem to have been made to edit the book (probably because it was so little used). There is only one place in Mark where recensional activity has clearly taken place. This is in the ending of the book (the material following 16:8). In some texts, the book ends here; in others, we find either of two possible endings, often combined.

The earliest Alexandrian text, as represented by א and B plus one manuscript of the Sahidic Coptic, clearly had no ending. It is possible that the prototype of the "Cæsarean" text ended here, as many of the oldest Armenian manuscripts and the two best Georgian manuscripts omit, while Family 1 and others have critical signs around the passage.

From the only surviving African Latin witness, k, comes the so-called "short ending," three dozen words obviously written to round off a defective manuscript.

Originating perhaps with the "Western" text (D ff^2, etc.; b is defective here) is the well-known "long ending," found in most editions and supported by the entire Byzantine text. (It is, however, by no means certain that all European Latin manuscripts support this reading; the most important of these manuscripts, a, is defective here; the pages have been removed and replaced by a vulgate text. Space considerations seem to indicate that there was not room for the longer ending; its lack may explain why the pages were removed.)

Finally, in many late Alexandrian witnesses (L Ψ 083 099 579 and many Coptic and Ethiopic manuscripts) we find the longer and shorter endings combined, often with critical notations.

It should be noted that the style of the common ending, "16:9–20," does not match that of the rest of Mark. It also seems to be derived from materials in the other gospels and even the Acts.

The conclusion seems clear: Whether by accident or design, the published gospel of Mark ended at 16:8. (It is barely possible that Matthew had access to the real ending; it is even less likely that Luke had this ending). This lack was severe enough that at least two attempts were made to mend the gospel. The more minimal of these is the short ending of k, which cannot be original. The longer ending is better supported, but textual and stylistic considerations also argue against it.

Luke

If the gospel of Matthew shows no evidence of recensional activity, and that of Mark shows it only at the end, there is clear evidence of editorial work in Luke. (In fact, we know that Marcion used this gospel, and only this, and edited it in his own way, which proves that it was once tampered with. However, that edition has perished completely; our comments are based solely on the differences observed between surviving documents.) The differences between the Alexandrian and "Western" texts are so pronounced that they can hardly have arisen entirely by accident. Many examples can be offered, but the two best are offered by Luke's genealogy of Jesus and by the so-called "Western Non-Interpolations." The list below summarizes these variants, with the UBS/Alexandrian/Majority reading first (with a summary of supporters), followed by the "Western" reading (with a complete list of supporters):

- Luke 3:23–31: The genealogy of Jesus, with Jesus son of Joseph son of Heli.... son of Nathan son of David *is read by* P^{4-vid} א A B C L f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 700 892 1241 𝔐 it vg sy cop arm geo goth eth; D^{Gk} *(alone) follows Matthew 1:6–16 (in inverse order) by reading* Jesus son of Joseph son of Jacob.... son of Solomon son of David (the remainder of the genealogy, from David to Adam, is the same in both texts) (W 579 omit the genealogy)

- Luke 22:17–20: Verses in the order 17, 18, 19, 20 *is read by* P^{75} א A B C L T^{vid} W Θ f^{1} f^{13} (33 defective) 565 579 700 892 1241 𝔐 aur c f q r^{1} vg hark pal so bo arm geo eth slav; D a d ff^{2} i l *read* 17, 18, 19a; b e *read* 19a, 17, 18; cur *reads* 19, 17, 18; ℓ ^{32} pesh bo^{ms} *read* 19, 20; sin *reads* 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18

- Luke 24:3: του κυριου Ιησου *is read by* P^{75} א A B C L W Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 700 892 𝔐 aur c f q vg hark pal sa bo arm geo slav (579 1071 1241 cur sin pesh bo^{ms} omit κυριου); D a b d e ff^{2} l r^{1} Eusebius$^{1/2}$ *omit*

- Luke 24:6: ουκ εστιν ωδε, αλλα ηγερθη *is read by* P^{75} א A B C(*) L (W) Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 579 700 892 1241 𝔐 aur (c "he is risen from the dead") f q vg cur sin (pesh) hark pal sa $bo^{(ms)}$ arm^{mss} geo^{1},A; D a b d e ff^{2} l r^{1} arm^{mss} geo^{B} *omit*

- Luke 24:12: *The verse is found in* P^{75} א A B L W Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 579 700 892 1241 𝔐 aur c f ff^{2} vg syr cop arm geo eth slav; D a b d e l r^{1} *omit*
- Luke 24:36 — και λεγει αυτοις ειρηνη υμιν *is read by* P^{75} א A B L Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 700 892 𝔐 sin cur sa bo^{mss} (G P W 579 1241 aur c f vg pesh hark pal bo^{mss} arm geo eth add, with variations, εγω ειμι, μη φοβεισθε); D a b d e ff^{2} l r^{1} *omit*
- Luke 24:40: *The verse is found in* P^{75} א A B L W Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 579 700 892 1241 𝔐 aur c f q vg pesh hark pal sa bo arm eth gro slav; D a b d e ff^{2} l r^{1} sin cur *omit*
- Luke 24:51: και ανεφερετο εισ τον ουρανον *is found in* P^{75} אc A B C L W Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 579 700 892 1241 𝔐 aur c f q r^{1} vg pesh hark pal sa bo arm geo^{2} eth slav; א* D a b d e ff^{2} l sin geo^{1} *omit*
- Luke 24:52: προσκυνησαντες αυτον *is read by* P^{75} א A B C L W Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 579 (700 c am cav ful theo tol val omit αυτον) 892 1241 𝔐 aur f q big ept ox rush pesh hark pal sa bo arm geo^{1} eth slav; D a b d e ff^{2} l sin geo^{2} *omit*

The overall effect of this is to make it effectively certain that either D or the Alexandrian/Byzantine text has been edited. And the fact that D uses Matthew's genealogy strongly argues that D is the edited document. Does this mean that the entire "Western" text is an editorial production? This is not clear. It will be seen that none of the other Latin witnesses support D's genealogy of Jesus, and even the "Western Non-Interpolations" have only partial support from the Latin, Syriac, and Georgian witnesses. Kurt Aland has argued that the "Western" text, as a type, does not exist. The evidence for his view (in the Gospels) is significant — but not overwhelming; the final decision must be left to the student. (We should note, however, that there is clearly a Greek/Latin type in Paul.)

John

Literary problems swirl around the Gospel of John: Who wrote it? When was it written? In what location? What is its relationship with the Synoptic Gospels?

Textual criticism can shed little light on these questions. (Though the manuscripts demolish Baur's proposal for a late date. Two important papyri of John — P^{52} and P^{66} — date from the second century, and more follow soon thereafter. Thus the book cannot be much more recent than 100 C.E. With this in mind, we can turn to the state of the book itself.)

The textual problems in John revolve around two sections: The story of the Adulteress ("John 7:53–8:11") and the entirety of Chapter 21.

Internal evidence would make it appear that Chapter 21 is an addition. The ending of Chapter 20 reads like the end of the book — and then we find Chapter 21, a seeming afterthought, with perhaps the purpose of explaining the death of the "Beloved Disciple."

But there is not the slightest textual evidence for this. Every known manuscript contains chapter 21. (Philip Wesley Comfort has argued that neither P^{5} nor P^{75}, which are single-quire codices, contained enough leaves to hold John 21. This is possible, but by no means convincing. Both codices break off well before John 21; it is possible that the scribes would have condensed their writing to save space. And if that proved insufficient, they could have added additional leaves at the end. All Comfort's calculations prove is that we cannot be certain these documents contained Chapter 21.) Chapter 21 may well be an addition to the book, but if so, it was almost certainly added before the gospel entered widespread circulation.

The case of the Adulteress is rather different, as here there is variation in the manuscripts. But this case is not parallel to, say, Mark 16:9–20, where the text-types disagree. Here almost all the evidence is hostile to the passage.

Taking the internal evidence first, we observe that the language is clearly non-Johannine. This likely will be evident to any who read the passage in Greek, but we can put it on an objective basis. In this passage of twelve verses, there are no fewer than four words *hapax legomena,* and four other words (one of which is used twice in the passage) which occur only two to four times in the NT. By comparison, in the 52 legitimate verses of John 7 there are five *hapax*, and five other rare words. In the following 48 verses of John 8, there are no *hapax* and only three rare words. In fact, John as a whole (867 verses) contains only 58 *hapax*, or one every fifteen verses. Thus rare words are five times as common in 7:53–8:11 as in the rest of the gospel. It is not impossible that an author who used such a simple vocabulary could manage to insert so many rare words into such a short passage — but it's not very likely, either.

In addition, the story shows every sign of being unassimilated folklore (for discussion, see the article on Oral Transmission). It is true that many other parts of the gospel rest on oral tradition — but in all cases it has been assimilated: smoothed out and placed in an outside context. The Adulteress has not been placed in context, which is exactly what we would expect of folklore.

The external evidence argues strongly against its inclusion. Even if it is accepted as scriptural, it appears in no fewer than five different places in the manuscripts:

- Omit story — P^{66} P^{75} א A^{vid} B C^{vid} L N T W X Y Δ Θ Ψ 0141 0211 22 33 157 209 565 1230 1241 1241 1253 1333* 1424* 2193 2768 a f l q sin cur $pesh^{mss}$ $hark^{mss}$ sa bo^{mss} pbo ach^{2} arm^{mss} geo goth slav

- Include after John 7:52, in whole or in part, often with footnotes, obeli, or other indications of uncertainty, and with many variations — D (E) F^{vid} G H K M (S) U (Γ Λ Π) 28 205 579 700 892 1010 1071 1079 1243 1342 (1424^{margin}) 1505 1546 aur c d e ff^2 j r^1 vg pal bo^{mss} $slav^{mss-marg}$
- Include after Luke 21:28 — f^{13} (=13 69 346 543 788 826 828 983)
- Include after Luke 24:53 — 1333^c
- Include after John 7:36 — 225
- Include after John 21:25 — 1 arm^{ms}

Thus the evidence clearly indicates that the story of the Adulteress is an addition to John, and probably not an original part of any of the gospels. If it is to be included in Bibles at all, it should be treated as an independent incident.

The Acts

Of all the books of the Bible, none shows such intense textual variations as Acts. There are thousands of differences between the texts of B and Dea — often so substantial as to significantly change the meaning of the passage.

This leads to three questions: First, is the D text actually representative of the "Western" text? Second, is the "Western" text recensionally different from the Alexandrian, or did the differences arise naturally? Third, if the two are recensionally different, which recension is original?

To address the first question, let me provide the following table illustrating differences between D and other so-called "Western" witnesses. The table tabulates all readings of D in the Nestle-Aland apparatus which are not shared by either the Alexandrian or the Byzantine texts (defined in this case as readings of D which are not shared with any of the group P^{74} א A B or by 𝔐/pm). The number of agreements with each of the most important so-called "Western" witnesses is listed, followed by the percent of the time each agrees with D. Chapters are grouped in blocks of four. Note: Family 1739 is defined as the reading of 1739, or at least two of the group 323 630 945 1891 against 1739 if 1739 is Byzantine. Family 2138 is defined by any non-Byzantine member of the group, here represented by 614 1505 2495. A "Unique reading of D" is defined as a reading of D for which Nestle shows no Greek or versional support and no more than one patristic supporter.

	Total non-H/ M rdgs of D	Unique rdgs of D	Shared with E	Shared with f^{1739}	Shared with f^{2138}	Shared with gig	Shared with w	Shared with hrk**,mg	Shared with cop^{G67}
Chaps 1–4	128	29 (23%)	10 (8%)	1 (1%)	6 (5%)	36 (28%)	27 (21%)	13 (10%)	31 (29%)
Chaps 5–8	103	24 (23%)	14 (14%)	1 (1%)	8 (8%)	18 (17%)	9 (9%)	10 (10%)	38 (37%)
Chaps 9–12	64	13 (20%)	2 (3%)	1 (1%)	3 (5%)	14 (22%)	15 (23%)	15 (23%)	20 (31%)
Chaps 13–16	170	64 (38%)	14 (8%)	4 (2%)	21 (12%)	40 (24%)	15 (9%)	36 (21%)	25 (15%)
Chapts 17–20	166	58 (35%)	6 (4%)	3 (2%)	18 (11%)	35 (21%)	12 (7%)	22 (13%)	—
Chaps 21–22	61	29 (48%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	20 (33%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	—
Totals:	692	217 (31%)	47 (7%)	10 (1%)	57 (6%)	163 (24%)	83 (12%)	98 (14%)	114/395 (29%)

The above numbers should instantly demolish Von Soden's contention that 1739 is "Western" in Acts! The question is, can any of the other texts listed here be considered to belong to this type? Note that fully 31% of D's readings are singular, and none of the other witnesses agree with more than 30% of its readings.

It is my firm opinion that D is not a proper representative of the "Western" text; rather, it is an edited text based on "Western" materials. (This is similar to the views of Kurt Aland, except that Aland does not offer an explanation for the other "Western" texts.) Still, this is a point upon which scholars will differ, and in any case there is still a "Western" text — which must be reconstructed, laboriously, from the Latins and cop^{G67} and other witnesses (it is by no means clear, however, that Family 2138 is part of the "Western" text.)

This brings us to the second question, Is the "Western" text recensionally different from the Alexandrian and Byzantine? If we subtract D, this is a difficult question. With no reliable Greek witness to the type, some of the variations may be translational.

Given the state of the evidence, we cannot make a certain statement. The sundry "Western" witnesses do not appear to form a true unity, so they cannot form a recension. But our evidence is imperfect. It seems to me that the "Western" witnesses

attest to an *influence*, similar to but not actually derived from D. Many of the readings of this text differ recensionally from the Alexandrian text, but by no means all.

Under the circumstances, it would appear that — here if nowhere else — the Alexandrian/Byzantine recension is clearly superior. But much remains uncertain. Some scholars have proposed, e.g., that Luke produced two editions of his work — with the Alexandrian being probably the "official" edition, but the other survived because copies were so difficult to produce. If there are indeed two editions, how does one decide which reading is "original?" Questions such as this must be left as an exercise for the student.

The Pauline Epistles

The textual theory of Westcott and Hort held that the text-types in Paul were the same as in the Gospels: Alexandrian (א A C 33 etc.), "Western" (D F G Old Latin), and Byzantine (K L 049 etc.), with B being mostly Alexandrian with "Western" readings.

Two discoveries changed this: $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ and 1739. 1739 united the semi-Alexandrian witnesses M (0121+0243), 6, 424^{c}. P^{46} was even more significant, because it showed that the peculiar text of B is not peculiar. Zuntz later showed that P^{46} and B formed the key witnesses to a separate textual grouping. Zuntz called this group "Proto-Alexandrian" (implying that the later Alexandrian text evolved from it), and listed 1739, the Sahidic Coptic, and the Bohairic Coptic as additional witnesses. All this may be questioned; in particular, it appears that the mainstream Alexandrian text (א A C 33 81 1175) is not actually descended from P^{46} and B; also, 1739 appears to head its own group. Still, it can be regarded as established that there are additional text-types beyond the traditional three.

It is also noteworthy that the "Western" text of Paul shows none of the peculiarities of Codex Bezae. The "Western" text of Paul is clearly not a recensional product; its readings are relatively restrained (this is particularly true of the readings of D-F-G together; the close relatives F and G have many peculiarities of their own which likely derive from their common ancestor). Thus a careful scholar will have to take four non-Byzantine groups into account in examining the text of Paul: the Alexandrian (א A C 33 81 1175), the P^{46}/B/Sahidic group, the "Western" text (D F G (629) Old Latin), and the 1739 group (1739 0243 0121 1881 6 424^{c} and (in Romans-Galatians only) 630+2200).

Romans

Of the legitimate Pauline epistles, Romans has perhaps the most complex textual history. There are two reasons for this: The nature of the manuscripts and the intricate

nature of the literary tradition — especially with regard to the sixteenth chapter and the doxology ("16:25–27").

Treating the problem of the manuscripts first, it is worth noting that very many manuscripts change their nature in Romans. The most glaring example is 33. In the other epistles, it is a strongly Alexandrian witness, falling closer to א than any other document. In Romans, however, we have a text from another hand, which is largely if not entirely Byzantine.

Much the same is true of 1175 (though the degree is less); in Romans it is Byzantine; in the other Paulines it is mostly Alexandrian. 2464, too, is Byzantine in Romans but Alexandrian/Byzantine mix elsewhere. (On the other hand, a few minuscules, such as 1852 and 1908, probably have better texts in Paul than elsewhere.)

More important, however, is the case of 1739. The colophon claims that the text of Romans is taken, as far as possible, from Origen's commentary on that book, while the other epistles come from an old Origenic manuscript but not from Origen himself. It appears that this is not true — 1739 shows no clear change in textual affiliation between Romans and 1 Corinthians — but the possibility must be taken into account that the manuscript has some alien readings here. (There is a bare possibility that this colophon derives from one of 1739's ancestors, and that this ancestor, taken partly from the commentary and partly from another manuscript, became the ancestor of Family 1739.)

And, finally, there is P^{46}. Although no rigorous study has been done, the text of that papyrus appears to be much more wild (and rather less affiliated with B) in Romans than in any other part of Paul.

Thus, in examining the textual history of Romans, one must be very careful to assess the manuscript evidence based on their affiliations *in this book* rather than elsewhere.

Which brings us to the questions of Chapter 16 and the Doxology — linked problems, as it is the location of the Doxology which causes us to question the origin of Chapter 16. It is true that Chapter 16 seems unlikely in a letter to Rome — how could Paul, who had never visited Rome, know so many people there? But the question would not be as difficult if it were not for the question of "16:25–27." (The related question of whether or not to include "16:24" need not detain us; even in the unlikely event that this verse be thought original, it merely adds slightly to the uncertainty about 16:25f.)

Although these verses are 16:25–27 in the Textus Receptus, this is not their place in the Byzantine text. In the majority of manuscripts, including L Ψ 0209^{vid} 6 181 326 330 424 451 614 1175 1241 1505 1881 1912 2492 2495 m^{vid} dem hark geo^{2} slav, the verses fall at the end of chapter 14. In most of the Alexandrian and "Western" witnesses, however,

the verses fall at the end of chapter 16 (so א B C D 048 81 256 263 365 436 630 1319 1739 1852 1962 2127 2200 a b d* f r am ful pesh pal sa bo eth). Some witnesses, usually mixed, have the verses in both places (so A P 0150 5 33 88 104 459 2805 arm geo[1]). Others omit the doxology altogether (F G 629 $d^{c\text{-}vid}$). $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, astonishingly, places the verses at the end of chapter 15. Even more astonishingly, the minuscule 1506 (which ordinarily has an Alexandrian text) has the verses after both chapter 14 and chapter 15, but *omits chapter 16.* We are also told (by Origen) that Marcion omitted chapters 15 and 16 of Romans (this testimony should, however, be used with great caution). The capitulations of certain Latin manuscripts also seem to imply that Chapters 15–16 were not part of their texts. (Harry Gamble has speculated that the original text of Family 1739 omitted chapter 16, but the evidence of the family, combined with that of 1506, argues strongly against this.)

What does this mean? This question continues to exercise scholars. Are 16:25–27 any part of Romans? If so, where did they originally belong? The level of support for the location after chapter 16 is extraordinarily strong — but internal evidence favours the location after chapter 14. Why would any scribe, finding the verses after chapter 16, where they fit, move them after chapter 14, where they interrupt the argument and serve no useful purpose? It has been speculated that the doxology came to be placed after chapter 14 as a result of Marcion's mutilation of Romans, but this is a rather long chain of suppositions. (Not least of which is the supposition that Origen actually knew Marcion's text. Chapter 14 is a strange place to truncate the epistle, as the argument extends to 15:13.)

Did shorter forms of Romans circulate, lacking either chapter 16 or chapters 15 and 16? Gamble, in *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans,* offers a good synopsis of the internal evidence (though his data on the external evidence is questionable). But neither sort of evidence allows us to reach a firm conclusion. Apart from the Marcionite product, there is no evidence of a 14–chapter form in Greek, although there may once have been a Latin version. That a 15–chapter form of Romans circulated is proved by 1506, and the evidence of P^{46} implicitly supports this (as well as implying that this edition was very early). It probably was not widespread, however.

As for the location of the doxology, we simply don't have enough evidence to be dogmatic. My personal opinion is that it is an addition, appended to the end of one edition of the letter and then later moved to the other positions. If this is the case, then the most likely position is perhaps after chapter 14. But this is so uncertain as to amount to speculation.

1 Corinthians

The textual history of 1 Corinthians appears quite simple. It is a single writing, preserved without real evidence of alteration. There are variations, but (with possibly a single exception) all appear accidental.

The exception is in 14:34–35. These verses are found in this position in P^{46} א A B K L 0150 0243 6 33 81 104 256 330 365 436 451 629 1175 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 2492 am bam cav ful hub harl theo tol pesh hark pal s bo fay ar geo eth slav — but in D F G 88* a b d f reg Ambrosiaster Sedulius-Scottus we find the verses placed after 14:40. It has been supposed by some that the verses were originally lacking; there is, however, absolutely no direct evidence for this; the verses are found in every witness. Only the location varies. It is equally possible that they were moved an attempt at a clarification; it is also possible that a careless scribe omitted them, then someone reinserted them in the wrong place. In any case, a single reading implies very little about the history of the text.

2 Corinthians

The literary history of 2 Corinthians appears to be exceedingly complex. It is possible that it contains fragments of six letters; that it contains portions of at least two is almost certain (the various sections are as follows: 1:1–6:13, a friendly letter to Corinth; 6:14–7:1, on marriage with unbelievers; 7:2–16, rejoicing at word from Titus; Chapters 8 and 9, on the collection for the saints, but possibly two separate discussions on the subject; 10:1–13:14, Paul's defense of his ministry. The first and last sections can hardly have been in the same letter, and the four intermediate sections may have come from anywhere).

This combination of fragments, however, clearly took place *before* the text was published, since there are no relevant variants in the tradition. Every known manuscript contains the entirety of all sections of the combined document. Thus these literary factors do not affect the textual criticism of the epistle.

Galatians

There is little to be said, textually, about Galatians. It is clearly a literary unity, and there is no evidence of editorial tampering. The closest thing to an interesting variant is the alternation (in 1:18, 2:9, 11, 14) between "Cephas/Kephas" and "Peter."

Ephesians

The question of the textual history of Ephesians is closely tied in with the matter of its authorship. We can hardly address the latter here (though I freely admit that the style of Ephesians is so unlike Paul that I cannot believe Paul wrote the letter). But this makes the question of the destination of the letter, in 1:1, crucial. The words “in Ephesus” are found in א^{c} A B^{c} D F G 33 81 104 256 365 436 1175 1319 1881 𝔐 a b d f r vg pesh hark sa bo arm geo eth slav, but P^{46} א* B 6 424^{c} 1739 omit. It seems clear that this is an editorial difference — and that the form lacking “in Ephesus” is at least as old as the form with it, probably older.

This variation has led to much speculation about the nature and origin of this letter (so clearly linked to Colossians), but this does not affect the textual history, so we leave the problem there.

Philippians

Until recently, scholarly consensus held that Philippians was a unity. In modern times, though, some have held that the abrupt break in 3:1 (between 3:1a and 3:1b, or between 3:1 and 3:2) indicates a discontinuity, and that Philippians actually consists of two (or perhaps three) letters. In this they are bolstered by Polycarp’s remark that Paul had written “letters” to the church in Philippi.

Whether Philippians is a unity or not, it seems clear that it was published as a single letter. There is no evidence of recensional activity in the text.

Colossians

Textually, Colossians is an unusual case: Of all the epistles, it has suffered the most from assimilation of parallels. It is generally agreed that it is a unity, although some have questioned its Pauline authorship (on insufficient grounds, to my mind). But the great problem of Colossians is its relationship to Ephesians.

That these two letters are dependent cannot seriously be denied. The author of one worked from the other (even if Paul wrote both, it is not impossible that he would have used one as a template for the other — though, frankly, I find it inconceivable that Paul could have written Ephesians). In all probability, Colossians is the earlier letter.

But it is also the weaker letter (at least textually). Shorter, placed later in the cannon, with less development of its themes, it was almost inevitable that it would in many places be contaminated with wording from Ephesians.

Examples of this assimilation of parallels are so frequent that they simply cannot be detailed here; the matter will be left for the commentaries. It does appear, however, that this assimilation was not deliberate or recensional; scribes simply wrote the more familiar form, as they so often did in the gospels.

1 Thessalonians

As with most of Paul's letters, there is no real evidence of editorial activity in this book.

2 Thessalonians

As in 1 Thessalonians, there is no sign of editorial activity in this book.

1 Timothy

The textual situation in the Pastoral Epistles differs slightly from the rest of Paul. This is not due to editorial activity but to the state of the manuscripts. B does not exist for these books, and P^{46} apparently never included them. Thus we are missing a whole text-type.

This might possibly be significant, as these books are among the most questionable of the Pauline Epistles in terms of authorship. It is, of course, widely though not universally held that these books are not by Paul, though they may be based on his notes. But as far as we know, this is not a textual question; there are no signs of editorial work in our surviving text-types.

2 Timothy

2 Timothy operates under the same restrictions as 1 Timothy: The book's authorship is in question, and P^{46} and B lack the book. Of the Pastoral Epistles, it gives the strongest signs of composite authorship, with the personal sections having the genuine Pauline touch while the sections on church order have show all the symptoms of being later than the apostle. But, as in 1 Timothy, there is no reason to believe that the text has been edited since it was published; all the work of combining the Pauline and non-Pauline material preceded publication.

Titus

The situation in Titus is exactly the same as in 1 Timothy, and the shortness of the book makes it even less likely that it has been edited.

Philemon

With a book as short as Philemon, it is difficult to form textual theories. There simply aren't enough variations to work with. But there is no reason to believe that the book has been edited in any way.

Hebrews

Hebrews is unique among the Pauline corpus in many ways. The obvious way is that it is not by Paul. But more noteworthy is the fact that it was not universally recognized as canonical.

The surviving witnesses almost universally include the book (indeed, Hebrews is the only one of the Pauline Epistles for which we have two substantial papyri — P^{13} and P^{46}); the only manuscripts which lack it are F and G, and this may be because it was missing in their exemplar (we note that these two manuscripts actually ignored lacunae in mid-book). Even so, it is likely that relatively few copies of Hebrews circulated in the second and third centuries, and some of those were probably separate from the rest of the Pauline corpus.

What effect this may have had on the text, if any, is not immediately evident.

The Catholic Epistles

In recent years, the Catholic Epistles have been subjected to many detailed examinations — due most likely to the fact that their brevity makes them relatively easy to analyse. Scholars such as Amphoux, Richards, and Wachtel have all undertaken studies of the text-types in these books.

In the Catholic Epistles, the "Western" text seems to disappear. There have been various attempts to find it, but these cannot be considered convincing. There are few Old Latin texts of the Catholics, but we find extravagant readings in certain of the Vulgate witnesses (these are detailed in the descriptions of the individual books). These, presumably, are " Western" — but they simply do not match any of the Greek texts.

The text-type most often associated with the "Western" text (so, e.g. Amphoux) is Family 2138. This large group (Wachtel's Hk^{gr}; Richards's A^{1}) includes, among others, 206, 429, 522, 614, 630, 1505, 1611, 1799, 2138, 2200, 2412, and 2495, as well as the Harklean Syriac. Despite Amphoux, however, this type is not close to the Old Latin, and in Acts the family is not overly close to D. (See the table in the section on Acts). Thus the attempts to call Family 2138 the "Western" text are at best questionable — personally, I

think they are wrong. That the family has a text independent of the Byzantine or mainstream Alexandrian types is, however, beyond question.

In addition, Amphoux and Richards (though not Wachtel) identify two groups within what has traditionally been called the Alexandrian text. One of these the is Alexandrian text proper (P^{72}? א A B? Ψ 33 81 436 bo etc.), the other is Family 1739 (1739 1241 1881 323 945 etc.). C seems to be a mix of these two types, but closer to Family 1739 (a point confirmed more recently by the work of Tim Finney).

Richards views these three types — Alexandrian group, Family 1739, and Family 2138 — as subgroups of the Alexandrian text. This is, however, clearly incorrect (even Richards is unable to define the differences between the types). Amphoux, who regards the three is distinct types, is correct.

Of the three types, Family 2138 as we now have it is the most affected by the Byzantine text. Even the best members of the type (2138+1611, 1505+2495, 2412+614, 630+2200) have lost about 20–30% of their family readings to Byzantine influence. As, however, the influence is different in each of the subgroups, it is often possible to determine the original text of the family. Of course, the fact that our witnesses are so late (none except the Harklean Syriac precedes the tenth century, and the Harklean is one of the weaker representatives of the type) may mean that there are additional corruptions we cannot recover.

The Alexandrian text is much earlier and purer. Family 1739 consists of late witnesses (except for C), but its similarity to Origen and its relative closeness to the Alexandrian text, as well as its general freedom from Byzantine readings (at least in the leading witnesses, 1739 C 1241), indicates that it too is early and pure. Thus our tools for reconstructing the text of the Catholic Epistles are perhaps better than for any other section of the New Testament.

Balancing this is the fact that the books became canonical at widely differing dates. While a corpus of Paul must have been compiled early, it was not until quite late that unified editions of the Catholic Epistles would be circulated. This point will be taken up under the individual books.

James

James was the last of the longer Catholic Epistles to be accepted by the church. Even Eusebius, who lived in the fourth century, describes it as disputed (III.25; also II.23). It appears in all our Greek manuscripts, however (except P^{72}, which is a special case), and is included in the Peshitta. It clearly circulated widely in the early church. There do

not seem to be any particular problems associated with its text; the variations it displays are the sort one would expect in the ordinary course of transmission.

1 Peter

1 Peter was one of only two general epistles to be recognized as canonical "from the beginning" (1 John was the other). It is found in every witness, including P^{72}. Its text is in good condition, and shows little evidence of recensional activity.

The one case where we might see editorial action is in the Latin tradition. This contains a number of substantial variations. After 1:19, for instance, a few Latin witnesses add "ipse ergo qui et praecognitus est ante constitutionem mundi et novissimo tempore natus et passus est epse accepit gloriam quam deus verbum semper possedit sine initio manens in patre." There are also some significant changes in word order in this verse. More important, because better attested, is the addition in 3:22, "deglutiens mortem ut vitae aeternae heredes efficeremur" (z am bam cav ful^{c} gran hub leg sang theo tol val Aug Cass and the Clementine Vulgate; all Greek witnesses, supported by ful* juv lux, omit). These readings likely derive from the now-lost "Western" text of 1 Peter, perhaps indicating that it showed some of the same sort of extreme readings we find in the Bezan text of Acts. (The fact that these readings do not occur in Greek is further evidence that the "Western" text is not represented by Family 2138 or any of our other witnesses.) As, however, we have no continuous "Western" texts, there is very little we can do about this problem.

2 Peter

Unlike 1 Peter, 2 Peter did not gain instant recognition as canonical. Moderns see many reasons for this — it does not read like 1 Peter, it is dependent on Jude, it's much too wordy for a simple Galilean fisherman. How much of this was apparent to the early Christians is not clear, but the fact is that the book was not universally recognized until well into the fourth century. The Peshitta, for instance, omits it. We find it in P^{72} — but of course P^{72} contains sundry non-canonical materials.

Despite this, there is little evidence of deliberate editorial work in 2 Peter. Textually, the most noteworthy thing about this epistle is its relationship to Jude. For the most part, 2 Peter influenced Jude rather than the reverse (2 Peter is longer, more respected, and comes earlier in the canon), but the influence may sometimes have gone the other way as well (see, e.g., the discussion on 2 Peter 2:13).

1 John

1 John is the second of the Catholic Epistles to have been universally accepted as canonical (1 Peter being the other). Since it also has a simple and straightforward text, there seems to have been little temptation to alter it.

The one exception is, of course, 1 John 5:7–8. Priscillian seems to have been responsible for the explanatory Latin gloss "in caelo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra" (though Priscillian had the reading in a noticeably different form). This worked its way into certain Latin manuscripts (l r (cav) harl (tol) (val^{marg}); am bam dubl ful hub juv* mon sang val* omit), from there into a bare handful of Greek manuscripts ((61) 88^{marg} 221^{marg} 429^{marg} (629) 636^{marg} 918, 2318, all with variations, some of the variations perhaps being translational), and from there, by an absurd twist of fate, into the Textus Receptus. (A similar Latin expansion, not found in the Textus Receptus, occurs in 2:17, where p t Cyprian Lucifer Augustine sa^{mss} add variations on "quomodo (et) (sicut) (deus) (ipse) manet in aeternum"; this, however, affected the Vulgate only minimally and the Greek not at all. Similarly in 5:9 Beatus and a handful of Latin manuscripts add "quem misit salvatorem super terram, et fulius testimonium perhibuit in terra scripturas perficiens, et nos testimonium perhibemus quoniam ^{vid}imus eum ad adnuntiamus vobis ut credatis, et ideo." A final example occurs in 5:20, where t Speculum (Hilary) Julianus-Toledo add "et carnem induit nostri causa et passus est et resurrexit a mortuis adsumpsit nos.")

Looking at that list, one has to suspect that there was, somewhere, a pretty extensive rewrite of the Latin tradition, which however affected the Greek tradition not at all and even the Latin tradition only partially.

The Byzantine text offers a handful of other interesting readings:

- 2:23 omit ο ομολογων.... πατερα εχει: K L 049 69 81 436 462 1175 1241 1518? *Byz* z; the words are found in א A B C P 33 323 614 623 630 1243 1505 1611 1739 1799 2138 2412
- 3:1 omit και εσμεν: K L 049 69 1175 *Byz*; the words are found in P$^{74\text{-}vid}$ א A B C P 6 33 81 206 323 424^{c} 436 614 623 945 (1241) 1243 1505 1611 1739 1799 1881 2138 2298

Both of these, however, appear to be simple scribal errors that never were corrected.

2 John and 3 John

2 John and 3 John are the shortest books in the New Testament. They are so short that no textual history can be written, and no textual analysis should be undertaken on the

basis of their few dozen verses of text. We truly cannot tell their history; recensional activity is possible, since they were adopted into the canon late (and separately). Still, there is clear sign of editorial activity; the most noteworthy variant (2 John 2, omit δια την αληθειαν Ψ 6 323 614 630 1241 1505 1611 1739 1852 2138 2412 2495 ful hark), despite its strong attestation, appears to be the result of haplography. There is also a typically Latin insertion in 2 John 11, with variations on "ecce praedixi vobis ut in die(m) domini (nostri Iesu Christi) non confundamini" (so pc Speculum and the Sixtine Vulgate, but not am cav ful hub sang tol val etc.).

Jude

The book of Jude is a leading candidate for the title of "most textually damaged." Certainly no other epistle is in such poor condition. There are many reasons for this. It was one of the last books to be canonized. It is rather dense and difficult. It parallels 2 Peter, and falls after that book in the canon, meaning that it has suffered more heavily from harmonization.

The witnesses strongly reflect this problem. The Alexandrian text shatters in Jude; the manuscripts show no particular pattern of agreements. The papyri are of little help. P^{72} has been called "wild" in this book, the fragmentary P^{78}, of about the same date, manages to have two singular readings despite preserving parts of only four verses. We find important omissions and/or additions in almost every major manuscript. A few samples (this list could be multiplied several times over):

- v. 1: omit και Ιησου.... τετηρημενοις 630 1505 1611 2495 hark
- v. 2: omit και αγαπη 88 181 1175
- v. 3: add και ζωης א* Ψ (1505 1611 2138 2495 hark)
- v. 5: add αδελφοι P^{78}
- v. 12: add γογγυσται μεμψιμοιροι κατα τας επιθυμιας αυτων πορευομενοι א Cc sa arm
- v. 15: omit των εργων.... περι παντων P^{72}
- v. 15: add *et arguere omnem carnem* adNov
- v. 21: omit προσδεχομενοι.... αιωνιον am ful mon Speculum

This confusion does not mean that Jude has ever been edited; it will be observed that these odd readings are found in all sorts of texts. They simply mean that the text of

Jude is in very bad condition, and that its recovery is a difficult and unreliable process. No witness, not even B, can be considered to be very reliable.

Apocalypse

The textual evidence for the Apocalypse is the weakest of any part of the New Testament. The surviving manuscripts represent only about a third of the number found for the Epistles and a tenth that for the Gospels. It is not found in the Lectionary. Some early versions, such as the Peshitta, omit it, and we can only speculate about types such as the Old Syriac and Old Georgian.

The good side of this is that it is possible to examine the manuscript tradition approximately in its entirety, as was done by Josef Schmid in *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes.* Given the completeness of this work, we will only briefly outline its contents.

Schmid finds four text-types:

- P^{47} plus א. Although often called "Alexandrian," this type is distinct from, and seemingly inferior to, the A C text.
- A plus C. This is perhaps the true Alexandrian text, and the best available type. Most of the non-Byzantine minuscules go with this text, as does the Vulgate (here a very valuable witness).
- Byzantine text.
- Andreas text (representing the text found in Andreas's commentary).

Both the Byzantine group and the Andreas group are very large; where they $di^{vid}e$ (as they frequently do), it is not really possible to speak of the Majority Text. Both of these groups, as might be expected, break down into smaller subgroups.

Observe that Andreas's text is, in effect, a recension. It is not really the result of editorial work, but the intricate relation of text and commentary has ensured that this particular type of text maintains its independent identity. Due to their differing forms of presentation, mixed Andreas/Byzantine manuscripts are relatively rare. It should be noted that the Textus Receptus derives from an Andreas text, and has readings characteristic of the type (and, in fact, a handful derived from the commentary itself, where Erasmus could not tell text from margin in 1^{r}).

Homoioarcton

Homoioarcton, "same beginning," is the inverse error of the better-known (and somewhat more common) homoioteleuton. It occurs when a scribe's eye skips from one occurrence of a word, phrase, or sequence of letters to a similar sequence further down the page. An obvious example comes in Luke's genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3:23–38), in which we find the sequence "του [some name]" repeated dozens of times. Small wonder that a very large number of manuscripts missed a name or two! (e.g. the apparatus of the Aland synopsis shows six different authorities, out of some forty to fifty examined, omitting at least one name).

Like homoioteleuton errors, homoioarcton errors can produce nonsense, but can also be sensible (and therefore perhaps difficult to tell from other sorts of errors).

Homoioarcton is noted in the Nestle-Aland apparatus with the notation *h.a.,* but observation shows that this notation is not used nearly as often as it might be (e.g. none of the omissions in Luke 3 are noted as possible homoioarcton errors). Students are therefore advised to note this possibility in examining variants.

Homoioteleuton

Homoioteleuton, "same ending." Perhaps the most common of all forms of scribal error; almost all manuscripts contain at least a few instances of it. Homoioteleuton occurs when two words/phrases/lines end with the same sequence of letters. The scribe, having finished copying the first, skips to the second, omitting all intervening words. An English example of homoioteleuton might be the following trivial instance:

Original reads "Pete went to the store. When he reached the store he bought bread and milk." The scribe, skipping from the first instance of "store" to the second, would write "Pete went to the store he bought bread and milk."

Homoioteleuton errors can occur almost anywhere, and are often easily detected as they produce nonsense. There are, however, exceptions, as e.g. in 1 John 2:23, where the Majority text has skipped τον πατερα εχει.... τον πατερα εχει, leaving a text which is incomplete but perfectly sensible.

Homoioteleuton is symbolized in the Nestle apparatus by the symbol *h.t.* (which indicates either that a manuscript has a homoioteleuton error or that a variant is or might be caused by homoioteleuton). Others such as Merk use a "leap" symbol,⁀ , similar to a sideways parenthesis or a musical slur.

Exactly how common are h.t. errors? This is complicated. Examining the *NT auf Papyrus* apparatus of Philippians shows that the 17 papyri and uncials cited there

display a total of 12 clear h.t. and h.a. errors. This is if anything a low rate of such errors — and there are at least four other errors not directly attributable to h.t. which may result from skipping lines. And skipping lines can be far more common than the above statistics would indicate. Thomas C. Knott and David C. Fowler's edition of the A text of *Piers Plowman* includes a table of omitted lines. Their text is 2418 lines long. The manuscripts they cite have (apart from defects and long stretches omitted presumably for other reasons) a total of 606 lines omitted. That's out of an average of about fifteen manuscripts for each portion of the text. Thus, the manuscripts average out to omitting about one line in sixty. This rate is naturally higher than in the NT tradition, because these manuscripts aren't as familiar to scribes and aren't as heavily corrected and used. But it's an indication of the *potential* of haplographic errors.

We might add that different languages are subject to h.t. errors in different degrees. Latin, in which very many words in a sentence will end with the same combination of letters, is said to be unusually subject to h.t. errors. Greek also has many words ending in the same letters, but not quite as many, so it's a little less likely to happen. Uninflected languages, or those in which (say) adjectives and nouns inflect differently, will be less subject still. The extreme would be an ideographic language, where there are no letters to repeat. But it should be noted that this is merely a measure of the *opportunity* for homoioteleuton. I would not be surprised to find that a higher fraction of these "opportunities" are "converted" into errors in languages where repeat endings are rarer, simply because scribes will be less alert for them. If there is any research on the point, however, I am unaware of it.

I

Illuminated Manuscripts

In theory, an illuminated manuscript is one which brings light on the text, i.e. one which makes it clearer. A New Testament manuscript which puts Old Testament quotations in red, e.g., would by this criterion count as an illuminated manuscript. This sense, however, has given way completely to the meaning "decorated manuscript." (One account, indeed, claims that they are called "illuminated" because they contained enough silver or gold to reflect light and brighten their surroundings.) An illuminated manuscript is one which, in some way or other, is more attractive than an ordinary manuscript. Such manuscripts range from the Purple Uncials (written in metallic inks on purple parchment) to manuscripts with illustrations to manuscripts such as 16 with its elaborate scheme of multicolored inks. (It might be noted that the proliferation of such extravagant manuscripts provoked the wrath of Jerome, but even his condemnation did not stop their production. And apparently they did have legitimate uses; an English saint of the eighth century once asked for a copy of one of the Catholic Epistles to be written in gold to make it look like impressive and worthy of worship — presumably because he was dealing with a pagan audience.)

It is somewhat ironic to note that it was probably cheaper to cover pages of manuscripts with gold leaf than to write them in gold ink. Gold is so malleable a metal that it is said that the amount of metal in a ducat can be pounded into more than a hundred sheets of gold leaf. Thus pages could be gold-plated relatively cheaply. (This might explain why — amazingly to me — we find illuminated manuscripts to which the gold has been applied but which were never finished. One of the most elaborate Bibles ever begun, the Winchester (Vulgate) codex, has drawings with the gold inlaid but to which the ink and paint were never applied.) Whereas the golden ink used in purple manuscripts used ground gold, and it was hard to grind it very finely. So there had to be a lot of gold in the golden ink. And it still did not (from what I can tell based on manuscripts which are, to be sure, old and faded) look as bright and shiny as gold leaf.

A common form of illumination was illustrations. Very many copies of the gospels will have drawings of the four Evangelists, or of their symbols. Biblical and non-Biblical manuscripts alike may show a courtier presenting the book to a patron. Or — they may illustrate Biblical stories. This may be historically the most important, because these manuscripts could then be used to guide those who could not read the Bible (or, indeed, might not even know the language in which it was written). It is likely that certain missionaries will have used the pictures to clarify what they were expounding: They would read the passage and show the picture. We do not know how common this was,

but considering how many “illustrated Bibles” are still being printed in a time when most people can read, it makes sense that it was common in the past also. I note that one of the manuscripts St. Augustine thought to have taken with him him to Canterbury — Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 1 — has a series of illustrations which are thought to have been used to illustrate the gospel story to the non-Latin-reading Anglo-Saxons.

Nor should we consider all illumination frivolous. Almost all manuscripts contain at least a minimal level of illumination, in the form of paragraph markings, with (typically) large initial letters. These are more likely to be decorated in Latin manuscripts than in Greek, but in either case, they serve a significant purpose, in that they help find section headings. These large initials have been compared to headlines in a newspaper: they make it easier to locate an decide what you are looking for. Ancient books could hardly be indexed; the pagination would differ from copy to copy. They could have a Table of Contents, but even this would rarely have page numbers. The only way to find things was with markings in the text, and the illuminations could supply these. (To this compare another common form of illumination in modern Bibles: the printing the words of Jesus in red. This isn’t very reliable, given that in some places — notably John — we aren’t entirely sure whether Jesus or the author is doing the talking. On the other hand, I rather like it, because it can make it easier to find passages.)

Illumination could be especially important in commentary manuscripts, where, to begin with, text had to be distinguished from commentary, and where the sheer size of the volume often made finding a passage more difficult. It is not unusual to find text and commentary in different ink colours (usually red and black), but additional aids to finding could only help.

Almost all illuminated manuscripts are on vellum. Papyrus was too fragile to waste the effort, and paper was too rough to make a good material for illustration. So illuminated manuscripts were probably on their way out even had printing not been invented.

Incidentally, it appears that illustrated manuscripts may sometimes display a very early sort of “mass production.” In certain Latin manuscripts, instead of the illustration being done directly in the codex, slips of parchment were pasted in with illustrations. This would seem to imply that an artist was drawing images in large quantities on separate parchment, which was then cut up and distributed across several manuscripts (or, at least, several pages of the same manuscript). Presumably this was easier for the illustrator than always having to work on individual manuscripts. It may also have made it possible to work somewhat more cheaply: the illustrations could be done on higher-quality vellum — or, perhaps, on vellum that had only one side suitable for use. And, of course, it might be a way to use up scraps of vellum too small to be used for a complete book. Plus, if the illustrator did all his painting at the same time, there would be less

paint (which could be quite valuable if it used a rare color like lapis lazuli or kermes) lost to drying and waste.

The complexity of the illustration process is probably the main motivation, though; it might take four or even more workers to complete the illustration. First the drawing would be sketched out with a stylus. For a geometric form such as an illuminated letter, this might involve tools such as compass and straight edge. Then the lines would be inked over (since the initial markings would be difficult to see and, if drawn with a lead plummet, would not easily take paint). In manuscripts with gold foil, this would be applied third, because the foil would have to be rubbed down and burnished, and this might damage paint had it been laid down. Then the paint would be applied to finish the drawing. (The third and fourth steps could be reversed if the gold leaf was applied on gesso rather than directly to the manuscript, since the gesso raised the level of the parchment. There seems to be no data on which technique was more common.)

In some manuscripts, we actually find instructions from the original designers to those who came later. Some of these are simply what we might call “paint-by-number” instructions: the individual sections of the drawing will be marked “blue,” “green,” “crimson.” (Such instructions of course are covered over when the painting is done — but there are manuscripts where the painting was never finished, or where the writing is visible for other reasons). Other manuscripts contain marginal instructions, perhaps in the far margin where it might be expected they would be cut off once the manuscript was trimmed.

It is likely that, toward the end of the manuscript era when professional copyists replaced monks as scribes, that the master copyist drew the outlines and the apprentices filled them in. (Christopher de Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators*, p. 61, actually shows something like this, as Master Hildebertus works at his desk and young Everwinus paints a flourish while sitting on a stool.) Not all painters were mindless servants, however; the painter sometimes changed the original sketcher’s plan.

Some English manuscripts, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, hint at even more complex arrangements. The design might first be sketched out on a wax tablet. Then the page intended to be illustrated would be ruled, and holes pricked to guide the artist. (I wonder if perhaps there may not have been special templates prepared to aid in the creation of standard illustrations. But there is no evidence for this.) Then a stylus would be used to rough out the illustration, and the rest would follow.

Illuminated manuscripts had the interesting side effect of allowing the painters more luxurious clothing. At least one illustrator recommended that illuminators wear silk clothing to prevent loose threads from getting into the paint. (Of course, he also

recommending not moving the head to prevent getting dandruff into the paint, and it's hard to imagine how that could be kept up for very long.)

An expert can sometimes use illuminations to date a manuscript. Painting styles varied quite a bit over time. For example, in the fourteenth century, it was common to paint a wall with a sort of square pattern like a mosaic of tiles. This form does not seem to have been used before this time, and to have been rare thereafter, so it can be used as a date check.

In considering most manuscript illuminations, there is one thing that doesn't get much attention: The large majority of them were made before the invention of oil paint. These earlier paints were almost more like modern pancake makeup than modern paints. This tended to mean that the colors were somewhat more drab (there was no way to make a glossy surface), and that colors did not mix as freely. If you see an illuminated manuscript, odds are that the style will look somewhat un-modern. It's not that the illuminators were bad artists (a few were, to be sure, but most were not). They simply were working in a different medium.

Manuscript illumination began very early, but the art did not reach its height until toward the end of the manuscript period. There is a tendency to dismiss these manuscripts because the underlying text is Byzantine. It is perhaps important to note that the value of a manuscript is not necessarily solely that of its text — once in a while, a manuscript's illuminations may include important historical or theological data.

Note also that, though it is not unknown for both a manuscript's text and its illustrations to be copied, the values of the copies may vary. If we have both the parent and child text, the child text has very little value indeed. But the illustrations, which were prepared separately, will almost always undergo some modifications. If so, the differences between exemplar and offspring may have some interest. At least in theory. I know of no cases where this has been demonstrated in practice.

Illustrators, like scribes, have a particular style, and just as scribes can be shown to have written multiple manuscripts, illustrators can be shown to have illuminated multiple manuscripts. Like scribes, the illustrators are usually (though not always) anonymous. Therefore it is common to refer to them by a title — e.g. the "Bedford Master" is so called because he created the Bedford Book of Hours and other works associated with the Duke of Bedford, English regent of France in the period after the death of the conquering King Henry V in 1422. An artist responsible for a Latin copy of the Revelation and a book of sayings of philosophers is the Apocalypse Master. And so forth. Often a "Master" will be so-called because he inspires imitators (this is said to have been true of the Bedford Master; Mary Stuart's Book of Hours, compiled more than a century after the life of Bedford, is said to imitate the Bedford Master's style).

There is at least one substantial disadvantage of illuminated manuscripts (apart from the fact that they use up a lot of time and writing material). This is that the artwork often occupies the entire margin; a common pattern is to fill the page with wreathes and vines and flowers. These are often very beautiful — but they leave no room to write in corrections!

Imitations

A peculiar class of evidence not normally mentioned in the critical manuals, but perhaps of some significance particularly for the more obscure versions.

An *imitation* is a written work deliberately done in the style of an earlier work. A typical example in English is the "Thou shalt not" stricture: The King James Bible uses this formulation for the Ten Commandments, so moderns may say anything from "Thou shalt not speak ill of another Republican" to "Thou shalt not be the first to start a war." These are, of course, trivial examples, but the King James Bible has inspired many non-trivial examples, e.g. the Book of Mormon, which is in a pseudo-Biblical English which is in fact neither Jacobean nor English; similarly, Spenser's *Fairie Queen* is intended to imitate Chaucer but — because Chaucerian English was long dead — instead imitates gobbledigook.

Another example may be familiar to some English readers: Lancelot C. L. Brenton's translation of the Septuagint. This is a more modern equivalent of the Spenser/Chaucer situation: Brenton's translation is in pseudo-King James English, much influenced by the KJV. If one has the Hebrew, the Greek, and Brenton, one can at times retrovert to the KJV text. Brenton's translation is in fact less competent than it could be (as well as irritating to read) because it's so much a KJV imitation.

An imitation is not quite the same as an allusion, though the resemblance is obvious; Spenser, e.g., had spent so much effort reading Chaucer that he took on some of his speech patterns without actually understanding Chaucerian grammar. *Extremely* careful and cautious use of such references might enable us to occasionally see a hint as to how a damaged passage evolved.

Such a method is probably not needed for the Greek New Testament; the materials available to us are too slight. But I can imagine it coming up with regard to one of the more obscure versions, such as the Gothic or the Palestinian Syriac or perhaps even the Sahidic Coptic.

Incipit

Originally referred to the outside marking on a scroll. In a codex, it refers to the beginning of a particular book, e.g. the beginning of a gospel in a gospel codex.

Inherent Probability, Transmissional Probability, and Transcriptional Probability

One of the few things we know with certainty about any text is that we started with autographs and ended up with the manuscripts we currently have. Along the way, *something* happened.

To properly perform textual criticism, we have to try to reconstruct what that "something" was. How we reconstruct varies, of course; we might select a copy text, or decide to be highly eclectic, or do almost anything else. But, ultimately, every textual process involving two or more manuscripts involves an examination of the history of readings. When we set out to reconstruct the text, we call this the process of examining Internal Evidence.

In assessing these readings, critics evaluate the history of a passage in light of **Inherent** or **Intrinsic Probabilit**y and of **Transmissional** or **Transcriptional Probability**.

To put this in a single sentence, *Inherent Probability* concerns itself with what the author is most likely to have written (or what a particular critic thinks the author is most likely to have written), while *Transcriptional Probability* studies what a scribe might have done to that reading.

Intrinsic Probability is what reading, standing all by itself, makes the most sense. Hort, in §25 of his *Introduction*, lists factors which might be considered in determining intrinsic probability: "conformity to grammar and congruity to the purport of the rest of the sentence and the larger context; to which may rightly be added congruity to the usual style of the author and to his matter in other passages."

To put that in something more like English, Intrinsic Probability looks at what the author is saying at a particular point, and tries to make sense of the variant in that context; it also looks at the author's style and outlook, and tries looks for the reading which is more typical of the way the author thinks and writes.

Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, describing it under its other name of Intrinsic Probability, defined It this way: the necessity "first to cinsider which of the two or more variants makes the best sense; which is most in accordance with the general style of the author, and so on; which, in short, the author is most likely to have written.

To take an example of the latter, there are three instances in Matthew (11:15, 13:9, 13:43) of variants on the phrase
ο εχων ωτα [add/omit ακουειν] ακουετω, “let the one who has ears [to hear] hear!”

The usage with ακουειν is typical of Mark. Matthew is much more concise, and appears in at least two of the cases to have intended the reading ο εχων ωτα ακουετω, lacking the infinitive. So intrinsic probability argues that the shorter reading is the original.

Which brings us to **Transcriptional Probability**. This is what scribes are likely to have done to a particular reading, or, to again quote Lake and New, “how the scribe is likely to have arrived... at any of the various readings.”

It is interesting to note that Hort spend only three sections on intrinsic probability, but devotes ten (§28–37) to transcriptional probability. After all, he notes (§28) “If one various reading appears to ourselves to give much better sense or in some way to excel another, the same apparent superiority may have led to the introduction of the reading in the first instance. Mere blunders apart, no motive can be thought of which could lead a scribe to introduce a consciously worse reading in place of a better.” This leads Hort to the at-first unlikely conclusion, “We might thus seem to be landed in the paradoxical result that intrinsic inferiority is evidence of originality.”

But this is not what Hort means. He explains, (§28) “Transcriptional probability is not directly or properly concerned with the relative excellence of rival readings, but merely with the relative fitness of each for explaining the existence of the others. Each rival reading contributes an element to the problem which has to be solved; for every rival reading is a fact which has to be accounted for, and no acceptance of any one reading as original can be satisfactory which leaves any other variant incapable of being traced to some known cause or variation.”

Hort’s suggested method, then, is to take each of the various readings, assume it is original, and see what happens — almost a mathematical proposition.

Let’s take another Biblical example — one I’ve used elsewhere, but a good starting point because there are three readings, which often makes the direction of the changes clearer. The passage is James 5:7, where the Textus Receptus reads ο γεωργος εκδεχεται .... εωσαν λαβε υετον πρωιμον και οψυμον, *the farmer waits.... until he recieves the early and late rain.* There are several minor variants in this verse, but the major one is about what the farmer receives: does he receive υετον, rain; or καρπον, fruit; or does the verb lack an object?

The manuscript support is as follows:

- for υετον, rain: A K L P Ψ 33 81 322 323 436 1243 1505 1611 1852 2138 2344 *Byz* t pesh hark^{txt} slav
- for καρπον , fruit: א 398 1175 ff hark^{marg}
- for omitting an object: P^{72} B 048 945 1241 1739 2298 a s am ful sa arm

All three readings have early support, and at this stage we are not considering the value of the manuscripts (indeed, it is by assessing readings like this that we determine the value of manuscripts). Assume each reading is original. Start with *rain*. If it had been original, it could perhaps have been lost by accident. But why change it to *fruit*? This change makes no sense unless we assume a secondary change: if *rain* had been lost, a scribe might be tempted to supply an object, and thought of the wrong one.

A similar line of logic applies if we assume *fruit* is original: To account for all the readings, we must assume a two-stage change: First *fruit* is dropped, then some scribe emends by adding the object *rain*.

But assume the original had no object. This is is as awkward in Greek as in English. The temptation would be to add an object. One corrector thought of *fruit*, a reading which did not survive well; another (perhaps more than one) thought of *rain*, which is even more suitable and survived well.

Thus, transcriptional probability clearly favors the reading without an object. We adopt it as the original reading — and we slightly raise our estimate of the manuscripts containing it, for reference in the many cases where transcriptional probability is not so clear.

In deciding how to weigh these sorts of probability, we again turn to Hort, who popularized the terms. Of Intrinsic Probability, he says in §25–27, “The first impulse in dealing with a variation is usually to lean upon Intrinsic Probability, that is, to consider which of two readings makes the best sense, and to decide between them accordingly.... But the uncertainty of the decision in ordinary cases is shown by the great diversity of judgement which is actually found to exist… [In] dealing with this kind of evidence equally competent critics often arrive at contradictory conclusions as to the same variations. Nor indeed are the assumptions involved in Intrinsic Evidence of Readings to be implicitly trusted. There is much literature, ancient no less than modern, in which it is needful to remember that the authors are not always grammatical, or clear, or consistent, or felicitous… [In] the highest literature, and notably in the Bible, all readers are peculiarly liable to the fallacy of supposing that they understand the author’s reading and purpose because they understand some part or aspect of it.... and hence, in judging variants of text, they are led unawares to disparage any word or phrase which

owes its selection by the author to those elements of thought present in his mind which they have failed to percieve or to feel."

Again, in §31, he says, "The value of the evidence obtained from Transcriptional Probability is incontestible. Without its aid textual criticism could rarely obtain any high degree of security."

Internal Evidence

Evidence based on the logic of readings (as opposed to external evidence, which is based on the readings of manuscripts). Also called "transcriptional probability" or the like. It is based on determining which reading most likely gave rise to the others — e.g. which reading a scribe would be more likely to change by accident or on purpose; which reading the original author is most likely to have written. For further details see Internal Critical Rules under Canons of Criticism.

Intrinsic Probability: see Inherent Probability

J

Jerusalem Colophon

A colophon found in a number of manuscripts, including Λ/039, 20, 164, 215, 262, 300, 376, 428, 565, 686, 718, 1071, etc. (though some manuscripts apply it only to particular books, and others to all four gospels). The colophon states that the manuscript involved was “copied and corrected from the ancient exemplars from Jerusalem preserved on the holy mountain” (i.e. probably Athos). It should be noted, however, that this colophon does not guarantee anything about the texts of the manuscripts; they are not necessarily related textually (though a surprising number belong to Group Λ: Λ, 164, 262, and perhaps some of the many Wisse does not classify). Presumably the colophon was copied down from document to document independently of the text.

K

κεφαλαια

The κεφαλαια are an ancient system of textual divisions somewhat similar to the modern chapters; the τιτλοι are descriptions of these sections. See the section on Divisions and Organization of the Text

L

Lacuna

Plural *lacunae*. From Latin *lacuna*, gap, pool, cavern. With reference to manuscripts, it means to be defective for a portion of the text (usually short). Notice that a lacuna always refers to a portion of a manuscript which has been *lost* (due to the disappearance of leaves or the effects of water or trimming or whatever); it should not be used to refer to a section of the text which never was found in a manuscript.

The adjective *lacunose* may refer to a manuscript with many lacunae.

Lemma

Ultimately from Greek λαμβανω, hence "(something) received." The closest common equivalent is probably a "proposition" or perhaps "suggestion, statement." This is the sense in which the term is used in mathematics: A subsidiary proposition, of no great importance in itself, which is used to prove a more important theorem.

In textual criticism, "lemma" usually is used to describe the text of a running commentary or commentary manuscript. So, for example, we might cite Origen^{lem} and Origen^{comm}, with the lemma being the reading found in the biblical text of the manuscript and the commentary being found in the margin.

Since the biblical text seems more liable to correction than the commentary, the value of a lemma is usually less than the reading(s) in the margin. Thus certain editions will only cite a lemma where the commentary is missing or unclear.

Manuscript Libraries and Latin Names

Most of the older and more famous manuscripts are named for the libraries in which they are found — e.g. the Codex Vaticanus is, unsurprisingly, named after the Vatican library.

This clearly presents no problem when the library is as well-known as the Vatican's. But is it really self-evident that "Codex Haunienses" was originally located at Copenhagen, Denmark? And there aren't many bilingual Latin/English atlases to consult. The following tables allow conversion of codex names to city names and vice versa.

Note that a manuscript may still be called after its original library long after it has been moved (as, e.g. Codex Sinaiticus is still named for Sinai, not Saint Petersburg or the British Museum).

The list is not comprehensive. The primary source is *Latin Manvscripts* by Harold W. Johnston.

The first list is alphabetical by Latin title, the second by city or collection name.

Manuscript Title	**English City Name**
Alexandrini	For the Vatican collection by this name, see *Reginenses*
Ambrosiani	Milan, Ambrosian collection
Amstelodamenses	Amsterdam
Argentoratenses	University Library, Strassbourg
Ashburnhamii	Florence, Ashburnham collection (formerly in Britain)
Basilienses	Basle
Bernenses	Berne
Berolinenses	Berlin
Bliaudifontani	Fontainbleau
Bodleiani	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Borbonici	Naples, Bourbon collection
Britannici	(usually) British Museum, London
Cantabrigienses	Cambridge
Dresdenses	Dresden
Einsidlenses	Einsiedeln
Florentini	Florence
Gandavenses	Ghent
Gothani	Gotha
Harleiani	Harley collection, London
Haunienses	Copenhagen
Heildelberga	Heidelberg
Laurentiani	Florence, Laurentian collection
Leidenses	Leyden
Leodicences	Liège
Leopoldiana	Florence, Leopoldo collection
Londinenses	London
Lugdunenses Batavi	Leyden
Marciani	Venice (Marcian Library)
Medicei	Florence, Medici collection
Medliolanenses	Milan
Monacenses	Munich
Montpessulani	Montpellier
Neapolitani	Naples

Oxonienses	Oxford
Palatini	Palatine Library, Heidelberg
Parisiaci	Paris
Parisini	Paris
Pragenses	Prague
Regii	Paris (formerly French Royal Library)
Reginenses	Vatican (formerly Sweden, bought by Pope Alexander VIII from Queen Christina)
Riccardiani	Florence, Riccardi collection
Romani	Rome (but may refer to Vatican manuscripts)
Salisburgenses	Salzburg
San Marci	Florence, San Marco collection
Sangallenses	St. Gall
Sangermanenses	St. Germain
Stuttgardia	Stuttgart
Taurinenses	Turin
Townleiani	Townley collection, London
Turicenses	Zürich
Urbinates	Vatican, Urbino collection
Ursiniani	Vatican, Orsini collection
Vaticani	Vatican
Veniti	Venice
Veronenses	Verona
Vindobonensis	Vienna

English City Name	Manuscript Title
Amsterdam	Amstelodamenses
Basle	Basilienses
Berlin	Berolinenses
Berne	Bernenses
Bodleian Library, Oxford	Bodleiani
British Museum, London	Britannici (if not otherwise specified; see also Harley, London, etc.)
Cambridge	Cantabrigienses
Copenhagen	Haunienses
Dresden	Dresdenses
Einsiedeln	Einsidlenses
Florence (collection not specified)	Florentini
Florence, Ashburnham collection	Ashburnhamii
Florence, Laurentian collection	Laurentiani
Florence, Leopoldo collection	Leopoldiana
Florence, Medici collection	Medicei
Florence, Riccardi collection	Riccardiani
Florence, San Marco collection	San Marci
Fontainbleau	Bliaudifontani
Ghent	Gandavenses
Gotha	Gothani
Harley collection, London	Harleiani
Heidelberg	Heildelberga
Leyden	Lugdunenses Batavi
Leyden	Leidenses
Liège	Leodicences
London	Londinenses (see also British Museum, Townley Collection, etc.)
Milan	Medliolanenses
Milan, Ambrosian collection	Ambrosiani
Montpellier	Montpessulani
Munich	Monacenses
Naples	Neapolitani
Naples, Bourbon collection	Borbonici
Oxford (if not from Bodleian)	Oxonienses
Palatine Library, Heidelberg	Palatini

Paris	Parisiaci
Paris	Parisini
Paris (from Royal Library)	Regii
Prague	Pragenses
Rome (may refer to Vatican mss.)	Romani
Salzburg	Salisburgenses
St. Gall	Sangallenses
St. Germain	Sangermanenses
University Library, Strassbourg	Argentoratenses
Stuttgart	Stuttgardia
Townley collection, London	Townleiani
Turin	Taurinenses
Vatican (unspecified)	Vaticani
Vatican (from Queen Christina of Sweden)	Reginenses
Vatican, Orsini collection	Ursiniani
Vatican, Urbino collection	Urbinates
Venice	Veniti
Venice (Marcian Library)	Marciani
Verona	Veronenses
Vienna	Vindobonensis
Zürich	Turicenses

Lipography

A term rarely encountered in New Testament textual criticism (in fact, I've never seen it in a manual of NT TC), but occasionally found in classical manuals. It is simply another word for Haplography.

Local-Genealogical Method

The method of criticism advocated by Kurt and Barbara Aland, which they describe as "applying to each passage individually the approach used by classical philology for the whole tradition" (Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament,* p. 34). On page 291 they explain this: "[Arranging the variants in each passage] in a stemma.... reflecting the lines of development among the readings, demonstrating which reading must be original because it best explains the rise of the other readings." Thus the "local-genealogical method" is really just another way of saying "that reading is best which best explains the others."

It should perhaps be added that the Alands, in their work on the United Bible Societies Edition, do not appear to have followed this method, as the UBS text is overwhelmingly Alexandrian. A text proceeding purely from local-genealogical work (i.e. from internal criteria only) would without doubt be more eclectic. This leads to the suspicion that the Alands have not correctly described their method, which instead consists of using "local genealogy" *as assisted by the history of the text* (so, e.g., a reading found only in a late text-type cannot be earlier than one found in an early text-type, no matter how original it may appear on internal grounds). This is, in the author's opinion, the best and most proper form of criticism — but it requires a truly accurate history of the text, something which the Alands (on the evidence) had not achieved, or at least had not enunciated in a way usable by other scholars. Which, if one wishes to follow the rules of scientific work, is the same thing.

Local Texts

A term popularized by B. H. Streeter. A "local text" is the style of text typically found in a particular area — as the Alexandrian text is considered to have been found in Alexandria and the "Cæsarean" text in Cæsarea. As these texts evolved largely in isolation (a manuscript on, say, Mount Athos might be compared with other manuscripts at Athos, but rarely with manuscripts from other places), each local text would tend to develop peculiar readings, and peculiar patterns of readings. Streeter, for instance, thought he might have evidence of five local texts: The Alexandrian, (found in B א C L 33 Sahidic Bohairic etc.), the Cæsarean (Θ family 1 family 13 28 565 700 Armenian Georgian), the Antiochian (Old Syriac), the Italian or Gaulish (D a b), and the African (W^{Mark} k e) (see *The Four Gospels,* p. 26, etc.).

Direct evidence for the theory of local texts is largely lacking; except for the Egyptian papyri, we generally cannot correlate texts with the place of origin of manuscripts. There is some evidence of local texts on a lower level; we tend to find, e.g., that if a particular scribe copies several manuscripts, they tend to be of a single type. (Consider the work of Theodore of Hagiopetros, who is almost single-handedly responsible for Wisse's K^{x} Cluster 74, or George Hermonymos, who gave us manuscripts of K^{x} Cluster 17). There is also evidence from non-Biblical manuscripts; in works such as *Piers Plowman*, we find significant correlation between the place a manuscript was copied and the text it contains. (The vast majority of manuscripts of the "C" recension are found in the general area of Gloucester and the southwest; the "B" recension is common around London; the "A" recension is scattered but has several representatives near Cambridge.)

With the discovery of the papyri and the realization that not all manuscripts from Egypt have Alexandrian texts, the theory of local texts has lost some of its favour. We also find

that not all the texts at large ancient repositories (Athos, Sinai) are of the same type. The truth is, however, that even in Egypt a single text (the Alexandrian) is dominant. At the very least, we could expect local texts to flourish in isolated areas, and also to find particular sorts of texts associated with particular localities. There was much commerce in the ancient world, and so not all manuscripts in an area will automatically have the local text — but this does not invalidate the theory; it merely means that we must investigate manuscripts to see if they belong with their local type.

Still, caution must be used in assessing the value of local texts. If two local texts are indeed independent, then their common readings do have extra value. But the texts must indeed be independent! If, as some have charged, the "Cæsarean" and/or Byzantine texts are the result of editorial conflation of the Alexandrian and "Western" texts, they have no value as diverse witnesses. In addition, we must be alert to the possibility that one local text is derived from another. If, e.g., the texts at Athos are ultimately derived from Constantinople (a real possibility), then the local text of Athos has no independent significance.

M

Mathematics

Introduction

Mathematics — most particularly statistics — is frequently used in text-critical treatises. Unfortunately, most textual critics have little or no training in advanced or formal mathematics. This series of short items tries to give examples of how mathematics can be correctly applied to textual criticism, with "real world" examples to show how and why things work.

What follows is *not* enough to teach, say, probability theory. It might, however, save some errors — such as an error that seems to be increasingly common, that of observing individual manuscripts and assuming text-types have the same behavior (e.g. manuscripts tend to lose parts of the text due to haplographic error. Does it follow that text-types do so? It does not. We can observe this in a mathematical text, that of Euclid's *Elements*. Almost all of our manuscripts of this are in fact of Theon's recension, which on the evidence is fuller than the original. If manuscripts are never compared or revised, then yes, texts will always get shorter over time. But we know that they *are* revised, and there may be other processes at work. The ability to generalize must be proved; it cannot be assumed).

The appendix at the end assesses several examples of "mathematics" perpetrated on the text-critical world by scholars who, sadly, were permitted to publish without being reviewed by a competent mathematician (or even by a half-competent like me. It will tell you how bad the math is that I, who have only a bachelor's degree in math and haven't used most of *that* for twenty years, can instantly see the extreme and obvious defects).

There are several places in this document in which I frankly shout at textual critics (e.g. under Definitions and Fallacy). These are instances where errors are particularly blatant and common. I can only urge textual critics to heed these warnings.

One section — that on Ancient Mathematics — is separate: It is concerned not with mathematical technique but with the notation and abilities of ancient mathematicians. This can be important to textual criticism, because it reminds us of what errors they could make with numerals, and what calculations they could make.

Accuracy and Precision

"Accuracy" and "Precision" are terms which are often treated as synonymous. They are not.

Precision is a measure of how much information you are offering. *Accuracy* is a more complicated term, but if it is used at all, it is to measure of how close an approximation is to an ideal.[1]

To give an example, take the number we call "pi" — the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter. The actual value of π is known to be 3.141593…

Suppose someone writes that π is roughly equal to 3.14. This is an accurate number (the first three digits of π are indeed 3.14), but it is not overly precise. Suppose another person writes that the value of π is 3.32456789. This is a precise number — it has eight decimal digits — but it is very inaccurate (it's wrong by more than five per cent).

When taking a measurement (e.g. the rate of agreement between two manuscripts), one should be as accurate as possible and as precise as the data warrants.

As a good rule of thumb, you can add an additional significant digit each time you multiply your number of data points by ten. That is, if you have ten data points, you only have precision enough for one digit; if you have a hundred data points, your analysis may offer two digits.

Example: Suppose you compare manuscripts at eleven points of variation, and they agree in six of them. 6 divided by 11 is precisely 0.5454545… , or 54.5454… %. However, with only eleven data points, you are only allowed *one significant digit.* So the rate of agreement here, to one significant digit, is 50%.

Now let's say you took a slightly better sample of 110 data points, and the two manuscripts agree in sixty of them. Their percentage agreement is still 54.5454… %, but now you are allowed *two* significant digits, and so can write your results as 55% (54.5% rounds to 55%).

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1. (have to add a caution here: Richards Fields heads a standards-writing committee concerned with such terms, and he tells me they deprecate the use of "accuracy." Their feeling is that it blurs the boundary between the two measures above. Unfortunately, their preferred substitute is "bias" — a term which has a precise mathematical meaning, referring to the difference between a sample and what you would get if you tested a whole population. But "bias" in common usage is usually taken to be deliberate distortion. I can only advise that you choose your terminology carefully. What I call "accuracy" here is in fact a measure of sample bias. But that probably isn't a term that it's wise to use in a TC context. I'll talk of "accuracy" below, to avoid the automatic reaction to the term "bias," but I mean "bias." In any case, the key is to understand the difference between a bunch of decimal places and having the right answer.

If you could increase your sample to 1100 data points, you could increase the precision of your results to three digits, and say that the agreement is 54.5%.

Chances are that no comparison of manuscripts will ever allow you more than three significant digits. When Goodspeed gave the Syrian element in the Newberry Gospels as 42.758962%, Frederick Wisse cleverly and accurately remarked, "The six decimals tell us, of course, more about Goodspeed than about the MS."[1]

Ancient Mathematics

Modern mathematics is essentially universal (or at least planet-wide): Every serious mathematician uses Arabic numerals, and the same basic notations such as + - * / ( ) ° > < ∫. This was by no means true in ancient times; each nation had its own mathematics, which did not translate at all. (If you want to see what I mean, try reading a copy of *The Sand Reckoner* by Archimedes sometime.) Understanding these differences can sometimes have an effect on how we understand ancient texts.

There is evidence that the earliest peoples had only two "numbers" — one and two, which we might think of as "odd" and "even" — though most primitive peoples could count to at least four: "one, two, two-and-one, two-and-two, many." This theory is supported not just by the primitive peoples who still used such systems into the twentieth century but even, implicitly, by the structure of language. Greek is one of many Indo-European languages with singular, dual, and plural numbers (though of course the dual was nearly dead by New Testament times). Certain Oceanic languages actually have *five* number cases: Singular, dual, triple, quadruple, and plural. In what follows, observe how many number systems use dots or lines for the numbers 1–4, then some other symbol for 5. Indeed, we still do this today in hashmark tallies: count one, two three, four, then strike through the lot for 5: I II III IIII ~~IIII~~.

But while such curiosities still survive in out-of-the-way environments, or for quick tallies, every society we are interested in had evolved much stronger counting methods. We see evidence of a money economy as early as Genesis 23 (Abraham's purchase of the burial cave), and such an economy requires a proper counting system. Indeed, even Indo-European seems to have had proper counting numbers, something like *oino, dwo, treyes, kwetores, penkwe, seks, septm, okta, newn, dekm*, most of which surely sound familiar. In Sanskrit, probably the closest attested language to proto-Indo-European, this becomes *eka, dvau, trayas, catvaras, panca, sat, sapta, astau, nava, dasa*, and we also have a system for higher numbers — e.g. eleven is one-ten, *eka-dasa*; twelve is *dva-dasa*, and so forth; there are also words for 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, and

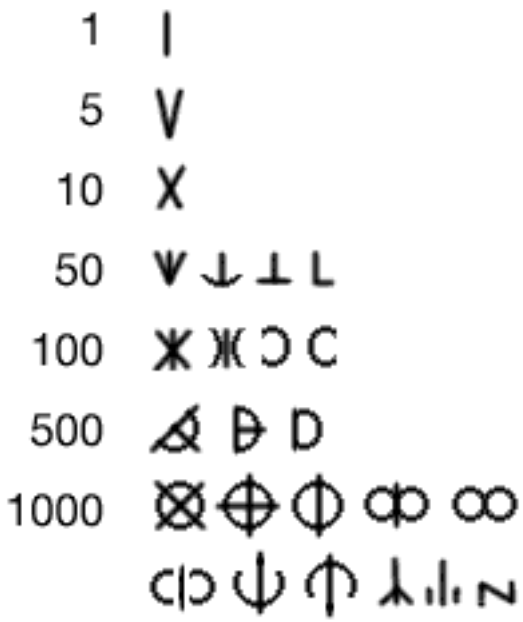
1. Frederick Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (Studies and Documents 44, 1982), page 23.)

compounds for 200, etc. (100 is *satam*, so 200 is *dvisata*, 300 *trisata*, etc.) Since there is also a name for 1000 (*sahasra*), Sanskrit actually has provisions for numbers up to a million (e.g. 200,000 is *dvi-sata-sahasra*). This may be post-Indo-European (since the larger numbers don't resemble Greek or German names for the same numbers), but clearly counting is very old.

You've probably encountered Roman Numerals at some time:
1 = I
2 = II
3 = III
4 = IIII (in recent times, sometimes IV, but this is modern)
5 = V
6 = VI
7 = VII
8 = VIII
9 = VIIII (now sometimes IX)
10 = X
11 = XI
15 = XV
20 = XX
25 = XXV

etc. This is one of those primitive counting systems, with a change from one form to another at 5. Like so many things Roman (e.g. their calendar), this is incredibly and absurdly complex. This may help to explain why Roman numerals went through so much evolution over the years; the first three symbols (I, V, and X) seem to have been in use from the very beginning, but the higher symbols took centuries to standardize — they were by no means entirely fixed in the New Testament period. The table belowshows some of the phases of the evolution of the numbers. Some, not all.

Roman Numerals: Variant Forms



In the graphic showing the variant forms, the evolution seems to have been fairly straightforward in the case of the smaller symbols — that is, if you see ⅄ instead of L for 50, you can be pretty certain that the document is old. The same is not true for the symbols for 1000; the evolution toward form like a Greek ϕ, in Georges Ifrah's view, was fairly direct, but from there we see all sorts of variant forms emerging — and others have proposed other histories. I didn't even try to trace the evolution of the various forms. The table in Ifrah shows a tree with three major and half a dozen minor branches, and even so appears to omit some forms. The variant symbols for 1000 in particular were still in widespread use in the first century C. E.; we still find the form ⊂I⊃ in use in the ruins of Pompeii, e.g., and there are even printed books which use this notation. The use of the symbol M for 1000 has not, to my knowledge, been traced back before the first century B.C.E. It has also been theorized that, contrary toIfrah's proposed evolutionary scheme, the notation D for 500 is in fact derived from the ⊂I⊃ notation for 1000 — as 500 is half of 1000, so D=I⊃ is half of ⊂I⊃. The ⊂I⊃ notation also lent itself to expansion; one might write ⊂⊂I⊃⊃ for 10000, e.g., and hence ⊂⊂⊂I⊃⊃⊃ for 100000. Which in turn implies I⊃⊃ for 5000, etc.

What's more, there were often various ways to represent a number. An obvious example is the number 9, which can be written as VIIII or as IX. For higher numbers, though, it gets worse. In school, they probably taught you to write 19 as XIX. But in

manuscripts it could also be written IXX (and similarly 29 could be IXXX), or as XVIIII. The results aren't really ambiguous, but they certainly aren't helpful!

Fortunately, while paleographers and critics of Latin texts sometimes have to deal with this, we don't have to worry too much about the actual *calculations* it represents. Roman mathematics didn't really even exist; they left no texts at all on theoretical math, and very few on applied math, and those very low-grade. (Their best work was by Boethius, long after New Testament times, and even it was nothing more than a rehash of works like Euclid's with all the rigour and general rules left out. The poverty of useful material is shown by the nature of the books available in the nations of the post-Roman world. There is, for example, only one pre-Conquest English work with any mathematical content: Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*. Apart from a little bit of geometry given in an astronomical context, its most advanced element is a multiplication table expressed as a sort of mnemonic poem.) No one whose native language was not Latin would ever use Roman mathematics if an alternative were available; the system had literally no redeeming qualities. In any case, as New Testament scholars, we are interested mostly in Greek mathematics, though we should glance at Babylonian and Egyptian and Hebrew maths also. (We'll ignore, e.g., Chinese mathematics, since it can hardly have influenced the Bible in any way. Greek math was obviously relevant to the New Testament, and Hebrew math — which in turn was influenced by Egyptian and Babylonian — may have influenced the thinking of the NT authors.) The above is mostly by way of preface: It indicates something about how numbers and numeric notations evolved.

1 = α	10 = ι	100 = ρ
2 = β	20 = κ	200 = σ
3 = γ	30 = λ	300 = τ
4 = δ	40 = μ	400 = υ
5 = ε	50 = ν	500 = φ
6 = ς (ϝ)	60 = ξ	600 = χ
7 = ζ	70 = ο	700 = ψ
8 = η	80 = π	800 = ω
9 = θ	90 = ϙ	900 = ϡ

The Greek system of numerals, as used in New Testament and early Byzantine times, was at least more compact than the Roman, though it (like all ancient systems) lacked the zero and so was not really suitable for advanced computation. The 24 letters of the

alphabet were all used as numerals, as were three obsolete letters, bringing the total to 27. This allowed the representation of all numbers less than 1000 using a maximum of three symbols, as shown at right:

Thus 155, for instance, would be written as ρνε; 23 would be κγ, 999 would be ϡϘΘ, etc.

Numbers over 1000 could also be expressed, simply by application of a divider. So the number 875875 would become ωοε,ωοε'. Note that this allowed the Greeks to express numbers actually larger than the largest "named" number in the language, the myriad (ten thousand). (Some deny this; they say the system only allowed four digits, up to 9999. This may have been initially true, but both Archimedes and Apollonius were eventually forced to extend the system — in different and conflicting ways. In practice, it probably didn't come up very often.)

Of course, this was a relatively recent invention. The Mycenaean Greeks in the Linear B tablets had used a completely different system: I for digits, — for tens, o for hundreds, for thousands. So, for instance, the number we would now express as 2185 would have been expressed in Pylos as o====IIIII. But this system, like all things about Linear B, seems to have been completely forgotten by classical times.

A second system, known as the "Herodian," or "Attic," was still remembered in New Testament times, though rarely if ever used. It was similar to Roman numerals in that it used symbols for particular numbers repeatedly — in this system, we had
I = 1
Δ = 10
H = 100
X = 1000
M = 10000

(the letters being derived from the first words of the names of the numbers).

However, like Roman numerals, the Greeks added a trick to simplify, or at least compress, the symbols. To the above five symbols, they added Π for five — but it could be five of anything — five ones, five tens, five hundreds, with a subscripted figure showing which it was. In addition, in practice, the number was often written as Γ rather than Π to allow numbers to be fitted under it. So, e.g., 28,641 would be written as

M M Γ_X X X X Γ_H H ΔΔΔΔ I

In that context, it's perhaps worth noting that the Greek verb for "to count" is πεμπω, related to πεντε, five. The use of a system such as this was almost built into the language. But its sheer inconvenience obviously helped assure the later success of the

Ionian system, which — to the best of my knowledge — is the one followed in all New Testament manuscripts which employ numerals at all.

And it should be remembered that these numerals were very widely used. Pick up a New Testament today and look up the "Number of the Beast" in Rev. 13:18 and you will probably find the number spelled out (so, e.g., in Merk, NA[27], and even Westcott and Hort; Bover and Hodges and Farstad uses the numerals). It's not so in the manuscripts; most of them use the numerals (and numerals are even more likely to appear in the margins, e.g. for the Eusebian tables). This should be kept in mind when assessing variant readings. Since, e.g., σ and ο can be confused in most scripts, one should be alert to scribes confusing these numerals even when they would be unlikely to confuse the names of the numbers they represent. O. A. W. Dilke in *Greek and Roman Maps* (a book devoted as much to measurement as to actual maps) notes, for instance, that "the numbers preserved in their manuscripts tend to be very corrupt" (p. 43). Numbers aren't words; they are easily corrupted — and, because they have little redundancy, if a scribe makes a copying error, a later scribe probably can't correct it. It's just possible that this might account for the variant 70/72 in Luke 10:1, for instance, though it would take an unusual hand to produce a confusion in that case.

There is at least one variant where a confusion involving numerals is nearly a certainty — Acts 27:37. Simply reading the UBS text here, which spells out the numbers, is flatly deceptive. One should look at the numerals. The common text here is

εν τω πλοιω σος

In B, however, supported by the Sahidic Coptic (which of course uses its own number system), we have

ΕΝΤΩΠΛΟΙΩΩΣΟΣ

Which would become

εν τω πλοιω ως ος

This latter reading is widely rejected. I personally think it deserves respect. The difference, of course, is only a single omega, added or deleted. But I think dropping it, which produces a smoother reading, is more likely. Also, while much ink has been spilled justifying the possibility of a ship with 276 people aboard (citing Josephus, e.g., to the effect that the ship that took him to Rome had 600 people in it — a statement hard to credit given the size of all known Roman-era wrecks), *possible* is not *likely*.

We should note some other implications of this system — particularly for gematria (the finding of mathematical equivalents to a text). Observe that there are three numerals — those for 6, 90, and 900 — which will never be used in a text (unless one counts a

terminal sigma, and that doesn't really count). Other letters, while they do occur, are quite rare (see the section on Cryptography for details), meaning that the numbers corresponding to them are also rare. The distribution of available numbers means that any numeric sum is possible, at least if one allows impossible spellings, but some will be much less likely than others. This might be something someone should study, though there is no evidence that it actually affects anything.

Of course, Greek mathematics was not confined simply to arithmetic. Indeed, Greek mathematics must be credited with first injecting the concept of Rigour into mathematics — for all intents and purposes, turning arithmetic into *mathematics*. This is most obvious in geometry, where they formalized the concept of the proof.

According to Greek legend, which can no longer be verified, it was the famous Thales of Miletus who gave some of the first proofs, showing such things as the fact that a circle is bisected by a diameter (i. e. there is a line — in fact, an infinite number of lines — passing through the center of the circle which divides the area of a circle into equal halves), that the base angles of an isosceles triangle (the ones next to the side which is not the same length as the other two) are equal, that the vertical angles between two intersecting lines (that is, either of the two angles *not* next to each other) are equal, and that two triangles are congruent if they have two equal angles and one equal side. We have no direct evidence of the proofs by Thales — everything we have of his work is at about third hand — but he was certainly held up as an example by later mathematicians.

The progress in the field was summed up by Euclid (fourth/third century), whose *Elements* of geometry remains fairly definitive for plane geometry even today.

Euclid also produces the (surprisingly easy) proof that the number of primes is infinite — giving, incidentally, a nice example of a proof by contradiction, a method developed by the Greeks: Suppose there is a largest prime (call it p). So take all the primes: 2, 3, 5, 7, … p. Multiply all of these together and add one. This number, since it is one more than a multiple of all the primes, cannot be divisible by any of them. It is therefore either prime itself or a multiple of a prime larger than p. So p cannot be the largest prime, which is a contradiction.

A similar proof shows that the square root of 2 is irrational — that is, it cannot be expressed as the ratio of any two whole numbers. The trick is to express the square root of two as a ratio and reduce the ratio p/q to simplest form, so that p and q have no common factors. So, since p/q is the square root of two, then $(p/q)^2 = 2$. So $p^2=2q^2$. Since $2q^2$ is even, it follows that p^2 is even. Which in turn means that p is even. So p^2 must be divisible by 4. So $2q^2$ must be divisible by 4, so q^2 must be divisible by 2. And, since we know the square root of 2 is not a whole number, that means that q must be

divisible by 2. Which means that p and q have a common factor of 2. This contradiction proves that there is no p/q which represents the square root of two.

This is one of those crucial discoveries. The Egyptians, as we shall see, barely understood fractions. The Babylonians did understand them, but had no theory of fractions. They could not step from the rational numbers (fractions) to the irrational numbers (endless non-repeating decimals). The Greeks, with results such as the above, not only invented mathematical logic — crucial to much that followed, including statistical analysis such as many textual critics used — but also, in effect, the whole system of real numbers.

The fact that the square root of two was irrational had been known as early as the time of Pythagoras, but the Pythagoreans hated the fact and tried to hide it. Euclid put it squarely in the open. (Pythagoras, who lived in the sixth century, of course, did a better service to math in introducing the Pythagorean Theorem. This was not solely his discovery — several other peoples had right triangle rules — but Pythagoras deserves credit for *proving* it analytically.)

Relatively little of Euclid's work was actually original; he derived most of it from earlier mathematicians, and often the exact source is uncertain (Boyer, in going over the history of this period, seems to spend about a quarter of his space discussing how particular discoveries are attributed to one person but perhaps ought to be credited to someone else; I've made no attempt to reproduce all these cautions and credits). That does not negate the importance of his work. Euclid gathered it, and organized it, and so allowed all that work to be maintained. But, in another sense, he did more. The earlier work had been haphazard. Euclid turned it into a system. This is crucial — equivalent, say, to the change which took place in biology when species were classified into genuses and families and such. Before Euclid, mathematics, like biology before Linnaeus, was essentially descriptive. But Euclid made it a unity. To do so, he set forth ten postulates, and took everything from there.

Let's emphasize that. **Euclid set forth ten postulates** (properly, five axioms and five postulates, but this is a difference that makes no difference). Euclid, and those on whom he relied, set forth what they knew, and defined their rules. This is the fundamental basis to all later mathematics — and is something textual critics still haven't figured out! (Quick — define the Alexandrian text!)

Euclid in fact hadn't figured everything out; he made some assumptions he didn't realize he was making. Also, since his time, it has proved possible to dispense with certain of his postulates, so geometry has been generalized. But, in the realm where his postulates (stated and unstated) apply, Euclid remains entirely correct. The *Elements* is still occasionally used in math classes today. And the whole idea of postulates and

working from them is essential in mathematics. I can't say it often enough: this was the single most important discovery in the history of math, because it *defines* Rigour. Euclid's system, even though the individual results preceded him, made most future maths possible.

The sufficiency of Euclid's work is shown by the extent to which it eliminated all that came before. There is only one Greek mathematical work which survives from the period before Euclid, and it is at once small and very specialized — and survived because it was included in a sort of anthology of later works. It's not a surprise, of course, that individual works have perished (much of the work of Archimedes, e.g., has vanished, and much of what has survived is known only from a single tenth-century palimpsest, which obviously is both hard to interpret and far removed from the original). But for *all* of it to vanish? Clearly Euclid was considered sufficient.

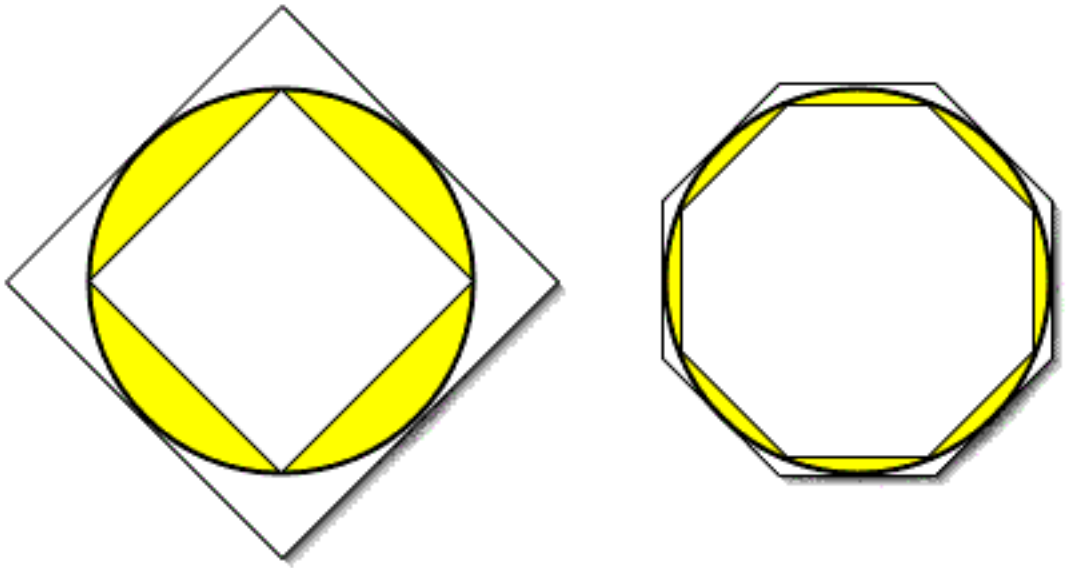
And for a very long time. The first printed edition of Euclid came out in 1482, and it is estimated that over a thousand editions have been published since; it has been claimed that it is the most-published book of all time other than the Bible.

Not that the Greeks stopped working once Euclid published his work. Apollonius, who did most of the key work on conic sections, came later, as did Eratosthenes, perhaps best remembered now for accurately measuring the circumference of the earth but also noteworthy for inventing the "sieve" that bears his name for finding prime numbers. And greatest Greek mathematician was no more than a baby when Euclid wrote the *Elements*. Archimedes — surely the greatest scientific and mathematical genius prior to Newton, and possibly even Newton's equal had he had the data and tools available to the latter — was scientist, engineer, the inventor of mathematical physics, *and* a genius mathematician. In the latter area, several of his accomplishments stand out. One is his work on large numbers in *The Sand Reckoner*, in which he set out to determine the maximum number of sand grains the universe might possibly hold. To do this, he had to invent what amounted to exponential notation. He also, in so doing, produced the notion of an infinitely extensible number system. The notion of infinity was known to the Greeks, but had been the subject of rather unfruitful debate. Archimedes gave them many of the tools they needed to address some of the problems — though few later scholars made use of the advances.

Archimedes also managed, in one step, to create one of the tools that would turn into the calculus (though he didn't know it) *and* to calculate an extremely accurate value for π, the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter. The Greeks were unable to find an exact way to calculate the value — they did not know that π is irrational; this was not known with certainty until Lambert proved it in 1761. The only way the Greeks could prove a number irrational was by finding the equivalent of an algebraic equation to

which it was a solution. They couldn't find such an equation for π, for the good and simple reason that there is no such equation. This point — that π is what we now call a transcendental number — was finally proved by Ferdinand Lindemann in 1882.

Archimedes didn't know that π is irrational, but he did know he didn't know how to calculate it. He had no choice but to seek an approximation. He did this by the beautifully straightforward method of inscribed and circumscribed polygons. The diagram below shows how this works:



The circumference of the circle is clearly greater than the circumference of the square inscribed inside it, and less than the square circumscribed around it. If we assume the circle has a radius of 1 (i.e. a diameter of 2), then the perimeter of the inner square can be shown to be 4 times the square root of two, or about 5.66. The perimeter of the outer square (whose sides are the same length as the diameter of the circle) is 8. Thus the circumference of the circle, which is equal to 2π, is somewhere between 5.66 and 8. (And, in fact, 2π is about 6.283, so Archimedes is right). But now notice the second figure, in which an octagon has been inscribed and circumscribed around the circle. It is obvious that the inner octagon is closer to the circle than the inner square, so its perimeter will be closer to the circumference of the circle while still remaining less. And the outer octagon is closer to the circle while still remaining greater.

If we repeat this procedure, inscribing and circumscribing polygons with more and more faces, we come closer and closer to "trapping" the value of π. Archimedes, despite having only the weak Greek mathematical notation at his disposal, managed to trap the value of π as somewhere between 223/71 (3.14085) and 220/70 (3.14386). The first of these values is about .024% low of the actual value of π; the latter is about .04% high;

the median of the two is accurate to within .008%. That is an error too small to be detected by any measurement device known in Archimedes's time; there aren't many outside an advanced science lab that could detect it today.

Which is nice enough. But there is also a principle there. Archimedes couldn't demonstrate it, because he hadn't the numbering system to do it — but his principle was to add more and more sides to the inscribing and circumscribing polygons (sometimes called a method of exhaustion). Suppose he had taken *infinitely* many sides? In that case, the inscribing and circumscribing polygons would have merged with the circle, and he would have had the exact value of π. Archimedes also did something similar to prove the area of circles. (In effect, the same proof.) This is the principle of the limit, and it is the basis on which the calculus is defined. It is sometimes said that Archimedes would have invented the calculus had he had Arabic numerals. This statement is too strong. But he might well have created a tool which could have led to the calculus.

An interesting aspect of Greek mathematics was their search for solutions even to problems with no possible use. A famous example is the attempt to "square the circle" — starting from a circle, to construct a square with the same area using nothing but straight edge and compass. This problem goes back all the way to Anaxagoras, who died in 428 B.C.E. The Greeks never found an answer to that one — it is in fact impossible using the tools they allowed themselves — but the key point is that they were trying for general and theoretical rather than practical and specific solutions. That's the key to a true mathematics.

In summary, Greek mathematics was astoundingly flexible, capable of handling nearly any engineering problem found in the ancient world. The lack of Arabic numbers made it difficult to *use* that knowledge (odd as it sounds, it was easier back then to do a proof than to simply add up two numbers in the one million range). But the basis was there.

To be sure, there was a dark — or at least a goofy — side to Greek mathematics. Plato actually thought mathematics more meaningful than data — in the *Republic*, 7.530B-C, he more or less said that, where astronomical observations and mathematics disagreed, too bad for the facts. Play that game long enough, and you'll start distorting the math as well as the facts…

The goofiness is perhaps best illustrated by some of the uses to which mathematics was put. The Pythagoreans were famous for their silliness (e.g. their refusal to eat beans), but many of their nutty ideas were quasi-mathematical. An example of this is their belief that 10 was a very good and fortunate number because it was equal to 1+2+3+4. Different Greek schools had different numerological beliefs, and even good mathematicians could fall into the trap; Ptolemy, whose *Almagest* was a summary of

much of the best of Greek math, also produced the *Tetrabiblos* of mystical claptrap. The good news is, relatively few of the nonsense works have survived, and as best I can tell, none of the various superstitions influenced the NT writers. The Babylonians also did this sort of thing — they in fact kept it all secret, concealing some of their knowledge with Cryptography], and we at least hear of this sort of mystic knowledge in the New Testament, with Matthew's mention of (Babylonian) Magi — but all the evangelist seems to have cared was that they had secret knowledge, not *what* that knowledge was.

At least the Greek had the sense to separate rigourous from silly, which many other people did not. Maybe they were just frustrated with the difficulty of achieving results. The above description repeatedly laments the lack of Arabic numbers — i.e. with positional notation and a zero. This isn't just a matter of notational difficulty; without a zero, you can't have the integers, nor negative numbers, let alone the real and complex numbers that let you solve all algebraic equations. Arabic numbers are the mathematical equivalent of an alphabet, only even more essential. The advantage they offer is shown by an example we gave above: The determination of π by means of inscribed and circumscribed polygons. Archimedes could manage only about three decimal places even though he was a genius. François Viète (1540–1603) and Ludolph van Ceulen (1540–1610) were not geniuses, but they managed to calculate π to ten and 35 decimal places, respectively, using the method of Archimedes — and they could do it because they had Arabic numbers.

The other major defect of Greek mathematics was that the geometry was not analytic. They could draw squares, for instance — but they couldn't graph them; they didn't have cartesian coordinates or anything like that. Indeed, without a zero, they couldn't draw graphs; there was no way to have a number line or a meeting point of two axes. This may sound trivial — but modern geometry is almost all analytic; it's much easier to derive results using non-geometric tools. It has been argued that the real reason Greek mathematics stalled in the Roman era was not lack of brains but lack of scope: There wasn't much else you could do just with pure geometric tools.

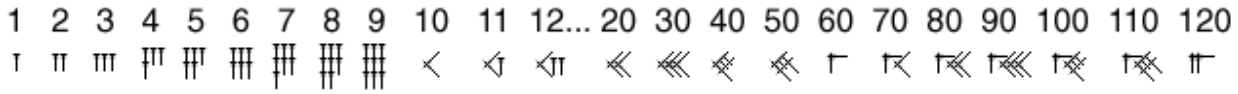
The lack of a zero (and hence of a number line) wasn't just a problem for the Greeks. We must always remember a key fact about early mathematics: there was no universal notation; every people had to re-invent the whole discipline. Hence, e.g., though Archimedes calculated the value of π to better than three decimal places, we find 1 Kings 7:23, in its description of the bronze sea, rounding off the dimensions to the ratio 30:10. (Of course, the sea was built and the account written before Archimedes. More to the point, both measurements could be accurate to the single significant digit they represent without it implying a wrong value for π — if, e.g., the diametre were 9.7 cubits, the circumference would be just under 30.5 cubits. It's also worth noting that the Hebrews at this time were probably influenced by Egyptian mathematics — and the

Egyptians did not have any notion of number theory, and so, except in problems involving whole numbers or simple fractions, *could not distinguish* between exact and approximate answers.)

Still, Hebrew mathematics was quite primitive. There really wasn't much there apart from the use of the letters to represent numbers. I sometimes wonder if the numerical detail found in the so-called "P" source of the Pentateuch doesn't somehow derive from the compilers' pride in the fact that they could actually count that high!

Much of what the Hebrews did know may well have been derived from the Babylonians, who had probably the best mathematics other than the Greek; indeed, in areas other than geometry, the Babylonians were probably stronger. And they started earlier; we find advanced mathematical texts as early as 1600 B.C.E., with some of the basics going all the way back to the Sumerians, who seem to have been largely responsible for the complex 10–and–60 notation used in Babylon. How much of this survived to the time of the Chaldeans and the Babylonian Captivity is an open question; Ifrah says the Babylonians converted their mathematics to a simpler form around 1500 B.C.E., butNeugebauer, generally the more authoritative source, states that their old forms were still in use as late as Seleucid times. Trying to combine the data leads me to guess the Chaldeans had a simpler form, but that the older, better maths were retained in some out-of-the-way places.

It is often stated that the Babylonians used Base 60. This statement is somewhat deceptive. The Babylonians used a mixed base, partly 10 and partly 60. The chart below, showing the cuneiform symbols they used for various numbers, may make this clearer.



This mixed system is important, because base 60 is too large to be a comfortable base — a base 60 multiplication table, for instance, has 3600 entries, compared to 100 entries in Base 10. The mixed notation allowed for relatively simple addition and multiplication tables — but also for simple representation of fractions.

For very large numbers, the Babylonians had still another system — a partial positional notation, based on using a space to separate digits. So, for instance, if they wrote I II III (note the spaces between the wedges), that would mean one times 60 squared (i.e. 3600) plus two times 60 plus three, or 3723. This style is equivalent to our 123 = one times ten squared plus two times ten plus three. The problem with this notation (here we go again) is that it had no zero; if they wrote IIII II, say, there was no way to tell if this

meant 14402 ($4x60^2+0x60+2$) or 242 ($4x60+2$). And there was no way, in this notation, to represent 14520 ($4x60^2+2x60+0$). (The Babylonians did eventually — perhaps in or shortly before Seleucid times — invent a placeholder to separate the two parts, though it wasn't a true zero; they didn't have a number to represent what you got when you subtracted, e.g., nine minus nine.)

On the other hand, Babylonian notation *did* allow representation of fractions, at least as long as they had no zero elements: Instead of using positive powers of 60 ($60^2=3600$, $60^1=60$, etc.), they could use negative powers — $60^{-1}=1/60$, $60^{-2}=1/3600$, etc. So they could represent, say, 1/15 (=4/60) as IIII, or 1/40 (=1/60 + 30/3600) as I <<<, making them the only ancient people with a true fractional notation.

Thus it will be seen that the Babylonians actually used Base 10 — but generally did calculations in Base 60.

There is a good reason for the use of Base 60, the reason being that 60 has so many factors: It's divisible by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15, 20, and 30. This means that all fractions involving these denominators are easily expressed (important, in a system where decimals were impossible due to the lack of a zero and even fractions didn't have a proper means of notation). This let the Babylonians set up fairly easy-to-use computation tables. This proved to be so much more useful for calculating angles and fractions that even the Greeks took to expressing ratios and angles in Base 60, and we retain a residue of it today (think degrees/minutes/seconds). The Babylonians, by using Base 60, were able to express almost every important fraction simply, making division simple; multiplication by fractions was also simplified. This fact also helped them discover the concept (though they wouldn't have understood the term) of repeating decimals; they had tables calculating these, too.

Base 60 also has an advantage related to human physiology. We can count up to five at a glance; to assess numbers six or greater required counting. So, given the nature of the cuneiform numbers expressing 60 or 70 by the same method as 50 (six or seven pairs of brackets as opposed to five) would have required more careful reading of the results. Whereas, in Babylonian notation, numbers could be read quickly and accurately. A minor point, but still an advantage.

Nor were the Babylonians limited to calculating fractions. The Babylonians calculated the square root of two to be roughly 1.414213, an error of about one part in one million! (As a rough approximation, they used 85/60, or 1.417, still remarkably good.) All of this was part of their approach to what we would call algebra, seeking the solution to various types of equations. Many of the surviving mathematics tablets are what my elementary school called "story problems" — a problem described, and then solved in such a way as to permit general solutions to problems of the type.

There were theoretical complications, to be sure. Apart from the problem that they sometimes didn't distinguish between exact and approximate solutions, their use of units would drive a modern scientist at least half mad — there is, for instance, a case of a Babylonian tablet adding a "length" to an "area." It has been proposed that "length" and "width" came to be the Babylonian term for variables, as we would use x, y, and z. This is possible — but the result still permits confusion and imprecision.

We should incidentally look at the mathematics of ancient Mari, since it is believed that many of the customs followed by Abraham came from that city. Mari appears to have used a modification of the Babylonian system that was purely 10–based: It used a system exactly identical to the Babylonian for numbers 1–59 — i.e. vertical wedges for the numbers 1–9, and chevrons (<) for the tens. So <<II, e.g., would represent 22, just as in Babylonian.

The first divergence came at 60. The Babylonians adopted a different symbol here, but in Mari they just went on with what they were doing, using six chevrons for 60, seven for seventy, etc. (This frankly must have been highly painful for scribes — not just because it took 18 strokes, e.g. to express the number 90, but because 80 and 90 are almost indistinguishable). (The people of Mari may have known this, since they used the true Babylonian notation for international and "scientific" documents.)

For numbers in the hundreds, they would go back to the symbol used for ones, using positions to show which was which — e.g. 212 would be II<II. But they did not use this to develop a true positional notation (and they had no zero); rather, they had a complicated symbol for 1000 (four parallel horizontal wedges, a vertical to their right, and another horizontal to the right of that), which they used as a separator — much as we would use the , in the number 1,000 — and express the number of thousands with the same old unit for ones.

This system did not, however, leave any descendants that we know of; after Mari was destroyed, the other peoples in the area went back to the standard Babylonian/ Akkadian notation.

The *results* of Babylonian math are quite sophisticated; it is most unfortunate that the theoretical work could not have been combined with the Greek concept of rigour. The combination might have advanced mathematics by hundreds of years. It is a curious irony that Babylonian mathematics was immensely sophisticated but completely pointless; like the Egyptians and the Hebrews, they had no theory of numbers, and so while they could solve problems of particular types with ease, they could not generalize to larger classes of problems. Which may not sound like a major drawback, but realize what this means: If the parameters of a problem changed, even slightly, the Babylonians had no way to know if their old techniques would accurately solve it or not.

None of this matters now, since we have decimals and Arabic numerals. Little matters even to Biblical scholars, even though, as noted, Hebrew math probably derives from Babylonian (since the majority of Babylonian tablets come from the era when the Hebrew ancestors were still under Mesopotamian influence, and they could have been re-exposed during the Babylonian Captivity, since Babylonian math survived until the Seleudid era) or perhaps Egyptian; there is little math in the Old Testament, and what there is has been "translated" into Hebrew forms. Nonetheless the pseudo-base of 60 has genuine historical importance: The 60:1 ratio of talent: mina: shekel is almost certainly based on the Babylonian use of Base 60.

Much of Egyptian mathematics resembles the Babylonian in that it seeks directly for the solution, rather than creating rigourous methods, though the level of sophistication is much less.

A typical example of Egyptian dogmatism in mathematics is their insistence that fractions could only have unitary numerators — that is, that 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5 were genuine fractions, but that a fraction such a 3/5 was impossible. If the solution to a problem, therefore, happened to be 3/5, they would have to find some alternate formulation — 1/2 + 1/10, perhaps, or 1/5 + 1/5 + 1/5, or even 1/3 + 1/4 + 1/60. Thus a fraction had no unique expression in Egyptian mathematics — making rigour impossible; in some cases, it wasn't even possible to tell if two people had come up with the same answer to a problem!

Similarly, they had a fairly accurate way of calculating the area of a circle (in modern terms, they used a value 256/81, or about 3.16, for π) — but they didn't define this in terms of a number π (their actual formula was $(8d/9)^2$, where d is the diameter), and apparently did not realize that this number had any other uses such as calculating the circumference of the circle.

Egyptian notation was of the basic count-the-symbols type we've seen, e.g., in Roman and Mycenean numbers. In heiroglyphic, the units were shown with the so-very-usual straight line I. Tens we a symbol like an upside-down U — ∩. So 43, for instance, would be ∩∩∩∩III. For hundreds, they used a spiral; a (lotus?) flower and stem stood for thousands. An image of a bent finger stood for ten thousands. A tadpole-like creature represented hundred thousands. A kneeling man with arms upraised counted millions — and those high numbers were used, usually in boasts of booty captured. They also had four symbols for fractions: special symbols for 1/2, 2/3, and 3/4, plus the generic reciprocal symbol, a horizontal oval we would read a "one over." So some typical fractions would be

1/4:	1/6:	1/16:
⊂⊃	⊂⊃	⊂⊃
II	III	∩II
II	III	IIII

It will be seen that there is no direct way to express, say, 2/5 in this system; it would be either 1/5+1/5 or, since the Egyptians don't seem to have liked repeating fractions either, something like 1/3+1/15. (Except that they seem to have preferred to put the smaller fraction first, so this would be written 1/15+1/3.)

The Egyptians actually had a separate fractional notation for volume measure, fractions-of-a-heqat. I don't think this comes up anywhere we would care about, so I'm going to skip trying to explain it. Nonetheless, it was a common problem in ancient math — the inability to realize that numbers were numbers. It often was not realized that, say, three drachma were the same as three sheep were the same as three logs of oil. Various ancient systems had *different number-names*, or at least *different symbols*, for all these numbers — as if we wrote "3 sheep" but "III drachma." We have vestiges of this today — consider currency, where instead of saying, e.g., "3 $," (as we would say "3 seconds"), we write "$3" — a significant notational difference.

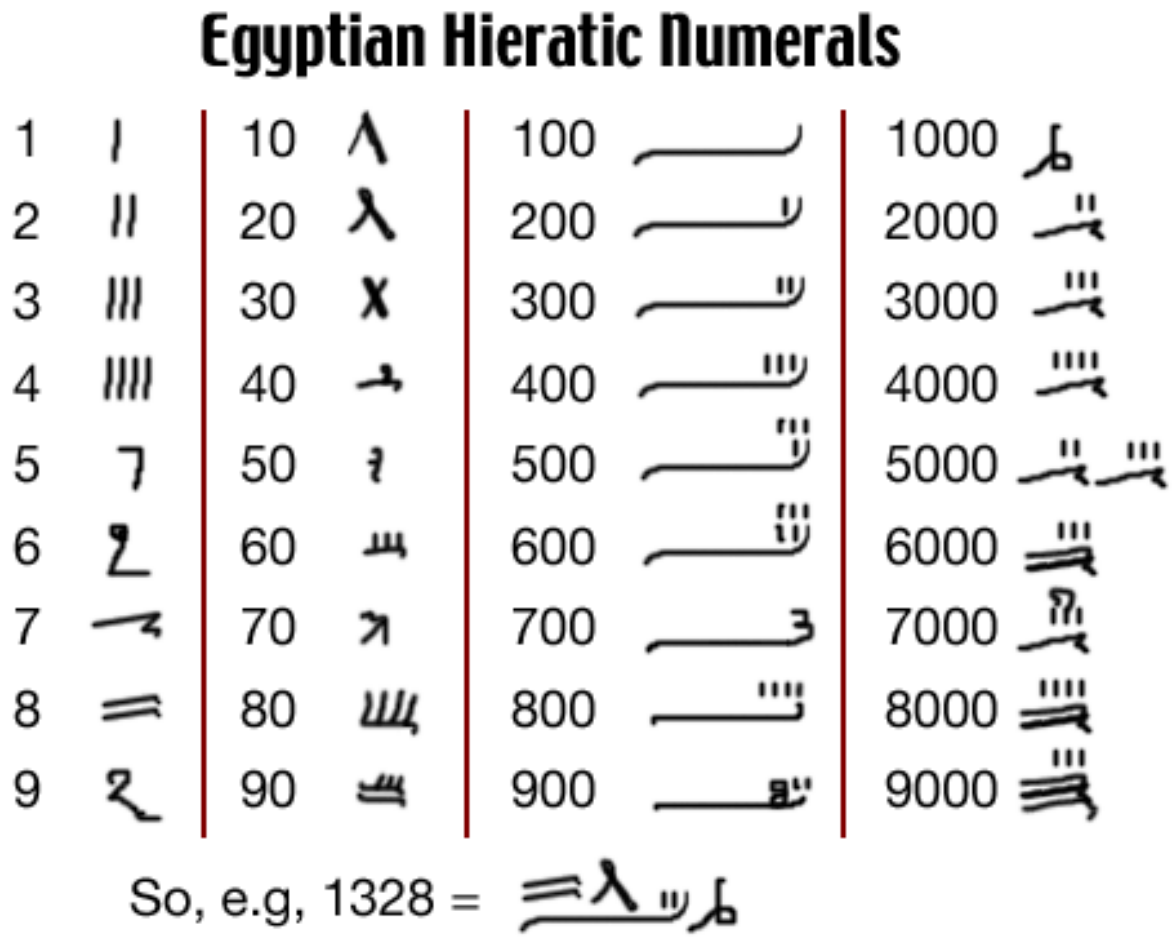
We also still have some hints of the ancient problems with fractions, especially in English units: Instead of measuring a one and a half pound loaf of bread as weighing "1.5 pounds," it will be listed as consisting of "1 pound 8 ounces." A quarter of a gallon of milk is not ".25 gallon"; it's "1 quart." (This is why scientists use the metric system!) This was even more common in ancient times, when fractions were so difficult: Instead of measuring everything in shekels, say, we have shekel/mina/talent, and homer/ephah, and so forth.

Even people who use civilized units of measurement often preserve the ancient fractional messes in their currency. The British have rationalized pounds and pence and guineas — but they still *have* pounds and shillings and pence. Americans use dollars and cents, with the truly peculiar notation that dollars are expressed (as noted above) "$1.00," while cents are "100 ¢"; the whole should ideally be rationalized. Germans, until the coming of the Euro, had marks and pfennig. And so forth. Similarly, we have a completely non-decimal time system; 1800 seconds are 30 minutes or 1/2 hour or 1/48 day. Oof!

We of course are used to these funny cases. But it should always be kept in mind that the ancients used this sort of (non-)system for *everything* — and had even less skill than we in converting.

But let's get back to Egyptian math…

The hieratic/demotic had a more compact, though more complicated, system than hieroglyphic. I'm not going to try to explain this, just show the various symbols as listed in figure 14.23 (p. 176) of Ifrah. This is roughly the notation used in the Rhind Papyrus, though screen resolution makes it hard to display the strokes clearly.



This, incidentally, does much to indicate the difficulty of ancient notations. The Egyptians, in fact, do not seem even to have had a concept of general "multiplication"; their method — which is ironically similar to a modern computer — was the double-and-add. For example, to multiply 23 by 11 (which we could either do by direct multiplication or by noting that 11=10+1, so 23x11 = 23x(10+1)=23x10 + 23x1 =230+23=253), they would go through the following steps:

23x1 = 23
23x2 = 46
23x4 = 92
23x8 = 184
and 11=8+2+1
so 23x11 = (23x8) + (23x2) + (23+1) = 184 + 46 + 23 = 253

This works, but oy. A problem I could do by inspection takes six major steps, with all the chances for error that implies.

The same, incidentally, is true in particular of Roman numerals. This is thought to be the major reason various peoples invented the abacus: Even addition was very difficult in their systems, so they didn't do actual addition; they counted out the numbers on the abacus and then translated them back into their notation.

That description certain seems to fit the Hebrews. Hebrew mathematics frankly makes one wonder why God didn't do something to educate these people. Their mathematics seems to have been even more primitive than the Romans'; there is nothing original, nothing creative, nothing even particularly efficient. It's almost frightening to think of a Hebrew designing Solomon's Temple, for instance, armed with all the (lack of) background on stresses and supports that a people who still lived mostly in tents had at their disposal. (One has to suspect that the actual temple construction was managed by either a Phoenician or an Egyptian.)

This doubtless explains a problem which bothers mathematicians even if it does not bother the average Bible scholar: The claim in Revelation 7:9 that the number of the saved was "uncountable" or was so large that "no one could count it." This of course is pure balderdash — if you believe in Adam and Eve, then the total number of humans that ever lived can be numbered in the tens of billions, which is easily countable by computers, and even if you make the assumption based on evolutionary biology that the human race is a hundred thousand or so years old, the number rises only slightly, and even if you go back and count all australopithecines as human, it's still only hundreds of billions, and even if there are races on other planets throughout the universe which are counted among the saved, well, the universe had a beginning time (the Big Bang), and its mass is finite, so we can categorically say that the number of saved is a finite, countable number. A human being might not be able to actually do the counting, but a modern human, or Archimedes, would have been able to write down the number if God were to supply the information. But someone who knew only Hebrew mathematics could not, and so could say that the number was beyond counting when in fact it was merely beyond his comprehension.

The one thing that the Hebrews could call their own was their numbering system (and even that probably came from the Phoenicians along with the alphabet). They managed to produce a system with most of the handicaps, and few of the advantages, of both the alphabetic systems such as the Greek and the cumulative systems such as the Roman. As with the Greeks, they used letters of the alphabet for numbers — which meant that numbers could be confused with words, so they often prefixed ‘ or a dot over the number to indicate that it was a numeral. But, of course, the Hebrew alphabet had only 22 letters — and, unlike the Greeks, they did not invoke other letters to supply the lack (except that a few texts use the terminal forms of the letters with two shapes, but this is reportedly rare). So, for numbers in the high hundreds, they ended up duplicating letters — e.g. since one tau meant 400, two tau meant 800. Thus, although the basic principle was alphabetic, you still had to count letters to an extent.

The basic set of Hebrew numbers is shown below.

Hebrew Numerals

1	א	10	י	100	ק
2	ב	20	כ	200	ר
3	ג	30	ל	300	ש
4	ד	40	מ	400	ת
5	ה	50	נ	500	תק
6	ו	60	ס	600	תר
7	ז	70	ע	700	תש
8	ח	80	פ	800	תת
9	ט	90	צ	900	תתק

An interesting and uncertain question is whether this notation preceded, supplanted, or existed alongside Aramaic numerals. The Aramaeans seem to have used a basic additive system. The numbers from one to nine were simple tally marks, usually grouped in threes — e.g. 5 would be II III (read from right to left, of course); 9 would be III III III. For 10 they used a curious pothook, perhaps the remains of a horizontal bar, something like a ~ or ∩ or ⌒. They also had a symbol for 20, apparently based on two of

these things stuck together; the result often looked rather like an Old English yogh (ȝ) or perhaps ≈. Thus the number 54 would be written ι ιιι ~ȝȝ.

There is archaeological evidence for the use of both “Hebrew” and “Aramaic” forms in Judea. Coins of Alexander Jannaeus (first century B.C.E.) use alphabetic numbers. But we find Aramaic numbers among the Dead Sea Scrolls. This raises at least a possibility that the number form one used depended upon one’s politics. The Jews at Elephantine (early Persian period) appear to have used Aramaic numbers — but they of course were exiles, and living in a period before Jews as a whole had adopted Aramaic. On the whole, the evidence probably favors the theory that Aramaic numbering preceded Hebrew, but we cannot be dogmatic. In any case, Hebrew numbers were in use by New Testament times; we note, in fact, that coins of the first Jewish Revolt — which are of course very nearly contemporary with the New Testament books — use the Hebrew numerals.

There is perhaps one other point we should make about mathematics, and that is the timing of the introduction of Arabic numerals. An early manuscript of course cannot contain such numbers; if it has numerals (in the Eusebian apparatus, say), they will be Greek (or Roman, or something). A late minuscule, however, can contain Arabic numbers — and, indeed, many have pages numbered in this way.

Arabic numerals underwent much change over the years. The graphic below barely sketches the evolution. The first three samples are based on actual manuscripts (in the first case, based on scans of the actual manuscript; the others are composite).

The first line is from the Codex Vigilanus, generally regarded as the earliest use of Arabic numerals in the west (though it uses only the digits 1–9, not the zero). It was written, not surprisingly, in Spain, which was under Islamic influence. The codex (Escurial, Ms. lat. d.1.2) was copied in 976 C. E. by a monk named Vigila at the Abelda monastery. The next several samples are (based on the table of letterforms in Ifrah) typical of the next few centuries. Following this, I show the evolution of forms described in E. Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography,* p. 92. Thompson says that Hindu/Arabic numerals were used mostly in mathematical works until the thirteenth century, with other notations being the standard in general manuscripts. Arabic numerals became universal in the fourteenth century. Singer, p. 175, describes a more complicated path: Initially they were used primarily in connection with the calendar. The adoption of Arabic numerals for mathematics apparently can be credited to one Leonardo of Pisa, who had done business in North Africa and seen the value of the system. He'll perhaps sound more familiar if we note that he was usually called "Fibonacci," the "Son of Bonaccio" — now famous for his series (0, 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8…) in which each term is the sum of the previous two. But his greatest service to mathematics was his support of modern notation. In 1202 he put forth the *Book of the Abacus*, a manual of calculation (which also promoted the horizontal stroke "—" to separate the numerators and denominators of fractions, though his usage was, by modern standards, clumsy, and it took centuries for this notation to catch on). The use of Arabic numerals was further encouraged when the Yorkshireman John Holywood

(died 1250) produced his own book on the subject, which was quite popular; Singer, p. 173, reports that Holywood "did more to introduce the Arabic notation than any other." Within a couple of centuries, they were commonly used. In Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* I.7, for instance, addressed to his ten-year-old son, he simply refers to them as "noumbers of augrym" — i.e., in effect, abacus numbers — and then proceeds to scatter them all through the text.) If someone has determined the earliest instance of Arabic numbers in a Biblical manuscript, I confess I do not know what it is.

Most other modern mathematical symbols are even more recent. The symbols + and — for addition and subtraction, for instance, are first found in print in Johann Widman's 1489 publication *Rechnung uff allen Kauffmanschafften.* (Prior to that, it was typical to use the letters p and m.) The = sign seems to go back to England's Robert Recorde (died 1558), who published several works dating back to 1541 — though Recorde's equality symbol was much wider than ours, looking more like ====. (According to John Gribbin, Recorde developed this symbol on the basis that two parallel lines were as equal as two things could be. Gribbin also credits Records with the + and — symbols, but it appears he only introduced them into English. The symbols x for multiplication and ÷ for division were not adopted until the seventeenth century — and, we note, are still not really universal, since we use a dot for multiplication and a / for division.) The = notation became general about a century after Recorde. The modern notation of variables (and parameters) can be credited to François Viète (1540–1603), whom we met above calculating the value of π; he also pushed for use of decimal notation in fractions and experimented with notations for the radix point (what we tend to call the "decimal point," but it's only a decimal point in Base 10; in Base 2, e.g., it's the binary point. In any case, it's the symbol for the division between whole number and fractional parts — usually, in modern notation, either a point or a comma).

The table below briefly shows the forms of numerals in some of the languages in which New Testament versions exist. Some of these probably require comment — e.g. Coptic numerals are theoretically based on the Greek, but they had a certain amount of time to diverge. Observe in particular the use of the chi-rho for 900; I assume this is primarily a Christian usage, but have not seen this documented. Many of the number systems (e.g. the Armenian) have symbols for numbers larger than 900, but I had enough trouble trying to draw these clearly!

Addendum: Textual Criticism of Mathematical Works

Most ancient mathematical documents exist in only a single copy (e.g. the Rhind Papyrus is unique), so any textual criticism must proceed by conjecture. And this is in fact trickier than it sounds. If an ancient document adds, say, 536 and 221 and reaches a total of 758 instead of the correct 757, can we automatically assume the document was copied incorrectly? Not really; while this is a trivial sum using Arabic numerals, there are no trivial sums in most ancient systems; they were just too hard to use!

But the real problems are much deeper. Copying a mathematical manuscript is a tricky proposition indeed. Mathematics has far less redundancy than words do. In words, we have "mis-spellings," e.g., which formally are errors but which usually are transparent. In mathematics — it's right or it's wrong. And any copying error makes it wrong. And, frequently, you not only have to copy the text accurately, but any drawings. And labels to the drawings. And the text that describes those labels. To do this right requires several things not in the standard scribe's toolkit — Greek mathematics was built around compass and straight edge, so you had to have a good one of each and the ability to use it. Plus the vocabulary was inevitably specialized.

The manuscripts of Euclid, incidentally, offer a fascinating parallel with the New Testament tradition, especially as the latter was seen by Westcott and Hort. The majority of manuscripts belong to a single type, which we know to be recensional: It was created by the editor Theon. Long after Euclid was rediscovered, a single manuscript was found in the Vatican, containing a text from a different recension. This form of the text is generally thought to be earlier. Such papyrus scraps as are available generally support the Vatican manuscript, without by any means agreeing with it completely. Still, it seems clear that the majority text found in Theon has been somewhat smoothed and prettied up, though few of the changes are radical and it sometimes seems to retain the correct text where the Vatican type has gone astray.

Bibliography to the section on Ancient Mathematics

The study of ancient mathematics is difficult; one has to understand language and mathematics, and have the ability to figure out completely alien ways of thinking. I've consulted quite a few books to compile the above (e.g. Chadwick's publications on Linear B for Mycenaean numerals), and read several others in a vain hope of learning something useful, but most of the debt is to five books (which took quite a bit of comparing!). The "select bibliography:"

- Carl B. Boyer, *A History of Mathematics,* second edition revised by Uta C. Merzbach, Wiley, 1991. This is probably the most advanced of the texts, but also

the most thorough, though most of its attention is naturally devoted to Greek mathematics, since that led to later mathematics.

- Georges Ifrah, *The Universal History of Numbers* (English translation by David Bellow, E. F. Harding, Sophie Wood, Ian Monk), Wiley, 1994 (French edition), 1998 (English edition). This probably spends more time on notation and less on actual math than we would like, but it's also comprehensive (e.g. it's the only book I've found to contain information on Aramaean numerals).
  There is another translation of this, by Lowell Bair, which is published as *From One to Zero: A Universal History of Numbers*, Penguin, 1985–1988. The two translations are substantially different, but I have not done a detailed comparison. My feeling is that the Bair translation is easier to read but perhaps harder to use as a reference because the illustrations are smaller.

- O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, second edition, copyright not listed but after 1949; Barnes & Noble edition published 1993. Despite the title, this is not a history of ancient science but focuses almost entirely on mathematics. Not an easy read, but Neugebauer is one of the leading sources on ancient mathematics, and this is his most accessible work.

- James R. Newman, Editor, *The World of Mathematics,* Volume 1, Simon and Schuster, 1956. A classic work, the first volume has material on Greek mathematics and the history of numerals as well as a detailed examination by Newman himself of the Rhind Papyrus.

- Charles Singer, *A History of Scientific Ideas,* Barnes & Noble, 1996, originally printed in 1958 as *A Short History of Scientific Ideas to 1900* by Oxford University Press. Inevitably, much mathematics is mixed with much other material, but it gives more attention than most to how mathematical ideas were actually propagated.

In addition, if you're interested in textual criticism of mathematical works, you might want to check Thomas L. Heath's translation of Euclid (published by Dover), which includes an extensive discussion of Euclid's text and Theon's recension, as well as a pretty authoritative translation with extensive notes.

Assuming the Solution

"Assuming the solution" is a mathematical term for a particularly vicious fallacy (which can easily occur in textual criticism) in which one *assumes* something to be true, operates on that basis, and then "proves" that (whatever one assumed) is actually the case. It's much like saying something like "because it is raining, it is raining." It's just fine

as long as it is, in fact, actually raining — but if it isn't, the statement is inaccurate. In any case, it doesn't have any logical value. It is, therefore, one of the most serious charges which can be leveled at a demonstration, because it says that the demonstration is not merely incomplete but is founded on error.

As examples of assuming the solution, we may offer either Von Soden's definition of the I text or Streeter's definition of the "Cæsarean" text. Both, particularly von Soden's, are based on the principle of "any non-Byzantine reading" — that is, von Soden assumes that any reading which is not Byzantine must be part of the I text, and therefore the witness containing it must also be part of the I text.

The problem with this is that it von Soden had created a definition which guaranteed that something would emerge, and naturally something did. A definition which has such a negative form means that *everything* can potentially be classified as an I manuscript, including (theoretically) two manuscripts which have not a single reading in common at points of variation. It obviously can include manuscripts which agree only in Byzantine readings. This follows from the fact that most readings are binary (that is, only two readings are found in the tradition). One reading will necessarily be Byzantine. Therefore the other is not Byzantine. Therefore, to von Soden, it was an I reading. It doesn't matter where it actually came from, or what sort of reading it is; it's listed as characteristic of I.

This sort of error has been historically very common in textual criticism. Critics must strive vigorously to avoid it — to be certain they do not take something on faith. Many results of past criticism were founded on assuming the solution (including, e.g., identifying the text of P^{46} and B with the Alexandrian text in Paul). All such results need to be re-verified using definitions which are not self-referencing.

Note: This is not a blanket condemnation of recognizing manuscripts based on agreements in non-Byzantine readings. That is, Streeter's method of finding the Cæsarean text is not automatically invalid if properly applied. Streeter simply applied it inaccurately — in two particulars. First, he assumed the Textus Receptus was identical with the Byzantine text. Second, he assumed that any non-Textus Receptus reading was Cæsarean. The first assumption is demonstrably false, and the second too broad. To belong to a text-type, manuscripts must display significant kinship in readings not associated with the Byzantine text. This was *not* the case for Streeter's secondary and tertiary witnesses, which included everything from A to the purple uncials to 1424. The Cæsarean text must be sought in his primary witnesses (which would, be it noted, be regarded as secondary witnesses in any text-type which included a pure representative): Θ 28 565 700 f^{1} f^{13} arm geo.

Binomials and the Binomial Distribution

Probability is not a simple matter. The odds of a single event happening do not translate across multiple events. For instance, the fact that a coin has a 50% chance to land heads does *not* mean that two coins *together* have a 50% chance of both landing heads. Calculating the odds of such events requires the use of distributions.

The most common distribution in discrete events such as coin tosses or die rolls is the *binomial distribution*. This distribution allows us to calculate the odds of independent events occurring a fixed number of times. That is, suppose you try an operation *n* times. What are the odds that the "desired" outcome (call it *o*) will happen *m* and only *m* times? The answer is determined by the binomial distribution.

Keep in mind that the binomial distribution applies only to events where there are two possible outcomes, *o* and not *o*. (It can be generalized to cover events with multiple outcomes, but only by clever definition of the event *o*). The binomial probabilities are calculated as follows:

If n is the number of times a trial is taken, and m is the number of successes, and p(o) is the probability of the event taking place *in a single trial,* then the probability P(m,n) of the result occurring m times in n trials is given by the formula

$$P(m,n) = \binom{n}{m} p(o)^{m} (1-p(o))^{n-m}$$

where

$$\binom{n}{m} = \frac{n!}{m!(n-m)!}$$

and where n! (read "n factorial") is defined as 1x2x3x.... x(n–1)xn. So, e.g, 4! = 1x2x3x4 = 24, 5! = 1x2x3x4x5 = 120. (Note: For purposes of calculation, the value 0! is defined as 1.)

(Note further: The notation used here, especially the symbol P(m,n), is not universal. Other texts will use different symbols for the various terms.)

The various coefficients of P(m,n) are also those of the well-known "Pascal's Triangle""

```
0             1
1           1   1
2         1   2   1
3       1   3   3   1
4     1   4   6   4   1
5 1   5  10  10  5   1
```

where P(m,n) is item m+1 in row n. For n greater than about six or seven, however, it is usually easier to calculate the terms (known as the “binomial coefficients”) using the formula above.

Example: What are the odds of rolling the value one exactly twice if you roll one die ten times? In this case, the odds of rolling a one (what we have called p(o)) are one in six, or about .166667. So we want to calculate

$$P(2,10) = \frac{10!}{2!*(10-2)!} * (.16667)^2 * (1-.16667)^{(10-2)}$$

$$= \frac{10*9*8*7*6*5*4*3*2*1}{(2*1)*(8*7*6*5*4*3*2*1)} * .16667^2 * .83333^8$$

which simplifies as

$$= \frac{10*9}{----} * .16667^2 * .83333^8 = 45 * .02778 * .23249 = .2906$$

In other words, there is a 29% chance that you will get two ones if you roll the die ten times.

For an application of this to textual criticism, consider a manuscript with a mixed text. Assume (as a simplification) that we have determined (by whatever means) that the manuscript has a text that is two-thirds Alexandrian and one-third Byzantine (i.e., at a place where the Alexandrian and Byzantine text-types diverge, there are two chances in three, or .6667, that the manuscript will have the Alexandrian reading, and one chance in three, or .3333, that the reading will be Byzantine). We assume (an assumption that needs to be tested, of course) that mixture is random. In that case, what are the odds, if we test (say) eight readings, that exactly three will be Byzantine? The procedure is just as above: We calculate:

$$P(3,8) = \frac{8!}{3!*(8-3)!} * .3333^3 * .6667^5$$

$$= \frac{8*7*6*5*4*3*2*1}{(3*2*1)*(5*4*3*2*1)} *.3333^3 * .6667^5 = \frac{8*7*6}{3*2*1} * .0370 * .1317 = .2729$$

In other words, in a random sample of eight readings, there is just over a 27% chance that exactly three will be Byzantine.

We can also apply this over a range of values. For example, we can calculate the odds that, in a sample of eight readings, between two and four will be Byzantine. One way to do this is to calculate values of two, three, and four readings. We have already calculated the value for three. Doing the calculations (without belabouring them as above) gives us

P(2,8) = .2731
P(4,8) = .1701

So if we add these up, the probability of 2, 3, or 4 Byzantine readings is .2729+.2731+.1701 = .7161. In other words, there is nearly a 72% chance that, in our sample of eight readings, between two and four readings will be Byzantine. By symmetry, this means that there is just over a 29% chance that there will be fewer than two, or more than four, Byzantine readings.

We can verify this and check our calculations by determining all values.

Function	Value
P(0,8)	.0390
P(1,8)	.1561
P(2,8)	.2731
P(3,8)	.2729
P(4,8)	.1701
P(5,8)	.0680
P(6,8)	.0174
P(7,8)	.0024
P(8,8)	.0002

Observe that, if we add up all these terms, they sum to .9992 — which is as good an approximation of 1 as we can expect with these figures; the difference is roundoff and computational imperfection. Chances are that we don't have four significant digits of accuracy in our figures anyway; see the section on Accuracy and Precision.

(It is perhaps worth noting that binomials do not have to use only two items, or only equal probabilities. All that is required is that the probabilities add up to 1. So if we were examining the so-called "Triple Readings" of Hutton, which are readings where Alexandrian, Byzantine, and "Western" texts have distinct readings, we might find that 90% of manuscripts have the Byzantine reading, 8% have the Alexandrian, and 2% the "Western." We could then apply binomials in this case, calculating the odds of a reading

being Alexandrian or non-Alexandrian, Byzantine or non-Byzantine, “Western” or non-Western. We must, however, be very aware of the difficulties here. The key one is that the “triple readings” are both rare and insufficiently controlled. In other words, they do not constitute anything remotely resembling a random variable.)

The Binomial Distribution has other interesting properties. For instance, it can be shown that the Mean μ of the distribution is given by

$$\mu = np$$

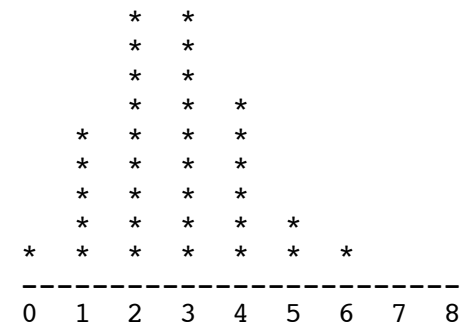
(So, for instance, in our example above, where n=8 and p=.33333, the mean, or the average number of Byzantine readings we would expect if we took many, many tests of eight readings, is 8*.33333, or 2.6667.)

Similarly, the variance σ^2 is given by

$$\sigma^2 = np(1-p)$$

while the standard deviation σ is, of course, the square root of the above.

Our next point is perhaps best made graphically. Let’s make a plot of the values given above for P(n,8) in the case of a manuscript two-thirds Alexandrian, one-third Byzantine.

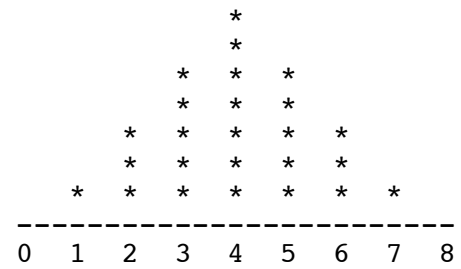


This graph is, clearly, not symmetric. But let’s change things again. Suppose, instead of using p(o)=.3333, we use p(o)=.5 — that is, a manuscript with equal parts Byzantine and Alexandrian readings. Then our table is as follows:

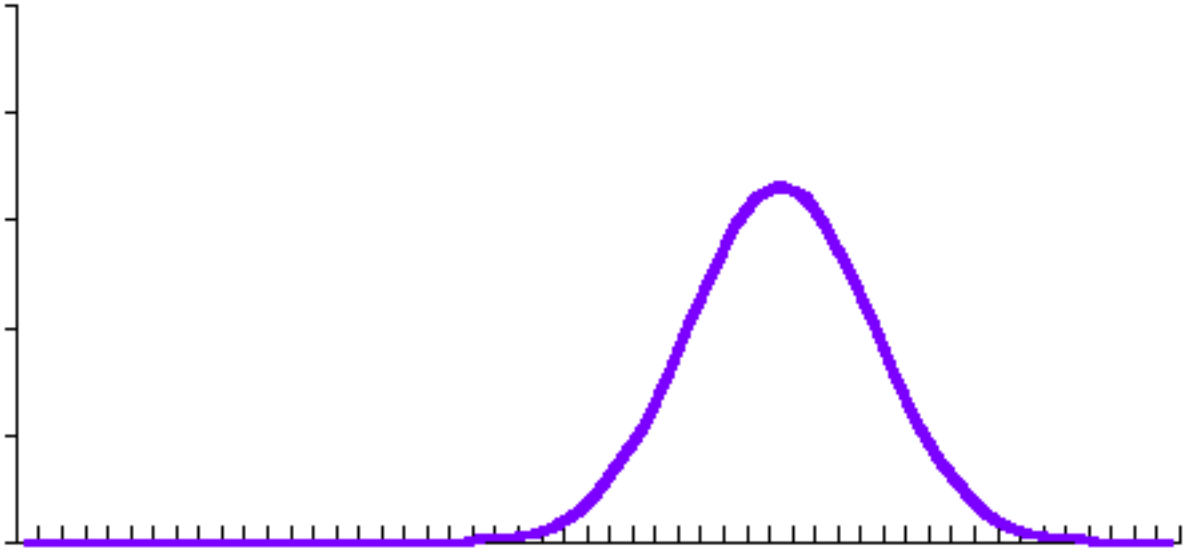
Function	Value
P(0,8)	.0039
P(1,8)	.0313
P(2,8)	.1094
P(3,8)	.2188
P(4,8)	.2734
P(5,8)	.2188
P(6,8)	.1094

P(7,8)	.0313
P(8,8)	.0039

Our graph then becomes:



This graph is obviously symmetric. More importantly (though it is perhaps not obvious with such a crude graph and so few points), it resembles a sketch of the so-called “bell-shaped” or “normal” curve:



It can, in fact, be shown that the one is an approximation of the other. The proof is sufficiently complex, however, that even probability texts don’t get into it; certainly we won’t burden you with it here!

We should note at the outset that the “normal distribution” above has no direct application to NT criticism. This is because the normal distribution is *continuous* rather than *discrete*. That is, it applies at any value at all — you have a certain probability at 1, or, 2, or 3.8249246 or √3307/π. A discrete distribution applies only at fixed values, usually integers. And NT criticism deals with discrete units — a variant here, a variant

there. Although these variants are myriad, they are still countable and discrete. So the normal distribution is not applicable.

But this is often the case in dealing with real-world distributions which approximate the normal distribution. Because the behavior of the normal distribution is known and well-defined, we can use it to model the behavior of a discrete distribution which approximates it.

The general formula for a normal distribution, centered around the mean μ and with standard deviation σ, is given by

$$n(x; \mu, \sigma) = \frac{1}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{x-\mu}{\sigma}\right)^2}$$

This means that it is possible to approximate the value of the binomial distribution for a series of points by calculating the area of the equivalent normal distribution between corresponding points.

Unfortunately, this latter cannot be reduced to a simple formula (for those who care, it is an integral without a closed-form solution). The results generally have to be read from a table (unless one has a calculator with the appropriate statistical functions). Such tables, and information on how to use them, are found in all modern statistics books.

It's worth asking if textual distributions follow anything resembling a normal curve. This, to my knowledge, has never been investigated in any way. And this point becomes very important in assessing such things as the so-called "Colwell rule" (see the section on E. C. Colwell & Ernest W. Tune: "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts.") This is a perfectly reasonable dissertation for someone — taking a significant group of manuscripts and comparing their relationships over a number of samples. We shall only do a handful, as an example. For this, we use the data from Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark.* We'll take the three sets of texts which he finds clearly related: א and B, A and the TR, Θ and 565.

Summarizing Hurtado's data gives us the following (we omit Hurtado's decimal digit, as he does not have enough data to allow three significant digits):

Chapter	% of א with B	% of A with TR	% of Θ with 565
1	73	88	55
2	71	89	55
3	78	80	64
4	79	88	77
5	80	73	54
6	81	88	56
7	81	94	70
8	83	91	78
9	86	89	64
10	77	85	75
11	82	85	67
12	78	87	77
13	78	90	77
14	83	84	75
15–16:8	75	92	80
MEAN	79.0	86.9	68.3
STD DEV	4.0	5.2	9.6
MEDIAN	79	88	70

Let's graph each of these as variations around the mean. That is, let's count how many elements are within half a standard deviation (s) of the mean m, and how many are in the region one standard deviation beyond that, and so forth.

For א and B, m is 79 and s is 4.0. So:

```
          %agree < m-1.5s, i. e. % < 73       |*
m-1.5s < %agree < m-.5s, i.e. 73 <= % < 77    |**
m-.5s  < %agree < m+.5s, i.e. 77 <= % <= 81   |********
m+.5s  < %agree < m+1.5s, i.e. 81 < % <= 85   |***
          %agree > M+1.5s, i.e. % > 85        |*
```

For A and TR, m is 86.9 and s is 5.2. So:

```
          %agree < m-1.5s, i. e. % < 80       |*
m-1.5s < %agree < m-.5s, i.e. 80 <= % < 85    |**
m-.5s  < %agree < m+.5s, i.e. 85 <= % <= 90   |*********
m+.5s  < %agree < m+1.5s, i.e. 90 < % <= 95   |***
          %agree > M+1.5s, i.e. % > 95        |
```

For Θ and 565, m is 70 and s is 9.6. So:

```
          %agree < m-1.5s, i. e. % < 55       |*
m-1.5s < %agree < m-.5s, i.e. 55 <= % < 66    |*****
m-.5s  < %agree < m+.5s, i.e. 66 <= % <= 74   |**
m+.5s  < %agree < m+1.5s, i.e. 74 < % <= 84   |*******
          %agree > M+1.5s, i.e. % > 84        |
```

With only very preliminary results, it's hard to draw conclusions. The first two graphs *do* look normal. The third looks just plain strange. This is *not* anything like a binomial/normal distribution. The strong implication is that one or the other of these manuscripts is block-mixed.

This hints that distribution analysis might be a useful tool in assessing textual kinship. But this is only a *very* tentative result; we must test it by, e.g., looking at manuscripts of different Byzantine subgroups.

Cladistics

WARNING: Cladistics is a mathematical discipline arising out of the needs of evolutionary biology. It should be recalled, however, that mathematics is independent of its uses. The fact that cladistics is useful in biology should not cause prejudice against it; it has since been applied to other fields. For purposes of illustration, however, I will use evolutionary examples because they're what is found in all the literature.

A further warning: I knew nothing about cladistics before Stephen C. Carlson began to discuss the matter with reference to textual criticism. I am still not expert. You will not learn cladistics from this article; the field is too broad. The goal of this article is not to teach cladistics but to explain generally what it does.

Consider a problem: Are dolphins and fish related?

At first glance, it would certainly seem so. After all, both are streamlined creatures, living in water, with fins, which use motions of their lower bodies to propel themselves.

And yet, fish reproduce by laying eggs, while dolphins produce live young. Fish breathe water through gills; dolphins breathe air through lungs. Fish are cold-blooded; dolphins are warm-blooded. Fish do not produce milk for their young; dolphins do. More subtly, fish tails are vertical; dolphin tails are horizontal.

Based on the latter characteristics, dolphins would seem to have more in common with rabbits or cattle or humans than with fish. So how do we decide if dolphins are fish-like or rabbit-like? This is the purpose of cladistics: Based on a variety of characteristics (be it the egg-laying habits of a species or the readings of a manuscript), to determine which populations are related, and how.

Biologists have long believed that dolphins are more closely related to the other mammals, not the fish. The characteristics shared with the mammals go back to the "ur-mammal"; the physical similarities to fish are incidental. (The technical term for characteristics which evolved independently is an "analogous feature" or a "homoplasy." Cases of similar characteristics which derive from common ancestry are called "homologous features" or "homologies." In biology, homologies are often easy to detect — for example, all mammals have very similar skeletons if you just count all the bones, althouth the sizes of the bones varies greatly. A fish — even a bony fish — has a very different skeleton, so you can tell a dolphin is not a fish by its bones. Obviously such hints are less common when dealing with manuscript variants.)

This is the point at which textual critics become interested, because kinship based on homology is very similar to the stemmatic concept of agreement in error. Example: Turtles and lizards and horses all have four legs. Humans and chimpanzees have two arms and two legs — and robins and crows also have only two legs. Are we more like robins or horses? Answer: Like horses. Four legs is the "default mode"; for amphibians, reptiles, and mammals; the separation into distinct arms and legs is a recent adaption — not, in this case, an error, but a divergence from the original stock. This is true even though birds, like humans, also have two legs and two limbs which are not legs. Similarly, a text can develop homoplasies: assimilation of parallels, h.t. errors, and expansion of epithets are all cases where agreement in reading can be the result of coincidence rather than common origin.

To explain some of this, we need perhaps to look at some biological terminology. There are two classes of relationship in biology: Grades and Clades. This topic is covered more fully in the separate article, but a summary here is perhaps not out of place,

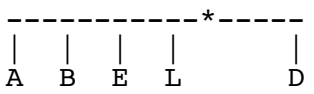
because the purpose of cladistics is to find clades. A clade is a kinship relationship. A grade is a similarity relationship. A biological example of a grade involves reptiles, birds, and mammals. Birds and mammals are both descended from reptiles. Thus, logically speaking, birds and mammals should be treated as reptiles. But they aren't; we call a turtle a reptile and a robin a bird. Thus "reptile" is a grade name: Reptiles are cold-blooded, egg-laying, air-breathing creatures. A warm-blooded creature such as a human, although descended from the same proto-reptile as every snake, lizard, and tortoise, has moved into a different grade. (We observe that grade definitions are somewhat arbitrary. The reptile/bird/mammal distinction is common because useful. Classifying creatures by whether they are green, brown, blue, red, or chartreuse is a grade distinction that has little use — creatures are too likely to change color based on their local environment — and so is not done.)

Clades are based solely on descent from a common ancestor. Thus the great apes are a small clade within the larger clade of apes, within the yet larger clade of primates, within the very large clade of mammals.

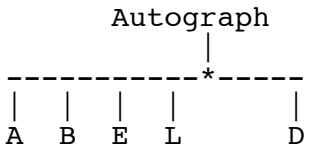
This distinction very definitely exists in textual criticism. Consider, for example, the versions. Versions such as the Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Old Church Slavonic are taken directly from the Greek. The Anglo-Saxon version is a translation of a translation, taken from the Latin; similarly, the Bulgarian is a translation (or, more properly, an adaption) of a translation; it comes from the Old Church Slavonic.

Thus we can divide these by clades and grades. The Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Old Church Slavonic belong to the grade of "direct translations from the Greek;" the Anglo-Saxon and Bulgarian belong to the grade of "translations from other versions." But the Anglo-Saxon and Bulgarian are *not* related; they have no link closer than the Greek. They belong to a grade but not a clade. By contrast, the Latin and Anglo-Saxon do not belong to a grade — the former is translated directly from the Greek, and the latter from the Latin — but they do form a clade: The Anglo-Saxon comes from the Latin. Anything found in the Anglo-Saxon must either be from the Latin or must be a corruption dating from after the translation. *It cannot have a reading characteristic of the Greek which did not make it into its Latin source.*

Cladistics is, at its heart, a method for sorting out grades and combining the data to detect clades. It proceeds by examining each points of variation, and trying to find the "optimum tree." ("Optimum" meaning, more or less, "simplest.") For this we can take a New Testament example. Let's look at Mark 3:16 and the disciple called either Lebbaeus or Thaddaeus. Taking as our witnesses A B D E L, we find that D reads Lebbaeus, while A B E L read Thaddaeus. That gives us a nice simple tree (though this isn't the way you'll usually see it in a biological stemma):

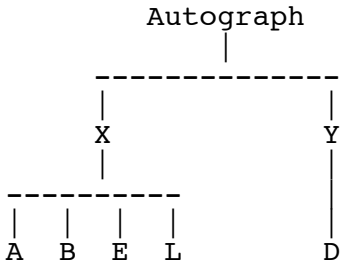


Which in context is equivalent to

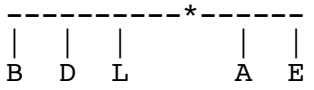


The point shown by * is a node -- a point of divergence. At this point in the evolution of the manuscripts, something changed. In this case, this is the point at which D (or, perhaps, A B E L) split off from the main tree.

This, obviously, is very much like an ordinary stemma, which would express the same thing as

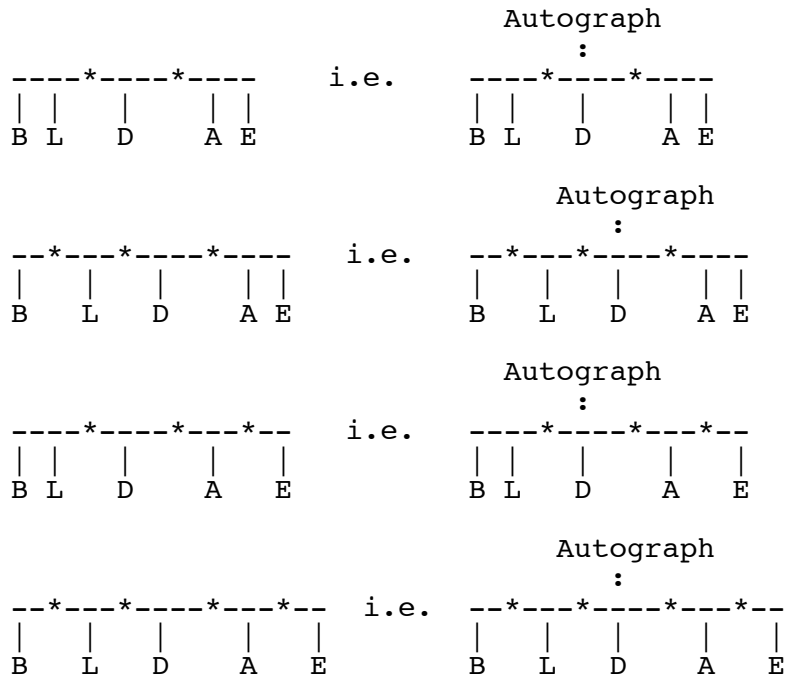


But now take the very next variant in the Nestle/Aland text: Canaanite vs. Canaanean. Here we find A and E reading Canaanite, while B D L have Canaanean. That gives a different view:



Now we know, informally, that the explanation for this is that B and L are Alexandrian, A and E Byzantine, and D “Western.” But the idea is to verify that. And to extend it to larger data sets, and cases where the data is more mixed up. This is where cladistics comes in. Put very simply, it takes all the possible trees for a set of data, identifies possible nodes, and looks for the simplest tree capable of explaining the data. With only our two variants, it’s not easy to demonstrate this concept — but we’ll try.

There are actually four possible trees capable of explaining the above data:



To explain: The first diagram, with two nodes, defines three families, B+L, D, and A+E. The second, with three nodes, defines four families: B, L, D, and A+E. The third, also with three nodes, has four families, but not the same four: B+L, D, A, E. The last, with four nodes, has five families: B, L, D, A, E.

In this case, it is obvious that the first design, with only two nodes, is the simplest. It also corresponds to our sense of what is actually happening. This is why people trust cladistics.

But while we could detect the simplest tree in this case by inspection, it's not that simple as the trees get more complex. There are two tasks: Creating the trees, and determining which is simplest.

This is where the math gets hairy. You can't just look at all the trees by brute force; it's difficult to generate them, and even harder to test them. (This is the real problem with classical stemmatics: It's not in any way exhaustive, even when it's objective. How do we know this? By the sheer number of possibilities. Suppose you have fifty manuscripts, and any one can be directly descended from two others — an original and a corrector. Thus *for any one manuscript,* it can have any of 49 possible originals and, for each original, 49 possible correctors [the other 48 manuscripts plus no corrector at all]. That's 2401 linkages just for that manuscript. And we have fifty of them! An informal examination of one of Stephen C. Carlson's cladograms shows 49 actual manuscripts — plus 27 hypothesized manuscripts and a total of 92 links between manuscripts!) So

there is just too much data to assess to make “brute force” a workable method. And, other than brute force, there is no absolutely assured method for finding the best tree. This means that, in a situation like that for the New Testament, we simply don’t have the computational power yet to guarantee the optimal tree.

Plus there is the possibility that multiple trees can satisfy the data, as we saw above. Cladistics cannot prove that its chosen tree is the correct tree, only that it is the simplest of those examined. It is, in a sense, Ockham’s Razor turned into a mathematical tool.

Does this lack of absolute certainty render cladistics useless? By no means; it is the best available mathematical tool for assessing stemmatic data. But we need to understand what it is, and what it is not. Cladistics, as used in biology, applies to *group characteristics* (a large or a small beak, red or green skin color, etc.) and *processes* (the evolution of species). The history of the text applies to a very different set of data. Instead of species and groups of species, it deals with individual manuscripts. Instead of characteristics of large groups within a species, we are looking at particular readings. Evolution proceeds by groups, over many, many generations. Manuscript copying proceeds one manuscript at a time, and for all the tens of thousands of manuscripts and dozens of generations between surviving manuscripts, it is a smaller, more compact tradition than an evolutionary tree.

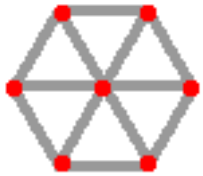
An important point, often made in the literature, is that the results of cladistics can prove non-intuitive. The entities which “seem” most closely related *may not prove to be so.* (This certainly has been the case with Stephen C. Carlson’s preliminary attempts, which by and large confirm my own results on the lower levels of textual grouping — including finding many groups not previously published by any other scholars. But Carlson’s larger textual groupings, if validated by larger studies, will probably force a significant reevaluation of our assessments of text-types.) This should not raise objections among textual critics; the situation is analogous to one Colwell described: “Weak members of a Text-type may contain no more of the total content of a text-type than strong members of some other text-type may contain. The comparison in total agreements of one manuscript with another manuscript has little significance beyond that of confirmation, and then only if the agreement is large enough to be distinctive.”[1]

There are other complications, as well. A big one is mixture. You don’t see hawks breeding with owls; once they developed into separate species, that was it. There are no reunions of types, only separations. But manuscripts *can* join. One manuscript of one type can be corrected against another. This means that the tree doesn’t just produce “splits” (A is the father of B and C, B is the father of D and E, etc.) but also “joins” (A is

1. E. C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology,* p. 33

the offspring of a mixture of X and Y, etc.) This results in vastly more complicated linkages — and this is an area mathematicians have not really explored in detail.

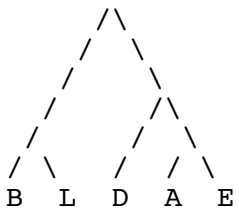
Another key point is that *cladograms* — the diagrams produced by cladistics — are not stemma. Above, I called them trees, but they aren't trees in the conventional sense. They aren't "rooted" — i.e. we don't know where things start. In the case of the trees I showed for Mark, we know that none of the manuscripts is the autograph, so they have to be descended from a different original. But this is not generally true, and in fact we can't even assume it for a cladogram of the NT. A cladogram — particularly one for something as interrelated as the NT — is not really a "tree" but more of a web. It's a set of connections, but the connections don't have a direction or starting point. Think, by analogy, of the hexagon below:



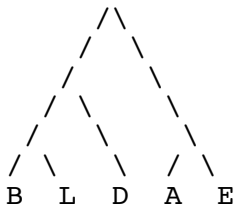
If you think of the red dots at the vertices (nodes) as manuscripts, it's obvious what the relationship between each manuscript is: It's linked to three others. But how do you tell where the first manuscript is? Where do you *start*?

Cladistics can offer no answer to this. In the case of NT stemma, it appears that most of the earliest manuscripts are within a few nodes of each other, implying that the autograph is somewhere near there. But this is not proof.

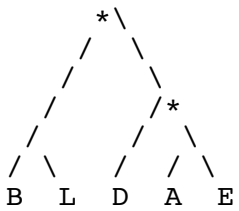
Great care, in fact, must be taken to avoid reading too much into a cladogram. Take the example we used above, of A, B, D, E, L. A possible cladogram of this tree would look like



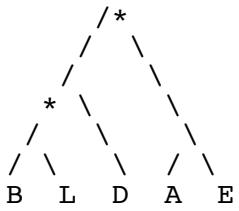
This cladogram, if you just glance at it, would seem to imply that D (i.e. the “Western” text) falls much closer to A and E (the Byzantine text) than to B and L (the Alexandrian text), and that the original text is to be found by comparing the Alexandrian text to the consensus of the other two. *However*, this cladogram is exactly equivalent to



And this diagram would seem to imply that D goes more closely with the Alexandrian text. Neither (based on our data) is true; the three are, as best we can tell, completely independent. The key is not the shape of the diagram but the location of the nodes. In the first, our nodes are at



In the second, it‘s



But it’s the *same* tree, differently drawn. The implications are false inferences based on an illusion in the way the trees are drawn.

We note, incidentally, that the relations we've drawn as trees or stemmas can be drawn "inline," with a sort of a modified set theory notation. In this notation, square brackets [] indicate a relation or a branch point. For example, the above stemma would be

[[B L] D [A E]]

This shows, without ambiguity of branch points, that B and L go together, as do A and E, with D rather more distant from both.

This notation can be extended. For example, it is generally agreed that, within the Byzantine text, the uncials E F G H are more closely related to each other than they are to A; K and Π are closely related to each other, less closely to A, less closely still to E F G H. So, if we add F G H K Π to the above notation, we get

[[B L] D [[A [K Π]] [E F G H]]]

It will be evident that this gets confusing *fast*. Although the notation is unequivocal, it's hard to convert it to a tree in one's mind. And, with this notation, there is no possibility of describing mixture, which can be shown with a stemmatic diagram, if sometimes a rather complex one.

Cladistics is a field that is evolving rapidly, and new methods and applications are being found regularly. I've made no attempt to outline the methods for this reason (well, that reason, and because I don't fully understand it myself, and because the subject really requires more space than I can reasonably devote). To this point, the leading exponent of cladistics in NT criticism is Dr. Stephen C. Carlson, who has been evolving new methods to adapt the discipline to TC circumstances. I cannot comprehensively assess his math, but I have seen his preliminary results, and am impressed.

Corollary

In mathematical jargon, a **corollary** is a result that follows immediately from another result. Typically it is a more specific case of a general rule. An elementary example of this might be as follows:

Theorem: 0 is the "additive identity." That is, for any x, x+0=x.

Corollary: 1+0=1

This is a very obvious example, but the concept has value, as it allows logical simplification of the rules we use. For example, there are quite a few rules of internal criticism offered by textual critics. All of these, however, are special cases of the rule "That reading is best which best explains the others." That is, they are corollaries of this rule. Take, for example, the rule "Prefer the harder reading." Why should one prefer the

harder reading? Because it is easier to assume that a scribe would change a hard reading to an easy one. In other words, the hard reading explains the easy. Thus we prove that the rule "Prefer the harder reading" is a corollary of "That reading is best which best explains the others." QED. (Yes, you just witnessed a logical proof. Of course, we did rather lightly glide by some underlying assumptions…)

Why do we care about what is and is not a corollary? Among other things, because it tells us when we should and should not apply rules. For example, in the case of "prefer the harder reading," the fact that it is a corollary reminds us that it applies only when we are looking at internal evidence. The rule does not apply to cases of clear errors in manuscripts (which are a province of external evidence).

Let's take another corollary of the rule "That reading is best which best explains the others." In this case, let's examine "Prefer the shorter reading." This rule is applied in all sorts of cases. It *should* only be applied when scribal error or simplification can be ruled out — as would be obvious if we examine the situation in light of "That reading is best which best explains the others."

Definitions

It may seem odd to discuss the word "definition" in a section on mathematics. After all, we all know what a definition is, right — it's a way to tell what a word or term means.

Well, yes and no. That's the informal definition of definition. But that's not a sufficient description.

Consider this "definition": "The Byzantine text is the text typically found in New Testament manuscripts."

In a way, that's correct — though it might serve better as a definition of the "Majority Text." But while, informally, it tells us what we're talking about, it's really not sufficient. How typical is "typical?" Does a reading supported by 95% of the tradition qualify? It certainly ought to. How about one supported by 75%? Probably, though it's less clear. 55%? By no means obvious. What about one supported by 40% when no other reading is supported by more than 30% of the tradition? Uh…

And how many manuscripts must we survey to decide what fraction of the tradition is involved, anyway? Are a few manuscripts sufficient, or must we survey dozens or hundreds?

To be usable in research settings, the first requirement for a definition is that it be *precise*. So, for instance, a precise definition of the Majority Text might be *the text found in at least 50% plus one of all manuscripts of a particular passage.* Alternately, and

more practically, the Majority Text might be defined as *In the gospels, the reading found in the most witnesses of the test group A E K M S V 876 1010 1424.* This may not be "the" Majority reading, but it's likely that it is. And, of great importance, this definition can be applied without undue effort, and is absolutely precise: It always admits one and only one reading (though there will be passages where, due to lacunose or widely divergent witnesses, it will not define a particular reading).

But a definition may be precise without being useful. For example, we could define the Byzantine text as follows: *The plurality reading of all manuscripts written after the year 325 C. E. within 125 kilometers of the present site of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.* This definition is relentlessly precise: It defines one and only one reading everywhere in the New Testament (and, for that matter, in the Old, and in classical works such as the Iliad). The problem is, we can't tell what that reading is! Even among surviving manuscripts, we can't tell which were written within the specified distance of Constantinople, and of course the definition, as stated, also includes lost manuscripts! Thus this definition of the Byzantine text, while formally excellent, is something we can't work with in practice.

Thus a proper definition must always meet two criteria: It must be *precise* and it must be *applicable*.

I can hear you saying, Sure, in math, they need good definitions. But we're textual critics. Does this matter? That is, do we really care, in textual criticism, if a definition is precise and applicable?

The answer is assuredly *yes*. Failure to apply both precise and applicable definitions is almost certain to be fatal to good method. An example is the infamous "Cæsarean" text, Streeter's definition was, in simplest terms, any non-Textus Receptus reading found in two or more "Cæsarean" witnesses. This definition is adequately precise. It is nonetheless fatally flawed in context, for three reasons: First, it's circular; second, the TR is not the Byzantine text, so in fact many of Streeter's "Cæsarean" readings are in fact nothing more nor less than Byzantine readings; third, most readings are binary, so one reading will always agree with the TR and one will not, meaning that every manuscript except the TR will show up, by his method, as "Cæsarean"!

An example of a definition that isn't even precise is offered by Harry Sturz. He defined (or, rather, failed to define) the Byzantine text as being the same as individual Byzantine readings! In other words, Sturz showed that certain Byzantine readings were in existence before the alleged fourth century recension that produced the Byzantine text. (Which, be it noted, no one *ever* denied!) From this he alleged that the Byzantine text *as a whole* is old. This is purely fallacious (not *wrong*, necessarily, but fallacious; you can't

make that step based on the data) — but Sturz, because he didn't have a precise definition of the Byzantine text, thought he could do it.

The moral of the story is clear and undeniable: If you wish to work with factual data (i.e. if you want to produce statistics, or even just generalizations, about external evidence), you *must* start with precise and applicable definitions.

THIS MEANS YOU. Yes, **YOU**. (And me, and everyone else, of course. But the point is the basis of all scientific work: Definitions *must* be unequivocal.)

Dimensional Analysis

Also known as, *Getting the units right!*

Have you ever heard someone say something like "That's at least a light-year from now?" Such statements make physicists cringe. A light-year is a unit of *distance* (the distance light travels in a year), not of time.

Improper use of units leads to meaningless results, and correct use of units can be used to verify results.

As an example, consider this: The unit of mass is (mass). The unit of acceleration is (distance)/(time)/(time). The unit of force is (mass)(distance)/(time)/(time). So the product of mass times acceleration is (mass)(distance)/(time)/(time) — which happens to be the same as the unit of force. And lo and behold, Newton's second law states that force equals mass times acceleration. And that means that if a result does not have the units of force (mass times distance divided by time squared, so for instance kilograms times metres divided by seconds squared, or slugs times feet divided by hours squared), it is not a force.

This may sound irrelevant to a textual critic, but it is not. Suppose you want to estimate, say, the number of letters in the extant New Testament portion of B. How are you going to do it? Presumably by estimating the amount of text per page, and then multiplying by the number of pages. But that, in fact, is dimensional analysis: letters per page times pages per volume equals letters per volume. We can express this as an equation to demonstrate the point:

$$\frac{\text{letters}}{\text{pages}} * \frac{\text{pages}}{\text{volume}} = \frac{\text{letters}}{\cancel{\text{pages}}} * \frac{\cancel{\text{pages}}}{\text{volume}} = \frac{\text{letters}}{\text{volume}}$$

We can make things even simpler: Instead of counting letters per page, we can count letters per line, lines per column, and columns per page. This time let us work the actual example. B has the following characteristics:

- 142 pages
- 3 columns per page
- 42 lines per column
- (about) sixteen letters per line

So:

```
     pages      columns        lines       letters
142 ------ * 3 ------- * 42 ------ * 16 ------- =
    volume       page         column        line

                pages    columns    lines     letters
142*3*42*16 * ------ * ------- * ------ * ------- =
              volume     page      column     line

          pages    columns    lines     letters
286272 * ------ * ------- * ------ * ------- =
         volume     page      column     line

286272 letters/volume (approximately)
```

The Law of the Excluded Middle

This, properly, is a rule of logic, not mathematics, but it is a source of many logical fallacies. The law of the excluded middle is a method of simplifying problems. It reduces problems to one of two possible "states." For example, the law of the excluded middle tells us that a reading is either *original* or *not original;* there are no "somewhat original" readings. (In actual fact, of course, there is some fuzziness here, as e.g. readings in the original collection of Paul's writings as opposed to the reading in the original separate epistles. But this is a matter of definition of the "original." A reading will either agree with that original, whatever it is, or will disagree.)

The problem with the law of the excluded middle lies in applying it too strongly. Very many fallacies occur in pairs, in cases where there are two polar opposites and the truth falls somewhere in between. An obvious example is the Fallacy of Number. Since it has repeatedly been shown that you can't "count noses" — i.e. that the majority is *not* automatically right — there are some who go to the opposite extreme and claim that numbers mean nothing. This extreme may be worse than the other, as it means one can simply ignore the manuscripts. Any reading in any manuscript — or even a conjecture, found in none — may be correct. This is the logical converse of the Majority Text position.

The truth unquestionably lies somewhere in between. Counting noses — even counting noses of text-types — is not the whole answer. But counting *does* have value, especially at higher levels of abstraction such as text-types or sub-text-types. All other things being equal, the reading found in the majority of text-types must surely be considered more probable than the one in the minority. And within text-types, the reading found within the most sub-text-types will be original. And so on, down the line. One must weight manuscripts, not count them — but once they are weighed, their numbers have meaning.

Other paired fallacies include excessive stress on internal evidence (which, if taken to its extreme, allows the critic to simply write his own text) or external evidence (which, taken to its extreme, would include clear errors in the text) and over/under-reliance on certain forms of evidence (e.g. Boismard would adopt readings solely based on silence in fathers, clearly placing too much emphasis on the fathers, while others ignore their evidence entirely. We see much the same range of attitude toward the versions. Some would adopt readings based solely on versional evidence, while others will not even accept evidence from so-called secondary versions such as Armenian and Georgian).

Exponential Growth

Much of the material in this article parallels that in the section on Arithmetic, Exponential, and Geometric Progressions, but perhaps it should be given its own section to demonstrate the power of exponential growth.

The technical definition of an exponential curve is a function of the form

$y=a^x$

where a is a positive constant. If a is greater than one, the result is exponential growth.

To show you how fast exponential growth can grow, here are some results of the function for various values of a

	a=2	a=3	a=5	a=10
x=1	2	3	5	10
x=2	4	9	25	100
x=3	8	27	125	1000
x=4	16	81	625	10000
x=5	32	243	3125	100000
x=6	64	729	15625	1000000
x=7	128	2187	78125	10000000
x=8	256	6561	390625	100000000

It will be seen that an exponential growth curve can grow very quickly!

This is what makes exponential growth potentially of significance for textual critics: It represents one possible model of manuscript reproduction. The model is to assume each manuscript is copied a certain number of times in a generation, then destroyed. In that case, the constant *a* above represents the number of copies made of each manuscript. *x* represents the number of generations. *y* represents the number of surviving copies.

Why does this matter? Because a small change in the value of the constant *a* can have dramatic effects. Let's demonstrate this by demolishing the argument of the Byzantine Prioritists that numeric preponderance means something. The only thing it necessarily means is that the Byzantine text had a constant a that is large enough to keep it alive.

For these purposes, let us assume that the Alexandrian text is the original, in circulation by 100 C.E. Assume it has a reproductive constant of 1.2. (I'm pulling these numbers out of my head, be it noted; I have no evidence that this resembles the actual situation. This is a demonstration, not an actual model.) We'll assume a manuscript "generation" of 25 years. So in the year 100 x=0. The year 125 corresponds to x=1, etc. Our second assumption is that the Byzantine text came into existence in the year 350 (x=10), but that it has a reproductive constant of 1.4.

If we make those assumptions, we get these results for the number of manuscripts at each given date:

generation	year	Alexandrian manuscripts	Byzantine manuscripts	ratio, Byzantine to Alexandrian mss.
0	100	1.2	—	0:1
1	125	1.4	—	0:1
2	150	1.7	—	0:1
3	175	2.1	—	0:1
4	200	2.5	—	0:1
5	225	3.0	—	0:1
6	250	3.6	—	0:1
7	275	4.3	—	0:1
8	300	5.2	—	0:1
9	325	6.2	—	0:1
10	350	7.4	1.4	0.2:1
11	375	8.9	2.0	0.2:1
12	400	10.7	2.7	0.3:1
13	425	12.8	3.8	0.3:1

14	450	15.4	5.4	0.3:1
15	475	18.5	7.5	0.4:1
16	500	22.2	10.5	0.5:1
17	525	26.6	14.8	0.6:1
18	550	31.9	20.7	0.6:1
19	575	38.3	28.9	0.8:1
20	600	46	40.5	0.9:1
21	625	55.2	56.7	1.0:1
22	650	66.2	79.4	1.2:1
23	675	79.5	111.1	1.4:1
24	700	95.4	155.6	1.6:1
25	725	114.5	217.8	1.9:1
26	750	137.4	304.9	2.2:1
27	775	164.8	426.9	2.6:1
28	800	197.8	597.6	3.0:1
29	825	237.4	836.7	3.5:1
30	850	284.9	1171.4	4.1:1
31	875	341.8	1639.9	4.8:1
32	900	410.2	2295.9	5.6:1
33	925	492.2	3214.2	6.5:1
34	950	590.7	4499.9	7.6:1
35	975	708.8	6299.8	8.9:1
36	1000	850.6	8819.8	10.4:1
37	1025	1020.7	12347.7	12.1:1
38	1050	1224.8	17286.7	14.1:1
39	1075	1469.8	24201.4	16.5:1
40	1100	1763.7	33882.0	19.2:1

The first column, “generation,” counts the generations from the year 100. The second column, “year,” gives the year. The next two columns, “Alexandrian manuscripts” and “ Byzantine manuscripts,” give the number of manuscripts of each type we could expect at that particular time. (Yes, we get fractions of manuscripts. Again, this is a model!) The final column, the “ratio,” tells us how many Byzantine manuscripts there are for each Alexandrian manuscript. For the first 250 years, there are no Byzantine manuscripts. For a couple of centuries after that, Byzantine manuscripts start to exist, but are outnumbered. But by 625 — a mere 275 years after the type came into existence — they are as numerous (in fact, slightly more numerous) than Alexandrian manuscripts. By the year 800, when the type is only 450 years old, it constitutes three-quarters of the

manuscripts. By the year 1000, it has more than a 10:1 dominance, and it just keeps growing.

This doesn't prove that the Byzantine type came to dominate by means of being faster to breed. All the numbers above are made up. The point is, exponential growth — which *is* the model for populations allowed to reproduce without constraint — can allow a fast-breeding population to overtake a slower-breeding population even if the slow-breeding population has a head start.

We can show this another way, by modelling extinction. Suppose we start with a population of 1000 (be it manuscripts or members of a species or speakers of a language). We'll divide them into two camps. Call them "A" and "B" for Alexandrian and Byzantine — but it could just as well be Neandertals and modern humans, or Russian and non-Russian speakers in one of the boundary areas of Russia. We'll start with 500 of A and 500 of B, but give A a reproductive rate of 1.1 and B a reproductive rate of 1.15. And remember, we're constraining the population. That is, at the end of each generation, there can still only be 1000 individuals. All that changes is the ratio of individuals. We will also assume that there must be at least 100 individuals to be sustainable. In other words, once one or the other population falls below 100, it goes extinct and the other text-type/species/language takes over.

So here are the numbers:

Generation	population of A	population of B
0	500	500
1	478	522
2	457	543
3	435	565
4	414	586
5	393	607
6	372	628
7	352	648
8	333	667
9	314	686
10	295	705
11	277	723
12	260	740
13	244	756
14	228	772
15	213	787
16	199	801

17	186	814
18	173	827
19	161	839
20	149	851
21	139	861
22	129	871
23	119	881
24	110	890
25	102	898
26	94	906

Observe that it takes only 26 generations for Population A to die out.

How fast the die-off takes depends of course on the difference in breeding rates. But 26 generations of (say) dodos is only 26 years, and for people it's only 500–800 years.

It may be argued that a difference in breeding rate of 1.1 versus 1.2 is large. This is true. But exponential growth will always dominate in the end. Let's take a few other numbers to show this point. If we hold B's rate of increase to 1.2, and set various values for A's rate of population increase, the table below shows how many generations it takes for A to go extinct.

Reproductive constant for A	Generations to extinction.
1.19	264
1.18	132
1.17	88
1.16	65
1.15	52
1.14	43
1.12	32
1.10	26
1.08	21
1.06	18
1.04	16
1.02	14

Note the first column, comparing a reproductive rate for A of 1.19 with a rate of 1.2 for B. That's only a 5% difference. Population A still goes extinct in 264 generations — if this were a human population, that would be about 6000 years.

In any case, to return to something less controversial than political genetics, the power of exponential growth cannot be denied. Any population with a high growth rate can outpace any population with a slow growth rate, *no matter how big the initial advantage of the former*. One cannot look at current numbers of a population and predict past numbers, unless one knows the growth factor.

Fallacy

The dictionary definition of "fallacy" is simply something false or based on false information.

This is, of course, a largely useless definition. We have the word "wrong" to apply to things like that. In practice, "fallacy" has a special meaning — a false belief based on attractive but inaccurate data or appealing but incorrect logic. It's something we want to believe for some reason, even though there is no actual grounds for belief.

A famous example of this is the Gambler's Fallacy. This is the belief that, if you've had a run of bad luck in a game of chance (coin-tossing or dice-playing, for instance), you can expect things to even out because you are due a run of good luck.

This is an excellent example because it shows how the fallacy comes about. The gambler knows that, over a large sample, half of coin tosses will be heads, one sixth of the rolls of a die will produce a six, and so forth. So the "expected" result of two tosses of a coin is one heads, one tails. Therefore, if the coin tossed tails last time, heads is "expected" next time.

This is, of course, not true. The next toss of the coin is independent of the previous. The odds of a head are 50% whether the previous coin toss was a head, a tail, or the-coin-fell-down-a-sewer-drain-and-we-can't-get-it-back.

Thus the gambler who has a run of bad luck has no more expectations for the future than the gambler who has had a run of good luck, or a gambler who has thrown an exactly even number of heads and tails. Yes, if the gambler tosses enough coins, the ratio of heads to tails will eventually start to approach 1:1 — but that's not because the ratio evens out; it's just that, with enough coin tosses, the previous run of "bad luck" will be overwhelmed by all the coin tosses which come after.

A typical trait of fallacies is that they make the impersonal personal. In the Gambler's Fallacy, the errant assumption is that the statistical rule covering all coin tosses applies specially and specifically to the next coin toss. The pathetic fallacy is to believe that, if something bad happens, it's because the universe is "out to get us" — that some malevolent fate caused the car to blow a tire and the bus to be late all in the same day

in order to cause me to be late to a meeting. This one seems actually to be hard-wired into our brains, in a sense — it's much easier to remember a piece of unexpected "bad luck" than good.

These two fallacies are essentially fallacies of observation — misunderstanding of the way the universe works. The other type of fallacy is the fallacy of illogic — the assumption that, because a particular situation has occurred, that there is some logical reason behind it.

The great critical example of this is the Fallacy of Number. This is the belief that, because the Byzantine text-type is the most common, it must also be the most representative of the original text.

This illustrates another sort of logical flaw — the notion of reversibility. The fallacy of number begins with the simple mathematical model of Exponential Growth. This model says that, if a population is capable of reproducing faster than it dies off, then the population will grow explosively, and the longer it is allowed to reproduce, the larger the population becomes.

The existence of exponential growth is undeniable; it is why there are so many humans (and so many bacteria) on earth. But notice the condition: *if a population is capable of reproducing faster than it dies off.* Exponential growth does not automatically happen even in a population capable of it. Human population, for instance, did not begin its rapid growth until the late nineteenth century, and the population explosion did not begin until the twentieth century. Until then, deaths from disease and accident and starvation meant that the population grew very slowly — in many areas, it grew not at all.

The fallacy of number makes the assumption that all manuscripts have the same number of offspring. If this were true, then the conclusion would be correct: The text with the most descendants would be the earliest, with the others being mutations which managed to leave a few descendants of their own. However, the assumption in this case cannot be proved — which by itself is sufficient to make the argument from number fallacious. There are in fact strong reasons to think that not all manuscripts leave the same number of descendants. So this makes the fallacy of number especially unlikely to be correct.

We can, in fact, demonstrate this mathematically. Let's assume that the Byzantine Text is original, and see where this takes us. Our goal is to test the predictive capability of the model (always the first test to which a model must be subjected). Can Byzantine priority be used to model the Alexandrian text?

We start from the fact that there are presently just about 3200 continuous-text Greek manuscripts known. Roughly three-fourths of these contain the Gospels — let's say

there are 2400 gospel manuscripts in all. The earliest mass production of gospel manuscripts can hardly have been before 80 C.E. For simplicity, let's say that the manuscript era ended in 1580 C.E. — 1500 years. We assume that a manuscript "generation" is twenty years. (A relatively minor assumption. We could even use continuous compounding, such as banks now use to calculate interest. The results would differ only slightly; I use generations because, it seems to me, this method is clearer for those without background in taking limits and other such calculus-y stuff.) That means that the manuscript era lasted for 75 generations.

So we want to solve the equation $(1+x)^{75} = 2400$. The variable x, in this case, is a measure of how many new surviving manuscripts are created in each generation. It turns out that $1+x = 1.10935$, or $x=0.10935$.

Of our 2400 Gospel manuscripts, at most 100 can be considered primarily Alexandrian. On this basis, we can estimate when the Alexandrian text originated. We simply count the number of generations needed to produce 100 Alexandrian manuscripts in a situation where .10935 new manuscripts are created in a generation, That means we want to solve the equation $(1.10935)^y=100$, where y is the number of generations. The answer turns out to be about 44.5 generations, or 890 years.

890 years before the end of the manuscript era is 690 C. E. — the very end of the seventh century.

P^{75} dates from the third century. B and ℵ date from the fourth. Thus our three primary Alexandrian witnesses are at least three centuries earlier than the model based on equal descendants allows.

Of our 2400 Gospel manuscripts, at most five can be considered "Western." Solving the equation $(1.10935)^z=5$, it turns out that the earliest "Western" manuscript would date from 390 years before the end of the manuscript era — around 1190.

I have never seen D dated later than the seventh century.

Thus a model of exponential growth fails catastrophically to explain the number and distribution of both Alexandrian and "Western" manuscripts. We can state quite confidently that *manuscripts do not reproduce exponentially.* Therefore the argument based on exponential reproduction of manuscripts operates on a false assumption, and the argument from number *is fallacious.*

The fallacy of number (like most fallacies) demonstrates one of the great rules of logic: "Unnecessary assumptions are the root of all evil."

The above argument, note, does not prove that the Byzantine text is not the original text. The Byzantine text may be original. But if it is, the point will have to be proved on grounds other than number of manuscripts.

Game Theory

As far as I know, there is no working connection between game theory and textual criticism. I do not think there can be one with the actual practice of textual criticism. But I know someone who hoped to find one, so I suppose I should discuss the topic here. And I find it very interesting, so I'm going to cover it in enough depth to let you perhaps do some useful work — or at least realize why it's useless for textual criticism.

There is one very indirect connection for textual scholars, having to do with the acquisition of manuscripts and artifacts. Many important relics have been found by native artifact-hunters in places such as Egypt and the region of Palestine. Often they have broken them up and sold them piecemeal — as happened with the Stone of Mesha and several manuscripts, divided into separate leaves or even having individual leaves or rolls torn to shreds and the shreds sold individually.

To prevent this, dealers need to create a pricing structure which rewards acquisition of whole pages and whole manuscripts, without making the bonus so high that the hunters will ignore anything less than a whole manuscript. Unfortunately, we cannot really state a rule for how the prices should be structured — it depends on the economic circumstances in the locality and on the location where collection is occurring and on the nature of expected finds in the vicinity (so at Qumran, where there is the possibility of whole books, one might use a different pricing structure than at Oxyrhynchus, where one finds mostly fragments. But how one sets prices for Egypt as a whole, when one does not know where manuscripts like P^{66} and P^{75} are found, is a very tricky question indeed. Since I do not know enough about the antiquities markets to offer good examples, I'm going to skip that and just do an elementary overview of game theory.)

Although this field of mathematics is called "game theory," a better name might be something like "strategy theory." The purpose is to examine strategies and outcomes under situations with rigid rules. These situations may be genuine games, such as tic-tac-toe — but they may equally be real-world situations such as buying and selling stocks, or even deciding whether to launch a nuclear war. The rules apply in all cases. Indeed, the economics case is arguably the most important; several Nobel prizes have been awarded for applications of game theory to market situations.

Game theory is a relatively new field in mathematics; it first came into being in the works of John von Neumann, whose proof of the minimax theorem in 1926 gave the field its first foundations; von Neumann's 1944 *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* is

considered the foundation of the field. (There are mentions of “game theory” before that, and even some French research in the field, but it was von Neumann who really founded it as a discipline.)

For the record, an informal statement of the minimax theorem is that, if two “players” have completely opposed interests — that is, if they’re in a situation where one wins if and only if the other loses — then there is always a rational course of action for both players: A best strategy. It is called a minimax because it holds the loser’s loss to a guaranteed (on average) minimum and while keeping the winner’s wins at a guaranteed maximum. Put another way, the minimax theorem says that there is a strategy which will assure a guaranteed consistent maximum result for one party and a minimum loss for the other.

Not all games meet this standard — e.g. if two competing companies are trying to bolster their stock prices, a rising stock market can allow them both to win — but games that do involved opposed interests can often illustrate even the cases that don’t meet the criterion. The minimax theorem doesn’t say those other games don’t have best strategies, after all — it’s just that it isn’t guaranteed.

To try to give an idea of what game theory is like, let’s look at a problem I first met in Ivan Morris’s *The Lonely Monk and Other Puzzles.* It shows up in many forms, so I’ll tell this my own way.

A mafia boss suspects that one of his hit men, Alonzo, may have been cheating him, and puts him under close guard. A week later, he discovers that Bertrand might have been in the plot, and hands him over to the guard also. Finally, evidence turns up against Cesar.

At this point, the boss decides it’s time to make an example. He decides to stage a Trial by Ordeal, with the three fighting to the finish. Alonzo, however, has been in custody for two weeks, and has been severely debilitated; once a crack shot, he now can hit a target only one time in three. Bertrand too has suffered, though not quite as much; he can hit one time in two. Cesar, newly placed in detention, is still able to hit every time.

So the boss chains the three to three equidistant stakes, and gives each one in turn a single-shot pistol. Alonzo is granted the first shot, then Bertrand, then Cesar, and repeat until two are dead.

There are two questions here: First, at whom should Alonzo shoot, and second, what are his odds of survival in each case?

Assume first that Alonzo shoots at Bertrand. If he hits Bertrand (33% chance), Bertrand dies, and Cesar instantly shoots Alonzo dead. Not such a good choice.

But if Alonzo shoots at Bertrand and misses, then Bertrand, knowing Cesar to be the greater threat, shoots at Cesar. If he misses (50% chance), then Cesar shoots Bertrand, and Alonzo has one chance in three to kill Cesar before being killed. If, on the other hand, Bertrand kills Cesar, then we have a duel that could go on forever, with Alonzo and Bertrand alternating shots. Alonzo has one chance in three of hitting on the first shot, and two chances in three of missing; Bertrand thus has one chance in three of dying on Alonzo's first shot, and two chances in three of surviving; if he survives, he has one chance in two of killing Alonzo. The rules of compound probability therefore say that Alonzo has one chance in three of killing Bertrand on his first shot, and one chance in three (1/2 times 2/3) of being killed by Bertrand on *his* first shot, and one chance in three of neither one being killed and the process repeating. The process may last forever, but the odds are even. So, in the case where Alonzo opens the action by shooting Bertrand, his chances of survival are 1/3*1/2=1/6 for the case where Bertrand misses Cesar, and 1/2x1/2=1/4 in the case where Bertrand hits Cesar. That's a total of 5/12.

Thus if Alonzo shoots at Bertrand, he has one chance in three of instant death (because he kills Bertrand), and 2/3*5/12=5/18 of surviving (if he misses Bertrand).

Less than one chance in three. Ow.

What about shooting at Cesar?

If Alonzo shoots at Cesar and misses, then we're back in the situation covered in the case where he shoots at Bertrand and misses. So he has a 5/12 chance in that case. Which, we note incidentally, is better than fair; if this were a fair contest, his chance of survival would be 1/3, or 4/12.

But what if he hits Cesar? Then, of course, he's in a duel with Bertrand, this time with *Bertrand* shooting first. And while the odds between the two are even if Alonzo shoots first, it's easy enough to show that, if Bertrand shoots first, Alonzo has only one chance of four of winning, er, living.

To this point, we've simply been calculating probabilities. Game theory comes in as we try to decide the optimal strategy. Let's analyze our four basic outcomes:

- Alonzo shoots at Bertrand and hits: Alonzo dies
- Alonzo shoots at Bertrand and misses: 5/12 chance of survival
- Alonzo shoots at Cesar and hits: 1/4(=3/12) chance of survival
- Alonzo shoots at Cesar and misses: 5/12 chance of survival

And, suddenly, Alonzo's strategy becomes clear: He shoots in the air! Since his odds of survival are best if he misses both Bertrand and Cesar, he wants to take the strategy that *ensures* missing.

This analysis, however, is only the beginning of game theory; the three-way duel is essentially a closed situation, with only three possible outcomes, and those outcomes, well, terminal. Although there were three possible outcomes of this game, it was essentially a solitaire game; Bertrand and Cesar's strategies were fixed even though the actual outcome wasn't. As J. D. Williams writes, "One-person games are uninteresting, from the Game Theory point of view, and therefore are not really studied here. Their solution is quite straightforward, conceptually: You simply select the course of action that yields the most and do it. If there are chance elements, you select the action which yields the most on average...."[1] This is, of course, one of the demonstrations why game theory isn't much help in dealing with textual criticism: Reconstructing a text is a solitaire game, guessing what a scribe did. As Anatol Rapoport, says, "there are formidable conceptual difficulties in assigning definitive probabilities to unique events," adding that "With respect to.... these, the 'rationality' of human subjects leaves a great deal to be desired… [T]he results do indicate that a rational decision theory based on an assumption that *others* follow rational principles of risky decisions could be extremely misleading."[2] He also warns that the attempt to reduce a complex model to something simple enough to handle with the tools of game theory is almost certainly doomed to fail: "the strategist [read, in our case, textual critic] has no experiments to guide him in his theoretical development.... Accordingly he simplifies not in order to build a science from the bottom up but in order to get answers. The answers he gets are to the problem he poses, not necessarily, not even usually, to the problems with which the world we have made confronts us."[3]

Still, this example illustrates an important point about game theory: It's not about what we ordinarily call games. Game theory, properly so called, is not limited to, say, tic tac toe, or even a game like chess — though what von Neumann proved with the minimax theorem is that such games have an optimal strategy that *works every time.* Not that it *wins*, necessarily, but that it gives the best chance for the best outcome. It has been said that the purpose of game theory is not really to determine how to win — since that depends on your opponent as well as yourself — but how to be sure you do not regret your actions if you lose. Von Neumann applied game theory to poker, e.g., and the

1. J. D. Williams, *The Compleat Strategyst, Being a Primer on the Theory of Games of Strategy,* revised edition, 1954, 1966, 1982 (I use the 1986 Dover edition), p. 13

2. Anatol Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience*, 1964 (I use the 1969 Schoken paperback edition), p. 73

3. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 85

result produced a lot of surprises: You often have to bet big on poor hands, and even so, your expected payoff, assuming you face opponents who are also playing the optimal strategy, is merely to break even![1] It appears that the players who win a lot in poker aren't the ones who have the best strategy but the ones who are best at reading their opponents.

If we look at the simple game of tic tac toe, we know the possible outcomes, and can write out the precise strategies both players play to achieve a draw (or to win if the opponent makes a mistake). By contrast, the game of chess is so complicated that we don't know the players' strategies, nor even who wins if both play their best strategies (it's estimated that the "ideal game" would last around five thousand moves, meaning that the strategy book would probably take more space than is found in every hard drive in, say, all of Germany. What's more, the number of pure strategies is believed to be greater than the number of electrons in the universe[2] — which also means that there are more strategies than can be individually examined by any computer that can possibly be built. It isn't even possible to store a table which says that each individual strategy has been examined or not! But not all games are so rigidly determined — e.g. an economic "game," even if it takes all human activity into account, could not know in advance the effects of weather, solar flares, meteors....

Most game theory is devoted to finding a long-term strategy for dealing with games that happen again and again — investing in the stock market, playing hundreds of hands of blackjack, something like that. In the three-way duel, the goal was to improve one's odds of survival *once*. But ordinarily one is looking for the best long-term payoff.

Some such games are trivial. Take a game where, say, two players bet on the result of a coin toss. There is, literally, no optimal strategy, assuming the coin is fair. Or, rather, there is no strategy that is less than optimal: Anything you guess is as likely to work as any other. If you guess "heads" every time, you'll win roughly 50% of the bets. If you guess "tails," you'll also win just about 50% in the long run. If you guess at random, you'll still win 50% of the time, because, on every toss, there is a 50% chance the coin will agree with you.

Things get much, *much* more interesting in games with somewhat unbalanced payoffs. Let's design a game and see where it takes us. (This will again be a solitaire game, but at least it will show us how to calculate a strategy.) Our hypothetical game will again use coin tosses — but this time we'll toss them ten at a time, not one at a time. Here is the rule (one so simple that it's even been stolen by a TV game show): before the ten coins are tossed, the player picks a number, from 0 to 10, representing the number of heads

1. Ken Binmore, *Game Theory: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 89–92.

2. Binmore, *Game Theory,* p. 37,

that will show up. If the number of heads that actually land is greater than or equal to the player's chosen number, he gets points equal to the number he guessed. (Not, be it noted, the number of heads that landed, but the *number he guessed.)* If the number of heads is less than his number, he gets nothing. So, e.g., if he guesses four, and six heads turn up, then he gets four points. But if he guesses seven, and six heads show up, then he gets zero points.

So how many should our player guess, each time, to earn the greatest payoff in the long term?

We can, easily enough, calculate the odds of 0, 1, 2, etc. heads, using the data on the Binomial Distribution. It turns out to be as follows:

# of Heads	Possible Combinations	Odds of n heads
0	1	0.001
1	10	0.010
2	45	0.044
3	120	0.117
4	210	0.205
5	252	0.246
6	210	0.205
7	120	0.117
8	45	0.044
9	10	0.010
10	1	0.001

Now we can determine the payoffs for each strategy. For example, the "payoff" for the strategy of guessing "10" is 10 points times .001 probability = .01. In other words, if you repeatedly guess 10, you can expect to earn, on average, .01 points per game. Not much of a payoff.

For a strategy of "9," there are actually two ways to win: if nine heads show up, or if ten heads show up. So your odds of winning are .010+.001=.011. The reward in points is 9. So your projected payoff is 9*.011=.099. Quite an improvement!

We're balancing two factors here: The reward of the strategy with the probability. For example, if you choose "0" every time, you'll win every game — but get no payoff. Choose "1" every time, and you'll win almost all the time, and get some payoff, but not much. So what is the best strategy?

This we can demonstrate with another table. This shows the payoff for each strategy (rounded off slightly, of course):

Strategy	Average Payoff
0	0
1	1.00
2	1.98
3	2.84
4	3.31
5	3.12
6	2.26
7	1.20
8	0.44
9	0.10
10	0.01

So the best strategy for this game is to consistently guess “4.” (Not, be it noted, to guess numbers close to four, varying them from time to time, but to guess “4” every time.)

But now let’s add another twist. In the game above, there was no penalty for guessing high, except that you didn’t win. Suppose that, instead, you suffer for going over. If, say, you guess “5,” and only four heads turn up, you *lose* five points. If you guess, “10,” then, you have one chance in 1024 of earning 10 points — and 1023 chances in 1024 of earning –10 points. Does that change the strategy?

Strategy	Average Payoff
0	0.0
1	0.998
2	1.957
3	2.672
4	2.625
5	1.230
6	–1.477
7	–4.594
8	–7.125
9	–8.807
10	–9.980

This shows a distinct shift. In the first game, every guess except “0” had at least a slight payoff, and the best payoffs were in the area of “4”-”5.” Now, we have large penalties for guessing high, and the only significant payoffs are for “3” and “4,” with “3” being the optimal strategy.

Again, though, we must stress that this is a solitaire game. There is no opponent. So there is no actual game theory involved — it’s just probability theory.

True games involve playing against an opponent of some sort, human or computer (or stock market, or national economy, or something). Let’s look at a two-person game, though a very simple one: We’ll again use coins. The game starts with A and B each putting a fixed amount in the bank, and agreeing on a number of turns. In each round of the game, players A and B set out a coin. Each can put out a dime (ten cents, or a tenth of a dollar) or a quarter (25 cents). Whatever coins they put out, A gets to claim a value equivalent to the combined value from the bank. At the end of the game, whatever is left in the bank belongs to B.

This game proves to have a very simple strategy for each player. A can put out a quarter or a dime. If he puts out a quarter, he is guaranteed to claim *at least* 35 cents from the bank, and it might be 50 cents; if he puts out a dime, the *most* he can pick up is 35 cents, and it might be only 20.

B can put out a quarter or a dime; if he does the former, he loses at least 35 cents, and it might be 50; if he plays the dime, he limits his losses to a maximum of 35 cents, and it might be only 20.

Clearly, A’s best strategy is to put out a quarter, ensuring that he wins at least 35 cents; B’s best strategy is to put out a dime, ensuring that he loses no more than 35 cents. These are what are called “dominant strategies” — a strategy which produces the best results no matter what the other guy does. The place the two settle on is called the saddle point. Williams notes that a saddle point is a situation where *one player can announce his strategy in advance, and it will not affect the other’s strategy!*[1]

Note that games exist where both players have a dominant strategy, or where only one has a dominant strategy, or where neither player has a dominant strategy. Note also that a dominant strategy does not inherently require always doing the same thing. The situation in which both have a dominant strategy produces the “Nash Equilibrium,” named after John Nash, the mathematician (artificially famous as a result of the movie “A Beautiful Mind”) who introduced the concept. In general, the Nash Equilibrium is simply the state a game achieves if all parties involved play their optimal strategies —

1. Williams, *The Compleat Strategyst*,,p. 27

or, put another way, if they take the course they would take should they know their opponents' strategy.[1]

Note also that a game can have multiple Nash Equilibria — the requirement for a Nash Equilibrium is simply that it is stable once both players reach it. Think, perhaps, of a ball rolling over a non-smooth surface. Every valley is a Nash Equilibrium — once the ball rolls into it, it can't roll its way out. But there may be several valleys into which it might fall, depending on the exact initial conditions.

The game below is an example of one which has an optimal strategy more complicated than always playing the same value — it's a game with an equilibrium but no saddle point. We will play it with coins although it's usually played with fingers — it's the game known as "odds and evens." In the classical form, A and B each show one or two fingers, with A winning if they show the same number of fingers and B winning if they show different numbers. In our coin version, we'll again use dimes and quarters, with A earning a point if both play the same coin, and B winning if they play different coins. It's one point to the winner either way. But this time, let's show the result as a table (there is a reason for this, which we'll get to).

		B Plays	
		DIME	QUARTER
A Plays	DIME	1	-1
	QRTR	-1	1

The results are measured in payoff to A: a 1 means A earns one point, a –1 means A loses one point.

One thing is obvious about this game: Unlike the dime-and-quarter case, you should not always play the same coin. Your opponent will quickly see what you are doing, and change strategies to take advantage. The only way to keep your opponent honest is to play what is called a "mixed strategy" — one in which you randomly mix together multiple moves. (One in which you always do the same thing is a "pure strategy." Thus a mixed strategy consists of playing multiple rounds of a game and shuffling between pure strategies from game to game. If a game has a saddle point, as defined above,

1. Binmore, *Game Theory,* p. 14.

then the best strategy is a pure strategy. If it does not have a saddle point, then a mixed strategy will be best.)

Binmore notes that many people already understand the need for a random strategy in certain games, even if they don't know exactly what ratio of choices to make. The reason is a classic aphorism: "You have to keep them guessing."[1]

Davis offers a different version of the argument, based on a plot in Poe's "The Purloined Letter." In that story, one boy involved in a playground game of matching marbles could always win eventually, because he evolved techniques for reading an opponent's actions. How, then, could one hold off this super-kid? Only one way: By making random choices. It wouldn't let you beat him, but at least you wouldn't lose.[2] There is an interesting corollary here: If you are smarter than your opponent, you can perhaps win by successfuly second-guessing him. But if you are not as smart as your opponent, you can hold him to a draw by using a random mixed strategy.[3]

This may seem like a lot of rigmarole for a game we all know is fair, and with such a simple outcome. But There Are Reasons. The above table can be used to calculate the value (average payout to A), and even the optimal strategy (or ratio of strategies, for a mixed strategy) for *any* zero-sum game (i.e. one where the amount gained by Player A is exactly equal to that lost by Player B, or vice versa) with two options for each player.

The system is simple. Call the options for Player A "A1" and "A2" and the options for Player B "B1" and "B2." Let the outcomes (payoffs) be a b c d. Then our table becomes:

		B Plays	
		B1	B2
A Plays	A 1	a	b
	A 2	c	d

1. Binmore, *Game Theory,* p. 23.

2. Morton D. Davis, *Game Theory: A Nontechnical Introduction,* revised edition, 1983 (I use the 1997 Dover paperback), pp. 27-28.

3. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 31

The value of the game, *in all cases meeting the above conditions,* is

$$\frac{ad - bc}{a + d - b - c}$$

With this formula, it is trivially easy to prove that the value for the "odds and evens" game above is 0. Just as we would have expected. There is no advantage to either side.

But wait, there's more! Not only do we know the value of the game, but we can tell the optimal strategy for each player! We express it as a ratio of strategies. For player A, the ratio of A1 to A2 is given by (a - b)/(c - d). For B, the ratio of B1 to B2 is (a - c)/(b - d). In the odds and evens case, since
a = 1
b = -1
c = -1
d = 1,
that works out to the optimal ratio for A being
A1:A2 = [1–(–1)]/[–1–(1)] = –2/2 = –1.
We ignore the minus sign; the answer is 1 — i.e. we play A1 as often as A2.
Similarly, the optimal ratio for B is 1. As we expected. The Nash Equilibrium is for each player to play a random mix of dimes and quarters, and the value of the game if they do is zero.

We must add an important note here, one which we mentioned above but probably didn't emphasize enough. The above applies only in games where the players *have completely opposed interests.* If one gains, another loses. Many games, such as the Prisoner's Dilemma we shall meet below, do not meet this criterion; the players have conjoined interests. And even a game which, at first glance, appears to be zero-sum may not be. For example, a situation in which there are two opposing companies striving for a share of the market may appear to be zero-sum and their interests completely opposed. But that is only true if the size of their market is fixed. If (for instance) they can expand the market by cooperating, then the game ceases to be zero-sum. And that changes the situation completely.

There is also a slight problem if the numbers in the results table are *average* payouts. Suppose, for instance, that the above game, the odds and evens game, has two "phases." In the first phase of each round, you play odds and evens. The winner in the first phase plays a second phase, in which he rolls a single die. If it comes up 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6, the player earns $2. But if he rolls a 1, he loses $4. The average value of this game is $1, so in terms of payouts, we haven't changed the game at all. But in terms of

danger, we've altogether changed things. Suppose you come in with only $3 in your bank. In all likelihood, you could play "regular" odds and evens for quite a long time without going bankrupt. But in the modified two-phase game, there is one chance in 12 that you will go bankrupt on the first turn — and that even though you won against your opponent! Sure, in the long run it would average out, if you had a bigger initial bankroll — but that's no help if you go bankrupt early on.

This sort of thing can affect a player's strategy. There are two ways this can happen — though both involve the case where only some of the results have second phases. Let's take our example above, and make one result and one result only lead to the second phase:

		B Plays	
		DIME	QUARTER
A Plays	DIME	1	-1
	QRTR	-1	1

That is, if both players play a dime, then A "wins" but has to play our second phase where he risks a major loss.

(Note that this simple payoff matrix applies only to zero-sum games, where what one player loses is paid to the other. In a game which is not zero-sum, we have to list the individual payoffs to A and B in the same cell, because one may well gain more than the other loses.)

Now note what happens: If A has a small bankroll, he will want to avoid this option. But B is perhaps trying to force him out of the game. Therefore A will wish to avoid playing the dime, and B will always want to play the dime. Result: Since A is always playing the quarter, and B the dime, B promptly drives A bankrupt because A wanted to avoid bankruptcy!

The unlikely result of this is that, to avoid being exploited, A has to maintain the strategy he had all along, of playing Dime and Quarter randomly. Or, at least, he has to play Quarter often enough to keep B honest. This is a topic we will cover below, when we get to the Quantal Response Equilibrium. The real point is that any game can be more

complicated than it seems. But we have enough complexities on our hands; let's ignore this for now.

It's somewhere around here that the attempt to connect game theory and textual criticism was made. Game theory helps us to determine optimal strategies. Could it not help us to determine the optimal strategy for a scribe who wished to preserve the text as well as possible?

We'll get back to that, but first we have to enter a very big caution. Not all games have such a simple Nash Equilibrium. Let's change the rules. Instead of odds and evens, with equal payouts, we'll say that each player puts out a dime or a quarter, and if the two coins match, A gets both coins; if they *don't* match, the payout goes to B. This sounds like a fair game; if the players put out their coins at random, then one round in four will results in two quarters being played (50 cent win for A), two rounds in four will result in one quarter and one dime (35 cent payout to B), and one round in four will result in two dimes (20 cent payout to A). Since 50+20=35+25=70, if both players play equal and random strategies, the game gives an even payout to both players.

But should both players play at equal numbers of dimes and quarters random? We know they should play at random (that is, that each should determine randomly which coin to play on any given turn); if one player doesn't pick randomly, then the other player should observe it and react accordingly (e.g. if A plays quarters in a non-random way, B should play his dime according to the same pattern to increase his odds of winning). But playing randomly does not imply playing each strategy the same number of times.

Now the formulas we listed above come into play. Our payoff matrix for this game is:

		B Plays	
		DIME	QUARTER
A Plays	DIME	20	-35
	QRTR	-35	50

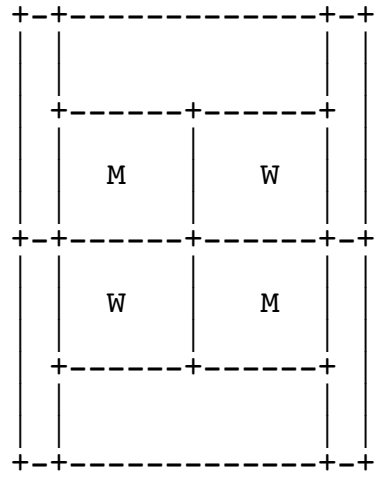
So, from the formula above, the value of the game is

(20*50 - (-35*-35))/(20+50 -(-35) -(-35)) = (1000–1225)/(140) = -225/140 = -45/28,

or about -1.6. In other words, if both players play their optimal strategies, the payoff to B averages about 1.6 cents per game. The game looks fair, but in fact is slightly biased toward B. You can, if you wish, work out the correct strategy for B, and try it on someone.

And there is another problem: Human reactions. Here, we'll take an actual real-world game: Lawn tennis. Tennis is one of the few sports with multiple configurations (men's singles, women's singles, men's doubles, women's doubles, mixed doubles). This has interesting implications for the least common of the forms, mixed doubles. Although it is by no means always true that the male player is better than the female, it *is* usually true in tennis leagues, including professional tennis. (This because players will usually get promoted to a higher league if they're too good for the competition. So the best men play with the best women, and the best men are better.) So a rule of thumb evolved in the sport, saying "hit to the woman."

It can, in fact, be shown by game theory that this rule is *wrong*. Imagine an actual tennis game, as seen from the top, with the male players shown as M (for man or monster, as you prefer) and the female as W (for woman or weaker, again as you prefer).



Now at any given time player A has two possible strategies, "play to the man" or "play to the woman." However, *player B also has two strategies:* "stay" or "cross." To cross means for the man to switch over to the woman's side and try to intercept the ball hit to her. (In the real world, the woman can do this, too, and it may well work — the mixed doubles rule is that the man *loses* the mixed doubles match, while the woman can *win* it — but that's a complication we don't really need.)

We'll say that, if A hits the ball to the woman, he wins a point, but if he hits to the man, he loses. This is oversimplified, but it's the idea behind the strategy, so we can use it as a starting point. That means that our results matrix is as follows:

		B Plays	
		Stay	Cross
A Plays	To M	-1	1
	To W	1	-1

Obviously we're basically back in the odds-and-evens case: The optimal strategy is to hit 50% of the balls to M and 50% to W. The tennis guideline to "hit to the woman" doesn't work. If you hit more than 50% of the balls to the woman, the man will cross every time, but if you hit less than 50% to the woman, you're hitting too many to the man.

But — and this is a very big but — the above analysis assumes that both teams are mathematically and psychologically capable of playing their optimal strategies. When dealing with actual humans, as opposed to computers, this is rarely the case. Even if a person *wants* to play the optimal strategy, and knows what it is, a tennis player out on the court probably can't actually randomly choose whether to cross or stay. And this ignores psychology. As Rapoport says, "The assumption of 'rationality' of the other is inherent in the theory of the zero-sum game.... On the other hand, if the other is assumed 'rational' but is not, the minimax strategy may fail to take advantage of the other's 'irrationality.' But the irrationality can be determined only by means of an effective descriptive theory.... Experimental investigations of behavior in zero-sum games have established some interesting findings. For the most part, the minimax solution is beyond the knowledge of subjects ignorant of game theory.... In some cases, it has been demonstrated that when plays of the same game are repeated, the subject's behavior is more consistently explained by a stochastic learning theory rather than by game theory."[1]

To put this in less technical language, most people remember failures better than successes. Davis notes that "people who feel they have won something generally try to

1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience*, pp. 74–75

conserve their winnings by avoiding risks. In an identical situation, the same people who perceive that they have just lost something will take risks they considered unacceptable before, to make themselves whole...."[1] If a player crosses, and gets "burned" for it, it's likely that he will back off and cross less frequently. In the real world, in other words, you don't have to hit 50% of the shots to the man to keep him pinned on his own side. Binmore says onthat "Game theory escapes the apparent infinite regression.... by appealing to the idea of a Nash equilibrium."[2] But even if the players know there is a Nash equilibrium, that doesn't mean they are capable of applying the knowledge.

So how many do you have to hit to the man? This is the whole trick and the whole problem. As early as 1960, the Nobel-winning game theorist Thomas C. Schelling was concerned with this issue, but could not reach useful conclusions.[3] Len Fisher, referring back to Schelling's work, mentions the "Schelling Point," which, in Schelling's description, is a "focal point for each person's expectation of what the other expects him to expect to be expected to do."[4] (And economists wonder why people think economics is confusing!)

More recently, Thomas Palfrey refers to the actual optimal strategy for dealing with a particular opponent as the "quantal response equilibrium." (Personally, I call it the "doublethink equilibrium." It's where you land after both players finish second-guessing themselves.)

The problem of double-thinking was recognized quite early in the history of game theory by John Maynard Keynes, who offered the quite sexist example of contemporary beauty contests, where the goal was not to pick the most beautiful woman but the woman whom the largest number of others would declare to be beautiful. Imagine the chaos that results if all the many competitors in such a contest are trying to guess what the others will do!

This should be sufficient reason to show why, to the misfortune of those who bet on these things, *there is no universal quantal response equilibrium.* In the tennis case above, there are some doubles players who like to cross; you will have to hit to the man a lot to pin them down. Others don't like to cross; only a few balls hit their way will keep them where they belong. (The technical term for this is "confirmation bias," also known as "seeing what you want to see" — a phenomenon by no means confined to tennis players. Indeed, one might sometimes wonder if textual critics might, just possibly,

1. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 71.

2. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 22.

3. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 113.

4. Len Fisher, *Rock, Paper, Scissors: Game Theory in Everyday Life,* Basic Books, 2008, p. 79.

occasionally be slightly tempted to this particular error.) Against a particular opponent, there may well be a quantal response equilibrium. But there is no *general* QRE, even in the case where there is a Nash Equilibrium.

We can perhaps make this clearer by examining another game, known as "Ultimatum." In this game, there are two players and an experimenter. The experimenter puts up a "bank" — say, $100. Player A is then to offer Player B some fraction of the bank as a gift. If B accepts the gift, then B gets the gift and A gets whatever is left over. If B does *not* accept the gift, then the experimenter keeps the cash; A and B get nothing. Also, for the game to be fully effective, A and B get only one shot; once they finish their game, the experimenter has to bring in another pair of players.

This game is interesting, because, theoretically, B should take *any* offer he receives. There is no second chance; if he turns down an offer of, say, $1, he gets nothing. But it is likely that B will turn down an offer of $1. Probably $5 also. Quite possibly $10. Which puts an interesting pressure on A: Although theoretically B should take what he gets, A needs to offer up enough to gain B's interest. How much is that? An interesting question — but the answer is pure psychology, not mathematics.

Or take this psychological game, described by Rapoport, supposedly based on a true story of the Pacific War during World War II.[1] The rule then, for bomber crews, was that they had to fly thirty missions before being retired. Unfortunately, the odds of surviving thirty missions were calculated as only one in four. The authorities *did* come up with a way to improve those odds: They calculated that, if they loaded the planes with only half a load of fuel, replacing the weight with bombs, it would allow them to drop just as many bombs as under the other scenario while having only half as many crews fly. The problem, of course, is that the crew would run out of fuel and crash after dropping the bombs. So the proposal was to draw straws: Half the crews would fly and drop their bombs and crash (and presumably die, since the Japanese didn't take prisoners). The other half of the crews would be sent home without ever flying.

Theoretically, this was a good deal for everyone: The damage done to Japan was the same, and the number of bomber crew killed was reduced. It would save fuel, too, if anyone cared. But no one was interested.

(Note: I don't believe this story for a minute. It's a backward version of the kamikaze story. But it says something about game psychology: The Japanese *were* willing to fly kamikazes. The Americans weren't, even though their bomber crews had only slightly better odds than the suicide bombers. However, though this story is probably false, it has been shown that people do think this way. There is a recent study — unfortunately, I

1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 88.

only heard about it ~~on the news and cannot cite it — which offe~~red people a choice between killing one person and killing five. If they did not have to *personally* act to kill the one, they were willing to go along. But they had a very hard time pulling the trigger. This is in fact an old dilemma; Rapoport describes the case where a mother had to choose which one of her sons to kill; if she did not kill one, both would die. Often the mother is unable to choose.[1])

What's more, even a game which should have an equilibrium can "evolve" — as one player starts to understand the other's strategy, the first player can modify his own, causing the strategic calculation to change. This can happen even in a game which on its face should have a stable equilibrium.[2].

Another game, described by John Allen Paulos,[3] shows even more the extent to which psychology comes into play. Professor Martin Shubik would go into his classes and auction off a dollar bill. Highest bidder would earn the bill — but the second-highest bidder was also required to pay off on his bid. This had truly interesting effects: There was a reward ($1) for winning. There was no penalty for being third or lower. But the #2 player had to pay a fee, with no reward at all. As a result, players strove intensely not to be #2. Better to pay a little more and be #1 and get the dollar back! So Shubik was able to auction his dollar for prices in the range of $4. Even the winner lost, but he lost less than the #2 player.

In such a game, since the total cost of the dollar is the amount paid by both the #1 and #2 player, one should never see a bid of over .51 dollar. Indeed, it's probably wise not to bid at all. But once one is in the game, what was irrational behavior when the game started becomes theoretically rational, except that the cycle never ends. And this, too, is psychology.

(Note: This sort of trap didn't really originate with Shubik. Consider *Through the Looking Glass.* In the chapter "Wool and Water," Alice is told she can buy one egg for fivepence plus a farthing, or two eggs for twopence — but if she buys two, she must eat both. Also, there is a sort of auction, the "Vickrey auction," which sounds similar although it is in fact different: All bidders in an auction submit sealed bids. The competitor submitting the highest bid wins the auction — but pays the amount submitted by the second-highest bidder. Thus the goal is the interesting one of trying to be the high bidder while attempting to make sure that you are willing to pay whatever your closest competitor

1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 89.

2. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 16.

3. John Allen Paulos, *A Mathematician Plays the Stock Market,* Basic Books, 2003, pp. 54-55.

bids! And there is a biological analogy — if two males squabble over a female, both pay the price in time and energy of the contest, but only one gets to mate.)

In addition to the Dollar Auction in which only the top two bidders have to pay, there is a variant, the "all-pay" auction, in which every bidder is required to pay what he has bid.[1] This is hardly attractive to bidders, who will usually sit it out — but Binmore notes a real-world analogy: Corrupt politicians or judges may be bribed by all parties, and may accept the bribes, but will only act on one of the bribes (presumably the largest one).

We might add that, in recent years, there has been a good bit of research about the Dollar Auction. There are two circumstances under which, theoretically, it is reasonable to bid on the dollar — if you are allowed to bid first. Both are based on each player being rational and each player having a budget. If the two budgets are equal, then the first bidder should bid the fractional part of his budget — e.g. 66 cents if the budget is $1.66; 34 cents if the budget is $8.34, etc. If the second bidder responds, then the first bidder will *immediately* go to the full amount of the mutual budget, because that's where all dollar auctions will eventually end up anyway. Because he has bid, it's worthwhile for him to go all-out to win the auction. The second bidder has no such incentive; his only options are to lose or to spend more than a dollar to get a dollar. So a rational second bidder will give in and let the first bidder have it for the cost of the initial bid. The other scenario is if both have budgets and the budgets differ: In that case, the bidder with the higher budget bids one cent. Having the larger budget, he can afford to outbid the other guy, and it's the same scenario as above: The second bidder knows he will lose, so he might as well give in without bidding. In the real world, of course, it's very rare to know *exactly* what the other guy can afford, so such situations rarely arise. Lacking perfect information, the Dollar Auction is a sucker game. That's usually the key to these games: Information. To get the best result, you need to know what the other guy intends to do. The trick is to find the right strategy if you *don't* know the other guy's plan.

The Dollar Auction is not the only auction game where the winner can regret winning. Consider oil leases, where each bidder makes a survey in advance to try to determine the amount of oil in the field — but the surveys are little more than educated guesses.[2] The bidders probably get a list of estimates which varies widely, and they make their bids accordingly. The winning bidder will probably realize, once he wins, that the estimate he was working from was probably the most optimistic — and hence likely to be too high. So by winning, he knows he has won a concession that probably isn't worth what he bid for it!

1. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 114.

2. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 115.

DIGRESSION: I just read a biology book which relates the Nash Equilibrium to animal behavior — what are called "Evolutionary Stable Strategies," though evolution plays no necessary part in them: They are actually strategies which maintain stable populations. The examples cited had to do with courtship displays, and parasitism, and such. The fact that the two notions were developed independently leads to a certain confusion. Obviously the Nash Equilibrium is a theoretical concept, while the evolutionary stable strategy (ESS) is regarded as "real world." Then, too, the biologists' determination of ESS are simply equilibria determined mostly by trial and error using rather weak game theory principles — although there is a precise definition of an evolutionarily stable strategy *relative to another strategy*.[1] Often the ESS is found by simulation rather than direct calculation. There is, to be sure, nothing wrong with that, except that the simulation can settle on an equilibrium other than the Nash Equilibrium — a Nash Equilibrium is deliberately chosen, which the biological states aren't. So sometimes they go a little off-track.

More to the point, an ESS is genetically determined, and an ESS can be a mixed strategy (the classic example of this is considered to be "hawk" and "dove" mating behavior — hawks fight hard for mates, and get more mates but also die younger because they fight so much; doves don't get as many mates per year but survive to breed another day. So hawks and doves both survive). Because the strategy is mixed, and because genes get shuffled in every generation, the number of individuals of each type can get somewhat off-balance. Game theory *can* be used to determine optimal behavior strategies, to be sure — but there are other long-term stable solutions which also come up in nature despite not representing true Nash Equilibria. I haven't noticed this much in the number theory books. But many sets of conditions have multiple equilibria: One is the *optimal* equilibrium, but if the parties are trying to find it by trial and error, they may hit an alternate equilibrium point — locally stable while not the ideal strategy. Alternately, because of perturbations of one sort or another, equilibrium situation can also sort of cycle around the Nash equilibrium. This is particularly true when the opponents are separate species, meaning that DNA cannot cross. If there is only one species involved, the odds of a Nash Equilibrium are highest, since the genes can settle down to de facto cooperation. With multiple species, it is easy to settle into a model known as "predator-prey," which goes back to differential equations and predates most aspects of game theory.

1. Davis, *Game Theory*, p. 140.

To understand predator-prey, think, say, foxes and hares. There is some stable ratio of populations — say, 20 hares for each fox. If the number of foxes gets above this ratio for any reason, they will eat too many hares, causing the hare population to crash. With little food left, the fox population then crashes. The hares, freed of predation by foxes, suddenly become free to breed madly, and their population goes up again. Whereupon the fox population starts to climb. In a predator-prey model, you get constant oscillation, such as shown in the graph — in this case, the foxes are going through their cycle with something of a lag behind the hares. It's an equilibrium of a different sort. This too can be stable, as long as there is no outside disturbance, though there is a certain tendency for the oscillation to damp toward the Nash Equilibrium. But, because there are usually outside disturbances — a bad crop of carrots, people hunting the foxes — many predator-prey scenarios do not damp down. It probably needs to be kept in mind that these situations can arise as easily as pure equilibrium situations, even though they generally fall outside the range of pure game theory.

The predator-prey scenario of cycling populations has many other real-world analogies, for example in genetic polymorphisms (the tendency for certain traits to exist in multiple forms, such as A-B-O blood types or blue versus brown eyes; see the article on evolution and genetics). Take A-B-O blood, for example. Blood types A, B, and AB confer resistance to cholera, but vulnerability to malaria; type O confers resistance to malaria but vulnerability to cholera. Suppose we consider a simplified situation where the only blood types are A and O. Then comes a cholera outbreak. The population of type O blood is decimated; A is suddenly dominant — and, with few type O individuals to support it, the cholera fades out with no one to infect. But there are many type A targets available for malaria to attack. Suddenly the population pressure is on type A, and type O is free to expand again. It can become dominant — and the situation will again reverse, with type A being valuable and type O undesirable. This is typically the way polymorphisms work: Any particular allele is valued because it is rare, and will tend to increase until it ceases to be rare. In the long run, you end up with a mixed population of some sort.

This discussion could be much extended. Even if you ignore polymorphisms and seek an equilibrium, biologists and mathematicians can't agree on whether the ESS or the Nash Equilibrium is the more fundamental concept. I would argue for the Nash

Equilibrium, because it's a concept that can apply anywhere (e.g. it has been applied to economics and even international politics). On the other hand, the fact that one can have an ESS which is not a Nash Equilibrium, merely an equilibrium in an particular situation, gives it a certain scope not found in the more restricted Nash concept. And it generally deals with much larger populations, rather than two parties with two strategies.

It should also be recalled that, in biology, these strategies are only short-term stable. In the long term (which may be only a few generations), evolution will change the equation — somehow. The hare might evolve to be faster, so it's easier to outrun foxes. The fox might evolve better smell or eyesight, so as to more easily spot hares. This change will force a new equilibrium (unless one species goes extinct). If the hare runs faster, so must the fox. If the fox sees better, the rabbit needs better disguise. This is called the "red queen's race" — everybody evolving as fast as they possibly can just to stay in the same equilibrium, just as the Red Queen in *Through the Looking Glass* had to run as fast as she could to stay in the same place. It is, ultimately, an arms race with no winners; everybody has to get more and more specialized, and devote more and more energy to the specialization, without gaining any real advantage. But the species that doesn't evolve will go extinct, because the competition is evolving. Ideally, of course, there would be a way to just sit still and halt the race — but nature doesn't allow different species to negotiate.... It is one of the great tragedies of humanity that we've evolved a competitive attitude in response to this ("I don't have to run faster than a jaguar to avoid getting killed by a jaguar; I just have to run faster than *you*"). We don't need to be so competitive any more; we're surpassed all possible predators. But, as I write this, Israelis and members of Hezbollah are trying to show whose genes are better in Lebannon, and who cares about the civilians who aren't members of either tribe's gene pool?

Let's see, where was I before I interrupted myself? Ah, yes, having information about what your opponent's strategy is likely to be. Speaking of knowing what the other guy intends to do, that takes us to the most famous game in all of game theory, the "Prisoner's Dilemma." There are a zillion variations on this — it has been pointed out that it is, in a certain sense, a "live-fire" version of the Golden Rule. (Although, under the Golden Rule, there is an underlying assumption that both you and your neighbour are part of a single community — which makes it a different game.[1]) Dawkins declares that "As a biologist, I agree with Axelrod and Hamilton that many wild animals and plants are

1. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 118.

engaged in ceaseless games of Prisoner's Dilemma, played out in evolutionary time."[1] The game so well-known that most books don't even describe where it came from, although Davis attributes the original version to one A. W. Tucker.[2]

What follows is typical of the way I've encountered the game, with a fairly standard set of rules.

Two members of a criminal gang are taken into custody for some offense — perhaps passing counterfeit money. The police can't prove that they did the counterfeiting; only that they passed the bills. Not really a crime if they are innocent of creating the forged currency. The police need someone to talk. So they separate the two and make each one an offer: Implicate the other guy, and you get a light sentence. Don't talk, and risk a heavy sentence.

A typical situation would be this: If neither guy talks, they both get four years. If both talk, they both get six years in prison. If one talks and the other doesn't, the one who talks gets a two year term and the one who kept his mouth shut gets ten years in prison.

Now, obviously, if they were working *together*, the best thing to do is for both to keep their mouths shut. If they do, both get off lightly.

But this is post-Patriot Act America, where they don't just shine the lights in your eyes but potentially send you to Guantanamo and let you rot without even getting visits from your relatives. A scary thought. And the two can't talk together. Do you really want to risk being carted off for years — maybe forever — on the chance that the other guy *might* keep his mouth shut?

Technically, if you are playing Prisoner's Dilemma only once, as in the actual prison case outlined, the optimal strategy is to condemn the other guy. The average payoff in that case is five years in prison (that being the average of four and six years). If you keep your mouth shut, you can expect eight years of imprisonment (average of six and ten years).

This is really, really stupid in a broader sense: Simply by refusing to cooperate, you are exposing both yourself and your colleague to a greater punishment. But, without communication, it's your best choice: The Nash Equilibrium for one-shot Prisoner's Dilemma is to have both players betray each other.

This is the "story" version of Prisoner's Dilemma. You can also treat it simply as a card game. It's a very dull game, but you can do it. You need two players, four cards, and a

1. Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene,* second edition, Oxford, 1989, p. 203

2. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 109.

bank. Each player has a card reading “Cooperate” and a card reading “Defect.” Each decides on a card; they display them at the same time. If one player chooses “Cooperate” and the other chooses “Defect,” the cooperator gets payoff A, the defector payoff B. If each plays “Cooperate,” they get payoff C. If both defect, each gets payoff D. The payoffs A, B, C, and D are your choice, except that it must be true that B > C > D > A. (If the payoffs are in any other order, the game is not a Prisoner’s Dilemma but something else.)

Now suppose you’re one player. Should you choose cooperate or defect? Since the best payoff is to cooperate, that’s what you to choose that if your opponent does the same. But you don’t know what he is going to do. If you choose cooperate and he chooses defect, you’re you-know-whated. If you choose defect, at the very least, you won’t get the sucker payoff and won’t come in last. So your best choice is to choose to defect. Once again we see that the Nash Equilibrium of this game (dull as it is when played with cards) is to have both players betray each other.

Which mostly shows why game theory hasn’t caused the world economy to suddenly work perfectly: It’s too cruel. This problem has caused many attempts to explain away the dilemma. Indeed, for years people thought that someone would find a way to get people to play the reasonable strategy (nobody talks) rather than the optimal strategy (both talk). Davis notes that most of the discussion of Prisoner’s Dilemma has not denied the result but has tried to justify overturning the result.[1] The failure to find a justification for cooperation has produced diverse reactions: One claim was that the only way the universe can operate is if it’s “every individual for himself” — John von Neumann indeed interpreted the results to say that the United States should have started World War III, to get the Soviets before they could attack the west. At the far extreme is Binmore, who calls Prisoner’s Dilemma a “toy game” and says that it cannot model the real world because if it were actually correct, then social cooperation could not have evolved.[2]

It’s not really relevant to textual criticism, but it seems nearly certain that both views are wrong. Biologists have shown that it can often benefit an individual’s genes to help one’s relatives — in other words, to contribute to the social group. It’s not one prisoner against the world, it’s one *group* against the world. The trick is to define the group — which is where wars start. (The parable of the Good Samaritan in fact starts with a version of this question: “who is my neighbour?”) Conservatives generally define their group very restrictively (opposing immigration and welfare, e.g.), liberals much more loosely (sometimes including the whole human race, even if it means giving welfare to

1. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 113.

2. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 19.

people who won't do any work). In fact it is a worthwhile question to ask what is the optimal amount of altruism required to produce the greatest social good. But, somehow, every politician I've ever heard has already decided that he or she knows the right answer and isn't interested in actual data…

But that's going rather beyond the immediate purview of game theory. If we go back to the game itself, the bottom line is, there is no way, in Prisoner's Dilemma, to induce cooperation, unless one rings in an additional factor such as *collective* interest or conscience. (This requires, note, that we "love our neighbours as ourselves": It works only if helping them profit is something we value. But to make this a reward of cooperation is actually to change the rules of the game.) The closest one can come, in Prisoner's Dilemma, is if the game is played repeatedly: If done with, say, a payoff instead of punishment, players may gradually learn to cooperate. This leads to the famous strategy of "tit for tat" — in an effort to get the other guy to cooperate, you defect in response to his defection, and cooperate in response to his cooperation (obviously doing it one round later).

This reminds us not to get caught up in the description of two prisoners under interrogation. *That is not the game.* It's a story. The actual game is a simply a set of two strategies for each of two players, with four possible outcomes and payoffs in the order described above.[1]

Before we proceed, we should note that the motivations for repeated Prisoner's Dilemma are very ~~different from a one-shot game. if you play~~ Prisoner's Dilemma repeatedly, you are looking for (so to speak) an "investment strategy" — the best payoff if you play repeatedly. In such a case, successes and failures may balance out. Not if you play only once — there, you may well play the strategy that has the fewest bad effects if you lose.

In effect, playing Prisoner's Dilemma repeatedly creates a whole new game. Where one-round Prisoner's Dilemma has only a single possibility — cooperate or defect — multi-round has a multi-part strategy: You decide what to do on the first round (when you have no information on what the other guy does), and then, in every round after that once you have gained information, you decide on a strategy for what to do based on the other guy's previous moves. And Binsmore observes that, in repeated Prisoner's Dilemma, the Nash Equilibrium shifts to a strategy of cooperation. *But, to repeat, this is a different game.*

This is a very good demonstration of how adding only slightly to the complexity of the game can add dramatically to the complexity of the strategies. One-shot Prisoner's

1. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 20.

Dilemma has only four outcomes: CC, CD, DC, DD. But the multi-part game above has at least 64 just for two rounds. For player A, they are as follows:
Cooperate on first turn; after that, if B cooperates on previous turn, then cooperate
Cooperate on first turn; after that, if B cooperates on previous turn, then defect
Cooperate on first turn; after that, if B defects on previous turn, then cooperate
Cooperate on first turn; after that, if B defects on previous turn, then defect
Defect on first turn; after that, if B cooperates on previous turn, then cooperate
Defect on first turn; after that, if B cooperates on previous turn, then defect
Defect on first turn; after that, if B defects on previous turn, then cooperate
Defect on first turn; after that, if B defects on previous turn, then defect

Since A and B both have 8 strategies, that gives us 64 possible outcomes. And if they take into account two previous turns, then the number of outcomes increases still more. The strategy with the highest payoff remains to have both cooperate — but that doesn't give us a winner, merely a higher total productivity.

Rapoport makes another point, about the game where the prisoners plan in advance to cooperate: That any sort of communication or cooperation works properly only if subject to enforceable agreement. That is, someone needs to make sure that the players do what they say they will do. If you don't, observe that you have simply moved the problem back one level of abstraction: It's no longer a question of whether they cooperate or defect, but a question of whether they do what they say they will do or lie about it.[1] Davis describes a game in which players who communicate can make an agreement to maximize their reward, but in which it is not possible to predict what that agreement will be; it depends in effect on how they play a secondary game — negotiation.[2]

In any case, this too is a change in the rules of the game. Remember, in our original version, the prisoners could not communicate at all. And, to put this in the context of textual criticism, how do you enforce an agreement between a dead scribe and a living critic? They certainly can't communicate, which is a key to agreements!

DIGRESSION: This, incidentally, leads us to a whole new class of game theory and economics issues: The "agent problem." There are many classes of game in which there are two players and an intermediate. An example offered by Rapoport is the case of someone who is seeking to sell a house, and another person seeking to buy. Suppose the seller is willing to sell for, say, $200,000, and the buyer is willing to buy a

1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* pp. 56-57.

2. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 106.

house like the seller's for as much as $250,000. The logical thing would be to sell the house for, say, $225,000. That gives the seller more than he demanded, and the buyer a lower price than he was willing to pay; both are happy. Indeed, any solution between $200,000 and $250,000 leaves both satisfied. But they cannot sell to each other. Between them stands a realtor — and if the realtor doesn't like the $225,000 offer, it won't get made. The agent controls the transaction, even though it is the buyer and the seller who handle most of the money. Problems of this type are extremely common; agents are often the experts in a particular field — investment fund managers are a typical example. In some cases, the agent facilitates an agreement. But in others, the agent can distort the agreement badly.

This also reminds us of the problem of "rational expectations." We got at this above with the tennis example: What people *do* versus what they *ought* to do. Much of economics is based on the hypothesis that people pursue the rational course — that is, the one that is most likely to bring them the highest payoff. But, of course, people's behavior is not always rational. Advertising exists primarily to cause irrational behavior, and individual likes and dislikes can cause people to pursue a course which is officially irrational — and, in any case, most of the time most of us do not know enough to choose the rational course. Hence we employ agents. And hence the agent problem.

As a further digression, the above is another example of how the Nash equilibrium comes about: It's the point that maximizes satisfaction. Define the seller's satisfaction as the amount he gets above his minimum $200,000. For simplicity, let's write that as 200, not $200,000. If his satisfaction is given as x, where x is the number of thousands of dollars above 200, then the buyer's satisfaction is given as 50–x. We take the product of these — x(50–x) — and seek to maximize this. It turns out, in this case, that x=25, so that our intuitive guess — that the ideal selling price was $225,000 — was correct. It should be noted, however, that this situation is far from guaranteed. We hit agreement at the halfway point in this case because we described a "seller's market" and a situation where both players were simply counting dollars. Not all bargaining situations of are of this sort. Consider for instance the "buyer's market." In that situation, the buyer wants the best deal possible, but the seller may well have a strong irrational urge to get as close to the asking price as possible. The lower the price, the more firmly the seller resists. Suppose that we reverse our numbers: The seller listing the home for $250,000, and the buyer making an initial offer of $200,000. If both had the same psychological makeup with regard to money, they would settle on $225,000, as above. But, since the buyer really wants something close to his list price, we're likely to end up at a figure closer to $240,000. Exactly where depends, of course, on the makeup of the individuals. Maybe we can express it mathematically, maybe not. That's what makes it tricky…

All the problems here lead to an interesting phenomenon known as Nash Bargaining. In a non-zero-sum game, there is a (theoretically) simple mathematical way to determine the "right" answer for two parties. It lies in determining the point at which the product of the two players' utility functions is at maximum. Of course, determining utility functions is tricky — one of the reasons why economics struggles so much. It is easier to envision this purely in terms of money, and assume both parties value money equally. Take, say, the Ultimatum game above, where the two have to split $100. If one player ends up with x dollars, then the other gets 100–x dollars. So we want to choose x so that x(100–x) has the maximum value. It isn't hard to show that this is at x=$50, that is, each player gets $50. So the product of their utilities is 50x50=2500. If they split $40/$60, the product would be 40x60=2400, so this is a less fair split. And so forth.

The above answer is intuitively obvious. But there are examples which aren't so easy. For example, suppose a husband and wife have a combined income of $2000 per week. Should they just each take $1000 each and spend it as they wish? Not necessarily. Let's say, for instance, that the husband has to travel a long distance to work each day; this costs him $25 per week. The wife spends only $5 on work-related travel per week, but she needs a larger wardrobe and has to spend $100 for clothing. She also buys the week's food, and that costs another $100. The man, they have concluded, must pay the mortgage, which works out to $200 per week. The man wants cable television — $20 per week — but the wife does not particularly care. The wife earns 20% more per week than the husband, so it is accepted that her share of the available spending money should be rather more than his, although not necessarily 20% more, because of the cable TV argument. So if x is the fraction of $2000 given to the husband, and 2000–x is the amount given to the wife, what is the optimal x? Not nearly as obvious as in the even-split case, is it? Here is how we would set this up. The husband's actual cash to spend is x-$25–$200, or x-$225. The wife's is ($2000–x)-$100–$100–5, or $1795–x. However, in light of the above, the "value" of a dollar is 1.2 times as much to the husband as to the wife, but he has to subtract $20 from his post-division amount for cable TV. So the man's utility function is 1.2(x-$225)-$20, which simplifies down to 1.2x-$290. The woman's is $1795–x. So we want to find the value of x which gives us the maximum value for (1.2x–290)(1795–x), or 2154x–1.2x2–520550+290x, or 1.2x2+2444x–520550. x must, of course, be between 0 and 2000. Rounding to the nearest dollar, this turns out to be $1019 — that is, the man gets $1019 per week, the woman $981. This seems rather peculiar — we said that they agreed that the wife should get more — but remember that the man pays slightly more of the family bills, plus money is worth more to him. So his extra spending money is of greater value. The oddity is not in the result, it's in the utility function. Which is why Nash bargaining sounds easy in concept but rarely works out so easily.

If the above seems too complicated to understand, Binmore has a simpler version involving a husband and wife and how they divide housework.[1] The husband thinks that one hour of housework a day is sufficient. The wife thinks two hours per day are required. How much housework does each do to share the job "fairly?" It turns out that it is not an even split; rather, the husband does only half an hour a day; the wife does an hour and a half. This is perhaps more intuitive than the preceding: The husband does exactly half *of what he feels needs to be done.* The wife does *everything required beyond that to do what she needs to be done.* It is not an even split. From her standpoint, it probably is not equitable. But at least the husband is doing some of the work. So both are better off than if they just fought about it.

Problems in utility and psychology help explain why playing a game like Prisoner's Dilemma repeatedly doesn't work perfectly in real life. (And, yes, it does happen in real life — an example is the case of two companies who have the option of engaging in an advertising war.[2] If both advertise lightly, they split the market. If one advertises heavily and the other lightly, the advertiser wins big. But if they both advertise heavily — they still split the same market, but their advertising costs are higher and their profits lower. Since they have to decide advertising budgets year by year, this is precisely an iterated version of Prisoner's Dilemma. The optimal strategy is to have both advertise lightly, year after year; the equilibrium strategy is to advertise heavily.

In theory, after a few rounds, players should always cooperate — and in fact that's what happens with true rational players: Computer programs. Robert Axelrod once held a series of Prisoner's Dilemma "tournaments," with various programmers submitting strategies. "Tit for tat" (devised, incidentally, by Rapoport) was the simplest strategy — but it also was the most successful, earning the highest score when playing against the other opponents.

It didn't always win, though — in fact, it almost certainly would not beat any given opponent head-to-head; it was in effect playing for a tie. But ties are a good thing in this contest — the highest scores consistently came from "nice" strategies (that is, those that opened by cooperating[3]). On the other hand, there were certain strategies which, though they didn't really beat "tit for tat," dramatically lowered its score. (Indeed, "tit for tat" had the worst score of any strategy when competing against an opponent who simply made its decisions at random.[4]) When Axelrod created an "evolutionary" phase of

1. Binmore, *Game Theory*, pp. 146-147.

2. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 110.

3. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 147.

4. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 148.

the contest, eliminating the weakest strategies, he found that “Tit for tat” was the likeliest to survive — but that five others among the 63 strategies were also still around when he reached the finish line, although they had not captured as large a share of the available “survival slots.”[1] (cf. Binmore, p. 81). What’s more, if you knew the the actual strategies of your opponents, you could write a strategy to beat them. In Axelrod’s first competition, “Tit for tat” was the clear winner — but Axelrod showed that a particular strategy which was even “nicer” than “Tit for tat” would have won that tournament had it been entered. (The contests evolved a particular and useful vocabulary, with terms such as “nice,” “forgiving,” and “envious.” A “nice” strategy started out by cooperating; this compared with a “nasty” strategy which defected on the first turn. A strategy could also be “forgiving” or “unforgiving” — a forgiving strategy would put up with a certain amount of defecting. An “envious” strategy was one which wanted to win. “Tit for tat” was non-envious; it just wanted to secure the highest total payout. The envious strategies would rather go down in flames than let someone win a particular round of the tournament. If they went down with their opponents, well, at least the opponent didn’t win.) In the initial competition, “Tit for tat” won because it was nice, forgiving, and non-envious. A rule that was nicer or more forgiving could potentially have done even better.

But then came round two. Everyone had seen how well “Tit for tat” had done, and either upped their niceness or tried to beat “Tit for tat.” They failed — though we note with interest that it was still possible to create a strategy that would have beaten all opponents in the field. But it *wasn’t the same strategy as the first time.* Axelrod’s “Tit for two tats,” which would have won Round One, wouldn’t even have come close in Round Two; the niceness which would have beaten all those nasty strategies in the first round went down to defeat against the nicer strategies of round two: It was too nice.

And humans often don’t react rationally anyway — they’re likely to be too envious. In another early “field test,” experimenters played 100 rounds of Prisoner’s Dilemma between a mathematician and a non-mathematician. (Well, properly, a guy who had been studying game theory and one who hadn’t.) They not only recorded the results but the players’ comments. The non-mathematician never did really learn how to cooperate, and defected much more than the mathematician, and in an irrational way: He neither played the optimal strategy of always defecting nor the common-sense strategy of always cooperating. He complained repeatedly that the mathematician wouldn’t “share.” The mathematician complained that the other fellow wouldn’t learn. The outcome of the test depended less on strategy than on psychology.[2] Davis reports many other instances where subjects in studies showed little understanding of the actions of their opponents

1. cf. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 81.

2. William Poundstone, *Prisoner's Dilemma*, Anchor, 1992, pp. 106-116

and pursued non-optimal strategies,[1] and notes that the usual result of tests of Prisoner's Dilemma was for players to become more and more harsh over time (although outside communication between the players somewhat lessened this).[2]

Davis goes on to look at experiments with games where there was *no* advantage for defecting — and found that, even there, defection was common. It appears, from what I can tell, that the players involved (and, presumably, most if not all of humanity) prefers to be poor itself as long as it can assure than the guy next door is poorer. The measurement of payoffs, if there is one, is measured not by absolute wealth but by being wealthier than the other guy. And if that means harming the other guy — well, it's no skin off the player's nose. (I would add that this behavior has been clearly verified in chimpanzees.) (As a secondary observation, I can't help but wonder if anyone tried to correlate the political affiliations of the experimental subjects with their willingness to play Beggar My Neighbour. Davis mentions a test which makes it appear that those who are the most liberal seem to be somewhat more capable of cooperation than those who are most conservative.[3] But this research seems to have been done casually; I doubt it is sufficient to draw strong conclusions.)

This sort of problem applies in almost all simple two-person games: People often don't seek optimal solutions. (See the Appendix on the 2x2 Games for additional information on the other games.)

Which bring this back to textual criticism: Game theory is a system for finding optimal strategies for winning in the context of a particular set of rules — a rule being, e.g., that a coin shows heads 50% of the time and that one of two players wins when two coins match. Game theory has proved that zero-sum games with fixed rules and a finite number of possible moves *do* have optimal solutions. But what are the rules for textual criticism? You could apply them, as a series of canons — e.g., perhaps, "prefer the shorter reading" might be given a "value" of 1, while "prefer the less Christological reading" might be given a value of 3. In such a case, you could create a system for mechanically choosing a text. And the New Testament is of finite length, so there are only so many "moves" possible. In that case, there would, theoretically, be an "optimal strategy" for recovering the original text.

But how do you get people to agree on the rules?

1. Davis, *Game Theory,* pp. 51-52.

2. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 126.

3. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 155.

Game theory is helpless here. This isn't really a game. The scribes have done whatever they have done, *by their own unknown rules.* The modern textual critic isn't playing against them; he is simply trying to figure them out.

It is possible, at least in theory, to define a scribe's *goal*. For example, it's widely assumed that a scribe's goal is to assure retaining every original word while including the minimum possible amount of extraneous material. This is, properly, not game theory at all but a field called "utility theory," but the two are close enough that they are covered in the same textbooks; utility theory is a topic underlying game theory. Utility theory serves to assign relative values to things not measured on a single scale. For example, a car buyer might have to choose between a *faster* (or slower) car, a more or less *fuel efficient* car, a more or less *reliable* car, and a more or less *expensive* car. You can't measure speed in dollars, nor cost in miles/kilometers per hour; there is no direct way to combine these two unrelated statistics into one value. Utility theory allows a combined calculation of "what it's worth to you."

In an ideal world, there is a way to measure utility. This goes all the way back to when von Neumann and Morganstern were creating game theory. They couldn't find a proper measure of payoffs. Von Neumann proposed the notion of best outcome, worst outcome, and lottery: The best possible outcome in a game was worth (say) 100, and the worst was worth 0 to the player who earned it. To determine the value of any other outcome to the player, you offered lottery tickets with certain probabilities of winning. For example, would you trade outcome *x* for a lottery ticket which gave you a 20% chance of the optimal outcome? If yes, then the value of x is 20 "utiles." If you would not trade it for a ticket with a 20% chance of the optimal outcome, but would trade it for a ticket with a 30% chance, then the value is 30 utiles. And so on.[1]

Unfortunately, this has two problems. One is that not everyone agrees on utility. The other is that some people are natural gamblers and some prefer a sure thing. So the lottery ticket analogy may not in fact measure inherent utility. I bring this up because it shows that all utility equations are personal. I don't drive fast, so I don't care about a fast car, but I do care about good gas mileage. But you may be trying to use your car to attract girls (or teenage boys, if you're a Catholic priest). Utility for cars varies.

Davis describes half a dozen requirements for a utility function to work:[2]
1. Everything is comparable. You have to be able to decide whether you like one thing better than another, whether it be two models of car or petting a kitten versus watching a sunset. For *any* two items, either one must be more valuable than the other or they must have the same value.

1. The preceding is paraphrased from Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 8.

2. Davis, *Game Theory,* pp. 64-65.

2. Preference and indifference are transitive. That is, all values must be in order. If you like Chaucer better than Shakespeare, and Shakespeare better than Jonson, then you must also like Chaucer better than Johnson.
3. A player is indifferent when equivalent prizes are substituted in a lottery. Since the whole notion of value is built on lotteries and lottery tickets, equivalent prizes must imply equivalent values of the lottery.
4. A player will always gamble if the odds are good enough. This should be true in theory, but of course there are all sorts of practical "a bird in the hand" objections. (There may also be religious objections if we call the contest a "lottery," but remember that we could just as well call it an "investment.")
5. The more likely the preferred prize, the better the lottery. This, at least, poses few problems.
6. Players are indifferent to gambling. What this really means is that players don't care about the means by which the lottery is conducted — they're as willing (or unwilling) to risk all on the throw of the dice, or on which horse runs faster, as on the workings of the stock market or next year's weather in crop-growing regions. This runs into the same problems as #4.

And so does utility for scribes. We can't know what method the scribe might use to achieve maximum utility. A good method for achieving the above goal might be for the scribe, when in doubt about a reading, to consult three reputable copies and retain any reading found in any of the three. But while it's a good strategy, we have no idea if our scribe employed it. (What is more, it has been observed that, in gambling situations, gamblers tend to wager more as the time spent at the poker table or racetrack increases.[1] So even if we knew the scribe's rules at the start of a day's work, who can say about the end?)

Rapoport explains why this is a problem:[2] "Here we are in the realm of the non-zero-sum game. [In the case of textual criticism, this is because the critic and scribe have no interaction at all. The scribe — who is long dead! — doesn't gain or lose by the critic's action, and the critic has no particular investment in the scribe's behavior.] It is our contention that in this context no definition of rationality can be given which remains intuitively satisfactory in all contexts. One cannot, therefore, speak of a normative theory in this context unless one invokes specific extra-game-theoretical considerations.... A normative theory of decision which claims to be 'realistic,' i.e. purports to derive its prescripts exclusively from 'objective reality,' is likely to lead to delusion."

1. Davis, *Game Theory,* p. 70.

2. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 75.

Rapoport also gives an example of why this is so difficult.[1] It would seem as if saving human lives is a "pure good," and so the goal should always be to maximize lives. And yet, he points out the examples of the highways — traffic accidents, after all, are the leading cause of death in some demographic groups. The number of highway deaths could certainly be reduced. And yet, society does not act, either because the changes would limit individual freedom (seat belt rules, stricter speed limits, stricter drunk driving laws) or because they cost too much (safer highway designs). Thus saving lives is not treated as a pure good; it is simply a factor to consider, like the amount to spend in a household budget. Rapoport does not add examples such as universal health care or gun control or violent crime — but all are instances where the value of human lives is weighed against other factors, and a compromise is reached somehow. Then he notes[2] how society often reacts strenuously when a handful of miners are trapped in a mine. Thus even if we somehow define the value of a life in one context, the value is different in another context!

This is what is known as the "criterion-trouble." Williams writes, "What is the criterion in terms of which the outcome of the game is judged? Or should be judged? .... Generally speaking, criterion-trouble is the problem of what to measure and how to base behavior on the measurements. Game theory has nothing to say on the first topic.... Now the viewpoint of game theory is that *[The first player] wishes to act in such a manner that the least number he can win is as great as possible, irrespective of what [the other player] does… [The second player's] comparable desire is to make the greatest number of valuables he must relinquish as small as possible, irrespective of [the first player's] action.* This philosophy, if held by the players, is sufficient to specify their sources of strategy.... The above argument is the central one in Game Theory. There is a way to play every two-person game that will satisfy this criterion. However.... it is not the only possible criterion; for example, by attributing to the enemy various degrees of ignorance or stupidity, one could devise many others."[3]

(Incidentally, this is also why economics remains an inexact field. The mathematics of economics — largely built on game theory — is elegant and powerful. But it has a criterion problem: Essentially, it tries to reduce everything to money. But people do not agree on the true value of different things, so there is no way to assign relative values to all things in such a way that individual people will all want to pay the particular assigned values. We would do a little better if we used energy rather than money as the value

1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* pp. 86-87.

2. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 88.

3. Williams, *The Compleat Strategyst,*,pp. 22-24.

equivalent, and brought in biology to calculate needs as well as values — but in the end there is still the question of "how much is a sunset worth?")

As Rapoport sums it up, "The strategist's expertness comes out to best advantage in the calculation of tangibles. These people are usually at home with physics, logistics, and ballistics.... The problem of assigning utilities to outcomes is not within their competence or concern."[1] He goes on to warn that this problem forces them to oversimplify psychological factors — and what is a decision about a particular variant reading if not psychological?

Even if we could solve the criterion problem for a particular scribe, we aren't dealing with just one scribe. We're dealing with the thousands who produced our extant manuscripts, and the tens of thousands more who produced their lost ancestors. Not all of whom will have followed the same strategies.

And even if we could find rules which covered all scribes, each scribe would be facing the task of copying a particular manuscript with a particular set of errors. This is getting out of the area of game theories; it strikes me as verging on the area of mathematics known as linear programming[2] — although this is a field much less important now than in the past; these days, you just have a computer run approximations.

And even if we can figure out an individual scribe's exact goal, it still won't give us an exact knowledge of how he worked — because, of course, the scribe is a human being. As game theory advances, it is paying more and more attention to the fact that even those players who know their exact strategy *will sometimes make mistakes in implementing it.* Consider the case of a person working with a computer program who presses the wrong key; Binmore informally refers to this class of errors as "typos."[3] But it can happen in copying, too; we can't expect scribes to be as accurate as computers even if we know what they are trying to do!

This illustrates the problem we have with applying statistical probability to readings, and hence of applying game or utility theory to textual criticism. If textual critics *truly* accepted the same rules (i.e. the list and weight of the Canons of Criticism), chances are that we wouldn't need an optimal strategy much; we'd have achieved near consensus anyway. Theoretically, we could model the actions of a particular scribe (though this is more a matter of modeling theory than game theory), but again, we don't know the scribe's rules.

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1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 91.

2. Luce/Raiffa: R. Duncan Luce and Howard Raiffa, Games and Decisions: Introduction and Critical Survey, 1957, 1985 (I use the 1989 Dover paperback edition), pp. 17-18.

3. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 55.

And, it should be noted, second-guessing can be singularly ineffective. If you think you know the scribe's strategy in detail, but you don't, chances are that your guesses will be worse than guesses based on a simplified strategy. We can illustrate this with a very simple game — a variation of one suggested by John Allen Paulos. Suppose you have a spinner or other random number generator that produces random results of "black" or "white" (it could be yes/no or heads/tails or anything else; I just wanted something different). But it's adjustable — instead of giving 50% black and 50% white, you can set it to give anything from 50% to 90% black. Suppose you set it at 75%, and set people to guessing when it will come up black. Most people, experience shows, will follow a strategy of randomly guessing black 75% of the time (as best they can guess) and white 25% of the time. If they do this, they will correctly guess the colour five-eighths of the time (62.5%). Note that, if they just guessed black *every time,* they would guess right 75% of the time. It's easy to show that, no matter what the percentage of black or white, you get better results by guessing the more popular shade. For example, if the spinner is set to two-thirds black, guessing two-thirds white and one-third black will result in correct guesses five-ninths of the time (56%); guessing all black will give the correct answer two-thirds (67%) of the time. Guessing is a little more accurate as you approach the extremes of 50% and 100%; at those values, guessing is as good as always picking the same shade. But guessing is never more accurate than guessing the more popular shade. Never. Trying to construct something (e.g. a text) based on an imperfect system of probabilities will almost always spell trouble.

This is not to say that we couldn't produce computer-generated texts; I'd like to see it myself, simply because algorithms are repeatable and people are not. But I don't think game theory has the tools to help in that quest.

Addendum. I don't know if the above has scared anyone away from game theory. I hope not, in one sense, since it's an interesting field; I just don't think it has any application to textual criticism. But it's a field with its own terminology, and — as often happens in the sciences and math — that terminology can be rather confusing, simply because it sounds like ordinary English, but isn't really. For example, a word commonly encountered in game theory is "comparable." In colloquial English, "comparable" means "roughly equal in value." In game theory, "comparable" means simply "capable of being compared." So, for example, the odds, in a dice game, of rolling a 1 are one in six; the odds of rolling any other number (2, 3, 4, 5, or 6) are five in six. You're five times as likely to roll a not-one as a one. In a non-game-theory sense, the odds of rolling a one are not even close to those of rolling a not-one. But in a game theory context, they are comparable, because you can compare the odds.

Similarly, "risky" in ordinary English means "having a high probability of an undesired outcome." In game theory, "risky" means simply that there is *some* danger, no matter

how slight. Take, for example, a game where you draw a card from a deck of 52. If the card is the ace of spades, you lose a dollar. Any other card, you gain a dollar. Risky? Not in the ordinary sense; you have over a 98% chance of winning. But, in game theory, this is a "risky" game, because there is a chance, although a small one, that you will lose. (There is at least one other meaning of "risk," used in epidemiology and toxicology studies, where we find the definition risk = hazard x exposure. Evidently using the word "risk" without defining it is risky!)

Such a precise definition can produce secondary definitions. For example, having a precise definition of "risk" allows precise definitions of terms such as "risk-averse." A person is considered "risk-neutral" if he considers every dollar to have equal value — that is, if he'll fight just as hard to get a $10,000 raise from $100,000 to $110,000 as he would to get a $10,000 dollar raise from $20,000 to $30,000. A person who considers the raise from $20,000 to $30,000 to be worth more utiles is "risk-averse."[1]

You can also get a precise definition of something like "cheap talk." "Cheap talk" is what one does in the absence of sending a meaningful signal (a meaningful signal being something that demonstrates an actual investment, e.g. raising a bet in poker or, perhaps, speeding up in Chicken.[2] A raise in poker or an acceleration in Chicken may be a bluff, but it is still a commitment to risk). The goal of every bargainer is to make cheap talk appear to be a meaningful signal — in other words, to cheat. This is why advertisers always push the limits, and why politicians are blowhards: They're trying to make their talk seem less cheap.

Even the word "strategy" has a specific meaning in game theory. In its common context, it usually means a loose plan for one particular set of circumstances — e.g. "march around the enemy's left flank and strike at his rear." In game theory terms, this is *not* a strategy — it is at most a part of a strategy. It does not cover the case where the enemy retreats, or has a strong flank guard, or attacks before the outflanking maneuver is completed. Williams defines the term thus: *A strategy is a plan so complete that it cannot be upset by enemy action or Nature.* In other words, a set of actions is a strategy only if it includes a response for every action the enemy might take.[3] This is of course impossible in an actual military context, but it is possible in the world of "games" where only certain actions are possible. But it is important to keep this definition in mind when one encounters the word "strategy." It includes a wide range of moves, not just the action you take in response to a particular enemy action.

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1. Binmore, *Game Theory*, pp. 8-9.

2. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 100.

3. Williams, *The Compleat Strategyst*,,p. 16.

It should also be kept in mind that a strategy can be really, really stupid. In Prisoner's Dilemma, for instance, "Always Cooperate" is a strategy, but it's a really stupid one against an opponent who will defect. In chess, a valid strategy would be, "among pieces permitted to move, take the piece farthest to the right and forward, and move it by the smallest possible move right and forward, with preference to forward." This strategy is simple suicide, but it is a strategy.

(We might add incidentally that games are often divided into two classes based on the number of strategies possible. Some games have infinitely many strategies — or, at least, no matter how many strategies you list, you can always come up with another one; a battle probably fits this description. Other games have a finite number of strategies; tic-tac-toe would be an example of this. For obvious reasons, much more work has been done on the "finite games" than the "infinite games," and much of what has been done on infinite games is based on trying to simplify them down to finite games. Given that much economic modelling consists of trying to turn the infinite game of the economy into something simpler, it will be evident that this doesn't always work too well.)

An even more interesting instance of a non-intuitive definition is the word "player." In game theory jargon, a player must be a person who has a choice of strategies. Rapoport illustrates how counter-intuitive this is: When a human being plays a slot machine, *the slot machine is a player but the human isn't.*[1] The slot machine has a series of strategies (jackpot, small payout, no payout), but the person, having pulled the lever, has no strategy; he's just stuck awaiting the result. He is an observer. A player in solitaire isn't a player either, at least in the technical sense, because there is no other player.[2] The player does not have any reason to respond to another player.

You could argue that there is a higher-level game, between the house and the potential player, in which the house has to set the payout odds in the slot machine and the potential player has to decide whether to use the slot machine in the face of those odds. This is indeed a valid two-player game. But it is not the same game! In the specific context of "playing the slots," as opposed to "setting the slots," the slot machine is the only player.

Rapoport also points out that, to a game theorist, "complexity" can be a strange term.[3] He offers as examples chess and matching pennies. In terms of rules, chess is very complex. Matching pennies is not — each player puts out a coin, and the winner

1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 34.

2. Anatol Rapoport, *Two-Person Game Theory,* 1966 (I use the 1996 Dover paperback edition), p. 21.

3. 1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* pp. 39-40.

depends on whether they both put out heads or tails, or if the two put out difference faces. But in game theory terms, chess is a "game of perfect information," whereas you don't know what the other person will do in matching pennies. Therefore matching pennies is more complex — it can be shown that chess has a single best strategy for both white and black (we don't know what it is, and it is doubtless extremely involved, but it is absolutely fixed). Matching pennies has no such strategy — the best strategy if you cannot "read" your opponent's strategy is to make random moves, though you may come up with a better response if you can determine your opponent's behavior. In game theory terms, a complex game is not one with complex rules but with complex strategic choices.

A good way to judge the complexity of a game is to look at the ranking of the outcomes. *Can* they be ranked? To show what we mean by ranking, look at the game rock, paper, scissors. Rock beats scissors, so rock > scissors. Paper beats rock, so paper > rock. But scissors beats paper, so scissors > paper.

You thus cannot say that rock or paper or scissors is the #1 outcome. There is no preferred outcome. Any such game will be complex, and requires a mixed strategy.

Let's give the last word on game theory and its applications to Rapoport. The key is that there are places where game theory isn't very relevant: "Unfortunately, decision theory has been cast in another role, namely, that of a prop for *rationalizing* decisions arrived at by processes far from rational… [In] this role decision theory can become a source of dangerous fixations and delusions."

Appendix A: The 2x2 Games

You may not have noticed it, but several of the examples I used above are effectively the same game. For example, the "odds and evens" game above, and the tennis game, have the same payoff matrix and the same optimal strategy. Having learned the strategy for one, you've learned the strategy for all of them.

Indeed, from a theoretical perspective, the payoffs don't even have to be the same. If you just have a so-called "2x2 game" (one with two players and two options for each player), and payoffs a, b, c, and d (as in one of our formulae above), it can be shown that the same *general* strategy applies for every two-player two-strategy game so long as a, b, c, and d have the same ordering. (That is, as long as the same outcome, say b, is considered "best," and the same outcome next-best, etc.)

It can be shown (don't ask me how) that there are exactly 78 so-called 2x2 games. (They were catalogued in 1966 by Melvin J. Guyer and Anatol Rapoport.) Of these 78 games, 24 are symmetric — that is, both players have equal payouts. Odds and Evens

is such a game. These games can be characterized solely by the perceived value of the outcomes — e.g. a>b>c>d, a>b>d>c, a>c>b>d, etc., through d>c>b>a.

A different way to characterize these is in terms of cooperation and defection, as in Prisoner's Dilemma. In that case, instead of a, b, c, d, the four payoffs are for strategies CC, CD, DC, and DD.

It turns out that, of the 24 possible symmetric 2x2 games, fully 20 are in some sense degenerate — either CC>CD, DC>DD, or DD is the worst choice for all players. There is no interest in such games; if you play them again and again, the players will *always* do the same thing.

That leaves the four cases which are not degenerate. These are familiar enough that each one has a name and a "story." The four:

DC>DD>CC>CD: "Deadlock."
DC>CC>DD>CD: "Prisoner's Dilemma"
DC>CC>CD>DD: "Chicken"
CC>DC>DD>CD: "Stag Hunt"

The names derive from real-world analogies. You've met Prisoner's Dilemma. "Deadlock" is so-called because its analogy is to, say, an arms race and arms limitation treaties. Both parties say, on paper, they want to disarm. But neither wants to be disarmed if the other is disarmed. So (looking back to the days of the Cold War), for the Americans, their preferred outcome is to have the Soviets disarm while the Americans keep their weapons. (DC: the Americans defect, the Soviets cooperate). The next best choice is for both to retain their weapons (DD): At least the Americans still have their weapons — and, since they do, they don't have to worry about the Soviets cheating. The third-best choice is for both to disarm (CC): At least neither side has an armaments advantage (and there is probably a peace dividend). If you could trust the Soviets, this might be a good choice — but the fear in that case was that the Americans would disarm and the Soviets wouldn't (CD). That would leave the Americans helpless. (It is the fear of the CD scenario that causes the Americans to prefer DD, where both are still armed, to CC, where the Americans know they are disarmed but aren't sure about the Soviets.)

The obvious outcome of deadlock is that neither side disarms. And, lo and behold, that's exactly what happened for half a century: It took forty years even to get both sides to reduce their number of weapons, and they kept them at levels high enough to destroy each other many times over even after the U.S.S.R. collapsed.

You may have seen "Chicken," too. The canonical version has two cars driving straight toward each other, as if to collide, with the loser being the one who swerves first. In

Chicken, the most desired outcome for a particular player is that the other guy swerves, then that both swerve, then that *you* swerve; last choice is that you both stay the course and end up dead. One notes that there is no truly optimal strategy for this game. Though there are interesting considerations of metastrategy. The goal in Chicken is to announce your strategy — and, somehow, to get your opponent to believe it (in other words, to accept that you are serious about being willing to die rather than give in).[1]

The dangerous problem about Chicken is that it encourages insane behavior. The player more willing to die is also the one more likely to win! Mathematically, however, it is interesting to analyze in real world contexts because it turns out to be very difficult to assess one's strategy if one does not know the other player's payoff for winning the game. Oddly enough, the analysis is easier if neither player's payoff is known![2] What's more, the risk of disaster often increases if someone reveals one player's exact preferences.[3] Thus the interest in Chicken is less in the actual outcome (likely to be disastrous) than in the way people decide whether to, or when to, back down.

"Stag Hunt" is probably the most interesting of the games after Prisoner's Dilemma. It has a number of analogies — e.g. Poundstone mentions a bet between two students to come to school with really strange haircuts.[4] The original goes back to a tale from Rousseau.[5] The original version involves a pair of cave men. Their goal is to hunt a stag. But catching stags is difficult — the animal can outrun a human, so the only way to kill one is to have one person chase it while another waits and kills it as it flees. And both hunters have alternatives: Rather than wait around and chase the stag, they can defect and chase a rabbit. If both hunt the stag, they get the highest payoff. If one defects to hunt a rabbit, the defector gets *some* meat, while the cooperator gets nothing. If both defect, both get rabbits and neither can boast of being the only one to get meat. So the highest reward is for cooperating; the next-highest reward goes to the defector when only one defects, next is when both defect, and dead last is the reward to the cooperator when both defect.

Stag Hunt is fascinating because it has two equilibria when played repeatedly: The players can both cooperate or both defect. Players who cooperate regularly can expect continued cooperation, and hence the highest payoff. But once one establishes a reputation for defecting, then it becomes extremely difficult to re-establish cooperation.

1. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* p. 116.

2. Binmore, *Game Theory*, pp. 96-98.

3. Binmore, *Game Theory*, pp. 8-9, p. 99.

4. Poundstone, *Prisoner's Dilemma*, p 218.

5. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 68.

Rousseau's solution was to suggest, "If you would have the general will be accomplished, bring all the particular wills into conformity with it."[1] This is pretty close to impossible, of course, but one can sometimes adjust the rules of the game (via a method known as Nash Bargaining) to get close. I can't help but think that American politics has reduced itself to a stag hunt where both parties are convinced the other is always defecting. Compromise should be possible ("We'll help you reduce the number of abortions if you'll help us control global warming") — but it is very hard to convert from an equilibrium of defection to one of cooperation because you can't rely on someone in the game who says "trust me";[2] it is always in the interest of one part to induce the other to cooperate. The only way to assure that they do it is the external enforcer — and the political parties don't have any such (except the voters, who have of course shown that they do not enforce such agreements).

The non-symmetrical games (where the objectives or rewards for the two parties differ) are too diverse to catalog. One example of the type is known as "Bully." It has been called a combination of Chicken and Deadlock,[3] in which one player is playing the "Chicken" strategy while the other plays "Deadlock" strategy. In a real-world scenario, if two nations are considering war at each other, it's a case where one player wants war, period, while the other wants peace but is afraid to back down. Bully has real-world analogies — consider, e.g., the behavior of the Habsburg Empire and Serbia before World War I. Or Saddam Hussein before the (second) Iraq-American war. Or Spain before the Spanish-American War. The situation between Poland and Germany before World War II wasn't quite the same, but it was close.

Not all games of Bully result in wars; World War I had been preceded by a series of games of Bully in which the bully backed down and peace was preserved. But whereas Prisoner's Dilemma and Stag Hunt, when played repeatedly and with good strategy, tend to result in cooperation, the long-term result of Bully tends to be increased tension, more bullying incidents, and, eventually, the actual war.

Incidentally, Poundstone points out that there is a Biblical game of Bully: Solomon and the two prostitutes (1 Kings 3). When Solomon faces the two women and one child, and threatens to cut the child in two, the woman who agrees to cut the child in half is playing Bully strategy. What's more, in theory she wins. If it weren't for Solomon's *second* judgment, changing the rules of the game, she would have had what she wanted.

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1. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 68.

2. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 69.

3. Poundstone, *Prisoner's Dilemma*, p 221.

Binmore, having noted that Solomon's questioning did not in fact assure that the correct mother was given the baby, suggests a scheme of questions which could have assured the correct outcome.[1] This is, however, a good example of a problem in utility. Binmore's goal is to assure that the correct mother gets the baby. But I would suggest that this is not the higher-utility outcome. What we want is for the child to have a good mother. And that Solomon achieved. Solomon didn't have to be sure that he knew which woman was the mother of the child: by giving the baby to the more humane prostitute, *he assured that the baby wouldn't be brought up by a bully.*

Note that, like Prisoner's Dilemma, it is possible to play other 2x2 games repeatedly. *Unlike* Prisoner's Dilemma, these need not involve playing the same strategy repeatedly. (Yet another thing to make life complicated in trying to guess what a scribe might have done!) Rapoport gives an interesting example in which a husband and wife wish to go on a vacation.[2] They have the choice, individually or separately, of going camping or going to a resort. The husband prefers camping, the wife prefers the resort — but they both prefer going together to going alone. Obviously there are four possible outcomes: They go camping together (big payoff for husband, small payoff for wife), they both go to a resort (small payoff for husband, big payoff for wife), the man goes camping and the wife goes to a resort (small deficit for both), or the man goes to a resort and the wife goes camping (big deficit for both). The third choice is silly, and the fourth extremely so (though it sometimes happens in practice, if both insist on being "noble" or "making a sacrifice") — but the likely best answer is to go sometimes to the resort and sometimes camping, with the correct ratio being determined by the relative values the two partners place on the two outcomes.

This still produces some amazing complications, however. Rapoport presents various methods of "arbitration" in the above scenario, and while all would result in a mixture of camping and resort trips, the ratio of the one to the other varies somewhat. In other words, the problem cannot be considered truly solved.

Appendix B: Multi-Player Games

You may have noticed that most of the games we have examined are two-player games — there are two sides in Prisoner's Dilemma; only two players really matter to the Dollar Auction; the tennis example featured two teams. This is because the mathematics of multi-player games is much trickier.

To demonstrate this point, consider the game of "Rock, Paper, Scissors," often used to allow two people decide who gets a dirty job. Each of the two players have three

1. Binmore, *Game Theory*, pp. 104-105.

2. Rapoport, *Strategy and Conscience,* pp. 64-65.

options: Rock (usually shown with a hand in a fist), Paper (the hand held out flat like a sheet of paper) or Scissors (two fingers held out from the fist). The rule is that “paper covers [beats] rock, scissors cuts [beats] paper, rock breaks [beats] scissors.”

SInce Rock, Paper, Scissors is played by two players, as long as the two players pick different items, there is always a winner (if the two players choose the same strategy, in which case they play again). And, because each choice is as likely to win as to lose, the proper strategy is to choose one of the three randomly.

But now try to generalize this to three players. We now have three possible outcomes: All three players make the same choice (say, Rock). In this case, the contest is obviously indecisive. Or two may choose one strategy and the third another (say, two choose rock and the third chooses paper). Paper beats Rock, but which of the two Rock players is eliminated? Or do you simply eliminate the player who picked the odd choice? If so, you might as well play odds and evens and forget the rock, paper, scissors; odds and evens would assure a result. Or what if one chooses Rock, one Paper, one Scissors?

In none of the three cases does Rock, Paper, Scissors produce a decisive result. Of course, the obvious suggestion is to broaden the list of possibilities — say, Rock, Paper, Scissors, Hammer. This again assures that there will be one possibility un-chosen, so there will always be a top choice and a bottom choice.

But with four choices, the odds of our three players picking three distinct choices are small — there are 64 possible outcomes (player 1 has any of four choices, as does player two, and also player three), but only 24 of these are distinct (player 1 has four unique choices, player 2 has three, player 3 only two). If you have to keep playing until you get a decisive result, monotony may result. You can, perhaps, add an additional rule (“if two players pick the same result, the player with the other result loses”). But then how to generalize to the case of four players? You now have five options (let’s just call them A, B, C, D, E, where B beats A, C beats B, D beats C, E beats D, and A beats E). Now you have even more possible classes of outcomes:

1. All four players choose different options. This is decisive.
2. Three players choose three different options; the fourth player chooses one of the first three. In this case, you may not even have a continuous string of three choices (e.g. the players might choose BDDE, or BCCE, or BBDE, or BDEE, or BCDD, or BCCD, or BBCD). All of these cases will require some sort of tiebreak.
3. Two players choose one option, and two players a second. These may be consecutive (AABB) or non-consecutive (AACC). Here again you need tiebreak rules.
4. Three players choose one option and the fourth player a second. These again may or

may not be consecutive (AAAB or AAAC).
5. All four players choose the same option.

It is possible in this case to write tiebreak rules which will be decisive in most cases (that is, not requiring players to play again), or which will at minimum reduce the game to a simple Rock, Paper, Scissors playoff between two players. But the vital advantage of Rock, Paper, Scissors is its simplicity: the rules are the equivalent of two sentences long. Four player Rock/Paper/Scissors/Hammer/Blowtorch (or whatever it's called) will require several paragraphs of instruction, and most people will be forever looking back to review the rules.

And it still doesn't generalize to five players!

Plus the strategy is no longer simple. Once you have to decide how to resolve two-way and three-way ties, it is perfectly possible that the tiebreak rules may change the strategy from simple random choices to something else.

There is another problem with multi-player: Collusion. Take our rock/paper/scissors case with three people. Depending on the tiebreak rule involved, they may be able to always force the third player to lose, or at least force him to take inordinate numbers of losses, by picking their own strategies properly. Von Neumann addressed this in part by converting a three-party game with collusion into a two-party game with different rules (making the colluding parties into one party). But this still ignores the question of whether they *should* collude…

The case of colluding players is not directly analogous to the problem of multi-player games, but it shows the nature of the problem. Indeed, von Neumann's approach to multi-player games was somewhat like ours: To create them as a complex game which resolved down to individual games.

Perhaps a good example of the effects of multi-player games is to re-examine the four 2x2 games above in the light of multiple players. "Deadlock" hardly changes at all; since it takes only one player refusing to disarm, all the others will be even more afraid to do so. "Chicken" gains an added dimension: The winner is the last to swerve, but the first to swerve will doubtless be considered the worst loser. So the pressure is ratcheted up — one would expect more accidents. In "Stag Hunt," if you need more cooperators to win the big prize, the temptation to defect will be higher, since it takes just *one* defector to blow the whole thing.

"Stag Hunt" can at least be converted to a more interesting game — suppose you have five players and it takes three to catch a stag. Now coalitions become a very important part of the game — and if there are two strong coalitions and one relatively free agent, then the coalition which buys that free agent will win. This version of "Stag Hunt" gets to

be unpleasantly like World War I. “Prisoner’s Dilemma” suffers the same way: The greater the number of players, the greater the ability of a single defector to bring down any attempt at cooperation. In essence, multi-player Prisoner’s Dilemma is the same as the two-player version, but with the payoffs dramatically shifted and with new computations of risk. It is a much trickier game — especially if played iteratively and with no knowledge of who is betraying you.

To be sure, the von Neumann method of converting multi-player games to two-player games can sometimes work if all the players in fact have similar and conjoined strategies. Consider the “Good Samaritan” game.[1] In this, there is a Victim and a group of passers-by. The passers-by want the Victim to be helped — for example, all passers-by earn ten utiles if even one passer-by helps Victim. They earn nothing if no one helps. But helping is an inconvenience, so a helper earns only nine utiles, instead of the ten utiles he earns if someone else helps.

Note what this means: If no one else helps, your best payoff is to help yourself. But if anyone else is going to help, your best payoff is not to help.

So what action has the best average payoff? It is, clearly, a mixed strategy, of helping some fraction of the time. We note that your payoff for helping every time in 9 utils. So whatever strategy you adopt must have a value with a payoff equal to or greater than that. For example, if there are two players and you each respond 90% of the time, then the probability that both of you respond is 81%, with a value to you of 9 utils; the probability that you respond and the other passer-by doesn’t is 9%, with a value to you of 9 utils; the probability that the other guy responds and you don’t is 9%, with a value to you of 10 utils; and there is a 1% chance that neither of you responds, with a value of 0 utils. Adding that up, we have a payoff of (.81*9)+(.09*9)+(.09*10)+(0*0)=9 — exactly the same payoff as if you responded every time, but with 10% less effort. (This is known as being indifferent to the outcome, which admittedly is a rather unfortunate term in context of the game.)

Suppose we responded 95% of the time. Then our payoff becomes (.952*9)+(.95*.05*9)+(.95*.05*10)+(0*0*0)=9.025. This turns out to be the maximum possible reward.

That’s for the case of n=2 (or, alternately, n=1 plus you). You can equally well solve for n=3, or n=4, or n=5. For a three-player game, for instance, the maximum papyoff is around 82% of passers-by responding, which has a payoff of 9.12 (assuming I did my algebra correctly; note that you will need to use the binomial theorem to calculate this). You can find a similar solution solution for any n. Obviously the probability p of having to help goes down as the number of players n goes up.

1. Binmore, *Game Theory*, p. 25.

Appendix C: Differential Games

If you look at the information above, every instance is of either a discrete one-time game or of an iterative game. That is, you either have one decision to make, or you make a series of decisions but all of similar nature.

There are two reasons why I presented the matter this way. First, it's easier (a big plus), and second, if game theory has any application to textual criticism, it is to discrete games. You make decisions about particular readings one at a time. You may do this iteratively — "I chose the Alexandrian reading there, so I'll choose it here also" — but each decision is individual and separate.

This is also how most economic decisions are made — "I'll buy this stock" or "I'll support this investment project."

But not all decisions are made this way. Isaacs mentions several classes of activities in which each player's actions are continuously varying, such as a missile trying to hit an aircraft. The aircraft is continuously trying to avoid being hit (while performing some other task); the missile is continuously trying to hit the aircraft. So each is constantly adjusting what it is doing.[1] This is a differential game — a game in which you do not so much make a decision but try to produce a rule which can be continuously applied.

Differential games involve much heavier mathematics, including a lot of theory of functions. I will not attempt to explain it here. But you should probably be aware that there is such a field.

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The Golden Ratio (The Golden Mean, The Section)

The Golden Ratio, sometimes called the Golden Mean or ϕ, is one of those "special numbers." There are various definitions. For example, it can be shown that

$\phi = (1 + \sqrt{5})/2$.

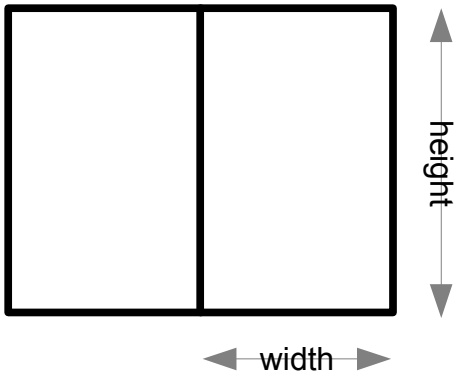
Alternately, ϕ can be defined as the ratio of a/b where a and b are chosen to meet the condition

$$\frac{A}{B} = \frac{A + B}{A}$$

This turns out to be an irrational number (that is, an infinite non-repeating decimal), but the approximate value is 1.618034.

So why does this matter? Well, this turns out to be a very useful number — and though many of the uses were not known to the ancients (e.g. they would not have known that it was the limit of the ratio of terms in the Fibonacci sequence), they *did* know of its use in "sectioning" lines. Euclid refers to "the section" (the Greek name for this concept of proportional division) at several points in *The Elements.* And while Greek artists may not have known about the mathematical significance of "the section," they assuredly used it. Because another trait of the Golden Ratio is that it seems to be aesthetically pleasing.

This means that the Golden Ratio is very common, for instance, in the layout of pages. Most modern books have pages with a ratio of length to width that approximates the golden ratio. And so, we note, did ancient books — including the very first printed book, the Gutenberg Bible. To see what I mean, consider this general layout of an open codex:



It may not be evident on your screen, but most pages will be laid out so that either height/width is equal to ϕ, and twice the width (i.e. the width of two facing pages) divided by the height is equal to ϕ.

The other use of the Golden Ratio may be in individual artwork. The British Library publication *The Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander* (by Ekaterina Dimitrova), p. 35, claims that the single most important illustration in this Bulgarian manuscript, the portrait of the Tsar and his family, is laid out based on the Golden Ratio. I can't say I'm entirely convinced; the claim is based on a sort of redrawing of the painting, and none of the other illustrations seem to be in this ratio (most are much wider than they are tall). But it might be something to look for in other illustrated manuscripts.

As an aside, the logarithm of the Golden Mean is known to mathematicians as λ, which is closely related to the famous Fibonacci Sequence.

Curve Fitting, Least Squares, and Correlation

Experimental data is never perfect. It never quite conforms to the rules. If you go out and measure a quantity — almost any quantity found in nature — and then plot it on a graph, you will find that there is no way to plot a straight line through all the points. Somewhere along the way, something introduced an error. (In the case of manuscripts, the error probably comes from mixture or scribal inattentiveness, unlike physics where the fault is usually in the experimental equipment or the experimenter, but the point is that it's *there*.)

That doesn't mean that there is no rule to how the points fall on the graph, though. The rule will usually be there; it's just hidden under the imperfections of the data. The trick is to find the rule when it doesn't jump out at you.

That's where curve fitting comes in. Curve fitting is the process of finding the best equation of a certain type to fit your collected data.

At first glance that may not sound like something that has much to do with textual criticism. But it does, trust me. Because curve fitting, in its most general forms, can interpret almost any kind of data.

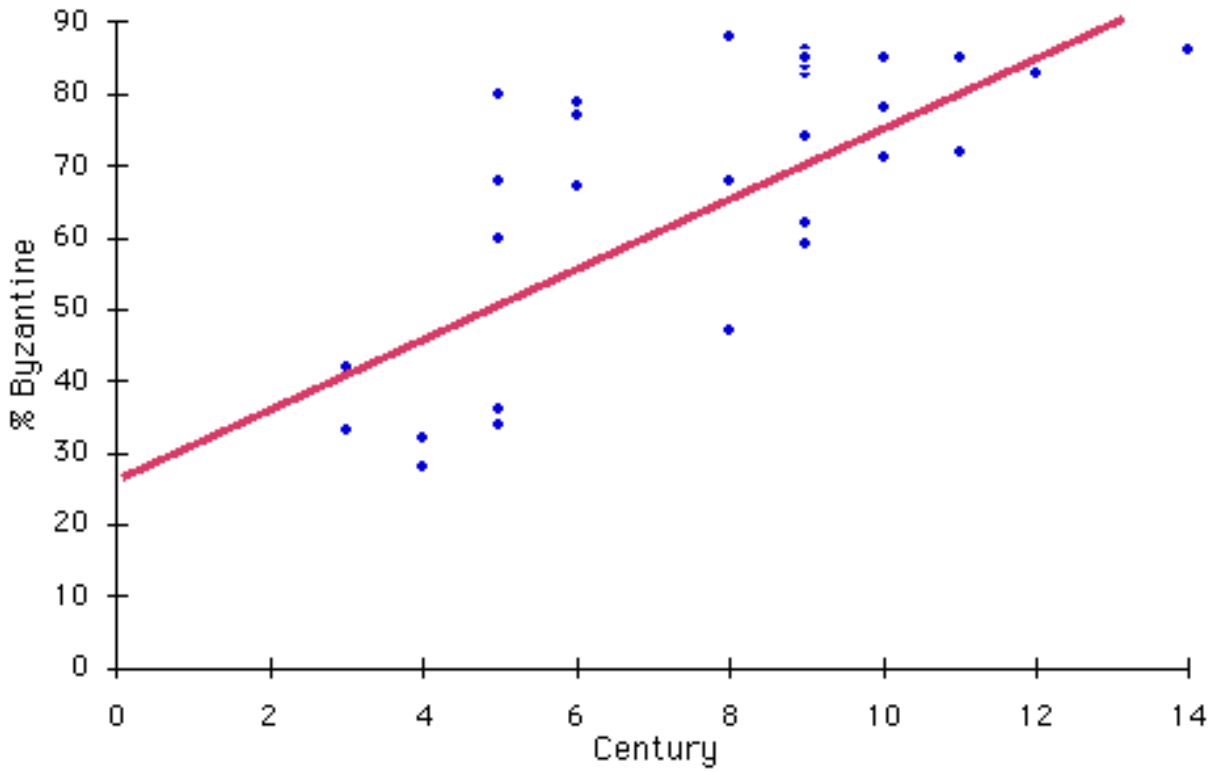
Let's take a real world example. For the sake of discussion, let's try correlating the Byzantine content of a manuscript against its age.

The following table shows the Byzantine content and age of a number of well-known manuscripts for the Gospels. (These figures are real, based on a sample of 990 readings which I use to calculate various statistics. The reason that none of these manuscripts is more than 90% Byzantine is that there are a number of variants where the Byzantine text never achieved a fixed reading.)

Manuscript	Age (Century)	Percent Byzantine
P^{66}	3	42
P^{75}	3	33
ℵ	4	32
A	5	80
B	4	28
C	5	60
D	5	36
E	8	88
G	9	85
K	9	86
L	8	47
M	9	83
N	6	77
P	6	79
Q	5	68
R	6	67
T	5	34
U	9	84
X	9	74
G	10	85
Q	9	59
P	9	85
Y	8	68
33	9	59
565	10	71
700	11	72

892	9	62
1006	11	85
1010	12	83
1424	10	78
1506	14	86

We can graph this data as follows:



At first glance it may appear that there is no rule to the distribution of the points. But if you look again, you will see that, *on the whole,* the later the manuscript is, the more Byzantine it is. We can establish a rule — not a hard-and-fast rule, but a rule.

The line we have drawn shows the sort of formula we want to work out. Since it is a straight line, we know that is is of the form

Byzantine % = a(century) + b

But how do we fix the constant *a* (the slope) and *b* (the intercept)?

The goal is to minimize the total distance between the points and the line. You might think you could do this by hand, by measuring the distance between the points and the

line and looking for the *a* and *b* which make it smallest. A reasonable idea, but it won't work. It is difficult to impossible to determine, and it also is a bad "fit" on theoretical grounds. (Don't worry; I won't justify that statement. Suffice it to say that this "minimax" solution gives inordinate weight to erroneous data points.)

That being the case, mathematicians turn to what is called *least squares distance.* (Hence the word "least squares" in our title.) Without going into details, the idea is that, instead of minimizing the distance between the points and the line, you minimize the square root of the sum of the squares of that distance.

Rather than beat this dog any harder, I hereby give you the formulae by which one can calculate *a* and *b*. In this formula, *n* is the number of data points (in our case, 31) and the pairs x_1, y_1 .... x_n, y_n are our data points.

$$a = \frac{n(x_1y_1 + x_2y_2 + \ldots + x_ny_n) - (x_1 + x_2 + \ldots + x_n)(y_1 + y_2 + \ldots + y_n)}{n(x_1^2 + x_2^2 + \ldots + x_n^2) - (x_1 + x_2 + \ldots + x_n)^2}$$

$$b = \frac{(x_1^2 + x_2^2 + \ldots + x_n^2)(y_1 + y_2 + \ldots + y_n) - (x_1y_1 + x_2y_2 + \ldots + x_ny_n)(x_1 + x_2 + \ldots + x_n)}{n(x_1^2 + x_2^2 + \ldots + x_n^2) - (x_1 + x_2 + \ldots + x_n)^2}$$

In the shorthand known as "sigma notation," this becomes

$$a = \frac{n\sum xy - \sum x \sum y}{n\sum x^2 - \left[\sum x\right]^2} \qquad b = \frac{\sum x^2 \sum y - \sum xy \sum x}{n\sum x^2 - \left[\sum x\right]^2}$$

If we go ahead and grind these numbers through our spreadsheet (or whatever tool you use; there are plenty of good data analysis programs out there that do this automatically, but that's hardly necessary; Excel has the LINEST() function for this), we come up with (to three significant figures)

a = 4.85
b = 29.4

Now we must interpret this data. What are *a* and *b*?

The answer is, *a* is the average rate of Byzantine corruption and *b* is the fraction of the original text which was Byzantine. That is, if our model holds (and I do not say it will), the original text agreed with the Byzantine text at 29.4% of my points of variation. In the centuries following their writing, the average rate of Byzantine readings went up 4.85 percent per century. Thus, at the end of the first century we could expect an "average"

text to be 29.4+(1)(4.85)= 34.25% Byzantine. After five centuries, this would rise to 29.4+(5)(4.85)=53.65% Byzantine. Had this pattern held, by the fifteenth century we could expect the "average" manuscript to be purely Byzantine (and, indeed, by then the purely Byzantine K^r text-type was dominant).

It is possible — in fact, it is technically fairly easy — to construct curve-fitting equations for almost any sort of formula. That is, instead of fitting a line, there are methods for fitting a parabola, or hyperbola, or any other sort of formula; the only real requirement is that you have more data points than you have parameters whose value you want to determine. However, the basis of this process is matrix algebra and calculus, so we will leave matters there. You can find the relevant formulae in any good numerical analysis book. (I lifted this material from Richard L. Burden, J. Douglas Faires, and Albert C. Reynolds's *Numerical Analysis,* Second edition, 1981.) Most such books will give you the general formula for fitting to a polynomial of arbitrary degree, as well as the information for setting up a system for dealing with other functions such as exponentials and logs. In the latter case, however, it is often easier to transform the equation (e.g. by taking logs of both sides) so that it becomes a polynomial.

There is also a strong warning here: Correlation is *not* causality. That is, the fact that two things follow similar patterns does not mean that they are related. John Allen Paulos reports an interesting example. According to *A Mathematician Plays the Stock Market,* p. 29, an economist once set out to correlate stock prices to a variety of other factors. What did he find? He found that the factor which best correlated with the stock market was — butter production in Bangladesh.

Coincidence, obviously. A model must be tested. If two things correspond over a certain amount of data, you really need to see what they predict for other data, then test them on that other data to see if the predictions hold true.

Mean, Median, and Mode

What is the "typical" value in a list? This can be a tricky question.

An example I once saw was a small company (I've updated this a bit for inflation). The boss made $200,000 a year, his vice-president made $100,000 a year, his five clerks made $30,000 a year, and his six assemblers made $10,000 a year. What is the typical salary? You might say "take the average." This works out to $39,230.76 per employee per year. But if you look, only two employees make that much or more. The other ten make far less than that. The average is not a good measure of what you will make if you work for the company.

Statisticians have defined several measures to determine “typical values.” The simplest of these are the “arithmetic mean,” the “median,” and the “mode.”

The **arithmetic mean** is what most people call the “average.” It is defined by taking all the values, adding them up, and then dividing by the number of items. So, in the example above, the arithmetic mean is calculated by

$$\frac{1x\$200,000 + 1x\$100,00 + 5x\$30,000 + 6x\$10,000}{1+1+5+6}$$

or

$$\frac{\$510,000}{13}$$

giving us the average value already mentioned of $39,230.76 per employee.

The **median** is calculated by putting the entire list in order and finding the middle value. Here that would be

```
200000
100000
 30000
 30000
 30000
 30000
 30000 ****
 10000
 10000
 10000
 10000
 10000
 10000
```

There are thirteen values here, so the middle one is the seventh, which we see is $30,000. The median, therefore, is $30,000. If there had been an even number of values, the mean is taken by finding the middle two and taking their arithmetic mean.

The **mode** is the most common value. Since six of the thirteen employees earn $10,000, this is the mode.

In many cases, the median or the mode is more “typical” than is the arithmetic mean. Unfortunately, the arithmetic mean is easy to calculate, but the median and mode can only be calculated by sorting the values. Sorting is, by computer standards, a slow

process. Thus median and mode are not as convenient for computer calculations, and you don't see them quoted as often. But their usefulness should not be forgotten.

Let's take an example with legitimate value to textual critics. The table below shows the relationships of several dozen manuscripts to the manuscript 614 over a range of about 150 readings in the Catholic Epistles. Each reading (for simplicity) has been rounded to the nearest 5%. I have already sorted the values for you.

2412	100%	2492	60%	049	50%
630	85%	L	55%	629	50%
1505	80%	88	55%	1739	50%
2495	80%	1881	55%	א	45%
81	65%	A	50%	323	45%
436	65%	C	50%	1241	45%
33	60%	K	50%	P72	40%
945	60%	Ψ	50%	B	30%

There are 24 manuscripts surveyed here. The sum of these agreements is 1375. The mean rate of agreement, therefore, is 57.3%. To put that another way, in this sample, the "average" rate of agreement with 614 is 57.3%. Looking at the other two statistics, the median is the mean of the twelfth and thirteenth data points, or 52.5%. The mode is 50%, which occurs seven times. Thus we see that mean, median, and mode can differ significantly, even when dealing with manuscripts.

A footnote about the arithmetic mean: We should give the technical definition here. (There *is* a reason; I hope it will become clear.) If d1, d2, d3,.... dn is a set of n data points, then the arithmetic mean is formally defined as

$$\frac{d_1 + d_2 + d_3 + \ldots + d_n}{n}$$

This is called the "arithmetic mean" because you just add things up to figure it out. But there are a lot of other types of mean. One which has value in computing distance is what I learned to call the "root mean square mean." (Some have, I believe, called it the "geometric mean," but that term has other specialized uses.)

$$\frac{(d_1^2 + d_2^2 + d_3^2 + \ldots + d_n^2)^{\frac{1}{2}}}{n}$$

You probably won't care about this unless you get into probability distributions, but it's important to know that the "mean" can have different meanings in different contexts.

There are also “weighted means.” A “weighted mean” is one in which data points are not given equal value. A useful example of this (if slightly improper, as it is not a true mean) might be determining the “average agreement” between manuscripts. Normally you would simply take the total number of agreements and divide by the number of variants. (This gives a percent agreement, but it is *also* a mean, with the observation that the only possible values are 1=agree and 0=disagree.) But variants fall into various classes — for example, Fee (“On the Types, Classification, and Presentation of Textual Variation,” reprinted in Eldon J. Epp & Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism)* admits three basic classes of meaningful variant — Add/Omit, Substitution, Word Order (p. 64). One might decide, perhaps, that Add/Omit is the most important sort of variant and Word Order the least important. So you might weight agreements in these categories — giving, say, an Add/Omit variant 1.1 times the value of a Substitution variant, and a Word Order variant only .9 times the value of a Substitution variant. (That is, if we arbitrarily assign a Substitution variant a “weight” of 1, then an Add/Omit variant has a weight of 1.1, and a Word Order variant has a weight of .9.)

Let us give a somewhat arbitrary example from Luke 18:1, where we will compare the readings of A, B, and D. Only readings supported by three or more major witnesses in the Nestle apparatus will be considered. (Hey, you try to find a good example of this.) Our readings are:

- 18:1 — add/omit: add και A D; omit B
- 18:1 — add/omit: add αυτους A B; omit D
- 18:3 — word order: ταυτα δε B; reverse order A D
- 18:4 — substitution: ουδε ανθρωπον B; και ανθρωπον ουκ A B
- 18:7 — substitution μακροθυμει A B D; μακροθυμων *pm*

Using unweighted averages we find that A agrees with B 2/5=40%; A agrees with D 4/5=80%; B agrees with D 1/5=20%. If we weigh these according to the system above, however, we get

Agreement of A, B = (1.1*0 + 1.1*1 + .9*0 + 1*0 + 1*1)/5 = 2.1/5 = .42
Agreement of A, D = (1.1*1 + 1.1*0 + .9*1 + 1*1 + 1*1)/5 = 4.0/5 = .80
Agreement of B, D = (1.1*0 + 1.1*0 + .9*0 + 1*0 + 1*1)/5 = 1.0/5 = .20

Whatever that means. We’re simply discussing mechanisms here. The point is, different sorts of means can give different values....

Probability

Probability is one of the most immense topics in mathematics, used by all sorts of businesses to predict future events. It is the basis of the insurance business. It is what makes most forms of forecasting possible.

It is much too big to fit under a subheading of an article on mathematics.

But it is a subject where non-mathematicians make many brutal errors, so I will make a few points.

Probability measures the likelihood of an **event**. The probability of an event is measured from zero to one (or, if expressed as a percentage, from 0% to 100%). An event with a zero probability *cannot* happen; an event with a probability of one is *certain*. So if an event has a probability of .1, it means that, on average, it will take place one time in ten.

Example: Full moons take place (roughly) every 28 days. Therefore the chances of a full moon on any given night is one in 28, or .0357, or 3.57%.

It is worth noting that the probability of all possible outcomes of an event will always add up to one. If **e** is an event and p() is its probability function, it therefore follows that p(**e**) + p(not **e**) = 1. In the example of the full moon, p(full moon)=.0357. Therefore p(not full moon) = 1–.0357, or .9643. That is, on any random night there is a 3.57% chance of a full moon and a 96.43% chance that the moon will not be full. (Of course, this is slightly simplified, because we are assuming that full moons take place at random. Also, full moon actually take place about every 28+ days. But the *ideas* are right.)

The simplest case of probability is that of a coin flip. We know that, if we flip an "honest" coin, the probability of getting a head is .5 and the probability of getting a tail is .5.

What, then, are the odds of getting two heads in a row?

I'll give you a hint: It's not .5+.5=1. Nor is it .5-.5=0. Nor is it. .5.

In fact, the probability of a *complex event* (an event composed of a sequence of independent events) happening is the product of the probabilities of the simple events. So the probability of getting two heads in a row is .5 times .5=.25. If more than two events are involved, just keep multiplying. For example, the probability of three heads in a row is .5 times .5 times .5 = .125.

Next, suppose we want to calculate the probability that, in two throws, we throw one head and one tail. This can happen in either of two ways: head-then-tail or tail-then-

head. The odds of head-then-tail are .5 times .5=.25; the odds of tail-then-head are also .5 times .5=.25. We add these up and find that the odds of one head and one tail are .5.

(At this point I should add a word of caution: the fact that the odds of throwing a head and a tail are .5 does *not* mean that, if you throw two coins twice, you will get a head and a tail once and only once. It means that, if you throw two coins many, many times, the number of times you get a head and a tail will be very close to half the number of times. But if you only throw a few coins, anything can happen. To calculate the odds of any particular set of results, you need to study distributions such as the binomial distribution that determines coin tosses and die rolls.)

The events you calculate need not be the same. Suppose you toss a coin and roll a die. The probability of getting a head is .5. The probability of rolling a 1 is one in 6, or .16667. So, if you toss a coin and roll a die, the probability of throwing a head and rolling a 1 is .5 times .16667, or .08333. The odds of throwing a head and rolling any number other than a 1 is .5 times (1–.16667), or .42667. And so forth.

We can apply this to manuscripts in several ways. Here's an instance from the gospels. Suppose, for example, that we have determined that the probability that, at a randomly-chosen reading, manuscript L is Byzantine is .55, or 55%. Suppose that we know that manuscript 579 is 63% Byzantine. We can then calculate the odds that, for any given reading,

- Both are Byzantine: .55 times .63 = .3465
- L is Byzantine and 579 is not: .55 times (1–.63) = .2035
- 579 is Byzantine and L is not: .63 times (1–.55) = .2835
- Neither L nor 579 is Byzantine: (1–.55) times (1–.63) = .1665

Note that the probabilities of the outcomes add up to unity: .3465+.2035+.2835+.1665=1.

The other application for this is to determine how often mixed manuscripts agree, and what the basis for their agreement was. Let's take the case of L and 579 again. Suppose, for the sake of the argument, that they had ancestors which were identical. Then suppose that L suffered a 55% Byzantine overlay, and 579 had a 63% Byzantine mixture.

Does this mean that they agree all the time except for the 8% of extra "Byzantine-ness" in 579? Hardly!

Assume the Byzantine mixture is scattered through both manuscripts at random. Then we can use the results given above to learn that

- Both have suffered Byzantine mixture at the same place: .55 times .63 = .3465
- L has suffered Byzantine mixture and 579 has not: .55 times (1-.63) = .2035
- 579 has suffered mixture and L has not: .63 times (1-.55) = .2835
- Neither has suffered Byzantine mixture: (1-.55) times (1-.63) = .1665

Thus L and 579 agree at only .3465+.1665=.513=51.3% of all points of variation.

This simple calculation should forever put to rest the theory that closely related manuscripts will always have close rates of agreement! Notice that L and 579 have only two constituent elements (that is, both contain a mixture of two text-types: Byzantine and Alexandrian). But the effect of mixture is to lower their rate of agreement to a rather pitiful 51%. (This fact *must* be kept in mind when discussing the "Cæsarean" text. The fact that the "Cæsarean" manuscripts do not have high rates of agreements means nothing,since all of them are heavily mixed. The question is, *how often do they agree when they are not Byzantine?)*

To save scholars some effort, the table below shows how often two mixed manuscripts will agree for various degrees of Byzantine corruption. To use the table, just determine how Byzantine the two manuscripts are, then find those percents in the table and read off the resulting rate of agreement.

	0%	**10%**	**20%**	**30%**	**40%**	**50%**	**60%**	**70%**	**80%**	**90%**	**100%**
0%	100%	90%	80%	70%	60%	50%	40%	30%	20%	10%	0%
10%	90%	82%	74%	66%	58%	50%	42%	34%	26%	18%	10%
20%	80%	74%	68%	62%	56%	50%	44%	38%	32%	26%	20%
30%	70%	66%	62%	58%	54%	50%	46%	42%	38%	34%	30%
40%	60%	58%	56%	54%	52%	50%	48%	46%	44%	42%	40%
50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%
60%	40%	42%	44%	46%	48%	50%	52%	54%	56%	58%	60%
70%	30%	34%	38%	42%	46%	50%	54%	58%	62%	66%	70%
80%	20%	26%	32%	38%	44%	50%	56%	62%	68%	74%	80%
90%	10%	18%	26%	34%	42%	50%	58%	66%	74%	82%	90%
100%	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

It should be noted, of course, that these results *apply only* at points where the ancestors of the two manuscripts agreed *and* where that reading differs from the Byzantine text.

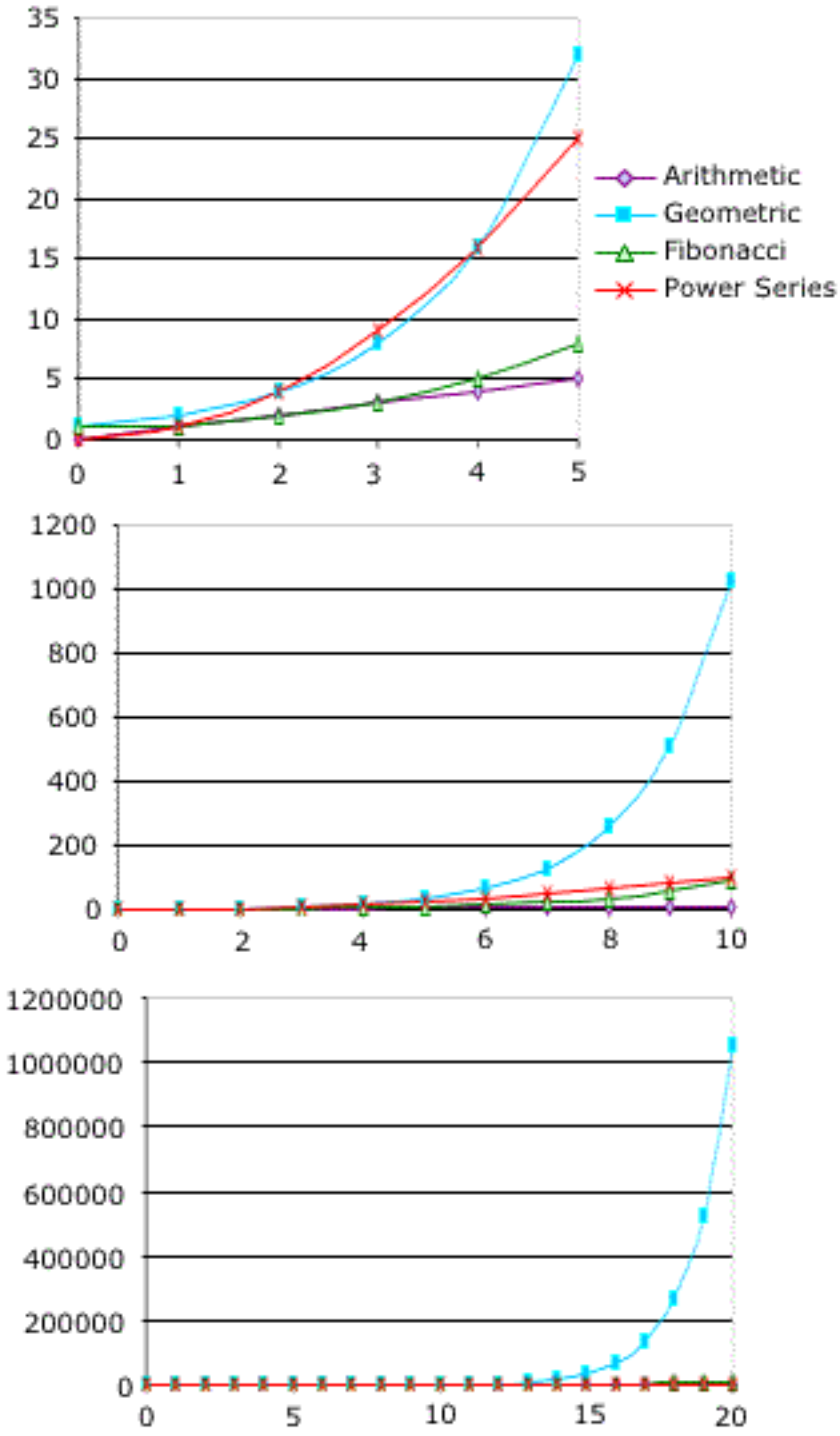
That, in fact, points out the whole value of probability theory for textual critics. From this data, we can determine if the individual strands of two mixed manuscripts are related. Overall agreements don't tell us anything. But agreements in special readings are meaningful. It is the profiles of readings — especially non-Byzantine readings — which must be examined: Do manuscripts agree in their non-Byzantine readings? Do they have a significant fraction of the non-Byzantine readings of a particular type, without large numbers of readings of other types? And do they have a high enough rate of such readings to be statistically significant?

Arithmetic, Exponential, and Geometric Progressions

In recent years, the rise of the Byzantine-priority movement has led to an explosion in the arguments about "normal" propagation — most of which is mathematically very weak. Often the arguments are pure Fallacy.

"Normal" is in fact a meaningless term when referring to sequences (in this case, reproductive processes). There are many sorts of growth curves, often with real-world significance — but each applies in only limited circumstances. And most are influenced by outside factors such as "predator-prey" scenarios.

The two most common sorts of sequences are *arithmetic* and *geometric*. Examples of these two sequences, as well as two others (Fibonacci and power sequences, described below) are shown below. In the graph, the constant in the arithmetic sequence is 1, starting at 0; the constant in the geometric sequence is 2, starting at 1; the exponent in the power sequence is 2. Note that we show three graphs, over the range 0–5, 0–10, 0–20, to show how the sequences start, and how some of them grow much more rapidly than others.



The arithmetic is probably the best-known type of sequence; it's just a simple counting pattern, such as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5… (this is the one shown in the graph) or 2, 4, 6, 8, 10.... As

a general rule, if a_1, a_2, a_3, etc. are the terms of an arithmetic sequence, the formula for a given term will be of this form:

$a_{n+1} = a_n+d$

or

$a_n = d*n+a_0$

Where d is a constant and a_0 is the starting point of the sequence.

In the case of the integers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, for instance, d=1 and a_0=0. In the case of the even numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 10… , d=2 and a_0=0.

Observe that d and a_0 don't have to be whole numbers. They could be .5, or 6/7, or even 2π. (The latter, for instance, would give the total distance you walk as you walk around a circle of radius 1.)

In a text-critical analogy, an arithmetic progression approximates the total output of a scriptorium. If it produces two manuscripts a month, for instance, then after one month you have two manuscripts, after two months, you have four; after three months, six, etc.

Note that we carefully refer to the above as a *sequence*. This is by contrast to a series, which refers to the values of the sums of terms of a *sequence*. (And yes, a series is a sequence, and so can be summed into another series....) The distinction may seem minor, but it has importance in calculus and numerical analysis, where irrational numbers (such as sines and cosines and the value of the constant *e*) are approximated using series. (Both sequences and series can sometimes be lumped under the term "progression.")

But series have another significance. Well-known rules will often let us calculate the values of a series by simple formulae. For example, for an arithmetic sequence, it can be shown that the sum s of the terms a_0, a_1, a_2, a_3 is

$s=(n+1)*(a_0 + a_n)/2$

or

$s=(n+1)(2*a_0+n*d)/2$

Which, for the simplest case of 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. simplifies down to

$s=n*(n+1)/2$

A *geometric* sequence is similar to an arithmetic sequence in that it involves a constant sort of increase — but the increase is multiplicative rather than additive. That is, each

term in the sequence is a *multiple* of the one before. Thus the basic definition of g_{n+1} takes the form

$g_{n+1} = c*g_n$

So the general formula is given by

$g_n = g_0*c^n$

(where c is a the constant multiple. c^n is, of course, c raised to the n power, i.e. c multiplied by itself n times).

It is often stated that geometric sequences grow very quickly. This is not inherently true. There are in fact seven cases:

- $c < -1$: Sequence goes to extremes, but alternates between positive and negative values.
- $c = -1$: Degenerate case. Sequence becomes an alternating set of values, g_0, $-g_0$, g_0, $-g_0$…
- $-1 < c < 0$: Sequence goes to 0, but with alternating positive and negative terms.
- $c = 0$: Another degenerate case: All terms except possibly the first are 0.
- $0 < c < 1$: This is geometric decay: the sequence approaches zero, although it never actually reaches it.
- $c = 1$: Also degenerate: Every term has the same value
- $c > 1$: The standard geometric sequence: This sequence increases steadily and at an ever-increasing rate.

The last case is usually what we mean by a geometric sequence. Such a sequence may start slowly, if c is barely greater than one, but it always starts climbing eventually. And it can climb very quickly if c is large. Take the case of c=2. If we start with an initial value of 1, then our terms become 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128… (you've probably seen those numbers before). After five generations, you're only at 32, but ten generations takes you to 1024, fifteen generations gets you to over 32,000, twenty generations takes you past one million, and it just keeps climbing.

And this too has a real-world analogy. Several, in fact. If, for instance, you start with two people (call them "Adam" and "Eve" if you wish), and assume that every couple has four offspring then dies, then you get exactly the above sequence except that the first term is 2 rather than 1: 2 (Adam and Eve), 4 (their children), 8 (their grandchildren), etc. (Incidentally, the human race has now reached this level: The population is doubling

roughly every 40 years — and that's down from doubling every 35 years or so in the mid-twentieth century.)

The text-critical analogy would be a scriptorium which, every ten years (say) copies *every book in its library.* If it starts with one book, at the end of ten years, it will have two. After twenty years (two copying generations), it will have four. After thirty years, it will have eight. Forty years brings the total to sixteen. Fifty years ups the total to 32, and maybe it's time to hire a larger staff of scribes. After a hundred years, they'll be around a thousand volumes, after 200 years, over a million volumes, and if they started in the fifth century and were still at it today, we'd be looking at converting the entire planet into raw materials for their library. *That* is how geometric sequences grow.

The sum of a geometric sequence is given by

$s=g_0*(c^{n+1}-1)(c-1)$

(where, obviously, c is not equal to 0).

We should note that there is a more general form of a geometric sequence, and the difference in results can be significant. This version has a second constant parameter, this time in the exponent:

$g_n = g_0*c(^{d*n})$

If d is small, the sequence grows more slowly; if d is negative, the sequence gradually goes toward 0. For example, the sequence

$g_n = 1*2(^{-1*n})$

has the values

1, .5, .25, .125, … ,

and the sum of the sequence, if you add up all the terms, is 2.

An *exponential* sequence is a sort of an odd and special relative of a geometric sequence. It requires a parameter, x. In that case, the terms e_n are defined by the formula

$e_n = x^n/n!$

where n! is the factorial, i.e. n*(n–1)*(n–2)*… 3*2*1.

So if we take the case of x=2, for instance, we find
[$e_0 = 2^0/0! = 1/1 = 1$]
$e_1 = 2^1/1! = 2/1 = 2$

$e_2 = 2^2/2! = 4/2 = 2$
$e_3 = 2^3/3! = 8/6 = 1.3333…$
$e_4 = 2^4/4! = 16/24 = .6666…$
$e_5 = 2^5/5! = 32/120 = .2666…$

This sequence by itself isn't much use; its real value is the associated series, which becomes the exponential function e^x. But let's not get too deep into that…

We should note that not all sequences follow any of the above patterns — remember, a sequence is just a list of numbers, although it probably isn't very meaningful unless we can find a pattern underlying it. But there are many possible patterns. Take, for instance, the famous fibonacci sequence 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, 89, 144.... This sequence is defined by the formula

$a_{n+1} = a_n + a_{n-1}$

It will be observed that these numbers don't follow any of the above patterns precisely. And yet, they have real-world significance (e.g. branches of plants follow fibonacci-like patterns), and the sequence was discovered in connection with a population-like problem such as we are discussing here: Fibonacci wanted to know the reproductive rate of rabbits, allowing for the fact that they needed time to mature: If you start with a pair of infant rabbits, they need one month (in his model) to reach sexual maturity. So the initial population was 1. After a month, it's also 1. After another month, the rabbits have had a pair of offspring, so the population is now 2. Of these 2, one is the original pair, which is sexually mature; the other is the immature pair. So the sexually mature pair has another pair of offspring, but the young pair doesn't. Now you have three pair. In another month, you have two sexually mature pairs, and they have one pair of offspring, for a total of five. Etc.

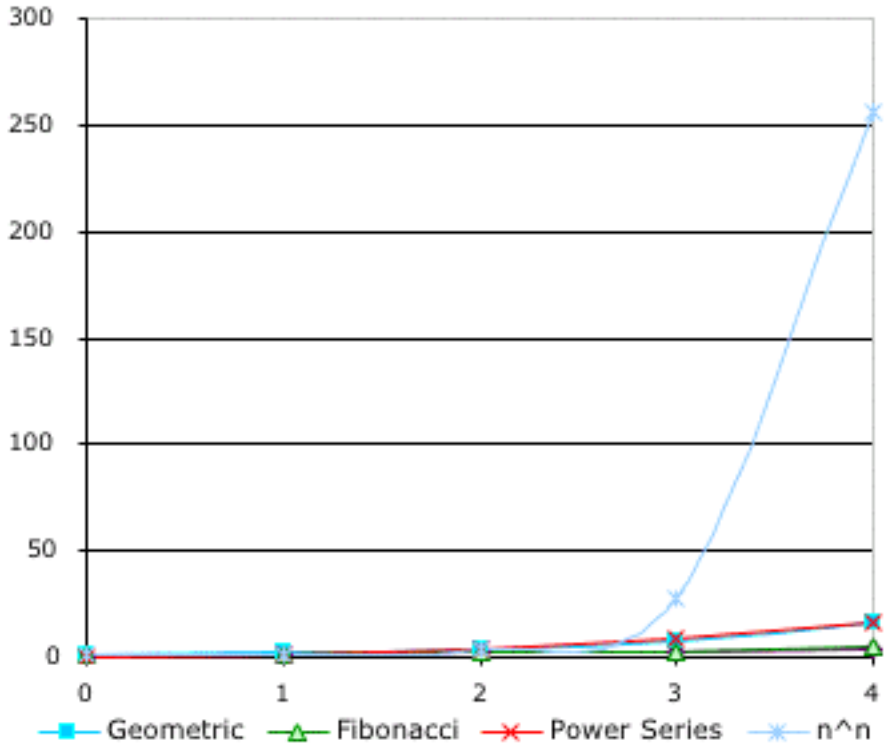
This too could have a manuscript analogy. Suppose — not unreasonably — that a scriptorium insists that only "good" copies are worthy of reproduction. And suppose that the definition of "good" is in fact old. Suppose that the scriptorium has a regular policy of renewing manuscripts, and creating new manuscripts only by renewal. And suppose a manuscript becomes "old" on its thirtieth birthday.

The scriptorium was founded with one manuscript. Thirty years later, it's still new, and isn't copied. After another thirty years, it has been copied, and that's two. Thirty years later, it's copied again, and that's three. Etc. This precise process isn't really likely — but it's a warning that we can't blythely assume manuscripts propagate in any particular manner.

And believe it or not, the geometric sequence is by no means the fastest-growing sequence one can construct using quite basic math. Consider this function:

$h_n = n^n$

The terms of that sequence (starting from h^0) are
$0^0=1$, $1^1=1$, $2^2=4$, $3^3=27$, $4^4=256$, $5^5=3125$…



It can be shown that this sequence will eventually overtake any geometric sequence, no matter how large the constant multiplier in the geometric sequence. The graph shows this point. Observe that, as soon as n=4, it dwarfs the geometric sequence we used above, $g_n=2^n$. It would take somewhat longer to pass a geometric sequence with a higher constant, but it will always overtake a geometric sequence eventually, when n is sufficiently larger than the constant ratio of the geometric sequence.

These sequences may all seem rather abstract, despite the attempts to link the results to textual criticism. It is not. A major plank of the Byzantine Priority position is that numbers of manuscripts mean something. The idea is, more or less, that the number of manuscripts grows geometrically, and that the preponderance of Byzantine manuscripts shows that they were the (largest) basic population.

Observe that this is based on an unfounded assumption. We don't *know* the actual nature of the reproduction of manuscripts. But this model, from the numbers, looks false. (And if you are going to propose a model, it has to fit the numbers.) The simplest model of what we actually have does *not* make the Byzantine the original text. Rather, it

appears that the Alexandrian is the original text, but that it had a growth curve with a very small (perhaps even negative) multiplier on the exponent. The Byzantine text started later but with a much larger multiplier.

Is that what actually happened? Probably not. The Fallacy of Number cuts both ways: It doesn't prove that the Byzantine text is early or late or anything else. But this is a warning to those who try to make more of their models than they are actually worth. In fact, no model proves anything unless it has predictive power — the ability to yield some data not included in the original model. Given the very elementary nature of the data about numbers of manuscripts, it seems unlikely that we can produce a predictive model. But any model must at least fit the data!

One more point: We alluded to exponential or geometric decay, but we didn't do much with it. However, this is something of great physical significance, which might have textual significance too. Exponential decay occurs when a population has a growth parameter that is less than one. We gave the formula above:

$g_n = g_0 * c^{(d*n)}$

For $0 < c < 1$.

More specifically, if the number of generations is n, the initial population is k, and the growth rate is d, then the population after n generations is

$g_n = kd^n$

A typical example of this is a single-elimination sports tournament. In this case, decay rate is one-half, and the starting population is the number of teams (usually 256, or 128, or 64, or 32, or 16). If we start with 128, then g_0 is given by

$g_0 = 128*(.5^0) = 128$

After one generation, we have

$g^1 = 128*(.5^1) = 64$

And so forth:

$g_2 = 128*(.5^2) = 32$
$g_3 = 128*(.5^3) = 16$
$g_4 = 128*(.5^4) = 8$
$g_5 = 128*(.5^5) = 4$
$g_6 = 128*(.5^6) = 2$
$g_7 = 128*(.5^7) = 1$

In other words, after seven rounds, you have eliminated all but one team, and declare a champion.

Instead of expressing this in generations, we can also express it in terms of time. The most basic physical example of this is the half-life of radioactive isotopes. The general formula for this is given by

$N = N_0 e^{-\gamma t}$

where N is the number of atoms of the isotope at the time t, N_0 is the original sample (i.e. when t=0), e is the well-known constant, and γ is what is known as the "decay constant" — the fraction of the sample which decays in a unit time period.

Usually, of course, we don't express the lifetime of isotopes in terms of decay constants but in terms of half-lives. A half-life is the time it takes for half the remaining sample to decay — in terms of the above formula, the time t at which $N=N_0/2$.

From this we can show that the half-life is related to the decay constant by the formula half-life = $-ln(.5)/\gamma$.

So if the half-life of our isotope is given as h, then the formula for decay becomes

$N = N_0 e^{ln(.5)t/h}$

Example: Let's say we start with 4000 atoms of an isotope (a very, very small sample, too small to see, but I'd rather not deal with all the zeroes we'd have if we did a real sample of an isotope). Suppose the half-life is 10 years. Then the formula above would become:

$N = 4000 * e^{ln(.5)t/10}$

So if we choose t=10, for instance, we find that N=2000
At t=20, we have N=1000
At t=30, N=500

At t=100, we're down to about 4 atoms; after 120 years, we're down to about one atom, and there is no predicting when that last one will go away.

Of course, you could work that out just by counting half-lives. But the nice thing about the decay formula is that you can also figure out how many atoms there are after 5 years (2828), or 25 years (707), or 75 years (22).

And while this formula is for radioactive decay, it also applies to *anything* with a steady die-off rate. I seem to recall reading, somewhere, of an attempt to estimate the half-life of manuscripts. This is, of course, a very attractive idea — if we could do it, it would

theoretically allow us to estimate the number of manuscripts of a given century based on the number of surviving manuscripts (note that the above formula can be run both ways: It can give us the number of atoms/manuscripts fifty or a hundred or a thousand years ago).

In a very limited way, the idea might be useful: A papyrus manuscript can only survive a certain amount of use, so we could estimate the rate at which manuscripts would reach the end of their useful life by some sort of formula. But this would apply *only* to papyri, and *only* to papyri during the period when they are being used. Unfortunately, it seems unlikely that such a model could actually predict past manuscript numbers.

Rigour, Rigorous Methods

Speaking informally (dare I say "without rigour?"), **rigour** is the mathematical term for "doing it right." To be rigourous, a proof or demonstration must spell out all its assumptions and definitions, must state its goal, and must proceed in an orderly way to that goal. All steps must be exactly defined and conform to the rules of logic (plus whatever other axioms are used in the system).

The inverse of a rigourous argument is the infamous "hand-waving" proof, in which the mathematician waves his or her hand at the blackboard and says, "From here it is obvious that… "

It should be noted that rigour is not necessarily *difficult*; the following proof is absolutely rigorous but trivially simple:

To Prove: That $(a-b)(a+b) = a^2 - b^2$

PROOF:

$(a-b)(a+b) = a(a+b) - b(a+b)$ Distributing

$= a^2 + ab - ba - b^2$ Distributing

$= a^2 - b^2$ Adding

Q.E.D.

It should be noted that rigour is *required* for results to be considered mathematically correct. It is not enough to do a lot of work! It may strike textual critics as absurd to say that the immense and systematic labours of a Zuntz or a Wisse are not rigorous, while the rather slapdash efforts of Streeter are — but it is in fact the case. Streeter worked from a precise definition of a "Cæsarean" reading: A reading found in at least two "Cæsarean" witnesses and not found in the Textus Receptus. Streeter's definition is poor, even circular, but at least it is a definition — and he stuck with it. Wisse and Zuntz were more thorough, more accurate, and more true-to-life — but they are *not rigourous,* and their results therefore cannot be regarded as firm.

Let us take the Claremont Profile Method as an example. A portion of the method is rigorous: Wisse's set of readings is clearly defined. However, Wisse's groups are *not* defined. Nowhere does he say, e.g., "A group consists of a set of at least three manuscripts with the following characteristics: All three cast similar profiles (with no more than one difference per chapter), with at least six differences from K^x, and at least three of these differences not shared by any other group." (This probably is not Wisse's definition. It may not be any good. But at least it is rigourous.)

Mathematical and statistical rigour is necessary to produce accurate results. Better, mathematically, to use wrong definitions and use them consistently than to use imprecise definitions properly. Until this standard is achieved, all results of textual criticism which are based on actual data (e.g. classification of manuscripts into text-types) will remain subject to attack and interpretation.

The worst problem, at present, seems to be with definitions. We don't have precise definitions of many important terms of the discipline — including even such crucial things as the Text-Type.

In constructing a definition, the best place to start is often with **necessary and sufficient conditions**. A **necessary** condition is one which has to be true for a rule or definition to apply (for example, for it to be raining, it is necessary that it be cloudy. Therefore clouds are a necessary condition for rain). Note that a necessary condition may be true without assuring a result — just as it may be cloudy without there being rain.

A **sufficient** condition ensures that a rule or definition applies (for example, if it is raining, we know it is cloudy. So rain is a sufficient condition for clouds). Observe that a particular sufficient condition need not be fulfilled for an event to take place — as, e.g., rain is just one of several sufficient conditions for clouds.

For a particular thing to be true, all necessary conditions must be fulfilled, and usually at least one sufficient condition must also be true. (We say "usually" because sometimes we will not have a complete list of sufficient conditions.) A comprehensive definition will generally have to include both parts. (This does not mean that we have to determine all necessary and sufficient conditions to work on a particular problem; indeed, we may need to propose incomplete or imperfect definitions to test them. But we generally are not done until we have both.)

Let's take an example. Colwell's "Quantitative Method" is often understood to state that two manuscripts belong to the same text-type if they agree in 70% of test readings. *But this is demonstrably not an adequate definition.* It may be that the 70% rule is a necessary condition (though even this is subject to debate, because of the problem of

mixed manuscripts). But the 70% rule is not a sufficient condition. This is proved by the Byzantine text. Manuscripts of this type generally agree in the 90% range. A manuscript which agrees with the Byzantine text in only 70% of the cases is a poor Byzantine manuscript indeed. It may, in fact, agree with some other text-type more often than the Byzantine text. (For example, 1881 agrees with the Byzantine text some 70–75% of the time in Paul. But it agrees with 1739, a non-Byzantine manuscript, about 80% of the time.) So the *sufficient* condition for being a member of the Byzantine text is not 70% agreement with the Byzantine witnesses but 90% agreement.

As a footnote, we should note that the mere existence of rigour does not make a conclusion correct. *A rigorous proof is only as accurate as its premises.* Let us demonstrate this by assuming that 1=0. If so, we can construct the following "proof":

```
To Prove: That 2+2=5
    PROOF:
    2+2 = 4    [Previously known]
So  2+2 = 4+0  [since x=x+0 for any x]
        = 4+1  [since 1=0]
        = 5    [by addition]
  Q.E.D.
```

But it should be noted that, while a rigorous demonstration is only as good as its premises, *a non-rigorous demonstration is not even that good.* Thus the need for rigour — but also for testing of hypotheses. (This is where Streeter's method, which was rigorous, failed: He did not sufficiently examine his premises.)

Sampling and Profiles

Sampling is one of the basic techniques in science. Its purpose is to allow intelligent approximations of information when there is no way that all the information can be gathered. For example, one can use sampling to count the bacteria in a lake. To count *every* bacterium in a large body of water is generally impractical, so one takes a small amount of liquid, measures the bacteria in that, and generalizes to the whole body of water.

Sampling is a vast field, used in subjects from medicine to political polling. There is no possible way for us to cover it all here. Instead we will cover an area which has been shown to be of interest to many textual critics: The relationship between manuscripts. Anything not relevant to that goal will be set aside.

Most textual critics are interested in manuscript relationships, and most will concede that the clearest way to measure relationship is numerically. Unfortunately, this is an

almost impossible task. To calculate the relationship between manuscripts directly requires that each manuscript be collated against all others. It is easy to show that this cannot be done. The number of collation operations required to cross-compare n manuscripts increases on the order of n^2 (the exact formula is $(n^2–n)÷2$). So to collate two manuscripts takes only one operation, but to cross-collate three requires three steps. Four manuscripts call for six steps; five manuscripts require ten steps. To cross-collate one hundred manuscripts would require 4950 operations; to cover six hundred manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles requires 179,700 collations. To compare all 2500 Gospel manuscripts requires a total of 3,123,750 operations. All involving some tens of thousands of points of variation.

It can't be done. Not even with today's computer technology. The only hope is some sort of sampling method — or what textual scholars often call "profiling."

The question is, *how big must a profile be?* (There is a secondary question, how should a profile be selected? but we will defer that.) Textual scholars have given all sorts of answers. The smallest I have seen was given by Larry Richards (*The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles,* Scholars Press, 1977, page 189), who claimed that he could identify a manuscript of the Johannine Epistles as Alexandrian on the basis of five readings! (It is trivially easy to disprove this; the thoroughly Alexandrian minuscules 33 and 81 share only two and three of these readings, respectively.)

Other scholars have claimed that one must study *every* reading. One is tempted to wonder if they are trying to ensure their continued employment, as what they ask is neither possible nor necessary.

A key point is that the accuracy of a sample depends solely on the size of the sample, not on the size of the population from which the sample is taken. (Assuming an unbiased sample, anyway.) In other words, what matters is how many tests you make, not what percentage of the population you test. As John Allen Paulos puts it (*A Mathematician Reads the Newspaper,* p. 137), "[W]hat's critical about a random sample is its absolute size, not its percentage of the population. Although it may seem counterintuitive, a random sample of 500 people taken from the entire U. S. population of 260 million is generally far more predictive of its population (has a smaller margin of error) than a random sample of 50 taken from a population of 2,600."

What follows examines how big one's sample ought to be. For this, we pull a trick. Let us say that, whatever our sample of readings, we will assign the value one to a reading when the two manuscripts we are examining agree. If the two manuscripts disagree, we assign the value zero.

The advantage of this trick is that it makes the Mean value of our sample equal to the agreement rate of the manuscripts. (And don't say "So what?" This means that we can use the well-established techniques of sampling, which help us determine the mean, to determine the agreement rate of the manuscripts as well.)

Our next step, unfortunately, requires a leap of faith. Two of them, in fact, though they are both reasonable. (I have to put this part in. Even though most of us — including me — hardly know what I'm talking about, I *must* point out that we are on rather muddy mathematical ground here.) We have to assume that the Central Limits Theorem applies to manuscript readings (this basically requires that manuscript variants are independent — a rather iffy assumption, but one we can hardly avoid) and that the distribution of manuscripts is not too pathological (probably true, although someone should try to verify it someday). If these assumptions are true, then we can start to set sample sizes. (If the assumptions are not true, then we almost certainly need larger sample sizes. So we'd better hope this is true).

Not knowing the characteristics of the manuscripts, we assume that they are fairly typical and say that, if we take a sample of 35–50 readings, there is roughly a 90% chance that the *sample mean* (i.e. the rate of agreement in our sample) is within 5% of the actual mean of the whole comparison. That is, for these two manuscripts, if you take 50 readings, there is a 90% chance that the rate of agreement of these two manuscripts in the sample will be within 5% of their rate of agreement everywhere.

But before you say, "Hey, that's pretty easy; I can live with 50 readings," realize that this is the accuracy of *one comparison.* If you take a sample of fifty and do two comparisons, the percent that both are within 5% falls to 81% (.9 times .9 equals .81). Bring the number of comparisons between pairs of manuscripts to ten comparisons (quite a small number, really), and you're down to a 35% chance that they will all be that accurate. Given that a 5% error for any manuscript can mean a major change in its classification, the fifty-reading sample is just too small.

Unfortunately, the increase in sample accuracy goes roughly as the root of the increase in sample size. (That is, doubling your sample size will increase your accuracy by less than 50%). Eventually taking additional data ceases to be particularly useful.

Based on our assumptions, additional data loses most of its value at about 500 data points (sample readings in the profile). At this point our accuracy on any given comparison is on the order of 96%.

Several observations are in order, however.

First, even though I have described 500 as the *maximum* useful value, in practice it is closer to the *minimum* useful value for a sample base in a particular corpus. The first

reason is that you may wish to take subsamples. (That is, if you take 500 samples for the gospels as a whole, that leaves you with only 125 or so for each gospel — too few to be truly reliable. Or you might want to take characteristically Alexandrian readings; this again calls for a subset of your set.) Also, you should increase the sample size somewhat to account for bias in the readings chosen (e.g. it's probably easier to take a *lot* of readings from a handful of chapters — as in the Claremont Profile Method — than to take, say, a dozen from every chapter of every book. This means that your sample is not truly random).

Second, remember the size of the population you are sampling. 500 readings in the Gospels isn't many. But it approximates the entire base of readings in the Catholics. Where the reading base is small, you can cut back the sample size somewhat.

The key word is "somewhat." Paulos's warning is meaningful. 10% of significant variants is probably adequate in the Gospels, where there are many, many variants. That won't work in the Catholics. If, in those books, you regard, say, 400 points of variation as significant, you obviously can't take 500 samples. But you can't cut back to 40 test readings, because that's too small a sample to be statistically meaningful, and it's too small a fraction of the total to test the whole "spectrum" of readings.

On this basis, I suggest the following samples sizes if they can be collected:

- Gospels: 1000 variant readings
- Acts: 350 variant readings
- Paul: 750 variant readings
- Catholics: 200 variant readings
- Apocalypse: 300 variant readings

To those who think this is too large a sample, I point out the example of political polling: It is a rare poll that samples fewer than about a thousand people.

To those who think the sample is too large, I can only say work the math. For the Münster "thousand readings" information, for instance, there are about 250 variants studied for Paul. That means about a 94% chance that any given comparison is accurate to within 5%. However, their analysis shows the top 60 or so relatives for each manuscript, that means there is a *97% chance that at least one of those numbers is off by 5%.*

An additional point coming out of this is that you simply can't determine relationships in very small sections — say, 2 John or 3 John. If you have only a dozen test readings, they aren't entirely meaningful *even if you test every variant in the book.* If a manuscript

is mixed, it's perfectly possible that every reading of your short book could — purely by chance — incline to the Alexandrian or Byzantine text. Results in these short books really need to be assessed in the light of the longer books around them. Statisticians note that there are two basic sorts of errors in assessing data, which they prosaically call "Type I" and "Type II." A Type I error consists of not accepting a true hypothesis, while a Type II error consists of accepting a false hypothesis. The two errors are, theoretically, equally severe, but different errors have different effects. In the context of textual criticism and assessing manuscripts, the Type II error is clearly the more dangerous. If a manuscript is falsely included in a text grouping, it will distort the readings of that group (as when Streeter shoved many Byzantine groups into the "Cæsarean" text). Failing to include a manuscript, particularly a weak manuscript, in a grouping may blur the boundaries of a grouping a little, but it will not distort the group. Thus it is better, in textual criticism, to admit uncertainty than to make errors.

At this point we should return to the matter of selecting a sample. There are two ways to go about this: The "random sample" and the "targeted sample." A random sample is when you grab people off the street, or open a critical apparatus blindly and point to readings. A targeted sample is when you pick people, or variants, who meet specific criteria.

The two samples have different advantages. A targeted sample allows you to get accurate results with fewer tests — but *only* if you know the nature of the population you are sampling. For example, if you believe that 80% of the people of the U.S. are Republicans, and 20% are Democrats, and create a targeted sample which is 80% Republican and 20% Democratic, the results from that sample aren't likely to be at all accurate (since the American population, as of when this is written, is almost evenly divided between Democrats, Republicans, and those who prefer neither party). Whereas a random survey, since it will probably more accurately reflect the actual numbers, will more accurately reflect the actual situation.

The problem is, a good random sample needs to be large — much larger than a targeted sample. This is why political pollsters, almost without exception, choose targeted samples.

But political pollsters have an advantage we do not have: They have data about their populations. Census figures let them determine how many people belong to each age group, income category, etc. We have no such figures. We do not know what fraction of variants are Byzantine versus Western and Alexandrian, or Alexandrian versus Western and Byzantine, or any other alignment. This means we cannot take a reliable target sample. (This is the chief defect of Aland's "Thousand Readings": We have no way of knowing if these variants are in any way representative.) Until we have more data than

we have, we must follow one of two methods: Random sampling, or *complete* sampling of randomly selected sections. Or, perhaps, a combination of the two — detailed sampling at key points to give us a complete picture in that area, and then a few readings between those sections to give us a hint of where block-mixed manuscripts change type. The Thousand Readings might serve adequately as these "picket" readings — though even here, one wonders at their approach. In Paul, at least, the Alands have too many "Western"-only readings. Our preference would surely be for readings where the Byzantine text goes against everything else, as almost all block-mixed manuscripts are Byzantine-and-something-else mixes, and we could determine the something else from the sections where we do detailed examination.

Saturation

"Saturation" is a word used in all sorts of fields, sometimes for amazingly dissimilar concepts, but it has a specific use in science (and related mathematics) which is highly relevant to textual criticism. It refers to a situation in which meaningful data is overwhelmed by an excess of non-meaningful data. As some would put is, the "signal" is overwhelmed by the "noise."

An example of where this can be significant comes from biology, in the study of so-called "junk DNA." (A term sometimes used rather loosely for non-coding DNA, but I am referring specifically to DNA which has no function at all.) Junk DNA, since it does not contain any useful information, is free to mutate, and the evidence indicates that it mutates at a relatively constant rate. So, for relatively closely related creatures, it is possible to determine just how closely related they are by looking at the rate of agreement in their junk DNA.

However, because junk DNA just keeps mutating, over time, you get changes to DNA that has already been changed, and changes on top of changes, and changes that cause the DNA to revert to its original state, and on and on. Eventually you reach a point where there have been so many changes that too little of the original DNA is left for a comparison to be meaningful: Many of the agreements between the two DNA sets are coincidental. This point is the saturation point. It's often difficult to know just what this point is, but there can be no real doubt that it exists.

This concept is an important one to textual critics concerned with just which variants are meaningful. The general rule is to say that orthographic variants are not meaningful, but larger variants are. This is probably acceptable as a rule of thumb, but it is an oversimplification of the concept of saturation. A scribe has a certain tendency to copy what is before him even if it does not conform to his own orthographic rules. It's just that the tendency is *less* than in the case of "meaningful" variants. W. L. Richards, *The*

Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles, went to a great deal of work to show that variants like ν-movable and itacisms were not meaningful for grouping manuscripts, but his methodology, which was always mathematically shaky, simply ignored saturation. The high likelihood is that, for closely-related manuscripts, such variants are meaningful; they simply lose value in dealing with less-related manuscripts because of saturation. In creating loose groups of manuscripts, such as Richards was doing, orthographic variants should be ignored. But we should probably at least examine them when doing stemmatic studies of closely-related manuscripts such as K^r.

Significant Digits

You have doubtless heard of "repeating fractions" and "irrational numbers" — numbers which, when written out as decimals, go on forever. For example, one-third as a decimal is written .3333333… , while four-elevenths is .36363636.... Both of these are repeating fractions. Irrational numbers are those numbers like π and e and √2 which have decimals which continue forever without showing a pattern. Speaking theoretically, any physical quantity will have an infinite decimal — though the repeating digit may be zero, in which case we ignore it.

But that doesn't mean we can determine all those infinite digits!

When dealing with real, measurable quantities, such as manuscript kinship, you cannot achieve infinite accuracy. You just don't have enough data. Depending on how you do things, you may have a dozen, or a hundred, or a thousand points of comparison. But even a thousand points of comparison only allows you to carry results to three significant digits.

A *significant* digit is the portion of a number which means something. You start counting from the left. For example, say you calculate the agreement between two manuscripts to be 68.12345%. The first and most significant digit here is 6. The next most significant digit is 8. And so forth. So if you have enough data to carry two significant digits (this requires on the order of one hundred data points), you would express your number as 68%. If you had enough data for three significant digits, the number would be 68.1%. And so forth.

See also Accuracy and Precision.

Standard Deviation and Variance

Any time you study an experimental distribution (that is, a collection of measurements of some phenomenon), you will notice that it "spreads out" or "scatters" a little bit. You

won't get the same output value for every input value; you probably won't even get the same output value for the same input value if you make repeated trials.

This "spread" can be measured. The basic measure of "spread" is the **variance** or its square root, the **standard deviation**. (Technically, the variance is the "second moment about the mean," and is denoted μ_2; the standard deviation is σ. But we won't talk much about moments; that's really a physics term, and doesn't have any meaning for manuscripts.) Whatever you call them, larger these numbers, the more "spread out" the population is.

Assume you have a set of n data points, d_1, d_2, d_3,.... d_n. Let the arithmetic mean of this set be m. Then the variance can be computed by either of two formulae,

VARIANCE for a POPULATION

$$\frac{(d_1-m)^2 + (d_2-m)^2 + \ldots + (d_n-m)^2}{n}$$

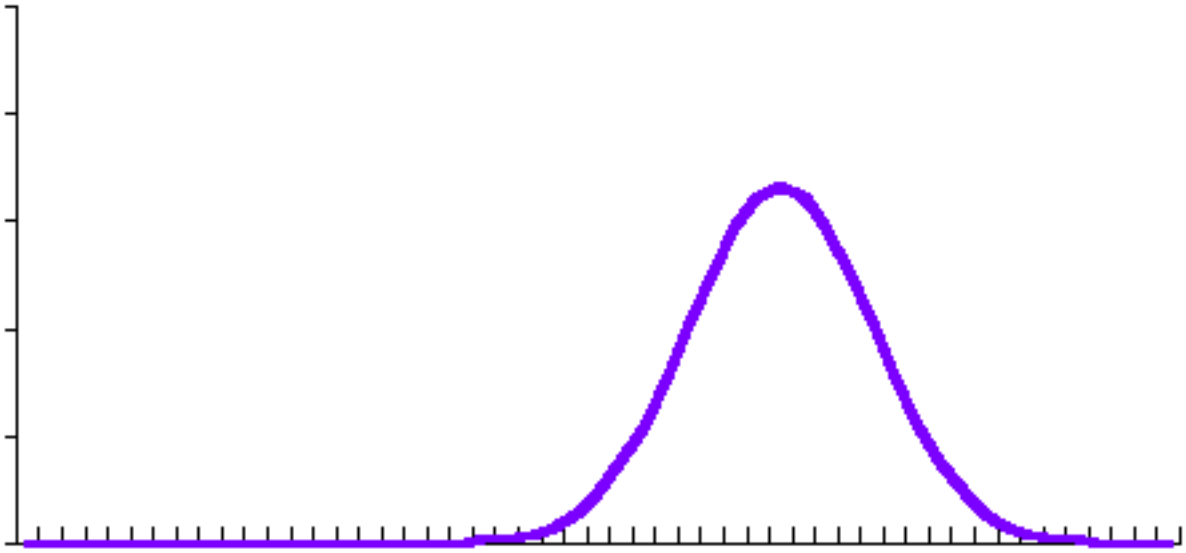
or

$$\frac{n(d_1^2 + d_2^2 + \ldots + d_n^2) - (d_1 + d_2 + \ldots + d_n)^2}{n^2}$$

To get the standard deviation, just take the square root of either of the above numbers.

The standard deviation takes work to understand. Whether a particular value for σ is "large" or "small" depends very much on the scale of the sample. Also, the standard deviation should not be misused. It is often said that, for any sample, two-thirds of the values fall within one standard deviation of the mean, and 96% fall within two. This is simply not true. It is only true in the case of special distributions, most notably what is called a "normal distribution" — that is, one that has the well-known "bell curve" shape.

A "bell curve" looks something like this:



Notice that this bell curve is symmetrical and spreads out smoothly on both sides of the mean. (For more on this topic, see the section on Binomials and the Binomial Distribution).

Not so with most of the distributions we will see. As an example, let's take the same distribution (agreements with 614 in the Catholics) that we used in the section on the mean above. If we graph this one, it looks as follows:

```
o |
c |
c |
u |                     *
r |                     *
e |                     *
n |                     *
c |                     * * *
e |                   * * * * *       *
s |           *     * * * * * *       * *       *
--------------------------------------------------
%    1 1 2 2 3 3 4 4 5 5 6 6 7 7 8 8 9 9 1
     0 5 0 5 0 5 0 5 0 5 0 5 0 5 0 5 0 5 0
                                           0
```

This distribution isn't vaguely normal (note that the mode is at 50%, but the majority of values are larger than this, with very few manuscripts having agreements significantly below 50%), but we can still compute the standard deviation. In the section on the mean we determined the average to be 57.3. If we therefore plug these values into the first formula for the variance, we get

$$\frac{(100-57.3)^2+(85-57.3)^2+ \ldots +(30-57.3)^2}{24}$$

Doing the math gives us the variance of 5648.96÷24=235.37 (your number may vary slightly, depending on roundoff). The standard deviation is the square root of this, or 15.3.

Math being what it is, there is actually another "standard deviation" you may find mentioned. This is the standard deviation for a sample of a population (as opposed to the standard deviation for an entire population). It is actually an *estimate* — a guess at what the limits of the standard deviation would be if you had the entire population rather than a sample. Since this is rather abstract, I won't get into it here; suffice it to say that it is calculated by taking the square root of the *sample variance*, derived from modified forms of the equations above

VARIANCE for a SAMPLE

$$\frac{(d_1-m)^2 + (d_2-m)^2 + \ldots + (d_n-m)^2}{n-1}$$

or

$$\frac{n(d_1^2 + d_2^2 + \ldots + d_n^2) - (d_1 + d_2 + \ldots + d_n)^2}{n(n-1)}$$

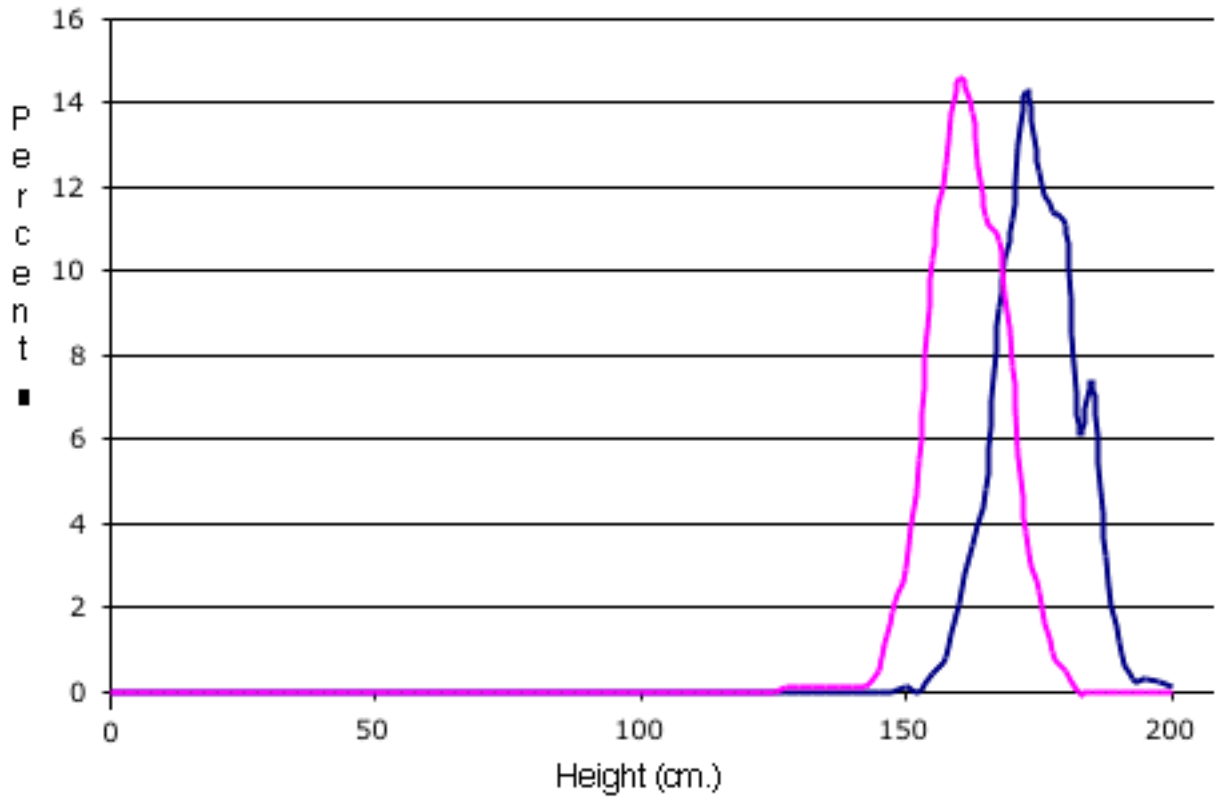
It should be evident that this sample standard deviation is always slightly larger than the population standard deviation.

How much does all this matter? Let's take a real-world example — not one related to textual criticism, this time, lest I be accused of cooking things (since I will have to cook my next example). This one refers to the heights of men and women ages 20–29 in the United States (as measured by the *2000 Statistical Abstract of the United States*). The raw data is as follows:

Height (cm/feet and inches)	Men %	Women %	Men Total	Women Total
under 140 (under 4'8")	0	0.6	0	0.6
140-145 (4'8"-4'10")	0	0.6	0	1.2
145-150 (4'10"-5'0")	0.1	4.8	0.1	6
150-155 (5'0"-5'2")	0.4	15.8	0.5	21.8
155-160 (5'2"-5'4")	2.9	27.1	3.4	48.9
160-165 (5'4"-5'6")	8.3	25.1	11.7	74.0
165-170 (5'6"-5'8")	20.3	18.4	32	92.4
170-175 (5'8"-5'10")	26.7	6.2	58.7	98.6
175-180 (5'10"-6'0")	22.5	1.4	81.2	100
180-185 (6'0"-6'2")	13.5	0	94.7	100
Over 185	5.3	0	100	100

The first column gives the height range. The second gives the total percent of the population of men in this height range. The third gives the percent of the women. The fourth gives the total percentage of men no taller than the height in the first column; the fifth is the total women no taller than the listed height.

The median height for men is just about 174 centimeters; for women, 160 cm. Not really that far apart, as we will see if we graph the data (I will actually use a little more data than I presented above):

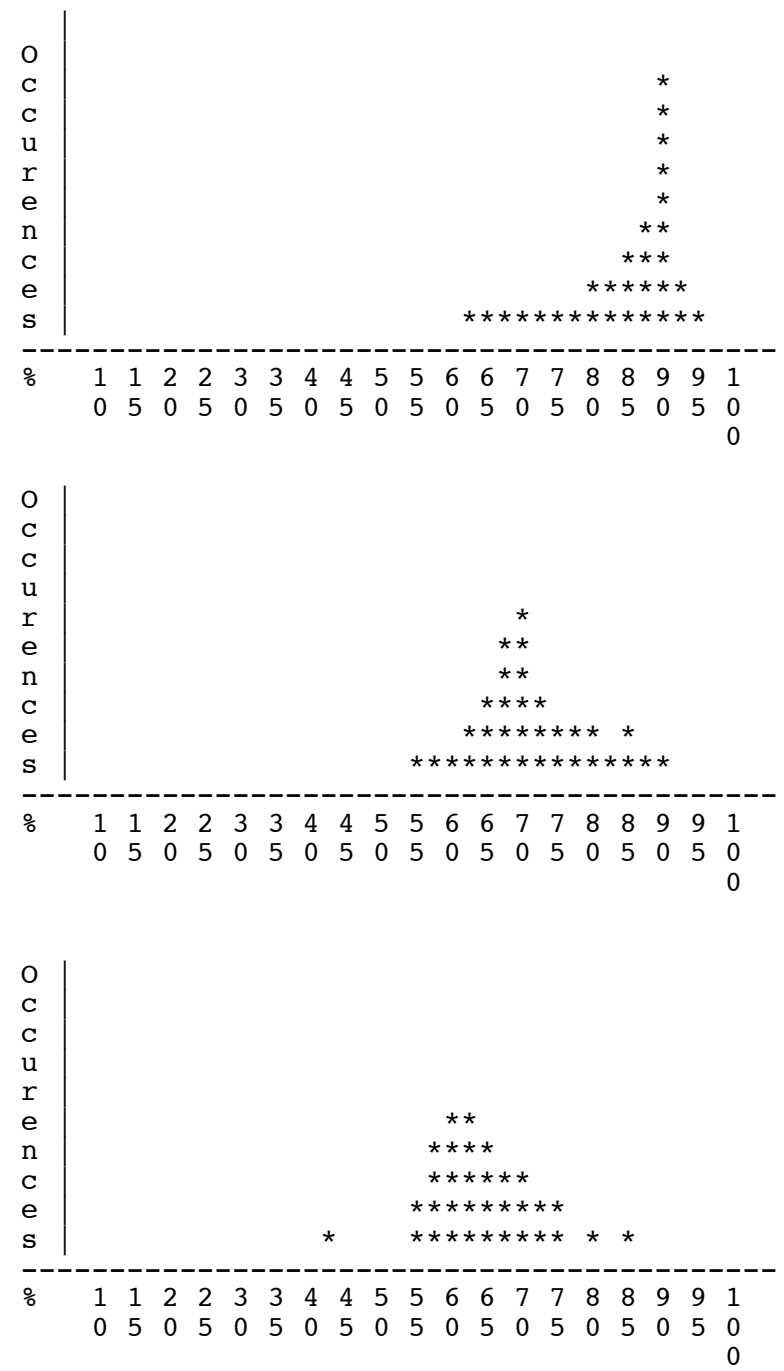


On the whole, the two graphs (reddish for women, blue for men) are quite similar: Same general shape, with the peaks slightly separate but only slightly so — separated by less than 10%.

But this general similarity conceals some real differences. If you see someone 168 cm. tall, for instance (the approximate point at which the two curves cross), you cannot guess, based on height, whether the person is male or female; it might be a woman of just more than average height, or a man of just less than average. But suppose you see someone 185 cm. tall (a hair over 6'2")? About five percent of men are that tall; effectively no women are that tall. Again, if you see a person who is 148 cm. (4'11"), and you know the person is an adult, you can be effectively sure that the person is female.

This is an important and underappreciated point. So is the effect of the standard deviation. If two populations have the same mean, but one has a larger standard deviation than the other, a value which is statistically significant in one sample may not be in another sample.

Why does this matter? It very much affects manuscript relationships. If it were possible to take a particular manuscript and chart its rates of agreements, it will almost certainly result in a graph something like one of those shown below:



The first of these is a Byzantine manuscript of some sort — the large majority of manuscripts agree with it 80% of the time or more, and a large fraction agree 90% of the time or more. The second is Alexandrian — a much flatter curve (one might almost call it “mushy”), with a smaller peak at a much lower rate of agreements. The third,

which is even more mushy, is a wild, error-prone text, perhaps “Western.” Its peak is about as high as the Alexandrian peak, but the spread is even greater.

Now several points should be obvious. One is that different manuscripts have different rates of agreement. If a manuscript agrees 85% with the first manuscript, it is not a close relative at all; you need a 90% agreement to be close. On the other hand, if a manuscript agrees 85% with manuscript 2, it probably is a relative, and if it agrees 85% with manuscript 3, it’s probably a close relative.

So far, so good; the above is obvious (which doesn’t mean that people pay any attention, as is proved by the fact that the Colwell 70% criterion still gets quoted). But there is another point, and that’s the part about the standard deviation. The mean agreement for manuscript 1 is about 85%; the standard deviation is about 7%. So a manuscript that agrees with our first manuscript 8% more often than the average (i.e. 93% of the time) is a very close relative.

But compare manuscript 3. The average agreement is about 62%. But this much-more-spread distribution has a standard deviation around 15%. A manuscript which agrees with #3 8% more often than the average (i.e. 70%) is still in the middle of the big clump of manuscripts. In assessing whether an agreement is significant, one *must* take spread (standard deviation) into account.

Statistical and Absolute Processes

Technically, the distinction we discuss here is scientific rather than mathematical. But it also appears to be a source of great confusion among textual critics, and so I decided to include it.

To speak informally, a statistical process is one which “tends to be true,” while an absolute process is one which is *always* true. Both, it should be noted, are proved statistically (by showing that the rule is true for many, many examples) — but a single counterexample does not prove a statistical theory wrong, while it does prove an absolute theory wrong.

For examples, we must turn to the sciences. Gravity, for instance, is an absolute process: The force of gravitational attraction is *always* given by $F=gm_1m_2/r^2$ (apart from the minor modifications of General Relativity, anyway). If a single counterexample can be verified, that is the end of universal gravitation.

But most thermodynamic and biological processes are statistical. For example, if you place hot air and cold air in contact, they will normally mix and produce air with an intermediate temperature. However, this is a statistical process, and if you performed

the experiment trillions of trillions of times, you might find an instance where, for a few brief moments, the hot air would get hotter and the cold colder. This one minor exception does not prove the rule. Similarly, human children are roughly half male and half female. This rule is not disproved just because one particular couple has seven girl children and no boys.

One must be very careful to distinguish between these two sorts of processes. The rules for the two are very different. We have already noted what is perhaps the key difference: For an absolute process, a single counterexample disproves the rule. For a statistical process, one must have a statistically significant number of counterexamples. (What constitutes a "statistically significant sample" is, unfortunately, a very complex matter which we cannot delve into here.)

The processes of textual criticism are, almost without exception, statistical processes. A scribe may or may not copy a reading correctly. A manuscript may be written locally or imported. It may or may not be corrected from a different exemplar. In other words, there are no absolute rules. Some have thought, e.g., to dismiss the existence of the Alexandrian text because a handful of papyri have been found in Egypt with non-Alexandrian texts. This is false logic, as the copying and preservation of manuscripts is a statistical process. The clear majority of Egyptian papyri *are* Alexandrian. Therefore it is proper to speak of an Alexandrian text, and assume that it was dominant in Egypt. All we have shown is that its reign was not "absolute."

The same is true of manuscripts themselves. Manuscripts can be and are mixed. The presence of one or two "Western" readings does not make a manuscript non-Alexandrian; what makes it non-Alexandrian is a clear lack of Alexandrian readings. By the same argument, the fact that characteristically Byzantine readings exist before the fourth century does *not* mean that the Byzantine text as a whole exists at that date. (Of course, the fact that the Byzantine text cannot be verified until the fifth century does not mean that the text is not older, either.)

Only by a clear knowledge of what is statistical and what is absolute are we in a position to make generalizations — about text-types, about manuscripts, about the evolution of the text.

Tree Theory

A branch of mathematics devoted to the construction of linkages between items — said linkages being called "trees" because, when sketched, these linkages look like trees.

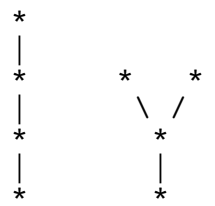
The significance of tree theory for textual critics is that, using tree theory, one can construct *all possible* linkages for a set of items. In other words, given n manuscripts, tree theory allows you to construct all possible stemma for these manuscripts.

Trees are customarily broken up into three basic classes: **Free** trees, **Rooted** trees, and **Labelled** trees. Loosely speaking, a free tree is one in which all items are identical (or, at least, need not be distinguished); rooted trees are trees in which one item is distinct from the others, and labelled trees are trees in which all items are distinct.

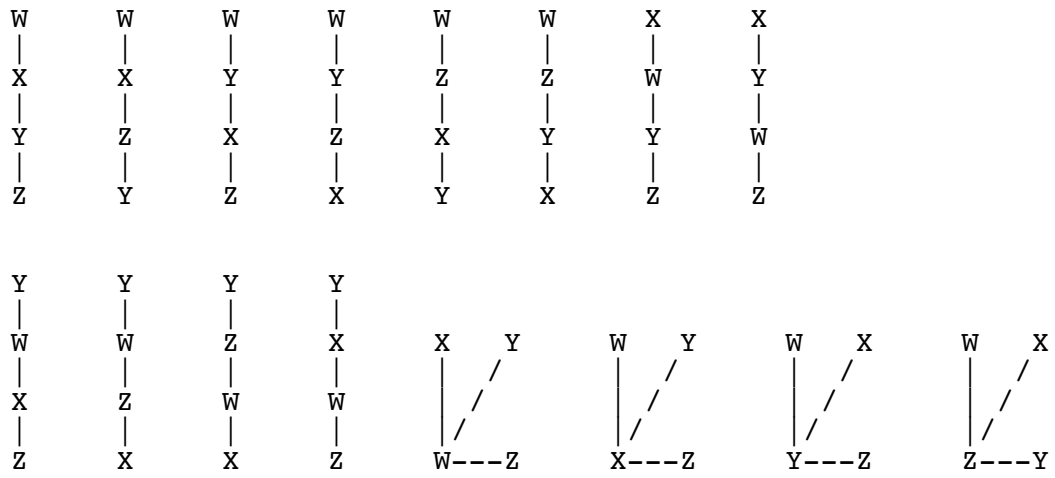
The distinction is important. A stemma is a labelled tree (this follows from the fact that each manuscript has a particular relationship with all the others; to say, for instance, that D^{abs} is copied from D^{p} is patently not the same as to say that D^{p} is copied from D^{abs}!), and for any given n, the number of labelled trees with n elements is always greater or equal to the number of rooted trees, which is greater than or equal to the number of free trees. (For real-world trees, with more than two items, the number of labelled trees is always strictly greater than the others).

The following demonstrates this point for n=4. We show all free and labelled trees for this case. For the free trees, the items being linked are shown as stars (*); the linkages are lines. For the labelled trees, we assign letters, W, X, Y, Z.

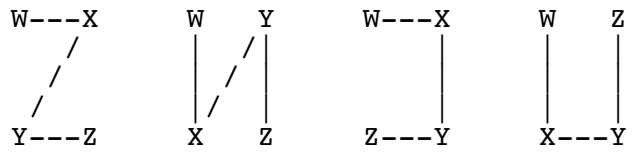
Free Trees for n=4 (Total=2)



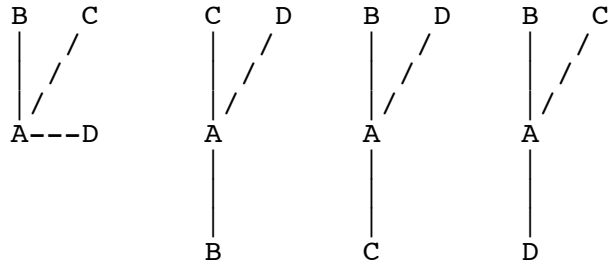
Labelled Trees for n=4 (Total=16)



We should note that the above is only one way to express these trees. For example, the first labelled tree, W — X — Y — Z, can also be written as



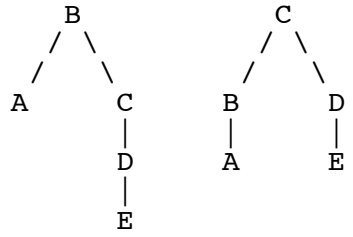
Perhaps more importantly, from the standpoint of stemmatics, is the fact that the following are equivalent:



And there are other ways of drawing this. These are all *topologically equivalent.* Without getting too fancy here, to say that two trees are topologically equivalent is to say that you can twist any equivalent tree into any other. Or, to put it another way, while all the stemma shown above could represent different manuscript traditions, they are one and the same tree. To use the trees to create stemma, one must differentiate the possible forms of the tree.

This point must be remembered, because the above trees do not have a true starting point. The links between points have no direction, and any one could be the ancestor.

For example, both of the following stemma are equivalent to the simple tree A — B — C — D — E:



Thus the number of possible stemma for a given n is *larger than* the number of labelled trees. Fortunately, if one assumes that only one manuscript is the archetype, then the rest of the tree sorts itself out once you designate that manuscript. (Think of it like water flowing downstream: The direction of each link must be away from the archetype.) So the number of possible stemma for a given n is just n times the number of possible trees.

Obviously this number gets large very quickly. Tree theory has no practical use in dealing with the whole Biblical tradition, or even with a whole text-type. Its value lies in elucidating small families of manuscripts. (Biblical or non-Biblical.) Crucially, it lets you examine *all possible stemma*. Until this is done, one cannot be certain that your stemma is correct, because you cannot be sure that an alternate stemma does not explain facts as well as the one you propose.

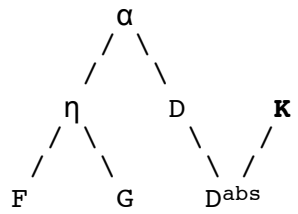
There is a theorem, Cayley's Theorem, which allows us to determine the number of spanning trees (topologically equivalent potential stemma). This can be used to determine whether tree theory is helpful. The formula says that the number of spanning trees s for a set of n items is given by n raised to the power n minus two, that is,

$s = n^{(n-2)}$

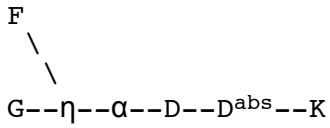
So, for example, when n=4, the number of spanning trees is 4^2, or 16 (just as we saw above). For n=5, the number of trees is 5^3, or 125. For n=6, this is 6^4, or 1296. Obviously examining all trees for n much larger than 6 is impractical by hand. (It might prove possible to do it by computer, if we had some method for eliminating trees. Say we had eight manuscripts, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H. If we could add rules — e.g. that B, C, D, and G are later than A, E, F, and H, that C is not descended from D, F, G, or H, that E and F are sisters — we might be able to reduce the stemma to some reasonable value.)

The weakness with using tree theory for stemmatics is one found in most genealogical and stemmatic methods: It ignores mixture. That is, a tree stemma generally assumes that every manuscript has only one ancestor, and that the manuscript is a direct copy, except for scribal errors, of this ancestor. This is, of course, demonstrably not the case. Many manuscripts can be considered to have multiple ancestors, with readings derived

from exemplars of different types. We can actually see this in action for D^{abs}, where the "Western" text of D/06 has been mixed with the Byzantine readings supplied by the correctors of D. This gives us a rather complex stemma for the "Western" uncials in Paul. Let α be the common ancestor of these uncials, η be the common ancestor of F and G, and **K** be the Byzantine texts used to correct D. Then the sketch-stemma, or basic tree, for these manuscripts is



But observe the key point: Although this is a tree of the form



we observe that the tree has *two root points* — that is, two places where the lines have different directions: at α and at D^{abs}. And it will be obvious that, for each additional root point we allow, we multiply the number of possible stemma by n-p (where n is the number of points and p is the number of possible root points).

For a related theory, see Cladistics.

Appendix: Assessments of Mathematical Treatments of Textual Criticism

This section attempts to examine various mathematical arguments about textual criticism. No attempt is made to examine various statistical reports such as those of Richards. Rather, this reviews articles covering mathematical methodology*. The length of the review, to some extent, corresponds to the significance of the article. Much of what follows is scathing. I don't like that, but any textual critic who wishes to claim to be using mathematics must endeavor to use it correctly!*

E. C. Colwell & Ernest W. Tune: "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts"

This is one of the classic essays in textual criticism, widely quoted — and widely misunderstood. Colwell and Tune themselves admit that their examination — which is tentative — only suggests their famous definition:

> This suggests that the quantitative definitions of a text-type is a group of manuscripts that agree more than 70 per cent of the time and is separated by a gap of about 10 per cent from its neighbors.

(The quote is from p. 59 in the reprint in Colwell, *Studies in Methodology)*

This definition has never been rigorously tested, but let's ignore that and assume its truth. Where does this leave us?

It leaves us with a problem, is where it leaves us. The problem is sampling. The sample we choose *will* affect the results we find. This point is ignored by Colwell and Tune — and has been ignored by their followers. (The fault is more that of the followers than of Colwell. Colwell's work was exploratory. The work of the followers resembles that of the mapmakers who drew sea monsters on their maps west of Europe because one ship sailed west and never came back.)

Let's take an example. Suppose we have a manuscript which agrees with the Alexandrian text in 72% of, say, 5000 readings. This makes it, by the definition, Alexandrian. But let's assume that these Alexandrian readings are scattered more or less randomly — that is, in *any* reading, there is a 72% chance that it will be Alexandrian. It doesn't get more uniform than that!

Now let's break this up into samples of 50 readings — about the size of a chapter in the Epistles. Mathematically, this makes our life very simple: To be Alexandrian 70% of the time *in the sample*, we need to have exactly 35 Alexandrian readings out of the 50 tested. If we have 36 Alexandrian readings, the result is 72% Alexandrian; if we have 34, we are at 68%, etc. This means that we can estimate the chances of these results using the binomial distribution.

Let's calculate the probabilities for getting samples with 25 to 50 Alexandrian readings. The first column shows how many Alexandrian readings we find. The second is the *percentage* of readings which are Alexandrian. The third shows the probability of the sample comtaining that many Alexandrian readings. The final column shows the probability of the sample showing *at least* that many Alexandrian readings.

Alexandrian readings (out of 50)	% Alexandrian	Probability of this result	Cumulative Probability
50	100%	0.0%	0.0%
49	98%	0.0%	0.0%
48	96%	0.0%	0.0%
47	94%	0.0%	0.0%
46	92%	0.0%	0.0%
45	90%	0.1%	0.2%
44	88%	0.4%	0.6%
43	86%	1.0%	1.6%
42	84%	2.1%	3.6%
41	82%	3.7%	7.4%
40	80%	6.0%	13.4%
39	78%	8.5%	21.8%
38	76%	10.7%	32.5%
37	74%	12.1%	44.7%
36	72%	12.5%	57.1%
35	70%	11.7%	68.8%
34	68%	9.9%	78.7%
33	66%	7.7%	86.4%
32	64%	5.5%	91.9%
31	62%	3.6%	95.5%
30	60%	2.2%	97.7%
29	58%	1.2%	98.9%
28	56%	0.6%	99.5%
27	54%	0.3%	99.8%
26	52%	0.1%	99.9%
25	50%	0.1%	100%

Note what this means: In our manuscript, which *by definition* is Alexandrian, the probability is that 31.2% of our samples will *fail to meet the Colwell criterion for the Alexandrian text.* It could similarly be shown that a manuscript falling short of the Alexandrian criterion (say, 68% Alexandrian) would come up as an Alexandrian manuscript in about 30% of tested sections.

Another point: In any of those sections which proves non-Alexandrian, there is almost exactly a 50% chance that either the first reading or the last, possibly both, will be non-Alexandrian. If we moved our sample by *one reading,* there is a 70% chance that the

added reading would be Alexandrian, and our sample would become Alexandrian. Should our assessment of a manuscript depend on the exact location of a chapter division?

This is *not* a nitpick; it is a fundamental flaw in the Colwell approach. Colwell has not given us any measure of variance. Properly, he should have provided a standard deviation, allowing us to calculate the odds that a manuscript was in fact a member of a text-type, even when it does not show as one. Colwell was unable to do this; he didn't have enough data to calculate a standard deviation. Instead, he offered the 10% gap. This is better than nothing — in a sample with no mixed manuscripts, the gap is a sufficient condition. But because mixed manuscripts *do* exist (and, indeed, nearly every Alexandrian manuscript in fact has some mixed readings), the gap *is not and cannot be a sufficient condition*. Colwell's definition, at best, lacks rigour.

The objection may be raised that, if we can't examine the text in small pieces, we can't detect block mixture. This is not true. The table above shows the probability of getting a sample which is, say, only 50% Alexandrian, or less, is virtually nil (for a manuscript which is 70% Alexandrian overall) There is an appreciable chance (in excess of 4%) of getting a sample no more than 60% Alexandrian — but the odds of getting two in a row no more than 60% Alexandrian are very slight. If you get a sample which is, say, 40% Alexandrian, or three in a row which are 60% Alexandrian, you have block mixture. The point is just that, if you have one sample which is 72% Alexandrian, and another which is 68% Alexandrian, that is *not* evidence of a change in text type. That will be within the standard deviation for almost any real world distribution.

The Colwell definition doesn't cover everything — for example, two Byzantine manuscripts will usually agree at least 90% of the time, not 70%. But even in cases where it might seem to apply, *one must allow for the nature of the sample.* Textual critics who have used the Colwell definition have *consistently* failed to do so.

Let's take a real-world example, Larry W. Hurtado's *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark*. Take two manuscripts which everyone agrees are of the same text-type: א and B. The following list shows, chapter by chapter, their rate of agreement (we might note that Hurtado prints more significant digits than his data can possibly support; I round off to the nearest actual value):

Chapter	Agreement %
1	73
2	71
3	78
4	79
5	80
6	81
7	81
8	83
9	86
10	77
11	82
12	78
13	78
14	83
15–16:8	75

The mean of these rates of agreement is 79%. The median is 80%. The standard deviation is *3.97.*

This is a vital fact which Hurtado completely ignores. His section on "The Method Used" (pp. 10–12) *does not even mention standard deviations.* It talks about "gaps" — but of course the witnesses were chosen to be pure representatives of text-types. There are no mixed manuscripts (except family 13), so Hurtado can't tell us anything about gaps (or, rather, their demonstrable lack; see W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles*) in mixed manuscripts. The point is, if we assume a normal distribution, it follows that roughly two-thirds of samples will fall within one standard deviation of the mean, and over nine-tenths will fall within two standard deviations of the mean. If we assume this standard deviation of almost 4 is no smaller than typical, that means that, *for any two manuscripts in the fifteen sections Hurtado tests,* only about ten chapters will be within an eight-percentage-point span around the mean, and only about fourteen will be within a *sixteen* point span. This simple mathematical fact invalidates nearly every one of Hurtado's conclusions (as opposed to the kinships he presupposed and confirmed); at all points, he is operating *within the margin of error.* It is, of course, possible that variant readings do *not* follow a normal distribution; we shouldn't assume that fact without proof. But Hurtado *cannot* ignore this fact; he must present distribution data!

"The Implications of Statistical Probability for the History of the Text"

When Wilbur N. Pickering published *The Identity of the New Testament Text*, he included as Appendix C an item, "The Implications of Statistical Probability for the History of the Text" — an attempt to demonstrate that the Majority Text is mostly likely on mathematical grounds to be original. This is an argument propounded by Zane C. Hodges, allegedly buttressed by mathematics supplied by his brother David M. Hodges. We will see many instances, however, where Zane Hodges has directly contradicted the comments of David.

This mathematical excursus is sometimes held up as a model by proponents of the Byzantine text. It is therefore incumbent upon mathematicians — and, more to the point, scientists — to point out the fundamental flaws in the model.

The flaws begin at the very beginning, when Hodges asserts

> Provided that good manuscripts and bad manuscripts will be copied an equal number of times, and that the probability of introducing a bad reading into a copy made from a good manuscript is equal to the probability of reinserting a good reading into a copy made from a bad manuscript, the correct reading would predominate in any generation of manuscripts. The degree to which the good reading would predominate depends on the probability of introducing the error.

This is all true — and completely meaningless. First, it is an argument based on individual readings, not manuscripts as a whole. In other words, it ignores the demonstrable fact of text-types. Second, there is no evidence whatsoever that "good manuscripts and bad manuscripts will be copied an equal number of times." This point, if it is to be accepted at all, must be demonstrated. (In fact, the little evidence we have is against it. Only one extant manuscript is known to have been copied more than once — that one manuscript being the Codex Claromontanus [D/06], which a Byzantine Prioritist would surely not claim is a good manuscript. Plus, if all manuscripts just kept on being copied and copied and copied, how does one explain the extinction of the Diatessaron or the fact that so many classical manuscripts are copied from clearly-bad exemplars?) Finally, it assumes in effect that all errors are primitive and from there the result of mixture. In other words, the whole model offered by Hodges is based on *what he wants to have happened*. This is a blatant instance of Assuming the Solution.

Hodges proceeds,

> The probability that we shall reproduce a good reading from a good manuscript is expressed as p and the probability that we shall introduce an erroneous reading into a good manuscript is q. The sum of p and q is 1.

This, we might note, makes no classification of errors. Some errors, such as homoioteleuton or assimilation of parallels, are common and could occur independently. Others (e.g. substituting Lebbaeus for Thaddaeus or vice versa) are highly unlikely to happen independently. Thus, p and q will have different values for different types of readings. You might, perhaps, come up with a "typical" value for p — but it is by no means assured (in fact, it's unlikely) that using the same p for all calculations will give you the same results as using appropriate values of p for the assorted variants.

It's at this point that Hodges actually launches into his demonstration, unleashing a machine gun bombardment of deceptive symbols on his unsuspecting readers. The explanation which follows is extraordinarily unclear, and would not be accepted by any math professor I've ever had, but it boils down to an iterative explanation: The number of *good* manuscripts (G_n) in any generation k, and the number of *bad* manuscripts (B_n), is in proportion to the number of good manuscripts in the previous generation (G_{n-1}), the number of bad manuscripts in the previous generation (B_{n-1}), the rate of manuscript reproduction (k, i.e. a constant, though there is no reason to think that it is constant), and the rate of error reproduction defined above (p and q, or, as it would be better denoted, p and 1–p).

There is only one problem with this stage of the demonstration, but it is fatal. Again, Hodges is treating all manuscripts as if composed of a single reading. If the Majority Text theory were a theory of the Majority Reading, this would be permissible (if rather silly). But the Majority Text theory is a theory of a *text* — in other words, that there is a text-type consisting of manuscripts with the correct readings.

We can demonstrate the fallacy of the Good/Bad Manuscript argument easily enough. Let's take a very high value for the preservation/introduction of good readings: 99%. In other words, no matter how the reading arose in a particular manuscript, there is a 99% chance that it will be the original reading. Suppose we say that we will take 500 test readings (a very small number, in this context). What are the chances of getting a "Good" manuscript (i.e. one with all good readings?). This is a simple binomial; this is given by the formula p(m,n) as defined in the binomial section, with m=500, n=500, and p(good reading)=.99. This is surprisingly easy to calculate, since when n=m, the binomial coefficient vanishes, as does the term involving 1–p(o) (since it is raised to the power 0, and any number raised to the power 0 equals 1). So the probability of 500

good readings, with a 99% accuracy rate, is simply .99500=.0066. In other words, .66%. Somehow I doubt this is the figure Hodges was hoping for.

This is actually surprisingly *high*. Given that there are thousands of manuscripts out there, there probably would be a good manuscript. (Though we need to cut the accuracy only to 98% to make the odds of a good manuscript very slight — .004%.) But what about the odds of a *bad* manuscript? A bad manuscript might be one with 50 bad readings out of 500. Now note that, by reference to most current definitions, this is actually a Majority Text manuscript, just not a very pure one. So what are the odds of a manuscript with 50 (or more) bad readings?

I can't answer that. My calculator can't handle numbers small enough to do the intermediate calculations. But we can approximate. Looking at the terms of the binomial distribution, p(450,500) consists of a factorial term of the form (500*499*498… 453*452*451)/(1*2*3… *48*49*50), multiplied by $.99^{450}$, multiplied by .0150. I set up a spreadsheet to calculate this number. It comes out to (assuming I did this all correctly) $2.5x10^{-33}$. That is, .0000000000000000000000000000000025. Every other probability (for 51 errors, 52 errors, etc.) will be smaller. We're regarding a number on the order of 10^{-31}. So the odds of a Family Π manuscript are infinitesimal. What are the odds of a manuscript such as B?

You can, of course, fiddle with the ratios — the probability of error. But this demonstration should be enough to show the point: If you set the probabilities high enough to get good manuscripts, you cannot get bad. Similarly, if you set the probabilities low enough to get bad manuscripts, you cannot get good! If all errors are independent, *every manuscript in existence will be mixed.*

Now note: The above is just as much a piece of legerdemain as what Hodges did. It is *not* a recalculation of his results. It's reached by a different method. But it does demonstrate why you cannot generalize from a single reading to a whole manuscript! You might get there by induction (one reading, two readings, three readings…), but Hodges did not use an induction.

If you want another demonstration of this sort, see the section on Fallacies. This demonstrates, unequivocally, that the Hodges model cannot explain the early age of either the Alexandrian or the "Western" texts of the gospels.

Readers, take note: The demonstration by Hodges has *already been shown to be completely irrelevant.* A good mathematician, presented with these facts, would have stopped and said, "OK, this is a bunch of garbage." It will tell you something about Hodges that he did not.

Having divorced his demonstration from any hint of reality, Hodges proceeds to circle Robin Hood's Barn in pursuit of good copies. He wastes two paragraphs of algebra to prove that, if good reading predominate, you will get good readings, and if bad reading predominate, you will get bad readings. This so-called proof is a tautology; he is restating his assumptions in different form.

After this, much too late, Hodges introduces the binomial distribution. But he applies it to *manuscripts*, not readings. Once again, he is making an invalid leap from the particular to the general. The numbers he quotes are not relevant (and even he admits that they are just an example).

At this point, a very strange thing occurs: Hodges actually has to admit the truth as supplied by his brother: "In practice, however, random comparisons probably did not occur.... As a result, there would be branches of texts which would be corrupt because the majority of texts available to the scribe would contain the error." In other words, David Hodges accepts — even posits — the existence of text-types. But nowhere does the model admit this possibility. Instead, Zane C. Hodges proceeds to dismiss the problem: "In short, then, our theoretical problem sets up conditions for reproducing an error which are somewhat too favorable to reproducing the error." This is pure, simple, and complete hand-waving. Hodges offers no evidence to support his contention, no mathematical basis, no logic, and no discusison of probabilities. It *could be* as he says. But there is no reason to think it *is* as he says.

And at about this point, David Hodges adds his own comment, agreeing with the above: "This discussion [describing the probability of a good reading surviving] applies to an individual reading and should not be construed as a statement of probability that copied manuscripts will be free of error." In other words, David Hodges told Zane Hodges the truth — and Zane Hodges did not accept the rebuttal.

Zane Hodges proceeds to weaken his hand further, by saying nothing more than, It's true because I say it is true: "I have been insisting for quite some time that the real crux of the textual problem is how we explain the overwhelming preponderance of the Majority text in the extant tradition." This is *not* a problem in a scientific sense. Reality wins over theory. The Majority Text exists, granted. This means that an explanation for it exists. But this explanation must be proved, not posited. Hodges had not proved anything, even though the final statement of his demonstration is that *"[I]t is the essence of the scientific process to prefer hypotheses which explain the available facts to those which do not!"* This statement, however, is not correct. "God did it" explains everything — but it is not a scientific hypothesis; it resists proof and is not a model. The essence of the scientific process is to prefer hypotheses which are testable. The Hodges model is not actually a model; it is *not* testable.

Hodges admits as much, when he starts answering “objections.” He states,

> 1. Since all manuscripts are not copied an even [read: equal] number of times, mathematical demonstrations like those above are invalid.
> But this is to misunderstand the purpose of such demonstrations. Of course [this] is an “idealized” situation which does not represent what actually took place. Instead, it simply shows that all things being equal *statistical probability* favors the perpetuation in every generations of the original majority status of the authentic reading.

The only problems with this are that, first, Hodges has shown no such thing; second, that he cannot generalize from his ideal situation without telling how to generalize and why it is justified; and third, that even if true, the fact that the majority reading will generally be correct does not mean that it is always correct — he hasn’t reduced the need for criticism; he’s just proved that the the text is basically sound. (Which no serious critic has disputed; TC textbooks always state, somewhere near the beginning, that much the largest part of the New Testament text is accepted by all.)

The special pleading continues in the next “objection:”

> 2. The majority text can be explained as the outcome of a “process… ” Yet, to my knowledge, no one has offered a detailed explanation of exactly what the process was, when it began, or how — once begun — it achieved the result claimed for it.

This is a pure irrelevance. An explanation is not needed to accept a fact. It is a matter of record that science cannot explain all the phenomena of the universe. This does not mean that the phenomena do not exist.

The fact is, *no one* has ever explained how *any* text-type arose. Hodges has no more explained the Majority text than have his opponents — and he has not offered an explanation for the Alexandrian text, either. A good explanation for the Byzantine text is available (and, indeed, is necessary even under the Hodges “majority readings tend to be preserved” proposal!): That the Byzantine text is the local text of Byzantium, and it is relatively coherent because it is a text widely accepted, and standardized, by a single political unit, with the observation that this standardization occurred late. (Even within the Byzantine text, variation is more common among early manuscripts — compare A with N with E, for instance — than the late!) This objection by Hodges is at once irrelevant and unscientific.

So what exactly has Hodges done, other than make enough assumptions to prove that black is white had that been his objective? He has presented a theory as to how the

present situation (Byzantine manuscripts in the majority) might have arisen. But there is another noteworthy defect in this theory: It does not in any way interact with the data. Nowhere in this process do we plug in any actual numbers — of Byzantine manuscripts, of original readings, of rates of error, of *anything*. The Hodges theory is not a model; it's merely a bunch of assertions. It's mathematics in the abstract, not reality.

For a theory to have any meaning, it must meet at least three qualifications:
1. It must explain the observed data
2. It must predict something not yet observed
3. This prediction must be testable. A valid theory must be capable of *disproof*. (Proof, in statistical cases such as this, is not possible.)

Hodges fails on all three counts. It doesn't explain anything, because it does not interact with the data. It does not predict anything, because it has no hard numbers. And since it offers no predictions, the predictions it makes are not testable.

Let me give another analogy to our historical problem, which I got from Daniel Dennett. Think of the survival of manuscripts as a tournament — like a tennis tournament or a chess tournament. In the first round, you have a lot of tennis players, who play each other, and one wins and goes on to the next round, while the other is out. You repeat this process until only one is left. In our "manuscript tournament," we eliminate a certain number of manuscripts in each round.

But here's the trick. In tennis, or chess, or World Cup Football playoffs, you play the same sport (tennis or chess or football) in each round. Suppose, instead, that the rules change: In the first round, you play tennis. Then chess in the second round. Then football in each round after that.

Who will win? In a case like that, it's almost a coin flip. The best chess player is likely to be eliminated in the tennis round. The best tennis player could well go down in the chess round. And the best football players would likely be eliminated by the tennis or chess phases. The early years of Christianity were chaotic. Thus the "survival pressures" may have — probably did — change over the years.

Note: This does not mean the theory of Majority Text originality is wrong. The Majority Text, for all the above proves or disproves, *could* be original. The fact is just that the Hodges "proof" is a farce (even Maurice Robinson, a supporter of the Majority Text, has called it "smoke and mirrors"). On objective, analytical grounds, we should simply ignore the Hodges argument; it's completely irrelevant. It's truly unfortunate that Hodges offered this piece of voodoo mathematics — speaking as a scientist, it's very difficult to accept theories supported by such crackpot reasoning. (It's on the order of accepting that the moon is a sphere because it's made of green cheese, and green cheese is

usually sold in balls. The moon, in fact, *is* a sphere, or nearly — but doesn't the green cheese argument make you cringe at the whole thought?) Hodges should have stayed away from things he does not understand.

L. Kalevi Loimaranta: "The Gospel of Matthew: Is a Shorter Text preferable to a Longer One? *A Statistical Approach*"

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This is, at first glance, a fairly limited study, intended to examine the canon of criticism, "Prefer the Shorter Reading," and secondarily to examine how this affects our assessment of text-types. In one sense, it is mathematically flawless; there are no evident errors, and the methods are reasonably sophisticated. Unfortunately, its mathematical reach exceeds its grasp — Loimaranta offers some very interesting data, and uses this to reach conclusions which have nothing to do with said data.

Loimaranta starts by examining the history of the reading *lectio brevior potior.* This preface to the article is not subject to mathematical argument, though it is a little over-general; Loimaranta largely ignores all the restrictions the best scholars put on the use of this canon.

The real examination of the matter begins in section 1, *Statistics on Additions and Omissions.* Here, Loimaranta states, "The canon *lectio brevior potior* is tantamount to the statement that additions are more common than omissions" (p. 172). This is the weak point in Loimaranta's whole argument. It is an extreme overgeneralization. Without question, omissions are more common *in individual manuscripts* than are additions. But many such omissions would be subject to correction, as they make nonsense. The question is not, are additions more common than omissions (they are not), but *are additions more commonly preserved?* This is the matter Loimaranta must address. It is perfectly reasonable to assume, for instance, that the process of manuscript compilation is one of alternately building up and wearing down: Periodically, a series of manuscripts would be compared, and the longer readings preserved, after which the individual manuscripts decayed (see the article on Destruction and Reconstruction). Simply showing that manuscripts tend to lose information is not meaningful when dealing with text-types. The result *may* generalize — but this, without evidence, is no more than an assumption.

Loimaranta starts the discussion of the statistical method to be used with a curious statement: "The increasing number of MSS investigated also raises the number of variant readings, and the relation between the frequencies of additions and omissions is less dependent on the chosen baseline, the hypothetical original text" (p. 173). This

statement is curious because there is no reason given for it. The first part, that more manuscripts yield more variants, is obviously true. The rest is not at all obvious. In general, it is true that increasing a sample size will make it more representative of the population it is sampling. But it is not self-evidence that it applies here — my personal feeling is that it is not. Certainly the point needs to be demonstrated. Loimaranta is not adding *variants*; he is adding *manuscripts*. And manuscripts may have particular "trends," not representative of the whole body of tradition. Particularly since the data for a particular document may not be representative.

Loimaranta's source certainly gives us reason to wonder about its propriety as a sample; on p. 173 we learn, "As the text for our study we have chosen chapters 2–4, 13, and 27 in the Gospel of Matthew.... For the Gospel of Matthew we have an extensive and easy-to-use apparatus in the edition of *Legg*. All variants in Legg's apparatus supported by at least one Greek MS, including the lectionaries, were taken as variant readings." This is disturbing on many counts. First, the sample is small. Second, the apparatus of Legg is not regarded as particularly good. Third, Legg uses a rather biased selection of witnesses — the Byzantine text is under-represented. This means that Loimaranta is *not using a randomly selected or a representative selection.* The use of singular readings and lectionaries is also peculiar. It is generally conceded that most important variants were in existence by the fourth century, and it is a rare scholar who will adopt singular readings no matter what their source. Thus any data from these samples will not reflect the reality of textual history. The results for late manuscripts have meaning only if scribal practices were the same throughout (they probably were not; many late manuscripts were copied in scriptoria by trained monks, a situation which did not apply when the early manuscripts were created), or if errors do not propagate (and if errors do not propagate, then the study loses all point).

Loimaranta proceeds to classify readings as additions (AD), omissions (OM; these two to be grouped as ADOM), substitutions (SB), and transpositions (TR). Loimaranta admits that there can be "problems" in distinguishing these classes of variants. This may be more of a problem than Loimaranta admits. It is likely — indeed, based on my own studies it appears *certain* — that some manuscript variants of the SB and TR varieties derive from omissions which were later restored; it is also likely that some ADOM variants derive from places where a corrector noted a substitution or transposition, and a later scribe instead removed words marked for alteration. Thus Loimaranta's study solely of AD/OM variants seemingly omits *many actual ADOM variants where a correction was attempted.*

On page 174, Loimaranta gives us a tabulation of ADOM variants in the studied chapters. Loimaranta also analyses these variants by comparing them against three edited texts: the Westcott/Hort text, the UBS text, and the Hodges/Farstad text.

(Loimaranta never gives a clear reason for using these "baseline" texts. The use of a "baseline" is almost certain to induce biases.) This tabulation of variants reveals, unsurprisingly, that the Hort text is most likely to use the short text in these cases, and H&F edition is most likely to use the long text. But what does this *mean*? Loimaranta concludes simply that WH is a short text and HF is long (p. 175). Surely this could be made much more certain, and with less effort, by simply counting words! I am much more interested in something Loimaranta does not think worthy of comment: *Even in the "long" HF text, nearly 40% of ADOM variants point to a longer reading than that adopted by HF.* And the oh-so-short Hort text adopts the longer reading about 45% of the time. The difference between the WH and HF represents only about 10% of the possible variants. There isn't much basis for decision here. Not that it really matters — we aren't interested in the nature of particular editions, but in the nature of text-types.

Loimaranta proceeds from there to something much more interesting: A table of words most commonly added or omitted. This is genuinely valuable information, and worth preserving. Roughly half of ADOM variants involve one of twelve single words — mostly articles, pronouns, and conjunctions. These are, of course, the most common words, but they are also short and frequently dispensable. This may be Loimaranta's most useful actual finding: that variations involving these words constitute *a notably higher fraction of ADOM variants than they constitute of the New Testament text* (in excess of 50% of variants, only about 40% of words, and these words will also be involved in other variants. It appears that variants involving these words are nearly twice as common as they "should" be). What's more, the list does *not* include some very common words, such as εν and εις. This isn't really surprising, but it is important: there is a strong tendency to make changes in such small words. And Loimaranta is probably right: When a scribe is trying to correctly reproduce his text, the tendency will be to omit them. (Though this will not be universal; a particular scribe might, for instance, always introduce a quote with οτι, and so tend to add such a word unconsciously. And, again, this only applies to syntactically neutral words. You cannot account, e.g., for the addition/omission of the final "Amen" in the Pauline Epistles this way!)

Loimaranta, happily, recognizes these problems:

> *In the MSS of Matthew there are to be found numerous omissions of small words, omissions for which it is needless to search for causes other than the scribe's negligence. The same words can equally well be added by a scribe to make the text smoother. The two alternatives seem to be statistically indistinguishable.*

(p. 176). Although this directly contradicts the statement (p. 172) that we can reach conclusions about preferring the shorter reading "statistically — and only statistically," it

is still a useful result. Loimaranta has found a class of variants where the standard rule *prefer the shorter reading* clearly is not relevant. But this largely affirms the statement of this rule by scholars such as Griesbach.

Loimaranta proceeds to analyse longer variants of the add/omit sort, examining units of three words or more. The crucial point here is an analysis of the *type* of variant: Is it a possible haplography (Homoioteleuton or Homoioarcton)? Loimaranta collectively calls these HOM variants. Loimaranta has 366 variants of three or more words — a smaller sample than we would like, but at least indicative. Loimaranta muddies the water by insisting on comparing these against the UBS text to see if the readings are adds or omits; this step should have been left out. The key point is, what fraction of the variants are HOM variants, potentially caused by haplography? The answer is, quite a few: Of the 366, 44 involve repetitions of a single letter, 79 involve repetitions of between two and five letters, and 77 involve repetitions of six or more letters. On the other hand, this means that 166 of the variants, or 45%, involve *no repeated letters at all.* 57% involve repetitions of no more than one letter. Only 21% involve six letter repetitions.

From this, Loimaranta makes an unbelievable leap (p. 177):

> We have further made shorter statistical studies, not presented here, from other books of the New Testament and with other baselines, the result being the same throughout: Omissions are as common as or more common than additions. Our investigation thus confirms that:
>
> *The canon lectio brevior potior is definitely erroneous.*

It's nice to know that Loimaranta has studied more data. That's the *only* good news. It would be most helpful if this other data were presented. The rest is very bad. Loimaranta still has not given us any tool for generalizing from manuscripts to text-types. And Loimaranta has already conceded that the conclusions of the study *do not apply* in more than half the cases studied (the addition/omission of short words). The result on HOM variants cut off another half of the cases, since no one ever claimed that *lectio brevior* applied in cases of haplography.

To summarize what has happened so far: Loimaranta has given us some useful data: We now know that lectio brevior probably should not apply in cases of single, dispensable words. It of course does not apply in cases of homoioteleuton. But we have not been given a whit of data to apply in cases of longer variants not involving repeated letters. And this is where the canon *lectio brevior* is usually applied. Loimaranta has confirmed what we already believed — and then gone on to make a blanket statement with absolutely no support. Remember, the whole work so far has simply counted

omissions — it has in no case analysed the nature of those omissions. Loimaranta's argument is circular. Hort is short, so Hort is bad. Hort is bad, so short readings are bad.

Let's try to explain this by means of example of how this applies. It is well-known that the Alexandrian text is short, and that, of all the Alexandrian witnesses, B is the shortest. It is not uncommon to find that B has a short reading not found in the other Alexandrian witnesses. If this omission is of a single unneeded word, the tendency might be to say that this is the "Alexandrian" reading. Loimaranta has shown that this is probably wrong. But if the Alexandrian text *as a whole* has a short reading, and the Byzantine text (say) has a longer one, Loimaranta has done *absolutely nothing* to help us with this variant. *Lectio brevior* has never been proved; it's a postulate adopted by certain scholars (it's almost impossible to prove a canon of criticism — a fact most scholars don't deign to notice). Loimaranta has not given us any real reason to reject this postulate.

Loimaranta then proceeds to try to put this theory to the test, attempting to estimate the "true length" of the Gospel of Matthew (p. 177). This is a rather curious idea; to this point, Loimaranta has never given us an actual calculation of what fraction of add/omit variants should in fact be settled in favour of the longer reading. Loimaranta gives the impression that estimating the length is like using a political poll to sample popular opinon. But this analogy does not hold. In the case of the poll, we know the exact list of choices (prefer the democrat, prefer the republican, undecided, etc.) and the exact population. For Matthew, we know *none of these things.* This quest may well be misguided — but, fortunately, it gives us much more information about the data Loimaranta was using. On page 178, we discover that, of the 545 ADOM variants in the test chapters of Matthew, 261 are singular readings! This is extraordinary — 48% of the variants tested are singular. But it is a characteristic of singular readings that *they are singular.* They have not been perpetuated. Does it follow that these readings belong in the study?

Loimaranta attempts to pass off this point by relegating it to an appendix, claiming the need for a "more profound statistical analysis" (p. 178). This "more profound analysis" proceeds by asking, "Are the relative frequencies of different types of variants, ADs, OMs, SBs, and TRs, independent of the number of supporting MSS?" (p. 182). Here the typesetter appears to have betrayed Loimaranta, using an א instead of a χ. But it hardly matters. The questions requiring answers are, what is Loimaranta trying to prove? And is the proof successful? The answer to the first question is never made clear. It appears that the claim is that, if the number of variants of each type is independent of the number of witnesses supporting each — that is, loosely speaking, if the proportion, e.g., of ADOMs is the same among variants with only one supporter as among variants with many — then singular readings must be just like any other reading. I see no reason to accept this argument, and Loimaranta offers none. It's possible — but possibility is not

proof. And Loimaranta seems to go to great lengths to make it difficult to verify the claim of independence. For example, on page 184, Loimaranta claims of the data set summarized in table A2, “The chi-square value of 4.43 is below the number of df, 8–2=6 and the table is homogeneous.” Loimaranta does not even give us percentages of variants to show said homogeneity, and presents the data in a way which, on its face, makes it impossible to apply a chi-squared test (though presumably the actual mathematical test lumped AD and OM variants, allowing the calculation to be performed). This sort of approach always makes me feel as if the author is hiding something. I assume that Loimaranta’s numbers are formally accurate. I cannot bring myself to believe they actually *mean* anything. Even if the variables are independent, how does it follow that singular readings are representative? It’s also worth noting that variables can be independent as a whole, and not independent in an individual case (that is, the variables could be independent for the whole data set ranging from one to many supporters, but not independent for the difference between one and two supporters).

And, again, Loimaranta does not seem to have considered is the fact that Legg’s witnesses are not a representative sample. Byzantine witnesses are badly under-represented. This might prejudice the nature of the results. Loimaranta does not address this point in any way.

On page 178, Loimaranta starts for the first time to reveal what seems to be a bias. Loimaranta examines the WH, UBS, and HF texts and declares, e.g., of UBS, “The Editorial Committee of UBS has corrected the omissions in the text of W/H only in part.” This is fundamentally silly. We are to determine the length of the text, and then *select variants to add up to that length?* The textual commentary on the UBS edition shows clearly that the the shorter reading was not one of their primary criteria. They chose the variants they thought best. One may well disagree with their methods and their results — but at least they examined the actual variants.

Loimaranta proceeds to this conclusion (p. 179):

> *The Alexandrian MSS ℵ and B, and with them the texts of W/H and UBS, are characterized by a great number of omissions of all lengths. The great majority of these omissions are obviously caused by scribes’ negligence. The considerably longer Byzantine text also seems to be too short.*

Once again, Loimaranta refuses to acknowledge the difference between scribal errors and readings of text-types. Nor do we have any reason to think there is anything wrong with those short texts, except that they are short. Again and again, Loimaranta has just counted ADOMs.

And if the final sentence is correct, it would seem to imply that the only way to actually reconstruct the original text is by Conjectural Emendation. Is this really what Loimaranta wants?

This brings us back to another point: Chronology. The process by which all of this occurs. Loimaranta does not make any attempt to date the errors he examines.

But time and dates are very important in context. Logically, if omissions are occurring all the time, the short readings Loimaranta so dislikes should constantly be multiplying. Late Byzantine manuscripts should have more than early. Yet the shortest manuscripts are, in fact, the earliest, P^{75} and B. Loimaranta's model must account for this fact — and it doesn't. It doesn't even admit that the problem exists. If there is a mechanism for maintaining long texts — and there must be, or every late manuscript would be far worse than the early ones — then Loimaranta must explain why it didn't operate in the era before our earliest manuscripts. As it stands, Loimaranta acts as if there is no such thing as history — all manuscripts were created from nothing in their exact present state.

A good supplement to Loimaranta's study would be an examination of the rate at which scribes create shorter readings. Take a series of manuscripts copied from each other — e.g., D^{p} and D^{abs}, 205 and 205^{abs}. Or just look at a close group such as the manuscripts written by George Hermonymos. For that matter, a good deal could be learned by comparing P75 and B. (Interestingly, of these two, P^{75} seems more likely to omit short words than B, and its text does not seem to be longer.) How common are omissions in these manuscripts? How many go uncorrected? This would give Loimaranta some actual data on uncorrected omissions.

Loimaranta's enthusiasm for the longer reading shows few bounds. Having decided to prefer the longer text against all comers, the author proceeds to use this as a club to beat other canons of criticism. On p. 180, we are told that omissions can produce harder readings and that "consequently the rule *lectio difficilior potior* is, at least for ADOMs, false." In the next paragraph, we are told that harmonizing readings should be preferred to disharmonious readings!

From there, Loimaranta abandons the mathematical arguments and starts rebuilding textual criticism (in very brief form — the whole discussion is only about a page long). I will not discuss this portion of the work, as it is not mathematically based. I'm sure you can guess my personal conclusions.

Although Loimaranta seems to aim straight at the Alexandrian text, and Hort, it's worth noting that *all* text-types suffer at the hands of this logic. The Byzantine text is sometimes short, as is the "Western," and there are longer readings not really

characteristic of any text-type. A canon "prefer the longer reading" does not mean any particular text-type is correct. It just means that we need a new approach.

The fundamental problem with this study can be summed up in two words: Too Broad. Had Loimaranta been content to study places where the rule *lectio brevior* did not apply, this could have been a truly valuable study. But Loimaranta not only throws the baby out with the bathwater, but denies that the poor little tyke existed in the first place. Loimaranta claims that *lectio brevior* must go. The correct statement is, l*ectio brevior* at best applies only in certain cases, not involving haplography or common dispensable words. Beyond that, I would argue that there are at least certain cases where lectio brevior still applies: Christological titles, for instance, or liturgical insertions such as the final Amen. Most if not all of these would doubtless fall under other heads, allowing us to "retire" *lectio brevior*. But that does not make the canon wrong; it just means it is of limited application. Loimaranta's broader conclusions, for remaking the entire text, are simply too much — and will probably be unsatisfactory to all comers, since they argue for a text not found in any manuscript or text-type, and which probably can only be reconstructed by pure guesswork. Loimaranta's mathematics, unlike most of the other results offered by textual critics, seems to be largely correct. But mathematics, to be useful, must be not only correct but applicable. Loimaranta never demonstrates the applicability of the math.

G. P. Farthing: "Using Probability Theory as a Key to Unlock Textual History"

Published in D. G. K. Taylor, ed., *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Texts and Studies, 1999).

This is an article with relatively limited scope: It concerns itself with attempts to find manuscript kinship. Nor does it bring any particular presuppositions to the table. That's the good news.

Farthing starts out with an extensive discussion of the nature of manuscript stemma. Farthing examines and, in a limited way, classifies possible stemma. This is perfectly reasonable, though it adds little to our knowledge and has a certain air of unreality about it — not many manuscripts have such close stemmatic connections.

Having done this, Farthing gets down to his point: That there are many possible stemma to explain how two manuscripts are related, but that one may be able to show that one is more probable than another. *And he offers a method to do it.*

With the basic proposition — that one tree might be more probable than another — it is nearly impossible to argue. (See, for instance, the discussion on Cladistics.) It's the next step — determining the probabilities — where Farthing stumbles.

On page 103 of the printing in Taylor, we find this astonishing statement:

> If there are N elements and a probability p of each element being changed (and thus a probability of 1–p of each element not being changed) then:
> N x p elements will be changed in copying the new manuscript and
> N x (1 — p) elements will not be changed.

This is pure bunk, and shows that Farthing does not understand the simplest elements of probability theory.

Even if we allow that the text can be broken up into independent copyable elements (a thesis for which Farthing offers no evidence, and which strikes me as most improbable), we certainly cannot assume that the probability of variation is the same for every element. But even if we could assume *that*, Farthing is still wrong. This is *probability theory.* There are no fixed answers. You cannot say how many readings will be correct and how many will be wrong, or how many changed and how many unchanged. You can only assign a likelihood. (Ironically, only one page before this statement, Farthing more or less explains this.) It is true that the most likely value, in the case of an ordinary distribution, will be given by N*p, and that this will be the median. So what? This is like saying that, because a man spends one-fourth of his time at work, two-thirds at home, and one-twelfth elsewhere, the best place to find him is somewhere on the road between home and work. Yes, that's his "median" location — but he may never have been there in his life!

Let's take a simple example, with N=8 and p=.25 (there is, of course, no instance of a manuscript with such a high probability of error. But we want a value which lets us see the results easily). Farthing's write-up seems to imply a binomial distribution. He says that the result in this case will be two changed readings (8 times .25 is equal to 2). Cranking the math:

Number of changes	Probability of this many changes	Probability of *at least* this many changes
0	10.0%	10.0%
1	26.7%	36.7%
2	31.1%	67.9%
3	20.8%	88.6%
4	8.7%	97.3%
5	2.3%	99.6%
6	0.4%	100%
7	0.0%	100%
8	0.0%	100%

Thus we see that, *contra* Farthing, not only is it not certain that the number of changes is N*p, but *the probability is less than one-third that it will be N*p.* And the larger the value of N, the lower the likelihood of exactly N*p readings (though the likelihood actually increases that the value will be close to N*p).

It's really impossible to proceed in analysing Farthing. Make the mathematics right, and maybe he's onto something. But what can you do when the mathematics isn't sound? There is no way to assess the results. It's sad; probability *could* be quite helpful in assessing stemma. But Farthing hasn't yet demonstrated a method.

Memes and Motifs: Living Memories

One of the trickiest tasks of a textual critic is to figure out why scribes do what they do — that is, why they make the conscious and unconscious changes they make. We don't really have an answer. This article can't give a definitive answer, either — but it may offer a new way of looking at the question.

In 1976, Richard Dawkins published a book, *The Selfish Gene.* Most of it is about genetics, and argues that genes, not populations, are the basis for species survival and behavior. This is to some extent controversial (beyond the relatively mundane controversy over evolution, which of course is not controversial in scientific circles), but one concept in the book — the "meme" — has developed a life quite beyond the community of those interested in biology.

Dawkins does not explicitly define the meme, but he gives a derivation: on page 192 of the revised (1989) edition of *The Selfish Gene*, he offers it as a shortened form of Greek-influenced "mimeme," from the root for *imitation*.

So what is a meme? In simplest terms, it is a self-replicating unit of culture — anything which is passed on from person to person repeatedly by behavior rather than genetic influence. One might almost say a meme is a "brain virus," save that many memes are unquestionably positive. The analogy is in fact to genes — what Dawkins calls "replicators." Just as genes reproduce so as to yield more copies of themselves in living organisms, memes reproduce so that they are remembered and transmitted by more people.

As examples of memes, Dawkins cites popular melodies, catch phrases (as an American youth will say "whatEVER" to mean "maybe, but the details don't matter to me and they shouldn't matter to you either"), and fashions in architecture or clothing or almost any other widely disseminated object. Fins on cars, by this definition, were a meme. Or shoes with pointed toes. Or "White Christmas." Or patterns on china plates.

We note, incidentally, that the word "meme" is a meme. Just a minor point for the set theorists out there. But it is a successful meme — the term has been accepted into various dictionaries (including the one that is spellchecking this document), and at least three books have been written about the term by authors other than Dawkins. One of them, *The Meme Machine* by Susan Blackmore, points out the interesting fact that memes seem to be largely a human (or at least a primate) invention: Children imitate from a very early age. Few other animals directly imitate. They learn, certainly, and they learn by guidance, but not really by imitation (see Blackmore, pp. 3–4, or the example of the can opener below). It is humans who have developed the meming ability (and gone on to create various even more precise meme-preservation tools, such as books and computers). So strongly is the meme implanted in us that I have never heard any proposal for a society, or even an intelligent species, based on anything other than memes.

The key is that memes survive and spread. Some memes I find rather unconvincing; the fins on cars (not cited by Dawkins, I should note) were a failed attempt to create a meme — the equivalent of an extinct species. But the meme "Toyota" is going strong at the moment — say "Toyota" and most hearers today will think of quality and fuel economy, despite the fact that Toyota, in addition to its small, efficient, high-reliability cars, makes small trucks with relatively poor gas mileage and reliability little better than their American-designed counterparts.

Some memes, in fact, are demonstrably false. Blackmore, p. 176, mentions the meme of Aliens Breeding With Us. Now it is possible that there are aliens among us — unlikely, given the constraints of relativity theory, but possible. What is *not* possible is that they are interbreeding; if they can breed with us, they *are* us. That's what makes a species. So this isn't happening. But the story apparently is widespread enough to have

a certain amount of medical literature about it. It's a contrary-to-fact meme — and the fact that it's common would seem to demonstrate its memehood: It's breeding despite being absurd. Indeed, it's arguably increasing in popularity as meme transmission becomes more reliable. (Blackmore, p. 204, argues that memes, in their attempts to reproduce more accurately, are encouraging replicating mechanisms such as books, recordings, computers, the Internet. This I think does not follow — it would be more effective to make people's memories better, and these devices in fact make their memories *worse*. But they do let memes spread faster, which is another desirable goal if you think memes have a "purpose.")

What makes memes memes is their transmission *by imitation*. Blackmore (pp. 44–45) notes how this is different from other sorts of learning. If you hear a story and retell it, it's a meme. If you hear it and forget it, it's not. Nor is it a meme if you learn it by conditioning, as one conditions a pet ("stand on your hind legs and I'll give you a doggy treat"). Passing on the behavior is the essence of the definition. On page 51, Blackmore notes three essential attributes of a meme: Heredity (the behavior is copied/imitated), variation (not every imitated version exactly matches the original version), and selection (not every copy survives; some are retained, some discarded). This surely will sound familiar to textual critics!

There are, of course, objections to the theory of memes. Some argue that they "don't exist." That is, you can't point to something and say, "that's a meme." It can be written down, but it, as a physical object, cannot be extracted from its context.

This is true, but not very meaningful. By this standard, a computer program doesn't exist, either — it's just a pattern of magnetism on a hard disk or in a computer's RAM. You can't physically extract a program from the computer any more than you can extract the meme from the human. Sure, you can call up the program from the computer — but you can call up the meme from the human, too: "Hey, pal, tell us the one about the banana, the handkerchief, and the railroad engineer."

Others object that memes aren't alive, even in the limited sense that viruses are alive, and so can't "reproduce." This is simply not true; thing which are not alive can reproduce. As counter-evidence we point to prions — the chemicals which cause, among other things, mad cow disease. No one considers these alive, but they do reproduce — and evolve. In a strange way, we seem to be seeing more and more of these non-living reproducing mechanisms — probably because they're all parasitic, so they need life to let them exist. Unlike viruses and prions, at least memes aren't inherently "costly" to their hosts; it takes effort to maintain a brain, to be sure, but it's presumably no more difficult to store the meme of a popular song than an unpopular. It

may even be easier, because something that "fits" the brain will need less storage space.

Perhaps this can be made clearer by noting an analogy of the brain-and-meme combination. The temptation may be to compare the brain to a computer, and a meme to a computer program. An even better analogy, though, might be to a computer program and a document — say, a word processor and the file it creates. To open the file and make sense of it, you must have the program; the document alone is generally gibberish. And the size of the file is not always proportional to the actual amount of data. For instance, if a memo consists mostly of "boilerplate" text from a glossary, the file may be very small because all the parts are stored in other places. An efficient meme would presumably be one which can make use of other material already stored in the brain.

(There has been, to be sure, some "over-claiming" here, including an argument that memes are now driving evolution. Blackmore, in fact, argues that memes have created our notion that we have a "self," which she considers an illusion. This goes so far beyond the data as to be almost ridiculous. It is a curiosity that most of those who make extravagant claims for memes seem to be rather rabid atheists. I can't see why this should be so. In any case, these issues are for the scientists — and the mystics — to argue out. Our concern is not with how memes may have helped to create human society; rather, it's with how they might have affected the transmission of the Bible. Memes may or may not influence overall human behavior, but that's memes as a driving force, which is an extension of the original concept. We care about memes as *survivors* — the ideas and phrases most likely to be preserved and passed on, whether they are Big Ideas or not.)

There are at least hints of some of the biology behind memes. The reason humans can imitate so much better than other animals is something called "mirror neurons," found in monkeys and apes but in much greater numbers in humans. (It has been speculated that the reasons humans have such big brains is so that the number of mirror neurons can increase.) What mirror neurons do is allow an observer to mentally imitate the actions of another person — if you watch someone cutting a piece of paper with scissors, say, mirror neurons will play back your own actions so that you can "feel" the feeling of cutting the paper yourself. Your hand won't actually pump up and down, but they will tense up just a little as if preparing to do so.

It appears that mirror neurons, and the actions they imitate, can be started up by either sights or sounds. So you could either see or hear someone taking scissors to paper and still imitate the act. This, incidentally, includes facial expressions. Watching someone feel sad, your own muscles start twisting in sad ways — which is how you can empathize with the sadness. (It appears that this is one of the problems of people with

autism: This mechanism doesn't work, so they have a hard time imitating and a harder time understanding how others feel.)

The ability to imitate is vital. You've probably encountered dogs or cats which have learned the sound of a can opening, and scramble to come and get fed when it happens. But the dogs and cats don't try to learn how to open the cans; they just have a Pavlovian response: "I heard a phhs! sound — that means food!" A human child, watching a can being opened, won't necessarily associate it with food — but will go to the toy kitchen you bought two months ago and will play with the toy can opener. The dog or cat responds; the human *practices*. This is what appears to make memes a largely human thing.

(Note: Most of the material on mirror neurons comes from the program "Quirks and Quarks" on CBC radio, April 2, 2006.)

A third objection is less to the concept of memes than to the (potential) science of mimetics. The objection is that there is no unit to measure memes. The standard example of this is Beethoven's fifth symphony and the opening line dit-dit-dit-daaaah. Is this a meme? Is the whole symphony a meme? The first phrase is the best-known part of the work, but the whole symphony is variations on a theme. Both are widely recognized, and repeated. Both seem to fit the definition of a meme. Does this mean that memes contain memes?

This can be argued in both ways. It is usually said that genes cannot be composed of other genes. On the other hand, if we look at information theory, a set can consist of other sets, and subsets of a set are still sets in their own right. (And sets, we note, have the same sort of non-existent existence as is claimed for memes.) The analogy to computer programs is also apt. Chances are that your computer has some sort of startup script, though the names vary from machine to machine. The startup script is a program, but it calls other programs. Those programs it calls are programs in their own right — but are also part of the bigger program.

Even in biology, there are partial analogies — notably in proteins. Certain complex proteins consist of assemblies of smaller proteins, which can perform some function independently but which perform another function when grouped. An example, cited by Jonathan Weiner in *Time, Love, Memory,* p. 194, is the process responsible for Huntington's chorea, involving two proteins, one produced by the *huntington* gene and another named glyceraldehyde–3 phosphate dehydrogenase, a common enzyme. The glyceraldehyde protein is used for many things (genes with multiple uses are so common that the term "pleiotropism" has been coined to describe their effects), so the DNA sequence that codes for it is clearly its own gene — but it is *also* required by both the good and the bad versions of *huntington* (the reason for the disease is that the

huntington protein grips the enzyme too tightly for it to perform its proper role). So we have a *huntington* gene and a glyceraldehyde gene — but the *extended* gene which causes or prevents Huntington's Disease consists of the gene at the *huntington* spot, plus the glyceraldehyde gene. The glyceraldehyde is very much like a subroutine in a library of computer routines: It's used by many other body processes. Thus, there is no real reason why memes cannot be composed of other memes.

And while the lack of a unit of memes is a drawback, it is not necessarily fatal to the science. Set theory has no unit except sets. More to the point, a science can proceed without knowing its units. Darwin proposed the theory of evolution without even knowing that there were genetic laws (which, incidentally, made Darwin's original theory rather different from what we know now. Darwin didn't really propose a theory of *evolution* as such; the word wasn't even a regular part of his vocabulary. He proposed the theory of *natural selection*, which became the modern theory of evolution when combined with genetic theory). Somewhat later, when Gregor Mendel indirectly completed the theory of evolution by discovering his genetic laws, no one even knew that cell nuclei contained genetic information — so while there were clearly things such as genes, they were just black boxes, with no known mechanism or location. Later, nucleic acids were discovered, but nobody knew what they did. Still later, Crick and Watson discovered the structure of DNA, but that didn't sequence the genome. Even now, there are plenty of genes whose functions we don't understand. Some sciences start from the bottom up — but others start from the top down. Mimetics, if real, appears to be one of the latter: The big picture precedes the dirty details.

We do note at least one major difference between memes and genes: Memes — at least, some memes — have two ways to reproduce. The terms used by Blackmore (p. 63) are "copy-the-product" and "copy-the-instructions." The former reproduces by observation, the second by recipe. To take a very simple example, consider peeled carrots. Two people who have never eaten peeled carrots come to a party and see the peeled carrots and like them. One goes to the host and asks how they were prepared; he says, "Peel them with a potato peeler." The guest does so; that's copying the instructions. Following a reciple or an instruction manual is copying the instructions.

The other guest says to himself, "peeled carrots — I can do that!" — and peels the carrots with a knife. Same end result, different means. This is copying the product.

Genes reproduce by copy-the-instructions; they make reproductions of DNA. Most of the time, this produces exact replicas of the original genes. On the other hand, if there is an error in the instructions (e.g. if someone accidentally writes "peel the carrots with a potato *grater*" instead of "peel the carrots with a potato *peeler*") the result is nonsense and the outcome bollixed. Copy-the-product is much more subject to small variation (but

also, indirectly, to improvements); my suspicion is that it is less likely to be rendered complete nonsense. This strikes me as rather similar to scribes who copy letter-by-letter versus phrase-by-phrase. The former may make an error on a particular letter, yielding nonsense but only in a very local way; the latter may make a more substantial change but almost certainly one that makes some sort of sense.

So why do memes matter to textual critics? Because the basic characteristic of memes is that they *spread*. Random ideas generally are not memes. Memes somehow fit into the shape of our brains, and to tend to intrude into other thinking. Think of how many phrases from Shakespeare or the King James Bible survive in English. Those are, emphatically, memes.

Now think about assimilation of parallels. Not all parallels get assimilated. Assimilation is toward the most familiar reading. In other words, it's not assimilation of parallels. It is, precisely, *assimilation of memes.*

Is this just terminology? I suppose you could say so — but the concept is well worthy remembering. The key point about those assimilated phrases, like the memes themselves, is that they have survived *and propagated*. Why?

I can't help think of folklore motifs. For example, my three favorite works of fantasy are Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, Ursula K. LeGuin's *Earthsea* books (at least the first three), and Lloyd Alexander's *Chronicles of Prydain*. These three stories do not have the same plot, but they have the same folklore motifs: The Quest, the Coming of the King, the Price (one person paying a high penalty to save many). The last of those, of course, is familiar to all Christians.

Why do these items appeal to me? Evidently there is some deep psychological "lock" to which they are the key. "The Price" appeals to billions, since Christianity survives to this day. The others aren't quite as popular, but they have appealed to millions — e.g. the books I cited have between them inspired six movies that I know of, and possibly more, though the movies generally have been much inferior to the books.

Or consider the concept of "magic." Grant that ancient peoples had no scientific method; they could not explain lightning or earthquakes or hurricanes. But they understood that there was a natural order of things — they had to, to follow the seasons! So why magic? The notion seems to be very widespread — and yet it is most unlikely that any of them saw *human beings* perform magic. All the "unnatural" things they saw were without evident cause (the work of God, not a human being). There is no reason why a concept of "magic" should evolve, let alone be widespread. So why do so many cultures have it? Presumably because it suits our thought processes somehow.

What this says is that some things stick in the brain better than others. Whatever the reason, whatever their nature, they replicate and spread.

As far as I know, no one has set out to study what makes a meme — that is, no one has done research on what sticks best in people's brains, or whether some people are more receptive than others. But there are hints. Sound patterns help — rhymes, alliteration, metre. There are also indications that non-metrical patterns can help. The parallelism of Hebrew poetry, for instance. I recently saw an argument (I'm not sure where) that the reason Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is so memorable is its balanced phrasing: It repeatedly uses concepts in threes ("we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow"; compare the second inaugural address: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right"). This may explain, e.g. why, when Matthew took out the "to hear" from Mark's "He who has ears to hear, let him hear," scribes repeatedly re-introduced it. Mark's form is "meme-able"; Matthew's probably less so. This is speculation in the absence of knowledge, but we have to start somewhere. We often say that Mark is assimilated to Matthew because the latter is the "stronger" gospel (whatever that means). But it may just be more mimetic — after all, Mark sounds very Aramaic, while Matthew and (especially) Luke sound more Greek. To a Greek speaker, those Greek gospels must be easier to remember.

It should be stressed that memes are not necessarily *good* — Blackmore, pp. 76–77, offers the suggestion that evolution favoured those who were the best at imitating successful people. In other words, you can get ahead by being personally successful — or you can get ahead by aping or attaching yourself to someone who is a good leader. The result, perhaps, is a tendency toward fads — some of them good, many neutral, some mildly bad (think, say, the 2005 trend toward pointed shoes for women, which are ugly, uncomfortable, and hard on the feet; or the current trend toward eyeglasses which are too small to allow decent peripheral vision), and some incredibly dangerous (the Nazi party, say, or the Bolshevik version of Communism). Memetics serves yet again as confirmation that what is *popular* is not necessarily what is *right* — something very important in assessing, say, the Majority Text.

There has been, to my knowledge, no exploration of memes with connection to textual criticism. But it seems to me that it is an area that should be examined closely. If we can learn which stories and phrases stick in scribes' heads, we can much more easily guess how they will change the texts before them.

Some other characteristics of memes: They come in clusters. This again is like biology, where genes are grouped in chromosomes and a full set of chromosomes make up a genetic code. Words and music of a song can be separated but also go together (and reinforce each other). We have bins in our brains for Bible quotes or Shakespeare

quotes. Some of these can be of different types — we can't quote all of *Hamlet*, but can outline the plot while quoting "To be or not to be" and "The play's the thing" and the like. Is there a pattern to these clusters? And might it affect scribes?

Anybody want a nice interdisciplinary thesis?

Moralizing Bible, or *Bible Moralisée*

A particular sort of illuminated Bible, typically made in France in the thirteenth century. One might say that they were doubly illuminated, with the arrangement looking like a stained glass window or chain of gens. Alongside the text (of the Vulgate, naturally) would be an image of the Biblical account — and, parallel to that, an image displaying some moralizing or allegorical interpretation. So if the illustration of the Wise Fool being taken away from his wealth, the parallel image might be something illustrating the worthlessness of riches. Because the *Bible Moralisée* required extra illumination (as well as extra writing material), they seem to have been very expensive and quite rare; as far as I know, none has any critical value.

N

The Nestle Apparatus

The Terminology in the Nestle-Aland Apparatus

The Nestle-Aland New Testament is the most significant Greek Bible in use today, and its introduction gives a detailed explanation of how it works. But, sometimes, it can be helpful to have another version of the information....

al From Latin *alii*, meaning “others.” Used to note that the listed reading has support from a significant number of other manuscripts but not enough manuscripts to represent even a portion of the Byzantine tradition. It represents more manuscripts than *pc* but fewer than *pm* — perhaps between 5% and 25% of the total tradition. It is not uncommon to find *al* used to note a reading where the Textus Receptus departs from the Majority Text.

f[1] Symbol used in the Nestle editions (and others) for the Lake Group (λ). For details of the group, see the entry on the minuscule 1eap.

f[13] Symbol used in the Nestle editions (and others) for the Ferrar Group (ϕ). For details of the group, see the entry on the minuscule 13.

𝔥 Properly a blackletter h. Symbol used in the editions of Nestle prior to NA[26] for the Alexandrian text, but now abandoned as unclear.

h.t. Symbol used in Nestle to describe the error known as Homoioteleuton, “same ending” (which see).

𝔎 Properly a blackletter k. Symbol used in the editions of Nestle prior to NA[26] for the Byzantine text, usually as represented by the Textus Receptus, but now abandoned as insufficiently defined; it has been replaced by the more precisely defined 𝔐.

𝔐 The symbol used in the current Nestle-Aland editions (26th edition and up) for the “Majority Text.” (The same Gothic 𝔐 is also used in the Hodges & Farstad text for the Majority Text, but not in the same way.) It is thus equivalent in concept to the symbol *Byz* in the United Bible Societies editions, or with ω in editions such as Souterr’s. It corresponds roughly with Von Soden’s **K**. It is *not* equivalent to the Textus Receptus (ς).

In the Nestle-Aland text, however, 𝔐 has an additional use beyond the equivalent in the other texts. It also serves as a group symbol to include any uncited “constant witnesses of the second order.” These “constant witnesses of the second order” are witnesses cited for every variant in the apparatus, but whose readings are only cited explicitly when they differ from .

The “constant witnesses of the second order” are as follows:
Gospels: K, N, P, Q (cited for Luke and John in NA^{26}, but for John only in NA^{27}), Γ, Δ, 0292 (NA^{27} only), 28 (cited for the gospels in NA26, but only for Mark in NA^{27}), 33 (NA^{26} only; cited explicitly in NA^{27}), 565, 579 (NA^{27} only), 700, 892, 1010 (NA^{26} only), 1241, 1424, 2542 (NA^{27} only, for Mark and Luke), 844 (NA^{27} only), 2211 (NA^{27} only)
Acts: L, 33 (NA^{26} only; cited explicitly in NA^{27}), 81, 323, 614, 945, 1175, 1241, 1505 (NA^{27} only), 1739 (NA^{26} only; cited explicitly in NA^{27}), 2495 (NA^{26} only)
Paul: K, L, P, 33 (NA^{26} only; cited explicitly in NA^{27}), 81, 104, 365, 630, 1175, 1241, 1505 (NA^{27} only), 1506, 1739 (NA^{26} only; cited explicitly in NA^{27}), 1881 (NA^{26} only; cited explicitly in NA^{27}), 2464, 2495 (NA^{26} only), 249 (NA^{27} only), 846 (NA^{27}only)
Catholics: K, L, 33 (NA^{26} only; cited explicitly in NA^{27}), 81, 323, 614, 630, 1241, 1505 (NA^{27} only), 1739 (NA^{26} only; cited explicitly in NA^{27}), 2495 (NA^{26} only)
Apocalypse: In this section will often be divided into 𝔐^{K} (the main Koine text) and 𝔐^{A} (the Andreas text). The witnesses in this section include P (as part of 𝔐^{A}), 046 (as part of 𝔐^{K}), 1006, 1611, 1841, 1854, 2030, 2050, 2053, 2062, 2329, 2344 2351, 2377
Note that some of these witnesses have lacunae; one should be sure to check that they are extant for a particular passage before citing them on the basis of Nestle. Also, some of the “constant witnesses” are fragmentary; this means that it is not always possible to cite their readings explicitly. This is particularly true of 33 (this is one of the reasons why it was promoted to a first-order witness in NA^{27}), but it is also true of 1506, 2344, and 2377, which remain second-order witnesses. One brief example must serve to explain this.
In 2 Thes. 1:2 (the first variant in the apparatus of that book), the text has πατρος °[ημων]. In the apparatus we read

¶ **1,2** ° B D P 0111^{vid} 33 1739 1881 *pc* m bo^{pt} | *txt* א A F G I 0278 𝔐 lat sy sa bo^{pt} (Ψ pc: h.t.)

That is, the witnesses B, D, P, 0111^{vid}, 33, 1739, 1881, and some versions omit the word; the remaining witnesses include it. Among these remaining witnesses are, of course, the ones explicitly cited (א A F G I 0278), but also the witnesses comprehended within 𝔐 — in this case, K, L, 81, 104, 365, 630, 1175, 1241, 1505, 2464, ℓ ^{249}, and ℓ ^{846} (1506 is defective here, and we have seen that P goes with the other reading).
Of course, the Byzantine tradition sometimes divides. In this case, the Nestle apparatus cites all witnesses explicitly, and marks the divided portions of the Byzantine text *pm*.

pc From Latin *pauci*, meaning “a few.” Used to note that the listed reading has support from a handful of other manuscripts (seemingly not more than about 5% of the total tradition).

pm From Latin *permulti*, meaning “very many.” Used to indicate a large number of manuscripts at points where the Byzantine tradition is significantly divided. A reading marked *pm* is *a* Byzantine reading without being *the* Byzantine reading. A reading marked *pm* probably has the support of roughly 30% to 70% of the total tradition.

rell Also sometimes **rel**. From Latin *reliqui*, meaning “[the] rest.” Used in Nestle-Aland to indicate that all uncited witnesses support the reading (but is rarely used). In other editions, it may simply mean that the vast majority support the reading. Some may even use specialized notations after *rell* (e.g. *rel pl*, “most of the rest”).

vid From Latin *videtur* or *ut videtur.* Closest English equivalent is probably “apparently.” The siglum of a manuscript is marked ^{vid} if the original reading cannot be determined with absolute precision. This happens frequently with the papyri, where individual letters are often illegible. It may also happen in the event of a correction; the original text (or sometimes the correction!) may be partially obscured. It is generally agreed that ^{vid} should only be used in a critical apparatus if the manuscript being studied can only support one of several possible variant readings suggested by other sources. (In a collation, of course, uncertain letters should be marked with a dot below the letter or some other symbol; letters which cannot be read at all should be replaced by a dot.)

v.l.	From Latin *varia lectio,* meaning “a variant (or *different*) reading.” Used in Nestle-Aland refer specifically to readings found in the margin of a manuscript and offered as an alternative to the reading in the text. Such readings are most common in Harklean Syriac (where, however, they are indicated by sy^{hmg}), but are also found in 1739 (where the reading of the text is indicated 1739^{txt}) and occasionally in other manuscripts (see, for instance, the notes to 1 John 5:7–8, where we find the passage about the “three heavenly witnesses” shown as a variant reading in 88 221 429 636). It should be noted that variant readings are not necessarily better or worse than those of the text; 1739 has some very interesting marginal readings (e.g. Rom. 1:7, 1 John 4:3), but the readings of the text are generally superior; in the Harklean Syriac both text and marginal readings have value; in the case of 1 John 5:6–8, the marginal readings are obviously spurious.

Neumes

Introduction

Greek is a musical language. Early forms of the language even used tonal stress. By New Testament times, this tonal usage had faded (presumably because it was hard for non-native speakers, as it is for non-native speakers of Chinese today), but even so, many Biblical texts are suitable for singing. Unfortunately, in ancient times there was no good way to record the melody of the piece being sung.

The earliest systems of musical notation were developed between 1500 and 3000 years ago by the Greeks. These schemes were generally based on letters of the Greek alphabet. This had several problems: The melody of the song could be confused with its words, the system was not very accurate, and it was immensely complicated.

Neumes and neuming were developed to overcome these problems Neumes were small marks placed above the text to indicate the "shape" of a melody. As a form of notation, they were initially even less effective than the letter-based systems they replaced — but they were unambiguous and took very little space, and so they survived when other systems failed. Our modern musical notation is descended from neumes.

History and Function of Neumes

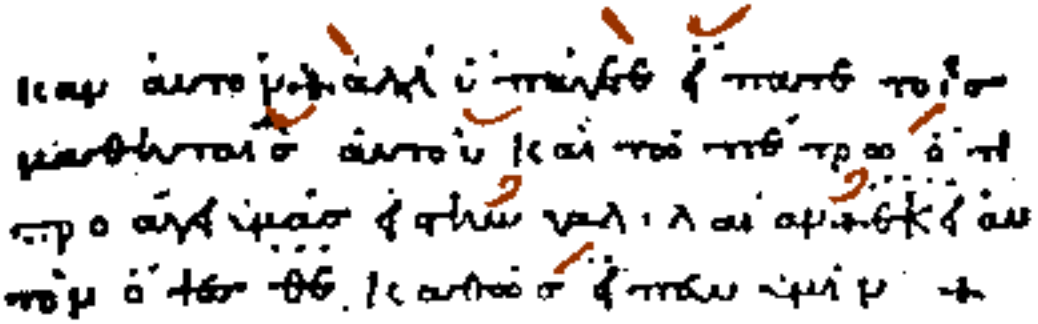
The psalms provide clear evidence on Biblical texts being sung. Many of the psalms indicate the tune used for them. There are places in the New Testament (e.g. Mark 14:26 and parallels, Acts 16:25) which apparently refer to the singing of psalms and biblical texts. But we have no way to know what tunes were used.

This was as much a problem for the ancients as it is for us. By the ninth century they were beginning to develop ways to preserve tunes. We call the early form of this system *neuming*, and the symbols used *neumes* (both from Greek πνευμα).

The earliest neumes (found in manuscripts such as Ψ) couldn't really record a tune. Neither pitch nor duration was indicated, just the general "shape" of the tune. Theoretically only two symbols were used: "Up" (the *acutus*, originally symbolized by something like /), and the "Down" (*gravis*, \). These could then be combined into symbols such as the "Up-then-down" (^). This simple set of symbols wasn't much help if you didn't know a tune — but could be invaluable if you knew the tune but didn't quite know how to fit it to the words. It could also jog your memory if you slipped a little.

Neumes were usually written in green or red ink in the space between the lines of text. They are, for obvious reasons, more common in lectionaries than in continuous-text manuscripts.

As the centuries passed, neuming became more and more complex, adding metrical notations and, eventually, ledger lines. The picture below (a small portion of chapter 16 of Mark from the tenth century manuscript 274) shows a few neumes in exaggerated red. In this image we see not only the acutus and the gravis, but such symbols as the podatus (the *J* symbol, also written *!*), which later became a rising eighth note.



By the twelfth century, these evolved neumes had become a legitimate musical notation, which in turn evolved into the church's ancient "plainsong notation" and the modern musical staff.

All of these forms, however, were space-intensive (plainsong notation took four ledger lines, and more elaborate notations might take as many as fifteen), and are not normally found in Biblical manuscripts (so much so that most music history books do not even mention the use of neumes in Biblical manuscripts; they usually start the history of notation around the twelfth century and its virga, punctae, and breves).

The primary use of neumes to the Biblical scholar is for dating: If a manuscript has neumes, it has to date from roughly the eighth century or later. The form of the neumes may provide additional information about the manuscript's age.

Nomina Sacra

Introduction

Ancient manuscripts were, of course, written by hand, often in large uncial scripts, on papyrus (moderately expensive) or parchment (even more expensive). The expense of writing materials and the time needed to copy a manuscript meant that every attempt had to be made to save space.

One way to conserve materials was abbreviations. A number of strategies were adopted at one time or another — e.g. a special symbol such as an elaborate script kappa for και, a superscript ς at the end of a word, or a bar representing a terminal ν.

The latter two methods are known as suspension, and it is suspected that they were related. Initially, the terminal letter was simply written as a superscript, e.g. ΘEO^{N}. Such a small letter could quickly degenerate into a squiggle such as ΘEO~, and from there it is a tiny step to just writing an overbar.

The Christians went a step further by creating the *nomina sacra* ("sacred names"). These were abbreviations formed by taking the first one or two letters of certain words, plus the final letter(s) (to determine the inflection), omitting the intervening letters, and drawing a line over the whole.

The reason for the development of the nomina sacra is disputed and will not be covered here. A good brief summary of ideas on the matter can be found in Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Paleography* (1981), pp. 36-37. It should not be assumed that the reason is simply to save space, since it doesn't save much. Nor is writing ΘC with an overbar significantly faster than writing ΘEOC. It is reasonable to assume that the system arose out of some other need — it has been suggested that it may have come from LXX and the need to show where one should read *Adonai* instead of the tetragrammaton — that is, that κυριος would be a translation of *adonai* but that the contraction KC would represent the divine name.

The use of nomina sacra became standard at a very early date, although just how early is not certain. There are no nomina sacra visible in 𝔓^{52}; the line length perhaps implies the use of the abbreviation IN, but this is not certain (see discussion in the entry on 𝔓^{52}). But the substantial early papyri use the abbreviations at least intermittently. Scrivener reports the following usages among important manuscripts:

- Vaticanus (B) abbreviates θεος κυριος Ιησους Χριστος πνευμα (generally only these, although the Old Testament sometimes abbreviates ανθρωπρος as well as Ισραηλ Ιερουσαλημ).
- Bezae (D) abbreviates only θεος κυριος Ιησους Χριστος (D F G of Paul also follow this usage, but rather inconsistently).
- Z "seldom" abbreviates.
- Σ abbreviates Πατηρ as ΠΤΗΡ.
- Codex 700 abbreviates εθνων as εθν.

- The Bodleian Genesis has an odd abbreviation (ΠΑΡΝΟΣ with a θ above the line) for παρθενος -- that is:
  Θ
  ΠΑΡΝΟΣ

By the third century presence or absence of the Nomina Sacra can be used to tell a Christian from a Jewish codex of the Old Testament. The use of the abbreviations at this time was slightly haphazard (e.g. one or two scribes might use the abbreviation ΙΣ for Joshua; in later use it would have been reserved exclusively for Jesus; similarly, should σωτηρ be abbreviated if not used for Jesus?). One or two marginal abbreviations fluctuated in their use (e.g. the Egerton Gospel abbreviates προφητας). But by Byzantine times a list of fifteen nomina sacra had been generally adopted. They were as follows:

Chart of the Standard Nomina Sacra

Abbreviation	Stands for	Meaning
$\overline{\text{ανος}}$	ανθρωπος	human being
$\overline{\text{δαδ}}$	δαυ(ε)ιδ	David
$\overline{\text{θς}}$	θεος	God
$\overline{\text{ιηλ}}$	ισραηλ	Israel
$\overline{\text{ιλημ}}$	ιερουσαλημ	Jerusalem
$\overline{\text{ις}}$	ιησους	Jesus
$\overline{\text{κς}}$	κυριος	[the] Lord
$\overline{\text{μηρ}}$	μητηρ	Mother
$\overline{\text{ουρος}}$	ουρανος	heaven(s)
$\overline{\text{πηρ}}$	πατηρ	Father
$\overline{\text{πνα}}$	πνεθμα	Spirit
$\overline{\text{στς}}$	σταυρος	Cross
$\overline{\text{σηρ}}$	σωτηρ	Savior
$\overline{\text{υς}}$	υιος	Son
$\overline{\text{χς}}$	χριστος	Christ

It should be observed that these were not the only abbreviations used by individual scribes. One or another might use an abbreviation from some other source — perhaps creating confusion or even a variant reading. Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* Phaedon, 1997, pp. 90, 94-96, gives an example derived from the Latin text by Berengaudus on the Apocalypse: a lost manuscript may have read “in hoc l’o” (or “in hoc lo, or some such). The scribe who copied the existing manuscript was not sure whether “l’o” stood for “libro” or “loco,” and wrote both as alternatives — and a still later scribe might then adopt the wrong one. It’s hard to know how often this happened; if a manuscript contains two readings, they are surely at least as likely to come from comparison of manuscripts as from not understanding an abbreviation. But with thousands of scribes working from thousands of manuscripts, it is a possibility that can’t be excluded.

Other Abbreviations

In addition to the above, some abbreviations occur in various classical documents. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography,* Oxford, 1912, p. 79, fn. 1 lists the following among others:

ʒ	termination αι		
α’	ανα		
γ’	γαρ		
δ’	δε	\	The potential for confusion between these two will be obvious.
δ`	δια	/	
\	ειναι		
\\	εισι		
κ’	και	\	Another easily confused pair.
κ`	κατα	/	
μ’	μεν	\	And still another source of confusion.
μ`	μετα	/	
ο’	ουν		
π’	παρα	\	And another.
π`	περ(ι)	/	
ς’	συν		
τ`	την	\	This is probably the worst source of confusion of all,
τ›	της	|	although the form can probably be determined from the
τ’	των	/	following noun

υ›	υπερ	\	This pair could really produce some interesting
υ`	υπο	/	confusions. It's also rather funny to see a smooth breathing following υ.
⸗	χρονος		
ϟ	αυτος		and cases

Non-Biblical Textual Criticism

Introduction

Textual criticism does not apply only to the New Testament. Indeed, most aspects of modern textual criticism originated in the study of non-Biblical texts. Yet non-Biblical textual criticism shows notable differences from the New Testament variety. Given the complexity of the field, we can only touch on a few aspects of non-Biblical TC. But I'll try to summarize both the chief similarities and the major differences.

In one sense, the materials of secular textual criticism resemble those for Biblical criticism. Both are involved with manuscripts other than the autograph — or, in a few strange cases such as Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* and the works of Shakespeare, with the relationship between editions and autographs. (We have only two early sources for Malory, both near-contemporary: Caxton's printed edition and a manuscript presumably close to the autograph. They differ recensionally at some points: Caxton evidently rewrote.)

The sole manuscript of Malory, British Library Add. 59678. The top portion of folio 35, showing the change from the first hand to the second (a change which seems to prove that it is not the autograph). The manuscript is imperfect; eight leaves are lost at the beginning, and probably as many at the end. This manuscript seems to have been known to Caxton; there are marks from his print shop in it. But the published edition differs, sometimes dramatically, from the manuscript.

It appears that Caxton rewote most extensively in the earlier portions, where Malory was, in effect, writing independent short stories; the end, in which Malory seems to be trying to create a unified narrative, is almost the same in manuscript and print book. The whole still poses an interesting challenge to textual critics, since the manuscript is not the autograph and there are hints that Caxton had some other source -- perhaps another manuscript.

Copies of Caxton's first printed edition are almost as rare as manuscripts: Only two survive, and one of them imperfect. Simply being printed did not assure the survival of documents!

The works of Sir Walter Scott are an even more complex case: Scott's native language was Braid Scots; it differs in pronunciation and vocabulary, though hardly in grammar, from British English, which is the language in which his books were to be published. To a significant extent, he relied upon his publisher to correct his Scotticisms. He also produced a second edition of many of his works, making marginal emendations in the

first edition. So what is the authoritative text of, say, *Ivanhoe* — Scott's manuscript, Scott's first edition, Scott's interlinear folios which were the source for the second edition, or the second edition? And how do Scott's corrections to the galley proofs fit into this? Not all of his corrections were proper English, and the editors ignored some of these.

Percy's *Reliques* have some similar problems, because there quite literally was no original manuscript. Percy assembled fragments from various sheets he had collected, tore out portions of manuscripts (yes, the man was a vandal), scribbled over it them, promised fillers but supplied them late, added material after portions of the book had been printed, and in general did everything he could to torture his poor printer. Little wonder that the book took two and a half years to publish. But what, then, is "the" text of the *Reliques*? The various materials Percy submitted? The corrected proofs? Something else? This is a book which was published in relatively modern times by a known author, but still there is no autograph.

The history of printed editions of classical works is often similar to that of the New Testament text following Erasmus: "[T]he early printers, by the act of putting a text into print, tended to give that form of the text an authority and a permanence which in fact it rarely deserved. The *editio princeps* of a classical author was usually little more than a transcript of whatever humanist manuscript the printer chose to use as his copy.... The repetition of this text.... soon led to the establishment of a vulgate text.... and conservatism made it difficult to discard in favour of a radically new text" (L. D. Reynolds & N. G. Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars,* second edition, 1974, p. 187).

There is, however, one fundamental difference between classical and Biblical textual criticism. Without exception, the number of manuscripts of classical works is smaller. Even the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, which in many countries was better-known than the Bible itself, exists in only about a thousand copies. The most popular classical work is the *Iliad*, represented by somewhat less than 700 manuscripts (though these manuscripts actually average rather older than New Testament manuscripts. Papyrus copies of Homer are numerous. As early as 1920, when the New Testament was known in only a few dozen of papyrus copies, there were in excess of a hundred papyrus texts of the *Iliad* known, a fair number of which dated from the first century C. E. or earlier.) But the case of Homer is hardly normal. More typical are works such as Chaucer (somewhat over 80 manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales,* of which about two-thirds once contained the complete Tales; a few dozen copies of most of his other works). From this we work down through *Piers Plowman* (about forty manuscripts) to Thucydides, preserved in only eight manuscripts (this even though he was so well-known and admired that one of Josephus's assistants is known as the "Thucydidean hack") to the literally thousands of works preserved in only one manuscript — including

such great classics as *Beowulf*, the Norse myths of the Regius Codex, Tacitus (Tacitus's *Annals* are preserved in two copies, but as the copies are partial and do not overlap at all, for any given passage there is only one manuscript). Indeed, there are instances where all manuscripts are lost and we must reconstruct the work from excerpts (Manetho; the non-Homeric portions of the Epic Cycle; most of Polybius, etc.)

This produces a problem completely opposite that in New Testament TC. In New Testament TC, we can usually assume that the original reading is preserved somewhere; the problem is one of sorting through the immense richness of the tradition to find it. In classical criticism, the reverse is often the case: We know every manuscript and every reading in the tradition, but have no assurance that the tradition preserve the original reading. As an example, consider a reading from Gregory of Tours' *History of Tours:* in I.9 the manuscripts of Gregory allude to the twelve patriarchs (specifically mentioning that there are twelve) — and then list only nine: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, Gad, Asher. Clearly, three names — Naphtali, Benjamin, and either Joseph or his sons — have been omitted. But where in the reading? And is it Joseph, or his sons? We simply cannot tell.

It will be observed that many of the documents cited above are in languages other than Greek. Textual criticism, of course, can be applied in all languages; the basic rules are the same (except for those pertaining to paleography and other aspects related to letter forms and the history of the written language). For perspective, many of our examples will be based on works written in languages other than Greek — though, because I lack the background, none will be taken from ideographic languages.

The text which follows is littered with footnotes and parentheses. I am genuinely sorry about this, since it makes the article much more confusing. But this is a far more complex field than New Testament criticism — there are many different sorts of documents requiring many different techniques. Most rules have long lists of exceptions. And I don't want to deceive by overgeneralizing. The only alternative is the long list of special cases.

The Method of Classical Textual Criticism

Classical textual criticism, as its name implies, goes back to the classical Greeks, who were concerned with preserving the text of such ancient works as Homer. One of the centers of ancient textual criticism was Alexandria; it has been hypothesized (though there is no evidence of this) that the reason for the relative purity of the Alexandrian text of the New Testament is that Egyptian scribes were influenced by the careful and conservative work of the Alexandrian school. Their textual work on Homer was not always sophisticated (indeed, their conclusions were often quite silly), but they

developed a critical apparatus of high sophistication (see the discussion of Alexandrian Critical Symbols).

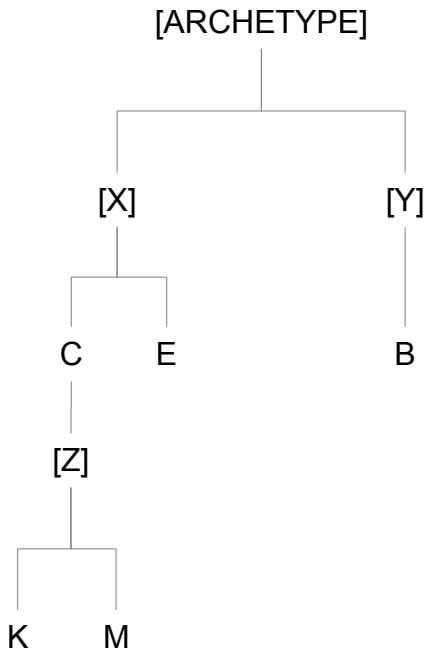
Modern textual criticism, however, dates back to Karl Lachmann, who would later edit the first text of the New Testament to be fully independent of the Textus Receptus. In his work on Lucretius, Lachmann defined the basic method that has been used ever since. Textual criticism, in this system, proceeds through four basic steps (some of which will be neglected in certain cases, and which occasionally go by other names):

1. Recensio, the creation of a family tree for the manuscripts of the work
2. Selectio, the comparison of the readings of the various family members, and the determination of the oldest reading (this is sometimes considered to be part of *recensio*)
3. Examinatio, the study of the resultant text to look for primitive errors
4. Emendatio, (also called *divinatio*, and sometimes considered to be a part of *examinatio* or vice versa), the correction of the primitive errors.

Recensio

Recensio is the process of grouping the manuscripts into a Stemma or family tree. Of all the steps involved in classical textual criticism, this is the one regarded as having the least direct relevance for New Testament TC. In this stage, the differences between the manuscripts are compared and a stemma compiled. (This assumes, of course, that several manuscripts exist. If there is only one manuscript, we will omit this stage, as described in the section on Books Preserved in One Manuscript.)

The essential purpose of the stemma is to lighten our workload, and also to tell us what weight to give to which manuscripts. Let's take an example from Wulfstan's thirteenth homily (a pastoral letter in Anglo-Saxon). Five manuscripts exist, designated B C E K M, the latter being fragmentary. According to Dorothy Bethurum, these manuscripts form a stemma as follows (with lost manuscripts shown in [ ] — a useful convention though not one widely adopted):



That is, the archetype gave rise to two manuscripts, X and Y, now both lost. (Based on the stemma itself, it would appear that the archetype was actually the parent of X and Y, but this is by no means certain in reality.) B was copied from Y, and C and E were copied from X. Another lost manuscript, Z, was copied from C, and gave rise to K and M.

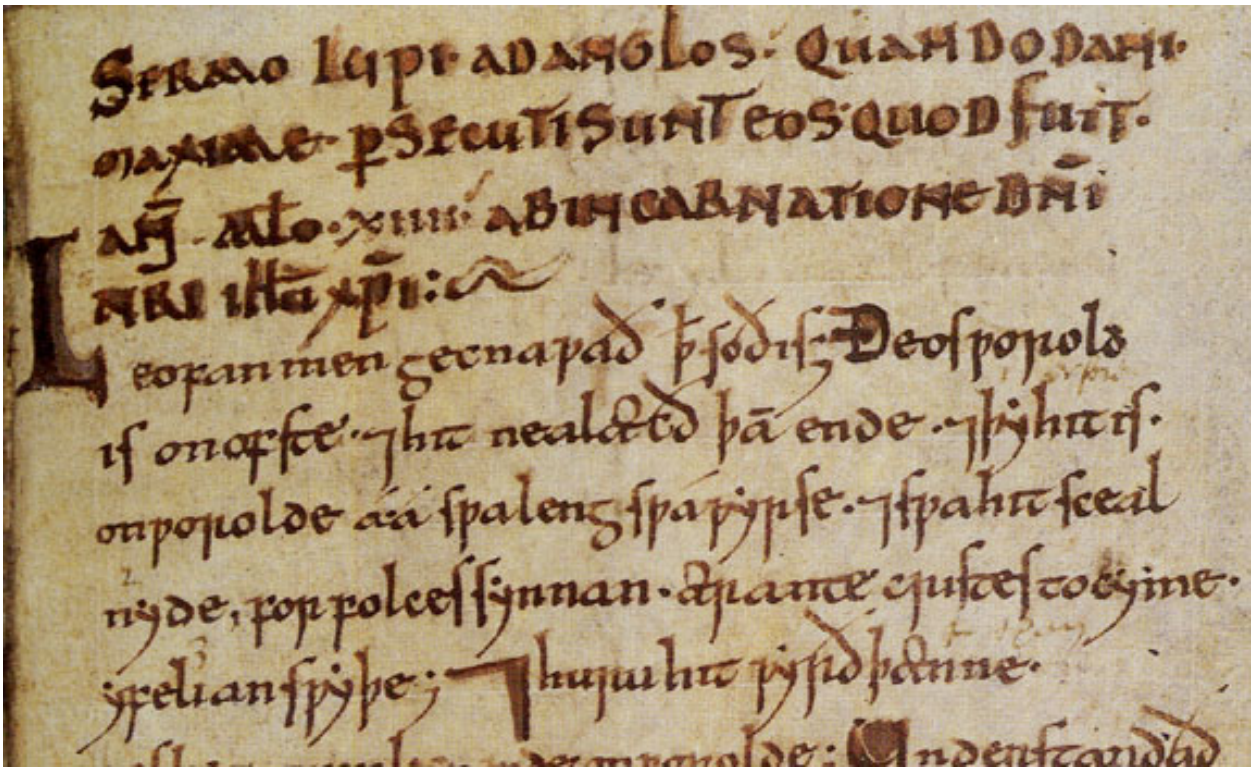
Observe what this tells us. First, K and M are direct descendants (according to Bethurum, anyway) of C. Therefore, they tell us nothing we don't already know, and can be ignored. Second, although C, E, and B are all primary witnesses, they don't have the same weight. Since C and E go back to a common archetype [X], their combined evidence is no greater than B alone, which goes back to a separate archetype. (We might find that [X] was a better witness than [Y], but the point is that C and E are dependent and B is independent. That is, the combination B-C against E is a good one, and B-E against C is good, but C-E against B is inherently weaker; it's ultimately a case of one witness against another.)

So how does one determine a stemma?

One begins, naturally, by collating the manuscripts (in full if possible, though family trees are sometimes based on samples). This generally requires that a single manuscript be selected as a collation base. (Unfortunately, since the manuscripts are not yet compared, the manuscript to collate against must be chosen unscientifically. One may choose to start with the oldest manuscript, or the most complete, or the one most

superficially free of scribal errors; as Charles Moorman comments on page 35 of *Editing the Middle English Manuscript,* the determination can only be made “by guess or God.”)

Once the manuscripts are collated, one proceeds to determine the stemma. Methods for making this determination vary. Lachmann based his work on “agreement in error.” This is a quick and efficient method, but it has two severe drawbacks: First, it assumes that we know the original reading (never a wise assumption, although critics as recent as Zuntz have sometimes used this technique), and second, it requires a fairly close-knit manuscript tradition. Both criteria were met by Lucretius, the author Lachmann studied.



Below: Perhaps the single important manuscript of Wulfstan: Cotton Nero A I, bearing corrections perhaps by Wulfstan himself. This is the introduction to Homily XX, the Sermon to the English. Observe the Latin introduction -- and how distinct are the alphabets used for the Latin and the Old English!

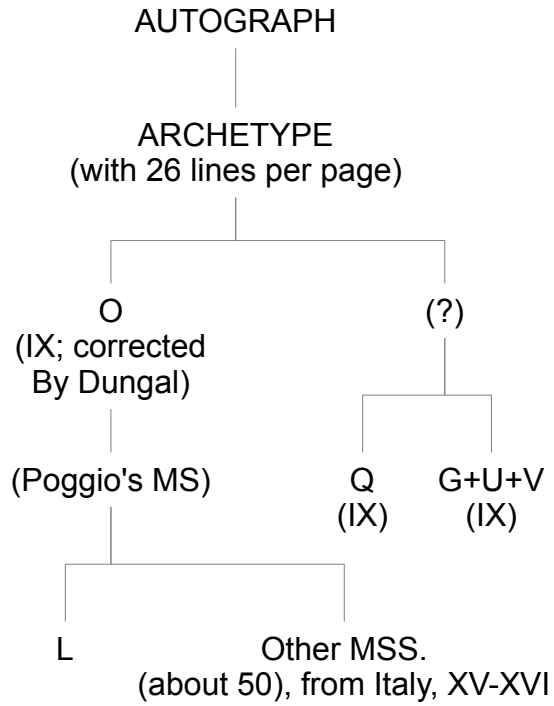
The Latin preface reads (abbreviations expanded; note the interesting use of the chi-rho for "per"):

SERMO LUPI AD ANGLOS QUANDO DANI
MAXIME PERSECUTI SUNT EOS, QUOD FUIT
ANNO MILLESIMO .XIIII, AB INCARNATIONE DOMINE
NOSTRI IESU CRISTI

The five complete lines of the Old English text shown here are

Leofan men, gecnawað þæt soð is: ðeos worold
is on ofste, 7 hit nealæcð þam ende, 7 þy hit is,
on worolde aa swa leng swa wyrse; 7 swa hit sceal
nyde for folces synnan, ær antecristes tocyme,
yfelian swyþe, 7 huru hit wyrð þænne

According to the latest research I have seen (summarized on pp. liv-lvii of the Loeb Classical Library edition of Lucretius, the 1992 revised edition by Martin Ferguson Smith), the stemma of the Lucretius is as follows:



This stemma, being so compact, is readily revealed by agreement in error. Other books are not as cooperative. Paul Maas observed that the agreement-in-error method requires two presuppositions: "(1) that the copies made since the primary split in the tradition each represent one exemplar only, i.e. that no scribe has combined several exemplars *(contaminatio),* (2) that each scribe consciously or unconsciously deviates from his exemplar, i.e. makes *peculiar* errors" (Paul Mass, *Textual Criticism,* translated by B. Flowers, p. 3). The first of these conditions will generally be true for obscure writings — but it is no more true of the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid* than it is of the New Testament. As for the latter requirement, it makes scribes into badly-programmed

computers — they are not accurate, but are inaccurate in particular and repeatable ways. This can hardly be relied upon.

In addition, there is an unrecognized assumption in Maas's Point 1: That there is a "primary split" — i.e. that the text falls into *two and only two basic families*. Bédier noted that the "agreement in error" method seems always to lead to trees with two and only two branches. (This is not as surprising as it sounds. First, it should be noted that most variants have two and only two readings. Thus a single point of variation can only identify two types. On this basis, if there are more than two types, the types which are more closely related will tend to be grouped as a single text-type. Thus when trying to seek new text-types, the first place to look is probably in the largest and most diverse of the established types. This is certainly true in the New Testament; the "Western" text has generally defied attempts to subdivide it, but the Alexandrian text often can be subdivided — in Paul, for instance, the manuscripts called Alexandrian actually fall into three groups: P46+B, Family 1739, and א+A+C+33+81+1175+al. For fuller discussion, see the appendix on The Bédier Problem.)

In any case, for most sorts of literature we cannot identify errors with the certainty that Lachmann could. As Moorman notes (p. 50), "For what passes in recension as science is in fact art and as such depends for its success upon the artistry of the editor rather than the accuracy of the method." E. Talbot Donaldson makes this point even more cogently in "The Psychology of Editors of Middle English Texts": "It is always carefully pointed out that MSS may be grouped together only on the basis of shared error, but it is seldom pointed out that if an editor has to be able to distinguish right readings from wrong in order to evolve a stemma which will in turn distinguish right readings from wrong for him, then he might as well go on using this God-given power to distinguish right from wrong throughout the whole editorial process, and eliminate the stemma. The only reason for not doing so is to eliminate the appearance — not the fact — of subjectivity: the fact remains that the whole classification depends on purely subjective choices made before the work of editing begins." The student, therefore, who wishes to have a truly repeatable method and must be content to work from agreements in readings (which is slower but does not depend on any assumptions). This, if pursued consistently, is a more than adequate method (and it can be made to work even if our manuscripts are mixed, as Lachmann's were not). It can also, if a system of characteristic readings is used, identify multiple independent branches of the tree, even if two branches are more similar to each other than to a third branch.

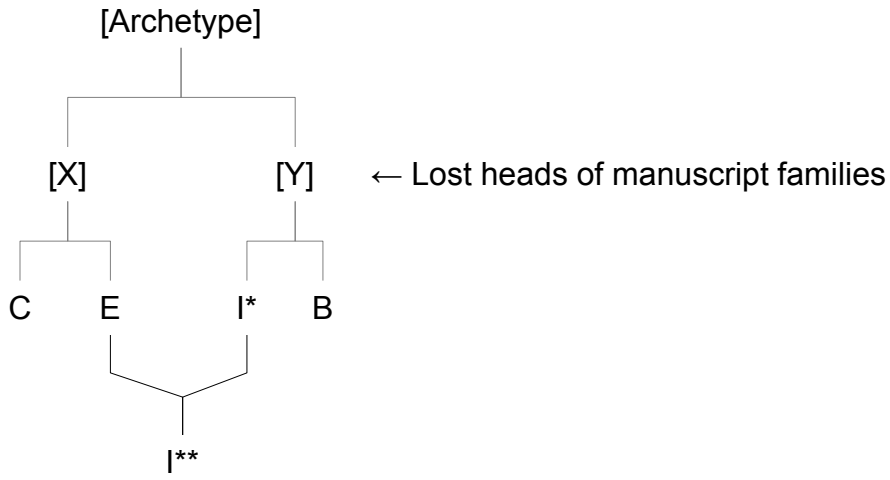
(Note: There *are* cases where agreement in error is absolutely reliable. A classic instance is in Arrian. Here, one codex is missing a leaf, causing a lacuna. Every other known copy — there are about forty — proceeds from the last word on the page before the loss to the first word of the page after, with no indication of anything missing. Thus,

one can be sure that *all* the manuscripts are descended from this one — and that it lost the leaf before the others were copied. Observe that this is identical to the situation of F and G^{p}.)

(Additional note: It appears that this method has now been rendered truly reliable. Stephen C. Carlson's work on Cladistics seems at last to have rendered stemmatics mathematically coherent and repeatable.)

This is not entirely to dismiss agreements in error even in the New Testament tradition. I use agreements in error regularly in grouping Byzantine manuscripts. For closely-related texts such as those, it is a completely reliable method. The problem comes in when one moves away from the closely-related texts. Zuntz, for instance, classed P^{46}, B, and 1739 together based on what he considered shared errors. But looking at overall agreements makes this appear quite wrong: P46/B and 1739 are separate types, and Zuntz's shared errors in fact give every evidence of being the original text!

It's worth stressing that there are instances where scholars have created inaccurate stemma by the above means. The Middle English work *Pierce the Ploughman's Creed (Piers Plowman's Creed)* exists in three substantial copies. W. W. Skeat thought all three to be derived from the same original. A. I. Doyle offered strong evidence that this is not so. An even more absurd situation occurs in the homilies of Wulfstan. There are four extant manuscripts of Homily Xc: C E I and B. N. R. Ker suggested that I contained marginalia in the hand of Wulfstan himself, and Dorothy Bethurum concedes that it offers "a more authoritative text of the homilies it contains than do any of the other manuscripts" — yet she offers this stemma, which puts I and its marginalia at the end of the copying process:



Even if documents do descend from the same original, it cannot automatically be assumed that they are sisters as opposed to cousins at some remove. If manuscripts

are sisters, then *every* deviation, be it as small as a change in orthography, must be explained. These requirements are much less strict for cousins, since there could have been work done on the intervening copies. It is much easier (and probably more accurate!) to produce a sketch-stemma than a detailed stemma — and there is really no loss. If you know which manuscripts are descended from others, *no matter at how many removes,* the primary purpose of *recensio* has been served. (And it's worth noting that sketch stemma are possible even for New Testament manuscript groupings such as Family 2138.)

Sometimes it will be found that recensio brings us back to a single surviving manuscript. For example, it is believed that all Greek manuscripts of Josephus's *Against Apion* are derived from the imperfect Codex Laurentianus (L) of the eleventh century. In this case we are, in effect, in the situation of having only one manuscript (or, in the case of *Against Apion,* one manuscript plus a Latin translation and extensive quotations from Eusebius, the latter two being the only authorities for a large lacuna in L and all its descendants). We proceed to the final stages (*Examinatio* and *Emendatio*) as described below.

(We should add a few footnotes to the above statement, which is *absolutely* true only if the archetype manuscript is complete and entirely legible, and if all the descendants are immediate copies. If, for instance, the exemplar is damaged, even for just a few letters, we may need to turn to the copies to reconstruct it. This happens in the New Testament, e.g., with Codex Claromontanus and its copies. D/06 has lost its first few verses, and we use D^{abs1} — which has no other value — to reconstruct them. Also, if manuscript B is not a daughter of manuscript A, but rather a granddaughter or later descendent, it may have picked up a handful of reading from mixture in the intervening steps. Although most places where B differs from A can be ignored as scribal errors, it is not proper to dismiss them entirely out of hand. Similarly, there may be marginal scholia in B which come from a different source, and may inform us of other readings.)

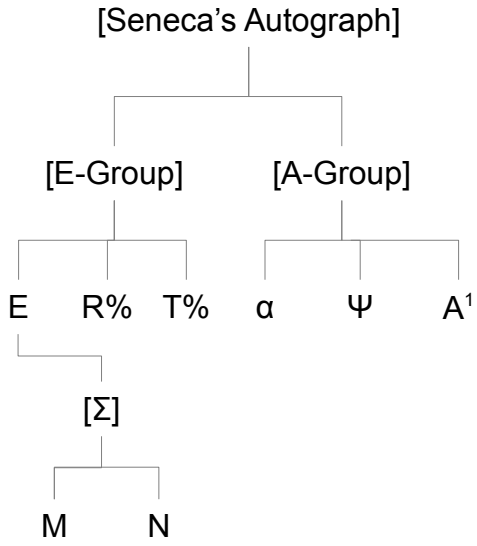
While some traditions will resolve down to a single surviving archetype, it is also common to find that all the manuscripts prove to derive from a lost archetype which is not the autograph. This is the case, for instance, with Æschylus. We have dozens of manuscripts all told (in fact, the number approaches one hundred) — but they all contain the same seven plays or a subset. It appears that every extant manuscript derives its contents from a single manuscript of about the second century, which contained these seven and no others. The later copies may include a few readings derived from other ancient manuscripts, but the *plays* they contain are based on that one manuscript.

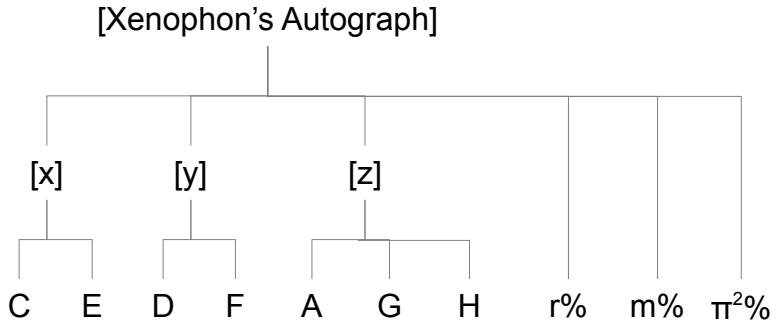
To critics accustomed to the riches of the New Testament, this may seem highly unlikely. But we should recall that most classical texts, including Æschylus and the other Greek dramatists, were the sole preserve of the educated — used only in the schools to teach Attic grammar and the like (even a relatively small book cost the equivalent of a month's wage for a civil servant, and could be more; the tenth century Archbishop Arethas's copy of Plato cost 21 gold pieces when the annual salary was 72). In a number of cases, it is theorized that the ancestor of all copies was a lone uncial. In the ninth or tenth century, perhaps as a result of Photius's revival of learning, this uncial was transcribed into minuscule script. Since this transcription took real effort (the scribe had to determine accents, word divisions, etc.), all later copies would be derived from this one ninth century minuscule transcript. The only way multiple families would emerge is if two different schools transcribed their uncials. (Or, of course, if the text evolved after the ninth century, but given the limited number of copies made in that time, when the Byzantine Empire was much reduced and under severe stress, this seems relatively unlikely.) Even if other copies existed in Byzantine libraries, vast numbers were destroyed in the sacks of Constantinople in 1204 and 1453. (It is believed, in fact, that the Christian Crusaders who sacked Byzantium are more at fault than the Ottoman Turks who finally captured Constantinople in 1453. The Crusaders had no use for literature, while the Ottomans respected learning. In addition, real efforts were made to rescue surviving literature after 1204. So if an author's work was not made accessible in the years after 1204, it is probably because all copies had been destroyed by then.)

To sum up, when confronted with a single lost manuscript, we reconstruct that archetype and then proceed to Examinatio and Emendatio.

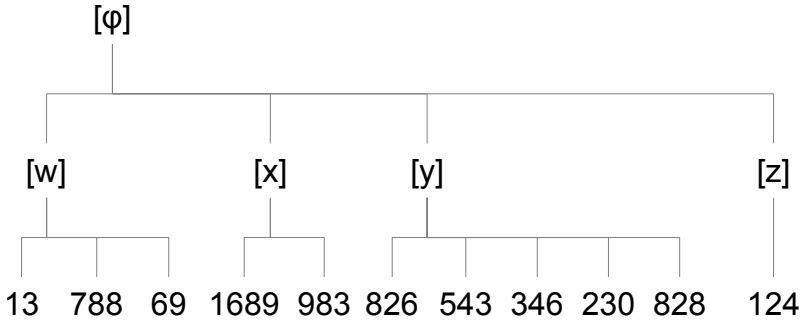
But for documents which were widely copied (even if only a limited number of copies survive), we usually find more complex traditions, such as those shown here for Seneca's tragedies and Xenophon's *Cyropædia*. In these instances, there were a handful of early copies which spawned families of related manuscripts.

In these charts, extant manuscripts are shown in plain type and lost, hypothetical manuscripts are shown in [brackets]. Fragments are marked %.





This situation also occurs in New Testament manuscript families. (So there is actually some relevance to this.) For example, Von Soden's breakdown of Family 13 would produce a stemma like this (note that other scholars have given somewhat different, and perhaps more accurate, stemma):



It should be noted that stemma are not always this simple; families may have sub-families. Rzach, for instance, found two families in Hesiod's *Theogony*, which he

labelled Ψ and Ω. But Ω, which consisted of seven manuscripts (to two for Ψ), had three subgroups, Ωa, Ωb, and Ωc.

This reminds us of Bédier's warning about finding only two branches, and also about making casual assumptions about the relationships of the groups. Can we be sure that the two manuscripts of Ψ actually form a group, or are they simply non-Ω manuscripts? (This problem is well known in other contexts: It's called "long branch assimilation," where two specimens far from the main mass appear to converge simply because they're so different from the bulk of the manuscripts.) Do the three subgroups of Ω actually form a larger group, or are they simply closer to each other than to Ψ? There is no assured answer to any of these questions, but it reminds us that we must be careful in constructing our stemma. One should also be aware that new discoveries can affect the stemma. (This, in fact, can apply also in NT TC; the discoveries of P^{46}, P^{47}, and P^{75} have all given us reason to re-examine the textual picture of the books they contain.)

Having determined the families, their nature must be assessed. This process has analogies in New Testament criticism (consider Hort's analysis of the "Western" and Alexandrian/"Neutral" types), except that in classical criticism it usually applies to precisely defined *texts* as opposed to Hort's less-well-defined text-*types.* (The difference being that the reading of a text, being derived from a single ancestor, can in theory be determined exactly; text-types properly speaking will not have a single ancestor, and so no pure original can be reconstructed. Text-types are a collection of similar manuscripts.)

Once the types have been assessed, it may prove that one or another group is so corrupt as to offer little more than a source of possible emendations. (This is almost the case with the families of Seneca shown above: The E text is regarded as clearly superior, so much so that A-group readings are rarely considered if the E group makes sense. This rule is also often applied, though unjustifiably, in Old Testament criticism, where the LXX usually is not even consulted unless the Masoretic Text appears defective.) But this situation where one particular family is universally superior is not usual; more often we find that each group has something to contribute — though we may also find that different groups have different sorts of faults (e.g. one may be prone to omission, one to paraphrase, and another to errors of sight).

Once we have assessed the types, we proceed to the next step in the process…

Selectio

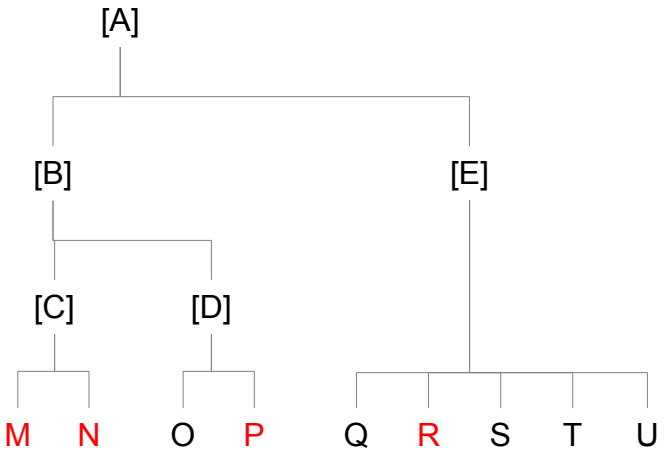
This phase of the critical process occurs only if *Recensio* reveals two or more textual groupings more recent than the autograph. If we have only one manuscript, or if our

manuscripts all go back to a single ancestor, *selectio* has no role to play. For *selectio* consists of choosing the most primitive of the surviving variants.

When we begin this process, we know our materials. Manuscripts have been grouped, their local archetypes more or less reconstructed, and their variants known. Now we must proceed to assess and choose between the variants.

Here one applies canons of criticism generally similar to those applied to the New Testament, though there are exceptions. So, for instance, we still accept the rule "that reading is best which best explains the others." And obviously the same basic scribal errors (homoioteleuton, etc.) still occur. But in secular works, one is unlikely to see the piling on of divine titles one often observes in the Bible (so, e.g., if a Greek author refers to "the Lord," it is hardly likely that a scribe will expand it to read "the Lord Jesus Christ"). Similarly, there is little likelihood of assimilation to remote parallels such as we find in the Gospels and Colossians (although assimilation to local parallels can and does occur). And, of course, there is no Byzantine text to influence the tradition (though there may, in some limited instances, be some equivalent sort of majority text that affects other manuscripts).

For all that we apply canons of criticism here, the usual approach is a sort of "modified majority" process (rather like the American electoral system, in which each congressperson is elected by a majority in that person's district, and laws are passed by a majority of those congressmen — meaning that a law can actually be passed despite being opposed by the majority of the general electorate). Consider the following provisional stemma of nine manuscripts M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U. The manuscripts A (the archetype), B, C, D, and E are all hypothetical (indicated by square brackets about the letters).



Now suppose we have two readings, X and Y. Assume these two are equally probable on internal grounds. Assume that X is read by M, N, P, and R (shown in red above), while O, Q, S, T, and U have reading Y. Thus, Y is the majority reading. However, reconstruction indicates that X is actually the correct reading. How do we determine this? We follow these steps:

1. Observe that M and N agree (this is the *only* subgroup where all the manuscripts agree). Therefore C had reading X, since this is supported by both M and N.
2. Observe that C agrees with one of the manuscripts of the D group (in this case, P). This implies that the original reading of D was X, in agreement with C, and that the reading of B was therefore X
3. Observe that B agrees with one of the manuscripts of the E group (in this case, R). This implies that the original reading of E was X, and that the reading of A was therefore X.

The above is not absolutely certain, of course. If reading X could have arisen as an easy error for Y, then Y might be original. Or there might be mixture — the eternal bugaboo of critics — involved. Intelligence and critical rules must be applied. But the above shows how a text can be reconstructed where critical rules are not clear. Whatever rule we use for a particular reading, we eventually reconstruct the set of readings we believe to have existed in the archetype.

When this is done, we have achieved a provisional text — the earliest text obtainable directly from the manuscripts. It is at this point that Biblical and classical textual criticism finally part ways. As far as Biblical TC is concerned, this is usually the last step — though Michael Holmes has argued ("Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism," published in Bart D. Ehrman & Michael W. Holmes, editors, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* p. 347), that there is no fundamental reason why New Testament criticism must stop here. The general opinion of New Testament critics was expressed by Kirsopp Lake in this way (*The Text of the New Testament,* sixth edition revised by Silva New, pp. 8–9): "In classical textual criticism, the archetype of all the extant MSS. is often obtainable with comparatively little work, but often is very corrupt. There is therefore scope for much conjectural emendation. In Biblical textual criticism, on the other hand, it is still doubtful what is the archetype of the existing manuscripts. But at least we may be sure that it is an exceedingly early one, with very few corruptions, and therefore the work of conjectural emendation is very light, rarely necessary[,] and scarcely ever possible.")

Thus it is only in classical criticism that we proceed to…

Examinatio

This process consists, simply put, of scanning the text for errors. This step, though it may be distasteful, and certainly difficult, is necessary. Classical manuscripts were no freer of errors than were Biblical manuscripts, and are often further removed from the archetype, meaning that there have been more generations for errors to arise. So the scholar, armed with knowledge of the language and (if possible) of the style of the writer, sets out to look for corruptions in the text. If they are found, the editor proceeds to…

Emendatio

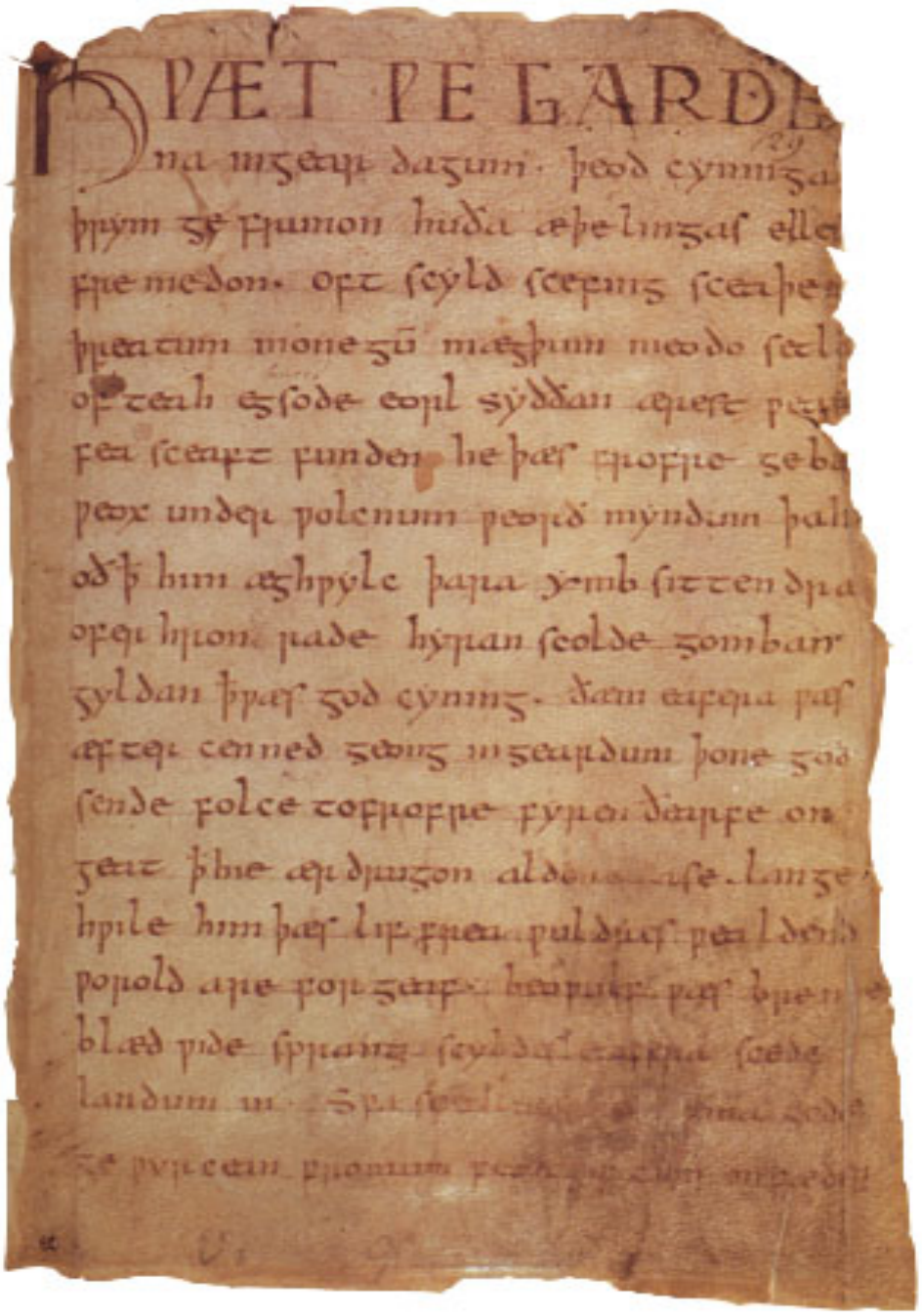
If *Examinatio* consists of looking for errors, *emendatio* (also known as *divinatio*) consists of fixing them. This, obviously, requires the use of conjectural emendation. This is no trivial task! Take the Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf* as an example. The Chickering text (Howell D. Chickering, Jr., *Beowulf*, Anchor, 1997) includes about 280 readings not in the manuscript (of which some 200 are conjectural emendation), and other editors have proposed many emendations not adopted by Chickering. The case of the Old English poem "The Seafarer" is even worse: in 124 lines of four to ten words each (usually toward the lower end of that range), the edition of I. L. Gordon adopts 22 emendations (I. L. Gordon, *The Seafarer,* Methuen's Old English Library, 1960). Thus the effort involved in correcting these texts can often be greater than that of simply comparing manuscripts.

Of course, the way one proceeds through the four steps of classical criticism depends very much upon the actual materials preserved. We say, for instance, that *emendatio* is the final step in the process. But it should use the results of the other steps. The variants at a particular point, for instance, may give a clue as to what was the original reading. If, for example, we were to find two variants, "He went to bet" and "He went too bad," a very strong conjecture would be that the original was "He went to bed." Therefore we must perform each step based on the materials available. Nor is emendation a trivial task. To repair a damaged text requires deep understanding of the language and the author's use of it (a better understanding than is required simply to read the text; when reading, you can look up a word you don't know. How can you look up a word which may not even exist?). It also requires great creativity — and knowledge of all the materials available. The following sections outline various scenarios and how critics proceed in each case.

Books Preserved in One Manuscript

In terms of steps required, this is the easiest of the various sorts of criticism. There is no need for *Recensio* or *Selectio*. One can proceed immediately to *Examinatio* and *Emendatio*.

But there are complications. For one thing, when there is only one manuscript, one is entirely dependent upon that manuscript. There is nothing to fall back on if the manuscript is illegible. And this can be a severe problem. Again taking the case of *Beowulf*, the only surviving manuscript was burned in the Cotton Library fire, and is often illegible. So we are largely dependent on two transcripts made some centuries ago, both of which have problems of their own. Similar difficulties are found in other texts. The manuscript may be a Palimpsest. Or it may use a non-standard orthography. In a handful of instances we may not even be able to read the script of the original (e.g. the Greek Linear A writings, but also some Persian inscriptions and even Old English writings in odd forms of the runic alphabet.) Thus the scholar must pay particular attention to the seemingly simple text of just *reading* the manuscript.



The sole manuscript of Beowulf, Cotton Vitellius A.xv. The first page of the poem. The photograph, digitally adjusted to increase legibility, still shows the scorch marks at the bottom of the page; the outer margin has also been eaten away by the fire, with some loss of text (conjectures to fill these gaps are in []). For a better view of the actual manuscript, see the British Library site. The first seven lines of the text read as follows (the •, equivalent to a raised point in the Old English, indicates the end of a metrical line;

these are not always marked in the manuscript; where they are not, {•} is used; suspended letters are spelled out. The word division matches the manuscript as I read it, though modern editions consider this defective):

HWÆT WE GARDE
na in gear dagum • þeod cyninga
þrym ge frunon {•} huða æþelingas elle[n]
fre medon • oft scyld scefing sceaþe[na]
þreatum monegum mægþum meodo setla
ofteah {•} esgode eorl syððan ærest wear[ð] {•}
fea sceaft funden he þæs frofre geba[d]

The second problem of texts preserved in a single copy is that we have no recourse in the event of an error. If a Biblical manuscript has lost a line, we can determine its reading from another copy. But if the ancestral copy of the *Antigone* has lost a line (and we can tell that it is missing because the surrounding lines make nonsense), how can we correct it? I use this as an example because this is a case where we can show this happened; the text of *Antigone* 1165–1168 makes nonsense in all the manuscripts. We know the correct reading only because Eustathius's commentary preserves the missing line. In the case of multiple manuscripts, even if all of them have an error, the nature of the mistakes may tell us something about the original. Not so when there is only one copy.

Thus the task of editing a book preserved in only one manuscript is arguably the most complex and difficult in textual criticism, for the scholar must reconstruct completely wherever the scribe has failed. We have already seen that these manuscripts often need vast numbers of emendations. They also require particularly clever ones.

There is a minor variation on this theme of emendation in the case of works which exist in only one manuscript, but for which we also have epitomes or other works based on the original source. (An example would be the portions of Polybius which overlap the surviving portions of Livy. Livy used Polybius, often quoting him nearly verbatim but without identifying the quotations.) These secondary sources can supply readings where the text is troubled. However, since the later sources are often rewritten (this is true even of the epitomes), and may be interpolated as well, it is usually best to use them simply as a source for emendations rather than to use them as a source of variant readings.

This theme has another variation in the case of editions copied from other editions: This applies in the case of Malory above, and also some of Shakespeare's plays, where we have two *semi-independent* editions. Caxton surely consulted British Library Add. 59678, but he must have consulted something else, too, even if it was only his own

head. In the case of Shakespeare, we can take *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as an example: There are two texts, the quarto (properly, the first quarto, but the second quarto was copied from the first quarto), and the folio, copied from the second quarto but with corrections seemingly from an authoritative second source. The interesting question here, then, is how authoritative is the text in the places where our two sources agree: Does this agreement have as much strength as an instance where two genuinely separate sources agree (meaning that we trust the joint reading as much as a reading supported by two different manuscripts), or is it a case where one corrector or another didn't notice a divergence? This question, unfortunately, has no simple answer — but one should be aware of the problem.

Another variation is the criticism of inscriptions. Although an inscription is, of course, the original inscription, it is not necessarily the original text. When Darius I of Persia ordered the making of the Behistun inscription, he certainly didn't climb the rock and do the carving himself — rather, he composed a message and left it to the workers to put it on the rock. Thus the inscription will generally be a first-generation copy of the original. This is still much better than we expect for literary works — but it is not the original.

Still another variation is shown by the Gilgamesh Epic. This exists in multiple pieces, recensionally different, in multiple languages, from multiple eras, with some of the later versions incorporating material originally separate, and not one of the major recensions is complete. Here one has to step back from the problem of deciding how to reconstruct and first settle *what* to reconstruct.

Books Preserved in Multiple Manuscripts

This is the case for which Lachmann's technique is best suited. It is ideal for traditions with perhaps five to twenty manuscripts, and can be used on larger groups (though it is hardly practical if there are in excess of a hundred manuscripts).

We begin, of course, with *Recensio*. This can have three possible outcomes:

1. All manuscripts are descendants of a single manuscript, which survives. In this case we simply turn to that manuscript, and proceed to subject it to *Examinatio* and *Emendatio*.

2. All manuscripts are descendants of a single manuscript now lost. In this case we reconstruct the archetype (this will usually consist simply of throwing out errors, since all the manuscripts have a recent common ancestor), and proceed as above, subjecting this reconstructed text to *Examinatio* and *Emendatio*.

3. The manuscripts fall into two or more families. In this case, we proceed through the full process of *Selectio*, *Examinatio* and *Emendatio*.

Books Preserved in Hundreds of Manuscripts

This is an unusual situation; very few ancient works are preserved in more than a few dozen manuscripts. But there are some — Homer being the obvious example. (Another leading example, the Quran, is rarely considered as a subject for textual criticism. At least one major edition of the Quran, in fact, was not even taken from manuscript; it was compiled by comparing the recitations of 20 or so Quranic scholars. The primary tradition of the Quran is considered to be oral, not written.) The *Iliad*, which is preserved in somewhat more than 600 manuscripts, is believed to be the most popular non-religious work of the manuscript age. (Of course, it should be noted that the works of Homer were regarded as scripture by the Greeks — but certainly not in the same way that the New Testament was regarded by Christians!)

In the handful of cases where manuscripts are so abundant, of course, the stemmatics used for most classical compositions become impossible. We have the same problem as we do with the New Testament: Too many manuscripts, and too many missing links. We are forced to adopt a different procedure, such as looking for the best or the most numerous manuscripts.

Since the methods used are fundamentally similar to those used for New Testament criticism, we will not detail them here. It is worth noting, however, that most critics consider the Byzantine manuscripts of Homer to be *more* reliable than the assorted surviving papyri. The papyri will occasionally contain very good readings — but in general they seem to contain wild, uncontrolled texts. Whereas the Byzantine manuscripts reflect a carefully controlled tradition, presumably going back to the Alexandrian editors who standardized Homer.

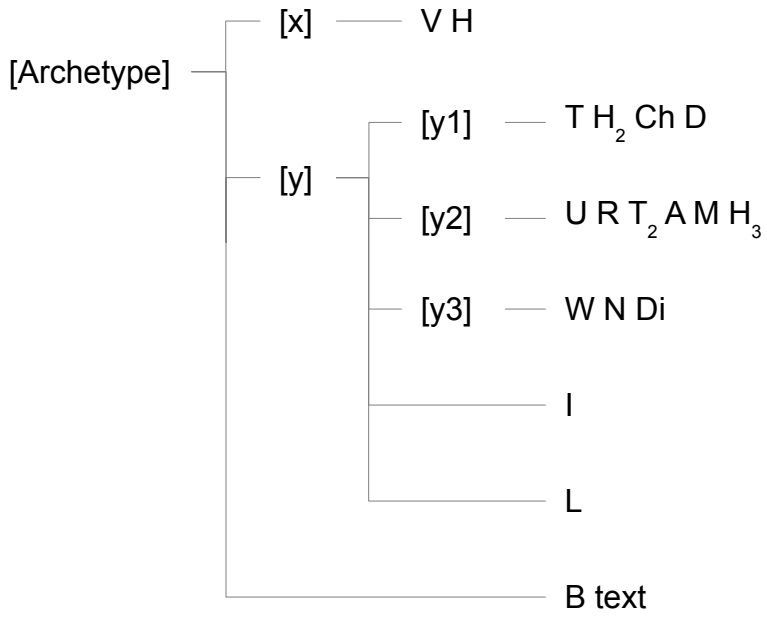
This fact should not be taken to imply anything about New Testament criticism; the situations are simply not parallel. But it serves as a reminder that a late manuscript need not be bad, and an early one need not be good. All must be judged on their merits.

Books Preserved in Multiple Editions

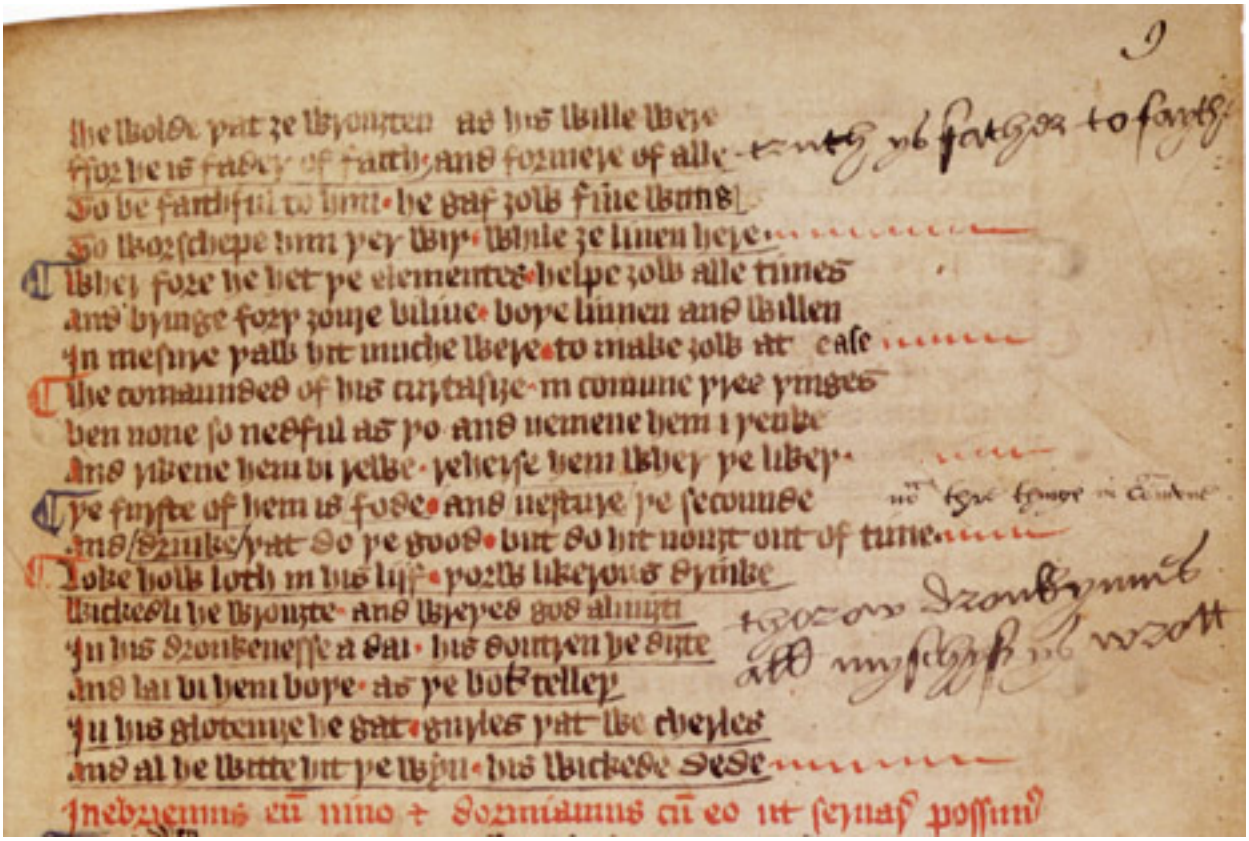
A special complication arises when books are preserved in multiple editions. This is by no means rare; an author would often be the only scribe available to copy his own work, and should he not have the right to expand it? This can in fact be observed in some of the works of Thomas Hoccleve, which survive in autograph form. (We may even see a New Testament parallel to this in the book of Acts, where some have thought that the

author produced two editions, one of which lies behind the Alexandrian text and the other behind the text of Codex Bezae.) Even authors who were not their own scribes would often expand their work. *The Vision of Piers Plowman,* for instance, exists in three stages (perhaps even four, though the fourth is actually a prototype and was not formally published). The first stage, known as "A," is 2500 lines long, and does not appear to have been finished. Some years later the "B" text, of 4000 lines, was issued (this is the text most often published). A final recension, the "C" text (only slightly longer, but considered to be of poorer quality) followed a few years later. All were probably by the same author (though this is not certain), but it is believed that, in revising the "B" text to produce the "C" version, the poet used a manuscript *that was produced by a different scribe.* What became of the original copy of the "B" text is unknown; perhaps it was presented to a patron.

This also poses a problem for the scholar working on a stemma. The edition of the "A" text of Piers Plowman by Thomas A. Knott and David C. Fowler, for instance, gives the following stemma (somewhat simplified), with actual manuscripts denoted by upper case letters (sometimes with subscripts or two-letter abbreviations) and ancestors in lower case letters:



Thus, for Piers Plowman, a later recension must be used as one of the three witnesses to the earlier recension — a practice which, if we were to do it in another context, we would not call "reconstruction" but "contamination" (or, if we want to make it sound nicer, "harmonization").



Near-contemporary but not really a witness: Piers the Plowman, *the upper portion of folio 9 in Cotton Vespasian B.xvi (cited in critical editions as "M"). Thought to date from the late fourteenth century, which, since the "C" text dates from around 1385 and the author died within a year or two of that date, was copied within a generation of the author's death. But, since it is a revision of the "C" text, itself a revision of the "B" text, it tells us nothing useful about the "A" text shown in the stemma at left.*

Note how different this hand is from the Anglo-Saxon hands used for Beowulf and Wulfstan. Note also the elaborate use of coloured inks: the red dots to indicate line breaks, the red in the first letter of almost every line, the coloured first letters of sections, and the marginal squiggles which also mark section breaks. Finally, observe how very different is the hand scribbling in the margin. The marginal notes, with their large loops, are typical of ordinary hands of the period; the main text is in an older style, more typical of the thirteenth century.

Even more curious is the case of the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood,* which exists in a long form, in the Roman alphabet, in the tenth century Vercelli Book, and in a much shorter form, in a runic script, inscribed on the eighth(?) century Ruthwell Cross. (In this instance it is not really clear what the relationship between the texts is.)

We could cite many other instances of works existing in multiple editions (e.g. Julian of Norwich; for that matter, we know that even Josephus issued multiple editions of his works). Indeed, there is a modern equivalent, even if I hate to mention it: Consider the movie, which often has a "studio cut" and a "director's cut." But citing examples is not our purpose here; our interest is in what we learn from these examples.

In addition to editorial work, multiple editions can come about as the result of ongoing additions to a document. This typically occurs in chronicle manuscripts. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* for instance, begins with a core created by King Alfred of Wessex (reigned 871–899). But from then on, the various foundations maintaining it kept their own records, often comparing the documents. In addition, a new foundation might make a copy of an older Chronicle then add its own additions (so, for example, with Chronicle MSS. A and A^2). And, since the Chronicle was updated sporadically, it is theoretically possible for a manuscript to be "its own grandpa" — the first part of A^2 is copied from A, but later parts of A might (barely possibly) be derived at some removes from A^2 or another lost descendant. To add to the fun, the manuscript A is in a different dialect of Anglo-Saxon from all other Chronicle manuscripts. The different recensions cannot be considered translations — the dialects were still one language — but adjustments had to be made to conform the text in one dialect to the idiom of another.

When multiple editions of a work exist, of course, it is not proper to conflate the editions to produce some sort of ur-text. The editions are *separate*, and should be reconstructed separately. The question is, to what extent is it legitimate to use the different editions for criticism of each other?

Although the exact answer will depend on the circumstances, in general the different editions should not be used to edit each other. (They can, of course, be used as sources of emendations.) They may be used as witnesses for one or another variant reading — but one should always be aware of the tendency to harmonize the different editions.

Textual Criticism of Lost Books

At first glance, textual criticism of a lost book may seem impossible. And in most cases it is; we cannot, for instance, reconstruct anything of Greek tragedy before Æschylus.

But "lost" is a relative term. The "Q" source used by Matthew and Luke is lost, but scholars are constantly reconstructing it. The situation is similar for many classical works. Consider, for example, the Egyptian historian Manetho. We have absolutely nothing directly from his pen. So much of his work, however, was excerpted by Eusebius and Africanus (and sometimes by Josephus) that Manetho's work still provides the outline of the Egyptian dynasty list.

This is by no means unusual; many classical works have perished but have been heavily excerpted. Polybius is another good example. Of his forty-volume history, only the first five books are entirely intact (we also have a large portion of book six, and a few scattered fragments of the other books). But most of the information from Polybius survives in the writers who consulted him — Livy and Diodorus used him heavily, and Plutarch and Pliny occasionally.

The problem in Polybius's case — as in Manetho's — lies in trying to determine what actually came from the original author and what is the work of the redactor. (We can perhaps grasp the scope of the problem if we imagine trying to reconstruct the Gospel of Mark if we had only Matthew and Luke as sources.) This is made harder by the fact that the redactors often introduced problems of their own. (A comparison of Africanus's and Eusebius's use of Manetho, for instance, shows severe discrepancies. They do not always agree on the number of kings in a dynasty, and they often disagree on the length of the reigns. Even the names of the kings themselves sometimes vary.)

Thus it is often possible to recover the essential content of lost books. However, one should never rely on the verbal accuracy of the reconstructed text.

There are variations on this theme. When the second part of *Don Quixote* was long delayed, an enterprising plagiarist published a continuation in 1614. This was not an actual work of Cervantes (who published his correct continuation in 1615), but it thought to have been based at least in part on a manuscript Cervantes allowed to circulate privately. The result is at least partly genuine Cervantes — but not something the author wanted published, and not entirely in his own words, either.

Other Differences between Classical and New Testament Criticism

We have already alluded to several of the differences between Classical and New Testament criticism: The difference in numbers of manuscripts, the use of stemmatics, etc. There are other differences which much sometimes be kept in mind:

The **Age of the Manuscripts**. Our earliest New Testament manuscripts are very close to the autograph. Based simply on its age, it is theoretically possible (though extremely unlikely) that $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$ is the autograph of the gospel of John. Certainly it is only a few generations away from the original. Even the great uncials B and א are only a few centuries more recent than the autographs. Manuscripts of the versions or their recensions may be even closer to the original — as, e.g., *theo* of the Vulgate may have been prepared under the supervision of Theodulf himself.
Such near-contemporary manuscripts are extremely rare for classical works (with the

obvious exception of documents written in the few centuries before the invention of printing). While we often have very early manuscripts of classical works, they are still many years removed from the originals (e.g. the earliest manuscript of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* is P. Oxyrhynchus 689 of the second century — a very early copy, but likely 500 or more years after the composition of the original). The problem is less extreme for some post-Biblical works (e.g. we have seventh-century manuscripts of Gregory of Tours, who wrote in the sixth century), but even these works usually exist only in very late copies. Related to this is:

The **Possibility of an Autograph**. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* exists in some 200 copies (a sad testament to the tendencies of ancient scribes, since this is a piece of bad fiction disguised as history). The book was written probably shortly before 1140. Three copies are individually dedicated to Earl Robert of Gloucester (died 1147), who may have been Geoffrey's patron; to King Stephen (reigned 1135–1154), and to Stephen's close supporter Galeran of Meulan (died 1166?), respectively. Could one of these be the autograph? Or at least *an* autograph — a copy in Geoffrey's own hand? The editions at my disposal don't say one way or the other — but there is no obvious reason why it *couldn't* be so.

The **Evolution of the Language**. Languages change with time, and manuscripts can change with them. In Greek, the obvious example is the disappearance of the digamma (Ϝ). We know that Homer used this obsolete phoneme, and Hesiod seems to have used it as well (though it was less important by his time). But our extant manuscripts do not preserve it. The scholar who reconstructs an early Greek text must therefore be careful to note the possible effects of its disappearance.

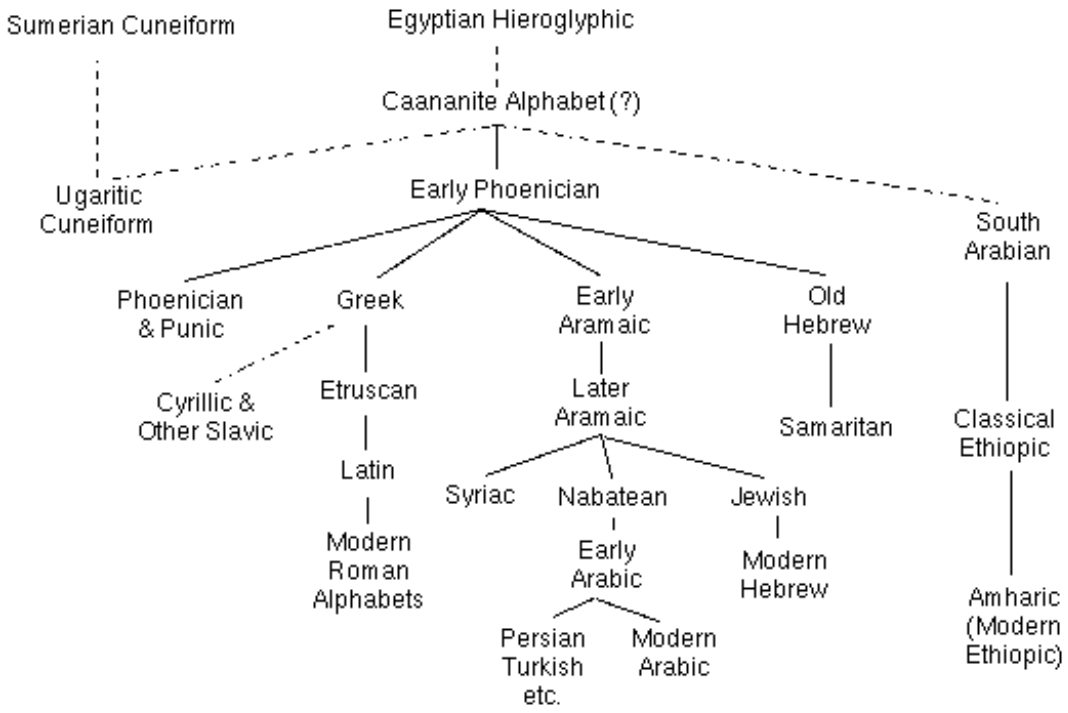
This effect can also be seen, to some extent, in the New Testament (e.g. in the form of Atticising tendencies). However, the mere fact that the New Testament was the New Testament kept this sort of modernization to a minimum. (See also the next item.)

There are variations on this theme — notably changes in the alphabet. Gregory of Tours records that the Frankish King Chilperic of the Franks attempted to add four new letters to the (Roman) alphabet, and ordered books written in the old alphabet to be erased and rewritten (HF V.44). This attempt at linguistic revision did not succeed — but it may well have resulted in the destruction of important manuscripts and in less-accurate copies of others.

Something similar certainly happened with ancient Greek literature. In the early Classical period, there were numerous versions of the Greek Alphabet. Some of the differences were just graphical — e.g. the Ionic alphabet used a four-stroke sigma (Σ) while the Attic used a three-stroke sigma (Ϟ). But some were more significant: The Ionic alphabet had used the letter Omega, but the Attic didn't, and Corinth used M for the s sound. It wasn't until 403/2 B.C.E. that Athens formally adopted the Ionic alphabet, and

some older writers probably continued to use the Attic alphabet for some time. Thus the earliest copies of most of the Greek tragedies, and very likely Homer and Hesiod as well, were originally written in alphabets other than the Ionic, and had to be converted. This means, first, that there could be errors of visual confusion in the text based on both Ionic and Attic forms, and second, that there could have been errors in translation between the alphabets.

The Semitic languages show another version of this: The addition of vowels. Each language added vowel symbols at different stages in its development, often imperfectly at first (e.g. Jacob of Edessa's system of Syriac vowels included only four symbols).



The illustration above shows a very simplified diagram of the evolution of most current alphabets. Solid lines indicate direct descent, dashed lines indirect descent. Any change in alphabetic form (including more minor ones such as changes in handwriting style, not shown here) will likely affect the history of the text of a manuscript. Above illustration adapted from page 255 of the article "The Early Alphabet" by John F. Healy in Reading the Past: Ancient Writing from Cuneiform to the Alphabet.

Dialect and Spelling. It's quite certain that modern NT editions do not use the actual orthography of the original autographs. However, there is a recognized dialect and set of spelling rules for koine Greek. Thus, except in the case of homonyms, there is no question of how to reconstruct a particular word.

Not so in non-Biblical works! If the manuscripts are any indication, Chaucer did not use consistent spelling — and even if he did, there were no conventions at the time, and his

spelling would not match that of Gower or Langland or the Gawain-poet. Indeed, Chaucer and the Gawain-poet used dialects so different as to be almost mutually incomprehensible. And a particular copyist might personally speak a different dialect than the one used in the work he was copying, and so misunderstand or alter the text. We see this also in Herodotus, who evidently wrote in his own Ionic dialect with some ancient forms. In the manuscripts, however, we find forms "that it seems unlikely Herodotus could ever have written" *(Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature,* p. 265).

This imposes two burdens on the critic. First, there is the matter of properly reconstructing the original. Then there is the matter of orthography. Should one use the orthography in the manuscripts? Should one reconstruct the author's orthography (which may differ substantially from that found in the manuscripts)? Should one use an idealized orthography? An idealized dialect? What if manuscripts exist in two dialects (as, e.g., happens with most Old English works preserved in multiple copies)? There is no correct answer to this, but the student must be aware of the problem.

This can get really interesting when combined with the problem of different recensions. *Piers Plowman,* as noted above, exists in three recensions, all of which exist in multiple copies. But several of these manuscripts have been modified to conform to a particular dialect. It is possible, under certain circumstances, that the modifications in dialect could cause texts of different recensions to come closer together, which could confuse the manuscript stemma. (We see hints of this in the case of the Old Church Slavonic version as well, as this version has undergone steady assimilation toward the developing South Slavic dialects.)

In some traditions (particularly French literature) there has been a tendency to use dialects as a critical tool — i.e., if a document exists in multiple dialects, then the manuscript(s) in the author's original dialect must be closest to the original. This may be true in some instances, but is far from assured. The manuscripts in the original dialect may have suffered severely in transmission, while one of the translated works may have been carefully preserved apart from that. Or the manuscripts in the original dialect may possibly have been subjected to double translation, in which case they are no guide to the original language. In neither case can we be sure of the value of manuscripts in the original dialect.

The state of the **Early Printed Editions.** For the New Testament, we have no real need to refer to either Erasmus's text or the Complutensian Polyglot, which are (for all intents and purposes) the only early editions. We have all of Erasmus's manuscripts. We don't know the manuscripts behind the Polyglot, but the text contains very little in the way of unusual readings. If these editions had not existed, we would be no worse off (indeed, given the regrettable influence exercised by the Textus Receptus, we probably would be better off if they had not existed). Not so with classical works! Early editions of Josephus

seem to be based on manuscripts no longer known. The case is similar for many other works. Scholars, therefore, should examine ancient editions with some care to see if they add to our knowledge.

Books which **Occupied More than One Volume**. The New Testament, of course, is commonly divided into four separate sections, Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, Paul, Apocalypse. These sections have separate textual histories, and sometimes even the books within the sections have separate histories. Because the books are relatively short, however, and were usually copied in codex form anyway, there are few if any instances of Biblical books being subdivided and the individual sections having separate textual histories. Here again the rules are different for non-Biblical documents. Many of the manuscripts of Josephus's *Antiquities*, for instance, contain only half the work — and even those which contain both halves may be copied from distinct manuscripts of the two halves. The halves may well have separate textual histories. Scholars must be alert for such shifts.

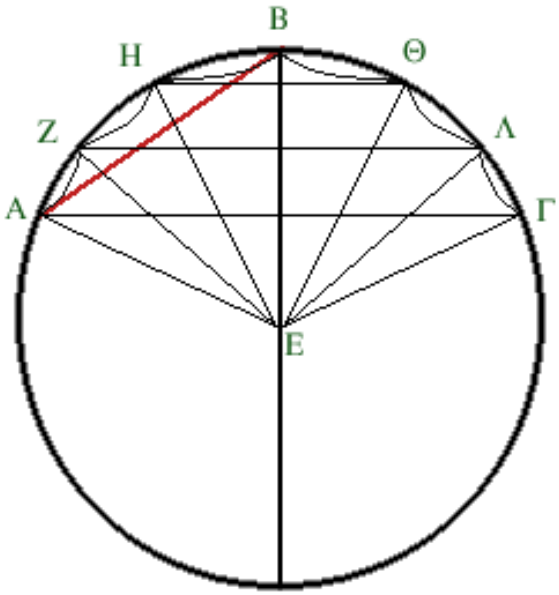
The **Language of the Scribe**. Most copies of the New Testament were made by scribes whose native language was Greek (usually Byzantine rather than koine Greek, but still Greek). There are exceptions — L, Θ, and 28; also perhaps some of the polyglot manuscripts — but these were exceptions rather than the rule. By contrast, most of our copies of Latin manuscripts were made by scribes whose native language was not Latin. They knew Latin — but it was church rather than Classical Latin, and in any case it was a second tongue. So one should always be aware of the errors an Italian scribe, say, would make in copying a classical work (and be aware that a French or English or Spanish scribe might make different errors).
In addition, there were polyglot manuscripts. There is, for instance, the British Museum manuscript Harley 2253, containing items in French, Latin, and Middle English. The scribe clearly had familiarity with all three languages (by no means unusual for an educated English scribe around 1340), but there is no certainty that the scribe's copying methods or sources were the same for the three different languages.

The **Conversion from Oral Tradition**. The New Testament originated in written form, so it never had to make the painful transition from oral tradition to a written text. But other documents assuredly did — and may have changed in the process. Homer is the most obvious example, but most languages have parallels, from *Beowulf* to the plays of Shakespeare (where the earliest printed editions seem to have been made from actors' memories) to Grimm's Fairy Tales. In a few cases, there was also the problem of inventing an alphabet to take down the tradition. Orally transmitted material is not transmitted in quite the same way as written (see the article on Oral Transmission). In addition, it leaves a textual problem: Does one attempt to reconstruct the version that

was originally taken down, or the original oral composition (this is another of those unanswerable questions).

The **Need to Reconstruct from Fragments**. We have many, many continuous manuscripts of the New Testament. If a new manuscript turns up, we need but fit it into the fabric of the surviving tradition.
This need not be so with classical works. We may well have multiple fragmentary manuscripts, with no complete copy to put the fragments in place. This happens a lot with the Dead Sea Scrolls, too.
Perhaps even worse is the case where we have a fairly complete copy, but with no indication of order. (This can happen, e.g., when a scroll is recovered from the wrappings of a mummy. It can also happen with a Palimpsest, particularly if, as sometimes happened, the page numbers of the original writing were written in a coloured ink and did not adhere well to the paper.)

The problem of **Spurious Additions**. There is significant debate about doctrinal modifications of the text of the New Testament. However, it is generally conceded that, with the possible exception of the text of Codex Bezae and the lost New Testament of Marcion, plus perhaps Mark 16:9-20 and John 7:53-8:11, the New Testament documents did not undergo significant rewriting. They were sacred, not to be modified.
Certain scribes felt free to modify classical texts, however. And if, as often happened, this modified text was the basis for all surviving copies, we have no ways to tell from the manuscripts that the passage is spurious. An obvious example is the famous reference to Jesus in Josephus *(Antiquities* XVIII.iii.3, or XVIII §63–64 in the Loeb enumeration). This passage cannot be original as it stands; it calls Jesus the Anointed — and then spends three more sentences on him and ignores him thereafter. At the very least, the declaration of his Christ-hood must be spurious, and probably the whole passage. But it occurs in all manuscripts, and Eusebius knew of it. So it is a very early insertion. Less certainly spurious, but even more difficult, is the ending of Æschylus's drama *The Seven Against Thebes*. This drama comes to a logical tragic conclusion with the death of Eteocles — whereupon we are presented with another 125 lines featuring Antigone, Ismene, and the Chorus. It is widely (though not quite



universally) believed that this section — over 10% of the play — is spurious.
Normally we might say that it is not a concern for the textual critic, since the critic merely reconstructs the most recent ancestor. But this can be a problem. For instance, the Antigone/Ismene section of the Septem requires a third actor (the Herald/Messenger). This is the only portion of the *Septem* to use a third actor. Logic says that, had Æschylus been writing a three-actor play, he would have made better use of him than this! So if the final section is original, we need to examine the rest of the play to find a role for the third actor (keeping in mind that the speakers are not marked in the copies, only the change of speakers). This will affect our reconstruction of the play. (See the next point on Missing Elements.)

Missing Elements in specialized documents. A New Testament is complete in and of itself. It doesn't need anything except the text. But a drama, for instance, consists of more than just the text spoken by the actors. It also includes such things as stage directions and indications of who is the speaker. Our sources, however, often do not include such elements. This is true of the earliest Greek dramas (a change in speakers is marked with a special symbol, but the speaker generally is not indicated), but continues until quite recent times. Although the speakers are marked in the "Second Shepherd's Play" of the Wakefield Cycle of mystery plays, there are only four stage directions, in Latin; they are not sufficient to explain the action. This continues to be a problem, to a lesser extent, even in Shakespeare.
Once again, it is not the task of the textual critic to reconstruct the stage directions or the speakers; that must be done after the text is established. But a knowledge of who is doing what can be essential in choosing between variants.
Stage indications are not the only thing which can be missing from a manuscript. Music is another obvious example. For poetry, there are also line and stanza divisions — while printing poetry in this way is a modern invention, the line-and-stanza structure is ancient. And in non-metrical verse, it is not always obvious where line breaks fall. Correct reconstruction can be very important in cases such as Old English alliterative poems. If the line breaks are not correctly placed, one may not be able to tell which is the alliterating letter, meaning that errors can propagate for many lines and perhaps force bogus conjectural emendations. See also the item on Drawings and other non-textual contents.

Metrical or Other Poetic Corrections. Much of classical literature is poetic, following particular conventions of metre and perhaps rhyme. If a scribe encountered a reading which appeared unmetrical (perhaps due to changes in the language; see the section above), he/she might change it. Such a change, if done well, may be indetectable — but a poor change may require emendation. This requires great sensitivity to the original author's style and dialect. (One should also note that scribes may have been more

sensitive to errors in metre or rhyme than the authors they were copying.)
A special case of this is the so-called *vitium Byzantium.* Byzantine poetry resembled classical tragedy in using a twelve-syllable line. But the metre was different: The Byzantine poets were expected to place a stress on the penultimate syllable of a line, while the tragedians faced no such expectation. Scribes seem often to have adjusted the tragic texts to meet the Byzantine standard (possibly unconsciously). Even prose was somewhat affected by such conventions; sentence breaks in the Byzantine era were expected to be marked by several unstressed syllables. Thus we find many earlier works adjusted to meet these later stylistic rules.
Other rules may apply to poetry. For example, early poetic works in the Germannic languages used the alliterative metre — each line consisted of four feet, each foot having a stressed syllable and varying numbers of unstressed syllables, with a slight pause (caesura) between the first two and the final two feet. At least two, and usually three, of the stressed syllables had to alliterate. But there were variations on this basic design. Some poems required more exact numbers of syllables. Other had more precise alliteration schemes (e.g. one scheme might allow only two syllables to alliterate, one on each side of the caesura, while stricter schemes might not only require three stressed syllables but require a pattern such as aa/ax). A scribe used to one particlar alliterative style might conform a work in a different style.

Corrections of offensive passages. A Christian scribe might well regard the works of, say, Aristophanes or Ovid as obscene. There was doubtless a temptation to bowdlerize. Evidence of this happening is surprisingly slight. We do not find cleaned-up copies of Aristophanes. This trend seems to be more modern. But there are copies of Herodotus which omit an account of sacred prostitution (I.199). So if there are two major traditions, and one contains an account of something sexually explicit or offensive, while the other omits it, chances are that the account which includes it is original.

Drawings and other non-textual contents. A geometrical treatise obviously could be expected to contain pictures. And such a drawing, unlike a picture, could contain text. (It might also contain line segments which would extend into the text, and affect its meaning — e.g. by crossing an omicron and turning it to a theta, though this is not very likely.) These captions could sometimes wander from the drawing into the text. Much the same is true of a work on geography if it contained maps. There is also the problem of assuring an accurate rendering of the original drawing — a task where the rules of textual criticism are less applicable. (The whole problem is not helped by the fact that many Greek mathematical works survive only in Arabic translations.) A skilled scribe might not be a skilled artist, or vice versa.
There actually is a textual criticism of diagrams. For example, there are two versions of a drawing found in Archimedes's *Sphere and Cylinder.* A "collation," so to speak, is

shown at right. We have five early copies of the diagram. All are effectively the same in most particulars. All involve a circle with seven points around the perimeter (in order, A Z H B Θ Λ Γ), and a single point E near (but probably not at) the middle, plus a series of lines and arcs connecting them. But some also include a line (shown here in red) between A and B. This line, as it turns out, has no part in the proof, and some of the manuscripts omit it.

It appears that all surviving manuscripts of Archimedes go back to just three collections of material, all from the Byzantine period, known not surprisingly as A, B, and C. A and B are lost, although we have some information about their history. C survives, in the form of the Archimedes Palimpsest, which unfortunately is very hard to read and which does not seem to have been copied. Only recently has the manuscript been subjected to the full array of scientific tests — some indeed being invented to deal with it.

A, B, and C did not contain the same material. Much that is of great value was copied only into C, and much of it sadly has been lost — those particular pages were not included when the parchment was rewritten and used for a prayer book. The diagram shown here is from Sphere and Cylinder, which was included in A and C. There apparently exist four copies of this work derived from Codex A. Two include the questionable line AB, two omit it. Reviel Netz therefore thinks Codex A included it, because it is more likely to be omitted (since it has no meaning in the proof) than added. This makes sense — but, since the line is omitted in C, it seems more likely that both A and C lacked it, as did Archimedes's original. Presumably some scribe copied it in by accident (there are a lot of lines in the drawing, after all!), and failed to erase it, and the version with the line propagated.

Thus we see how the textual criticism of the diagram and the textual criticism of the text itself interact. Knowing the stemma of the manuscripts, we can reconstruct the diagram. But there may be times when it is easier to figure out the history of the diagrams and reconstruct the history of the manuscripts based on that.

Spurious conflations of books. This isn't necessarily a problem just of non-Biblical works; many New Testament books have been accused of being assembled from various pieces. But it isn't the NT critic's job to reconstruct the pieces which made up 2 Corinthians, or to recreate the J, E, P sources of Genesis. For the textual critic, the task is simply to recreate the canonical work.

The case is more complex for non-Biblical works. Chrétien de Troyes, for instance, died before he could finish his *Perceval*, and it seems to many that another hand filled it out by using a Gawain epic of Chrétien's. This presumably required a certain amount of glue to work. Detecting and dealing with this is primarily the task of the literary critic — but since the two parts may have circulated separately to some extent, they may also have influenced the textual tradition.

We also see simple continuations — additions to a work that was, at the time,

considered finished or at least up-to-date. These too may involve complications. Two separate authors wrote continuations for Chrétien, for instance; we must be alert to interactions. Obviously there are continuations in the Bible also (most would regard Mark 16:9–20 and John chapter 21 as examples; even conservatives admit a continuation at the end of Joshua — though more liberal critics would dispute this example). But while these are continuations, they generally are *pre*-canonical continuations (with the possible exception of the ending of Mark), and hence of no concern to textual critics.

We see a very strange instance of this in the Old English poetic paraphrase of Genesis. This, it can be shown, consists of two parts, following different poetical rules. The so-called "Genesis B" fragment is a translation and adaption of a German poem. This is enclosed within "Genesis A," which tells the rest of the Genesis story. It is by no means clear how the two came to be conflated — or what effect the conflation had on the two poems.

The problem of **translations**. We encounter this, to some extent, in the New Testament versions — but there the problem is rather different. For all their peculiarities, the version will try to translate their underlying text accurately.

Many translations of secular works are not as secure. Alfred the Great's Old English translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy,* for instance, was actually an expanded adaption. There are also poetic translations of romances, such as the Middle English *Ywain and Gawain,* derived from a French work by Chrétien de Troyes. The Middle English romance cannot mechanically follow the French; since it is a poetic translation, it must heavily adapt the original. Yet this confronts us with at least the possibility (though perhaps not the likelihood) of interaction between original and translation. This might affect spellings of names and other minor details — but it could also lead to interpolations or, less probably, a shortening of the text. And that is if the translation attempts to follow the original closely! Many translations of romances in fact rewrote their originals — sometimes omitting as much as half the original, or alternately adding twice as much again.

Abbreviations. In the Bible, there are only a handful of abbreviations, generally quite standard: The Nomina Sacra, a handful of suspended letters, the occasional symbol for και. But every language will have its own set of abbreviations, and these may well cause some confusion. To take a trivial example, an English scribe confronted with the abbreviation "Geo." would expand it as "George," while a Scot might read it as "Geordie," and the Russian-born physicist George Gamow insisted that it was a nickname, "Joe." This must always be kept in mind in dealing with manuscripts. The text before you may not even contain any abbreviations — but perhaps an ancestor did.

The problem of **incompetent ancient editors**. Not all editions of classical works were produced by modern editors; ancients did it too. New Testament scholars will have some familiarity with this from the problems of Vulgate textual criticism (as with, e.g., the edition of Alcuin), and may also be familiar with the Lucianic text of LXX — but the problem can be much more severe in classical writings. Juvenal, for instance, is perhaps the most-copied Latin author of antiquity (some 500 copies survive in whole or in part) — but the vast majority of these are believed to derive from a single incompetently-executed edition containing many mistakes and errors. Only one important manuscript (P) is regarded as independent of this tradition. This puts Juvenal in a state arguably worse than an author for whom only two (good) witnesses survive, simply because the editor who stands behind the majority of manuscripts was so bad.

At this point it is perhaps worth quoting another passage from Reynolds & Wilson (page 212):

[Rules such as the above] will inevitably give the impression that textual criticism is a tidier and more cut-and-dried process than it proves to be in practice. While general principles are undoubtedly of great use, specific problems have an unfortunate habit of being *sui generis,* and similarly it is rare to find two manuscript traditions which respond to exactly the same treatment.

Appendix A: Textual Criticism of Modern Authors

Most of the preceding discussion has been directed toward writings which, in broad outline at least, have histories similar to the New Testament: Written in manuscript, and copied one at a time by scribes, with most of the copies being lost.

It should be noted, however, that there is a form of textual criticism practiced on works written since then, though it is a very different sort of subject. The difficulty is that a printed copy of a book, or even the author's autograph, may not really represent the author's actual intentions. (Compare the case of Malory described above, where Caxton much expanded from the manuscript.) A modern example of this is noted by Jerome J. McGann in *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Virginia, 1992), p. 59. He notes Byron's poem *The Giaour.* This had an extraordinarily complex history, with most "states" of the text surviving:

First draft: 344 lines
Fair copy by the author: 375 lines
Printed trial proof: 453 lines
First edition: 684 lines
Second edition (not corrected by Byron): 816 lines
"Third" edition, first run: 950 lines

“Third” edition, second run: 1014 lines
Fourth edition (not corrected by Byron): 1048 lines
Fifth edition: 1215 lines
Sixth edition: (lineation not noted)
Seventh edition: 1334 lines

And so on, through fully fifteen editions in a very short span of time (supposedly 14 editions between 1813 and 1815).

Now it should be obvious that the first and fourteenth editions aren’t really “the same,” and a textual critic shouldn’t be reconstructing one with reference to the other. But there is another question: What did Byron intend each edition to look like?

This is an even more complicated question, because of orthographic considerations. Particularly in the early era of printing, there was no standardization of spelling or punctuation. We see faint vestiges of this even today — e.g. Americans refer to workers collectively as “labor,” the British refer to them as “labour.” Again, newspapers tend to omit the serial comma (“I went to work, the store and home”) while higher-end books tend to include it (“I went to work, the store, and home”).

And authors often *expected* their publishers to help them in this regard. Sir Walter Scott wanted his writings to be “de-Scotticised” by the publisher. Byron’s works were overseen by Mary Shelley, who introduced corrections both orthographic and substantial — and Byron accepted a very high fraction of these changes, implying that he desired the help.

Thus, even the author’s final draft was not necessarily regarded as final in the author’s mind. So what does one reconstruct?

And even if one has decided what to reconstruct, does it follow that one should actually retain that form? Should an American version of Byron, e.g., use the spelling “labour”?

This is apparently a rather hot topic in textual criticism of modern works; it is the whole and entire subject of the McGann work cited above. (Though I must confess that I never figured out what McGann actually wanted to see happen.)

I suspect, however, that the issue is not of much interest to NT critics. (I know it isn’t of much interest to me!) NT editions necessarily create their own punctuation (derived perhaps in part from a manuscript — see the article on Copy Texts), and the tendency is also toward modern orthography.

A matter somewhat more serious (to my mind) is the case of Bishop Percy’s *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765 and later editions). This was an annotated edition of

poems Percy collected here and there, most particularly from a manuscript of the previous century which he had saved from burning.

The manuscript, however, was mutilated, and much of what was still intact had nonetheless been damaged in transmission, and several of the pieces were indelicate. So Percy included pieces not from the manuscript, omitted much that was in the manuscript — and heavily rewrote it all.

The result, frankly, was a botch. Many versions of traditional songs are defective, and it is accepted that an editor who wishes to prepare a song for singing must sometimes conflate or rewrite. But this still leaves two obligations: The author should admit to rewriting — and the author shouldn't produce garbage. Also, the author should not hide the manuscript (as Percy did), so that later editors can produce diplomatic editions or propose their own emendations.

Take it as given that Percy failed in all three of his tasks. But what should be done instead? About a century after Percy performed his butchery (an ironically successful butchery, since the *Reliques* was the most popular collection of tradition-based ballads to that date), an author produced a revised edition. What should he have done? Replaced Percy's hacks with the original manuscript versions? Printed Percy's version with footnotes? Something else?

There is no answer, really — but it reminds us of just how *bad* an editing job can be. Percy's edition was not useful to scholars because it was too heavily edited, and was no use to ordinary people because it was too badly edited, and at no point said what it did. Whatever else modern critics do, they really need to learn the Percy Lesson.

Appendix B: History of Other Literary Traditions

Note: This is not a history of literature, nor an account of literary criticism. It is simply a very brief account of the manuscript history of non-Biblical traditions. (Limited by what I myself know or can find out about these traditions. The primary sources for most of the shorter entries is David Crystal's *An Encyclodepic Dictionary of Language and Languages* and the *Encyclopedia of Literature* edited by Joseph T. Shipley, though I have consulted fuller literary histories for most of the longer entries. I have attempted to cover all current European languages, though examining the remaining languages of the world is beyond either my powers of the scope of this article (yes, I know this is unfair; a language such as Persian, e.g., has inscriptions from Biblical times, and a large literature, and its speakers have influenced Biblical history. But I have to draw the line somewhere). For that matter, even deciding what constitutes a *language* is difficult; the definitions are as often political as linguistic. Czechs and Slovaks, for instance, can understand each other, but their languages are called distinct. Different dialects of

Italian, by contrast, are sometimes mutually incomprehensible but labelled as one language.

Knowledge of the history of literature in a language can be helpful in reconstructing the history of manuscripts. Our understanding of the history of the New Testament text, for instance, is strongly influenced by the manuscripts which have survived. We have a handful of early manuscripts from Egypt, then a very quiet period in the sixth through eighth centuries, from which little of significance survives, then a great flowering beginning with the ninth century.

Latin literature and manuscripts have a history somewhat like that of the New Testament, though the dates are later, and there is no early phase. There are effectively no Latin manuscripts from the papyrus era (apart from those buried by Mount Vesuvius, of course); the areas where Latin was spoken generally did not have a climate suitable for long-term survival of papyri. We have some inscriptions, but few are literary.

The transition from uncial to minuscule happened somewhat earlier in the Latin than in the Greek tradition; the west, which was poorer than the Greek East, probably felt the need for a smaller hand at an earlier date. In any case, we see attempts at literature in minuscules as early as the seventh century. By the late eighth century, the Carolingian Minuscule became dominant, and uncials all but died out.

The Carolingian period also saw the first real revival in Latin learning. Old texts were unearthed and recopied; most of our oldest manuscripts are from this period.

The impoverishment that followed the breakup of Charlemagne's empire saw literary productions decline, but there was another revival in the twelfth century. This was the heyday of Latin literature in Christendom, and the single richest period for Latin manuscripts.

The **Romance Languages,** naturally, have a much shorter literary heritage. Although tongues such as French and Italian were starting to take form by Charlemagne's time, a literature requires more than that: It requires both authors and copyists. Monks, at this time, were still concerned with Latin literature, and few if any vernacular writers seem to have existed.

While a language recognizeably French appears to have existed by the ninth century, French literature has a complex history, as France remained a nation of semi-independent counties until the fifteenth century. (The French king was overlord of Normandy, Burgundy, Brittany, etc. — but hadn't the strength or authority to control the dukes who ran those fiefs. At best, he was allowed to name a new Duke if the old line died out.) Language and culture were by no means united. So the earliest important **French** writing was the *Song of Roland,* regarded as the earliest (and certainly the best)

of the *chansons de geste.* It is believed to date from around the beginning of the twelfth century, and other chansons date from somewhat later in that period. Also from the twelfth century (probably the latter half) is Marie de France (so named, it is thought, because of her birthplace; she seems to have worked in England), a writer of metrical romantic fables *(lais).* At the same time, the flood of romances (many of them, ironically, connected with the legendary British King Arthur) began to appear. Few of these, however, survive in many copies. Even the *Roland* exists in only one significant manuscript, Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Digby 23, which seems to have been copied by an Anglo-Norman scribe. (There are many later manuscripts, but they are all so bad that the critical editions tend to work simply by emending the Digby text.) Similarly, there is only one complete manuscript of Marie's *lais*; British Museum Harley 978. A large subset, nine, are found in a Paris manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. fr. 2168, also from the thirteenth century. There are a handful of other fragments, all from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It seems likely enough that the compositions survived primarily because they are so recent.

We tend to think of France as the country of French-speakers, but a significant minority still speaks **Provençal** (also known as **Languedoc**, and known to linguists as **Occitan**). Although a minority language in France, many of the traditions we regard as French are actually Provençal; in its early form (known since the tenth century), it was the language of the troubadours who created the "courtly love" mythology. The tongue itself was much more important in the past; today, northern French is imposed on southern children in the schools, and Provençal is a sort of a street language comparable to Braid Scots in Scotland. It flourished until the fourteenth century, but came under pressure thereafter (probably in part as a result of the Hundred Years War; many of the southern French had preferred English rule and the French government wanted to bind them more closely to France). The earliest written manuscript is a fragment of the *Boeci*, thought to have been written around the year 1000. Another fragment, the *Life* of Saint Fides, was copied at about that time. Then came William IX, Count of Poitiers, the so-called first Troubadour (who lived around 1071–1127). Although only about a dozen of his works survive, Provençal literature becomes common starting from him — beginning, of course, with the Courtly Love lyrics of poets such as Bernart de Ventadorn (mid-twelfth century).

It is not really proper to speak of **Spanish** literature of the manuscript era; for much of this period, the Iberian peninsula was in Moslem hands (Granada, in the south, was not dispersed until 1492). And even once Christians reclaimed the area, they formed separate principalities (Aragon, Castile, Leon, Navarre). Thus, properly, we should refer to either *Iberian* literature or the literature of the individual nations — though almost no one does so. It was not until 1469 that Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile

(with Isabella reigning from 1474 in Castille and Ferdinand from 1479 in Aragon), at last forming a united Spain. (And even this nation was not united administratively, and did not have a single monarch until 1516, when Charles I — who was also the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V — succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand, setting aside his mother Juana "the Mad.") There are, of course, manuscripts from Spain — such as the excellent Vulgate manuscripts cav and tol, plus some Visigothic fragments — but these properly fall under other headings.

Still, we have documents from this era. The earliest vernacular Spanish writings (as opposed to writings in late Latin) seem to be law codes from about tenth century. We do not find actual literature in Spanish until the about the twelfth century. From about this time come three epic romances: the *Poema del Cid (Cantar de Mio Cid*, about the Castilian Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, died 1099) was written about 1140 (which, although it survives entire in only one manuscript, is considered the great early example of Spanish literature; we also find extremely large portions of it quoted in later chronicles), the *Crónica Rimada*, and the *Roncesvalles* (a translation and adaption of the French *Song of Roland)*, also surviving in a single manuscript. All of these are evolved works, hinting that there are older epics, but they are lost. From this time, we see increasing volumes of literature in all categories (epic, drama, poetry, etc.)

Portugese is now spoken primarily in Brazil, which has a far larger population than Portugal itself, but of course the language did not reach that nation until after the invention of printing. Portugal itself has had a complex history, occasionally being united with Spain; the two languages have influenced each other. The famous Portugese explorers also brought home many loan-words. The basic language, however, remains fairly close to the Latin from which it sprang. There is a strong literary tradition starting from the twelfth century (the earliest dated inscription comes from 1189); the songs of the troubadours, the most important part of the tradition, come from the next century. These have a complex history, written separately and combined, with many of the anthologies lost, but they may have cross-fertilized. Portugese is especially closely related to **Galician**, spoken primarily in the northwest corner of Spain north of Portugal (the two did not split until after Portugal became an independent country and the western Iberians were largely cut off from each other). Distinctly Galician literature is, however, rare and largely confined to the period after the development of printing and the split with Portugese; although there are cultural hints of a Celtic history in the region, this has not affected the language or literature.

Catalan was for much of its history the official speech of Aragon (a small country which came to be incorporated into the larger Catalan state but retained the name Aragon because Aragon had kings and Catalonia only counts), but it is now the forgotten Romance language — it's almost the only Romance speech not to be official

somewhere. It is spoken primarily in northeastern Spain and surrounding areas (e.g. into the eastern French Pyrenees; the primary city of Catalan Spain is Barcelona). Catalan speakers have been oppressed at various times in Spanish history (as recently as under Franco), which has resulted both in the destruction of texts and in a strong tendency to conform to Spanish. Still, there are literary remains going back to about the twelfth century, and chronicles starting not much after — and the fact that Aragon and the County of Barcelona came to be dominated by Castile, and that Catalan texts and speakers have been abused, means that there is much need for textual reconstructive work.

Even more thoroughly ignored is **Corsican**, spoken by only a few hundred thousand people on the island of that name. Although Corsica has been governed by France for more than two centuries, it is a language with Italian roots (closest to Tuscan). It has, however, no real literature (Corsica long remained a land of subsistance farmers and shepherds), particularly from the manuscript era.

Sardinian has been written since the eleventh century, but has only a small literature; the language (which is close to Italian, and also said to be closer to vulgar Latin than any other Romance language) has several dialects, none dominant, and it has never been an official language even on its home island.

Ladinic is the usual name for a Romance language spoken primarily by Jews. As such, it has a fairly large literature, though much of it is fairly recent. The tradition is confused by the fact that both Hebrew and Roman alphabets have been used for it.

The name “Ladinic” is also sometimes used for the fourth official language of Switzerland, but the correct name is **Romansch** or **Rhaetian** or **Rhaeto-Romansch**. It has several dialects, influenced variously by Italian and French. The earliest writings date from the twelfth century, but the small number of speakers has kept the tradition small.

It was Dante who truly put vernacular **Italian** literature on the map — though he wrote in Latin as well as Italian, his great work, the *Divine Comedy,* was the first major work of Italian vernacular literature, and written not many centuries after the first hints of Italian writing in the tenth century (that earliest writing being scribbles in the margins of Latin documents. We have some verse fragments from the twelfth century, but their dialect seems to indicate that they were dead ends). So great was Dante’s influence that Boccaccio, the second great light of Italian literature, adopted almost all of Dante’s techniques. Dante did not invent everything he did — his slightly older colleague Guido Cavalcanti, for whom Dante wrote the *Vita nuova,* pioneered a great deal. Dante, however, was the great voice who spread the literature to the wide world. Like Boccaccio, Petrarch (the popularizer of the sonnet) wrote in the period immediately after

Dante (Petrarch too was of Florentine ancestry, though born outside that city). Dante, Cavalcanti, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, however, wrote only a few centuries before the invention of printing. Thus the Italian manuscript tradition presents few interesting features. In addition, Italy, like Spain, was not united until long after the invention of printing — in this case, the nineteenth century. The *Divine Comedy* is not really Italian literature (except in its language; Dante was one of the first to write in the Italian vernacular); it is the language of one of the city-states (even today, some of the Italian dialects are mutually incomprehensible; Received Italian is based on the Tuscan dialect of Florence, but about half the population does not speak this form as a native language; there are also minority languages. Francis of Assisi, for instance, wrote extensively in his local Umbrian dialect). There was thus no national Italian literature in the manuscript era.

Widely separated from the other Romance languages is **Rumanian**. This has caused it to develop unusual features — e.g. it adds articles as suffixes to nouns, and of course has many Slavic loan words. The language presumably evolved away from Latin very early, but the earliest writings seem to date from the sixteenth century, and these were confined to official documents and liturgical works. Even then, Slavic alphabets were used for several centuries.

Some texts will speak of **Moldavian** as a separate Romance language, but this is one of those political distinctions, since Moldova, prior to independence, was long part of Russia. Moldavian is really a dialect of Rumanian (with some Russian loan words) written in the Cyrillic alphabet, with no real literature from the manuscript era.

Dalmatian, which died out as recently as the end of the nineteenth century, was also a Romance language, but seems to have left little literature. (This is fairly typical of Balkan area languages.)

Romani (Romany, Gypsy), despite its name, is not a Romance language; its origin is something of a mystery although it has been attributed to the Indo-Aryan group. The language is very diverse, and tends to take on local attributes. When written, it tends to use the local alphabet. Romani literature, however, is oral; there is little if any need for textual criticism.

Greek literature never went into as much of a decline as Latin, so we do not see as much of a revival. The strongest period of copying, however, is not that different from Latin; many of our earliest manuscripts date from the ninth to eleventh centuries. The Photian Revival of the ninth century is no doubt at least partly responsible. After the eleventh century, the decline begins. The Battle of Manzikert (1071) began the long slow Byzantine retreat which ended with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The worst destruction, however, was wrought by Christians, not Turks. The Fourth Crusade

sacked Constantinople in 1204, and many of its treasures were either destroyed at that time or carried off to Western libraries where they were forgotten.

It is interesting to note that, for both Greek and Latin literatures, there is something of a break following the third century. Until this time, authors freely and regularly quoted works such as the Epic Cycle and the lost plays of the Athenian dramatists. Following the third century, this becomes much rarer. Occasional extremely diligent authors such as Photius will occasionally produce something from a lost work, but the strong majority of quotations in later writers are from works which still exist today. This cutoff is so strong and so obvious that scholars have speculated that the surviving works are part of some sort of official curriculum, with works outside that curriculum being ignored. (The problem with this theory is that there is absolutely no other evidence for it. The likely explanation is just the general decline of the Roman Empire.)

Russian literature really gives us very little to work with. There was not even a Russian/Slavic alphabet until the creation of the Old Church Slavonic version. Even then, there was little to write down (a fact which is to a significant extent responsible for out ignorance of early Russian history); Russia, more than almost any nation in Europe, was a land of poor peasants and wealthier but equally ignorant aristocrats. It also suffered outside disruptions — the sack of Kiev in 1170, the Mongol and Tatar invasions, the later sack of Novgorod and the other battles for Russian unification. The problem is made that much worse by the various dialects of the language. (We truly do not know the extent to which early Russian differed from Old Church Slavonic.) Histories do not begin to speak of Russian literature until the eighteenth century. Prior to that, there were church manuals and a few chronicles and the like (starting from the twelfth century), but little else save the letters of Tsar Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible, 1530–1584). From the manuscript era, there is little original literature except for saints' lives and monastery annals. The latter hardly need textual criticism. The former may have suffered more modification — but in this case, the modifications may be of as much interest as the original text.

The situation is similar for most of the eastern **Slavic** languages (in the areas where the Orthodox church held sway). The situation is perhaps even worse for the western Slavs; since these regions were Catholic, they used the Latin Bible, and had no vernacular translation to inspire a literary tradition. Slovenian, for instance, is said not to have had any literature at all until the nineteenth century.

Interestingly, textual criticism continues to be an active need in some of the Slavic languages to this day. Because of the Habsburg Empire's lack of respect for its subject peoples, writings in these tongues were often published very casually. A classic example is Jaroslav Hasek's *The Good Soldier Schweik,* written after the First World

War though including elements from the period before the war. Hasek's manuscript (written in **Czech**, though with bits of German) is incomplete, the two early editions differ substantially, and Hasek (who died in 1923) had no real part in either. (He was dictating almost to the day of his death, and exercised little control over the volumes which actually appeared in print.) Thus there is a real need for a critical edition of this famous twentieth century writing. This is all the more ironic in that Czech as a language (as opposed to a dialect of East Slavonic) did not emerge until the sixteenth century; had there been free publication in the Habsburg Empire, there would be little need for textual work. But government opposition was strong — in no small part because much Czech literature was anti-Catholic. The literary impulse was largely a belated reaction to the work of Hus, who tried to regularize Czech orthography and conform the language to that of the people. From about 1350 to 1500, the period when Czech was becoming a distinct language, effectively all Czech works were religious and Husite. Hus's orthography eventually came to be widely accepted — but, with the Habsburgs trying to suppress Czech aspirations, it took a long time for it to receive universal acceptance. A side effect of this is that many Czech writers, such as Comenius, had to work outside the Habsburg empire (Comenius, properly Jan Amos Komensky, worked in Poland, Sweden, and Holland; printers there naturally had some troubles typesetting his works.)

The situation for **Slovak** is even worse. Almost indistinguishable from Czech (the two are fairly mutually intelligible, and might be considered one were it not for political reasons — the Czech regions of Bohemia and Moravia were under Austrian control in Habsburg times, while the Slovaks were ruled by the Magyars), Slovak is a language of small farmers and villagers. It has many dialects, there were no schools, and the Magyar overlords used Latin or, later, Hungarian. The idea of a separate "Slovak" language does not seem to have existed before the time of Bajza (1754–1836), and there was little literary impulse until the nineteenth century, when Ludovít Stúr produced a newspaper using a standardized Slovak language. Even that was opposed by many Slovaks, some of whom preferred Czech as a literary language (Czech influence had long affected the few works published in Bratislava). And the outside pressure continued: the influence of first the Magyars and then the Czechs suppressed the development of a literary language. With no Hus to look back to, and no early works to preserve, Slovak has little need for textual criticism.

The Slavic languages of the **Former Soviet Union** have suffered similarly. **Belorussian** (Byelorussian, White Russian, Byelo-Ruthenian), written in the Cyrillic alphabet, has literary remains dating back to the eleventh century, but the people has never been independent until now, and both Russian and Habsburg dynasties tended to hold down both people and language. **Ukrainian** has a curious history, as the Ukrainian/Russian separation was initially more cultural than linguistic. The Ukrainians had a tendency

toward the Uniate church, and affiliations with the Poles, while the Russians are Orthodox. There are hints of a Ukrainian dialect as early as the thirteenth century, but the current language (marked, e.g., by Polish loan words) did not come into being until the late eighteenth century.

Polish as a language existed by the twelfth century, but literary works do not appear until the fifteenth century (we have catalogs of older works, but apart from a few surviving hymns and fragments, our earlier survivals are all in Latin; so too the writings of Copernicus, the first great Polish scholar), with a flowering in the sixteenth. There were few widely popular Polish works before the invention of printing. And after printing came along, Poland was the victim of cultural imperialism (the almost-universal fate of Eastern European peoples), with the country eventually being divided by Prussia, Russia, and the Habsburg Monarchy, and was not reunited until after the First World War. This means that, although there was a standard literary Polish (derived from the dialect of Poznan), the local dialects were little influenced by this form. This slowed and fragmented the development of Polish literature, which did not really revive until the nineteenth century. In any case, there is little here for textual criticism to do.

Sorbian (Wendish, Lusatian) is a Slavic language spoken in primarily in Germany in the region of the Polish and Czech borders. There are only a few tens of thousands of speakers, but even so, the language has several dialects. The earliest texts date from the fifteenth century, but the remains are limited for obvious reasons. The New Testament was the first printed work, being published in 1548.

Bulgarian is unusual among Slavic languages in that it came to be written early (though the oldest culturally Bulgarian inscriptions predate written Bulgarian, and are in ungrammatical Greek). Closely related to Old Church Slavonic (there are Slavonic biblical manuscripts which can be called proto-Bulgarian), the earliest Bulgarian literature dates from the tenth century, meaning that textual criticism has a genuine place in dealing with Bulgarian writings. (The earliest writings, for instance, will have been in the Glagolitic alphabet, later to be changed to Cyrillic.) The earliest works were mostly religious and mostly derivative; starting in the twelfth century, however, there was a flowering which lasted until the Ottoman conquest. Since the Ottomans suppressed education and technology, printing did not arrive until late; many works were destroyed and many that would otherwise have been printed survived in only a handful of manuscripts.

Macedonian is a curious language, fragmented into very diverse dialects, many of which are as close to Bulgarian as to each other. (Indeed, Bulgaria has claimed the Macedonian language as dialects of its own.) Some features of Macedonian appear in

writings as early as the tenth century, but as a literary language, it did not emerge until late in the eighteenth century, and only quite recently has it truly come into its own.

The ultimate example of interplay between politics and linguistics may be in the case of **Serbian/Croatian/Serbo-Croatian**. The languages of Serbia and Croatia are mutually comprehensible in speech, but both parties insist that the languages are different; the Serbs are Orthodox Christians and write their language in the Cyrillic alphabet, while the Croats are Catholic and write using the Roman alphabet. There are remains of the language from the twelfth century, but politics can play a role in their interpretation. Making the matter even more complex is the fact that the Serbs long clung to Church Slavonic as their literary language. What few works there are are mostly liturgical, and needing examination by someone familiar with both Slavonic and Serbian. True Serbian literature did not come into being until the nineteenth century. Croatian saw a brief flowering in the sixteenth century, but the Croats, as Catholics, tended to use mostly Latin for their few writings until quite recently. The outcome of this was the very odd *Knjizevni Dogovar* agreement of 1850, which caused Croats and Serbs to formally adopt the same literary language!

Related to Serbo-Croatian, but more obviously distinct, is **Slovene** (Slovenian). Although there are signs of written Slovene from the eleventh century, a standard literary form did not develop until the nineteenth.

More distantly related to the Slavic languages are the Baltic tongues of Latvian, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian. **Old Prussian** is extinct; there are some written remains, but here the need is more for linguistic than textual reconstruction. **Latvian** (Lettish) was first written in the sixteenth century, in a Gothic alphabet, though the Latin alphabet has been in use since shortly after World War I. **Lithuanian** also gives us literary remains from the sixteenth century, though it uses a 32–letter alphabet based on the Latin.

Germanic literature (including English, Scandinavian, and German writings) had a more complex history than Greek or Latin or Romance literature, as there was never a united German nation in the manuscript era. Then, too, languages like English and Frisian and Dutch did not formally divide from Old German until well after the New Testament was written (indeed, the Germanic group continues to spawn new languages; Afrikaans sprang off from Dutch starting in the eighteenth century). In addition, many of these people acquired writing only *after* long periods of independent development, meaning that individual nations had completely independent literary histories.

English literature had a curious, rather roller-coaster-like history. The Romano-Celtic literature which preceded the Anglo-Saxon invasions (if there ever was such a pre-invasion literature) was completely extinguished by the Germanic invaders. The invaders themselves seem to have had a rudimentary knowledge of writing (there are a

few inscriptions, such as the Ruthwell Cross, in runic letters, and as the runes are of an ancient form, with no dependence on Latin letters, the forms presumably predate the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons). There is, however, no evidence of a literature written in these characters. Indeed, there is no evidence that they had any form of written literature at all; all the earliest Anglo-Saxon poems, from Caedmon's Hymn to *Beowulf*, seem to have been originally oral. To make matters even more complicated, the invaders were not actually all one people, and in any case they did not at once form a unified England. (Traditionally there were seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms — Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Wessex, Sussex, Essex, and Kent — but Northumbria, for instance, was formed by the union of Bernicia and Deira, and most of the other seven kingdoms were also assembled from smaller units.) The result was significant dialectial differences between the nations.

The Viking invasions of the ninth century did much to change this picture. First, they destroyed all of the ancient kingdoms except Wessex (without establishing anything of significance in their place), and second, they placed so much pressure on Wessex that it could not afford a child-king. As a result, when King Ethelred I died around 871, he was succeeded not by his son but by his younger brother Alfred.

This was significant on two counts. First, it made a united England possible; the old English nations were no more, and the new Viking states did not have the strength to resist Wessex. (Nor did they really object to English overlordship; at this stage, English and Norse were still fairly closely linked culturally and linguistically.) Alfred did not himself unite England, but his son and grandsons were able to create a unitary Saxon state which would last until the Norman Conquest.

More significant for our purposes, however, is the revival of learning encouraged by Alfred. We cannot really tell, from the surviving records, how much was actually the work of Alfred himself — but there is no doubt that the survival of Anglo-Saxon literature is due to Alfred's efforts. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts almost without exception date from this era (Alfred took the throne in about 871; he held it until about 899). Even in Alfred's time, little Anglo-Saxon literature was written (other than several translations encouraged by Alfred, plus his own creation, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, one of the most textually confusing documents ever written). But the old epics and poems were written down; the manuscript of Beowulf was written in the tenth century, and most other surviving texts were written in the same period (probably from about 880 to 1010, when the Danish invasions resumed).

Despite all of Alfred's work, almost all that survives of Old English poetry (the core of their literature) is found in four volumes, all from the post-Alfred period:

The Exeter Book, Exeter Cathedral MS. 3501, dated paleographically to the second half of the tenth century and believed to have been written by a single scribe. The surviving portion consists of folios 8–130, and contains some dozens of works. Very many of these are on Christian themes (from the Lord's Prayer to an account of the apocryphal Descent into Hell), but it also contains such well-known works as *The Wanderer, The Seafarer, Widsith, Deor,* and the famous *Exeter Riddles.* This is the chief anthology of Old English literature; with the exception of *Beowulf*, it contains almost all of the more famous poems of the pre-Conquest period. It is widely believed that this is the "big English book about everything" donated by Leofric, the first Bishop of Exeter, but this certainly cannot be proved.

Cotton Vitellius A.xv, now in the British Museum, dated paleographically to about 1000. Written by two contemporary hands (the shift comes at line 1939 of *Beowulf*). It contains both prose (such as a legend of Saint Christopher) and poetry; the most notable items of the latter are *Beowulf* and *Judith*. The manuscript was badly charred in the Cotton Library fire (1731); although most of it can still be read (with difficulty), there are passages where we must rely on earlier transcripts or conjectural emendation. The book was rearranged at some point in its history, and some items may have been lost entirely.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 11 (5123). Written by four scribes all working around 1000, though the scribes were not necessarily exactly contemporary. Contains only four works (poetic treatments of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel, written by the first scribe, and the story of Christ and Satan, which may have been a separate volume and was written by the other three scribes).

The Vercelli Book, Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII. Probably (though not quite certainly) written by a single scribe in the second half of the tenth century. Contains a series of homilies and such poems as *The Fate of the Apostles.* Also contains one of three copies (the fullest) of The Dream of the Rood. It is speculated that a pilgrim was carrying the book to Rome (whether for personal use or for presentation to the Pope is uncertain), but the book (and presumably the traveller) never completed the journey.

Also of note is:

Cotton Otho A.xii, dated perhaps to around 1000, containing of poetry only T*he Battle of Maldon,* but also the only known copy of Asser's *Life of Alfred.* It was completely destroyed in the Cotton fire, and our sole knowledge of these works is from transcripts made before the fire. Those who saw it prior to the fire say two scribes were involved. Whether it was originally a unity may be doubted; Cotton sometimes bound leaves from multiple sources together, and this volume is reported to have included some modern

leaves. If originally a unity, the volume cannot have achieved its final form before the Battle of Maldon in 991, but it is possible that the *Alfred* was copied earlier.

Time has not been kind to the handful of other manuscripts containing small amounts of Old English material. The Cotton fire of 1731, already mentioned repeatedly (as a side note, we might mention that Richard Bentley was one of those who worked to save books from the fire), destroyed Otho A.xii and badly damaged Vitellius A.xv. What we have of *Waldere* came from the binding of a book in Copenhagen. The Finnsburh Fragment, Lambeth 487, is one of the several lost Lambeth manuscripts. Even much of what survives is on Christian topics; these are of relatively little value. In any case, almost all the works survive in single copies, leaving the textual critic with little to do except work at conjectural emendation. Among the few exceptions to this rule are Caedmon's Hymn (existing in many manuscripts, including the Moore MS at Cambridge, Kk. 5.16, dating all the way to 737, and the Saint Petersburg manuscript Public Library Lat. Q. v. I. 18, believed to predate 746; also in Bede), *The Battle of Brunanburh* (multiple copies, with significant differences, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) and *The Dream of the Rood* (three copies, with differences clearly recensional)

In addition to Old English works, the pre-Conquest period produced a number of Latin documents, most notably Bede's history (as well as the *Life of Alfred,* but this was of interest primarily to the English). But since these could be circulated beyond England, they are properly the province of a history of Latin or Catholic literature.

Following the Normal Conquest, English literature as such effectively disappears for three centuries. With the exception of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (which slowly faded out in this period), the surviving writings are almost all in Norman French or Latin. By the time English literary writings re-emerged in the fourteenth century (with Langland and Chaucer and Gower and the Gawain-poet), Old English had given way to Middle English — and the dialects had separated to the point of being mutually incomprehensible. Gower (who also wrote in Latin and French) and Chaucer used the London dialect, close enough to modern English that little but practice is needed to understand it. The Gawain-poet, by contrast, used a northwestern dialect equally incomprehensible to us and to Chaucer. We may demonstrate this using the first four lines of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight:*

Sithen the sege and the assaut was sesed at Troye,
The borgh brittened and brent to brondes and askes,
The tulk that the trammes or tresoun ther wroght,
Was tried for his tricherie, the trewest on erthe…

(And this is with spelling regularized!) Most writings in non-London dialects were equally obscure. The case of *Piers Plowman* is more complex, as Langland seems to have tried

to use more universal forms, but it appears that Langland's own dialect was that of the west Midlands.

It may not be coincidence that the works of the Gawain-poet, who used a highly obscure dialect, survive in only one manuscript, while *Piers Plowman* survives in fifty-two, and *The Canterbury Tales* exist in eighty-plus manuscripts (though we only have sixteen of *Troilus and Criseyde*, and fewer still of most of Chaucer's other works).

These manuscripts show some significant textual variation, but it is worth noting that all were written in the two centuries before the invention of printing, and that textual variation was rather limited. Much more important and troubling was the matter of dialect translation.

As noted, English was a nation of dialects in the post-conquest period. But even worse was the fact that there was no standard dialect — no "King's English." (The only situation more or less parallel to this was Germany in the period before the unification, and even there, the Prussian and Austrian courts exerted some influence.) Prior to the reign of Edward III (1327–1377), all official business was done in French. It was not until the reign of Henry VI (1422–1461) that French gave way entirely to English. Until this happened, there was absolutely no standard. So texts had to be "translated" — converted from one dialect to another. Sometimes this was just a matter of correcting endings or the like; this is no worse than Attic tendencies in the New Testament. But sometimes it required significant alterations. This makes textual criticism much more difficult. The only work believed to have been spared this process is the Wycliffite Bible — and it probably because of an unusual combination of circumstances: It is translation English in any case, it is in a fairly standard dialect, and it was not made until the period when English was again emerging as an official language.

This particular problem continued even after the invention of printing. *The Gest of Robyn Hode* was probably written in the mid-fifteenth century. (Very possibly after the invention of printing, but clearly before printing came to Britain.) We have no manuscript copies; what we have are several printed editions, only one of them complete, from between roughly 1500 and 1535. (Plus a few later editions, but they are copied from the earlier.) The *Gest* was probably written in northern English, but the copies are in southern dialect. Someone — the printers? we don't know — converted them.

Icelandic literature suffered no such problem. The Icelandic language has evolved so little that it is thought that a modern could converse directly with an inhabitant who lived there 800 or more years ago. Icelandic is almost identical to the Old Norse which is the ancestor of modern Scandinavian languages.

This means that Icelandic literature such as Snorri Sturluson's "Prose Edda" has undergone little linguistic tampering. More problematic is the matter of limited numbers of copies. Iceland is a small country; for most of its history, it has had a population little larger than a small town of today. Given its size, it has an immense literature, though much of it is preserved outside Iceland. (The reason is not far to seek: For many years, Iceland was the poetic capitol of the Scandinavian world, exporting Court Bards to the other Norse kingdoms.) Few of these works are preserved in more than one copy, however. The single most important Icelandic work, the so-called *Elder Edda* (which is not really a single work but an anthology), is typical: Although a handful of the tales exist in other documents, the large majority are found only in the Codex Regius (c. 1275), which is itself damaged. Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda* is an exception; we have three good copies and some lesser manuscripts. The Uppsala Codex, perhaps the best, dates from about 1320, or roughly a century after Snorri's original composition. But this is exceptional; the *Prose Edda* is actually a sort of a fictional saga (Iceland was well and truly Christianized by his time), typical of the prose sagas of the period (which obviously never existed in oral tradition). Most of the others sagas are more sparsely attested. Thus Icelandic literature is like Anglo-Saxon literature in that we can only correct the text by emendation, but unlike it in that we do not have to concern ourselves with dialect-to-dialect translations.

The history of **Norwegian** and **Danish** literatures are essentially tied up with Icelandic literature (and, in the latter case, there is some link to English literature as well, as the Danes ruled all or parts of England for many years — notably in the reigns of Canute and his sons, 1016–1042). Danish did not become clearly distinct from Old Norse until the twelfth century, and Norwegian separated from the common language at about the same time. There are hints of literary remains (inscriptions) from as early as the third century, though these were written in the runic alphabet (it seems to have been Christianity — which came late to the North — which inspired the switch to the Roman alphabet; we have, e.g., a number of law codes from the period before 1200 C. E. Most early Danish works in the Roman alphabet were written in Latin, not the Norse dialects). So the literatures of these languages in some cases has gone through two transitions: From runic to Roman alphabet (a transition not complete until the thirteen or fourteenth century), and from generic Old Norse to more modern local languages. There are also cross-influences: Since Denmark at various times ruled Norway, some Danish influence crept into Norwegian even after the languages split.

Recent changes in Norwegian have further complicated matters, as there are two basic dialects, neither of which is entirely natural. Bokmål, the "book language," was influenced by Danish (the two were united from 1380 to 1814), while Nynorsk was invented in the nineteenth century based on several dialects and was an attempt to

return the language closer to its roots. All of this, of course, happened after the manuscript era, but it affects the editors' approach.

Also derived from Old Norse, and quite close to Icelandic, is **Faeroese** (Faroese). As, however, this language was not written until 1846, it is of no concern to textual critics.

The situation is quite different for **Swedish** literature; although Scandinavian, Sweden was not really part of the Norse culture in the sense that Norway and Iceland and Denmark were. (This despite the fact that Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish are quite close to each other, and to a significant extent mutually intelligible, while Icelandic and Faroese are much more distinct.)

The earliest Swedish "literature" is found in the thousands of runestones scattered about the country. These are, for the most part, written in the sixteen-symbol Swedish runic alphabet (which later gave way to a Danish/Norse runic alphabet) — but textual criticism is hardly a concern with runestones; they rarely contain material of literary interest, and in any case were usually written under the direct supervision of the composer of the inscription.

There are exceptions. The Rök stone, which came to be part of a church wall, includes a great deal of text, including some poetic material. It is a mysterious inscription, with several different alphabets involved. (Including both the ancient 24–character runic alphabet and the later, pruned-down 16–rune form.) It seems nearly certain that at least part of the content of the stone is old, and in need of textual criticism (part of it, in fact, appears to refer to Theodoric the Goth, king of Italy 476–525, which would almost certainly date the text to a period before the time it was inscribed). But as best we can tell, there are no other copies of the material. (Given the strange alphabets, this cannot be considered entirely certain.) That older Swedish literature existed seems to be implied by carvings such as that on the Ramsudberg stone, which appears to allude to the Sigurd epic. But this is only a picture with a short text; it is not literature in itself.

Part of the problem may be that Sweden was the last Scandinavian nation to achieve political unity. Somewhat cut off from the cultures of its neighbours, it was not large enough to achieve a strong literary tradition of its own. We have no clear remnants of Swedish poems from the Skaldic age (the era of the bards). Our oldest writings, in fact, appear to be land laws (in copies dating from the thirteenth century, but probably based on older writings). In addition, Sweden did not found its first University (at Uppsala) until 1477, and it did not become permanent until 1593. The Sigtuna monastery (founded in the first half of the thirteenth century) had a large library, but it and other Swedish religious institutions seem to have been entirely hostile to secular, particularly pagan, literature. Thus most early books found in Sweden are in Latin, and the few in Swedish are generally religious, and often translations of Latin works — e.g. the *Fornsvenska*

legendariet, a translation of the set of saints' legends by Jacobus de Voragine known in English as *The Golden Legend;* the translation is considered the oldest surviving Swedish prose work except for the land laws (indeed, it is almost as old as the *Golden Legend* itself). The rendering may have been the work of Petrus de Dacia (died 1289), who in any case is the first named author in Swedish history; he also wrote the *Vita Christinae Stumbelensis* (but in Latin, not Swedish). From the next century comes Birgitta (died 1373), a mystic whose visions began after her husband's death in 1344, but which were not collected until they were published in 1492 (translated from Swedish into Latin as *Revelationes* Celeste; she had already been canonized in 1391. There are a few Swedish fragments, perhaps from Birgitta's own hand, but these do not form part of an actual literary composition.)

This paucity of works in the vernacular continued throughout the middle ages. Sweden had few of the tales of chivalry so common in the rest of Europe (partly influenced, no doubt, by the fact that knighthood did not flourish in Sweden). There is a Swedish redaction of the story of Florice and Blancheflour (part of the *Eufemiavisor*, perhaps the earliest of these legends — but compiled at the instigation of a Norwegian queen!). But this is very nearly all there is in the manuscript era. This left the field to the rhyming chronicles, a form largely peculiar to Sweden but common there in the early middle ages. These can perhaps be called the chief form of early Swedish literature, though they eventually gave way to prose chronices (which were less interesting without being notably more accurate). After their time, Swedish literature went into a decline; we have relatively few manuscripts of these works, and few works of any sort from the final centuries of the middle ages. The last significant works were the writings of Bishop Thomas Simonsson of Strängnäs (died 1443). His "Song of Liberty" was the last important Swedish work of the manuscript age — but late enough that it need not detain us.

In addition, Sweden (like most countries) has an oral literature. There are Swedish ballads, just as there are German and English and Norse. (The Swedish ballads, indeed, are almost certainly survivals from Old Norse roots.) But as with most oral literatures, the originals are almost certainly beyond reconstruction.

Dutch (Flemish) is a Germanic language, and had the Netherlands and Flanders become part of Germany rather than independent, Dutch might well have had a history resembling that of English: Just as Scots split off from English, then was (somewhat forcibly) re-merged so that it became little more than a dialect, so Dutch might have been re-conformed. Indeed, this happened with East Dutch (Oosters), the language of writers such as Menno Simmons. But the Netherlands and Germany became separate (with the Netherlands spinning off Belgium in 1830, only a few decades before Germany became a nation), and Dutch evolved into a genuine language with literary works

coming into existence around 1100. From this time until the end of the manuscript era, however, the Netherlands (in this case, including Flanders) were generally under foreign rule — French or Burgundian or Spanish. At times this rule was oppressive and sought to control the local literature (which often stressed independence). This has probably affected the manuscript tradition. In addition, some would call works such as *Reynard the Fox* or *Beatrijs* (all written in Belgian Flanders in about the thirteen century) to be "Belgian," others Flemish or Dutch. There was also Burgundian influence.

Frisian is considered to be closer to English than any other language, but it has a very small population base. Only about half a million people speak it, mostly in the Netherlands in the islands off the Dutch coast (the speakers of the language who are not citizens of the Netherlands, who also also in the coastal areas of the North Sea and Baltic, speak rather different dialects with little literary history). There are a few written remnants starting from the thirteenth century, but the small population base and the fact that (until recently) it received no support from the various local governments kept the literature sparse. The earliest items in the language seem in fact to have been preserved in Old English works. The few "native" works are primarily law codes, starting from the eleventh century. We also have a handful of rhymed chronicles from the days when Frisia was an independent region.

Tracing the history of actual **German** literature is beyond the ability of this writer, as the language has many dialects, some barely mutually comprehensible, and some of them (e.g. Luxembourgish/Luxemburgish/Lëtzebuergesch) sometimes listed as separate languages. It should be remembered that Germany was not a political unity at any time from the era of Charlemagne until 1870. The classical distinction is into High and Low German (Hochdeutsch and Plattdeutsch), but there are also languages and dialects such as Yiddish and Swiss German. Insofar as there is any unity, it is based on the language Luther used in the German Bible — *after* the manuscript era. The "standard" dialect, taught in the schools, is derived from High German, but this is Modern High German, while the manuscripts will be of works written in Old German and Middle German. The greatest number of texts are those, such as the *Nibelungenlied*, which are in Middle High German. Much of the literature, though, such as the work of the Minnesänger, was long transmitted orally. But there is a significant quantity of manuscript literature, and those manuscripts have suffered the usual troubles. For example, the oldest significant German work is *Das Hildebrandslied*, and all we have is a fragment.

Yiddish is primarily a Germanic language, though it has many Semitic loan words, and some dialects also have Slavic influence. As the language of a large number of European Jews, it naturally has a relatively rich literary tradition (dating from the twelfth century). Yiddish literature has been subjected to several pressures. Jewish tradition

would tend to result in carefully preserved documents — but Yiddish, unlike most other languages, has never really had a "homeland"; its speakers have been scattered throughout Europe. This has resulted in the adoption of large numbers of local loanwords, so that (e.g.) a Jew in Russian territory might not understand all the vocabulary of German Yiddish. And since there was never any national center, there was no centralizing force. Today, East European Yiddish is rather the standard, but a scholar working on Yiddish texts must be very aware of the time and place of the original.

Literature in the **Celtic languages** is relatively sparse. This is not due to a lack of literary activity, but because the languages themselves belong to relatively small populations. It is traditional to speak of six Celtic languages: Irish Gaelic, Scots Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. Irish and Scots are so close as to almost be dialects of one another (and Manx is also closely related), while Welsh, Cornish, and Breton form another, less tight-knit group. This picture is rather unreal, however. The Cornish language actually died out centuries ago, leaving only a few literary remains (mostly from the fifteenth century and shortly after, though they may be based on older materials; the earliest one cannot have been copied earlier than 1340, as it is written on the back of a charter of that date). By 1611, the date of *Gwreans an Bys* (the Creation of the World), the language was in decline, and the decline accelerated thereafter; no Bible or Prayer Book was published in Cornish, which doubtless hastened the abandonment of hte language. The literary fragments, combined with analogies from Welsh, have been used as the basis of a Cornish restoration — but no one knows if the reconstructed language actually matches the original! (This makes for an interesting task in textual criticism; at what point does reconstructing the text move into reconstructing the language?) **Manx** is still spoken, but has never had more than a few thousand speakers, and is now down to a few hundred, not all of whom can call it a first language. **Scots Gaelic** (derived from the common Gaelic stock which also produced Irish and Manx; Gaels invaded Scotland from Ireland, bringing their language with them, and although it appears the two were distinguishable as early as the tenth century, the three are still largely mutually comprehensible) is now confined to a few fringes in the Highlands and the Hebrides, and with the coming of television, will likely be extinct within generations if no attempt is made to save it. **Irish** would hardly be in a better state were it not that the Irish Republic is making the effort to save it — with limited success; English remains the dominant language of Ireland. **Breton** and **Welsh** are still spoken, and even undergoing a sort of literary revival, but both are become minority languages even in their homelands (and Breton has fully four dialects, one of which is barely mutually comprehensible with the other three. Breton orthography was not fixed until 1807). The result is that manuscript-era literary remains in Manx, Breton, and Cornish are effectively non-existant (this even though we have a handful of non-literary

writing in Breton, e.g., from the eighth century. Manx, by contrast, has no literary remains prior to the seventeenth century). Many Breton writers chose to write in French; others saw their works preserved only orally. The earliest Breton works are mostly religious, starting with the *Life of Saint Nonn,* from about 1475; these works were generally translations or adaptions; by the time more original works appeared, the printing press was firmly established (though not always used for Breton works). There is somewhat more material in Scots Gaelic, but Scots, it should be recalled, is *not* the language of Scotland but only of the Scottish Highlands; although the kings of Scotland prior to Malcolm Canmore were Highland kings, from Malcolm's time (reigned 1057–1093) they adopted lowland customs, including Braid Scots (which, in its most extreme state as spoken in the fifteenth century or so, scarcely resembled English, but was assuredly a Germanic and not a Celtic language!). Since the Highlands were not fully reincorporated into Scotland until after the Battle of Culloden (1746) and the Highland Clearances (which functionally destroyed the old clan system), and since the highlanders prior to that were a largely non-literary society, even Scots Gaelic probably never produced much real literature; the first true literary work was a Bible translation from 1801. Welsh and Irish are by far the strongest literary languages in the Celtic tradition. But even in these tongues, the literary tradition is actually an oral tradition, usually transcribed late in its history (though we have documents from as early as the sixth century) and with significant defects. Nor is the tradition rich. Of the Welsh tales now known (incorrectly) as "The Mabinogion," for instance, there is only one complete copy, The Red Book of Hergist *(c.* 1400); the earlier White Book of Rhydderch *(c.* 1325) is now fragmentary for several tales. There are earlier citations (none before about 1225), but their existence mostly demonstrates the impoverishment of the tradition, since they predate the Red Book by 300 years or more but contain little additional material. Irish relics are probably more common (one need only observe the many "Irish Miscellanies" now in print), but almost all are from oral tradition, found in late manuscripts, and usually only in one copy. The case of Irish differs a bit from the other Celtic languages, as the language had more time to develop and Ireland was never penetrated by the Romans (Ireland did suffer from Viking raids, but was never taken over by Germanic speakers as England was). There are inscriptions from as early as the fifth century in the Ogham alphabet; the earliest literary works seem to date from the eighth century (some have claimed dates as early as the sixth, making Irish the oldest vernacular literature in Europe). The oldest manuscript, the Würzburg codex, may be as old as the early eighth century. And, of course, many Irish monks travelled elsewhere (e.g. there was a strong Irish presence at Saint Gall).

Several dead Celtic languages are known to scholars (excluding Cornish, which has been revived). Celtiberian, the Celtic language of Spain, is extinct but known from a few inscriptions. Galatian, used by the Gauls in Asia Minor, did not die out until some time

around the fifth century C.E., but left few literary remains; we know of it from the histories of the period. There also seems to have been a Cumbrian/Cumbric language, spoken in the region of what later became the English-Scottish border, but this is all very hypothetical. Except for some translations into Welsh and other Celtic languages, the only remains of this tongue are some place names.

Albanian is an ancient language; although Indo-European, it is the only member of its linguistic group. But as a literary language, it is quite recent. There are no written remains from before the fifteenth century (a fragment by the Orthodox Bishop of Durrës is dated 1462, and some minor religious works date from about the same time; little else exists, as the Turks suppressed writing and publishing in Albanian). Even the few writings that exist are rather confused by the mixture of the Gheg (northern) and Tosk (southern) dialects, which show significant variants and have many local subdialects. (Albania is an extremely rough country, with settlers in the various valleys having little contact with each other.) It was not until 1909 that the Roman alphabet was formally adopted, and a Received Albanian (based on Tosk) was first promulgated in 1950. The result is a language with little use for textual criticism.

It is generally stated that **Gothic** is a dead language, with the only remnants being Bible fragments (see the article on the Gothic version), but Crimean Gothic is reported to have been used as late as the sixteenth century. I know of no actual literature in Crimean Gothic, however.

Armenian literature begins with the Bible (see the article on the Armenian version), but there was an active literary tradition in the early centuries of the Armenian church (observe how many foreign writings, such as Irenaeus and Ephraem, are preserved in Armenian; it's interesting to note that the earliest Armenian work seems to have been Aganthage's biography of King Tiridates, written in Greek but translated.) We also have, from the fifth century, Moses of Khorene's history of Armenia, with many excerpts from folk song, poetry, and epic. Later works were abundant though mostly religious and of little interest to non-Armenians. Armenia, however, has had a troubled history as a nation, rarely independent (and when, in periods like the Crusades, it achieved partial independence, it was split between many independent and uncooperative princes). The language has many dialects, and only a few million speakers; few writings other than the Armenian Bible are available in multiple copies.

Hungarian (Magyar), it should be noted, is not the language of the Huns, but the language of the later Magyar invaders of Europe. It is a non-Indo-European tongue, the most widely spoken representative of the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric family. The Magyars are an ancient people, and turned to Christianity soon after coming to Europe, but such writings as they produced in these early days were all in Latin. The first native

literature dates from the thirteenth century, but it was slight (a few chronicles and legends); a standard orthography was not developed until the sixteenth century; this, and the need to develop a modified Roman alphabet to handle Magyar vowels, will have some effect on early texts in the language.

Basque is the westernmost non-Indo-European language of Europe, and has never been spoken by a large community. It did not develop a literature until the sixteenth century (poems by Bernard Dechepare, written 1545), and so has little in the way of a manuscript tradition, though there are inscriptions dating back to Roman times, and a few quotations (possibly not accurate representations of the original) in works in other languages.

Finnish long suffered as a result of Swedish political control of Finland; it did not become an official language until 1883. As John B. Oll writes, “Due to historical conditions.... Swedish as a vehicle of culture has played and still plays an important role in Finnish life.... Finland has a bilingual literature. Its historical development has been analogous to that of language and literature in Ireland and in medieval England, where the language of a minority gained such prestige that it for a long time overshadowed the language of the majority....” Russia annexed Finland in 1809, but that had little effect; the schools were and remained Swedish for a long time; the first Finnish school opened in 1859. There was little literature prior to that time; the first written work seems to have been a sixteenth century Bible translation. Even the great Finnish national epic, the *Kalevala*, was not written down until the nineteenth century, and is the edited work of a Finnish scholar rather than a legitimate traditional writing.

Estonian, which is also non-Indo-European (it belongs to the Finno-Ugric family) does not seem to have produced any literature prior to the sixteenth century, and written Estonian did not become widespread until the nineteenth century. (Even the Bible did not make it into Estonian until 1730, though there are some older liturgical works — but they were printed as soon as they were written.) There is little scope for textual criticism.

Same is the official name for the language most would call Lapp or Lappish. It is not an official language anywhere, and there is little literary material.

The case is even worse for other European members of the Finno-Ugric group. **Komi** (Komian, Zyrian), for instance, is spoken in a small region of the Kola Peninsula (in northern Russia near the Finnish border), and although it is now a written language (it uses the Cyrillic alphabet), it has no literary remains. Much the same can be said of the other languages of this family.

Maltese is a complex blend of European and Semitic elements, thought to be derived primarily from Arabic but with a very large admixture of Indo-European vocabulary and

written in the Roman alphabet. The population is small, and the educated population, until recently, was foreign. There is little Maltese material in manuscript form; the oldest recorded material seems to date from the seventeenth century.

Iberian is an apparently non-Indo-European language spoken in Spain in ancient times, now extinct. It is known only from inscriptions, and to date has not been deciphered.

Georgian as a written language is believed to predate the translation of the New Testament (hence the use of an alphabet not derived from the Greek), but of this literature, which is thought to date back to the third century B.C.E., nothing has survived. The post-Biblical literature was about what one would expect: Lives of saints believed to date from the sixth century, and an eighth century translation of St. Cyril. The first secular literature seems to date from about the twelfth century. From that time on, Georgia was almost constantly under outside domination (Mongols, Persians, Russians), meaning that relatively few manuscripts were preserved and printing came relatively late.

Turkish did not become a literary language until relatively late, but it also did not become a printed language until relatively late, and much material remained in oral tradition until quite recently. There is a significant place for textual criticism. An added complication is that the language has evolved quite rapidly (Old Turkish was spoken until the fifteenth century, and Modern Turkish did not come into use until the nineteenth century). In addition, the language was originally written in Arabic script, but in the twentieth century, Ataturk converted it to the Roman alphabet.

Arabic literature does not begin with the Quran; there are inscriptions which seem to date to the third century B.C.E. and earlier. These were not written in what we now know as the Arabic alphabet (see discussion below), and if by some chance written materials of this era have been preserved in more recent manuscripts, they must have undergone alphabetic conversion with all its hazards, as well as conversion from the archaic dialects. But it is unlikely that any such works survive; an anthology was undertaken in 772, but editor Hammad al-Rawiyah collected most oral works. The Quran is the earliest known work of Arabic prose, and the inspiration for most later Arabic literature (though there is a large corpus of Arabic translations of Greek philosophers; much of our knowledge of Greek mathematics, for instance, is known only from Arabic translations. Much of Greek astronomy is also known largely through Arabic; this is in part why the constellations have Latin names while the named stars usually have Arabic names). To make matters worse, most pre-Quran works have been edited to make them seem less pagan. (We see the same thing in the Hebrew Bible, e.g. with “Eshbaal” being written as “Ish-Bosheth.”) These works follow some extremely strict structural formulae, giving them relatively little variety. In addition, Classical Arabic

was largely fixed by the Quran, and is fairly distinct from the language most Arabic speakers use in their everyday lives (though most also know Classical Arabic, which is used as a means of communication between those who use distinctly different Arabic dialects). The existence of a fixed language distinct from scribes' own has doubtless affected the transmission of early Arabic literature. Thus there is scope for textual criticism here, but little real material from which to work.

The Quran resembles the Bible in that it is not a single work. Although all parts were taken down by Mohammed, the 114 sections were written separately and only later combined. (This led to some dispute over which writings would be authoritative, and which texts of those writings.) There are various other mysteries associated with the Quran (such as the mysterious letters at the top of certain sections) — but as the Quran survives in many, many copies and is maintained by a culture significantly different from the Western, we will not delve into its text here. This is particularly true since manuscripts of the Quran are considered secondary — the goal in Islam is for a scholar to *memorize* the Quran, and at least one printed edition was compiled not from manuscripts but by comparing the recitals of a variety of experts. Thus, to some extent, Quran criticism must be viewed in the context of Oral Transmission.

It is interesting to note that the earliest surviving "manuscripts" of the Quran can be precisely dated — for they are actually inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock mosque.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the authorities for the Quran are in much better order than the Biblical. There is a complete and dated Quran from A.H. 168 (784/5 C.E.), and several other dated manuscripts from within a century of that date, as well as quite a few of that era or earlier which lack dates and are somewhat fragmentary. Thus the task of reconstructing the history of the text is much easier for the Arabic work than for the Bible.

An interesting problem with Arabic is that it was written in several different alphabets — all ultimately derived from the Aramaic alphabet, but with much separate evolution along the way. In the process of that evolution, several new letters were added to the Arabic alphabet (Arabic has 28 consonants, Aramaic was written with 22.) This meant, first, that different letters might be confused in different scripts (e.g. some Arabic alphabets suffer from the problem of confusing d and r, well known to scholars of Hebrew; others do not confuse these letters), and second, that there might be occasional conversion problems.

Another thoroughly problematic language is **Hindi/Urdu (Hindustani).** To begin with, although grammatically a single language, it has two different cultural forms. Hindi, spoken in large portions of Hindu India, is written in the Devanagari alphabet (which is actually semi-syllabic), while Urdu, the language of Moslem Pakistan, is written in an

alphabet similar to Persian Arabic scripts. Although both languages are derived largely from Sanskrit (a language with literary remains dating back to Old Testament times; the earliest Hindu literature is nearly as old — and needs as much textual criticism — as the Hebrew Bible), Hindi has been more influenced by the old language, which remains the language of its sacred writings. Texts in Hindi (as opposed to Sanskrit) begin to appear around the seventh century; Urdu did not begin to produce a literature until the fourteenth century. The oldest Hindi literature, the religious hymns of the *Rig Veda,* have a complicated history, first of oral tradition, then of compilation, then as the sole scripture of the proto-Hindu religion, then as one of several units, with a gradually standardized orthography, most forms of which are known only in printed versions. This history is at least as complicated as that of the New Testament, and requires equal specialization.

The modern nation of India is a federation of many ethnic groups, not all Indo-European speaking, and many of these languages (e.g. Assamese and some of the Dravidian tongues) have ancient literary works. The history of these must, sadly, be excluded as outside the scope of this author's library.

One of the most fertile fields for textual criticism is **Akkadian**, a language which presents challenges very different from those above. Akkadian is one of the greatest sources of ancient literature, featuring such works as the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (alluded to above) and the famous *Enuma Elish* — both of which have parallels in the material in Genesis. But access to these works is extraordinarily complicated. The language is dead, and survives only in cunieform works. It has relatives but no real linguistic descendants. The tablets on which the works are copied are sometimes damaged, and individual tablets of multi-tablet works are often missing. And while the tablets are generally very old (the largest share come from Ashurbanipal's library, from the seventh century B.C.E., with most of the others being older still), they are copies of works from still earlier eras — and which have probably undergone much oral evolution in the interim. The scribes who copied it were trained primarily in record-keeping, not preservation of literature, since Akkadian was used largely for court documents and diplomatic correspondence, and often served as a *lingua franca* for people who did not speak Akkadian as a native tongue. This would strongly influence how scribes understood what they copied.

We also have "secondary" sources which may, in some cases, be primary. Parallels to portions of the Akkadian books exist in other languages — in some cases (especially when the parallels are Sumerian), the parallel may have been the source or inspiration of the Akkadian work.

It will be evident that the scholar working on Akkadian (or other similar sources, such as **Sumerian** or **Ugaritic/Canaanite**) will need a much larger toolbox than the common textual critic; one must be a paleolinguist as well as a critic, and the ability to understand archaeology is also important. A good grounding in folklore wouldn't hurt, either!

Egyptian and **Coptic** offer opportunities rarely found for other languages — e.g. we have many older texts. There are many complications, though. One is the way the language was written: In syllabic hieroglyphics, in the demotic, and later in the Coptic, which was eventually written in a modified Greek alphabet with additional letters but which came into use before the extra letters were fully standardized. This assuredly produced occasional complications — a scribe might take down a royal edict in demotic, which was faster, and then transcribe it in hieroglyphic, for instance. Also, much that has survived has survived as wrappings of mummies. Apart from making it a difficult task to recover the materials, we also have to reassemble the documents so scattered and, perhaps, torn up. And Egyptian syllabaries ignore vowel sounds, depriving us of some information (e.g. verb tenses) useful in reconstructing texts.

The oldest **Thai/Siamese** works are inscriptions from the late thirteen century; they use an indigenous alphabet based on other local scripts.

We have, of course, written materials from a wide variety of languages in addition to the above. But we can hardly perform textual criticism when we cannot read the language! Examples of lost languages include Mayan, Etruscan, and the language underying Cretan Linear A. This list could surely be multiplied. (We can, to some extent, read Etruscan, and have some ideas about Mayan, but the shortness of the contents of the former mean that it cannot be fully deciphered, while Mayan is too complex for understanding without additional materials.)

A different sort of problems come from non-alphabetic languages such as Chinese and Japanese. There are old texts in these languages, of course (we have Chinese texts from c. 1500 B.C.E.; Japanese texts do not appear until later — the written language is thought to have been taken from Chinese models in the fifth century C.E. — but there are documents believed to date from the eighth century C.E. Japanese also possesses two kana syllabaries, which just make things that much more complex). But we have more to deal with than merely old texts. The rules of criticism are different. Haplographic errors, for instance, are less likely (since a repetition must involve whole words rather than just a few letters). There are no spelling errors, just errors of substitution and addition/omission. There are other complexities as well— for instance, Chinese writing was invented, according to legend, some time around 2650 B.C.E., but that version used only a limited vocabulary; many new symbols were added over the years, and this

must be kept in mind in examining ancient texts. If a previously-unattested symbol occurs in an ancient work, it is a clear error — but of what sort? Also, Chinese combines symbols in complex and varying ways, sometimes based on the sounds in a particular dialect — which may be meaningless in another dialect. For these reasons, we will not consider ideographic languages, leaving them to critics with expertise in this rather different form of criticism.

There is also the matter of unknown languages. How do we engage in textual criticism of a text in a script such as Cretan Linear A, which we cannot read? The key to deciphering such a writing is getting good samples; if there are scribal errors, it can slow or halt the whole process. There is no general solution to this problem.

But the list of languages with literary remains is actually relatively slight. Of the thousands of currently-spoken languages, and the thousands more spoken up until the last century or two, the majority are not written languages, or were not written at the time of the invention of printing (many of the latter now have a literature consisting of a single book: A translation of the Bible, made in the last century or so by one of the translation societies). While the above list is far from complete, the task of textual criticism is finite, even if the number of errors perpetrated by scribes sometimes seems infinite.

As a final topic, we should discuss another area where textual criticism has scope: Music. This poses some interesting questions: Musical notation has evolved heavily over the years (see the article on Neumes for background). Is the scholar really expected to reconstruct the original notation, or just what it represents? One inclines to answer the latter; after all, nearly every modern New Testament printing includes accents, breathings, word divisions, punctuation, and upper and lower case letters, as well as a standardized spelling, even though the original autographs probably used these reader helps only sporadically if at all.

But, of course, the underlying musical form, and even the most fundamental musical details, are sometimes in doubt. Many types of music notation circulated in early times, and most were not as complete as modern notation (which in itself is not truly complete, as it has no way to record the actual dynamics of a performance). The notion of keys, for instance, is quite modern. This isn't really important (a tune is the same in the key of C as in the key of G, it's just sung in a different voice range and with different instrumental accompaniment). But the inability of old formats to convey accidentals, or timing — or quarter tones, as are found in some eastern music — makes the reconstruction harder.

There are even occasional odd analogies to Biblical criticism. Certain manuscripts, for instance, have an odd similarity to the K^{e}tib, and Q^{e}re variation on YHWH/Adonai. This

is the so-called *musica ficta* or “feigned music.” Under the notation systems of the time, performers were only “supposed” to play certain notes — but sometimes those notes sounded bad. (For example, in the key of F, hitting a B note instead of a B flat produces a tritone — a very harsh sound. But the notation didn’t allow B flat to be written.) So musicians were expected to read these notes and play something else — just as Jewish lectors were expected to read YHWH and say Adonai. We, unfortunately, generally can’t tell what note was meant — and so we can’t reconstruct the pieces with perfect precision even if we have a correct copy of the original notation.

There are also problems of scholarly presuppositions. A noteworthy example of this is Chappell’s book *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (with variant titles such as *Old English Popular Music).* This was an incredibly useful anthology of old materials existing only in manuscript — but Chappell’s first edition of this made certain assumptions about the scales used in old pieces. Later, the book was revised by Wooldridge, who made fewer assumptions and wound up with noticeably different melodies for certain of the songs. This, too, has analogies to criticisms of texts, where scholars may reject a reading as grammatically impossible.

Incidentally, the problem of reconstruction goes far beyond the manuscript era, and even the invention of modern notation. For two reasons. One has to do with folk songs. Many of these were transcribed in the field by students with limited musical skills — meaning that aspects of the tune, especially the timing, were often taken down incorrectly. (Folk musicians often have problems with timing. Pitches they can test against an instrument; timing requires testing with a metronome, a much more difficult process.) The other has to do with alternate notations, such as tonic sol-fa. Tonic sol-fa was invented as a means of making music easier to read, but continued to be used for about a century because it was a notational form capable of being reproduced exactly (and easily) on a typewriter, or by hand on ordinary paper (as opposed to staff paper). But it generates a completely different sort of error from standard notation or from Neumes. When copying the graphical notations, the typical error will be one of moving a note up or down a bar line (I know; I’ve done this) or missing a note or (more likely) a measure. Errors in timing are rare in copying notation, and the transposed note will usually harmonize with the original. Not in tonic sol-fa! The “notes” in sol-fa are `d` (do), `r` (re), `m` (mi), `f` (fa), `s` (sol), `l` (la), `t` (ti). The typewriter being laid out at it is, this means that common errors would include re/ti (r/t) and the rather more harmonious sol/do (s/d) and do/fa (d/f). Similar types of errors could occur in the timing, though I won’t spend more effort to explain.

Appendix C: The Bédier Problem

We alluded to this a couple of times above: The "Bédier Problem" is the strong tendency of Lachmann-type stemma to fall into two and only two main branches. I haven't seen Bédier's work, but I can instinctively understand what he is saying. So I'm going to demonstrate artificially how this can arise. I stress that the example which follows is artificial, and many of the variants are trivial and orthographic and not really of textual significance, but the whole is based on real materials — in this case, one of the "Sloane Lyrics," found in British Library Sloane MS 2593.

This is often regarded as a "dirty" piece (though this is by no means certain), but we certainly don't have to get into that. I picked it because I had so many divergent editions *and* have a good photo of the original manuscript.

We take our base text from James J. Wilhelm's *Medieval Song,* p. 358; we'll take only the first stanza (and add line breaks, which are marked in the manuscript although the text is written continuously):

1) I have a gentil cock,
2) Croweth me the day;
3) He doth me risen erly,
4) My matins for to say.

Against this we collate various texts. We'll denote Wilhelm as "W." We also cite Maxwell S. Luria and Richard S. Hoffman, *Middle English Lyrics,* item #77 (cited as L); R. T. Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics,* #64 (cited as D); Chris Fletcher, *1000 Years of English Literature,* transcription on p. 34 (cited as F); Brian Stone, *Medieval English Verse* (Penguin Classics), p. 103 (cited as G — for "goofed up").

Finally, we include this modernized-but-not-as-heavily-paraphrased-as-in-G version as M:

I have a gentle cock,
Croweth for me day;
He bids me rise up early,
My matins for to say.

The Collation

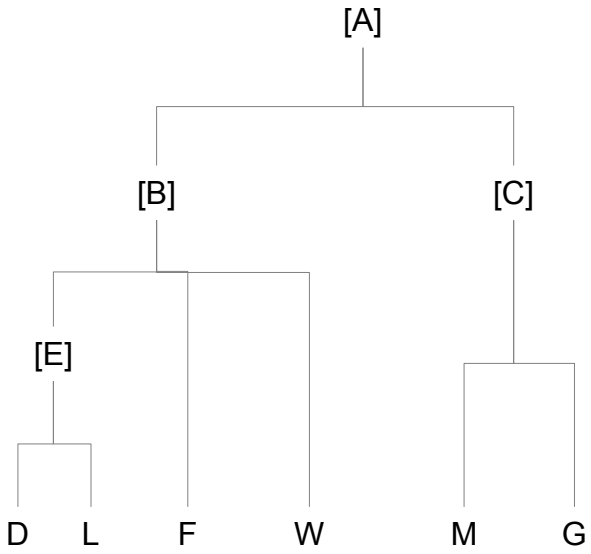
1) **gentil** FLW] gentle DM, noble G • **cock** DFMW] cok L, cockerel G

2) **croweth** DLMW] crowyt F, whose crowing G • **me** DFLW] starts my G, for me M • **the** W] omit DFGLM

3) **doth** DFLW] makes G, bids M • **risen** DLW] rysyn F, get up G, rise up M • **erly** DFLW] early GM

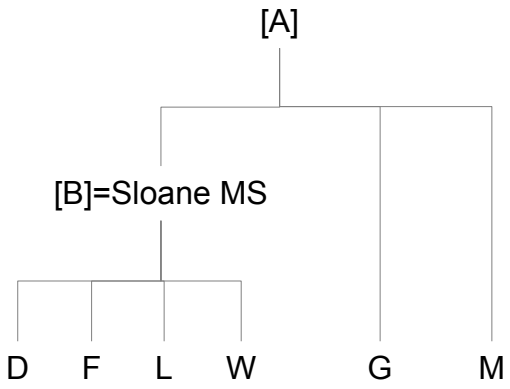
4) **matins** DLMW] matynis F, morning prayer G

Now we do as Lachmann did, and decide what is an error. And suppose we decide that modern English spellings are correct, and anything else is an error. By that method, we would probably come up with this stemma, where [A] is of course the archetype and [B], [C], and [E] lost copies:



Your standard two-branch stemma. And [C] would probably be considered more accurate than [B].

This is in fact just plain wrong. D, F, L, and W are a genuine family — they're all touched-up editions of the actual text. But G and M are *not* a family; they are independent modernizations of the (hypothetical) original text. This is a well-known phenomenon in biology, known as long-branch assimilation. So the true stemma is:



Three branches, and [B], which in the first stemma was less accurate, is in fact more accurate! This is, of course, an artificial example — but it requires only one false assumption, about the nature of errors, to produce a completely false stemma.

Just to put this in perspective, the following shows how we would reconstruct the original based on each of the two stemma — plus the original, which shows how far astray they both can lead us:

Reconstruction based on Stemma #1	**Reconstruction based on Stemma #2**	**The actual manuscript reads**
I have a gentle cock	I have a gentle cock	I haue a gentil cook
Croweth me day	Croweth me day	crowyt me day
He doth me risen early	He doth me rise up early	he doþ me rysyn erly
My matins for to say	My matins for to say	my matyins for to say

Obviously the artificial nature of the witnesses here hurt us. (But I had to use something artificial — or else make this appendix much longer.) The point stands: Agreement in error will tend to produce two-tree stemma, because (no matter how many actual textual groupings there are) each group will almost certainly be closest to one other group. In essence, the Bédier problem is that the easiest way to determine a stemma is to find the two most extreme textual groupings, then attach all intermediate groupings to one or the other. This is more or less what happened to Zuntz: He noted the Alexandrian and Western types in Paul, as well as the P^{46}–B type, and noted that the latter approached the Alexandrian more than the Western, and so classified it as "proto-Alexandrian," then noted that 1739 was closer to the Alexandrian than the Western, and closer still to P^{46}–B, and so classified 1739 with the latter — in effect reducing four text-types to two.

O

Old Testament Quotations

Many modern editions of the New Testament highlight Old Testament quotations in some way (typically by the use of boldface or italics). This is not a new idea; we find Old Testament quotations marked from a very early date. Typically such passages are marked with the symbol > in the margin; we see this, e.g., in Codex Vaticanus.

As far at the quotations itself are concerned, it should be kept in mind that most scribes knew them in their own language. Thus copies of the Greek Bible tended to use the Septuagint text, and scribes would tend to conform passages to the Septuagint if by some chance they differed. This phenomenon doubtless occured also in the other versions (e.g. a Vulgate quotation might be assimilated to the Vulgate Old Testament), though this is not normally a matter of great concern for textual critics.

Old Testament Textual Criticism

Introduction

Trying to divide textual criticism into completely separate subdisciplines is not really a useful business (since all forms of TC have large areas in common), but if categories must be devised, the obvious categories would be New Testament criticism, Classical Textual criticism, and Old Testament criticism. And the division has some justification, because the differences between the fields are significant. For reasons of space (plus the author's ignorance, plus the fact that criticism of the Hebrew Bible is an incredible mess with no signs of breakthrough), we can only touch briefly on OT criticism here.

In terms of materials, Old Testament criticism resembles New Testament criticism in about the eighteenth century: There are many manuscripts, but all of the same Majority recension, and there are a few versions, some of which differ significantly from the Hebrew, plus a handful of fragments of older materials. Since the manuscripts of the Majority recension appear not to preserve the original Hebrew and Aramaic with complete accuracy, there is an obvious need for textual criticism. This forces us to use rather different methods than we currently use in the New Testament.

To begin with, let us review the materials.

The Materials of Old Testament Criticism

The first and most important source is, of course, the Hebrew manuscripts. With a very few exceptions (which we shall treat separately), these were copied in the Middle Ages by scribes known as the Masoretes or Massoretes (hence the name Massoretic Text, frequently abbreviated MT or even 𝔐). The Massoretes were trained with exquisite care to preserve the text in all its details (down to such seeming minutae as the size of certain letters in the text and their position above or below the line). They also followed very exacting techniques of checking their manuscripts. The result is a text which shows almost no deviation, and manuscripts which reproduce it with incredible precision. Had such techniques been in use from the very beginning, textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible would be a trivial task.

The Massoretic Text contains a handful of carefully preserved variant readings, the K^{e}tib and Q^{e}re. The K^{e}tib ("written") are the readings of the text; the Q^{e}re are marginal readings which the reader is instructed to substitute for the text. Such noted variants are, however, relatively rare, and many of the Q^{e}re readings correct places where the text is so bad that it could hardly stand in any case. Thus the K^{e}tib/Q^{e}re variants add very little to our knowledge of the ancient text, and the accidental variants of Massoretic copyists add even less. The latter should generally be treated not as authoritative variants but as conjectural emendations; they have no genetic significance.

Our earliest substantial MT manuscripts date from about the tenth century. Prior to this, we have only a handful of Hebrew manuscripts. The best-known of these are the Qumran manuscripts (the "Dead Sea Scrolls"), though there are others such as the relics from the Cairo Genizah. With only a handful of exceptions, such as the Qumran Isaiah scroll, these manuscripts are damaged and difficult to read, and the portions of the OT they contain are limited. In addition, many have texts very similar to the MT — but a handful do not. Perhaps the most important of all are the Qumran scrolls of Samuel, 4QSam^{a} and 4QSam^{b}, as they represent a tradition clearly independent from the MT, and apparently better (as the manuscripts lack many of the defects which afflict MT Samuel).

Also in Hebrew, but with differences in dialect, is the Samaritan Pentateuch. The production of a sect considered schismatic by the Jews, the text (which survives mostly in recent manuscripts, and in rather smaller numbers than Hebrew Bibles, as the Samaritan sect is nearly extinct) shows definite signs of editing — but also seems to be based on a Hebrew text which predates the Massoretic recension. This makes it potentially valuable for criticism of the Pentateuch (the Samaritans did not revere the other portions of the Hebrew Bible) — as long as we remain aware that it has been

edited to conform to Samaritan biases. (We should also allow the possibility that the MT has been edited to conform to Jewish biases!)

There are many ancient versions of the Old Testament. These fall largely into two categories: Those translated directly from the Hebrew, and those translated from Greek version. (There are, of course, versions which do not come directly either the Hebrew nor the Greek, but from some intermediate version; examples include the various Western European versions translated from the Vulgate. These are, however, of almost no interest in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. If they have any significance at all, it is for Vulgate criticism.)

Setting aside the Greek version and its descendants for the moment, the most important versions descended from the Hebrew are the Latin and the Syriac/Aramaic. As in the New Testament, the Latin actually went through two stages: An Old Latin phase (these versions being translated from the Greek) and the Vulgate Revision. The Vulgate was translated by Jerome in the fourth century (just as is true of the New Testament Vulgate) — generally from the Hebrew, and with less attention to previous versions than Jerome showed in the Gospels. The result is a text generally quite close to the Hebrew. It appears, however, that the MT was well evolved by this time; Jerome's translation rarely departs from the MT, and the differences we do see may be the result of attempts to clarify obscurities or simply alternate interpretations.

The Aramaic Targums also are translations from the Hebrew, and are generally believed to be older than the Vulgate. They are also the work of Jewish scholars, meaning that they typically embody Jewish understanding of the Hebrew text. This does not, however, make them more valuable than the Vulgate. The Vulgate was translated by one man, Jerome; the Targums are multiple (e.g. the "Targum of Jonathan" and the "Targum of Onkelos"), making it harder to control for the translator's idiosyncrasies. The most noteworthy characteristic of the Targums, however, is their freedom. Often they do not even qualify as translations. They paraphrase, they expand, they even include commentary. Thus it is better to treat the Targums as commentaries by Jewish Fathers than as actual translations.

The Syriac Peshitta is the final major version to derive from the Hebrew. Its history and origin is disputed, but it is clear that several hands were involved, and there are also indications of revisions from the Greek. This mixed text makes the use of the Peshitta somewhat problematic.

Which brings us to the earliest and greatest of the versions, the Greek. It should be noted that there is very little scholarly consensus on what follows; if there is any fact universally accepted about the Greek version (other than the bare fact of the existence

of Greek translations), I don't know what it is. What follows is the most cautious of outlines, with conclusions postponed as best I can.

The Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible is often called the Septuagint, or LXX. This name derives from the so-called "Letter of Aristeas," which gives an official pedigree to the LXX. According to Aristeas, the LXX was prepared at the instigation of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (reigned 285–246 B.C.E.), who wanted a version of the Jewish scriptures for the Alexandrian library. Seventy (in some versions, seventy-two) scholars were commissioned to translate the Pentateuch, hence the name LXX.

The story of Aristeas is, obviously, legend (though not the most extreme legend; Philo had it that the translators all translated separately, then compared their work and found the separate translations identical!); while Ptolemy II probably would have liked a copy of the Jewish scriptures in the Alexandrian library, there is little chance he would have supplied the funds needed for the translation project described by Aristeas. If there is any truth in Aristeas, it is only this: That the Pentateuch was translated in Egypt, probably during early Ptolemaic times.

It is noteworthy that the LXX of the Pentateuch is a careful, skilled translation. It also conforms relatively closely to the Hebrew as we have it (there are exceptions, e.g. in the ages of the Patriarchs and in the order of a few chapters, but these are quite slight compared to what we see in the rest of the Old Testament). Thus it is possible that it was an organized project of some kind. Still, it cannot be considered an official Jewish product, as the primary language of the translators appears to have been Greek.

And as we move away from the Pentateuch, the situation becomes much more complex. The LXX version of the Pentateuch seems to have been generally acceptable. The same cannot be said for the remaining books.

The term "LXX" is rather misleading, as it strongly implies that there was only *one* translation. This is simply not the case. The Greek Old Testament clearly circulated in multiple editions — the earliest of which may in fact have preceded the LXX Pentateuch described by Aristeas. It is not clear whether these divergent renderings were actually independent translations (as a handful of scholars hold) or whether the text simply underwent a series of revisions. But that the "final" LXX text differed recensionally from the earliest is absolutely certain. This is perhaps most obvious in the Book of Judges, where Rahlfs (even though he is really citing only two manuscripts, the Alexandrinus/A and the Vaticanus/B) was forced to print two different texts. Few other books show such extreme variation (except in Daniel, where the version of Theodotian has replaced the original text of LXX), but all show signs of editorial work.

What's more, the direction of the recension is clear: The translation was made to conform more and more closely with the late Hebrew text. Secondarily, it was made to be smoother, more Greek, and possibly more Christian and theologically exact. (This process very likely was similar to that which produced the monolith of the Byzantine text of the New Testament.) These two processes, however, were probably independent; the former resulted in the so-called *kaige* text, the latter perhaps in the "Lucianic" text.

We cannot detain ourselves here with the various later recensions of the LXX, which are of little value for textual criticism. A statement by Jerome has led many scholars to believe that there were recensions by Hesychius (associated with Egypt) and Lucian (associated with Constantinople), as well as an edition by Origen.

All three are somewhat problematic. The recension of Hesychius is the worst; it has never been identified. (Alberto Vacarri, " The Hesychian Recension of the Septuagint," reprinted in Sidney Jellicoe, *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations,* argues that there are strong indications that it has survived — some have seen it in Vaticanus or Alexandrinus. But we can hardly be sure, since so little from Hesychius's pen has survived. Vacarri has only a few readings to work from, and he seems to think an Arabic translation is the best example. Not much help even if true.)

The text of Lucian has been pretty clearly identified, but we now have enough early manuscripts to make it clear that many of its readings predate the historical Lucian — some have been identified in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus the difficulty with regard to Lucian is to identify the various strands within its text.

Origen's edition was the "Hexaplar" recension, which placed in six columns the Hebrew text, a Greek transliteration, and the translations of Aquila (a woodenly literal Jewish translation said by Epiphanius to have dated from the second century though there are hints that portions of it are older), Symmachus (a late translator who provided a clear rendering), LXX, and Theodotian (also thought to be older than its historical second century date; it seems a revision of LXX which is freer in style but closer to the MT in text). Origin is known to have revised his LXX text to more nearly match the Hebrew (while incorporating critical symbols to show what he had done), but later copyists simply took the text without copying the symbols. Thus Origen's text, although based on the Septuagint, quite literally eliminates most of what is of interest to us.

It should also be remembered (as S. P. Brock pointed out in "Origen's aims as a Textual Critic of the Old Testament," reprinted in Sidney Jellicoe, *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations)* that Origen wasn't really trying to look at the original Hebrew. He was concerned, at least in part, with controversies with the Jews. So, as Brock says (p. 344 in the Jellicoe reprint), "[Origen] was concerned with finding out what was the text of the Old Testament as used by the Jews of *his own day."*

Origen's text testifies only to the third century. Its content shows that the MT was already largely established in his time, but we would have suspected this from other evidence.

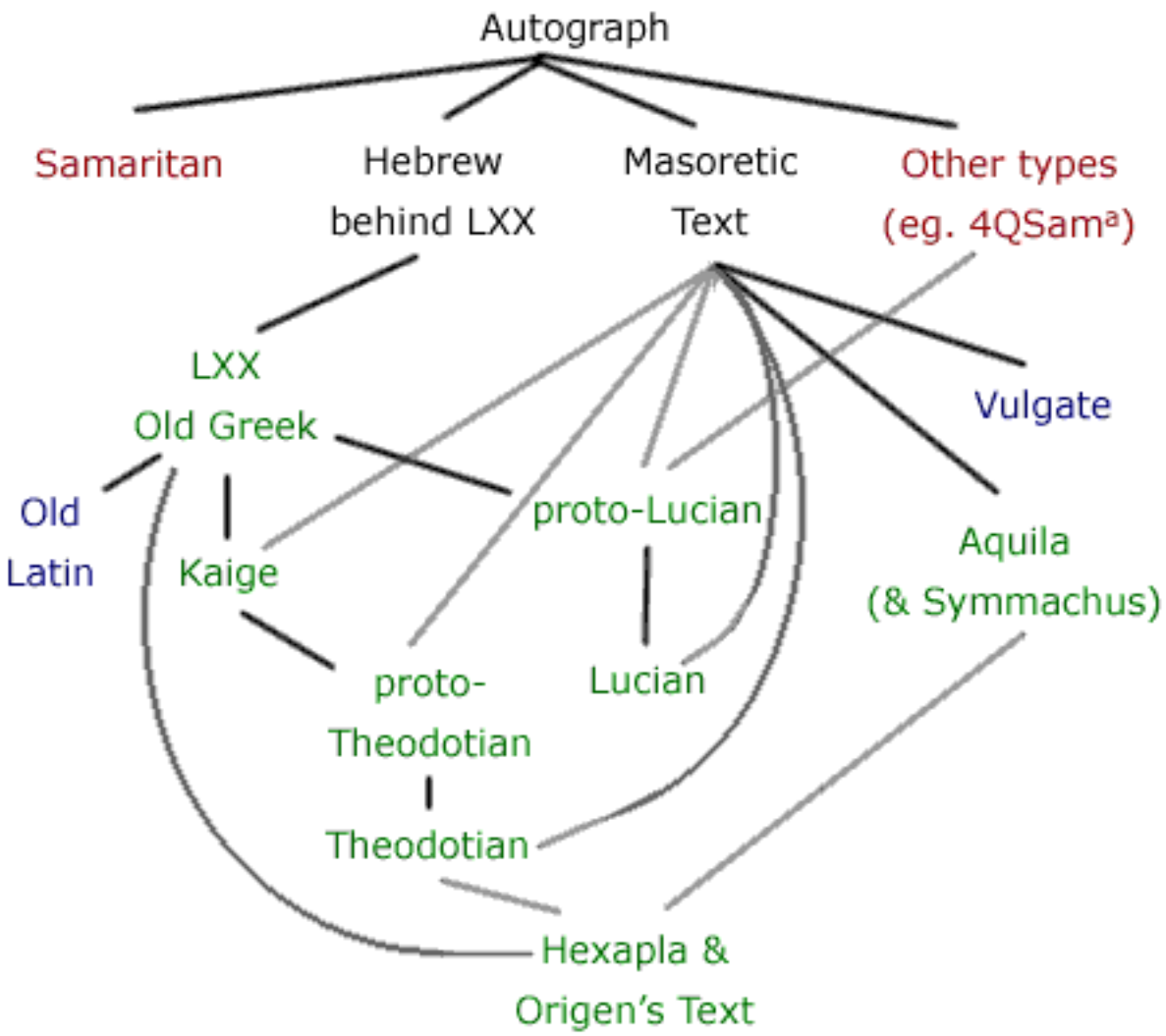
It might help if we had accurate copies of Origen's various symbols showing his changes — but we don't. Without those symbols, we can never be sure if a reading of the hexaplairic type comes from the Old Greek, or derives from the Hebrew (usually through the medium of Theodotian), or is something else. Origen's was one of the greatest critical efforts of antiquity, and if we had it intact, it would be very interesting — but his edited Greek text by itself is of very little use. And Origen's edition was produced before the great LXX codices were written, so there is always the danger that it has influenced a later copy. One of the major forms of drudge work in LXX studies, in fact, consists of trying to identify hexaplaric readings and manuscripts.

Modern scholars tend to use different names for the recensions — typically "Old Greek," "Lucian," and *kaige*. The Old Greek is believed to be the earliest rendering. "Lucian," although in fact it predates Lucian, is an often-fuller type which remains close to the Old Greek. The *kaige* is so called because of one of its translational quirks — using και γε as a hypertranslation of a particular Hebrew construction. The creators of *kaige* probably had some version of the Old Greek at hand, but they produced a rendering at once more literal and closer to the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew.

Each of these versions has quirks. All bear the signs of "translation Greek" — a wooden sort of rendering that is unnatural, at times even incomprehensible, to Greek speakers. *Kaige* is worst in this regard, with Lucian (probably a modification of the Old Greek by someone who did not know Hebrew) being the most natural.

It has been suggested that *kaige* may be Origen's "Quinta." This has some problems, since *kaige* seems to have extended beyond the known content of Quinta.

But *kaige* is truly a mystery. The mystery being at its most extreme in 1 and 2 Samuel. In these books, we find an Old Greek text in large parts of Vaticanus. But, at other points, Vaticanus is kaige. It has been suggested that the original Old Greek of Samuel did not contain the missing material and that these sections (2 Samuel 10:1 to end, plus 1 Kings 1:1–2:11 and 1 Kings 22–end and all of 2 Kings) were filled in with *kaige* material. The problem with this is that Lucian preserves a text independent of *kaige*. How could this be if there had been no Old Greek?



The diagram above shows one possible interpretation of the relationships between Greek (and Hebrew and Latin) versions. Other relationships have been proposed. In the diagram, a black line indicates a primary source; a lighter line indicates a source of mixture or correction.

The versions of Aquila, Theodotian, and Symmachus (often collectively known as "the Three") are now largely lost (Symmachus in particular has vanished almost completely). From what we can tell, their disappearance — although sad for the historian — is small loss to the textual critic. They are too close to the MT. As J. Reider confesses in "Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila," reprinted in Sidney Jellicoe, *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations,*

“the textual identity of Aquila’s Hebrew and our own, as far as consonants are concerned, is proved in a preponderating number of cases” (pp. 318–319), although he goes on to note a handful of divergences — and to observe on p. 320 that Aquila usually (although not always) renders the Q^{e}re rather than the K^{e}tib.

Theodotian, with its links to *kaige*, is also close to MT. Of Symmachus we can say little except that there is no reason to think it diverged from MT in any notable way.

For the most part, the Codex Vaticanus is considered the best representative of the Old Greek, although there are places where there are other good witnesses, and some places where Vaticanus contains *kaige* or other sorts of texts, such as the places in Samuel noted above.

The question then arises, *why* did the LXX undergo such extreme revision? Why did later scholars see the need to revise, and even offer different translations? Why was this version different from all the other versions?

The answer: While there may have been many reasons, such as an uneven Greek style, or perhaps multiple translations of certain books which had to be reconciled, there seems to be only one basic one: Unlike the other versions, the early LXX does not agree entirely with the MT.

The nature of the difference between LXX and MT varies from book to book. In Isaiah, it may simply be the incompetence of the original translator. In Job and Jeremiah, however, the LXX is shorter than the MT by more than 10%. And while it is possible that LXX Job was reduced because of the damage to the Hebrew text, this cannot account for Jeremiah — nor for the smaller reductions found in LXX Ezekiel and many of the minor prophets. In Samuel, on the other hand, the earliest LXX text is slighly longer (except that it omits a large portion of the story of David and Goliath; for a discussion of the folklore aspects, of this point, see the article on Oral Transmission), and in Kings we find many rearrangements of material. Lesser differences occur everywhere.

One of the most important results of the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls was to verify that many of these Greek readings which differ from MT go back to Hebrew originals. While 4QSam^{a} does not entirely agree with LXX, e.g., it does reveal that many if not most of the LXX readings go back to a Hebrew form. Similarly, 4QJer^{b}, although very short and fragmentary, shows that the LXX form of Jeremiah has a Hebrew relative.

The table below shows the number of Qumran manuscripts of each book, as listed in Patrick W. Skehan, “The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Text of the Old Testament” (1975). Note that some of these manuscripts, such as the Isaiah scroll, are extensive, while some are mere scraps. The intent is simply to show which books seem to have been popular in the Qumran period.

Book	Number of copies
Genesis	16
Exodus	16
Leviticus	8
Numbers	6
Deuteronomy	25
Joshua	2
Judges	3
Samuel	4
Kings	3
Isaiah	18
Jeremiah	4
Ezekiel	4
The Twelve	8
Psalms	27
Job	4
Proverbs	2
Ruth	4
Song	4
Ecclesiastes	2
Lamentations	4
Daniel	8
Ezra/Nehemiah	1
Chronicles	1
Esther	0

The average number of copies of a particular book is 7.25 — but the median is only 4.0 So we have almost seven times as many copies of Psalms as we have of the median book, and more than six times as many copies of Deuteronomy. The mode is 4 — there are seven books of which we have four copies.

We cannot detain ourselves with the arguments over the detailed relationships between the texts, since the experts are not agreed. The basic question for most people is, How do we deal with the divergences between the MT and the Old Greek?

The Methods of Old Testament Criticism

At this point we need to step back a little and examine the situation at a higher level of abstraction. What are the basic materials for criticism of the Hebrew Bible? Throwing

out all revisions and minor translations, we come down to at least two and at most four separate sources:

1. A “Majority Text” — the Hebrew tradition of the MT, found primarily in late manuscripts but *universal* in those late manuscripts.
2. The Old Greek — a version, but made at a relatively early date, from materials clearly distinct from the MT, and surviving in manuscripts earlier than the oldest copies of the MT
3. A handful of Hebrew fragments (e.g. the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Genizah fragments), some of which agree with MT, some with the Old Greek, and some with neither.
4. For the Pentateuch, we also have the Samaritan version

Since in most places we are confronted with only two independent witnesses (MT and Old Greek), scholars have to decide what to do with them. Generally speaking, they choose one of two courses — both of which, unfortunately, are logically flawed.

One course is to treat the MT as *the* basic text, preferring it at all points where it can be construed. (This is the stated policy, e.g. of Ernst Würthwein in T*he Text of the Old Testament,* although his examples prove that he is slightly more nuanced than his statements imply.) The LXX is used only where the MT is corrupt. This, we can say unequivocally, is fallacious. If the LXX has value at all, it has value everywhere. If it is too faulty to consult for the ordinary run of the text, there is no reason to consult it where the MT is corrupt — probably it was corrupt when it came to the LXX translators, too, and they were guessing. If the LXX is that worthless, we should simply resort to conjectural emendation. Housman, in his “Preface to Manilius” (I, p. 36) had this to say about this sort of reliance upon a single source (in this case, a single manuscript, but the principle applies well to OT criticism): “To believe that wherever a best MS gives possible readings it gives true readings, and only where it gives impossible readings does it give false readings, is to believe that an incompetent editor is the darling of Providence, which has given its angels charge over him.”

The other extreme is to treat the MT and LXX exactly equally, as different witnesses to the original text, or even to treat LXX as superior. There was a tendency toward the latter in the nineteenth century. This, unfortunately, has the defect that it treats a version as a text in the original language. This can hardly be allowed; one must know the method and style of the translation.

As Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva write on page 90 of *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Baker Books, 2000), “Certain scholars tend to argue that a given Greek reading is

certainly due to the translator's technique. Other scholars argue with equal enthusiasm that the same reading is due to a variant Hebrew text. The tension between these two opposing solutions constitutes what is perhaps the weightiest problem in Septuagint scholarship."

The correct answer doubtless lies somewhere in between the extremes. The LXX *must* be consulted. From the standpoint of readings, it is often as good and valuable as the MT (in some cases, such as Samuel, it is more valuable). But the form of the translation must be examined (e.g. a reading which would be accepted based on the Greek of the Pentateuch, which is carefully translated, might not be accepted for Isaiah, which is badly translated). Great care must be taken to be sure we know the nature and style of the Hebrew behind the LXX, and only *then* to compare it to the MT. Much of what we know about NT criticism still applies, but care must be taken to understand the peculiar circumstances of each section, each book, and even each part of a book (as some books seem to have been translated by more than one person). For details and examples, one must refer to specialized studies.

But let me give an analogy. I once had an argument with an Israeli who was convinced of the exact and literal truth of the MT Hebrew, who could not believe that the Greek could ever correct the Hebrew. I would agree with this if we had the original Hebrew — but we clearly don't; the damage to Samuel and Job shows that there has not been some sort of providential preservation.

The analogy I would make is to an outdoor landscape. Suppose you had two people make images of it. One paints a painting, in colour; the other takes a black and white photograph. (Perhaps this was in the nineteenth century.) The painting preserves colours, but will probably oversimplify and make errors in detail. The photograph will be entirely accurate to the limits of its resolution, but won't show colour.

So suppose you want a fully detailed, colour image of the scene. How can you possibly get one? Answer: You must use *both* the painting and the photograph. The photograph preserves the exact details, but the painting supplies the colours.

Similarly, to get as close as possible to the original Hebrew, one must combine the extant Hebrew and the Greek. The Hebrew, in terms of the details of language, is of course closest to the original Hebrew — it preserves nearly all the colour. But sometimes it is defective. At these times, we must take at least some details from the Greek. It lacks the colour, but it has the details. (Sometimes. At other times, of course, the Hebrew will preserve the colour and details.) Keeping this balance in mind almost certainly gives us the best chance to get back to the original Hebrew.

To put it another way: The Hebrew must be our copy text. Where the Greek is ambiguous and admits of two Hebrew originals, one found in MT, we should always accept as original the reading found in MT. But where the Greek clearly implies a different Hebrew text, we must give fair consideration to both readings, trying to determine which one best explains the other.

Having decided how to use our materials, we also need to decide on our canons of internal criticism. In dealing with individual Hebrew and Greek manuscripts, of course, all the familiar rules of NT criticism apply: Scribes make generally the same sorts of errors. And the basic rule of internal criticism remains "That reading is best which best explains the others." But we should note that certain errors seem to be more common in the OT than the New. Hebrew, for instance, is prone to interchanges of consonants — a side effect of the lack of vowels. There are perhaps more instances of repeated letters, and there is a certain tendency for two of a letter to be reduced to one. There are also, perhaps, more errors resulting from misdividing words, or taking a consonant-used-for-a-vowel as a consonant (that error, of course, cannot occur in Greek). These are small errors, but because they are small, they can be very widespread — and even, perhaps, affect all our witnesses. It is worth remembering that, because we have so few sources, conjecture is a more reasonable resort in the Old Testament than in the New.

Another thing that is perhaps worth noting is a rather different method of abbreviation which may have been used in Hebrew manuscripts. MS. Oxford Heb. e 30 contains a leaf of the Minor Prophets which is dramatically shortened. The first word of each sentence or verse is written out in full, but the remaining words are represented by a single consonant plus pointing — as if the phrase "Sing a song of sixpence, pocket full of rye" were reduced to "Sing a s o s, p f o r." The reader was clearly expected to remember the rest of the verse, with the individual letters as reminders. It will surely be evident that this might cause verses to be misremembered. We don't know how many books of this sort there were — only a few leaves have survived — so they may not have had much influence. But the possibility should be considered.

Appendix: Textual Criticism of LXX

Several times in the section above, I make disparaging reference to the textual criticism of LXX. This is a clear and necessary task, and it's being conducted very slowly.

Much attention has been given to the comment of Jerome's that there were recensions associated with Hesychius, Lucian, and Origen. This may be true, it may not. But there is no great value in naming text-types; what matters is *finding* them. Some editors have sought to do this. No one has really integrated the results.

Even the underlying assumptions are not entirely agreed. For example, most scholars follow Lagarde in believing that there was an original text of the Greek translation, now typically called the "Old Greek" text of LXX. Not only is this the true LXX translation, it is also the one most divergent from the Hebrew — and hence the one most useful for textual critics. But not all accept this! Paul Kahle argued that there were several independent Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible.

Ironically, although most scholars disagree with Kahle, they spend a lot of time talking about his positions. There is no need for this. Whether Kahle is right or wrong, those alternate translations are mostly close to the Hebrew of the MT. From the standpoint of textual criticism, they don't matter. What matters is that one translation (which for purposes of convenience we can call LXX) which *isn't* translated from a text effectively identical to the MT.

What's more, if the *kaige* text and the Hexaplar text are not independent translations of the Hebrew (and the latter certainly isn't and the former may not be), they are undeniably recensions — that is, there has been editorial activity. Thus they can *never* be entirely trusted as witnesses to the Old Greek. From the standpoint of either criticism of the Old Greek or criticism of the Hebrew, we should be treating them as if Kahle is right and they are different translations. They can of course serve as a source of conjecture, but not as direct witnesses to the original text of the LXX (and probably not to the Hebrew either).

The Lucianic "recension" is a much more difficult issue. For starters, many Lucianic readings actually predate Lucian. Also, from what we can tell, the Lucianic text looks a lot like the Old Greek — but much prettified. The grammar is smoother and less like translation Greek, and many of the monotonous repetitions of the Old Greek are eliminated. This could, of course, be the result of someone going over the LXX text to make it sound better, probably without reference to the Hebrew (something which has certainly happened more than once with, for instance, the English Bible — Living "Bible," anyone?). But, taken individually, the vast majority of the differences between the Lucianic and Old Greek texts could be explained by assuming that a scribe merely accidentally smoothed the reading. Thus the smoothness is not in fact evidence that Lucian's text is actually recensional. The answer to this question will distinctly affect how we use the type.

One thing that I personally wish had been studied more is the use of the divine name in LXX manuscripts. Most, of course, render it by κυριος. But Jerome mentions manuscripts that simply write the tetragrammaton in Hebrew letters (or accidentally turn that into Greek πιπι, those being the Greek letters which most nearly resemble the Hebrew). One of the earliest Greek manuscripts from Egypt, Papyrus Fouad 266

(Ralphs 848) from probably around 100 B.C.E., follows this usage and includes the Hebrew letters (oddly enough, the original scribe left blanks in the manuscript so a different writer could add in the Hebrew letters). The fact that we have two consistently-used alternate forms of such a common word implies some sort of editorial activity. The question is, what sort? One possibility is that the usage derives from from the Other Versions; according to the Milan hexaplar fragments, Aquila, Symmachus, and Quinta used the Hebrew letters (we find the πιπι form in the margin of Codex Q of LXX, e.g.). So the LXX might have adopted it from them — but how then could it be found in Fouad 266, which predates the other versions?

It should also be kept in mind that all the major manuscripts of LXX are Christian. The original LXX was a Jewish work, and some of the early fragments are of Jewish origin (including a few scraps from Qumran, although most of the surviving pre-Christian LXX material is from Egypt), but as time passed, the Jews became more and more dismissive of LXX, first replacing it with Aquila and then abandoning Greek renderings altogether. This of course does not mean that the Christians altered the LXX tendentiously, but it is worth remembering that most of the copying errors that were made were made by Christians, not Jews, and those Christian scribes would suffer an obvious if unconscious temptation to Christianize the readings and conform them to New Testament passages. (Note that this is not the same as the editorial process which added large sections to the books of Daniel and Esther; those changes probably go back to the original translations, and are the work of the Jewish translators.)

There is also the complication that LXX, unlike most classical literature, is a translation. This poses an interesting dilemma for “users”: should a Greek reader want a text of the Old Greek, or of the accepted text of the Orthodox church, or a text that is a good translation of the Hebrew? This admits of no answer — but it isn’t our worry. We are not users, we are textual critics. What matters to us is getting at a source of Hebrew variants. That’s the Old Greek, plus possibly the “Lucianic” recension of boc_2e_2 etc.

We continue to see volumes of the Göttingen LXX. These give the raw material for a good textual history. But stopping with their texts, or Rahlfs (the only complete critical text), is not sufficient. Just as OT criticism is in some ways analogous to NT criticism a few centuries ago, LXX studies are in a state about equivalent to NT studies at the time of Tregelles: A lot of material, and no real organization of the texts or theory on how to use them.

Another difficulty for the casual critic is the lack of affordable materials. There is only one portable, affordable critical edition of LXX — that of Rahlfs. And it has only a very minimal apparatus and does not represent the latest critical thinking. But the alternative, the still-incomplete Göttingen edition, is large and forbiddingly expensive. We need a

Nestle-type edition, and there isn't one. This is a rather desperate need — but don't hold your breath.

I would note (for English readers) one recent tool that can be of some help: Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, editors, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint.* This is a (mostly woodenly literal) translation of the Göttingen text where available (the rest mostly translates Rahlfs), sometimes with separate translations of the Old Greek and *kaige* versions. It also has introductions to the individual books, discussion the translation technique and the text. These cannot be considered the final word, of course, but they are a nice portable set of notes. While NETS and Rahlfs together hardly add up to a true critical edition and apparatus, they are far more useful together than either individually.

Having said all that, let us assume that our goal is to reconstruct the Old Greek, and perhaps also the Lucianic recension. For the most part, our tools are the same as for New Testament criticism: We use the standard rules for evaluating internal evidence; we also classify manuscripts.

But — to repeat — we must keep in mind the fact that the LXX is a translation. One cannot simply reconstruct what seems like the most likely text. One must also refer back to the Hebrew to determine what appears to be the basis of the translation. This will obviously influence the reading one adopts.

It will be evident that there is a dependency problem here: If we need the Hebrew to reconstruct the Greek, and the Greek to reconstruct the Hebrew, then we have no place at which to start our cycle. Fortunately this problem is not quite as bad as it sounds — most of the time. Since the Hebrew is *usually* intact, and the Greek can *usually* be reliably reconstructed even without the Hebrew, and the corruptions often occur at different points, we can usually safely use one to reconstruct the other. Not always, sadly, but usually.

It should, incidentally, be noted that LXX criticism has at least five different aspects, depending on the book:

Reconstruction of books which are in the Hebrew Bible

Reconstruction of books which were originally in Hebrew but of which are not in the Hebrew Bible and for which no Hebrew text survives (e.g. Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees)

Reconstruction of books which were originally in Hebrew but which are not part of the Hebrew Bible but for which some Hebrew material survives (e.g. Sirach)

Reconstruction of books which were composed in Greek rather than Hebrew (e.g. Wisdom of Solomon)

Reconstructions of additions written in Greek to books which were written in Hebrew (e.g. the additions to Esther and Daniel)

For some, of course, it is only the first of these which matters, since the goal is to reconstruct the Hebrew Bible, and the additions make no difference. On the other hand, the existence of the other LXX materials might influence the translations of the canonical books — e.g. the translation known as 1 Esdras might have influenced the translations of Ezra and Nehemiah (since parallels might be assimilated), and the insertions into Esther and Daniel might influence the text around them. Thus one who wishes to use the LXX in criticism of the Hebrew Bible still needs to be aware of the portions of LXX which are not translations of canonical Hebrew books. This is most obviously true in the case of addition "D" in Esther. The other additions are just plopped into the middle of the text. But "D" is carefully woven into the Hebrew; trying to decide what parts of the addition are actual additions and which are derived from the archetype is, at best, tricky.

And the distinction between these types of criticism is real. Wisdom of Solomon is in very good Greek. Sirach is in Aquila-like translation Greek. The canons of internal evidence are very different in these two cases!

A final note, repeating part of the above: The Göttingen LXX is a noble critical effort. But it should be kept in mind that it is only a single edition — and it isn't even the unified work of a single editor or committee of editors. It can hardly be considered the final word on the text of LXX; LXX studies are probably closer to the situation for the New Testament in Lachmann's day than to the equivalent of the UBS edition. Of course, one could argue that the Hebrew is in even worse state — after all, we need good data on LXX before we can produce a truly critical edition of the Hebrew Bible!

Appendix: Important Manuscripts (Hebrew and Other)

An irony of the nature of the Hebrew Bible tradition is that it renders individual manuscripts relatively unimportant. Probably the only truly irreplaceable Old Testament manuscript is Vaticanus — and it's LXX, not Hebrew! But the list below catalogs a few widely-used texts, both Hebrew and versions.

It is worth noting that the catalogs of manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible are not nearly as tidy as those of the New Testament. There is no really universal nomenclature for Hebrew manuscripts, and LXX manuscripts have a rather incoherent system. Qumran manuscripts are usually noted by cave number, book, and a letter (e.g. 1QIs^{a} means "First Qumran cave, Isaiah, manuscript A"; 4QSam^{b} is "Fourth Qumran cave, Samuel, manuscript B"). This notation, however, isn't used in the *Biblia Hebraica*, which uses the notation Q^{a}, etc. BHS uses letters for a few major Hebrew manuscripts (e.g.

L=Leningradensis), or letters with superscripts (e.g. V^{p} is the Petersburg codex of the Prophets). Many manuscripts aren't even directly cited; they are simply cited as variants in some edition or other.

LXX manuscripts have sometimes been known by letters and sometimes by numbers; at present, the Rahlfs system is most widely adopted, but it is (to say the least) confusing. Major uncials are known by letters, just as in the New Testament, so A, B, C, and א are the same manuscripts as in the New Testament (although it is common to use the symbol S for א, to avoid confusion with the Hebrew letter and, I suspect, make typesetting easier). Fragmentary uncials and papyri are known by numbers, from 800 to 1000 — e.g. 911 is the third century papyrus frequently cited for Genesis by Rahlfs. Minuscules occupy the remaining Arabic numbers — the numbers 1001 to 2000 are for late witnesses to the Psalms, numbers from 2001 on up are early witnesses to the Psalms, and numbers from 1 to 799 are minuscule witnesses *not* to the Psalms (which are far fewer than Psalms manuscripts — Psalms witnesses outnumber other LXX texts by perhaps 10:1. LXX Psalms manuscripts are more numerous than witnesses of most parts of the New Testament, although of course Gospels manuscripts are more common still).

1QIs^{a} * Hebrew

The great Isaiah scroll from Qumran. The largest and most complete of all the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is not dramatically different in text from the Masoretic Text, but there are some divergences, and the orthography is quite different. The scroll thus serves both to affirm the general quality of MT and to demonstrate that transmission was not entirely perfect.

The scroll contains all of Isaiah apart from some very slight damage. The scroll uses 17 sheets of leather to make a scroll 0.26 meters tall and 7.34 meters long. There are 54 columns of about 30 lines. Peculiarly, the form of the text changes right around the end of chapter 33; the orthography is much fuller in the second half. It has been speculated that two different exemplars were used. Since Isaiah is a long book, it is not unlikely that it was sometimes copied onto two scrolls, and that 1QIs^{a} was copied from two such.

4QSam^{a} * Hebrew

One of three Qumran manuscripts of (1–2) Samuel. It is relatively fragmentary (contains, according to Eugene Charles Ulrich, Jr., *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus,* p. 271, 1 Samuel 1:11–13, 22–28, 2:1–6, 8–11, 13–36, 3:1–4, 18–20, 4:9–12, 5:8–12, 6–1–7, 12–13, 16–18, 20–21, 7:1, 8:9–20, 9:6–8, 11–12, 16–24, 10:3–18, 25–27, 11: 1, 7–12, 12:7–8, 14–19, 14:24–25, 28–34, 47–51, 15:24–32, 17:3–6, 24:4–5, 8–9, 14–23, 15:3–12, 20–21 25–26, 39–40, 26:10–12, 21–23, 27:8–12, 28:1–2, 222–25, 30:28–31, 31:2–4; 2 Samuel 2:5–16, 25–27, 29–32, 3:1–8, 23–39, 4:1–4, 9–12, 5:1–16,

6:2–9, 12–18, 7:23–29, 8:2–8, 10:4–7, 18–19, 11:2–12, 16–20, 12:4–5, 8–9, 13–20, 30–31, 13:1–6, 13–34, 36–39, 14:1–3, 18–19, 15:1–6, 27–31, 16:1–2, 11–13, 17–18, 21–23, 18:2–7, 19:7–12, 20:2–3, 9–14, 23–26, 21:1–2, 4–6, 15–17, 22:30–51, 23:1–6, 24:16–20).

Despite its fragmentary state, 4QSam^{a} is probably textually the most important of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The importance lies in the fact that it contains a Hebrew text clearly closer to the LXX than to the MT (although not identical to either). According to P. Kyle McCarter, following Cross, it is especially close to the type called "Lucianic," with some similarities also to the Old Greek of Vaticanus. The differences from the Old Greek are however substantial — for example, after 1 Sam. 10:27, it includes a long addition about Jabesh-Gilead and Nahash the Ammonite (adopted by NRSV even though both MT and LXX omit it). On the other hand, it omits 2 Samuel 5:4–5, found in both MT and LXX. It is extremely unfortunate that it lacks 1 Samuel 18 and 19 in their entirety, so we cannot compare its version of the story of David and Goliath with that of Vaticanus. Still, the existence of this third text makes it clear that both LXX and MT are valuable witnesses to Samuel, even where 4QSam^{a} is not extant, and it gives us a third independent witness where it is extant.

To have some idea of the textual influence of 4QSam^{a}, it is instructive to look at the footnotes of the NRSV. In all of Isaiah, only 20 readings are adopted based on either of the Qumran Isaiah scrolls, and in one other case, the editors of NRSV were influenced by a Qumran manuscript (that is, while they did not follow it against all other witnesses, its reading was part of the basis for their decision). By contrast, my count was that, in 1 Samuel alone, 27 readings were adopted in NRSV based on 4QSam^{a}, and seven others influenced by it. Given that Isaiah is about twice as long as 1 Samuel, and that 4QSam^{a} covers at most a quarter of 1 Samuel, 4QSam^{a} was roughly eleven times as influential as the Isaiah scrolls. Hence the claim that 4QSam^{a} is the most textually important scroll. Patrick W. Skehan, "Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism" (reprinted in Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds, *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text)* says "From the twofold viewpoint of the amount of text preserved, and the direct value of that text as a source of fruitful criticism of the Masoretic tradition, the Books of Samuel are in fact unique at Qumran" (p. 214). There are several Qumran scrolls of Samuel, all of which contribute somewhat to that assessment, but 4QSam^{a} is the most important of them all.

4QJer^{b} * Hebrew

Now listed by Tov as 4QJer^{b}, 4QJer^{d}, and 4QJer^{e}; also 4Q71 and 4Q72a. Like P^{52} in the New Testament, these manuscripts are more important for their existence than for their actual content: Just as P^{52} proves that the gospel of John was in existence early in the second century, the Jeremiah scraps prove — or at least provide strong evidence —

that the LXX version of Jeremiah is based on a Hebrew original; it is not just the result of some strange translation practice. (Recall that LXX Jeremiah is substantially shorter than MT Jeremiah, and also has many changes in order — notably, it relocates the oracles against foreign nations, but there are other rearrangements of lesser scope.) The three Jeremiah fragments are all very small; the largest has only seven lines of about thirty characters each, and the top three lines are all badly damaged. But even these tiny scraps are short enough to show an arrangement of text which agrees with LXX against MT, and also to show some readings characteristic of LXX. The effect of this is to demonstrate that LXX Jeremiah must be taken seriously as a source, since that recension did exist in Hebrew. The three fragments contain small portions (in no case as much as a complete verse) of Jeremiah 9:22–10:21, 43:3–9, and 50:4–6.

Murabba'at 88 * Hebrew

A scroll of the Minor Prophets found in 1955 at the Wadi Murabba'at. The caves there were in use as late as the Bar Kochba revolt. The scroll is much damaged, but it agrees strongly with MT in the text (although not in details such as paragraphing). Textually perhaps not of great importance, but if several of the Qumran scrolls show that the MT was early, Murabba'at 88 confirms that it was early and used in several places.

The Cairo Codex * Hebrew

A Hebrew manuscript of the Former and Latter Prophets. The colophon says it was written by Moses ben Asher in 895 C.E. This makes it the earliest of the surviving manuscripts of the Ben Asher family — generally considered to be the embodiment of the Masoretic Text (although questions have been raised about whether the Cairo manuscript truly belongs to the Ben Asher recension). It is kept in Cairo, and as a result it has not always been available for the use of Jewish or Christian scholars.

The Petersburg Codex * Hebrew

The title of this codex is obviously somewhat confusing; it is not the same as the Leningrad Codex described below. (In a critical apparatus, this manuscript may be referred to as V^p; the Leningrad Codex may be L.) A codex of the Later Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve). Its colophon is dated 916 C.E., making it the earliest of the major Masoretic Hebrew codices. Interestingly, instead of the common Tiberian pointing, it uses the Babylonian pointing. This does not affect the text, but it gives us our best insight into this alternative pointing scheme.

The Aleppo Codex * Hebrew

Originally a complete Old Testament, which acording to its colophon was written by Shelomo ben Buya'a (who lived in the early tenth century; another of his manuscripts is dated to 930 C.E.) and had the pointing and masora supplied by Aaron ben Moses ben Asher, the last of the great scribal line, himself. It seems to have been kept as a model

codex — used only on special days and for reference in matters of particular textual uncertainty. Maimonides seems to have referred to this volume as being particularly accurate. Thus the Aleppo Codex could almost be said to *be* the Masoretic Text.

Sadly, it has not been as available as might have been hoped. Originally located in Jerusalem, it apparently travelled to Cairo, and came to Aleppo by about the fifteenth century. There it was kept secret, so that no photographs could be taken. In the mid-Twentieth century, it was feared lost due to the strife in Syria, Jordan, and the new state of Israel. It has now been recovered, but about a third of its contents appear to have been lost. (A lesson, surely, for all who try to keep manuscripts from the scholarly world!) It is believed that it originally had 487 pages; 193 were missing when it was rediscovered, including the beginning and end and some pages in the middle. Most of the book is written in three columns per page, although some sections (mostly poetic) are written in two columns.

The Leningrad Codex * Hebrew

Other than the Aleppo Codex, considered to be the best text of the Masoretic Text in existence (and more widely cited because it has been available to scholars). The colophon says it was written in around 1009 C.E. (there are five dates in the colophon, based on the creation, the exile of Jehoiakim, the Seleucid Era, the destruction of the second Temple, and the beginning of the Islamic Era; four of the five dates indicate a time between 1008 and 1010; the date based on the exile of Jehoiakim seems to claim a date of 846 C.E., but since the Jews lost track of time in the second Temple era, this can safely be discounted). The copy says it was written by Samuel ben Jacob based on manuscripts attributed to Aaron ben Moses ben Asher. There has been dispute about its text, because it shows many corrections; it is possible that it was originally copied from some other manuscript and corrected toward the ben Asher type. But there seems no doubt that the final text is of the ben Asher recension.

The Cambridge Codex * Samaritan Hebrew

Probably the oldest copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch now in existence, since it contains a note saying it was sold in 1140–50 C.E. and was probably written somewhat earlier, making it about as old as the earliest manuscripts of the MT Hebrew. It is in codex form.

Note that this is not the famous Abisha' scroll of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which contains an inscription claiming it was written by Aaron's great-grandson in the thirteenth year of the settlement of Canaan. The Abisha' manuscript was not made accessible to scholars until quite late, and the evidence seems to indicate that it is composite. The early part of the manuscript (through Numbers 34) is thought to come from around the fourteenth century; the last section of Numbers and all of Deuteronomy

is older — but probably no older than the Cambridge codex. Thus the Cambridge manuscript is probably of greater value to scholars of the Samaritan edition.

The Nahal Hever Minor Prophets * Greek

This manuscript is known by many symbols; it is Rahlfs 943; its official designaction is 8HevXIIgr (i.e. Nahal Hever, Cave 8, 12 prophets, Greek) or sometimes 8Hev1. Barthélemy called it R.

This manuscript, although rather short (as it stands, it has only 24 columns, containing portions only of Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, written in the hands of two different scribes) has revolutionized LXX studies almost as much as Qumran revolutionized MT studies. Studied by D. Barthélemy in particular, it is clearly based on a Hebrew text which is approaching MT. But it is the translation technique which is most important. This was the first clear example of the *kaige* recension, which has now been recognized in many so-called LXX manuscripts and which perhaps gave rise to the "Theodotian" text. Thus, although the manuscript is not particularly important textually (it's too close to MT, and too short), it is a key to the history of the Greek versions.

It is fascinating to note that this *Greek* manuscript was found in the "Cave of Horrors" at Nahal Hever, where many Jews died, often horribly, during the revolt against Rome. It was a significant surprise to find a Greek Bible there — but it is noteworthy that it was not the (Old Greek) LXX; it was much more precise and Aquila-like.

Nahal Hever, on the west shore of the Dead Sea some distance south of En-gedi, is a wadi with a series of caves along the side. These caves, including the "Cave of Horrors" where the manuscript was found (so named because about forty people starved to death within it), were occupied during the second Jewish revolt (the Bar Kochba rebellion), meaning that the manuscript must come from before 135 C.E.... But it appears to have been well-used before the revolt, and this plus paleographic examinations have caused most scholars to suspect a date in the first century C.E. or even earlier. The most typical estimate would probably be the first half of the first century. It is clear that it is a revision of the Old Greek, intended to be at once a more literal rendering of the Hebrew and closer to the MT; it is also evident that, unlike the original LXX, this translation was still accepted by Jews in the second century.

Codex Vaticanus (B) * Greek

The earliest nearly-complete codex of the LXX Greek, it dates from the fourth century (being, of course, the same as B/Vaticanus of the New Testament). It now lacks Genesis 1:1–46:28; (2 Samuel=)2 Kingdoms 2:5–7, 10–13; Psalms 105:27–137:6 (=106:27-138:6), and it seems never to have contained 1–4 Maccabees or the Prayer of Manasses. Although for much of the Old Testament it is in terms of age the oldest surviving witness, its great value lies in the fact that, with some exceptions, it represents

the Old Greek text, not the Hexaplairic recension. There are however a few places where its text is considered inferior — notably Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Chronicles, and 1–2 Esdras. The exceptional quality of the main run of its text is accepted by every source I have checked. Its great importance springs from the fact that its text is independent of the Hebrew and relatively free of later "improvements."

P. Kyle McCarter, Jr. considers Vaticanus so important that it is the only Old Testament manuscript he examines book-by-book. In his book *Textual Criticism,* he has an appendix titled "Textual Characteristics of the Books of the Hebrew Bible." This describes the general nature of the MT and LXX of those books, and lists significant other witnesses such as Qumran scrolls. In general he calls Vaticanus the best witness to the Old Greek. There are exceptions: In Deuteronomy B has hexaplairic readings. In Joshua, it is shorter than MT. In Judges and Ruth, it is *kaige*. In 2 Samuel 10:1–1 Kings 2:11 and 1 Kings 22:1–2 Kings, it is again *kaige*. Chronicles is *kaige* and perhaps "troubled"; Ezra and Nehemiah are also *kaige*. In Isaiah he calls B expansionistic and with hexaplairic readings. Jeremiah is mixed, probably not Old Greek in chapters 29–52. Lamentations is *kaige*. Ezekiel 28–39 may not be Old Greek. In Job there are *kaige* insertions into the short Greek text. The Song of Songs is *kaige*. Ecclesiastes may be Aquila (there does not seem to be a true LXX rendering of this book). Daniel (as in most LXX MSS) is *kaige* or perhaps Theodotian.

Codex Alexandrinus (A) * Greek

The most substantial early codex of the LXX Greek, dating from probably the first half of the fifth century; it is the same as Alexandrinus/A of the New Testament. Its primary lacuna is at the beginning; it has lost the first few chapters of Genesis. Its text in general is not as valuable as that of Vaticanus, frequently revealing hexaplairic influence, but it some books, such as Isaiah, it is superior.

Codex Sarravianus (G) * Greek

Also sometimes called Codex Colberto-Sarravianus, and dated from the fifth, or possibly late fourth, century. Symbol is G. The varying names arise because portions are in Leyden (130 leaves), Paris (22 leaves), and a single leaf in St. Petersburg. Its contains Genesis through Judges with many lacunae (we have portions of Genesis 31–36, Exodus 36–end, Leviticus 1–18, 24–end, Numbers 1–7, 11–20, 25–26, 29–end, Deuteronomy 4, 7–19, 18–21, Joshua 9–19, Judges 9–10, 15–17, 19–21). Its text is not in itself particularly important, being primarily hexaplaric (note that Rahlfs cites it only very rarely, and BHS not at all), but it is important for the fact that it includes Origen's hexaplairic signs, although seemingly not with perfect accuracy. This means that it, along with the Syro-hexaplar, can be used to try to detect hexaplairic contamination in other Greek manuscripts. Tischendorf identified no fewer than seven correctors, the first three of which (who did the largest share of the work) were all early: A was

contemporary with the scribe, B worked on Deuteronomy and Judges probably in the fifth century, and C went over Numbers in the sixth century.

Codex Marchalianus (Q) * Greek

Vatican Library, MS. Greek 2125. Along with G, one of the most important sources for the Hexapla. Written in a beautiful hand usually dated to the sixth century. The letter forms are described as being of the Coptic style. It contains the Prophets, with the minor prophets preceding the major. The original text is thought to be Alexandrian/Hesychian, with some Hexaplar influence. More important is a work of a very early corrector, who went over the manuscript to add Hexaplaric symbols and marginalia (including many readings from the other translations). It is these marginal materials which give the manuscript most of its value.

The Milan Palimpsest * Greek

Milan, Ambrosian Library, O 39 Sup. A Palimpsest, Rahlfs 1098. The upper text is of little value, being merely a late (thirteenth century or later) copy of the Orthodox service book known as the Οκτωηχος. But two of the lower leaves are copies of a text based, in some form, on Origen's hexapla. The Hexapla of course contained six columns: Hebrew (in Hebrew letters), Hebrew (transcribed in Greek letters), Aquila, Symmachus, LXX, and Theodotian (plus occasional other versions). The Milan fragments include five of these columns: Hebrew in Greek letters (except that the tetragrammaton is written in Hebrew), Aquila, Symmachus, LXX, and — it is believed — Quinta. (The inclusion of Quinta in this manuscript is part of why there are so many vexed questions about Theodotian, Quinta, and *kaige*.)

The total text is minimal — about 150 verses of Psalms. And the copy is much later than Origen's original — it's thought to be ninth or tenth century. But it gives us one of our few looks at the actual format of the Hexapla.

b o c_2 e_2 * Greek

This set of letters may be the most fetishistic in all Old Testament criticism. These four minuscules of the former prophets (which I group because they form a family and are almost always referred to together) properly should be referred to by their numbers, 19 (Chigi R.vi.38, X? century), 82 (Coisl. Gr. 3, XII century), 93 (British Library Reg.i.D.2, XIII century), and 127 (Syn. 31a Vlad. 1, X century) — but almost all articles use the letters, the symbols used by Brooke and McLean. The importance of the four lies in the fact that they seem to preserve Lucian's text. This text is of great importance in 1–4 Kingdoms, especially in the places where Vaticanus is *kaige* and we have little evidence for the Old Greek except the Lucianic text.

Codex Amiatinus (A) * Latin

Yes, the same manuscript as A of the Vulgate in the New Testament. Just as in the New

Testament, Amiatinus is perhaps the most important witness to the version (although the Vulgate is of generally less value in the Old Testament than the New). The text is slightly mixed, and rather inferior in the Psalms (where it is said to be Irish), but mostly very good.

Appendix: Greek manuscripts cited by BHS, BHK, and Rahlfs

To completely catalog the materials cited in BHS, BHK, and Rahlfs is beyond the scope of this article, but I will attempt to supply a useful quick reference. To begin with, let us examine the use of the Greek manuscripts in Rahlfs. Following the tables is a description of these manuscripts, plus others cited in the Hebrew critical editions.

Frequency of Citation in Rahlfs

This is not a perfect table. Ideally, one would cite places where each manuscript agrees with the others, or goes with or against the Rahlfs text, or something of the kind. That is not what this table does. Instead, it simply counts how many times Rahlfs explicitly cites each manuscript. In the books where Rahlfs cites only two uncials (Exodus, say), this can to a first approximation be treated as a count of the number of places each manuscript disagrees with the Rahlfs text. But even this is imperfect, for two reasons. First, I counted variants in both the main text and correctors. Second, there is the issue of which variants count. Many LXX variants repeat (e.g. two different manuscripts may have two different spellings of a particular name, and use their own spelling repeatedly). In general I have tried to count such variants only once — but often this depends on how Rahlfs sets up the apparatus. Then, too, Rahlfs sometimes includes one of the uncials in one of his manuscript groups (e.g. in 1 Kingdoms, he includes A with *O*, the Origen group). When Rahlfs cites *O* without A (i.e. O^{-A}), I have not counted this as a variant involving A. I have, however, counted the rare occasions when Rahlfs counts one of the other members of the *O* group (e.g. O^{376}), because they are rarely cited and it is perhaps significant when they are.

To emphasize, this is not a full analysis of the Rahlfs apparatus — and, in any case, Rahlfs is not the last word on the text of LXX. But this gives some idea of what he considers worth citing, and it is a comprehensive list of which manuscripts are cited in each book.

Pentateuch

Note that B is defective for most of Genesis, and ℵ for almost the whole of the Pentateuch. N+V (which Rahlfs always cites as V), which is his most-cited manuscript other than A, B, and ℵ, does not begin until Leviticus 13:59, and has other lacunae in

the Pentateuch. In Genesis, therefore, A, M, and 911 are the primary sources — and even A fails for a few chapters.

	BOOKS					
MSS	Genesis	Exodus	Leviticus	Numbers	Deuteronomy	*Totals*
A	619	925	451	887	908	3790
B	62	404	289	398	804	1957
D	13	—	—	—	—	13
F	—	1	3	2	4	10
G	—	—	—	1	2	3
L	5	—	—	—	—	5
M	127	14	27	6	6	180
S (א)	15	—	—	3	—	18
(N+)V	—	—	—	5	7	12
W	—	—	—	—	21	21
911	126	—	—	—	—	126

Former Prophets and associated books

Note that א is defective for these books. Also, Rahlfs cites several versions in this section — most notably the Syriac in connection with the Hexapla, but even versions as obscure as the Ethiopic. I have not counted these witnesses. Also keep in mind that Rahlfs prints two texts of Judges, the B-text and the everything-else text, and does the same with parts of Joshua; this reduces the number of citations in both books, especially of B, since there can be few variants in a text which is mostly a diplomatic edition of the B text!

	BOOKS							
MSS	Joshua	Judges	Ruth	1 Kingdoms	2 Kingdoms	3 Kingdoms	4 Kingdoms	Totals
A	1008	411	76	486	495	505	584	3565
B	374	67	25	316	473	638	634	2527
G	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	5
M	11	19	3	20	40	7	—	100
V	26	4	—	18	19	28	66	161
W	69	—	—	—	—	—	—	69
93	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2
127	—	—	—	1	1	3	1	6
247	—	—	—	9	24	42	—	75
376	—	—	—	20	8	—	—	28

Other Historical Writings

Note that ℵ is defective for large portions of 1 Chronicles — and seems to have a rather wild text even where extant; at least, Rahlfs cites far more variants for it than for A and B. In 1 Chronicles in particular, Rahlfs places extra weight on V as a result. This is not a possibility in the books of Esdras; V is defective for the end of 1 Esdras and the first several chapters of 2 Esdras.The rate of variants in 1 Chronicles 1–9 is in any case very high (note how many more variants there are in 1 Chronicles than in 2 Chronicles), due to all the Hebrew names so easily distored in Greek. Similarly, V gains in importance for Maccabees because B lacks all four books and ℵ has only two. The low number of variants for ℵ in Tobit is due to the fact that Rahlfs prints two texts of that book, one from ℵ and one from all the other witnesses.

	BOOKS											
MSS	1 Ch.	2 Ch.	1 Esd.	2 Esd.	Esthe	Judith	Tobit	1 Macc	2 Macc	3 Macc	4 Macc	Totals
A	1030	623	290	507	406	246	143	733	488	224	447	5137
B	1282	666	569	901	48	165	134	—	—	—	—	3765
S (ℵ)	419	—	—	704	127	416	45	948	—	—	400	3059
V	213	46	17	100	12	10	8	180	297	109	21	1013
19	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
58	—	—	—	—	151	62	—	—	—	—	—	213
93	—	—	—	2	158	—	—	—	—	—	—	160
108	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
583	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	6

Wisdom Books

It is well known that the Old Greek of Job was much shorter than the Hebrew. It is not so often mentioned that this short text is preserved primarily in the Old Latin and Sahidic Coptic. The surviving Greek manuscripts have generally been based on Origen's hexaplairic text, meaning that they are contaminated by Theodotianic readings. But little attention has been paid to the way in which this was done. Working over the critical apparatus of Job, one cannot help but observe the extent to which we find B and ℵ on the one hand going against A on the other. V, insofar as it is extant (it has only the last dozen or so chapters) goes with A. The differences are so substantial that I have to suspect recensional activity.

	BOOKS									
MS	Psalms	Odes	Prover.	Eccles.	Song Solom.	Job	Wisd. Solom.	Sirach	Psalm Solom.	*Totals*
A	674	58	297	145	49	1427	139	576	—	3365
B	503	—	197	209	56	318	138	502	—	1923
C	—	—	6	2	—	34	6	16	—	64
R	31	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	64
S (א)	908	—	386	251	90	648	310	1040	—	3633
T	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
U	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
V	—	—	39	52	11	394	28	96	—	620
55	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
1098	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
2013	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
2018	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

Prophets

It is interesting and somewhat surprising to look at how Rahlfs edited the prophetic books. In Isaiah, he has an apparatus which quite regularly cites four witnesses, A B Q S. It almost resembles the early Nestle editions. But he largely ignores Q in the other major prophets. (This is apparently because Q is widely regarded as Alexandrian/ Hesychian in Isaiah and the minor prophets, Hexaplairic elsewhere.) We see similar variations in the importance he gives to the different witnesses of the various minor prophets. To account for this, I have made up separate tables for, for instance, The Twelve and the books associated with Jeremiah, and then created a master table with totals for each of these categories.

The Twelve

	BOOKS												
MSS	Hose	Amo	Mica	Joel	Obad	Jona	Nahu	Habb	Zeph	Hagg	Zech	Mala	*Total*
A	106	107	91	51	25	44	36	43	48	22	197	44	814
B	104	112	79	35	18	26	23	32	30	18	148	34	659
Q	38	59	56	38	15	28	15	28	29	10	124	29	469
S (א)	—	—	—	61	26	55	50	69	51	38	205	61	616
V	7	8	4	10	2	3	3	3	6	1	16	3	66
W	—	44	54	30	13	31	15	29	29	19	123	23	410
393	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3

Writings Associated with Jeremiah

	BOOKS				
MSS	Jeremiah	Baruch	Lamentations	Letter of Jeremiah	Totals
A	1320	108	101	85	1614
B	631	30	60	22	743
Q	64	2	1	3	70
S (א)	1248	—	60	—	1308
V	17	1	—	—	18
86	1	—	—	—	1
393	1	2	—	—	3

Writings Associated with Daniel

Note that Rahlfs has two texts of Daniel and the related books, the LXX text of 88 and the Syriac and the Theodotianic text of everything else. He in fact uses 88 more than any other witness (since his LXX text is almost identical to that of 88), but cites it less often because there are no other witnesses to cite against it.

	BOOKS			
MSS	Daniel	Susanna	Bel and the Dragon	Totals
A	395	25	29	449
B	258	18	10	286
Q	45	1	1	47
V	10	1	1	12
88	97	3	6	106
393	2	—	—	2

The Prophets Summarized

	BOOKS					
MSS	The Twelve	Isaiah	Jeremiah	Ezekiel	Daniel	*Totals*
A	814	789	1614	1348	449	5014
B	659	1095	743	828	286	3611
Q	469	482	70	115	47	1183
S (א)	616	1101	1308	—	—	3025
V	66	50	18	22	12	168
W	410	—	—	—	—	410
86	—	—	1	—	—	1
88	—	—	—	—	106	106
393	3	21	3	2	2	31
918	—	4	—	—	—	4

Grand Totals

The table below shows all the witnesses cited in Rahlfs, with the number of times cited.

Manuscript	Citations
A	20871
B	13783
C	64
D	13
F	10
G	8
L	5
M	280
Q	1183
R	64
S (א)	9735
T	13
U	7
V	1974
$W^{Octateuch}$	90
$W^{Prophets}$	410
19	1
55	7
58	213
86	1
88	106
93	162
108	2
127	6
247	75
376	28
393	31
583	6
911	126
918	4
1098	1
2013	4
2018	1

If we wish to know which witnesses Rahlfs is most dependent upon, the list below sorts the above in descending order of citations.

Manuscript	Citations
A	20871
B	13783
S (א)	9735
V	1974
Q	1183
W^{Prophets}	410
M	280
58	213
93	162
911	126
88	106
W^{Octateuch}	90
247	75
C	64
R	64
393	31
376	28
D	13
T	13
F	10
G	8
U	7
55	7
127	6
583	6
L	5
918	4
2013	4
108	2
19	1
86	1
1098	1
2018	1

The total of the above citations is 49284. Thus, counting the citations of ***L***, ***O***, and the versions, Rahlfs has over 50,000 citations.

BHS and BHK use a number of different symbols for the Greek versions — e.g. α' for Aquila, σ' for Symmachus, θ' for Theodotian, ε' for Quinta, and sometimes οι γ' for the non-LXX translations collectively. LXX as a whole is referred to by a (Gothic) G (𝔊). G* is sometimes used for what this article tends to call the Old Greek. In addition, particular LXX manuscripts are sometimes referred to individually by G with a superscript — so G^{A} would be Alexandrinus, while G^{B} would be Vaticanus. This is by contrast to Rahlfs, who cites Greek manscripts simply by letter or number.

The list below describes the various Greek witnesses in these Old Testament editions, In the a witness marked * is cited, at least occasionally, by Rahlfs. Two stars, **, indicates a witness which he cites quite frequently in at least one book.

Sigla	Manuscript
א	See under S (א)
**A	Codex Alexandrinus. Same as A of the New Testament. The most complete uncial copy of the Old Testament. See description above.
**B	Codex Vaticanus. Same as B of the New Testament. Mostly complete, although with large lacunae in Genesis and Psalms. See description above.
*C	Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus. Same as C of the New Testament, although a much smaller fraction of the OT has survived. The only surviving portions are from Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Job, Wisdom of Solomon, and Sirach; for details, see, e.g., Swete. Not considered to be of much value in the Old Testament, although this may be a side effect of its extremely fragmentary state.
*D	(Not cited by symbol in BHS.) Cotton Genesis. Brought to England in the sixteenth century, and incomplete even then, it was burned in the 1731 Cotton Library fire. The surviving fragments are almost illegible, although one or two of the many illustrations survive well enough to show how beautiful they were before being burned. Most of what is known of the manuscript comes from early collations and descriptions, plus modern attempts to reconstruct the badly burned leaves.
E	(Not cited by symbol in BHS.) Codex Bodleianus, or the Bodleian Genesis. Properly part of a curious manuscript of probably the tenth century, with the beginning portion in uncials, the remainder in minuscules. Tischendorf (who thought it belonged to the ninth century) distributed the parts, leaving Genesis 1:1–14:7, 17:24–20:13, 24:54–42:18 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, while Genesis 42:18–44:13 is on a single leaf in Cambridge, and contains the transition from uncials to minuscules. The rest of the manuscript, which is rarely cited,

extends as far as 3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 16:28, with lacunae. The larger and later portion is at St. Petersburg; it has the Rahlfs number 509.

*F Codex Ambrosianus. Fifth century. Genesis 31:15–Joshua 12:12, with large lacunae. It is sometimes said also to include a tiny portion of Isaiah and Malachi, but Swete says this is a different manuscript. There seem to have been two scribes, one working on the Pentateuch, the other on Joshua.

*G (Not cited by symbol in BHS.) Codex Sarravianus. Note that, although this manuscript is described at (relative) length by Kenyon, Swete, and Würthwein, and Kenyon says that it is very important in its "own special department," its text is of no great value except as a witness to Origen's recension. As a result, Rahlfs and the Hebrew editions cite it very rarely.

K (Not cited by symbol in BHS.) Codex Lisiensis. Seventh century Palimpsest with portions of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges. Upper writing is Arabic. Discovered by Tischendorf. Rahfls lists this as a weak member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in Judges but does not cite it explicitly.

*L (Not cited by symbol in BHS or BHK.) Vienna Genesis. A purple manuscript, made with silver ink. Written in the fifth or sixth century, with many illustrations. Fragments of Genesis. Very beautiful but of relatively little textual value. We do note with interest that many of the illustrations are based not on actual information in the Bible but on legends which grew up about it; a folklorist might learn more from it than would a textual scholar.

**M Codex Coislinianus. Probably seventh century, although some have argued for the sixth. Contains Genesis–3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 8:40, with relatively minor lacunae. Rahlfs cites it fairly often in Genesis, where other witnesses are few, but only very sporadically thereafter (53 times in the rest of the Pentateuch, which still makes it the most-cited witness after A and B, and about a hundred times in the historical books, which makes it the #4 witness behind A, B, and V). Some have said its text is similar to A; Lagarde called it hexaplairic, and there are some hexaplairic symbols in the manuscript. There are citations in the margin from the New Testament, sometimes cited in the older critical editions as F^{a}.

N Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus. Eighth or perhaps ninth century. Formerly at Basel; now in the Vatican. Half of the a two-volume set, the other half being V (which see, since Rahlfs always cites it under that symbol).

(*)O See 918

**Q Codex Marchalianus. Rahlfs cites this heavily for Isaiah and the Twelve, only occasionally for Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel.

*R (Not cited by symbol in BHS.) Codex Veronensis. Sixth century bilingual (Greek and Latin) copy of the Psalms, with the Greek on the left and the Latin on the right. The Greek, astonishingly, is written in Latin letters! It occupies the left side of the page. A few minor lacunae have been supplied by later hands, one of which also added Psalm 151. There are eight miscellaneous poems which are taken from other portions of the Bible. Rahlfs seems to consider it closest to א in Psalms. He cites it primarily for the Odes, which B and א omit.

**S (BHS, Rahlfs) or א (BHK)
Codex Sinaiticus. Same as א of the New Testament. The Old Testament portion, however, is very fragmentary; apart from a few scraps of the Pentateuch, the surviving material is all from the later prophets and the Writings, and even these have several lacunae. One of the correctors is said to have worked from manuscripts corrected by Pamphilius based on Origenic manuscripts, but these corrections do not seem to have been based on a particularly good text. Where it is extant, it seems to diverge from Rahlfs's text more than does A, and substantially more than B.

*T (Not cited by symbol in BHS or BHK.) Codex Turicensis, or the Zürich Psalter. A purple manuscript with writing in gold (headings and initial letters), silver (the main text), and vermillion (marginalia from the Gallican version of the Psalms). 223 of an original 288 leaves survive. Dated to probably the seventh century. Swete, followed by Kenyon, regards it as close to A and even closer to א$^{c.a}$, with which it is almost contemporary.

*U British Library Papyrus London (cited as Pap. Lond. in BHK). A fragment of Psalms from the seventh century, noteworthy primarily as the first Biblical papyrus recovered (in 1836). It is said to be similar in text to the Sahidic Coptic. Swete says the surviving materials constitute 30 leaves; Kenyon and Würthwein say 32. The surviving material is all from Psalm 10 to Psalm 35. The writing is rather curious; there are accents and breathings, but the scribe writes continuously, not even starting each psalm on a new line!

**V Codex Venetus. Eighth or perhaps ninth century. A two volume manuscript originally containing most if not all of the LXX. The volumes have been separated; the first half, now designated N, is in the Vatican, and is called Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus; the second half, at Venice, is Codex Venetus. Rahlfs cites both halves as V. Both halves are somewhat mutilated, but since N ends with

Esther and V starts with Job 30:8, the division appears to have been at the end of Esther. V is effectively complete except for the initial lacuna; N begins with Leviticus 13:59 and has sundry lacunae after that, totalling perhaps the equivalent of a dozen chapters. Kenyon calls the text “Lucianic,” but it is rarely linked with the group b o c_2 e_2. Whatever its text, N+V has significant importance as one of only five once-complete uncial copies of LXX. It has the unique distinction of being the only (formerly) complete uncial copy of LXX which does not contain the New Testament also. (Unless, as seems likely enough, there was a third New Testament volume now lost. The only extant manuscript which could possibly be this third volume is Ψ, which is about the right age but has a completely different format.) Rahlfs cites it extensively for the Maccabean books (all of which are omitted by B and two of them by א), and rather often in Job as well. He cites it at least intermittently in almost every other book of LXX for which it is extant. The result is that, although there is no section where it is one of his primary sources, Rahlfs cites it more than any manuscripts other than A, B, and א.

*$W^{Octateuch}$ (Rahlfs) or Θ (BHK)
: (Not cited by symbol in BHS.) Codex Freer, or Washingtonensis I. Deuteronomy (lacking 5:16–16:18) and Joshua (lacking 3:3–4:10), from probably the sixth century. Based on the quire numbers (we now have quires ΛZ to N, or 37–60), probably originally contained the whole Octateuch (certainly it contained all five books of the Pentateuch as well as Deuteronomy and Joshua), or even more. Said by Kenyon to agree more with A, and especially with G and 963, plus 54 and 75, than B. Around 600, a cursive hand added lectionary information.

W (BHK)
: (Not cited by symbol in BHS.) Codex Atheniensis. Various of the historical and pseudo-historical books. Not particularly important textually.

W (BHS)
: A fragment of 1 Samuel 18, from the fourth century.

**W (Rahlfs) or X (Kenyon)
: Freer Greek MS. V, at Washington. A very much damaged codex, originally containing probably 48 leaves; portions of 33 now survive. A manuscript of the Minor Prophets, of the third century. Lacks Hosea and Amos 1:1–10, but most of the other books survive nearly complete.

Γ
: (Not cited by symbol in BHS; not cited by Rahlfs.) Codex Cryptoferratensis. A few fragments of the Prophets, of the eighth or ninth century. Palimpsest, with the upper writing consisting of musical texts of the thirteenth century.

15 Paris, National Library Coisl. Gr. 2. Octateuch. Ninth or tenth century. Described as Hexaplairic, and Rahlfs lists it as a weak member of his group O in Judges, but never cites it individdually.

*19 Rome, Chigi R.6.38. Swete suggested a tenth century date; more recent evaluations make it eleventh or twelfth century. Pentateuch and historical books. Sister of 108 or nearly; they are so close that Brooke and MacLean cited them under the joint symbol b (when cited individually, 19 was b') — the famous b of the Lucianic group b o c_2 e_2. Although Rahlfs lists it as having a hexaplairic text in Judges, and includes it as part of his ***O*** group, he never cites it individually there. The situation is altogether different in 1–4 Kingdoms, where 19 and 108 have a Lucianic text. Rahlfs lists both among the five Lucianic witnesses cited as ***L*** (the the five being 19 82 98 108 127) — but explicitly cites both 19 and 108 very rarely (in fact, the only explicit citation of 19 appears to be in 2 Esdras 17:3, and even there it is cited with 108). In 1–2 Chronicles and 2 Esdras, Rahlfs lists as Lucianic 19 93 108 and sometimes 121. In 1 Esdras, Rahlfs lists only 19 and 108 as members of ***L***. In Esther, Rahlfs lists 19 and the "textus prior" of 93 and 108 as constituting ***L***. In Judith, 19 and 108 are the only witnesses to ***L***. In 1 Maccabees, ***L*** is considered to include (19) 64 (93) 236. Lagarde cited it as h.

22 British Library Reg. i.B.2. Codex Pachomianus. Prophets, from the eleventh or twelfth century. In the Twelve Prophets, Rahlfs includes 22 (36) 48 51 (62) (147) among the witnesses to the Lucianic text ***L*** but does not cite them individually. In Isaiah, 22 (36) 48 51 (62 93 147) constitute ***L***.

36 Vatican, Gr. 347. Prophets, from the thirteenth century. In the Twelve Prophets, Rahlfs includes 22 (36) 48 51 (62) (147) among the witnesses to the Lucianic text ***L*** but does not cite them individually. In Isaiah, 22 (36) 48 51 (62 93 147) constitute ***L***.

44 Zittau, Stadtbibl. A.1. Complete Bible (same as 664 in the New Testament manuscript list). Fifteenth century. Listed by Rahlfs as a weak member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in Judges, but never cited individually.

48 Vatican, Greek 1794. Prophets, from the twelfth century. In the Twelve Prophets, Rahlfs includes 22 (36) 48 51 (62) (147) among the witnesses to the Lucianic text ***L*** but does not cite them individually. In Isaiah, 22 (36) 48 51 (62 93 147) constitute ***L***.

51 Florence, Laurentian x.8. Prophets, from the eleventh century. In the Twelve Prophets, Rahlfs includes 22 (36) 48 51 (62) (147) among the witnesses to the

Lucianic text ***L*** but does not cite them individually. In Isaiah, 22 (36) 48 51 (62 93 147) constitute ***L***.

54 Paris, Nat. Reg. Gr. 5. Octateuch plus Aristeas. Thirteenth or fourteenth century. Listed by Rahlfs as a member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in Judges, but never cited individually.

*55 Vatican, Regin. Gr. 1. Fourteenth or fifteenth century. LXX almost complete. Cited by Rahlfs only for the Odes (along with A R T), since B and (presumably) א never contained this book.

*58 Vatican, Regin. Gr. 10. Thirteenth century. Pentateuch and historical books. Of all the minuscules, this is the one Rahlfs cites most. In Judges, curiously, Rahlfs calls it both a hexaplairic and a Lucianic manuscript — but he does not cite it for that book, so it hardly matters. His citations are from Esther and Judith; in Esther, he actually cites it more often than א. In Esther Rahlfs lists it exclusively as Hexaplairic, a description echoed, e.g., by Field and Swete. In Judith, he describes it as going with א. Rahfls cites 58 and (the later text) of 93 as the ***O*** witnesses in Esther. Where 58 is defective (9:22–9:27), he uses 583 instead.

59 Glasgow, Univ. BE 7b.10. Octateuch. Fifteenth century. Listed by Rahlfs as a member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in Judges, but never cited individually.

62 Oxford, New College. Prophets, from the thirteenth century. In the Twelve Prophets, Rahlfs includes 22 (36) 48 51 (62) (147) among the witnesses to the Lucianic text ***L*** but does not cite them individually. In Isaiah, 22 (36) 48 51 (62 93 147) constitute ***L***.

64 Paris, National Library Greek 2. Tenth or eleventh century. A casual glance at Swete gives the impression that it is a complete Bible, but in fact it contains the Octateuch and historical books only. Listed by Rahlfs as a member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in 1 Maccabees along with (19) (93) 236, but never cited individually. In 2 and 3 Maccabees, 64 and 236 are the only listed witnesses to ***L***, and there is no Lucianic text of 4 Maccanees.

75 Oxford, University College LII. Octateuch. Dated 1126. Listed by Rahlfs as a member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in Judges, but never cited individually.

82 Paris, National Library Coisl. Gr. 3. Twelfth century. Pentateuch and former prophets. One of the five manuscripts Rahlfs cites as part of the Lucianic group ***L*** in 1–4 Kingdoms, the five being 19 82 98 108 127 (although he lists 82 and 127 as weak group members in 3–4 Kingdoms). He does not however cite it individually. In Judges he lists it as a weak member of the Lucianic group ***L***.

*86 Rome, Barberini v. 45. Later Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Twelve; not Daniel). Ninth century. Properly this should not be included among the manuscripts cited by Rahlfs; he does not cite it for the text of any book of LXX. Rather, he cites it at Jeremiah 38:15 with regard to the reading of Aquila.

87 Chigi MS. 2, Rome. Prophets, from perhaps the ninth century. Although Swete calls 87 and 91 Hesychian, Rahlfs in the Twelve Prophets lists 87 91 (97 490) among the witnesses to the major catena ***C*** (but does not cite them individually).

**88 Chigi MS. 3, Rome (Vatican Library R.VII.45). Dates from roughly the eleventh century. Contains Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, as well as Hippolytus's commentary on Daniel. Strangely, the list of important codices in Rahlfs does not include this manuscript — but he cites it very often, because 88 was, until the twentieth century and the discovery of 967, the only known copy of the original Old Greek text of Daniel; it is still the only copy to contain all of LXX Daniel. Rahlfs reconstructs LXX Daniel on the basis of 88 and the Syriac version; the Göttingen LXX of course adds the testimony of 967 (a papyrus of probably the early third century). Although 88 is usually mentioned solely because it contains "Δανιηλ κατα τουc ô," it also has some value in the other prophets, since it contains at least some of the hexaplairic signs.

91 Vatican, Ottob. Gr. 452. Prophets, from the eleventh century. Although Swete calls 87 and 91 Hesychian, Rahlfs in the Twelve Prophets lists 87 91 (97 490) among the witnesses to the major catena ***C*** (but does not cite them individually).

*93 London, British Library Royal. I.D.ii. Thirteenth century or fourteenth century. Ruth, 1–2 Esdras, Esther (two different texts), 1–3 Maccabees. Lucianic text. Other than 58, this is the minuscule Rahlfs cites most often. It is the e_2 of Brooke and MacLean's famous group b o c_2 e_2. It is one of the five manuscripts Rahlfs cites as part of the Lucianic group ***L*** in 1–4 Kingdoms, the five being 19 82 98 108 127. In 1–2 Chronicles and 2 Esdras, Rahfls lists as Lucianic 19 93 108 and sometimes 121. In Esther, Rahlfs includes the "textus prior" in ***L***, the later text in ***O***. In 1 Maccabees, ***L*** is considered to include (19) 64 (93) 236. In Isaiah, 22 (36) 48 51 (62 93 147) constitute ***L***. Lagarde labelled it m.

97 Vatican, Gr. 1153. Isaiah and the Twelve Prophets, from the tenth century. Rahlfs in the Twelve Prophets lists 87 91 (97 490) among the witnesses to the major catena ***C*** (but does not cite them individually).

106 Ferrera, Bibl. Comm. Comm. Cl. II, 187, III(Gr. 187). Dated 1334 by its colophon. Complete Bible; it is 582 of the New Testament. Swete calls it Hesychian, but Rahfls lists it as a weak member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in Judges.

*108 Vatican, Gr. 330. Thirteenth or fourteenth century. Pentateuch and historical books. Lucianic text. This is Brooke and MacLean's b — the famous b of the Lucianic group b o c_2 e_2. In addition, it is believed that this manuscript was the single most important source used in the compiling of the Greek column of the Complutensian Polyglot. MS. 19 is a sister or nearly of 108, and was also cited by Brooke and MacLean as b (where they were different, 108 was cited as *b* and 19 as b'). But Rahlfs cites 19 only once and 108 only twice as individuals — both in 2 Esdras (at 17:3, which reading it shares with 19, and at 21:13). Otherwise, he cites in in 1–4 Kingdoms only as part of the group ***L***, along with 19 82 98 127. In 1–2 Chronicles, and 2 Esdras Rahfls lists as Lucianic 19 93 108 and sometimes 121. In 1 Esdras, Rahlfs lists only 19 and 108 as members of ***L***. In Esther, Rahlfs lists 19 and the "textus prior" of 93 and 108 as constituting ***L***. In Judith, 19 and 108 are the only witnesses to ***L***. Lagarde cited it as d.

121 Venice, St. Mark's Greek 3. Tenth century. Octateuch and historical books. In 4 Kingdoms, Rahlfs includes it among the witnesses to the Origenic text ***O***, but does not cite it explicitly. In 1–2 Chronicles and 2 Esdras, Rahlfs says it goes mostly with the Lucianic text ***L***, but still does not cite it, apparently because the witnesses 19 93 108 are more purely Lucianic.

*127 Moscow, Syn. Library Greek 11. Tenth century. Octateuch, Kingdoms, 1 Chronicles; 2 Chronicles breaks off at chapter 36. It is the c_2 of Brooke and MacLean's famous group b o c_2 e_2. Rahlfs cites it explicitly only in 1–4 Kingdoms, and very rarely even in those books. It is, however, one of the five manuscripts he cites as part of the Lucianic group ***L***, the five being 19 82 98 108 127 (although he lists 82 and 127 as weak group members in 3–4 Kingdoms). In 1 Chronicles, Rahlfs says its character changes, going with B rather than L.

134 Florence, Laur. v.1. Octateuch and historical books; Swete dates the former to the eleventh, the latter to the tenth century. Swete lists the Octateuch as Hesychian, but Rahfls lists it as a weak member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in Judges (but does not cite it).

147 Oxford, Bodleian, Laud 30. Prophets (Daniel is defective). In the Twelve Prophets, Rahlfs includes 22 (36) 48 51 (62) (147) among the witnesses to the Lucianic text ***L*** but does not cite them individually. In Isaiah, 22 (36) 48 51 (62 93 147) constitute ***L***.

236 Vatican Library Gr. 336. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and the rest of the historical books. Twelfth century. Listed by Rahlfs as one of the two primary witnesses to the Lucianic text L in 1 Maccabees, with 64 being the other and 19 93 being secondary witnesses, but Rahlfs never cites it explicitly. In 2 and 3 Maccabees,

64 and 236 are the only listed witnesses to ***L***, and there is no Lucianic text of 4 Maccabees.

*247 Vatican Library Greek Urb. 1. Contains only 1–3 Kingdoms plus part of 4 Kingdoms. Although Rahlfs does not cite this regularly in any book, citations in 1–3 Kingdoms are not uncommon. Rahlfs links it with A, 376, and the Syriac among the hexaplairic witnesses, in 1–2 Kingdoms, and with A and the Syriac in 3 Kingdoms, citing it as ***O***^{247}.

344 Rahfls lists this as a weak member of the Lucianic group ***L*** in Judges but does not cite it explicitly.

*376 Listed by Rahlfs as having a hexaplairic text in Judges, but he cites it only in 1–2 Samuel (primarily in the former). Rahlfs links it with A, 247, and the Syriac among the hexaplairic witnesses, citing it as ***O***^{376}.

*393 Grottaferrata. Eighth century (?). This is one of the four minuscules listed as most important on the reference card in Rahlfs, but he does not in fact cite it particularly often.

426 Listed by Rahfls in Judges as one of the Origenic group ***O***, but never cited individually.

490 Rahlfs in the Twelve Prophets lists 87 91 (97 490) among the witnesses to the major catena ***C*** (but does not cite them individually).

*583 Apparently derived from 58; Rahlfs cites it (as part of the Hexaplairic group ***O***) only for those verses of Esther where 58 is defective.

700 In 4 Kingdoms, Rahlfs includes it among the witnesses to the Lucianic text ***L***, but does not cite it explicitly.

**911 Berlin Genesis papyrus, Staatsbibliothek Gr. fol. 66 I, II. A strange codex, probably originally of 32 leaves, thought to have been copied from a scroll of Genesis 1:1–35:8. The first nine leaves have two columns per page, the remainder only one; the hand is irregular and non-literary. Written on papyrus in the third or early fourth century, it is now badly mutilated, but its age alone makes it important; Rahlfs cites it extensively for Genesis.

*918 Trinity College, Dublin, K.3.4. Confusingly, this is sometimes referred to as an uncial, O, but is treated as a minuscule, 918, by Rahlfs. The designation as an uncial is better, since it is of the sixth century. Both it and Z of the New Testament were used as under-writings for a manuscript of patristic writings. The surviving portins of O were originally four leaves, now folded as eight, containing Isaiah

30:2–31:7, 36:17–38:1. It has been suggested that the text is Hesychian. Rahlfs cites it only four times (Isaiah 30:14, 15, 36:9, 23), but all four variants are significant because in each case O/918 supports either A or B against all other witnesses known to Rahlfs.

967 Chester Beatty Papyri IX and X; also Princeton University Library, Scheide Papyrus 1. An early third century papyrus of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther. Two different scribes wrote the book, with Ezekiel in one hand and Daniel and Esther in the other. The original probably had 118 leaves; a few have been lost and others mutilated. In Ezekiel and Esther, it is said to agree primarily with B. Its great value is in Daniel, however, since it is a copy of the original LXX translation rather than of Theodotian. Thus it and 88 are the only extant copies of that version. Sadly, it was not discovered until too late to be used by Rahlfs, and parts were not available even to Ziegler when he produced the Göttingen Daniel. The known portions consisted of parts of Daniel 5–12 plus the Additions at the end (Susanna and Bel and the Dragon).

*1098 Milan, Ambrosian Library O 39 Sup. Palimpsest, written probably in the ninth or tenth century and overwritten around the thirteenth. Noteworthy because the text is not just the LXX but the (almost) complete Hexapla; the Hebrew column was omitted, but five others (Hebrew translated into Greek letters, plus Aquila, Symmachus, LXX, and a fifth column, which is generally said to be Quinta rather than Theodotian) are preserved. Only eleven psalms are preserved, but it is still probably the best evidence for the Hexapla we have available. This presumably explains why it is one of only four minuscules listed on the reference card in Rahlfs; it certainly isn't because he cites it frequently. The only citation is in Psalm 17:43, where Rahlfs adopts its reading χουν against the χνουν of all other witnesses.

*2013 Leipzig Papyrus 39. A papyrus scroll — in fact, an Opisthograph — rather than a codex. Since the writing on the other side is dated 338 C.E., the document is presumably of the mid to late fourth century. Contains portions of Psalms 30 to 55, with the first several psalms badly mutilated. Given the length of the surviving portion of the scroll, and the usual maximum length of scrolls, it seems likely that it contained only about half the Psalms. This is another manuscript listed on Rahlf's quick reference card as an important minuscule, but he cites it only a handful of times.

*2018 London papyrus, of the seventh or eighth century. Greek/Sahidic psalter. Contains Psalms 10:2–11:5, 48:20–49:7, 118:24–38. Obviously such a small

fragment is cited only very rarely. Rahlfs considered its text to be “upper Egyptian,” but it is hard to know what that means in context.

Opisthograph

The name means “back-writing,” and is descriptive. An opisthograph is a writing written on the back of another writing. (For obvious reasons, opisthographs are written on the back of scrolls, not codices.) It was not a popular form for books; the back side of a scroll was not particularly easy to use — opisthographs were generally written on the back side of papyrus scrolls, and the back side of a papyrus scroll was inconvenient in two ways. First, the writing went against the grain of the papyrus fibers, and second, the scroll will almost certainly want to roll up the wrong way. Thus opisthographs tend to be used only for poor productions. The only important opisthograph in the catalog of NT manuscripts is $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$. The noteworthy LXX manuscript 2013 is also an opisthograph. And P^{18} is interesting because it is an opisthograph with Bible texts on both sides: Exodus 11:36–32 on one side (probably a Christian copy, since it uses the Nomina Sacra), Revelation 1:4–7 on the other.

Their rarity should not be understood to mean that opisthograph have no historical significance at all, however. Aristotle’s *On the Constitution of Athens,* long thought lost, was rediscovered in the nineteenth century, as an opisthograph — with the writing on the front side being simply a farm steward’s accounts. And there are comments by Juvenal and Pliny to the effect that authors often preserved copies of their own writings on opisthographs, or perhaps that they composed on the back of an already-written scroll, to save the good papyrus for fair copies. (Authors were no more likely to be rich in Roman times than today, after all.)

Oral Transmission

Thanks to Ulrich Schmid for asking the questions that helped me formulate the points in this article.

Introduction

It is generally conceded that the material that made up the gospels was originally transmitted orally — that is, by word of mouth. After all, neither Jesus nor his immediate followers seem to have written anything (with the possible exception of 1 Peter and perhaps the writings of John — but even these were written much later, and probably from dictation).

However, oral tradition did not die with the writing of the gospels. Papias, we are told, always preferred oral traditions of Jesus to the written word. And, until very recently, the common people learned about Jesus primarily from oral tradition, for they could not read the gospel.

Even today, there are people in Appalachia who sing songs like “The Cherry Tree Carol,” #54 in Francis James Child’s *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, (*1882-1898). At the time it was a comprehensive collection of British ballad texts, and "Child Numbers" (ranging from 1 to 305) are still the standard way of referring to the songs. “The Cherry Tree Carol” contains. telling a story of Jesus found only in the Infancy Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew.

Oh, Joseph was an old man, an old man was he,
When he courted Virgin Mary, the queen of Galilee,
When he courted Virgin Mary, the queen of Galilee.

The song goes on to tell how, as Mary and Joseph travelled, Mary asked for cherries because she was pregnant. “Then Joseph flew in anger, In anger flew he. Let the father of the baby gather cherries for thee!” The unborn Jesus commanded the cherry tree to bow down to feed Mary. Joseph repented of his anger at her.

Modern examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely, and there is no reason to believe it was otherwise in antiquity: Folklore about Jesus must have been extremely common.

Even scribes might have heard these stories in their youth. At times, the well-known tale might influence the way they copied the Biblical text. And while it may be objected that oral tradition experienced less “control” than the carefully written copies made in a scriptorium, it should be noted that oral tradition often has controls of its own — stress, metre, rhyme, melody. It’s not likely that a singer will change a text so that it no longer fits its tune!

At least one Biblical variant almost certainly comes from oral tradition. “John 7:53–8:11” is clearly no part of John’s (or any other) gospel. What’s more, the text as it stands has all the signs of oral transmission: Variations in wording, incidents in different order, irrelevant but lively details, an economical plot.

One example does not a rule make. But one is tempted to list other long insertions as the result of oral tradition. “Mark 16:9–20” is obviously a literary creation, but Luke 22:43–44 (the Bloody Sweat) looks oral. Luke 23:34 (“Father, forgive them”) and Matthew 16:2–4 (the Signs of the Times) might also have been transmitted by word of mouth. The famous insertion by D at Luke 6:5 (the man working on the Sabbath) is almost certainly oral; the insertion by D and Φ at Matthew 20:28 may also come from

tradition. It is even conceivable that the Doxology of Romans (16:25–27) comes from an oral source. One suspects that much of the material offered by Codex Bezae in Acts is also traditional.

Oral tradition probably did not cause many of the minor variants we see in the Biblical text; the division between the secluded world of monks and the bustling villages where folklore spread was usually too wide. But scholars cannot be certain of this without testing the hypothesis. (It should be noted, e.g., that many of the English Miracle Plays, usually regarded as folk productions, had clerical authors.) The following list shows some of the hallmarks of oral tradition, illustrated (where possible) both by traditional ballads and by reference to Biblical variants (usually from the story of the adulteress, since it is the largest oral insertion in the gospels).

As an aside: Extreme claims are sometimes made of oral tradition — e.g. in the past attempts to break the *Odyssey* up into dozens of smaller fragments cobbled together into an epic. That sort of school might claim the same for much of the New Testament. This is flatly silly. The gospels used oral sources, and at least one of these sources (the elements in "Q," where Matthew and Luke have substantially different versions) was probably oral. (This is also the position of William F. Albright and C. S. Mann in their Anchor Bible edition of Matthew, p. CLXVII, but their reasons are different.) But the gospels as they stand are literary compositions, and so are most of their sources.

Signs of Oral Transmission

1. **Conciseness of expression.** An oral source will not waste words, since every excess word is more baggage for a storyteller to remember. My favorite example of this is the old ballad "Sheath and Knife" (Child #16), which in the space of *eighteen lines* manages to tell the complete story of a prince's incestuous mating with his sister, her pregnancy, his killing of her, her burial, his return home, and his repentance. Not even a soap opera could cover that much ground that fast. Compare the story of the Adulteress. No time is wasted on details of the woman's adultery. Her family is never mentioned. We don't know what Jesus wrote on the ground. We don't know how long it took the crowd to leave. Only the necessary details are covered. This conciseness extends not only to the plot, but to the language (see the next point). Oral tradition deals in nouns and verbs; in bright colors and brief snatches of speech. Involved constructions are left behind.

2. Use of simple language. Folk song and folk tale avoid elaborate usage. For example, I once tested a set of ten traditional ballads (the "A" texts of Child 1-10) These ten ballads had a total of 276 stanzas, averaging about fourteen words per stanza. In these 276 stanzas, totalling close to four thousand words, there were

(apart from the names of a few cities) exactly eighteen words of three syllables, and none with more than three. All other words were one or two syllables. This simple language at once makes the songs more effective and easier to remember. (I can cite no comparable NT example, but consider that books like Luke and 2 Peter, which are obviously literary, use much more elaborate vocabulary than, say, Mark, which is largely oral.)

Related to this is the phenomenon of "explication" — of putting the unfamiliar in familiar terms. W. Edson Richmond explains this phenomenon as "explain[ing] what they have heard in terms of what they *think* they have heard or in terms of what they know." (W. Edson Richmond, "Some Effects of Scribal and Typographical Error on Oral Tradition," first printed in the *Southern Folklore Quarterly* and now printed in MacEdward Leach and Tristram P. Coffin, eds., *The Critics & the Ballad,* 1961. The quote and the following example are from page 227.) Richmond gives this example from the ballad "The Gypsy Laddie" (Child #200). A Scottish text runs

She cam tripping down the stair
And all her maids before her;
As soon as they saw her weel-faurd [well-favored, i.e. attractive] face,
They coost [cast] their ***glamourie*** *o'er her.*

In another version, where the archaic word glamourie (magic) was not understood, this became the trivial but easily understood

The earl of Castle's lady came down,
With the waiting-maid beside her;
As soon as her fair face they saw,
They called their ***grandmother*** *over.* (!)

(See also the next point and its discussion of Mondegreens.)

This phenomenon, of course, occurs in written material as well, but is particularly common in oral tradition, where there is no authoritative text to refer to. This particular error is especially common with names, nouns, and foreign words; compare the Biblical confusion of Gerasenes/Gadarenes/Gergesenes (Mark 5:1 and parallels).

3. **Confusion of language.** Oral tradition tends to preserve plots rather than words. It doesn't care if Jesus "answered," "replied [to]," or "spoke" in response to a question; all it concerns itself with is the rejoinder! Thus in one version of "Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight" (Child #4), the murderous rogue rides a white horse, in another a brown, and in another a dappled gray. Irrelevant details like this are easily lost. Compare John 8:6: Did Jesus "scribble" (κατεγραφεν) on the ground, or "write" (εγραφεν) on it? In terms of the story, it hardly matters.

   There is another form of confusion of language: the "Mondegreen," so-called

after a famous instance. In the ballad “The Bonnie Earl of Murray (Moray),” one stanza runs,

Ye Highlands and lowlands, where hae ye been?
They hae slain the Earl of Murray, and laid him on the green.

Somewhere, a listener heard the last line as

They hae slain the Earl of Murray, and Lady Mondegreen.

As long as the resulting error makes sense (and it often makes more sense than the original, because people tend not to hear nonsense!), the reading may be preserved.

4. **Confusion of order.** Even the best storytellers will sometimes leave out a detail. Realizing their fault, they may well go back and insert it later. After enough generations of this, the detail may go anywhere — even into another story! For example, the song “Barbara Allen” (Child #84, described below) ends with a rose and briar growing out of the dead lovers’ graves and knotting together. This ending has now worked its way into at least half a dozen other songs. Compare the comment in the story of the Adulteress that the crowd brought the woman before Jesus “to test him.” In most manuscripts, this opens verse 6. But in D it appears in verse 4, and in M it occurs at the end of the story. It had to be included somewhere, but a storyteller could easily forget where…

   A somewhat similar situation occurs in the parable of the Ten Pounds (Luke 19:11–27), though here the effects of tradition were felt before the story became part of the gospel. The gist of the story has to do with ten slaves who were given a sum of money to work with. We see two interesting features, however: There were only three slaves whose activities are described (this may explain the story as found in Matt. 25:14f.; the unused slaves were shuffled off the stage). More significantly, we see a side-plot about the master taking over a country where the people opposed him. This is almost certainly the result of oral mixture of two stories linked by the theme of a master going away.

5. **Errors of hearing rather than of sight.** A scribe copying a manuscript makes errors of sight (e.g., haplography; also, mistakes of appearance, such as, in uncial script, writing AMA for AΛΛA). This will not happen in oral transmission. The storyteller may mistake HMIN for YMIN, but not AMA for AΛΛA. Similarly, if the singer or storyteller omits something, it will not be a haplographic error, it will be a logical entity (a stanza, an incident, a sentence). Whereas scribal errors in written work make nonsense (recall the scribe of manuscript 109, who made God the offspring of Aram; see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (2nd/3rd Edition, Oxford, 1992), p. 195), errors in oral transmission will usually make sense even if they aren’t very relevant to the context. For example, the

final line of the song “Shenandoah” usually runs “Away, we’re bound away, across the wide Missouri.” In the Bahamas, where “Missouri” was not a familiar place, this became “We are bound away from this world of misery.”

We might also note the related phenomenon of faulty word division. For example, Child #253 is officially titled “Thomas o Yonderdale” — a title which probably came about when a listener heard four words (“Thomas o[f] yonder dale”) as three. This error, of course, also occurs in uncial script (hardly ever in minuscule, where words were more clearly divided), but it could sometimes be oral.

This ambiguity can actually be deliberate. A common gag stanza begins:

While the organ pealed potatoes,
Lard was rendered by the choir.

Consider the word “pealed” in the first line. An organ pe**a**ls, but one pe**e**ls potatoes. This ambiguity can be maintained in speech but not in writing.

It should be noted that errors of hearing can occur in manuscripts (in a scriptorium, manuscripts were sometimes copied by dictation, with one reader reading a master copy to several scribes who took down the words; also, since scribes would be mumbling their texts aloud as they wrote, they might mishear what they had just mumbled!); this is probably responsible for at least some HMIN/YMIN, errors. But errors of hearing in written copies are the minority, whereas almost all changes in oral transmission are errors of hearing or memory.

6. Clichéd expressions. In folk songs, if a girl runs away from home, she generally has seven brothers to pursue her. Her father’s stable has thirty-and-three horses. In a fight, the hero always slays all the enemies but one. This is the coin of folklore. Stories, as they are handed down, will take on more and more of these cliches — just as, in John, Thomas is always “the Twin.” We see examples of this in the scribal tradition of John. If by some chance Jesus merely “answered” a question, the scribe is likely to convert that to “answered [and] said” (ΑΠΟΚΡΙΘΗ [ΚΑΙ] ΕΙΠΕΝ).[*6] This also has something of an analogy in the accumulation of divine titles. It is true that when a scribe changes, say, “Jesus” to “the Lord Jesus Christ,” the motives are more complex than simply conforming to a standard expression. But the process is quite similar.

   This effect can be even more clearly demonstrated in non-Biblical literature, where we have external sources to refer to. An excellent example is found in the Middle English romance *Sir Gawaine and the Green Knight.* In line 958 of the only surviving manuscript we read *Chymbled ouer hir blake chin with mylk-quyte vayles,* "Covered over her black (i.e. dark, swarthy) chin with milk-white veils." But the alliterative metre makes it imperative that, instead of *milk-white,* we have a word beginning with "ch." All editions of *Sir Gawain* therefore emend the text to read *chalk-quyte,* "chalk-white." But this is no ordinary error; clearly the scribe

was influenced by the many folktales and songs that use the phrase "milk-white" ("milk-white steed," "milk-white hand," etc.).
A similar example occurs in an Australian poem/song called simply "Holiday Song." One verse reads
Come with me, merry and free,
Gay as a bird on the spray,
Grief and care, come if you dare;
We will be happy today.
Reciters regularly give the second line as "Gay [or FREE] as a bird *on the wing,*" even though this ruins the rhyme; the idiom is just too strong

7. **Vividness of detail.** Folklore tends to rid itself of unneeded detail — but when it gives detail at all, it is vivid. (Francis Gummere called this “Leaping and Lingering” — the story leaps over all that is inessential and lingers over key incidents. No other art form devotes so much of its attention to the key details.) In “Bonnie Susie Cleland” (Child #65), the song spends a mere three stanzas describing how Scotswoman Susie falls in love with an Englishman, and her father orders her to get over it on pain of burning. Then song then spends five stanzas describing Susie’s final message to her love (the final stanzas of the message, in anglicised form, run as follows, “Give to him this wee pen-knife, And tell him to find him another wife.... Give to him this right-hand glove, And tell him to find him another love.... Give to him this gay gold ring, And tell him I’m going to my burning!”). It then only takes one stanza to burn her. Compare the story of the Woman taken in Adultery: There are only three actions (the woman is brought, Jesus writes on the ground, the accusers leave). The rest is described in vivid conversation.

8. **Limited concern for context.** Folklore does not concern itself overly with consistency or coherence. The obvious example of this in folklore is the three dozen or so Robin Hood ballads in the Child collection. These have only one thing truly in common: Robin is an outlaw who lives in the greenwood. Usually he is an archer, and usually Little John is his right-hand man. But everything else varies: The names of his other followers, the names of his enemies, the reason he is an outlaw, the king during whose reign he lived. We see this, in practice, in the case of the Woman Taken in Adultery. No matter where it is placed in the New Testament, it is an interruption. There is no place for it; it is not consistent.

See also the article on Memes, which discusses this rather universal phenomenon of collective memory.

The Effects of Oral Tradition

Some of the effects of oral tradition are described above. Others have yet to be explored. Consider the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas.* Its relationship to the synoptic "Q" source is obvious — but the differences are as striking as the similarities. My personal suspicion is that both Thomas and Q go back to a common oral tradition, with the forms drifting apart over some generations of storytelling.

On the other hand, oral tradition can also "level" differences. Storytellers describing the life of Jesus will often combine incidents from different accounts. This, rather than literary influence, may explain some of the "Diastessaric" readings that scholars often point up in different sources. Such readings need not be from the Diatessaron; they could be just a story a scribe heard as a child!

Malcolm Laws, in *American Balladry from British Broadsides,* makes an interesting comment (pp. 95–96):

> For some time scholars have recognized opposing but not contradictory tendencies in ballad transmission. The more familiar is the tendency toward degeneration. Degeneration refers to the obvious corruptions and omissions from a text which are caused by the singers' failure to remember or understand what they have heard.... The opposing tendency is that toward deleting from the story much of the tiresome detail which burdens many broadsides. If this process.... is not carried too far, the result may be a more compact and effective ballad than the original.

Compare these two phenomena with the scribal processes which produced the texts of P^{66} and P^{45}, respectively! (see Colwell, "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P45, P66, P75," pp. 196–124 in *Studies in Methodology).* A further tendency, when faced with this sort of degeneration, is the rebuilding of songs from other materials — there are any number of ballad texts which are hybrids of multiple songs. Sometimes the combination will be simply a matter of adding a verse or a line here or there, but in others it will be a detailed conflation of two texts. This, in turn, appears strongly reminiscent of the process which produced Codex Bezae. (See also the article on Destruction and Reconstruction.)

Few scholars have paid much attention to oral tradition; it's hard to study something one cannot verify or see in action. But we would be wise to keep it in mind; we never know where it might turn up. There are a number of myths which survive via oral tradition. Consider, for example, how many people will say "Columbus discovered that the earth was round." That is false on all counts; first, every educated person of the fifteenth

century knew the world was round, and second, Columbus never managed to sail around the world to prove its spherical shape. In fact, Columbus was consistently *wrong* about the earth's shape; he thought it was a third smaller than its actual size, and so insisted to his dying day that he had discovered a western passage to the Indies, not a new continent!

In the above, we have generally treated the case of material initially transmitted by oral tradition. We should note that this doesn't always work this way. Some works start out in print and go into oral tradition. (This happens with many modern songs. It is *still* happening, occasionally, with Christmas songs — the one form of oral tradition commonly encountered by ordinary people.) And there are interesting cases of oral and written traditions interacting. We mentioned the example of preachers harmonizing stories. The works of Shakespeare are another example. The plays were initially written, but these autographs have perished. Moreover, these are not necessarily the plays as performed. In rehearsal, the plays could have been, and probably were, modified at least slightly. So the text of the plays as performed is not the text of the autograph. If the "original" is preserved at all, it is probably preserved in the so-called "bad folios." These are believed to have been taken from actors' recollections — from oral tradition (although first-hand tradition). Without getting into Shakespeare criticism (a field in which I have no competence at all), this makes matters much more complicated....

Another interesting point, which might affect such things as harmonization of parallels, is the ability to different traditions to produces very similar results. Consider these two accounts, one from the account of how the Anglo-Saxon Cædmon became a poet, the other from a tradition of the revelation to Mohammed:

From the Venerable Bede's *History of the English Church and People,* iv.24:	From Islamic tradition (as described in the English translation of the Quran by N. J. Dawood; compare Surah 96 of the Quran itself):
"[Cædmon] did not gain the art of poetry from human beings or human teachers but as a free gift from God… [At first he was so poor at poetry that] when he saw the harp coming his way [to sing a piece, as was expected at Anglo-Saxon entertainments], he would get up from the table and go home.... Suddenly in a dream he saw a man standing beside him who called him by name. 'Cædmon,' he said, 'Sing me a song.' He answered, 'I don't know how to sing. I left the feast and came here because I cannot sing.' [The other said,] 'But you shall sing to me… ' And Cædmon immediately began to sing verses in praise of God the Creator."	One night in Ramadan, when Mohammed was in a dream, the Angel Gabriel came to him and said, "Recite." Mohammed answered, "What shall I recite?" This was repeated three times, then Gabriel said, "Recite in the name of your Lord who created, created humanity from drops of blood."
Bede proceeds to quote "Cædmon's Hymn," a praise to the creator said to be Cædmon's first writing, composed in that dream.	The result, of course, was the Quran. But even the Exordium to the Quran has parallels to Cædmon's Hymn. Both start by praising the Lord of Creation.

Bede's history was finished in 731, and so this account must be older than that. Mohammed began to receive the Quran in about 610, so this legend must be more recent than that. Bede lived and died in England; he could not have known an Islamic legend. The two are independent stories — but they arose at about the same time, and nonetheless are *fundamentally the same legend.*

The failure to understand folklore and its effects has significantly affected textual studies in at least one instance, though it is in the Old Testament rather than the New. This is the case of 1 Samuel 17–18 — David and Goliath and the meeting of Saul and David. The Hebrew text is long; the Greek text of Vaticanus and other LXX manuscripts is much shorter.

Some scholars have explained the shorter LXX text as eliminating doublets. Well, this is formally true — and completely fails to look at the evidence. If one takes the material

found in both types of text, and the material found only in MT, a folklorist can instantly see the difference: The material found in both is history of the sort found in the rest of 1 Samuel. *The material peculiar to MT is a folktale of how David met Saul.* Neither more nor less. In fact, it's a fundamental type of the folktale, found, e.g., in pre-Christian Scandinavian myth: The commoner performs an act of heroism and so comes to the attention of the king. The MT-specific material is *not* a doublet of the other story; it is a folktale grafted onto the initial text of the court history which comprises the bulk of 1 Samuel. Even the language is that of folktale. (Note, e.g., that in 17:16 the Philistine challenges Israel for forty days — far longer than an army could have stayed in camp without facing starvation and disease.) Textual criticism of this passage must start from the fact that the MT-specific material is a Hebrew folktale.

An Example of the Parallels between Folk Ballads and Biblical Manuscripts

Perhaps the best-known of all traditional English ballads is "Barbara Allen" (Child #64). Some 600 texts and 200 tunes have been recorded. The outline of the text is as follows: A young man is dying for love of Barbara Allen. He begs her to come to his side. She comes, but refuses to pity him (in some versions, when he was drinking, he toasted "the ladies all" rather than Barbara). She leave; he dies. She "hears the death bell knelling." She takes to her bed and dies for sorrow. They are buried next to each other in the churchyard. From his grave grows a rose; from hers, a briar (or other objectionable plant). The two twine together on the churchyard wall.

Observe the following parallels to the Biblical tradition:

The original has been lost. (It has been conjectured, since the texts of "Barbara Allen" are generally closely related, that the original was a "broadside" ballad of perhaps around 1600. Other traditional ballads, which vary much more widely, probably arose entirely in tradition.)

The earliest reference to the ballad is "patristic"; Samuel Pepys in 1666 records hearing the "little Scotch song of Barbary Allen." (Quoted by Child in his introduction to the ballad he calls "Bonny Barbara Allen." This appears on p. 276 of volume II of the Dover edition of Child, the most widely available printing.) The first known texts come from 1740. A handful of eighteenth century texts are known, more from the nineteenth, with the quantity exploding in the early twentieth century.

The song has broken up into "text-types"; Ed Cray, who studied several hundred versions, reports four basic types, which he designates A, B, C, and D. These texts are distinguished by a number of features, of which the variation in the first line is easiest to

observe. (Private communication, based on a previous journal article. The four “basic” first lines are “All in the merry month of May,” “It fell about the Martinmas time,” “So early, early in the spring,” and “In Scarlet town where I was born.”) There has been considerable mixture among the text-types. In fact, we know of cases where singers “corrected” their versions from other texts, and also of cases where they learned defective versions and fleshed them out from other texts, producing “block mixture.”

There are “local texts” — for example, only the Scottish versions report on the deathbed gifts the young man gave Barbara.

There is a “majority text” tradition. This is the American text, which constitutes the majority of versions, but is late. The song has almost died out in its original home. (Cray, incidentally, does not consider the “Majority Text” original — but admits he is not certain.)

The resources that remain to us range from fragments of a few lines to full versions of several dozen verses.

There are “versions” of the song (in this case, a French translation. Many other traditional ballads have analogues throughout the Germanic countries).

There is even, arguably, an analogy to the transition from uncial to minuscule script, when the ballad shifted from braid Scots dialect to “standard” English. This would not alter the plot or fundamental text noticeably, but would affect the line of transmission at this point. (I admit that this is a rather stretched analogy.) More recently, the invention of the phonograph and the radio — just like the invention of printing — has lead to the production of standardized, popular texts and the decline of individual versions.

Obviously we should not make too much of the analogies above. The examples I have offered are all from traditional ballads, and the ballad form (particularly with reference to rhyme, but also regular metre) cannot be verified before about the twelfth century. And yet, previous oral tradition had much in common with the folk ballad. The earliest long pieces in oral tradition were poetry, not prose. (Witness Homer or Beowulf. The epic form of these pieces, with their metre and conventional expressions, made them much easier to remember than an equivalent prose form.) It is true that there are prose folktales — indeed, they receive more scholarly attention than folk songs. But these are relatively unfixed; two tellers will tell the same story with entirely different language. Whereas poetry always has something to hold it in place. In modern ballads, it is rhyme and metre. Rhyme was not at all common in early epics, but Beowulf has its alliteration, and all ancient epics have some sort of metre. They also have their formulae. In Beowulf and other early Germannic poetry, for instance, we have the “kennings” — two words put together to mean something else while preserving metre and alliteration (the

first of these occurs in line 10 of Beowulf: “hron-rade”=whale-road, i.e. the sea). In Homer, the equivalent is the epithet (a feature found in most folk forms, but most developed in Greek poetry. These actually take two forms. One is a set of key synonyms for particular virtues such as bravery; these are similar to the cliches found in English folk songs. The other is the standard epithet, from “bright-eyed Athena” to “Diomedes of the mighty war cry.” These generally occupy one or two or three complete metrical feet, giving the poet, in effect, an automatic half line without having to think about it.)

Try It Yourself

If the above doesn’t convince you, I’d like to offer you the special opportunity of trying to work out this process yourself, to see the parallels between oral transmission and written transmission. It also may give you a chance to see how critics can go wrong.

What we’ll do is take a sample piece, the American folk song “Old Dan Tucker,” by Daniel Decatur Emmett. This is a song for which we have the original sheet music printing, which I’ve shown at the end. But before that, I’m going to print assorted versions collected from oral transmission. You are welcome to try getting from those to the original.

Example 1: Collected by Vance Randolph from Carl Durbin of Pineville, Missouri on June 4, 1927. From Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, *Volume III, p. 302.*

Old Dan Tucker down in town,
Swingin’ the ladies all around,
First to the right an’ then to the left,
An’ then to the one that you love best.

> Git out of the way for old Dan Tucker,
> He’s too late to git his supper,
> Supper’s over an’ breakfast a-cookin’,
> An’ old Dan Tucker standin’ a-lookin’.

Old Dan Tucker down in town,
A-ridin’ a goat an’ a leadin’ a hound.
The hound give a howl an’ the goat give a jump,
An’ throwed Old Dan a-straddle of a stump.

Old Dan Tucker he got drunk,
Fell in the fire an’ kicked out a chunk,
Fire coal got in Dan’s old shoe,
Oh my golly how the ashes flew!

Example 2: Collected by Vance Randolph from Jewell Lamberson of Bentonville, Arkansas on November 21, 1935. From Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, *Volume III, p. 303.*

Old Dan Tucker is a fine old man,
Washing his face in the fryin' pan,
Combed his hair with a wagon wheel,
An' died with a toothache in his heel!

Example 3: Collected by Vance Randolph from Mabel E. Muller of Rolla, Missouri on April 5, 1938. From Randolph, Ozark Folksongs, *Volume III, p. 303.*

I went to town the other night,
I heard the noise and I saw the fight,
The watchman was a-running round,
Cryin Old Dan Tucker's come to town!

Old Dan he worked in the cotton field,
He got a stone bruise on his heel,
He left the field and went through the woods
To the little pond where the fishin's good

Old Dan he went down to the mill
To get some meal to put in the swill,
The miller he swore by the point of his knife,
He never seen such a man in his life.

And now old Dan is a done gone sucker,
And never will go home to his supper,
Old Dan he has had his last ride,
And the banjo's buried by his side.

Example 4: Collected by John Meredith from Herb Tattersall of Australia. From John Meredith and Hugh Anderson, Folk Songs of Australia, *p. 263.*

Old Danny Tucker was a dirty old man,
He washed his face in the frying pan,
Combed his hair with the leg of a chair,
Died with a toothache in his hair.

Example 5: From Jon & Marcia Pankake, A Prairie Home Companion Folk Song Book. *Informant not named.*

Old Dan Tucker was a fine old man
He washed his face in a frying pan
He combed his hair with a wagon wheel
And died with a toothache in his heel.

CHORUS: So get out of the way for old Dan Tucker
He's too late to get his supper
Supper's over and dinner's cookin'
Old Dan Tucker just stand there lookin.'

I come to town the other night
I heard the noise and saw the fight
The watchman was a-runnin' round
Crying "Old Dan Tucker's come to town."

Old Dan Tucker is a nice old man
He used to ride our darby ram
He sent him whizzing down the hill
If he hadn't got up, he'd lay there still.

Old Dan begun in early life
To play the banjo and the fife
He played the children all to sleep
And then into his bunk he'd creep.

The Original Sheet Music Text

From sheet music published 1843 by Chas. H. Keith.

The cover of the sheet music is generic:

```
       OLD DAN EMMIT's
   ORIGINAL BANJO MELODIES
EMMIT, BROWN, WHITLOCK, PELHAM
```

The interior page is headlined

```
               The Original
              OLD DAN TUCKER
As sung by the              Virginia Minstrels
        Words by Old Dan. D. Emmit
```

I come to town de udder night,
I hear de noise an saw de fight,
De watchman was a runnin roun, cryin
Old Dan Tucker's come to town, So

Gran' Chorus.
get out de way! get out de way!
get out de way! Old Dan Tucker
your to late to come to supper.

2

Tucker is a nice old man,
He used to ride our darby ram;
He sent him whizzen down de hill,
If he had'nt got up he'd lay dar still.
Get out, &c.

3

Here's my razor in good order
Magnum bonum — jis hab bought 'er;
Sheep shell oats, Tucker shell de corn,
I'll shabe you soon as de water get warm.
Get out, &c.

4

Ole Dan Tucker an I got drunk,
He fell in de fire an kick up a chunk,
De charcoal got inside he shoe
Lor bless you honey how de ashes flew.
Get out, &c.

5

Down de road foremost de stump,
Massa make me work de pump;
I pump so hard I broke de sucker.
Dar was work for ole Dan Tucker.
Get out, &c.

6

I went to town to buy some goods
I lost myself in a piece of woods,
De night was dark I had to suffer,
It froze de heel of Daniel Tucker.
Get out, &c.

7

Tucker was a hardened sinner,
He nebber said his grace at dinner;
De ole sow squeel, de pigs did squal
He 'hole hog wid de tail and all.
Get out, &c.

This is, of course, an extreme case, because there is no coherent narrative to the song. (That may be a warning in itself.) But even tightly plotted songs can go widely astray, or show extreme variations on particular points. Child #286, for instance, involves a ship, a wicked captain, and a heroic sailor who saves the ship from an enemy warship. But the English ship may be the "Golden Vanity," the "Sweet Trinity," the "Merry Golden Tree," the "Sweet Kumadee," the "Golden Victory," or any of a dozen others.

As a last reminder of the importance of understanding oral tradition to the practice of textual criticism, consider this: Textual criticism was originated by the Greeks to deal with the text of Homer — a work transmitted orally for centuries. Modern manuals tend to make fun of those early scholars, and rightly so. But their biggest single fault was *their* failure to take oral tradition into account.

Orihon

A word I've never seen used in any manual on textual criticism (perhaps because no New Testament manuscripts use the format), but nonetheless an important intermediate step between the scroll and the Codex. It addressed one of the primary difficulties of the scroll (difficulty of access) — while avoiding a key problem of the single-quire codex (difficulty of estimating the number of pages needed) as well as the problem of writing on the bad side of the papyrus.

An orihon was essentially an ordinary scroll folded as a codex. That is, a papyrus scroll was prepared, written in columns in the ordinary manner. Once finished, however, it was not rolled but folded in a concertina fold, with one or two columns per fold. That is, if we

started with a scroll looking like this (where each symbol _ represents a column of print), the process would look like this:

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ < — initial flat layout

/\/\/\ < — partially folded

ll ll ll ll < — fully folded

_\/_ < — after end is bound

Thus you ended up with something which, to all intents and purposes, was an ordinary book, openable to any page. In some cases, the backs of the inner folds were pasted together and the whole inner margin bound with thongs to make it even more book-line. In terms of reader convenience, the orihon came close to being the equal of the codex (its only drawback was that it was rather bulkier). But, of course, it required more material than a codex. And it wasn't a particularly suitable form for vellum books.

There were other advantages to the form. Gluing the pages together was not an absolute necessity, and if this step was not taken, it meant that the orihon could be flattened. This produced, in effect, a scroll — but one which did not have to be unrolled and rerolled to find a particular passage. It was much more convenient for finding pasages. And, folded, it was typically smaller than a scroll and less subject to damage. If one were forced to use a cheap paper which could be written on only one side, an orihon was a very useful form.

I don't know of any surviving Biblical orihon, but it is possible that one of the handful of surviving papyrus fragments we regard as being from scrolls might in fact be from an orihon. (I have this strange, completely unscientific feeling that P^{12} is such. But I have absolutely no evidence for that proposition.)

Ostraca and Talismans

When C. R. Gregory published his revised list of New Testament manuscripts, it included only the four manuscript categories we know now: Papyri, Uncials, Minuscules, Lectionaries. In the updated 1923 list of E. von Dobschütz, however, a new category — Talismans — appeared. von Dobschütz's 1933 list added still another category, Ostraca.

Ostraca are, of course, potsherds. New Testament ostraca are potsherds of vessels which had once had New Testament verses written on them.

Talismans are amulets or other decorations containing small passages of scripture. A typical talisman contained a copy of the Lord's Prayer and was worn around the neck.

By the time of von Dobschütz's 1933 list, nine talismans and twenty-five ostraca were cataloged. The talismans were designated by a gothic T (𝔗) with a superscript (i.e. 𝔗[1]… 𝔗[9]) while the ostraca were designated by a gothic O (𝔒) with superscript (𝔒[1]… 𝔒[25]).

The talismans generally cannot be cited in New Testament editions; how does one tell if a copy of the Lord's Prayer is supposed the Matthean or Lukan form? (𝔗[3] has, however, been cited for Matthew 6, as it contains the final doxology found only in Matthew's version. Interestingly, however, it has only a partial form of this doxology.)

When Kurt Aland took over the catalog and published the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, he abolished the two little-used categories. The most important talisman, 𝔗[1], became 0152. The primary ostraca (𝔒[1]–𝔒[20], a collection of sherds from the same seventh century pot) became 0153. (It contains parts of the four gospels, with no part more than about thirty verses long; three hands are believed to have been involved). However, neither 0152 nor 0153 is cited in any major modern edition (they are not mentioned in NA[27], UBS[4], the current editions of the harmonies, or in the pocket editions of Merk and Bover). In effect, the talismans and ostraca have been discarded for textual criticism.

We might note that, even if these classes of items were restored to the critical editions, it might not cover all possible classes of evidence. There are also mosaics and murals — and even dirty floors! I don't know of any New Testament texts preserved in a floor, but at the palace of Aï Khanum, there is a section of the floor which preserves an extensive text in reverse. It is believed that a papyrus text was copied, then dropped on the floor while still rather wet, and the text off-printed onto the clay floor. If the photo in Peter Green's *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (p. 109) is to be believed, the text proved surprisingly legible.

P

Paleography

Obviously from the Greek roots for “old writing,” paleography is the study of the writing of manuscripts. A paleographic study of a manuscript can provide much useful information, hinting, e.g., at the place the manuscript was copied, the circumstances of its writing, and (perhaps most important) its approximate date.

The term “paleography” was coined by Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, who in 1708 published the *Paleographia graeca* — not actually the first book on dating manuscripts, but the first one to develop the tools of the discipline; soon after, Scipione Maffei discovered many old documents in Verona, and on this basis developed Latin paleography and added greatly to the knowledge of the field.

Palaeography uses many tools to make its judgements (far too many to be covered here!); of these, shapes of the letters is perhaps the most important (for examples of the evolution of uncial letterforms, see the article on and examples of Uncial Script). However, a paleographer will also examine the way the manuscript is prepared — paper, writing instrument, other materials used. The manner in which the manuscript is bound is also important, although the possibility of rebinding must always be allowed; a binding can set a latest possible date, but not an earliest. A binding can also give a hint as to the origin of the manuscript, or at least where it was when bound: Oak was a common wood for binding in England and France, while Italian books often use beech or pine and were rather lighter. Pasteboard (sheets of paper or parchment glued together) seems to have been more common in southern Europe than northern. It was common in both north and south to cover the binding boards in leather, but to decorate the leather with patterns (usually made by stamping them with a hot metal stamp) was much more usual in southern Europe, and was done mostly after 1400 C.E.

For an example of how these factors are used, consider the following: Although we have both papyrus and parchment manuscripts from early dates, a manuscript on paper must be fairly late. And a manuscript on papyrus is almost certainly pre-tenth century.

Over the years, writing implements also evolved; a document written with a reed is likely to be earlier than one written with a quill or metal pen. Ink can sometimes be used for dating, and it can also help us localize the area where a manuscript was written — an ink based on oak galls is more likely to be used in an area where oaks are available, you probably won’t see gum arabic on a manuscript written in the far north, etc. Even the way the lines are ruled can be significant. Some scriptoria preferred to use a sharp stylus (which, I suspect, is harder on the material but makes for better line), others

blunt. Again, some scriptoria apparently preferred to prick both inner and outer margins; others folded the leaves and pricked all the way through. I have read that this is a strong indicator of origin in Latin manuscripts; I do not know if it is useful for Greek. But these are the sorts of things paleographers can seek to learn from.

Word forms as well as letter forms must be examined, as well as the shape of the page and the arrangement of the columns, plus any marginalia or artwork or even unrelated scribbles. (To give an example from Latin manuscripts: There are several books from France in the early period of the Holy Roman Empire which contain pictures of elephants. Many of the pictures are inaccurate — the one in Paris, National Library MS. Latin 1 (folio 328v) looks like a sausage with a lion's legs and no real head; just a round spot that has two tusks stuck in it. The trunk comes out of the forehead! Another manuscript from the period has an accurate drawing of an elephant's head. It is known that an elephant was kept on display at Charlemagne's court for a time. Presumably the scribe who drew the accurate elephant saw it — and hence had to be alive at the time. We can't say much about the other scribe, but obviously he was not at Charlemagne's court while the elephant was there.

Care must be taken with the results of paleography, however. It is not an exact science, and all its judgments are approximate (so, e.g., the enthusiasm about the early date of $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$ should be treated with a certain amount of caution; it is simply not possible to date a manuscript to the fifteen or so year span some have proposed for P^{52}). Book hands are more datable than casual hands (an advantage, obviously, to Biblical scholars) — but most scribes will stick with a particular style as long as they live, meaning that even if we can accurately date a style to 125 C.E. (the typical date for P^{52}), that scribe could still have been working forty or fifty years later. And the general trend in writing styles was toward more compact scripts, meaning that a scribe who knew he was short of parchment might seem more recent than a contemporary scribe with a big budget for writing material! Housman writes, wisely, that ".... even when palaeography is kept in her proper place, as handmaid, and not allowed to give herself the airs of mistress, she is apt to be overworked." It is perfectly possible for old handwriting styles to be preserved long after new ones have evolved. Sometimes this is the result of isolation — but sometimes it is the result of peculiar needs. (An example of this is Old English hands. Old English used three letters not in the Roman alphabet — eth (ð), thorn (þ), and yogh (ȝ). This led to preservation of an older script for Old English documents even as new ones evolved for Latin (we see instances, even from the same scribe, of Old English documents written in an insular hand even as Latin works are copied in a Caroline minuscule). We see something rather analogous in the case of Codex Bezae, where the Greek and Latin hands have been conformed to each other (this is the chief reason why Bezae is so difficult to date). It should also be noted that paleography does not concern

itself solely with manuscript dating, although this seems to get all the "press" in most English-language volumes on TC. Paleographers concern themselves also with the place of the writing, the scribe, etc. (E. Maunde Thompson, for instance, was perhaps the most famous of all students of classical paleography — and he was called upon to examine the manuscript of the play "Sir Thomas More" to see if a particular scene was indeed in Shakespeare's own hand.) These other considerations can be very important: Consider the implications, e.g., if Tischendorf had been right and the same scribe had worked on B and א, or if it could be proved that one of those manuscripts had been written in an unexpected place (e.g. Rome).

Palimpsest

From Greek roots meaning "again-scraped." A palimpsest was a manuscript which was re-used. Presumably the original writing was no longer valued and/or easily read, and a scribe decided that the expensive parchment could be better used for something else

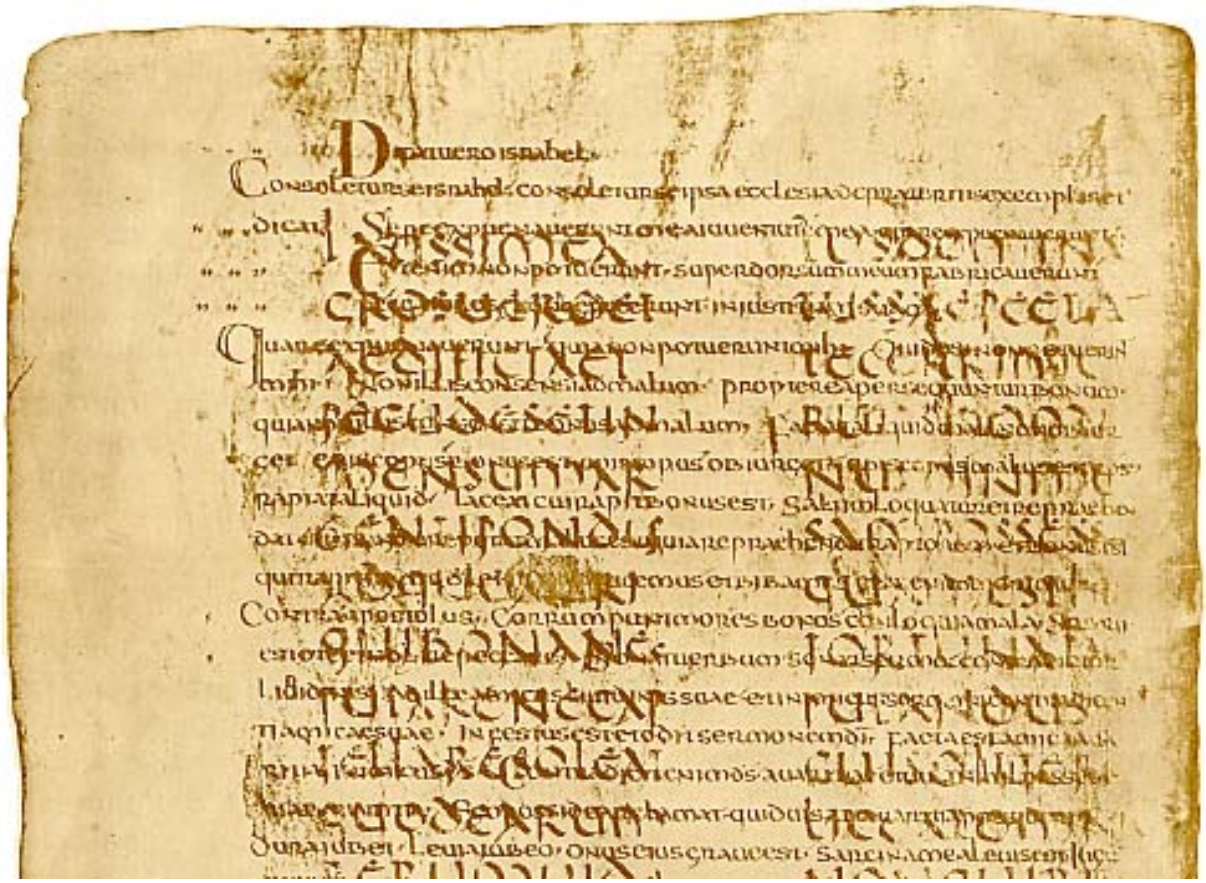
Note the reference to "parchment." Some of our early references seem to imply that papyri were re-scraped, but palimpsest papyri are almost unknown. To be sure, if someone did re-wash a papyrus, it probably would go to pieces quickly, so it would not survive. But chances are that papyrus was not often re-used.

Whatever the explanation, almost all palimpsest are parchment. In most instances the parchment would be washed and/or scraped and resurfaced, then overwritten, although there are instances of manuscripts which were overwritten without being cleaned. (As inks evolved, they became harder to erase, so some documents reportedly were actually written between the lines of the old manuscripts — quite possible, given the size difference between literary uncials and late minuscules.) The most thorough method of cleansing is said to be scraping (with a knife or pumice), followed by soaking with cheese, milk, and lime.

The under-writing of palimpsests is, of course, often difficult to read, although modern tools such as ultraviolet photography help somewhat, particularly when two different formulations of ink have been used which produce different degrees of flourescence. (Earlier chemical reagents often damaged manuscripts without doing much to improve their legibility.) But almost all palimpsests are illegible at certain points (and, ironically, the remnants of the under-writing can sometimes make the upper writing equally unreadable).

Among the more important New Testament palimpsests are C (sometimes listed as the first palimpsest "discovered"), P^{e}, P^{apr}, Q, and 048 (the latter a double palimpsest — it was overwritten twice). It should be noted that none of these documents is intact (P^{apr} is

about 90% complete, which is about as high a fraction as one can reasonably expect); since the erased leaves were simply raw material, they would end up being used out of order, and some leaves would generally be used for other purposes.



Classical palimpsests are, if anything, even more common, since Christians had a tendency to erase these works to use for religious works. I know of no comprehensive catalog, but just for comparison, Harold W. Johnston at the end of the nineteenth century listed all classical Latin documents of the sixth century and earlier. He counted 24 such documents — and 14 of them palimpsests. The illustration above is typical of the form: The image is of (Johnston's facsimile of) Codex Palimpsestus Vaticanus 5757, the *Schedae Vaticanae.* The under-writing is a fourth or fifth century Latin uncial copy of Cicero's De Re Publica (I.xvii.26), once at Bobbio, now in the Vatican; the upper writing is of the eighth century. Note how clearly visible both still are.

This sort of vandalism is particularly regrettable when we have no intact copies of a particular work (though it might be argued that the documents might not have survived at all were it not for the palimpsests); much of the work of Archimedes, e.g., survives

only in a single tenth century manuscript that was over-written for church use in the thirteenth century.

We might also note, in passing, that palimpsests often were not neatly rewritten one atop the other. It was quite typical to see the parchment — which would be much worn at the seam where the quire was folded — cut in half, and then re-folded. This would usually cause the upper writing to be at right angles to the lower. This is the case, e.g. with Codex Z, shown above in exaggerated colour. This rearranging of the page was by no means accidental — it is thought that this was a deliberate response to the problem of the under-writing showing through. If the under-writing ran in the same direction as the upper writing, the two might easily be confused. By cutting down the folios, it was possible to have the upper writing at right angles to the lower, making it much harder to mistake something in the under-writing for part of the content of the upper writing.

Pandect

A complete Bible, that is, one containing all the books of the Old and New Testaments — as opposed to the usual Gospel books, or copies of Acts and Letters, or the Prophets. א, A, B, and C are (or originally were) pandects; so are such Vulgate manuscripts as Amiatinus. Note that a Pandect need not be bound in a single volume; many would be spread across multiple books, and some Pandects may in fact have been split up (e.g. it has been speculated that Δ of the Gospels and G of Paul were once part of a larger single book).

Polyglot Bibles

A polyglot is, of course, a book in multiple languages. A polyglot New Testament is a New Testament in multiple languages — usually Greek and one other, though the Catholic Church often produced polyglots with a Latin vulgate text and a vernacular translation. Curiously, it is unusual to see bilingual manuscripts such as Codex Bezae called polyglots; the term is usually reserved for printed editions.

Although they are technically polyglots, scholars almost universally ignore such things as Latin/English versions. The interesting polyglots — the books we tend to mean when referring to a polyglot — are the Bibles which print a Greek New Testament in parallel with at least one other ancient version.

The most famous of these is, of course, the very first printed Greek New Testament, the Complutensian Polyglot.

Because the Complutensian Polyglot was rather a flop, and had an uninteresting text anyway, moderns tend to ignore the other early polyglots. Certainly they had little direct textual interest. They did, however, have great historical interest — because the editing of such volumes forced the compilers to actually compare the Greek text with the ancient versions. It is often said that it was the arrival of the Codex Alexandrinus in England which sparked the first real study of the text. This is at best partially true; it was the compiling of the polyglots which kept textual criticism alive in the first century and a half after the first books were printed.

There were quite a few noteworthy polyglots after the Complutensian (which included only Greek and Latin in the New Testament, and Greek, Latin, and Hebrew in the Old). Indeed, though it doesn't get much attention, Erasmus's first *Textus Receptus* had a Latin as well as a Greek text.

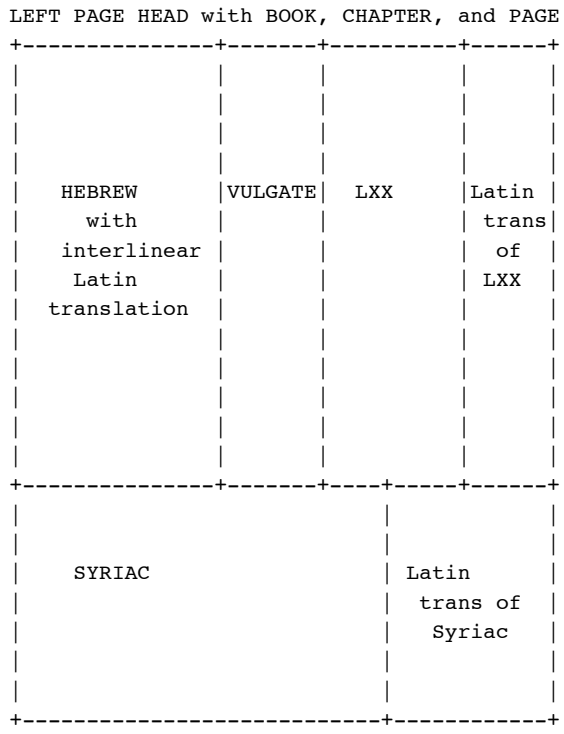
Plantin's Antwerp (or Royal Spanish) Polyglot of 1571–1573 (published 1580) featured a Syriac text, though it was printed in unpointed Hebrew letters due to lack of a Syriac font

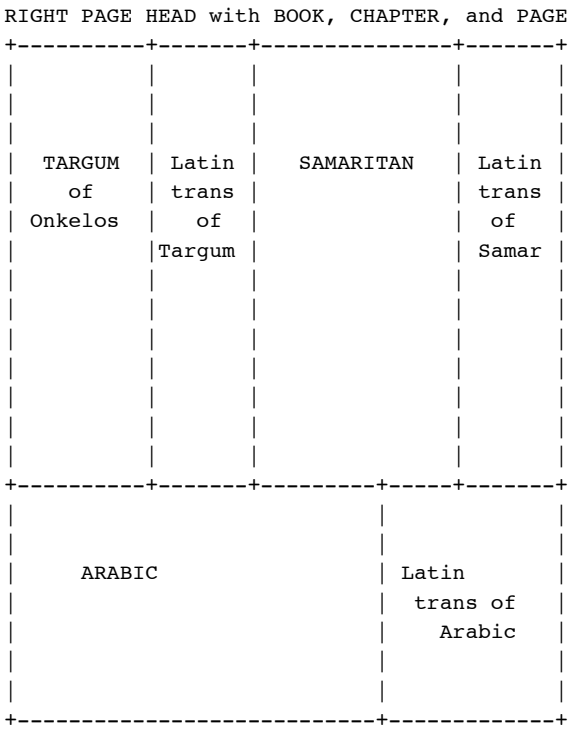
(Scrivener, *Plain Introduction* volume 2, p. 9, though Kenyon says the first Syriac printing was in the Paris polyglot, and was made "on the basis of a very inferior manuscript." This may, to be sure, be a reference to the Old Testament only). Interestingly, Scrivener, p. 181, says that Plantin's Greek text seems to have been based on the Complutensian Polyglot, not the *Textus Receptus*. This makes it almost unique among early Greek editions. (Could the fact that it was begun under Spanish patronage be significant?)

The Paris Polyglot of 1629–1645, edited in ten volumes by de Jay, was among the first printed editions of the Peshitta Syriac in actual Syriac type, and the first to make that version widely available in the west. It also contained the first printed Syriac editions of the books not included in the Peshitta. The two volumes containing this Syriac text were apparently printed in 1630 and 1633 (Metzger-*Early Versions*, p. 54). It also included an Arabic version — not the first in print, but one independent of all earlier Arabic versions, according to the sources cited in Scrivener, p. 163. Students of the Old Testament will be interested to note that it also seems to have been the first printed edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The London Polyglot of 1654–1657, edited by Brian Walton, had a Syriac text which was rather a corrupted version of the preceding, with passages such as the Pericope de adultera added. Walton's polyglot also made the century-old Rome text of the Ethiopic version more widely available (Metzger-Text, p. 84), and even included a Persian version of the gospels and some Old Latin fragments. Perhaps of greatest significance for critics, it featured a much-expanded critical apparatus, including for the first time the readings of the Codex Alexandrinus. Although earlier editions had recorded some variants, Metzger-Text, p. 106, calls this the "first systematic collection of variant readings."

The Adams revision of Kenyon's *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* prints reproductions of two facing pages of Exodus in the London Polyglot. I find myself thinking this may have been the most complicated instance of typesetting attempted in the day of hand-set type. It will tell you how complicated the whole thing is that it takes 310 pages just to get to chapter 20 of Exodus! Each pair of facing pages has twelve different sections of type. In the upper left corner of the left-hand page we have the Hebrew, with a Latin interlinear. To its immediate right, in a very narrow column, is the Vulgate. To its right is the LXX text; to the right of that, on the inner margin, is a literal Latin translation of the LXX. At the bottom of the page is the Syriac text, with Latin translation. On the right-hand page, we find the Targum of Onkelos in the left inner margin, with a Latin translation to its right. The third column at the top of the page is the Samaritan Pentateuch, with Latin translation; at the bottom of the page is an Arabic version, with Latin translation. The sketch below gives a general idea of the page layout:





Primary Version

A “primary version” is a version translated directly from the original language. For the New Testament, the Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Gothic are generally conceded to be primary versions. This is in contrast to a secondary version, which is translated from a primary version, or even a tertiary version, which is translated from a secondary version. (So, for example, the Coptic versions of the Old Testament appear to be translated from the LXX. Thus LXX is a primary version of the OT, while the Coptic versions of the Old Testament are secondary.)

Note: One will occasionally see the usage “primary version” applied *to the versions of greatest significance for TC.* (Under this definition, the Latin is still a primary version, but the Gothic becomes secondary.) Such usage is to be discouraged as it can cause confusion.

Printed Editions

See Books and Bookmaking (for the creation of printed books in general and the Gutenberg Bible), the Complutensian Polyglot (the first printed New Testament), the Textus Receptus (the most common early printed edition of the New Testament), the Critical Editions of the New Testament (modern printed editions), and English Versions for printed English translations of the New Testament.

Purple Uncials

The shorthand name for a group of four uncials, all written on purple parchment in or around the sixth century, which display a common sort of text. The four purple uncials are N, O, Σ, and Φ. Their text is mostly Byzantine but with some distinct readings which have been variously classified (e.g. Streeter considered them "Cæsarean" while in Von Soden's classification they are listed as as I^{π}).

It should be noted that these four are not the only purple manuscripts in existence. 565 is not an uncial, but it is probably the most famous (and most important) purple manuscript. There are a handful of manuscripts with some purple pages, plus there are purple manuscripts of the versions — the Old Latins *a, b, e, f* and *j* of the gospels, among others. There are also the Vulgate codices e*m, per, reg, theod*, plus the Gothic Codex Argenteus. There is also a purple Greek psalter in Zurich, and Latin psalters in Paris and the Bodleian, and at least two Latin lectionaries.

It should be noted that not all "purple" manuscripts would be called "purple" today. The color depends on the amount and nature of the dye, as well as, presumably, the color of the underlying parchment. So a "purple" page might be anything from a pale lavender or magenta to a bluish-purple.

In later years, purple parchment was sometimes used for important civil documents such as imperial charters — logical, in a way, since they would be easy to find and impressive once found.

Interestingly, there are also *partly* purple pages. Tamara Voronova and Andrei Sterligov, *Western European Illuminated Manuscripts, 8th to 16th centuries*, Sirrocco, 2006, p. 31, shows photos of a Latin manuscript (no proper catalog number given, unfortunately) in which patches have been stained purple and written upon. It is quite impressive, visually, but must have been tricky to execute. There are also instances of manuscripts with some purple and some un-coloured pages; there is no agreed-upon explanation for this, except in cases where the purple material was reserved for particularly important material (say, the first page of a gospel).

Many of the purple manuscripts are in a rather poor state of repair; gold ink was often hard on parchment — observe the state of the manuscript below (Codex j of the Old Latin; colours exaggerated).

It seems certain that Christians did not invent the purple manuscript, though it's not certain exactly who did. But Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* p. 48, says that Suetonius mentions a poem by Nero written in letters of gold (the reference seems to be to *The Twelve Caesars,* Nero, section 10, and the reference to me appears to refer to gold-plated inscriptions, not a manuscript, but I am not certain of that); de Hamel also reports a purple Homer in the possession of the Emperor Maximinus (died 238). The first mention of Christian purple manuscripts seems to come from Jerome, who condemns them in his preface to the Book of Job (although one wonders how much of this was due to their expense and how much due to one of the first mentions of a purple manuscript being in the possession of a very pagan emperor).

Not all Christians felt as Jerome did. According to Heinrich Fichtenau's The Carolingian Empire (p. 51 in the English translation by Peter Munz), in Charlemagne's time, great

stress was laid on the importance of Jesus in the trinity — so much so that it approached an informal monophysitism. In this context, according to Godeschalc who wrote at least one purple manuscript in this period, “the golden letters signified the splendour of heaven and of eternal life.”

There is at least one instance of a manuscript which takes the whole business a step farther: Instead of dying the pages purple, whole pages might by gilded. Thin as the gold was, this must have been immensely expensive, and few instances survive, but there is at least one case where these gilt pages seem to have been used for the Eusebian tables. One wonders who was the intended recipient of *that* Bible!

We do find a handful of manuscripts written with gold ink on un-stained parchment, although this seems to be rare. (The combination was not particularly easy to read, and the gold ink doubtless cost more than the purple dye, so if a patron was paying for the gold, it made sense to go for the purple, too.) There seem to be no instances of silver lettering on plain parchment; silver simply didn’t show up against such a light background.

It has been suggested that the very features that make purple manuscripts so beautiful and elaborate also makes them more subject to error. I have seen no data on this, but it strikes me as quite likely.

Q

Quantitative Method

The “Quantitative Method” is the system for determining Text-Types first outlined by E. C. Colwell and Ernest W. Tune in “Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts.” This is the famous Colwell “Seventy Percent Rule” (that members of a text-type should agree in 70% of readings and have a 10% gap from witnesses of other types) often found in genealogical studies. It should be noted, however, that 1) The “Quantitative Method” is not a method but a *definition*, 2) that the definition was provisional and has not been proved, 3) that the definition has been mis-applied in most studies which use it, and 4) *the definition gives every evidence of being incomplete, if not wrong, as it does not deal with mixed manuscripts.* Thus the term “quantitative method” should be retired. For further discussion, see the section on the Colwell Definition in the article on Mathematics and the discussion in the article on Text-Types.

Quire

Also known as a “gathering.” A collection of sheets folded over to form a portion of a codex. (A scroll, for obvious reasons, did not contain quires.) Quires can be found in modern hardcover books, which are sewn together to form volumes.

Volumes fall into two basic types: Single-quire codices and multi-quire codices. Multi-quire codices have the quires set next to each other, with the last page of one quire adjacent to the first page of the next, with relatively small numbers of sheets per quire (usually four sheets, or sixteen pages, though other numbers are known), arranged so that sheets of similar type face each other (for papyri, e.g., vertical strips facing vertical strips and horizontals facing horizontals; for uncials, flesh side facing flesh and hair facing hair). Multiple-quire codices were easier to assemble (since one didn’t need to guess how many leaves one would need), and generally more attractive, but required binding, meaning that at least some codices (such as P^{46} and P^{75}) were single-quire codices: One huge gathering of dozens of sheets folded over. This has its conveniences for critics: We don’t have the outermost leaves of either P^{46} or P^{75}, but we know the overall length of both manuscripts, because we can locate the center leaf and calculate from there. (This is possible even if we have only a single leaf of a single-quire codex, as long as page numbers can be found on both sides.) And knowing the overall length, we can at least estimate the extent of the contents (it is by this means, e.g., that we calculate that P^{46} can never have contained the Pastoral Epistles). Of course this is sometimes possible with multi-quire codices, but only in the special case where we

have quires before and after the lacuna. If a multi-quire codex simply ends (as is the case, e.g., with B), there is no way to estimate how many leaves are missing.

Another problem with single-quire codices is how big they are. A single quire, since each additional leaf makes it thicker and more unwieldy, can only contain so many leaves — a few dozen at most. So to assemble a full Bible, or even a complete set of the Four Gospels or the Acts and Epistles, requires a multiple-quire codex.

Most fragments, of course, consist of only a single sheet (not even a complete leaf; it's quite common for the page to break at the fold, and only one half of the broken leaf to survive), making it impossible to tell whether they come from single-quire or multiple-quire codices.

For more on the significance of quires, see the entry on codices.

R

recto

In printing, the recto is the right-hand page of a pair (hence the name), as opposed to the verso. With reference to leaves in a quire, in modern usage, the recto refers to the outer leaf. In a papyrus codex, this would normally be the side with the plant strips running vertically.

Recension

A technical term with different uses in New Testament and Classical textual criticism. In New Testament criticism, "recension" is often used to mean something like "text-type" — a group of related manuscripts, which may have arisen by natural means. So one might refer to the "Byzantine recension."

In classical criticism, the term is much more precise: it refers to two texts of the same work which are distinct as a result of editorial work. For instance, we have two different texts of Euclid's *Elements*, one edited by Theon ("Theon's Recension," found in the large majority of surviving manuscripts) and one believed to be closer to the original. Similarly, it is now believed that the two texts of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (Quarto and Folio) represent two distinct stage settings of the same play, and as such we find editions such as the *Pelican Shakespeare* actually printing both texts in parallel columns (and then a conflated version).

The differences between these two usages is somewhat unfortunate, since it is now generally agreed that the Byzantine text of the New Testament is not recensional in the proper sense (i.e. it was not edited, by Lucian or anyone else). But there *are* edited texts of the New Testament — Marcion's, obviously, and also, in a way, the Diatessaron; in addition, the D text of Luke-Acts has unquestionably been edited at some points (e.g. the use of Matthew's genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3). Thus when one encounters the word "recension" in New Testament situations, one must always be careful to learn the precise sense in which the word is being used by a particular author.

Roman Numerals and Mathematics

Roman numbers, which are based loosely on their alphabet, are still known to many of us, but the modern forms are not entirely like what was used in ancient times. We probably don't need to know much about Roman mathematics (which was very primitive) to edit the Greek Bible, but it might help in the textual criticism of the Latin; see the section on Ancient Mathematics.

Rubric

From Latin *rubrica*, red, hence something written in red. Formally, anything written in red ink would be a rubric, but the use of the ink was normally reserved for comments, glosses, or the incipits or explicits of books. So a rubric is generally something written that is not part of the main text but which identifies its parts or explains their use.

The **Rule of Iron**

The "Rule of Iron" (*règle de fer)* was the name that Dom Henri Quentin used to describe his method for establishing a critical text of the Vulgate. Sadly, his description seems to have utterly baffled other textual critics, whose descriptions of it make no mathematical sense at all — and I am not enough of a linguist to try to decipher his maths to see if they are sound.

But there are in fact two parts to Quentin's method. In the first stage, he tries to classify manuscripts. His goal, in essence, is to find three basic types — in essence, to force a stemma with three branches, avoiding the Bédier Problem of two-branch stemma. (I find myself thinking that it's too bad Quentin didn't know anything about voting theory; he really should have looked at Condorcet cycles. But that's not really relevant to what he did.)

Having come up with his classification, the actual Rule of Iron was that two beats one — that is, if you have three primary witnesses, and two have a single reading and the third has another, that the reading found in the two are original.

This is a little too strong — there are circumstances in which an outside influence can cause two types of text to be independently corrupted. But the basic rule is sound. Quentin's failure lay not in his final idea but in the methods he used to determine his three witnesses, which were both confusing and (from what I can tell) confused.

S

Scribes and the Manuscripts they Wrote

Most scribes left no records of themselves except the manuscripts they wrote. Some, however, left their names and other information in the colophons of the manuscripts they wrote. Colophons — a scribe's "signature" of his manuscript — are almost unknown in early documents, but become relatively normal in late minuscules.

The name "colophon" is relatively recent. Erasmus concluded many of his writings with the phrase *colophonem addidi,* and the phrase came to be applied to anything at the end of a work. But the principle of a brief note at the end of a copied work is very much older.

Colophons could contain almost anything: The date of the manuscript (usually in the form of the Year of the World and/or the Indiction), the scribe who wrote the manuscript, the type of manuscript it was copied from, the place it was copied, or the person for whom it was copied. The date on which a manuscript was copied is always useful, of course. But it can also be useful to know where it came from (since it allows us to say that a certain sort of text was in circulation there at a certain time). Knowing a scribe's name is also interesting, though it really doesn't matter much unless we have other works from his pen.

Colophons could also contain various petitions and requests (e.g. a prayer for God to forgive the scribe or a request for a reader to take good care of the copy), but these have little importance except, perhaps, as a source of information about the liturgical usage of the time. The colophon in S (the first and only uncial to have an intact colophon, though we find earlier scribal signatures, e.g., in the minuscule 461 and in the Latin Codex Fuldensis) is not atypical:

εγραφει η τιμια δελτος αυτη δια χειρος εμου Μιχαηλ μοναχου αμαρτωλου μηνι μαριωα α.' ημερα ε,' ωρα ς,' ετους συνζ. ινδ ζ' — i.e. it is the work of "a monk, a sinner" named Michael who finished his task in the sixth hour of the fifth day of March in the year 6457 (949 C. E.).

The subscription to the Pauline Epistles in 1739 is not all that different; although it omits the date (possibly given in one of the excised portions of the codex, as each part had a colophon), it too gives the scribe's name (Εφραιμ μοναχου) and begs God for mercy. Elsewhere in 1739, Ephraim gives us information about how his manuscript was compiled.

There seems to be a certain tendency for colophons to grow more elaborate over time, though of course they continue to be highly individual.

Interestingly, not all colophons are accurate; some are forgeries. Colwell, in “Method in Validating Byzantine Date-Colophons: A Study of Athos, Laura B.26” (now available in Colwell’s *Studies in Methodology in New Testament Textual Criticism*, pp. 142–147) offers the case of manuscript 1505, which has a forged date of 1084 (note: letterforms are modernized and the line breaks of the original are not retained):

> Εγραφη επι της βασιλει[ας] του ευσεβεστατου κ[αι] φιλοχριστου κυ[ρου] α
> λεξιου μ[ε]γ[α]λ[ου] δουκα σεμβαστου του κομνηνου επι ετ[ους] ϛ̄
> ϕϙβ̄ κυ[κλω] [ηλιου] θ̄ κυ[κλω] [σεληνης] ιη̄ ενδ[ικτιωνος] η̄ η αποκρεα ιανουαριω
> λᾱ νομ[ικον] φασκ[α] μ[α]ρ[τιω] κε̄ χρ[ιστιανον] πασχ[α] μ[α]ρ[τιω] κη̄ η νηστεια
> τ[ων] αγ[ιων] αποστλον[ων]
> ημερ[αι] λ̄ϛ̄

Taking the first two items first, we see that the manuscript dates itself to the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus (reigned 1081–1118), and specifically the year 6592 (=1084 C. E.). However, the remaining data (sun cycle, moon cycle, indiction, Sunday of abstinence from meat, legal passover, Christian passover, and fast of the holy apostles) do not correspond to 1084, and indeed other colophons from the eleventh century often do not even list most of these last, which are typical of the fuller colophons of about the fourteenth century. The data appears to correspond, in fact, to the year 1445. As the colophon is not in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript (which would appear to date from the twelfth century), it seems clear that it was forged to make the manuscript appear older and more valuable (though, interestingly, the colophon makes it only slightly older than what seems to be its actual date, and since 1505 belongs to Family 2138, its basic text is in fact *older* than the colophon suggests). Colwell cites other instances of this sort of forgery. Therefore even colophons must be treated with some care.

We also seem to have instances of scribes forging names. 223 has a colophon attributing it to Antonios of Malaka (who is also associated with 1305 and ℓ^{279}) — but the colophon to 223 is not by the same hand as the manuscript, and the other two Antonios manuscripts are dated 1244 and XII, respectively, while 223 appears to be from the fourteenth century.

This is not confined to Greek manuscripts. The Book of Dimma is a small Irish copy of the Vulgate Gospels (Trinith College, Dublin, MS. A.4.23 (59)). It claims to have been

written by Dimma Mac Nathi. There is a mention in the *Life of St. Cronan* that a Dimma wrote a gospels book during the life of that saint, the founder of Roscrea monastery. Cronan died in 619, so the colophon seems to be trying to make the book both older and more significant than it is. (It would be interesting to know if the scribe tried to put it in the Roscrea library with that inscription, or if it was destined to be sold or given away, with the scribe trying to increase its value.)

In some cases it is quite interesting to know the several manuscripts from a scribe's pen. This is true, e.g., of Ephraem, who gave us two of the most important of all minuscule manuscripts (1582 and 1739), plus texts of Aristotle and Polybius. We also observe that manuscripts from the same scribe are often akin textually (observe the K^x Cluster 74 manuscripts written by Theodore of Hagiopetros; these represent a third of the manuscripts of this type. Even more extreme is the case of George Hermonymos, who wrote at least five of the seven manuscripts of K^x Cluster 17).

It is unfortunate to note that some monasteries discouraged scribes from including their names in colophons (it was seen as a mark of pride). This not only makes it harder to identify manuscripts from the same copyist, but discourages the inclusion of other useful information in colophons. Fortunately, not every scribe paid attention. And even a colophon without a name or date can often help us date a manuscript. This can happen, e.g., if the scribe uses datable words or phrases. This is more typical of secular works (an example is the Peterborough manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, which has been interpolated with stories localized to that area; we learn much from the language used in the insertions), but it can apply to Biblical manuscripts too if the colophon is long enough.

The table below lists certain of the scribes known to have written New Testament manuscripts, along with the manuscripts copied and their text-types as far as known (Gospels classifications are generally from Wisse, unless marked VS: for Von Soden; other descriptions are from Von Soden or the present writer). Note: Some manuscripts are identified with particular scribes only by the handwriting; no attempt is made to distinguish these.

After each scribe's name, in square brackets [], are the dates at which the manuscripts ascribed to him were written (based on the colophons or Paleography).

Scribe	**Manuscripts**
Abraham Teudatus [XI]	507 (K^x)
Andreas [1111]	203 (VS: ap: I^{c2}, r: K)
Andreas [XI/XII?]	180 (in gospels; John added the rest of NT later; K^x Cl 180)
Angelo Vergèce [XVI]	296 (VS: e: K^x, apc: I^{b1}, r: I^{a2}), 1931 (VS: I^a)

Anthony [XI]	343 (Cl 343/Kmix)
Anthony [1506]	445 (VS: K^{x})
Arsenius [XII]	862 (VS: $\Theta^{\varepsilon 29}$)
Athanasius [1434]	616 (VS: I^{c}?)
Basil Argyropolus [1140]	229 (Π^{a}/K^{x})
Calistus [1432]	286 (K^{x})
Constantine [1052]	174 (Λ)
Constantine [1326]	492 (K^{x})
Constantine Chrysographus [XII]	347 (K^{x})
Cosmas Vanaretus [XIII]	503 (VS: K^{x})
Dionysus [XI]	506 (e: Cl 276; VS: ap: I^{c2} r: K)
Ephraem [949, 954, X]	1582 (Family 1), 1739 (Family 1739), Cod. Marcianus 201 (of Aristotle's Organon, at Venice; dated 954), Cod. Vat. gr. 124 (the leading manuscript of Polybius, probably to be dated to 947)
Euphemius [1043]	609 (Greek/Arabic; M609)
Eustathius [XII]	129 (K^{x})
George Hermonymos of Sparta [1478, XV]	17 (K^{x} Cl 17), 30 and 30^{abs} (30 is K^{x} Cl 17 with 288), 70 (K^{x} Cl 17), 287 (K^{x} Cl 17), 288 (K^{x} Cl 17 with 30), 1848 (VS: K^{c})
George [XIII]	579 (B)
George [XIII/XIV]	429 (George is responsible only for the Acts and Epistles; r is from another hand. VS: ap: I^{b1}; r: K; despite von Soden, it is easily shown that 429 is part of the group 206–429–522, which is goes with Family 1739 in Acts and Family 2138 in the Catholics.)
George [1305?]	649 (VS: $\Theta^{\varepsilon 408}$)
Gabriel [XV]	525 (Greek/Slavonic, with the Greek later and probably by an anonymous hand; Kmix/K^{x}/TR)
Gerasimus [XIV]	498 (e: M1386 ap: VS: K^{r})
Gregory [XII]	438 (K^{x})
James of Sinai [1316]	489 (e: Π^{a} with 1219; ap: VS: I^{a2})
Joachim, George, and others [XII-XIV?]	632 (VS: p: K)
Joasaph [XIII]	410 (M349)

Joasaph [1366, 1369, 1376, 1394]	480 (K^r), 634 (VS: K^r), 1100 (VS: K^r), 1960 (not classified by Von Soden or Aland/Aland; seems to have at least some K^r readings)
John [1044]	81 (VS: H)
John (of Patmos) [XI]	1194 (M10)
John [1179]	688 (K^x Cl Ω)
John [1199]	245 (Kmix/1167)
John [XII/XIII]	421 (VS: K)
John [1273]	180 (in Acts, etc.; written by Andreas in the Gospels)
John Rhosus of Crete [1478]	448 (K^x Cl 183)
John Serbopulos [XV]	47 (Mix/K^r), 56 (K^r)
John Trithemius [XV]	96 (VS: K^x)
John Tzutzuna [1092]	459 (VS: ap: H? r: I^{b2})
Joseph [XI]	422 (Kmix/K^x; John probably from another hand)
Leo [1039]	164 (Λ with 1443)
Leo [XII]	502 (K^x Cl 74)
Leo [1330]	425 (VS: K)
Leontius [XI]	186 (VS: A^c)
Lucas [1625]	289 (VS: K^x)
Manuel [1153]	162 (K^x/Kmix)
Manuel [1262]	293 (M1195)
Maurus [XIII]	427 (Mix/K^x/Kmix)
Meletius [1275]	248 (Kmix/M27)
Michael [949]	S/028 (K^x Cl Ω)
Michael [1330]	394 (e: K^r Gr 35)
Michael Damascenus [1515]	522 (VS e: K^x; ap: I^{b1}, r: I^b; in fact part of the group 206–429–522, which is Family 1739 in Acts and Family 2138 in the Catholics.)
Neophytus [1305]	645 (K^r)
Nepho [1159]	439 (K^x with 877)
Nicephorus [1092]	276 (Cl 276)
Nicetas Mauron [1296]	341 (VS: K^x)
Nicholas [835]	461 (K^x Cl Ω)
Papadopoulous Kerameus [1344]	1766 (VS: K^c)
Paul [XI]	26 (Kmix/K^x)
Philip [XIV]	414 (M349)
Philotheus [1314]	235 (Kmix/K^x)

Synesius 1033]	504 (K^{x})
Theodore of Hagiopetros [1278, 1280, 1284, 1292, 1295, 1301]	74 (K^{x} Cl 74), 234 (K^{x} Cl 74), 412 (K^{x} with 1394), 483 (e: K^{x} Cl 74; ap: VS: K^{c}), 484 (K^{x} Cl 74), 856 (Cl 2148), 1594 (K^{x} Cl 74)
Theodore [1037]	623 (VS: I^{a2}; Richards: Family 1739, but with too low a percentage to be meaningful)
Theodosius [1338]	54 (Kmix/K^{x})
Theodosius ρακενδυτης [1302]	413 (K^{x} Cl 143)
Theophilus [1285]	482 (K^{x}/Π^{a})
Theophylact [984]	619 (not classified by Von Soden or Aland/Aland)

Even when a scribe does not need a colophon, we can often tell something about him beyond his approximate date. Letterforms, artwork, marginal equipment — all can tell something about the scribe. An obvious example is Irish scribes. Robin Flower wrote of these, “Irish scribes — and only Irish scribes [during the ninth century] — had a habit of setting down in the margins and on blank spaces of their manuscripts personal memoranda, invocations of saints, little fragments of verse, and all the flotsam and jetsam of idle fancy” (Robin Flower, *The Irish Tradition*, [1947], p. 36). Flower’s examples are mostly from non-Biblical manuscripts, but there is a well-known example in Codex Boernerianus (G^{p}) of a scribbled note, in Gaelic, regarding a pilgrimage to Rome. This may not be from the original scribe, but other examples are.

Sadly, New Testament critics seem to make little use of the peculiarities of scribes. Many scribes had peculiar spellings (e.g. both D/06 and 462 have problems with -ε versus -αι. In the sections I checked, 462 has *not a single verb ending in -ε*; all had been changed to end in -αι). Obviously such manuscripts are useless for variants involving such verb endings. But such peculiarities may also tell us something about the nationality or dialect of the scribe, or the school in which he was trained.

We also know, e.g., that the chief peculiarity of the scribe of P^{75} was omitting short words.

Useless information? Hardly! Shakespearean scholars write whole theses about the peculiarities of the typesetters who set individual *pages* of his works. Although this is partly of necessity (they have nothing else to work on), the amount of information they gain is simply astonishing. New Testament scholars could surely derive many of the same benefits — but it’s a rare discussion of a reading which makes any reference to scribal habits. It’s a clear lack.

This is not the place for a long list of such peculiarities (since I have not the data to compile such a list), but knowledge of such features belongs in every paleographer's toolkit, and such peculiarities should be noted in editions of manuscripts.

Incidentally, we know more about scribes than just what they tell us in colophons. There are several sources of information: The manuscripts themselves, the artifacts left by scribes, and illustrations in the manuscripts. Very many manuscripts, e.g., contain illustrations thought to be the evangelists. What is noteworthy about these is how often they contain the same sort of image: The evangelist sitting before a codex (not a scroll!), with a pen in the right hand and a knife in the left. The illustration below, from a late Latin manuscript of John, is quite typical. The knife is not just used to sharpen the pen; it is kept always in the left hand, presumably to scrape off mistakes before the ink can dry.

Scriptorium

The facility (normally in a monastery) in which manuscripts were copied.

Our descriptions of scriptorium differ, and it is likely that their nature changed over time — depending, among other things, on whether manuscripts were copied individually or in bulk.

If the former, then the scriptorium was kept entirely silent; David Diringer (*The Book Before Writing*, p. 207ff.) reports that the scribes even evolved a series of hand gestures by which to communicate the volumes or materials they needed so that they could do their work without speaking. (Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking,* p. 78, notes a fascinating example: The symbol for a pagan author was to scratch behind the ear, as a dog scratches.)

The policy was to make the scriptorium a large, open room with good natural light; artificial light was banned to prevent fires (McMurtrie, p. 77). The scriptorium was managed by the *armarius*, who supplied the tools required by the scribes: desks, pens, ink, parchment or papyrus, and the other tools used by the scribe: knife, awl (to prick the parchment for lining), stylus (to score the lines), ruler, pumice (to smooth the parchment), perhaps weights (to flatten pages) and sponges (to erase, though this was sometimes done with the knife). A scribe was typically expected to work about six hours a day.

None of this, of course, was possible when a manuscript was copied by dictation. There is little evidence of the procedure for this, but that manuscripts were copied by dication can hardly be denied; there are simply too many errors of hearing in certain manuscripts. (We should add, however, that some errors which appear to be errors of hearing may not be: Recall that most ancients read by sounding out the words before them. Thus they could sound out a word, turn to copy it, and mis-copy it because they mis-heard what they themselves had read!) But it is not at all unlikely that copying by dictation died with the Roman Empire in the west, and perhaps fell into decay in the east also; demand for manuscripts would have fallen both with the adoption of parchment (which lasted longer and reduced the need for replacement manuscripts) and with the decline of literacy. In these circumstances, individual copying of manuscripts would suffice, and copying by dictation might well have been eliminated.

No matter which method of copying was used, a manuscript generally was not finished once the text was copied. First it would be corrected. Then rubrics, illustrations, and illuminated letters would then be done by another scribe. How long this took, of course, depended on the level of effort devoted to these other tasks.

Singular Reading

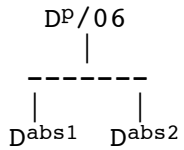
A “singular reading” is a reading found in only one manuscript in the tradition. (The term is sometimes applied to readings found in only one major manuscript, with support from

some minor manuscripts, but this is properly called a "Subsingular Reading.") Since most singular readings are the result of scribal idiosyncracies, scholars generally do not adopt them (or even use them for genetic analysis) unless the internal evidence is overwhelming or the tradition shows very many variant readings at this point.

Stemma and Stemmatics

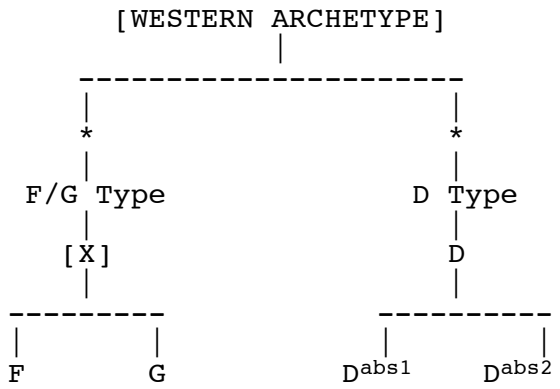
In simplest terms, a *stemma* is a family tree of manuscripts (showing which manuscripts were copied from each other), and *stemmatics* is the preparation and analysis of such stemma. It's a genealogy, tracing relationships from "parent" to "child" to "grandchild," showing "sisters" and "nephews" and "cousins."

Historically, stemmatic work on New Testament manuscripts has proved almost impossible, due partly to the bulk of the tradition (traditional stemmatics requires a detailed examination of the manuscripts of an author, which is impossible for the number of manuscripts of the NT) but mostly to the fact that so many of the intermediate links have been lost. The largest certain stemma for the New Testament has only three members:



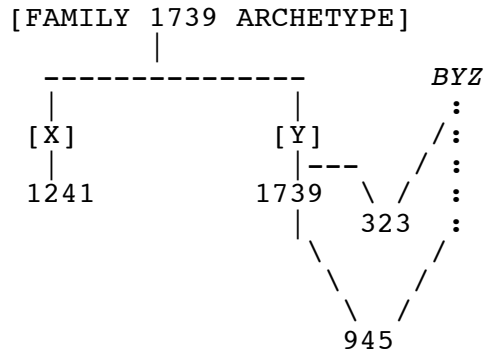
(That is, the manuscripts D^{abs1} and D^{abs2} were both copied from D/06, Codex Claromontanus.)

We should note that the word "stemma" is used in two different senses (creating the usual confusion as a result). The above is a *strict* stemma, with the precise location of every manuscript known. This is the usual form we see in stemma of classical manuscripts. Because the NT tradition is more complex, however, one will sometimes find the word "stemma" applied to much less certain relations, with many generations of copies intervening between the handful of surviving manuscripts. For example, the exact stemma above would be a small portion of a sketch-stemma of the "Western" uncials of Paul (of which there are five all told: D, Dabs1, Dabs2, F, and G):



In this stemma, the links marked * represent many generations and some possible mixture. X is, of course, the lost manuscript which is the parent or grandparent of both F and G.

It is of just such situations that R. H. Rouse, in “The Transmission of the Text” (published in Richard Jenkins, ed., *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal,* p. 39), remarks, “if survivors are few, the stemma perforce brings into proximity manuscripts that, historically, were widely separated in time and place of origin — and it can bestow the same, unweighted semblance of stemmatic separation on two manuscripts that were in reality written within a few months’ time, or within the same room.” Rouse cites an example from Seneca of this phenomenon. A sketch-stemma is not a full picture. But, at Rouse goes on to add, “stemmas remain our only available road-map.” We just need to be very sure to distinguish the rough from the exact. The next example shows this even more clearly, in a slightly different sort of stemma. This is for the manuscripts of Family 1739 in the Catholics, and is designed to show mixture explicitly (we will note only four manuscripts: 323, 945, 1241, 1739; others could be added)



Here, the mixture is represented by the dotted lines: 945 could be descended from 1739, but with mixture from the Byzantine text; 323 is not descended from 1739, but

comes from its branch of the 1739 family, with Byzantine overlay; 1241 represents a separate branch of the 1739 family.

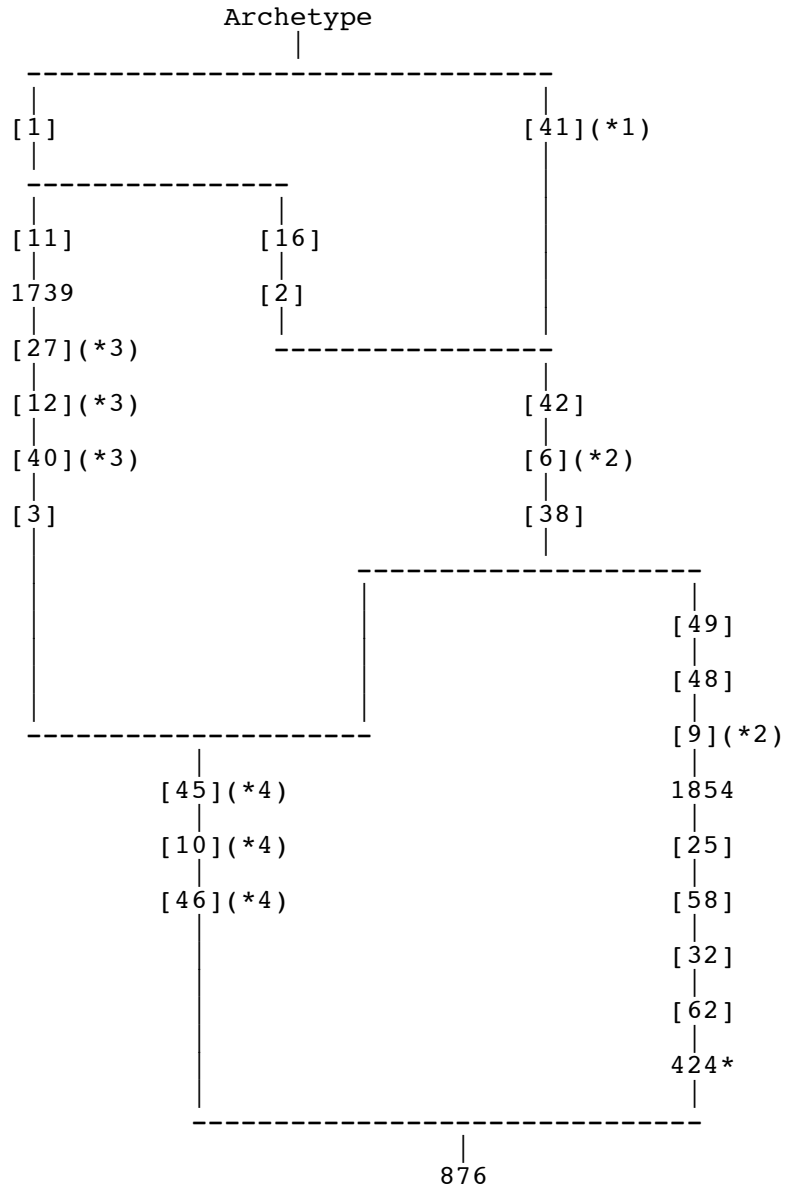
The two stemma of the Western and 1739 groups are just general outlines, lacking details, and properly should be called by some other term (except that there really isn't one). The distinction is important, because a true, strict stemma allows you to reconstruct the archetype with precision. In the sketch stemma, there may not even be an archetype. (E.g. the stemma for Family 1739 actually goes back to two roots, the ancestor of Family 1739 and the ancestor of the Byzantine text. Somewhere further back, of course, there is a still earlier archetype which lies behind *both* — but we can't reconstruct it from the members of Family 1739.)

In most of what follows, we will, of necessity, look at sketch stemma, because that's all we can do for the NT. It is likely that other precise NT stemma could be constructed (e.g. of the K^x Cluster 17 manuscripts written by George Hermonymos), but in no case would more than a small fraction of the tradition be represented. Therefore stemmatics are generally ignored in New Testament, where the "Genealogical Method" (which focuses on manuscript tendencies rather than immediate kinship) is the more normal technique. (This would better be replaced by true study of text-types, but that is another issue.) Stemmatics represent a crucial part of Classical Textual Criticism, however, and the methods involved are covered in more detail in that article, which also supplies additional sample stemma and examples of their use.

Turning to sketch stemma and the actual complications of the New Testament tradition, we face another complication: Mixture. We saw hints of the effects of this above, in the sketch of the relations in Family 1739. Of the four witnesses shown, two (323 and 945) were mixed, with Family 1739 material and Byzantine material intermingled.

And that's with only four manuscripts and two ancestors! It only gets worse as we add more. (This is in distinct contrast to classical stemma; these start with one archetype and branch from there. But when mixture is allowed, ancestors multiply. An analogy I saw somewhere is to genealogies showing one versus two parents. If you only look at, say, fathers, then all genealogies narrow — one father can have perhaps six sons, and twenty grandsons, and sixty great-grandsons, so there are more names at the bottom of the genealogy than the top. But if both parents count, then ancestors multiply exponentially. Every child has two parents, and four grandparents, and — unless one is a Habsburg — eight great-grandparents, etc.) The same is true in the New Testament. When Stephen C. Carlson studied several dozen manuscripts of 1 John, using the mathematical method known as cladistics, the result was almost unimaginably complex; the stemma could only have been constructed by computer. Take the case of manuscript 876. Carlson's work (which he has graciously shared with me prior to

publication) led him to presume four major lines of descent for 876, contributions from four major textual groupings (Alexandrian, Byzantine, Family 1739, Family 2138), and *at least* 23 assorted missing manuscripts as well as three extant documents (424*, 1739, 1845). And 424, as we all know, went on to mix with Family 1739 again! The sketch stemma below shows just the ancestry of 876:



Notes to the above:

*1 = Text close to א *2 = Byzantine-type text

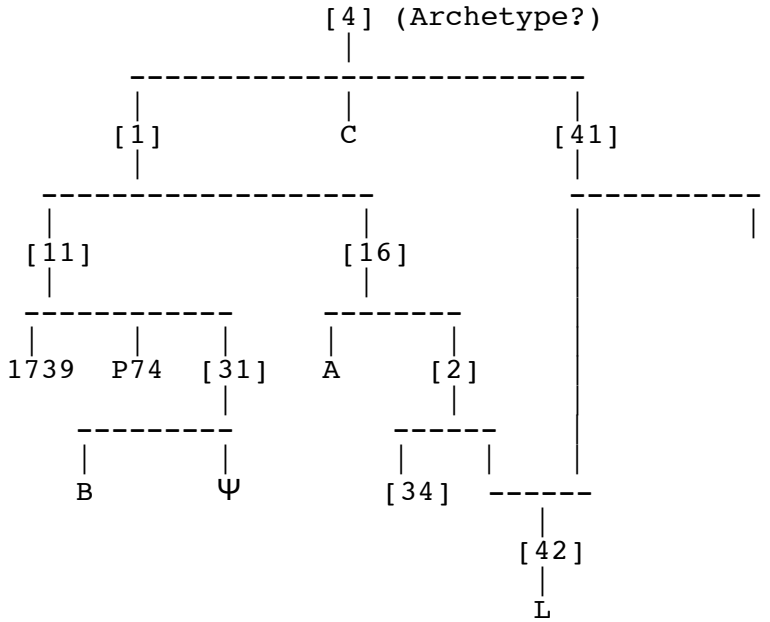
*3 = Family 1739 text *4 = Family 2138 text

In the stemma shown, the bracketed figures represent no-longer-extant stages of the text. They are not actual *manuscripts*, but phases of the text. So, e.g., the split between [1] and [41] represents the point at which the Family 1739 text (all descended from [1]) and the א group (descended from [41]) split. These splits probably represent multiple generations of copying, and quite possibly many manuscripts were copied at each stage. These nodes are branch points (e.g. L splits off the Byzantine text at [6], while the 1739 and B texts part company at [11]). There are unquestionably many more manuscripts involved than those shown.

(Carlson would also note that what I have labelled the Archetype — which was, in the sketch he sent me, node [4] — is only a *possible* starting point; it appears to be the branch point from which all others descended, but several other nodes, including [1] which is the common ancestor of P^{74}, A, B, 1739, etc., or [41], which is akin to א, could be the root point.)

In terms of complexity, there is really no problem here. We show only 13 steps, and two stages of mixture, to produce 876. This is surely low — there must have been more than 13 steps, and probably more than one phase of Byzantine mixture. But the above shows how incestuous the ancestry of a late manuscript may prove. Which in turn shows the difference between a New Testament and a classical stemma.

Let's do one more, just to show the complexity of the situation. For this one, I will reproduce the path to the Byzantine manuscript L, but showing where other manuscripts come off:



It appears, based on the descendants of the various texts, that [2] (which, despite its position, is not especially close to A) is a sort of "proto-Byzantine" text, with [42] being the Byzantine text proper. It will be seen that the so-called Alexandrian text is *not* a single unified text-type here; in fact, א, A, B, and C would appear to represent four different text-types. (And, frankly, I think this very possible; it largely concurs with my own results in the article on Text-Types.)

It will be noted that, under this stemma, there is *no* guaranteed rule for determining the original text. P^{74} is a fragment, so we can largely ignore it, but our task, based on this stemma, would be to reconstruct [1] and [41] and compare them with C. The consensus (however we determine it) of these three witnesses would be [4], the archetype.

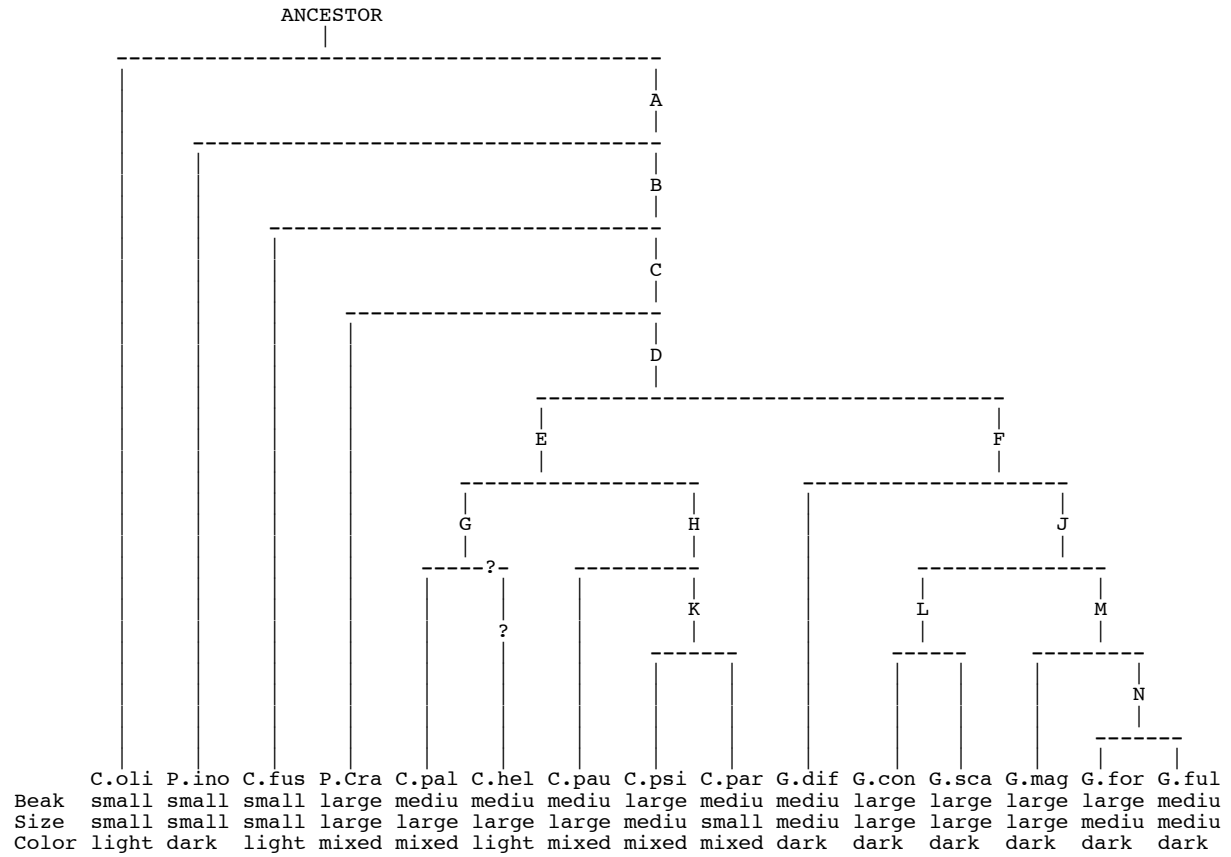
To reconstruct [1], we must reconstuct [11] and [16]. [11] is relatively straightforward; we compare B and Ψ to find [31], then compare [31] with 1739 (or, properly, 1739 and its allies) to find [11]. But [16] is complicated. We have one witness in A (had Carlson had collations for 33, 436, etc., this would probably turn out to be another group needing reconstruction), but there is another in [2]. [2] gives rise to [42], represented by L, but L is mixed with [41]. [2] has other descendents ([34]=family 623), but these are also mixed (with family 2138; I decided to spare you that part). Thus [2] can only be determined by trying to guess which elements of [34] and [42] come from [2] and which parts come from somewhere else. And [16] will be even less secure than [2]. So any reconstruction of [1] will be insecure. And for [41] we must compare [42] with א. And so forth. It's a new and complex situation.

This is not to imply that stemmatics is useless for the New Testament. If Carlson's work is brought to completion, and we have a full sketch stemma for any particular section of the text, we have gained a great deal. A number of manuscripts will be shown to be descended entirely from other types, and so need not be studied further. Others will be placed in their proper relationships. But we will likely need a whole new approach to move from that stemma to our final text.

We might add as a footnote that stemmatics as a concept has wide application outside textual criticism. There is perhaps some irony in that one of these areas is evolutionary biology (see the article on evolution and genetics). Stemmatics is, in a formalist sense, the link between the science of historical biology and biblical studies — and yet evolutionary theory is often viewed as a anti-Christian discipline.

However, the analysis based on evolutionary biology gives us an interesting warning. The following data on Darwin's famous Galápagos finches comes from Peter R. Grant and B. Rosemary Grant, "Adaptive Radiation of Darwin's Finches," *American Scientist,* March/April 2002, from a chart on page 133. It groups fifteen species of finch into an evolutionary tree based on genetic analysis. However, we can also classify based on

physical characteristics. If we take as characteristics beak size (large, medium, small), bird size (small = 13 grams or less, medium = 14 to 20 grams, large = more than 20 grams), and coloration (light, mixed, dark), we see the following pseudo-stemma:



	C.oli	P.ino	C.fus	P.Cra	C.pal	C.hel	C.pau	C.psi	C.par	G.dif	G.con	G.sca	G.mag	G.for	G.ful
Beak	small	small	small	large	mediu	mediu	mediu	large	mediu	mediu	large	large	large	large	mediu
Size	small	small	small	large	large	large	large	mediu	small	mediu	large	large	large	mediu	mediu
Color	light	dark	light	mixed	mixed	light	mixed	mixed	mixed	dark	dark	dark	dark	dark	dark

Evolution is not stemmatics; the pressures on the transmission are different. And physiology is a continuous phenomenon; a manuscript either has a reading or it doesn't, but a bird can be 8 grams, or 8.1, or 8.2.... But we note with interest that, if you started with just these three "readings," (physical traits) you certainly would not get the stemma shown! (Indeed, even the biologists have some trouble with it — observe that the genus indications do not match the family tree. Also, there is speculation that *C. olivacea*s and *C. fusca* — the first and third species shown — might still be capable of interbreeding. There is also a curious form of mixture: When birds hybridize, as they occasionally do, they "choose" their species by adopting the song sung by their fathers, whichever species he belongs to.)

Simply put, a stemma depends on the technique you use and the data you examine. With a large enough data set, you should of course get a consistent stemma. But it depends very much on what you examine.

Subsingular Reading

A reading which is, one might say, “almost” a Singular Reading. Typically it has support from only one Greek manuscript, with some minor versional support. More loosely, it may be a reading found in only one major Greek manuscript, with support from one or two unimportant minuscules. In either case, it is considered unlikely to be original.

Supplements

It’s well-known that relatively few old manuscripts are complete. We are accustomed to pointing out that only Sinaiticus among the uncials contains the complete New Testament, and that the papyri are all fragmentary. This is a little deceptive; most of those uncials never contained the complete New Testament. But if we look at the first 250 uncials by number, and attempt to count how many still contain their original contents in their entirety, it’s still a small percentage.

Many of these defects are modern, but many are old, as well. Today, if a book is damaged, we will likely just go out and buy another copy. When manuscripts were copied by hand and expensive, this was not a reasonable option. Far easier to copy off enough pages to fill the gap, and re-insert that into the binding. This is very common among the early uncials. B was supplemented by the minuscule 1957. But this is an unusual supplement, coming much later and in another style of writing. Usually we see supplements in the same sort of script. So D^{ea}, for instance, has supplements in Matt. 3:7–16, Mark 16:15–20, John 18:14–20:13. If a critical apparatus notices this (not all do), the supplement will be marked with the superscript ^{s} or ^{supp}. So in John 19, for instance, the Nestle-Aland apparatus does not cite D but D^{s}. Other important manuscripts with supplements include D^{p} (in 1 Corinthians), W (in John), 565 (various places), 892 (in John), and 1241 (portions of Paul and the Catholics).

There are instances where it appears the supplement may have been copied from the original manuscript, in whole or in part (this could happen, e.g., if a portion of a page had been damaged by damp or torn). Usually, however, another exemplar had to be consulted. This can result in a change in text-type. Usually this will mean a shift toward the Byzantine text (892^{supp}, for instance, is noticeably more Byzantine than 892 proper). But not always! In Paul, 1241’s basic run of text is purely Byzantine, while the supplements are an Alexandrian/Byzantine mix.

Most supplements appear to be a response to accidental damage. But this is not always the case. Codex Vercellensis (a) of the Old Latin appears to have been deliberately supplemented: The ending of Mark is missing, cut away, and a portion restored. C. H. Turner calculated that the missing leaves could not have contained the “longer ending”

16:9–20. Thus the logical conclusion is that a, which must have originally had a different ending, was deliberately mutilated and a supplement added to supply this ending.

T

Talismans: see Ostraca and Talismans

Text-Types And Textual Kinship

Introduction

All manuscripts, except autographs, are copied from other manuscripts. This means that some manuscripts are “descendants” of other manuscripts. Others manuscripts, though not descended from one another, are relatives — both derived from some common ancestor. What’s more, some are close relatives; others are distant. In this sense, manuscripts are like people, though they usually have only one parent (the exception is a manuscript which is mixed or block-mixed.) The study of textual kinship tries to make sense of these various relationships. Once this is done, the results can be used to try to trace the history of the text, and from there to seek the original text.

History of the Study of Text-types

The first New Testament textual critic to show interest in textual relationships seems to have been Johann Albrecht Bengel. In his 1725 essay on textual criticism, he notes that manuscripts need to be classified into "companies, families, tribes, [and] nations."[1]

Although all these levels of relationship exist, only two (the "family" and the "nation") have exercised the energy of textual critics to a significant degree.[2] The highest level, Bengel's "nation," is what we now call a text-type.

Specific attempts to precisely define the term "text-type" will be described below. For now, it is most important to remember the general definition: The Text-Type is the loosest sort of kindred relationship between manuscripts that can be recognized short of the autograph. That is, a text-type consists of manuscripts which display some sort of relationship, but whose kinship is so loose that it cannot possibly be classified or

1. English translation from Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament,* 2nd/3rd edition (Oxford, 1992), page 112.

2. Almost the only exception to this is E.C. Colwell, who carefully defines all four levels and gives examples of each. A family, in his terminology, is a group for which an accurate stemma can be constructed. By this definition, he felt that that family 1 is a true family but family 13 is not. The worst offender against this system is probably B. H. Streeter, who called the Cæsarean text-type "Family Θ."

   Because other textual critics have not used the intermediate levels, no widely-accepted terminology exists. Even Colwell had trouble with this; at various times he referred to the intermediate levels as "tribes," "clans," and "sub-text-types." (His formal suggestion, in "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its Limitations," reprinted in *Studies in Methodology in New Testament Textual Criticism,* Eerdmans, 1969, p. 82, is to use the "clan" for one of the intermediate levels.) For this reason I have used "family" for all levels of kinship short of the text-type. I know better, but I have no other language available. A logical approach might be to speak of, in ascending order, the "family" (a group of related manuscripts for which a detailed stemma can be constructed), a "super-family" (for which one can sketch a stemma without being able to offer full details), a "sub-text-type" (closer than a text-type, but too loose for any stemmatic work to be done), and the full-fledged text-type. On this basis, P^{75}–B-T in the gospels would, I believe (in the absence of certain evidence either way), be a sub-text-type. Family 1739 in Paul would be a super-family. So would Family 2138 in the Catholics. In the Catholics, the "tight" form of Family 1739 (excluding C 1241) would be a super-family; the larger family (including those manuscripts) would be a text-type. In Paul, 330 and 451 form a family; adding 2492 creates a super-family. Family 2127 is a super-family.

   Note that it is possible to determine the ancestral text of a family, and perhaps even a super-family, precisely. These groups presumably derive from some one examplar. This is not true of the higher levels (especially of text-types). One cannot construct a text and say, "This is the is the Alexandrian text." There never was such a thing; no manuscript ever had all the readings we call "Alexandrian." But we can determine many, perhaps most, of the readings characteristic of the type, and use these to help us determine the original New Testament text.

described in detail. We cannot give a precise Stemma for the various manuscripts of a text-type, showing all branches and lost intermediate links; at best, we can group them into families and clans.

Once the concept of text-types was firmly established, the obvious next step was to locate them and determine which manuscripts belong to which types. Bengel was the first to make the attempt; he defined the "African" and "Asiatic" text-types. Given the materials he had available, this is fairly impressive; the "Asiatic" type is what we now call Byzantine; the "African" is everything else — what we would call "pre-Byzantine" (or at least "non-Byzantine"). Bengel not only correctly segregated these types, but he hypothesized that the Asiatic/Byzantine manuscripts, though far more numerous, contained a more recent, inferior text (a view held by most scholars ever since).

Bengel's system was refined by J. S. Semler, then further clarified by J.J. Griesbach. Griesbach's system, with minimal modifications, was followed by Westcott and Hort, and is still accepted by many textual critics today.

Griesbach saw three text-types, which he called "Byzantine," "Alexandrian," and "Western." The Byzantine text consisted of the mass of manuscripts, mostly late; it is generally a full, smooth text (a point usually admitted even by those who consider it superior; they simply believe that the shorter, harsher texts are the result of assorted accidents), and seems to be the type associated with Constantinople and the Byzantine empire. The Western text is largely Latin; it is found primarily in the Old Latin and in a few Greek/Latin diglot uncials (in the Gospels, D/05; in Acts, D/05 plus a few versions such as the margin of the Harklean Syriac; in Paul, D/06, F/010, G/012). The Alexandrian text, which in Griesbach's time was known only in a few witnesses such as L/019 and 33, was held to be the early text of Alexandria, and was already recognized by Griesbach as valuable.

In the period after Griesbach, Michaelis proposed to add an Edessene type.[1] This apparently was supposed to be the text-type found in the ancestor of the Peshitta. As far as I know, this idea went nowhere, though others have more recently proposed to give the Old Syriac its own text-type.

Similarly, Scholz had a system with five types: Griesbach's three (which Scholz called Alexandrine, Occidental/Western, and Byzantine), plus Asiatic and Cyprian.[2] The Asiatic seems to consist essentially of manuscripts with the Jerusalem Colophon, which are not necessarily related and are certainly mostly Byzantine; to this Scholz added the

1. Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures,* E. Littell, 1825; Volume II, p. 52

2. Horne, p. 55.

Peshitta, the Philoxenian, and authors such as Cyril of Jerusalem and Theodoret. The Cyprian recension, confusingly, is not named for Cyprian but for the Codex Cyprius, i.e. K^{e}. Thus it appears to be another name for Family Π, which is certainly a distinct group but probably not an independent text-type.

This was typical of the post-Griesbach period, when everyone and his kid sister seemed to be proposing a system of text-types, mostly with very little evidence. Hug, for instance, deserves great credit for pointing out the importance of Codex Vaticanus, but other than that, his speculations were almost entirely without basis.

Then there is the so-called "system" of Rev. F. Nolan. This seems to have appeared (in 1815) without being noticed by anyone at all; the only reference I can find is in Horne (himself writing in 1825, before there was much time to study and reject the work). If Horne is to be believed, Nolan's work consisted of throwing out all patristic evidence, equating each of Griesbach's Greek types with a Latin type (yes, he claimed to have a Latin version of the Alexandrian text!), changing all the names (based largely on the presence of the Eusebian apparatus, which he argues means that most manuscripts have a Eusebian text), and then declaring the Byzantine type superior. Horne actually approved of this, but since the equivalence between B and any of the Latins is absurd, we can pretty well ignore it. From here, Nolan's work appears to be a combination of all the stylistic defects of the nineteenth century writers, all the methodological defects of the early twentieth century critics, and all the attitudes of the late twentieth century Byzantine apologists. We're lucky it's forgotten.

Some good did come out of all that waste, to be sure. The study of text-types reached a peak in the work of F. J. A. Hort and B. F. Westcott. Their classification was almost the same as Griesbach's; they retained the "Western" text exactly as they found it. The Byzantine text they also accepted, though they called it "Syrian." Their only real departure came in the area of the Alexandrian text.

Griesbach had known only late, badly mixed Alexandrian witnesses. Westcott and Hort had two very nearly pure witnesses available (B/03 and א/01), as well as greater knowledge of the Coptic versions. They felt that Griesbach's Alexandrian text could be divided into two parts: The early part, represented by B+א, and a later part, containing most other non-Western, non-Byzantine manuscripts. They called the early phase of this text "Neutral" (since they felt it to be substantially equivalent to the original text) and the later phase "Alexandrian."

But Hort was not content to look for text-types; he also looked *at* them. The "Western" text, Hort observed, was expansive and paraphrastic; he held it in very low esteem. (In defense of the "Western" text, it should be observed that Hort's observations were based primarily on Codex Bezae, D/05. This text is indeed very wild — but there is no

real reason to presume it is a representative example of the "Western" text. The "Western" text of Paul, for instance, is much less wild.)

The Byzantine/Syrian text, in Hort's view, is less extreme but also less valuable. It is full of clarifications, harmonizations, and (in Hort's view) conflations. It is also late; he held that the earliest father to show a clearly Byzantine text was Chrysostom (moderns sometimes list Asterius the Sophist as the earliest, but this hardly affects the argument. There are still no early witnesses to the Byzantine text — though we should note that, if it is indeed the text used in Byzantium, there are no early witnesses surviving to the text used in that region). It was Hort's view that this text was compiled from the other extant types, with deliberate modification as well as comparison.

Hort's "Alexandrian" type was a much more slippery affair, since — as he himself admitted — none of the surviving manuscripts contained a pure Alexandrian text. Hort felt that this type is basically similar to the "Neutral" text, with a few "learned" corrections to improve the style. It exists (in a scattered, mixed form) in later manuscripts such as C/05, L/019, and 33.

The prize of the text-types, however, is the "Neutral" text. Represented primarily by B/03, with ℵ/01 as the second witness and some support from mixed manuscripts such as C/05, L/019, T/029, and 33, it represents almost without modification the original text. The text printed by Westcott and Hort is, in almost all instances, the Neutral text (the so-called "Western Non-Interpolations" represent one of the few major exceptions).

In the years since Westcott and Hort, almost all parts of their theory have been assailed. The "Alexandrian" text almost immediately disappeared; the consensus is that the "Neutral" and "Alexandrian" texts are one and the same, with the "Neutral" text being the earlier phase (or, perhaps, just the purer manuscripts of the type). The combined text-type is referred to by Griesbach's name "Alexandrian." (In recent years, however, Kurt and Barbara Aland have spoken of an "Egyptian" text that seems similar to the Westcott/Hort "Alexandrian" text. And it is unquestionably true that there are non-Byzantine readings which occur only in late Alexandrian witnesses. Thus we may well speak of "Egyptian" or late Alexandrian *readings*. The problem is that there is still no way to draw a line between the Alexandrian and Egyptian texts; they merge continuously into each other.)

The "Western" text has also had defenders, notably A. C. Clark and L. Vaganay. Clark, in particular, attempted to explain the Alexandrian text as an accidental shortening of the "Western" text. Although his observations on textual transmission can be useful (he is correct, for instance, in noting that the most common cause of variation is accidental scribal error), few scholars have accepted the pro-"Western" view.

The age of the text-types has also been questioned. Some — e.g. the Alands — hold that there were no text-types before the fourth century.[1] Eldon J. Epp admits, "There is a continuing and genuine disagreement, if not contention, as to whether or not 'text-types' existed in the earliest centuries...."[2] The answer to this depends, in part, on the definition of text-types (covered below). But one can at least say that many of the text-types have early representatives — e.g. something very close to the Alexandrian text of the gospels, held by some to be roughly contemporary with B, is found earlier in P^{66} and P^{75}. The family 1739 text of Paul is close to the text of Origen. א's text of the Apocalypse occurs also in P^{47}. P^{46} and P^{72} (as well as the Sahidic version) attest to the B text in Paul and the Catholics respectively. This list could easily be expanded using the Fathers and versions. The vast majority of early manuscripts seem to show kinship with the text-types found in the later ones. This would seem to imply that the text-types are survivals from an earlier era.

Perhaps the greatest controversy, however, rose over the Byzantine text. Even in Hort's time, it had a staunch defender in Burgon. These Byzantine loyalists pointed out — correctly — that the conflations in which Hort placed so much confidence are very rare. The defenders of the Byzantine text did not, however, manage to convince scholars that Hort's other arguments were wrong; most still believe that the Byzantine text is full of harmonizations and explications, and that, *as a text-type* (i.e. a *unified* collection of readings), its earliest attestation comes from the fourth century.[3]

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1. See, e.g. Kurt and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (English translation by Erroll F. Rhodes, Eerdmans, 1989). On p. 56, in discussing text-types, they say "In the fourth century a new era begins." On p. 65, the claim is even more forceful: "The major text-types trace their beginnings to the Diocletianic persecution and the Age of Constantine which followed."
   I must admit to finding this a *very* curious view; it seems to imply that text-types were somehow something that late scribes wanted to have, and so developed starting from the fourth century. But clearly the Alexandrian text, at the very least, existed before the fourth century, since P^{75} is effectively identical to B. So either P^{75} is a part of the Alexandrian text, or it is the archetype of the text. Either way, the Alexandrian text-type was in existence in the third century, even if not widespread.

2. Eldon J. Epp, "Decision Points in New Testament Textual Criticism," printed in Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Studies and Documents 45, Eerdmans, 1993), p. 37. The essay goes on to marshal arguments on both sides.

3. In fairness, it should be pointed out that there are two sorts of supporters of the Byzantine text, with variations in each group. Without going into detail, since their views remain in the minority, they are:

   - The believers in the complete inspiration of the Textus Receptus. Although this view has many adherents, the only trained textual scholar to hold it is Edward F. Hills. See Daniel B. Wallace, "The Majority Text Theory: History, Methods, and Critique," published in Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, eds, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (Studies & Documents 46, Eerdmans, 1995), p. 300.] Their basic argument is divine inspiration ("providential

preservation" — "God would not let the church lose the true text of the Bible!"). Unfortunately, one way or another, God did. The Textus Receptus never existed in any manuscript — and historically has been denied to the vast majority of Christians, including all Catholics and Orthodox and even a large fraction of Protestants.

- The Majority Text advocates. Generally followers of Dean Burgon. This group at least acknowledges the legitimacy of textual criticism; they simply do not use the normal methods. Some of this group use the same "providential preservation" argument as the first group, but they also argue that the Byzantine text, being the type found in the vast majority of manuscripts, must be original. Against this two arguments may be advanced. First, there are more vulgate Latin manuscripts than Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, and the vulgate is not Byzantine. Second, the reason that Byzantine texts form the majority is that they are the text-type of Byzantium, the only area where Greek-speaking Christianity survived after about the fourth century. (For some background on why such arguments simply do not work, see the sections on Exponential Growth and the review of Pickering in the article on Mathematics; also the article on evolution, though this subject is anathema to most Majority Text believers).
  Members of the Majority Text camp falls into three parts.

  - The originators. This group is headed by Zane C. Hodges, who was instrumental in starting the movement. The primary edition of this group is Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad's *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* (Nelson, 1985). This text has been attacked by other Majority Text advocates for its occasional use of stemmatics to determine its text (the use of stemmatics means that it prints a few readings which, although well supported, are not the reading found in the largest number of manuscripts).

  - A more nuanced Byzantine approach is practiced by a small group of critics. One might almost call them — for lack of a better term — "pro-Byzantine eclecticists." Generally better-versed in textual criticism than the other two groups — their leading advocate, Maurice A. Robinson, is one of the most knowledgeable textual critics active today — this group prefers the Byzantine text on internal grounds; they consider it to have the best readings, just as Hort felt the "Neutral Text" had the best readings. Robinson and William G. Pierpont expressed their views by publishing *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine/Majority Textform.* To the best of its editors' ability, it prints the Byzantine Text at all points. (Their introduction makes it clear that they are attempting to reconstruct the Byzantine text-form, which they regard as original but not absolutely identical to the Majority Text.) While the title is rather propagandistic, both this edition and that of Hodges and Farstad can be profitably used by textual critics to examine the nature of the text of the medieval Greek church.

  - Finally, we find a group of primarily Dutch scholars (van Brueggen and Wisselink) hold a position that argues for the priority of the Byzantine text, while conceding it to perhaps contain some minor corruptions. This group reportedly falls closer to Robinson, though they also have points of contact with the not-purely-majority positions of Sturz and von Soden.

A summary of the arguments of the pro-Byzantine scholars, showing evidence that the Byzantine text is at least better than Hort claimed, can be found in the article on Byzantine Priority.

Despite all attacks, the Westcott/Hort text and textual theory have remained strongly dominant into the twentieth century. The most important Greek text of the twentieth century, the United Bible Society edition (UBS^3, UBS^4, NA^{26}, NA^{27}), is essentially a Hortian text. (For a demonstration of this point, see the Analysis of the Text of Colossians in the Appendix. Every major edition since Von Soden, except Vogels, has at least half again as many agreements with WH as with the Byzantine edition of Hodges and Farstad, and in several cases the ratio approaches or even exceeds 2:1.)

To me, that sounds like stagnation. Still, the twentieth century has seen some advances in textual theory. The basic goal has been to systematize the study — to classify all manuscripts, not just a handful of the more important.

The last person to attempt to define text-types across the entire New Testament (assuming that they were the same in all parts) was H. von Soden. Von Soden deserves credit for several advances. First, he attempted to study the entire manuscript tradition. Second, he tried to establish degrees of textual kinship, just as Bengel had suggested nearly two centuries earlier.

Von Soden grouped the manuscripts into three text-types. One of these, the "H" (Hesychian) type, is essentially the same as the traditional Alexandrian/Neutral text. Curiously, von Soden made no attempt to subdivide this text, even though the Alexandrian text is ripe for division.

Von Soden did, however, work hard to subdivide the Byzantine text (which he called "K," for Koine). This was noteworthy; until this time, the Byzantine text had been treated as a monolithic unity (and not distinguished from its corrupt descendent, the Textus Receptus. There are in fact over 1500 places where the Textus Receptus differs from the Majority Text, some of them — e.g. the placement of the Doxology of Romans — quite significant).

Although it is not possible to go into von Soden's results in detail here (an outline is found in Appendix C to this article), let alone the minor modifications they were subjected to in the light of the Claremont Profile Method, we can note that he did find a variety of Byzantine groups. The most important of these, in his view, are as follows:

Soden's Group Name	Modern Name	Leading representatives (according to von Soden)
K^x	K^x	(no uncials; hundreds of minuscules, mostly obscure; Erasmus's leading manuscript 2^e is Kx)

K^r	K^r	(no uncials; no early minuscules; though there are hundreds of K^r manuscripts overall, only a relative handful of those known to Tischendorf, including 18, 35, 55, 66, 83, 128, 141, 147, 155, 167, 170, 189, 201, etc. belong to this group)
K^1	(K^x Cluster Ω)	S V Ω
K^i	(K^x Cluster Ω)	E F G H
I^k (also K^a)	Family Π	(A) K Π Y

There are, of course, many other non-"Western" non-Alexandrian manuscripts and groupings, most of which Von Soden listed as "I" even though they are clearly primarily Byzantine; the student who wishes more information is referred to the work of Wisse on the Claremont Profile Method.

Outside of the Gospels, many of these groups disappear (or at least cannot be recognized). K^r, however, endures, and a new group, K^c, appears.

Von Soden's work on the Byzantine text has generally been accepted (often for lack of an alternative; no one wants to have to re-do his work). Some parts have been directly confirmed (e.g. Voss verified the existence of K^r, and various scholars studied Family Π).

The most thorough study, however, has been that of Wisse and McReynolds, based on the already-mentioned Claremont Profile Method They generally confirmed Von Soden's groups (though making many detailed modifications). However, Von Soden's K^x, K^i, and K^1 may be too similar to be distinguished. Frederick Wisse reports that "K^i and K^{ik} are not distinguishable from K^1, and K^1 could not maintain itself as an independent group and is treated as a K^x cluster."[1] As a partial defense of Von Soden, however, we might note that Wisse's data indicates a historical if not a textual distinction between Cluster Ω and the rest of K^x; most early K^x manuscripts belong to Cluster Ω, and the type seems to have died out by the end of the twelfth century, when K^x proper becomes dominant. As evidence we offer this list of early K^x manuscripts (consisting of all purely K^x manuscripts listed by Wisse as of the tenth century or earlier, plus all pure Cluster Ω manuscripts of any age):

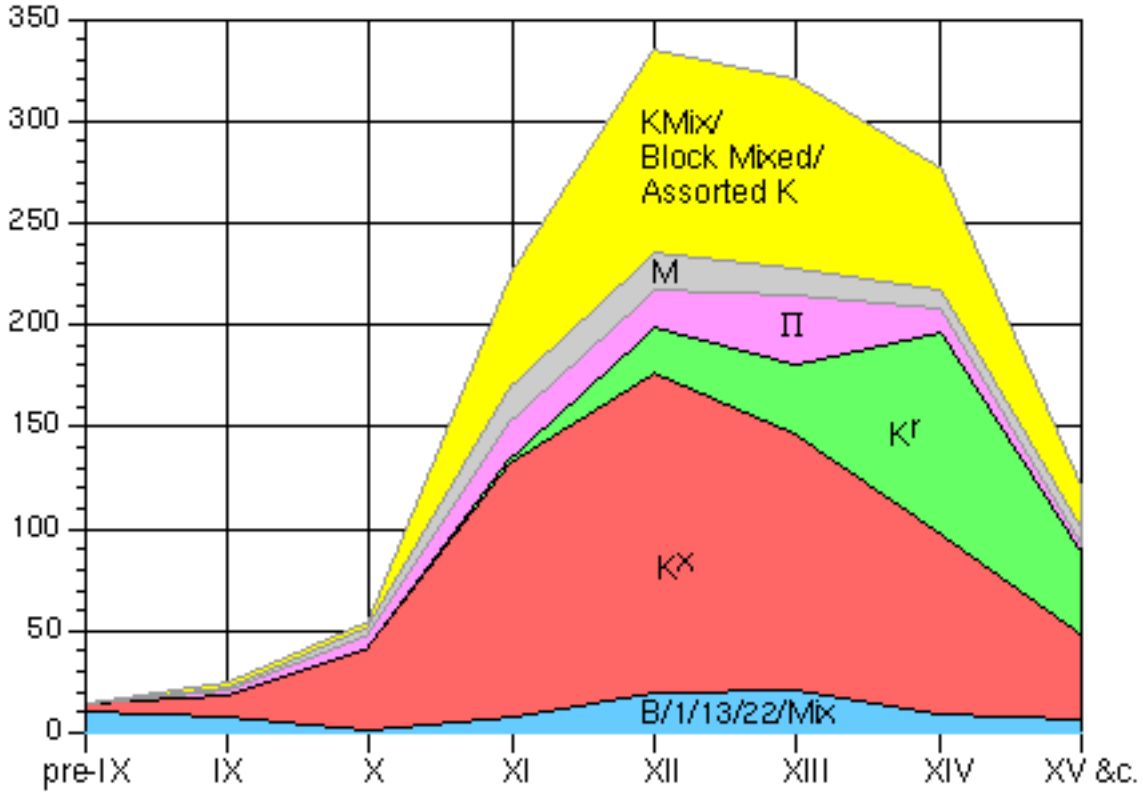
Century	K^x Cl Ω	K^x Not Cl Ω
VIII and before	E	— NONE —
IX	V Ω 461 1080 1295 2142	047 2224 2500

1. Frederick Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (Studies & Documents 44, Eerdmans, 1982), p. 94.

X	S 151 344 364 584 1077 1281 2563 2722	G H Γ 14 29 135 144 274 435 478 564 568 669 875 1055 1078 1172 1203 1225 1351 1662 2195 2414
XI	65 123 143 271 277 699 1045 1470 1691 2176 2287 2442 2571 2637	(nearly 100)
XII	471 667 688 1083 2702	(Hundreds)
XIII and after	***— NONE —***	(Hundreds)

Observe that in the eighth and ninth centuries Cluster Ω is dominant; in the tenth K^x proper is taking over, and after the eleventh Cluster Ω was dying out.

A chart might make this clearer. The chart below shows the frequency of occurrence of the basic types of the text, based on the evaluations of Wisse:



The types shown are:

- Kmix/Block Mixed/Assorted K: This category consists of manuscripts which, according to Wisse, are Byzantine, but either shift subgroups (i.e. show block mixture, but with all sections being Byzantine of one sort or another), or do not clearly belong to one subgroup, or belong to a relatively unimportant group.

Nearly 25% of manuscripts of the gospels are classified here. Most of these manuscripts, however, can be considered related to K^x.

- M. The M groups constitute about 5% of the tradition. M is the earliest but not the most typical member. They correspond roughly with Von Soden's $I^{\phi r}$.
- Π. Family Π and its subgroups (Von Soden's I^k) are, after K^x and K^r, the largest Byzantine sub-type, (Wisse lists about 150 members,[1] though only about 100, or about 7% of the tradition, are purely Family Π). It is one of the most distinct of the Byzantine groups, being very easily distinguished from K^x. In addition, it is very old; the oldest Byzantine witness, A, is close to this group.
- K^r. This group seems to be a deliberate recension created some time around the late eleventh/early twelfth century. Its text is distinctive (and appears to exist outside the gospels). The type is also noted for a set of marginal and lectionary notes which are very distinctive (and do not include the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canon Tables). A peculiarity of this text is that it obelizes the story of the adulteress (John 7:53–8:11). Maurice Robinson believes that this is not for textual reasons; rather, the passage is obelized because it is not part of the same lectionary reading as the material around it. Although no K^r manuscripts are known from before the eleventh/twelfth centuries, it still constitutes nearly 15% of the tradition (roughly two hundred members in the Gospels[2]); according to Wisse's data, it is the most common type of text in the fourteenth century (35% of the manuscripts of that century), and Von Soden thought (though Wisse does not confirm this) that about half of fifteenth century manuscripts were Kr. The type was very carefully controlled; Wisse lists nearly a third of the manuscripts of the type as "perfect." In addition, very few of its members are block-mixed. Given how carefully these manuscripts were produced, it is somewhat surprising that there seems to be no record of the creation and promulgation of the K^r type.
- K^x. The largest Byzantine group by far. Over 40% of all gospel manuscripts are predominantly K^x, and over half are Kx at least in part.[3] In a sense K^x is not a textual grouping at all; rather, it is the "leftovers" of the Byzantine text. The group is so large and so amorphous that Wisse's three test chapters could not properly serve to classify it. However, it does have its distinctive readings, and is one of only two Byzantine groups which can be shown to have existed before the ninth

1. Wisse, *The Profile Method* , pp. 103-105.

2. Wisse, *The Profile Method* , pp. 92-94

3. Wisse, *The Profile Method* , pp. 16-17, reports that 734 of 1385 Gospel manuscripts tested belonged to K^x in whole or in part.

century (Family Π being the other; it is probably safe to assume that, where K^x and family Π agree, they represent the original form of the Byzantine text. Where they diverge, the matter probably deserves further examination).

- B/1/13/22/Mix. These are the manuscripts which are not, in Wisse's opinion, Byzantine. A total of five of Wisse's types are included here:

1. Group B (the Alexandrian text, which in this case includes D (!); this has nine pure members, mostly early; a handful of other manuscripts are Group B in one or two of Wisse's three test chapters, and are listed here though we should probably think of them as mixed),

2. Most of the witnesses we might call "Cæsarean":
   Family 1,
   Family 13, and
   the Groups 22;
   (a total of 32 witnesses, mostly from the eleventh century and after)

3. the manuscripts Wisse labels "mixed" (though Wisse's mixed are in fact a very mixed bag — everything from the semi-Alexandrian C to the "Cæsarean" Θ to some witnesses that are more Byzantine than anything else; all told, Wisse has about 44 witnesses which would be considered "mixed" overall, many of them block-mixed).
   The witnesses in these categories total about 6% of the tradition — though they include almost all of the more highly esteemed manuscripts such as א B C D L N P Q W X Θ Ψ 1 13 22 33 565 579 826 892 1241.

It might be noted in passing that the Textus Receptus belongs to none of these groups. It is Byzantine, but of no particular type (the base text, that of 2, is largely K^x in the gospels, but the influence of 1, of the vulgate, and of other texts has caused the TR to diverge from all these groups). This confirms Colwell's urgent entreaty (made also by Zuntz) that manuscript classification not be based on divergences from the Textus Receptus. But to return to Von Soden…

For all his work on the Byzantine text, von Soden's pride and joy was his "I" (Jerusalem) text-type. The "I" text, which von Soden discovered ("invented" might be a better word) was rather like the "Western" text on steroids. It included, naturally, all the "Western" witnesses (such as they are). It included what would later be called "Cæsarean" witnesses (e.g. Θ/038, family 1, family 13, 28, 565, 700). In Paul, it included a number of witnesses that are actually mostly Alexandrian (e.g. family 2127). And it included many texts that are almost purely Byzantine (e.g. N/022, U/030). (For details on von

Soden's system, with comments on most of his individual groups, see Appendix C: Von Soden's Textual System.)

Von Soden felt that his three text-types, I, H, and K, all went back to the original, and that their common ancestor was the original text. He therefore reconstructed a text that, with some exceptions (where he believed there were corruptions either caused by K or within K), followed the readings of two of the three text-types. Since he placed a much higher value on K than did Westcott and Hort, his resultant text was much more Byzantine than theirs.

Later scholars were not impressed with Von Soden's efforts. To begin with, it has been all but universally agreed that the "I" text does not exist. This obviously removes one prop from his proposed I-H-K text. In addition, with a few exceptions such as Sturz,[1]

1. See Harry A. Sturz, *The Byzantine Text-Type & New Testament Textual Criticism* (Nelson, 1984). Sturz's findings are based on Hort's three text-types, but with the Byzantine text upheld as early. Thus, unlike von Soden (who felt that K was the worst of the three text-types), his text is eclectic but perhaps more Byzantine than anything else. His method is shown by the names of some of his chapters: "Distinctive Byzantine Readings Are Found in Early Papyri" (true enough, but many — such as Colwell — believe that a text-type consists of manuscripts, not readings; in any case, not *all* distinctive Byzantine readings have early attestation); "The Silence of the Fathers Is Explainable and Therefore Is Not a Proof of Lateness" (Sturz points out that Chrysostom, generally regarded as the earliest Byzantine witness, is also the earliest writer from the Antiochene region. A legitimate argument, but if the Byzantine text were original, would its readings not be found outside Byzantium and Syria?); "The 'Conflate' or Longer Readings Are Not a Proof of Lateness" (true, but most moderns accept that conflate readings should not be used as arguments against the Byzantine text; they are too few); "The Composite Nature of the Byzantine Text Attests the Early Existence of Its Readings Where Its Strands Unite" (contradictory on its face; what Sturz means is that the great breadth of the Byzantine text indicates that it is much older than its witnesses. This can be conceded — but it should be noted that, except in the Gospels, the purest Byzantine witnesses come from the ninth century; even if their archetype is much earlier, it need not be *early*. Also, the Byzantine text, compared to the other known text-types, shows relatively little variation, meaning that the witnesses need not be far removed from the earliest examples of the text-type); "The Byzantine Text Is Unedited in the Westcott-Hort Sense" (now widely conceded, but not relevant to the argument. It can be unedited and still be late). Sturz devotes most of his efforts to disproving the theories of Westcott & Hort (theories which, it should be noted, are no longer accepted in detail by anyone); he also offers extensive lists of Byzantine readings which are found in early manuscripts. He cannot, however, offer any proof that the Byzantine text as a whole predates the fourth century. Sturz is also guilty of some logical fallacies — e.g. on pp. 91–92 he uses an argument of Silva New's, which really applies to Codex Alexandrinus, to demonstrate that family Π predates A's date in the fifth century. It is true that an ancestor of the two must predate A — but not that the fully-developed family Π text must do so.
   The above may sound like a blanket indictment of Sturz. It is not; in fact, Sturz has a good deal of truth in his case (see the article on Byzantine Priority). It's just that Sturz's methodology is invalid (what he showed, he showed despite himself), and he has been reduced to an invalid form of argument by the absurd and insupportable claims of all parties in the argument.

scholars will not accept his contention that “H” and “K” are contemporary. Most scholars accept the Hortian view that the Alexandrian text-type predates the Byzantine; a few feel the reverse. And both camps agree that von Soden’s use of the two was inaccurate and unacceptable.

Recent Efforts

Since von Soden’s time, the emphasis has been on classifying the text-types of individual portions of the Bible. This “local” study has been much more fruitful, and has resulted in many modifications to the Westcott-Hort scheme of three basic (and undifferentiated) text-types.

Before proceeding to these recent studies, however, we should perhaps dispose of the work of Kurt and Barbara Aland.[1] The Alands have two rating systems, one for early manuscripts and one for late. Early manuscripts (from before the fourth century) are classified as “strict,” “normal,” or “free.” Although this is on its face a rating of the degree of care practiced by the scribe, in effect it becomes a value judgment on the quality of the manuscript. Worse, the Alands apply this system to even such short fragments as $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$, which are simply too small to classify. Of the early papyri, only the “big six” ($\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ P^{47} P^{66} P^{72} $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$), plus perhaps $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$, are extensive enough to analyse fully. (P^{74} is also extensive enough to classify, but is not an early papyrus; it dates from the seventh century.)

For later manuscripts, the Alands place manuscripts in “Categories” I-V. These categories are based solely on the Byzantine content of manuscripts, and are not objectively controlled. (Example: 0243 and 1739 are very close cousins, perhaps even sisters. But 1739 is “Category I” and 0243 is “Category II”). What is more, the Alands have a strong bias toward their own text. In addition, “Category IV” consists solely of Codex Bezae and a few fragments!

The Alands’ classifications have some value; Category V manuscripts are Byzantine, and those in the other categories are something else. Category I manuscripts have texts which are entirely non-Byzantine (and largely Alexandrian); Categories II and III are mixed, and may belong to any text-type. But as an assesment of the type of text, as

1. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (translated by Erroll F. Rhodes; Eerdmans, 1989). The manuscript statistics occupy most of pp. 83-158.

opposed to its fidelity to the Alexandrian and Byzantine groups, the Aland categories are useless.

Fortunately, most critics have sought more readily applicable results. Some of their findings are summarized below:

Revelation

In the Apocalypse, the defining work has been that of Josef Schmid.[1]Schmid partly accepted the Hortian view that only two text-types (Alexandrian and Byzantine) have been preserved for this book. However, both groups must be subdivided. What had been called the Alexandrian text in fact includes two types. The best group is represented by A/02, C/04, the vulgate, and a handful of later minuscules such as 2053; this probably ought to be labelled the "Alexandrian" text. Distinctly inferior, despite its earlier attestation, is the group which contains א/01 and P^{47}. The Byzantine text falls into the "strict" Byzantine group (what the Nestle-Aland text calls $\mathfrak{M}^{K}$, of which the earliest full representative is 046; this is the largest grouping, and has several subgroups) and the text found in Andreas of Caesarea's commentary ($\mathfrak{M}^{A}$, representing perhaps a third of the total manuscripts, starting with P/025 and including 1[r], the manuscript on which the Textus Receptus is based).

The Catholic Epistles

Perhaps the best work of all has been done on the Catholic Epistles. Here the dominant names are those of W. L. Richards,[2] Jean Duplacy, and Christian-Bernard Amphoux.[3] All

1. Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes* (Munich, 1955-1956)

2. W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* (SBL Dissertation Series 35, Scholars Press, 1977). See especially pp. 137–141. Among Richards's more perverse assumptions is his belief that "Mixed" qualifies as a text-type (! — see in particular pp. 176–178).
   In defence of Richards, Clinton Baldwin points out to me that the bad terminology used by Richards does not preclude these manuscripts forming a text-type (an obvious truth); indeed, it is possible that this type arose by mixture. The problem is the way Richards expresses things: Calling a text-type "mixed" implies that it arose by mixture — or even, possibly, that it is the result of a bunch of manuscripts being independently mixed. The former is possible but prejudicial (the existence of the mixture needs to be demonstrated, not asserted); the latter is flatly impossible. Thus this group, if verified, needs another name.

3. Most of Duplacy's and Amphoux's works are available only in French. Brief English summaries are found in Leon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux's *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* (English translation by Amphoux and Jenny Heimerdinger, Cambridge, 1991), pp. 23-24, 97, 103-105; also 70, 106-116, etc.

of these studies are slightly imperfect (Richards, in particular, is plagued by inaccurate collations and foolish assumptions), but between them they provide a diverse analysis. I would summarize their results as follows (with some amplification of my own): There are four text-types in the Catholics. They are (in order of their earliest known witnesses) the Alexandrian text, Family 1739, Family 2138, and the Byzantine text.

The Alexandrian text, as usual, consists of B/03, ℵ/01, and their followers. It appears to have several subgroups. The earliest of these consists of P^{72} and B, possibly supported by the Sahidic Coptic (it is possible that this group should be considered a separate text-type; the small amount of text preserved by P^{72} makes this difficult to verify). Next comes ℵ, which stands alone. Then comes a large group headed by A/02 and 33. Other key members of this group are 436 and the Bohairic Coptic. Most later Alexandrian manuscripts (e.g. Ψ/044 and 81) seem to derive from this text, although most have suffered Byzantine mixture.

Family 1739 falls into three subgroups. The oldest witness to the group, C/04, stands perhaps closer to the Alexandrian text than the others (It may be block-mixed; Richards regards it as Alexandrian, Amphoux as closer to 1739, and my numbers put it in between but leaning toward 1739. Tim Finney also sees a connection with 1739. Stephen C. Carlson separates it from both groups but places it very close to the original, which would also explain the what we see). The next witness, 1739, is perhaps also the best; certainly it is the central witness. A number of manuscripts cluster around it, among which 323, 424^{c}, 945, 1881, and 2298 are noteworthy. Finally, there is 1241 (and possibly 1243), which preserve the same general sort of text but which stand apart (perhaps as a result of casual copying; 1241 is a poorly-written, rather wild text). Amphoux views this family as "Cæsarean," and certainly it is close to Origen. In the author's opinion, its value is at least equal to the pure Alexandrian text. (It should be noted that my terminology here is rather poor. I have used "family 1739" to refer both to the smaller manuscript family which contains 1739, 323, 945, etc., and to the larger text-type which also contains C/04 and 1241. This shows our need for clearer terminology; perhaps we should refer to "family 1739" and "group 1739.")

Family 2138 also falls into several subgroups (e.g. 2138+1611, 2412+614, 1505+2495, 630+2200+206+429+522+1799). In general, however, these subgroups merely represent different sets of Byzantine corruptions. The oldest (though hardly the best) witness to this text-type is the Harklean Syriac; the earliest Greek witness is 2138 (dated 1072). Other witnesses include — but are probably not limited to — 206 429 522 614 630 1505 1518 1611 1799 2138 2412 2495. As it stands, this text-type has been heavily influenced by the Byzantine text; it is not clear whether this influence was present from the start. Amphoux considers it to be the remnants of the "Western" text; it should be noted, however, that it bears little similarity to the surviving Latin witnesses.

The group bears certain "historical" links to the 1739 group (there are surprisingly many witnesses which show the 2138 type in the Acts or Catholics but go with 1739 elsewhere); Carlson thinks this may also be genealogical.

The fourth textual grouping is, of course, the Byzantine text. It has the usual subgroups, none of them being of particular note. It is interesting that, although we see Byzantine influence in the Syriac versions, the earliest purely Byzantine witnesses in the Catholics are the ninth century uncials K/018, L/020, and 049.

The Pauline Epistles

The Pauline Epistles also have a complex textual situation. Here, in particular, the classical system of Alexandrian/Byzantine/(Cæsarean)/"Western" breaks down.

In Paul, the great name is that of Zuntz,[1] who deserves credit as the first scholar to treat the papyri with real respect. Earlier experts had tried to fit the papyri into existing textual theory. Zuntz chose to start from the papyri. Focusing on 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, he discovered an affinity between P^{46} and B/03. (In fact this affinity extends throughout Paul, although P^{46} has a rather wild text in Romans.) Instead of two non-Byzantine texts of Paul (Alexandrian and "Western"), there were three: the Alexandrian, found in א/01, A/02, C/04, 33, etc.; the "Western," in D/06, F/010, G/012, and the Latin versions; and the new text, which Zuntz called "proto-Alexandrian," found in P^{46}, B, 1739, and the Coptic versions.[2]

Sadly, later critics have paid little attention to Zuntz's classifications. They neither seek to refine them nor to use them in criticism.

It is the author's opinion that even Zuntz's classification leaves something to be desired. (Zuntz's method was centered wholly around P^{46}, especially about its agreements. This is a commendable procedure in that it focuses on the manuscript itself, but by ignoring P46's disagreements and their nature, Zuntz was unable to see the full scope of the tradition. Witnessing a continuum from P^{46} to 1739 to א to A, he assumed that this was a historical continuum; in fact it is genetic. A proper comparison must start by looking at all manuscripts.) First, the P^{46}/B text, although it clearly comes from Egypt, is not the

1. G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles; A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (Schweitz Lectures, 1953).

2. Zuntz's words are "We may describe this group — P^{46} B 1739 sah boh Clem Orig — as 'proto-Alexandrian.'" (*The Text of the Epistles,* page 156). Additional, if partial, confirmation of this is found confirmation of this is found in M. Silva's essay on P^{46}, א, A, and B in Galatians, where he found a clear kinship between P^{46} and B and another between א and A. See "The Text of Galatians: Evidence from the Earliest Greek Manuscripts," in David Alan Black, ed., *Scribes and Scriptures: New Testament Essays in Honor of J. Harold Greenlee* (Eisenbrauns, 1992).

forerunner of the main Alexandrian text; it is a distinct text which simply shares many Alexandrian readings. Second, the Bohairic Coptic goes with ℵ/A/C/33, not P^{46}/B/sa. And finally, 1739 and its relatives, although akin to P^{46}/B, form a text-type in their own right, which in fact stands between the other three, having many readings in common with all three other early text-types. (Or so it appears; the difficulty is literally that the manuscripts of the 1739 type are, except for Byzantine mixture, so close together. They almost certainly derive from an Archetype not many generations prior to 1739. This family, plus Origen, form the 1739 type. The problem is that one family, plus one Father, make a very thin text-type, as do P^{46} and B…)

To summarize: In addition to the Byzantine text, there are four early text-types in Paul: P^{46}/B/Sahidic, the traditional "Alexandrian" text (ℵ/A/C/33/Bohairic; later and inferior forms of this text are found in 81, 442, 1175, family 2127 (=256 365 1319 2127 etc.), and several dozen other manuscripts); the "Western" text (D/F/G/Old Latin); and family 1739 (1739, 0243/0121b, 0121a, 6, 424^{c}, 630 (in part), 1881, etc.; this family is particularly close to the text of Origen). In addition, two families exist with more heavily Byzantine but seemingly independent texts: family 330 (330, 451, 2492) and family 1611 (the remnants of family 2138 of the Catholics: 1505 1611 2495 Harklean; 1022 in the Pastorals and Hebrews; also probably 2005. This family is much more Byzantine in Paul than in the Catholics). These latter two groups may be the remnants of earlier text-types.

Acts

Textual theory in the Acts has not advanced much since Hort. The two basic groups are still the Alexandrian (P^{74}, ℵ/01, A/02, B/03, 33, 81, 1175, cop) and the "Western" (D, Old Latin, joined in part by the margin of the Harklean Syriac and some other versions, as well as by a handful of minuscules). It is interesting to note that, in the Acts as in the Catholics, there is a significant gap between B and A (with most of the later Alexandrian manuscripts orbiting about the latter and P^{74}). ℵ stands between B and A; if it did not exist, there might be greater questions about the unity of the Alexandrian text. P^{45} possesses an independent text, but is too fragmentary to tell us much. The great questions revolve about the minuscule families, of which there are at least three important ones. The best-known of these is Family 2138 (which in Acts might best be called Family 614 after its best-known member). Its relationship to the "Western" text is widely assumed but needs to be examined. Family 1739, well-known from the epistles, exists and includes 1739, 323, 630, 1891, etc., but the basic study of the group, by Geer, simply verifies the existence of the type without in offering a useful analysis of its nature. It appears that it is somewhat weaker and much more Byzantine in Acts than the other epistles, and does not add much to our knowledge. (The theory that it is "Western"

is, however, dubious; it agrees with B far more often than with D.) In addition, there is a third family, which we might call Family 36; this includes among others 36, 307, 453, 610, 1678 — all commentary manuscripts, listed by Von Soden as being of the Andreas type and listed as I^{a1}. This family is rather more Byzantine than family 1739, but Geer tentatively links one of its leading members (453) to Family 1739. This point perhaps needs to be investigated more fully. Several groups are now studying the text of Acts; one may hope that they will soon be able to offer results.

The Gospels

If labours in the rest of the New Testament has been fruitful, the gospels seem to continue to resist progress. Years of work on the "Western" text have produced a number of hypotheses but no general consensus.

The chief problem is that, after years of searching, Codex Bezae (D/05) remains the only Greek witness to the "Western" text. (P^{5} and 0171 have been offered as other examples of "Western" texts; this is certainly possible, since both have rather "wild" texts, but both are fragmentary, and neither is particularly close to D.) In addition, D shows signs of editing (especially in the gospel of Luke. The most obvious example is Luke's genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3:23–38, where D offers a modified form of Matthew's genealogy. D also has a very high number of singular readings, many of which have no support even among the Old Latins; these too may be the result of editing). This has led Kurt Aland to propose that the "Western" text is not a legitimate text-type. (In answer, one might point to the large number of Latin witnesses that attest to "Western" readings. In the author's opinion, the "Western" text exists. We merely should use the Latin texts, rather than D, as the basis for reconstructing it.) Others have sought to break off the Old Syriac witnesses, placing them in their own "Syriac" text-type. This is reasonable, but can hardly be considered certain until we have more witnesses to the type, preferably in Greek. Colwell's balanced conclusion is as follows: "The so-called Western.... text-type is the uncontrolled, popular text of the second century. It has no unity and should not be referred to as the 'Western Text.'"[1]

But there can be no better illustration of the problems of gospel criticism than the **history of the "Cæsarean" text.**

The history of this text begins with Kirsopp Lake, who opened the twentieth century by announcing the existence of the textual family that bears his name (family 1, the "Lake Group"). In the following years he and his colleagues Blake and New discovered that this group could be associated with a number of other manuscripts (notably Θ/038,

1. E. C. Colwell, "Method in Establishing the Nature of Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," reprinted in *Studies in Methodology* (Eerdmans, 1969), p. 53

family 13, 565, and 700). Then B.H. Streeter proposed that this group was a new text-type.[1] Since it seemed to be associated with those works of Origen written while he was in Cæsarea, Streeter dubbed the group "Cæsarean."

The problem with this text was its definition. Streeter, Lake, and their colleagues functionally defined the Cæsarean text as "any reading not found in the Textus Receptus and supported by two or more 'Cæsarean' witnesses." Apart from its circularity, which is perhaps inevitable (and which could be controlled by proper statistical methods), this definition suffers severely by being dependent on the Textus Receptus, which simply is not a representative Byzantine text. Using it, Streeter was able to find vast numbers of "Cæsarean" witnesses (e.g. family Π) that are in reality ordinary Byzantine witnesses that happen to belong to families rather remote from the Textus Receptus. Indeed, many of Streeter's "Cæsarean" readings are in fact purely Byzantine!

The real difficulty with the Cæsarean text, however, was the lack of a pure representative. Even the best witnesses to the text, Θ/038, family 1, and the Armenian and Georgian versions, have suffered significant Byzantine mixture; based on the total number of identified "Cæsarean" readings identified, and the number surviving in each of the manuscripts, it appears that even in these manuscripts only about half of their pre-Byzantine readings survive. (And, it need hardly be added, each manuscript has a different pattern of mixture, making their rates of agreement rather low.)

By the middle of the century, the Cæsarean text was already coming under attack. Hurtado applied what might appear to be the coup de gras in his 1973 thesis.[2] Hurtado showed, fairly conclusively, that the connection that Streeter and Kenyon had postulated between P45 and W/032 (the "pre-Cæsarean" witnesses) and the bulk of the "Cæsarean" text did not exist.

Hurtado's study, based on all variants in Mark found in ℵ/01, A/02, B/03, D/05, W/032, Θ/038, family 13, 565, and the Textus Receptus, was interpreted as dissolving the "Cæsarean" text. In fact it did nothing of the kind. Streeter and Lake defined the text only in the non-Byzantine readings of the witnesses, but Hurtado looked at all readings. Thus Hurtado did not even address Streeter's definition of the text-type. And Streeter did have some basis for his opinions; there *are* many special readings shared by the so-called "Cæsarean" witnesses. (An obvious example is the reading Ιησουν (τον) Βαραββαν. This reading is found only in a subset of the "Cæsarean" witnesses: Θ f^{1}

1. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (Macmillan, 1924, 1927). Textual problems are covered in pp. 26-148, 565-600.

2. Published as Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Cæsarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (Studies and Documents 43, Eerdmans, 1981)

700* arm geo^{2}.) On the other hand, as is shown in the section Testing the Byzantine Text in the article on the Byzantine Priority Hypothesis, many other "Cæsarean" readings appear in fact to be harmonizations. Thus both the case for and the case against the "Cæsarean" text leads to difficulties.

Which forces us, at last, to wrestle with a fundamental question: "What is a text-type?" Our answer to this has important implications — and not just for the "Cæsarean" text. For example, we have already noted that B/03 and א/01 have different text-types in Paul. There are hints that they differ in the Catholics as well. What about in the Gospels? It can be shown that both manuscripts are part of tighter families within the Alexandrian text (B is closely related to P^{75}, T/029, L/019, and the Sahidic Coptic; א goes with Z/035, probably the Bohairic Coptic, and certain of the mixed minuscules). Are these text-types, or merely clans within a text-type?[1] And, whatever the answer, how can we use this information? These are among the great questions textual critics need to face.

The Definition of a Text-type

An analogy may help here: Think of the text as a crystal and text-types as its facets. If the crystal is subjected to pressure, it will usually separate along the lines of the facets. The behavior of the text is similar: if a text is subjected to the "pressure" of a variant reading, it will tend to break along the lines of text-types. This does not mean that it will always separate at *all* the facets, nor that all facets are equally likely break-points.[2] But

1. I have not personally seen any writings which claim that the P^{75}/B and א textual groups belong to separate text-types. R. Kieffer, however, is reported to have found two Alexandrian texts in a portion of John. (See David C. Parker, "The Majuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament," printed in Ehrman & Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (Studies & Documents 46, Eerdmans, 1995), pp. 34-35.)

2. For example, I know of only one instance in Paul where all the text-types have clearly separate readings. The reading is 1 Cor. 14:39 (UBS reads το λαλειν μη κωλυετε γλωσσαις). The variants are as follows:

   - Alexandrian: το λαλειν μη κωλυετε γλωσσαις א A P 048 33 81 326 441 (1175 according to Zuntz) 1241^{supp} 1962 *pc*
   - Byzantine: το λαλειν γλωσσαις μη κωλυετε D^{c} K L Ψ 223 876 1960 2412 2423 *Byz* (330 451, representing family 330, omit το)
   - Family 1739: λαλειν μη κωλυετε γλωσσαις 0243 630 1739 1881
   - P^{46}/B: λαλειν μη κωλυετε εν γλωσσαις P^{46} B
   - "Western": το λαλειν εν γλωσσαις μη κωλυετε D* F G d

while this analogy describes the situation fairly well in general terms, we must have more precision.

Westcott and Hort, although they made extensive use of text-types, did not offer a clear definition. Most of their references are to “genealogy,”[1] which is misleading, since it is rarely possible to determine the exact relationship between manuscripts.[2] Even such

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Less good, because certain witnesses depart their type, is Romans 4:1 ευρηκεναι Αβρααμ τον προπατορα ημων. Here the readings break down as:

- Alexandrian: ευρηκεναι Αβρααμ τον προπατορα ημων א* A C* 81 1506 family 2127(=256 263 (365) 1319* 2127) 2401 *pc*
- Byzantine: Αβρααμ τον πατερα ημων ευρηκεναι K L P 33 1175 1241 2464 *Byz*
- Family 1739: Αβρααμ τον πατερα ημων 6 1739
- P46/B: Αβρααμ τον προπατορα ημων B (hiat P^{46})
- “Western”: ευρηκεναι Αβρααμ τον πατερα ημων $א^{1}$ C^{3} D F G Ψ 629 1319^{c} latt *pc*

As for how often the witnesses divide, it can be shown that the three text-types P^{46}/B, Alexandrian, and family 1739 are all closer to each other than they are to the Byzantine text, and that the “Western” text is even more distinct. Does this mean that the P^{46}/B, the Alexandrian text, and family 1739 all form one text-type? That has been the view of most scholars, but it need not be so. Just as a crystal can be more likely to break at one facet than at another, text-types can be more or less distinct. We can just as well account for the facts of the case by assuming that the P^{46}/B, Alexandrian, and family 1739 types were simply truer to the original text than was the “Western” group; this would make them just as much alike as if they were genetically related. To me, this appears to be the actual situation in Paul.

1. Hort's basic statement is found in *The New Testament in the Original Greek, Introduction [and] Appendix,* p. 57, paragraph 73, "The proper method of genealogy consists... in the more or less complete recovery of successive ancestors by analysis of their respective descendants, each ancestral text so recovered being in its turn used... for the recovery of a yet earlier common ancestor." In the same paragraph Hort admits that the number of manuscripts preserved rarely permits real genealogical work -- but he still believes in the method, i.e. in reconstructing *one* Alexandrian text and *one* Western text -- and reconstructing the "original" text on this basis. Moderns hold out no such hope; even though we have access to more and earlier manuscripts than Hort, we have no reason to believe that text-types ever existed in a single manuscript. Thus almost all modern critics agree that Hort's use of B as the basis of the "Neutral" text, and the "Neutral" text as substantially equivalent to the original text, must be set aside and a more eclectic method substituted. If nothing else, more attention needs to be paid to the other representatives of the Alexandrian text, so that the history of the text-type can be studied.

2. Observe Colwell's comment, "[Hort] used genealogical method very little and that the basic element in his method was judgement of readings is now widely recognized" (made in "Method in Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," reprinted in *Studies in Methodology,* p. 2. This essay, although not as well-known as the 1963 essay listed below, is probably the best statement of how to deal with text-types --

similar manuscripts as P^{75} and B are no closer than uncle and nephew, and are more likely cousins at several removes. Similarly, B.H. Streeter describes “local texts” at length, but at no point offers a useful definition. Most of the standard manuals are no better. No wonder that, even today, many scholars will say that they “know a text-type when [they] see it.”

The first attempt to create an automatic method for determining text-type was probably Hutton’s “triple readings,” proposed in 1911 in *An Atlas of Textual Criticism.* Hutton proposed to look at those readings where the Alexandrian, Byzantine, and “Western” texts all had distinct readings. This would allow a newly-discovered manuscript to be quickly classified.

This method had two problems. First, it assumed the solution: Only three text-types were permitted, and the readings of those three were assumed to be already known. Second, even if one felt assured of the method, triple readings were too rare to be much help. Hutton had only about three hundred triple readings in the entire New Testament.

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and how not to deal with them -- ever written). In "Genealogical Method: Its Achievement and Its Limitations" *(Studies in Methodology,* p. 65) Colwell makes the interesting observation that, although Hort diagrams a manuscript stemma (p. 54), *it is artificial.* The manuscripts shown do not exist. Streeter *(op. cit.,* p. 26) diagrams both his own and Hort's theories, but in both diagrams the manuscripts are offered more as examples of a type than as actual products of genealogy.

There are a few manuscripts for which we can trace exact genealogy -- but they are few. In Kurt Aland's 1963 edition of the *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* we find the following:

- 2 copies of an uncial, both from the same original -- D^{abs1} and D^{abs2} (both copies of Claromontanus, not Bezae)
- 8 copies of minuscules: 9^{abs} 30^{abs} 205^{abs} 1160^{abs} 1909^{abs} 1929^{abs} 1983^{abs} 2036^{abs}

In addition, there are certain manuscripts that are so close that they can be confidently listed as descended from an close common ancestor though their exact relationship is uncertain (e.g. F^{p} and G^{p}, 1 and 1582, 205 and 209, 614 and 2412, 630 and 2200, 0243 and 1739; probably also 1739 and 1891 in Acts; we might also list 2495, slightly corrupted from 1505; and 0121, descended from 1739 with some Byzantine mixture).

Finally, Wisse lists roughly a third of K^{r} manuscripts as "perfect," i.e. agreeing exactly with the group profile. Chances are that some of these sixty manuscripts, if examined very carefully, would prove to be closely related.

This out of a nominal list of 2972 Greek manuscripts! It is likely that there are additional undiscovered copies (since so few manuscripts have properly been cross-compared), but available evidence indicates that they are few. Clearly true genealogy has little place in NT studies.

For some slight background on how genealogy is used (in its true form), see the article on Non-Biblical Textual Criticism and the item on Stemma.

This meant that there were no more than a few dozen in any given book. Comparison at a few dozen points of variation is simply *not* enough to produce Assured Results.

It was not until the mid-Twentieth century that E.C. Colwell offered the first balanced definition of a text-type.[1] In one essay he gave a qualitative definition ("A Text-type is the largest group of sources which can be generally identified").[2] He adds the important qualification, "This definition is a definition of a text-type as a *group of manuscripts* [italics mine], not.... a list of readings." Five years later, in an influential essay, Colwell went further. He attempted a quantitative definition. (Indeed, his method is frequently called the "Quantitative Method" — a name that makes me cringe, since any statistical method is a "quantitative method.") His statement on the subject is perhaps the most-quoted statement on genealogy since Hort's time:

"This suggest that the quantitative definition of a text-type is a group of manuscripts that agree more than 70 per cent of the time and is separated by a gap of about ten percent from its neighbors."[3]

Colwell deserves immense credit for offering this definition (as well as for his other methodological studies; he is perhaps the greatest worker in this field in the twentieth century). This definition has the advantages of being clear, precise, and usable. Unfortunately, in the author's experience, it does not work. (It strikes me as almost tragic that Colwell's most-frequently-cited comment on text-types is also one of the few that is not entirely correct. It's worth noting that he rarely if ever refers back to this criterion.)[4]

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1. Indeed, Colwell was one of the first to plead exclusively for the use of the word "text-type" in this context. "Method in Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," *Studies in Methodology,*, p. 9.

2. "Method in Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," *Studies in Methodology,*, p. 9.

3. Ernest C. Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," reprinted in *Studies in Methodology,* p. 59.

4. Ironically, it was Colwell himself who first pointed out the defect in his method -- four years before he proposed his definition! In "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript" *(Studies in Methodology,* page 33), he wrote "Weak members of a Text-type may contain no more of the total content of a text-type than strong members of some other text-type may contain. The comparison in total agreements of one manuscript with another manuscript has little significance beyond that of confirmation, and then only if the agreement is large enough to be distinctive." R. H. Rouse, in "The Transmission of the Text" (published in Richard Jenkins, ed., *The Legacy of Rome: A New Appraisal,* p. 39) puts this rather in reverse: "if survivors are few, the stemma perforce brings into proximity manuscripts that, historically, were widely separated in time and place." In other words, if we have only a small fraction of the manuscripts, we may find textual links which are not in fact genealogical! This phenomenon has been frequently found in biology, where it is known as "long branch assimilation."

There are two reasons why the Colwell-Tune definition is imperfect. First, the percentage of agreements between manuscripts is entirely dependent on the sample. Second, the "gap" which Colwell refers to disappears when working with mixed manuscripts. Let us offer examples.

To take the first point first, consider the relationship between B/03 and א/01 in chapter 2 of Colossians. The two manuscripts agree in only two of the seven variations cited in GNT[4], or 29%. If we take the 29 variants cited in NA[27] (excluding conjectures), we find that they agree in 18 of 29, or 62%. If we turn to the Munster Institute's New Testament "Auf Papyrus," and examine the variants supported by two or more uncials (excluding orthographic variants), we find that the two agree in 32 of 47, or 68%. But if we turn to the editia minor of Tischendorf[8], we find agreement in 19 of 32 non-orthographic variants, or 59%. Even if we throw out the small GNT sample, we still have almost a ten percent variation between the three remaining sample sets, all of which form large and reasonable bases for comparison. Which one should we use in deciding whether B and א belong to the same text-type? The 68% number, which places them on the fringe of qualifying? The 59% number, which isn't even close? Or something else?

All told, א and B have 25 disagreements in this chapter (though some are scribal errors, usually in א). How do we decide how many variants to spread these 25 differences out over to determine if there is 70% agreement?

A thought-experiment about mixed minuscules should be sufficient to demonstrate the non-existence of the "gap." Suppose X is an unmixed manuscript, Y is copied from X with five percent Byzantine admixture, Z is copied from Y with another 5% admixture, and so on. It follows that X can never have a ten percent gap; that space is occupied by Y, Z, and so on down the line. If that is not proof enough, one can present a concrete example based on B in the Gospels. Using a large (990 reading) sample and 39 Greek manuscripts, I found two documents (P^{75} and 2427, which we have since learned is a modern production heavily influenced by B) which, in their particular areas, agreed with B over 80% of the time. Below this was a gap — but most manuscripts that are considered to belong with B (including א, L, 33, and 892) are on the far side of the gap! The next-closest manuscript was Ξ/040 in Luke, at 68%. From there down to the final manuscript in the list (D/05, with 30% overall agreement), there was no gap larger than eight percentage points (and even this gap would have been filled had I included the Coptic versions). The median gap among non-Byzantine manuscripts was *one*, and even the arithmetic mean ("average") was under two. Colwell's "gaps" will simply not exist in large manuscript samples.

If someone objects that comparisons across the gospel corpus are not valid, let me simply add that I examined individual books, and even sections of books, and the

results were the same within the margin for error. At times the leading manuscripts (especially W) shifted slightly, but the general picture never did. So I present overall statistics because they are simpler.

The actual percentages of agreement with B, for those interested, are as follows (note that these should not be considered definitive; again, statistics depend on the sample used! But because the sample is large, the relative values are likely to be close to correct -- that is, although the exact percentages of agreement will vary with the sample, it is almost certain that the witnesses would appear in roughly the same order of closeness to B):

Sorted by manuscript			*Sorted by percent*	
MS	Percent Agreement with B		**MS**	Percent Agreement with B
P^{66}	124/216=57%		2427	180/202=89%
P^{75}	270/325=83%		P^{75}	270/325=83%
א	589/990=59%		Ξ	56/83=67%
A	258/743=35%		070	63/96=66%
C	303/614=49%		sa	492/759=65%
D	276/928=30%		L	589/974=60%
E	301/980=31%		bo	447/746=60%
G	286/885=32%		א	589/990=59%
K	322/987=33%		P^{66}	124/216=57%
L	589/974=60%		C	303/614=49%
M	325/990=33%		33	420/867=48%
N	170/473=36%		892	474/989=48%
W	425/975=44%		geo^{1}	324/707=46%
X	274/712=38%		579	434/974=45%
Γ	295/931=32%		W	425/975=44%
Θ	367/979=37%		vg	372/869=43%
Ξ	56/83=67%		1241	396/936=42%
Π	314/947=33%		arm	327/778=42%
Ω	314/979=32%		f^{1}	410/981=42%
070	63/96=66%		0250	39/98=40%
0250	39/98=40%		sin	277/710=39%
f^{1}	410/981=42%		X	274/712=38%
f^{13}	346/988=35%		e	226/590=38%
33	420/867=48%		1342	366/969=38%

565	325/974=33%		Θ	367/979=37%
579	434/974=45%		700	363/990=37%
700	363/990=37%		pesh	294/811=36%
892	474/989=48%		N	170/473=36%
1010	336/986=34%		f^{13}	346/988=35%
1071	324/976=33%		A	258/743=35%
1241	396/936=42%		1010	336/986=34%
1342	366/969=38%		1424	331/989=33%
1424	331/989=33%		565	325/974=33%
2427	180/202=89%		1071	324/976=33%
a	237/837=28%		Π	314/947=33%
b	265/803=33%		b	265/803=33%
e	226/590=38%		M	325/990=33%
vg	372/869=43%		K	322/987=33%
sin	277/710=39%		G	286/885=32%
pesh	294/811=36%		Ω	314/979=32%
sa	492/759=65%		Γ	295/931=32%
bo	447/746=60%		E	301/980=31%
arm	327/778=42%		D	276/928=30%
geo^{1}	324/707=46%		a	237/837=28%

There is also a problem with the conceptual model of the Colwell system. Take a manuscript like L/019 of the gospels. It has a significant Byzantine component — large enough that it will likely fail Colwell's 70% criterion for agreement with the pure Alexandrian witnesses. But — where it is non-Byzantine — it stands very close to B/03, and is one of the closest allies of that manuscript. Should we not be able to recognize L as a degenerate relative of B, and use it on that basis?

Some would propose to address the problem by adjusting the numbers — e.g. by allowing a 60% instead of a 70% threshold of agreements. This may work in some cases, but cannot be guaranteed; any statistic will be dependent on its sample. It is possible that we could assign percentages if we could produce a "representative" list of variants — but what is a "representative" variant reading?

These questions have no answers. I don't mean that we don't know the answers; there is no correct answer. This is because the Colwell definition is what a biologist would call a "grade definition," but it is trying to address something we incline to see as a clade.

Some such as Zuntz[1] and Wisse[2] are ready to throw the whole thing over and abandon statistics altogether. This is perhaps premature, but we definitely need to tighten up our methods.

Colwell's failure again leaves us seeking informal definitions. In 1995, Eldon Jay Epp offered this "working" definition: "A text-type may be defined as an established textual cluster or constellation of MSS with a distinctive textual character or complexion that differentiates it from other textual constellations."[3]He adds, "Such differentiations must not be based on general impressions or random samples but on full quantitative comparison… "[4] Unfortunately, Epp has little to add from there; he goes on to work with the Colwell definition. (Though he soon after admits that manuscripts are like a scattered "galaxy" or a "spectrum," thus implicitly denying the existence of the gap.[5]) Also, there is (at present) no hope of fully collating all New Testament manuscripts; we must work with samples.

Maurice Robinson, in private correspondence, has offered what is probably the best available informal definition: "[A text-type seems to be found in] a shared *pattern* of readings held in common in a significant degree by member MSS to the exclusion of the presence of competing patterns in a proportionally significant quantity." This is the sort of definition we need — but it can be made useful only by supplying a definition of "pattern" and a way of determining a "proportionally significant quantity."

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1. "Before you can apply statistics you must have exact and complete figures -- which in this field do not exist. In fact, they never will nor can exist. None but commensurable entities can be reduces to figures, and no two variants are strictly commensurable. Readings of all shades between good and bad; slips of the pen and intentional alterations; attestation by anything between one and a thousand witnesses: what is their common denominator?" (Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles,* page 58.) It will be evident that I do not entirely agree with his wholesale abandonment of statistics -- but I *do* agree that statistics, like manuscripts, must be weighed and not counted.

2. "[Mixed] manuscripts could never meet the Colwell-Tune standard of 70%. Agreements expressed in percentages will tend to wash out the characteristics of the group to which the mixed MS belongs. Nothing can offset this drawback of statistical analysis." (Wisse, *The Profile Method…,* p. 31). It should be noted that Wisse's own Profile method is in fact statistical -- merely less blatantly so, and based on different statistics!

3. Eldon Jay Epp, "The Papyrus Manuscripts of the New Testament," printed in Ehrman & Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (Studies & Documents 46, Eerdmans, 1995), p. 16.

4. Epp, "The Papyrus Manuscripts…," Ehrman & Holmes, pp. 16-17.

5. Epp, "The Papyrus Manuscripts…," Ehrman & Holmes, p. 18.

A different approach, attempting just this, and also arising from Colwell, is the Claremont Profile Method. The CPM attempts to determine textual affinities by looking at a "profile" of readings in selected chapters.[1]

The CPM offers distinct advantages. It allows manuscripts to be quickly and easily measured against known groups. Its defect is that it has no ability to define groups (it *finds* groups, but no definition is offered of what constitutes a group; if Wisse had not started from Von Soden, his results might have been completely different), and no way of measuring mixture. (The notorious example of this is that, in Luke, D/05 shows a profile that makes it a member of the Alexandrian text! — a patently obvious example of Long Branch Assimilation that should have told Wisse that he had a problem.) The reason for this is not hard to find: the CPM (commonly, but imprecisely, referred to as the "Profile Method"; this name should be avoided, as there are many other profile methods possible) takes a manuscript, finds its readings in a "profile" of selected passages, and looks for a match in its store of profiles. If it finds one, it is done. But if it fails to find one, it is also done, and writes off the manuscript as "mixed." No attempt is made, if the manuscript is mixed, to determine what the mixture is.

Another "thought-experiment" will demonstrate this point. Let us consider a typical "profile" for a hypothetical "Ephesian" text-type. (In this example I am using the Claremont methodology rather loosely, but it gets its point across.) Let us draw profiles, as Wisse does, with Xs for non-Byantine group readings (and Os for plain old Byzantine readings). So in a sample of six readings, the Ephesian profile would be

```
Original Text
X X X X X X
. . . . . .
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Now let's take two manuscripts of this text-type, and arbitrarily mix in three Byzantine readings in each. So we get two profiles that look like this:

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MS 1                    MS 2
X . . X . X             . X . X X .
. O O . O .             O . O . . O
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Not only do the profiles not look particularly "Ephesian," they bear no resemblance to each other! (For the record, there are many more ways to mix three Byzantine readings into six Ephesians readings than the two shown above — a total of 20, out of 64 possible arrangements of readings — but they all average out to a mere 50%

1. For the CPM, see especially the work of Wisse cited above: Frederick Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (Studies & Documents 44, Eerdmans, 1982)

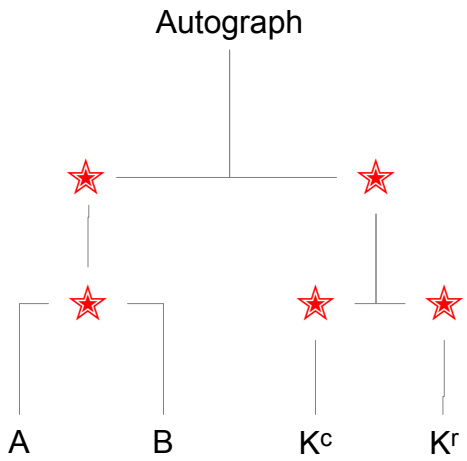
agreement between the resulting texts: 25% in “Ephesian” readings and 25% in Byzantine readings.) So much for the ability of the CPM to handle mixture.

The ultimate failure of the CPM leaves scholars still flailing around, trying new methodological tricks. For example, more and more scholars are classifying by pericopes — that is, taking a particular incident and collating it.[1] If used properly, this has real advantages. Unlike the Aland system, it allows us potentially to check for block mixture, because it gives us detailed data at several points. It is faster than collating to the Aland readings, since there is no need to search for this reading, then that. It covers more ground than the CPM’s chapters. It also (again, potentially) gives us enough data to work with, assuming we choose long enough pericopes (say, a dozen or more verses, with at least forty variant readings) and enough pericopes (say, one every three chapters). But these latter cautions are very important (the collator still needs to check a sufficient number of variants!), and this requirement is often ignored.

At this point, conventional critics would appear to have reached an impasse. Some scholars, such as Hurtado, swear by the Colwell-Tune definition. Others, such as Richards, find flaws but produce nothing better. Yet others, such as Wisse, move down to such a level of detail that they not only can’t see the forest for the trees, they can’t even see the trees for the blades of grass between them.

To see where the problem lies, let’s consider a very simple historical stemma of Paul. We’ll use just four manuscripts or manuscript types: A, B, and the Byzantine groups K^c (which could be represented by 223 if you insist on an exact manuscript) and K^r (for which 1960 would probably do as an example). If could somehow create an exact stemma, compressing all the lost generations between manuscripts into nothing, it would probably look like this:

1. The most recent example of this known to me is Tommy Wasserman's "The Patmos Project: An Investigation of the Patmos Family of New Testament MSS and Its Allies in the Pericope of the Adulteress and Beyond," Th.M. Exam, 2001, now available in a different form in volume 7 of the online digest TC.



A pure student of clades would say that the definition of a text-type is a point where two branches of the stemma split, never to meet again. In other words, in the diagram above, any point marked ✶ is (or could be) a text-type split.

The absurdity of this, however, is that it makes every manuscript a text-type! And it's only useful if we know the full stemma. So how do we decide on text-types in practice?

We start with the idea of ancestry and defined groups, and then we look at degree of difference. In the case above, we would probably have a rate of agreement something like this (the numbers, of course, would depend on the actual readings sampled):

	A	B	K^c	K^r
A		80%	60%	60%
B	80%		60%	60%
K^c	60%	60%		95%
K^r	60%	60%	95%	

Note that K^c and K^r agree 95% of the time with each other, and only 60% with A and B. So, though they are perhaps different text-types in cladistic terms, they are surely a single text-type based on their grade of agreement. And neither A nor B belong to this text-type.

The difficulty comes when we get to A and B. Frankly, they are close enough that they could be a single text-type, yet distinct enough that they could be separate. We must look at both ancestry (point of divergence) and grade agreement (amount of divergence).

In practical terms, we need a bit of clade definition (based on the stemma) and a bit of grade definition (based on the degree of agreement between manuscripts). This, of course, has never been done. The problem ultimately goes back to a failure of

terminology. It was Stephen C. Carlson who seems to have had the key insight: That a *genetic* text-type is not automatically a *quantitative* text-type. That is, two witnesses descended from a common ancestor may not have a high rate of agreements due to mixture, while two manuscripts which are not the direct descendants of a common ancestor may have a high rate of agreement due to mixture.

Take another specific example: D^{abs1}. This is a direct copy of D/06. D/06 is unquestionably "Western." So, genetically, D^{abs1} is obviously "Western."

But before D^{abs1} was copied, D/06 was heavily corrected toward the Byzantine text. So heavily, in fact, that most assessments of D^{abs1} (based on standard lists of variants, as opposed to its peculiar readings) would say that it agrees with the Byzantine text. *Genetically, D^{abs1} is "Western." Quantitatively, it is Byzantine.*

Does this matter? In a word, yes. We have no need of D^{abs1} as a Byzantine text; there are plenty of others to choose from, and they aren't all mixed up with "Western" readings and places where the copyist misread a correction in D, producing nonsense. But if we didn't have D, D^{abs1} would be a significant witness to the "Western" text; even though it's mostly Byzantine, its non-Byzantine readings go back to an early state of the "Western" and should be used to reconstruct that type.

But if we know that to be true of D^{abs1}, shouldn't it be equally true of 81, or 104, or 565, or any other mixed manuscript? These manuscripts don't lose value because their ancestors are lost; they *gain*. And, somehow, we need to find their components. At this point, Colwell/Tune, Claremont, Hurtado, and everyone else who insists on quantitative text-types fails. Their results are accurate, but they do not help us!

So now what? The task is to find a definition of text-types which somehow account for mixture.

This is an area where workers have been relatively few; not all critics recognize the need for it, and even had the need been recognized, it was hard to do much until the present generation — partly due to lack of data and partly because the approaches proposed have all been computationally intensive; much of what follows is possible only due to the use of computers.

Let me start with my own personal approach, simply because I know it and know how I came to it. When I started, I had seen absolutely *no* research of this type. I was reading books like Metzger claiming that this manuscript was related to that. But I'm a physicist; I wanted *numbers*. I took the data from the UBS editions and stuffed it into a database, and started calculating rates of agreement. (This was fundamentally similar to the Munster "thousand readings," with the difference that I have some idea of what constitutes a meaningful sample.)

The results didn't agree much with what everyone was saying. Either textual critics were insane, or more was needed to verify the claimed results.

Without prejudice to the theory that textual critics are insane, I decided to work on better tools. I spent about five years on this, working up better mathematics, and I never really finished; I was never able to produce an independent, verifiable, and non-sample-dependent definition of a text-type. But I reached certain conclusions which I believe incontestable. (But, of course, they *are* contested.)

The most important step, in my opinion, is the use of multiple statistics for comparison. Colwell's "quantitative method" work is based only on overall rates of agreements. The Claremont method uses classified agreements, but with very limited scope and no flexibility. Hutton used only special sorts of agreements.

Instead of using a single statistic, we should use multiple statistics. The first to propose something along these lines was Colwell, but the first to publish a method of this sort was Bart D. Ehrman.[1] Ehrman classifies readings according to how important they are in studying the text-type (e.g. some readings are "characteristic" of the type). This is a distinct improvement in the sense that it gets at the nature of readings. If we knew with certainty the nature of all extant text-types, it would be effective. The defect, however, is the same as Hutton's: It assumes the solution. Ehrman can't find new text-types because his method forces him into the straightjacket of existing types. And if his list of witnesses is wrong, as Streeter's was, then his results are ruined.

My own method generates profiles *on the fly.* This has the advantage that you need know nothing about the readings or the texts. It is based on four measures of relationship: Overall percentage of agreements, percentage of agreements in readings where both manuscripts are non-Byzantine (this measures the kinship of mixed manuscripts), percentage of agreements where the Byzantine text divides (this helps measure the Byzantine group to which a manuscript belongs), and "near-singular readings" (readings where the manuscript has the support only of a handful of witnesses. This statistic serves to find a document's immediate kin).

There is nothing magic about these statistics; presumably you could replace one or two of them with some other measure. But together they offer something that a mere

1. For Colwell's discussion, see "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript" *(op. cit.,* p. 39). Colwell writes, "In conclusion I suggest that the location of a manuscript within the tradition should use Multiple Readings to find the related group, Distinctive Readings to demonstrate the kinship, and total comparison to confirm the relationship." This is not the list of statistics I offer, and in my opinion is inferior (since "Multiple Readings" assume the solution) -- but it is, obviously, a multiple-statistic method.
   For Ehrman's initial publication, see *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels.*

comparison of overall agreements ever can: A picture of the component texts of a reading. If two manuscripts have high overall rates of agreement, then of course they are akin. (Though "high" in this context certainly means a rate of agreement well in excess of 70%!) But a low rate of agreement does not disprove kinship; it may mean the manuscripts are unrelated, or that they are related but with different patterns of mixture. High rates of agreement in non-Byzantine, and especially unique, readings is what counts. This is the same as Ehrman's concept, but without pre-assuming text-types.

The use of multiple statistic methods, since they have never been formally tested, is beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that the definition of text-types and the relationships between manuscripts is a field with much room for growth.

One such recent example is the work of Stephen C. Carlson. He has turned to the biological sciences for help, notably from the mathematical area known as "cladistics." For a brief overview of his results, the reader should consult the article on Stemma]. Carlson's work does not directly address the matter of text-types. Indeed, his stemma are often so complex that no true text-types can be discerned. This is surprising and disconcerting; the existence of text-types seems well-established, and if Carlson cannot find them, it implies a real need for examining either his results or our overall thinking. But doing so could well give us a whole new perspective on the matter — for example, it reminds us of the point in the footnote on families and tribes that the exact ancestor of a text-type probably never existed.

The Use of Text-Types in Textual Criticism

Different scholars evaluate the evidence of text-types differently. Westcott & Hort's text is based largely on the evidence of text-types, and remains the model New Testament text to this day (if it be noted that the United Bible Societies text has now supplanted WH, it should be noticed that UBS, like the texts of Bover and Merk, differs very little from WH). By contrast, von Soden's text, also based on a theory of text-types, is not treated with much respect.

The warning here, of course, is that text-types must be used accurately. If our textual theory is inadequate, the text based on it can only be inadequate. Work on text-types can only stop when all known manuscripts have been comprehensively examined.

In the meantime, we must decide how to use our provisional text-types. Some scholars continue to follow them slavishly (and inaccurately, since these scholars usually

continue their allegiance to the Westcott-Hort theories). Others reject text-types altogether.

In the author's view, this is foolish. The way Hort dealt with text-types was subject to attack, because in his time only two early types were admitted, leaving us with no mechanical or automatic basis for deciding between the two. One could only choose between the types on internal grounds. Hort himself admitted this problem.[1] Today, however, with three or more non-Byzantine text-types for most Biblical books, we can do better. We cannot rely on a particular text-type absolutely, since all are subject to various defects. Still, if one accepts the Hortian theory that the Byzantine text is late, then a reading supported by all pre-Byzantine text-types can surely be regarded as original (or, at least, as the earliest recoverable text). A reading supported by a majority of early types may not be original, but the "presumption of originality" is in its favor. Such a reading should only be set aside if there is overwhelming internal evidence against it. Take, as an example, Jude 1. The UBS text reads τοις εν θεου πατρι. After θεου, however, some two dozen witnesses, including (6) 322 323 424c 614 876 945 1241 1243 1505 1611 1739 1852 1881 2138 2412 2492 2495 sy arm, add εθνησιν. (The prejudices of the UBS comittee are clearly shown by the fact that they rate this variant an "A," meaning that they have no doubts. This presumably is because all the important uncials support their reading.) But look at the evidence: of the three non-Byzantine text-types in the Catholics (as found by Richards, or Amphoux, or, well, me), two (family 1739 and family 2138) add εθνησιν. Only the Alexandrian text (P^{72} א A B Ψ 81 436) omits the word. Since there is no reason for the insertion (there is no similar passage in the New Testament), it is at least reasonable to add εθνησιν on the evidence of two of the three text-types. We might, of course, bracket it as questionable.[2]

In addition, knowledge of text-types can sometimes affect how we assess a variant. Let us take 2 Pet. 2:13 as an example. The UBS text reads εν ταις απαταις. This is in fact a triple variant:

- απαταις P^{72} א A* C K L P 039 33 81 436 614 630 1175 1505 1735 1852 2138 2298 2344 2495 *Byz* bo arm
- αγαπαις A^{c} B Ψ 5 623 1243 1611 2464 lat pesh $hark^{margin}$ geo

1. See Hort's discussion in the *Introduction [and] Appendix*, paragraphs 71-72, pp. 56-57 (referring to the diagram on p. 54); also (more summarily), paragraph 50, p. 42.

2. Of course, there are instances where internal evidence outweighs the majority of text-types. A good example of this is Matt. 27:16-17; although the Alexandrian and "Western" types both read "Barabbas" and only the Cæsarean reads "Jesus Barabbas," we should accept the latter reading on internal grounds.

- αγνοιαις 322 323 945 (1241) 1739 1881

Editors generally reject αγαπαις as an assimilation to Jude 12. However, the reading αγνοιαις is much more likely to be the result of misreading αγαπαις than απαταις. Since αγνοιαις is supported by family 1739, an early text-type, it is much more reasonable to assume that the original reading is αγαπαις, and that απαταις and αγνοιαις are both errors derived from this. (Eberhard Nestle also offered cogent internal reasons to adopt this reading.[1])

A final warning: All of the above is about classifying manuscripts. A description of a manuscript must consist of two parts: The manuscript's affinities *and its peculiarities.* Many manuscripts are unreliable in some way or other — they exchange ε and αι, they omit words, they misspell names, they otherwise render themselves unhelpful for certain variants. Knowing which manuscripts are related is no use if you don't know where you can trust them. Manuscripts must be treated as individuals *and* as members of a group.

Let's summarize: Textual criticism is based on internal and external criteria. But — unless one is content to be a radical eclectic[2] — the only firm basis for criticism is actual manuscripts. And those manuscripts can only be used properly if their text-types are known and their relationships studied. Else how can we tell which readings are authentic to the manuscript's tradition and which are simply errors?

As has so often been the case, it is hard to make a better summary than Colwell's:

The program of textual studies requires that the critic take five steps. I, Begin with readings; II, Characterize individual scribes and manuscripts; III, Group the manuscripts; IV, Construct a historical framework; V, Make a final judgment on readings.[3]

1. Eberhard Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (English translation by William Edie, Putnam, 1901), pp. 325-326.

2. That is, to work in the manner of Kilpatrick and Elliot, who gather variants from the manuscripts but then judge them based only on internal criteria. Colwell, in commenting on this overuse of internal criteria, quotes a clever remark from A. E. Housman: "[These editors use manuscripts] as drunkards use lampposts--, not to light them on their way but to dissimulate their instability." (Quoted in *Studies in Methodology,* p. 153). The irony is that Housman chose to do his chief work on Manilius at least in part because it afforded more than the usual scope for conjectures.

3. Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," reprinted in *Studies in Methodology,* p. 160.

Appendix A: The Names and Descriptions of the Various Text-Types

The following list shows the various names that different scholars have used for text-types. The first element in each list is what I consider the "proper" modern name; this is followed by a list of editors and the names they used.

Generally Acknowledged Text Types

ALEXANDRIAN
Westcott-Hort — Neutral+Alexandrian (also α)
Von Soden — Eta (Hesychian) (H)
Kenyon — B (β)
Lagrange — B
Characteristics of the type: Conservative. Relatively free of harmonzation and paraphrase. Short. Willing to accept difficult readings.
Primary witnesses: P^{75} (gospels), B (except in Paul), א, Coptic versions. Also A, C, 33 in Paul; A 33 in the Catholics; A C in the Apocalypse.

BYZANTINE
Westcott-Hort — Syrian (also δ)
Von Soden — Kappa (Koine) (K)
Kenyon — A (α)
Lagrange — A
Characteristics of the type: Widespread. Usually regarded as far-removed from the original documents, but worthy of detailed study because of the influence it has had on mixed manuscripts. Marked by smooth and easy readings and by harmonizations, but rarely indulges in paraphrase or the major expansions seemingly found in the "Western" text. Widely regarded as derived from other text-types; it usually preserves the easiest reading. It rarely creates readings.[1]
Primary witnesses: A E F G H K M S U V Y Γ Π Σ etc. (gospels); H L P 049 056 0142 (Acts); K L 049 056 0142 (Paul, Catholics); P 046 (Apocalypse). Also found in the mass of minuscules; over 80% of manuscripts are purely Byzantine, over 90% are primarily Byzantine, and not more than 2% can be considered entirely free of Byzantine mixture.

1. So Zuntz: "...it seems to me unlikely that the Byzantine editors ever altered the text without manuscript evidence. They left so many hopelessly difficult places unassailed! Their method, I submit, was selection rather than conjecture." *(The Text of the Epistles,* p. 55; quoted in part by Colwell in *Studies in Methodology,* p. 49).

Cæsarean
Von Soden — Iota (Jerusalem) (I), in part (most strong "Cæsarean" witnesses are found in Soden's Iα group, with family 1 being his I^{η} and family 13 being I^{ι}.)
Kenyon — Gamma (γ)
Lagrange — C
Characteristics of the type: Mildly paraphrastic, so as to give an appearance of falling between the Alexandrian and "Western" texts. A strong tendency toward harmonization. Since no pure manuscripts are known, most other descriptions of the type have been conjectural. To date found only in the gospels (unless family 1739 is Cæsarean, which is unlikely).
Primary witnesses: Θ, family 1, family 13, 565, 700, arm, geo (P^{45} and parts of W claimed by some; however, P^{45} is a wild text, and W's relationship to the group is questionable)
Note: The existence of the "Cæsarean" text has been questioned by many; see the discussion of the history of the "Cæsarean" text above.

"**WESTERN**"
Westcott-Hort — Western (also β)
Kenyon — D (δ)
Von Soden — Iota (Jerusalem) (I), in part
Lagrange — D
Characteristics of the type: Marked by paraphrase, occasional expansion, and possible additions from oral sources. Fond of striking and abrupt readings. Reaches its most extreme form in D/05 (Codex Bezae); the "Western" text of Paul (found in D/06, etc.) is a much more restrained text.
Primary witnesses: D/05 (Gospels, Acts), Old Latin, D/06 (Paul) F/010+G/012 (Paul); occasional readings in the versions. Connected by some with family 2138 and with certain fragmentary papyri.

Proposed Text-Types

P^{46}+B (Paul)
Zuntz — Proto-Alexandrian
Characteristics of the type: Generally possessed of very rough, unpolished readings which give strong evidence of being original. Forceful. Few witnesses are known, so the type is difficult to reconstruct.
Primary witnesses: P^{46}, B, Sahidic

Family 1739 (Acts, Paul, Catholics)
Zuntz — Proto-Alexandrian
Characteristics of the type: Stands midway between the other types. It shares readings with P^{46}/B, the "Alexandrian" text, and the "Western" text. Close to but not identical with Origen. Its readings are generally conservative; it will make occasional clarifications but no major changes. Arguably the best text-type in Paul.
Primary witnesses: 1739. In Paul, also 0243/0121b (which appears to be a cousin of 1739). 1881 is the third witness here. In the Catholics, the core witnesses are C, 1241, and 1739, with most of the lesser manuscripts clustered around 1739.

Family 2138 (Acts, Paul, Catholics)
Vaganay — "Western"
Characteristics of the type: Heavily Byzantine (especially in Paul, where the type almost disappears), but with a large number of independent readings. Often has striking variants which, however, do not appear to be related to the Latin. Therefore the type does not in fact appear to be "Western."
Primary witnesses: 2138 (except in Paul), 1611, 1505+2495, Harklean, 2412+614 (except in Paul), 630+2200+1799+429+522 (Catholics only)

Appendix B: Text-Types and their Witnesses

In the table below, primary witnesses are shown in bold (e.g. **P^{75}**); witnesses with only scattered readings of a type are enclosed in parentheses. Subgroups within the larger group are joined by plus signs (+). Note that this list is not comprehensive.[1] Also, some

1. Scholars who wish to find more related witnesses may wish to consult K. Aland et al, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (1987 and following). This is unquestional the best — often the only — gathering of data available for most biblical manuscripts. Students should, however, be aware of the difficulties in using this edition. First, it does not sample enough variants to allow complete classification of mixed witnesses (in Paul, e.g., there are fewer than 300 readings, rather than the 800 I would like to see. This means that it can be used to classify relatively pure manuscripts, but is not sufficient to deal with mixed manuscripts). Second, it is difficult to use; the data is scattered throughout the volumes, and there is no simple way to look at the data for an entire corpus of books. This makes it easier to examine the data for particular books, but almost impossible to use the data over large areas. Third, the summaries of results (which show the most closely related manuscripts) are almost unreadable, as they consistently show manuscripts which are extant for only one or two variants at the top, leaving the user helplessly struggling to find a manuscript's real relatives. The Alands have already used the data to make one useful determination: They have given us a fairly definitive list of Byzantine manuscripts in their list of "Categories" (though it does not classify the manuscripts *within* the Byzantine tradition). But the student who wishes to do more, though well-advised to start with *T&T*, should be prepared to have to do much further analysis. Frankly, someone with some genuine math skills and a vast amount of free time could do the world a great favor and take *T&T* and convert the results into a *useful* single volume of data from which actual

of the groups (e.g. the witnesses to the “Cæsarean” text) are based on standard lists, and have not been tested by modern methods.

Notes on the Table::

f^{1} = *family* 1 = 1, 118, 131, 205, 209, 1582. This is the family known as the “Lake Group” (λ).

f^{13} = *family* 13 = 13, 69, 124, 174, 230, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, ℓ^{547} etc. This is the family known as the “Ferrar Group” (ϕ).

family 2127 = 256, 263?, 365, 459, 1319, 1573, 2127 (perhaps also arm) This family was called “family 1319” by the followers of von Soden.

It also appears likely that we should define a “family 630,” consisting of, at minimum 630 2200, and probably also 206 429 522. The curious thing about this group is its shifting nature. In Acts it goes with 1739. In Paul it goes with 1739 in the early epistles, then turns Byzantine. In the Catholics it goes with 2138. There is a hint here of a relationship — historical rather than textual — between family 1739 and family 2138 that might be worth investigating.

analysis could proceed.

Text-type	Gospels Manuscripts	Acts Manuscripts	Paul Manuscripts	Catholics Manuscripts	Apocalypse Manuscripts
Alexandrian	P^{66} **P^{75}+B**+T **א**+Z C L (X) Δ (Mark) Ξ (Ψ) 33 579 892 1241 sa bo	P^{74} **א** A **B** C 33 81 1175 vg? sa bo	**א A C** I (P) **33** 81 (104) (436) 442 1175 (1241^{supp}) 1506 1962 *fam* 2127 2464 bo	**P^{72}+B א A +33**+436 Ψ 81 vg sa bo	**A C vg** 1006 2050 2053 2062 2344? bo
Byzantine (also includes most minuscules)	(A) E F G H K M (N) (P) (Q) S U V Y Γ Λ Σ Φ 047	(E) H L P Ψ 049 056 0142 1241	K L (Ψ) 049 056 0142 (33 1175 2464 in Romans)	K L 049 056 0142 (1175 in Johannines)	$\mathfrak{M}^{K}$: 046 429 522 2138 $\mathfrak{M}^{A}$: P 051 1 181
"Cæsarean"	Θ f^{1} f^{13} 22 28(Mk) 565 700 arm geo				
"Western"	D Old Latin Syr^{sin}? Syr^{cur}?	D (E) $Syr^{hark-marg}$ sa^{G67}	D F G Old Latin (not r) (629) (goth)		
P46/B			P^{13} **P^{46} B** sa		
P47/א					P^{47} א 2344?
family 1739		**1739** 630 945 1891 2200 2298	**1739** 0243/0121b 0121a 6 424c 1881 (630 in Romans-Galatians)	**C 1241 1739** 6 322 323 945 1881 2298 1243+2492?	
family 2138		614+2412 383? 1505+2495 1611 2138 Syr^{hark}	1505+2495 1611 Syr^{hark} 2005? (1022)	614+2412 630+1799+2200 1505+2495 1611 2138 Syr^{hark} 206 429 522 1799	
family 330			330+451 2492		

Appendix C: Von Soden's Textual System

The following lists summarize Von Soden's system in the various portions of the New Testament. For the H and I types, all manuscripts of the type cited by von Soden are listed (except for occasional fragments. Gregory notation is used throughout); for the Byzantine (K) types, only a handful of manuscripts are included.

It should be noted that von Soden treated Commentary Manuscripts as a separate type with a separate history; with the exception of manuscripts of the Apocalypse (where there is a separate Andreas type), they are not treated here.

It should be remembered that Von Soden did not cite manuscripts in the order given here, nor in numerical order. Students wishing to use his edition will have to consult it, or one of the related works, to use his apparatus.

To summarize Von Soden's textual theory, there are three types, **I, H**, and **K**. The first of these is, very roughly, the "Western" and "Cæsarean" texts (with a lot of extraneous material thrown in); the second is the Alexandrian text, and the third the Byzantine. Von Soden sought the original text in the consensus of these.

(It should be added that, with only the most minor exceptions, von Soden does not allow the possibility of mixture. This is one of the major defects in his classification of the I groups.)

The Gospels

- **H** — א B C L (W) Z Δ Ψ 33 579 892 1241
  Comment: With the exception of Δ, which is Alexandrian only in Mark, all of these manuscripts are indeed at least mixed Alexandrian. Nor has more recent research added significantly to the list; Wisse lists several additional manuscripts, but all of these are either partially mixed or otherwise textually complicated.
- **I** —
  - I^{α} — D (W) Θ 079 (067) 21 28 372 (399) 544 565 700 (1342?) 1542 1654 (Old Latin) (Old Syriac)
    Comment: This group consists of every true "Western" witness plus almost all the leading "Cæsarean" witnesses (the only "Caesarean" witnesses not listed are the next two groups), with a handful of Byzantine witnesses such as 21. Therefore most critics have split up this type into other groups. Most of the remainder of the I type has, at best, a very weak kinship with the members of these first three groups; all the I groups except the first three are more

Byzantine than anything else, whereas the members of Iα, Iη, and Iι are (for the most part) clearly non-Byzantine.

- I^{η} —
  - $I^{\eta a}$ — 1 1582 (2193)
  - $I^{\eta b}$ — 22 118 (131) (205) 209 (872)
    Comment: This is, of course, Family 1 (the Lake Group). The existence of Von Soden's subgroups is questionable, and Wisse believes 22 to belong to a separate type.
- I^{ι} —
  - $I^{\iota a}$ — 983 1689
  - $I^{\iota b}$ — 13 69 (124) 174 788
  - $I^{\iota c}$ — 230 346 543 826 828
    Comment: This is Family 13 (the Ferrar Group). Wisse does not break the type into subgroups, but Soden's subdivisions have been accepted by others such as Colwell.
- I^{Φ} —
  - $I^{\Phi a}$ — 349 517 954 (1188) 1424 1675
    Comment: This is Streeter's Family 1424, which (with some modifications) became Wisse's Cluster 1675. It would appear (based on the work of the Alands) that it has some non-Byzantine readings in Mark but very few elsewhere.
  - $I^{\Phi b}$ — 7 115 179 (185) 267 659 827 (1082) (1391) (1402) (1606)
    Comment: Although Wisse identified a Cluster 7, only two of the manuscripts listed here belong to the type. This subgroup, therefore, probably is not real. The members are basically Byzantine.
  - $I^{\Phi c}$ — 945 990 1010 (1207) 1223 1293
    Comment: Wisse's K^{x} Cluster 160 consists of three of these manuscripts (160, 1010, 1293; Wisse did not profile 990). Nonetheless this group cannot be considered verified. In any case it is strongly Byzantine.
  - $I^{\Phi r}$ — M (27) 71 (692) 1194
    Comment: Von Soden considered this type to be the most distinct of the I^{Φ} groups. Wisse confirms the existence of the type (he calls it the M type),

but regards it as a rather complex entity. It is, nonetheless, clearly Byzantine.

- I^{β} —
  - $I^{\beta a}$ — 348 477 1279
  - $I^{\beta b}$ — 16 1216 1579 (1588)
    Comment: This group was confirmed but redivided by Wisse. The manuscripts most distinct from K^{x} he called Group 1216 (this group was earlier confirmed by Colwell). Others he classified as Group 16 and as K^{x} Cluster 17. Even Group 1216 is basically Byzantine.
- I^{o} — U X 213 443 1071 (1321) 1574 2145
  Comment: Several of the members of this group (most notably X and 1071) are listed by Wisse as mixed, but he finds no kinship among them. While some of the manuscripts are important, they probably do not form a group.
- I^{π} — N O Σ Φ
  Comment: There is general agreement that these four "purple uncials" are closely akin; indeed, some have thought that N O Σ are actually copies of the same ancestor (though this seems unlikely). Streeter thought that these manuscripts were weak witnesses to the "Cæsarean" text — but Streeter put everything not otherwise firmly spoken for in the "Cæsarean" text (just as von Soden put all these witnesses in the I groups). In fact the purple uncials are very strongly Byzantine; there are some earlier readings, but not enough to really classify the type. (The problem is not helped by the fact that only N contains any portions whatsoever of Luke and John, and those fragmentary.)
- I^{σ} — 157 (235) 245 291 713 1012
  Comment: Wisse's data reveals absolutely no kinship among these manuscripts, although 157 at least is valuable.
- I' — P Q R Γ 047 064 074 (079) 090 0106 0116 0130 0131 013 4 162 251 273 440 472 485 (495) 660 (716) 998 (1038) 1047 1093 (1170) (1229) (1242) 1295 1355 1396 (1515) 1604 2430
  Comment: This collection is less a group than a sampling of leftovers in which von Soden thought (often falsely) that he perceived a non-Byzantine element. Individual manuscripts within the type have been found by Wisse to show kinship, but overall this is not any sort of group.
- I^{κ} —
  - $I^{\kappa a}$ — A K Y Π 265 489 1219 1346

- I^{kb} — 270 726 1200 1375
- I^{kc} — 229 280 473 482 1354
  Comment: The existence of I^{k} (which von Soden also called K^{a}, and which is now usually and properly referred to as Family Π) has been repeatedly confirmed, most recently by Wisse (who however redivides the subgroups). Whether von Soden is correct in considering it not purely Byzantine is, however, open to question; it certainly is primarily Byzantine, and its early strength implies that it might be one of the primary early branches of the Byzantine text-type.

- I^{r} — Λ 262 (545) 1187 1555 1573
  Comment: This is Wisse's Group Λ. Von Soden himself considered it to be overwhelmingly influenced by the Byzantine type. In fact it seems clearly Byzantine, and Wisse notes that it is often difficult to distinguish from K^{x}.

- **K** —
  - K^{1} — S V Ω (399) 461 476 655 661
    Comment: Wisse regards K^{1} (and K^{i}) as portions of K^{x}; K^{1} becomes Wisse's K^{x} Cluster Ω. But one must keep in mind Wisse's small sample size (three chapters of Luke) and the ages of the manuscripts involved. Based on age alone, it appears that K^{1} and K^{i} are independent of K^{x}, though perhaps not of each other.
  - K^{i} — E F G H
    Comment: For the relationship of this group to K^{x}, see the notes on K^{1} above. Although these four uncials are often treated as a block, it seems to me that they do not really go together; although all are similar to the K^{x} type, G seems slightly less Byzantine than the rest, and E seems closer to the basic form of the Byzantine text.
  - K^{x} — 2e 3 8 14 45 47 49 51 54 56 58 59 60 61 73 75 76 78 84 89 96 99 etc.
    Comment: This is the basic group of the Byzantine text in terms of numbers, although in terms of definition it is weak (both von Soden and Wisse define it negatively — in Von Soden's case, as Byzantine manuscripts which are neither K^{1}, K^{i}, nor K^{r}). Nonetheless it is the dominant manuscript type, constituting nearly half of all manuscripts known. (For further information, see the section on Byzantine subgroups above.)
  - K^{r} — 18 35 55 66 83 128 141 167 etc.
    Comment: This is the one Byzantine group which is clearly recensional, and consists of both a text and an apparatus of lectionary and other information. It

was probably compiled in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and became increasingly common in the centuries which followed. Although widespread, its late text makes it of very little importance for criticism, except as it influenced manuscripts not of its type.

- K^{a} — Alternate name for I^{κ} (Family Π), which see.

Acts

For an overall view of Von Soden's system in the Acts, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles, see the Summary following the section on the Catholic Epistles.

- **H** — P^{8} א A B C Ψ 048 076 095 096 0165 0175 33 81 104 326 1175
  Comment: This is by no means the entire Alexandrian text in the Acts, and 326 and perhaps some of the others are heavily Byzantine.
- **I** —
  - I^{a} —
    - I^{a1} — D E 36 88 181 307 431 453 610 915 917 1829 1874 1898
    - I^{a2} — 5 467 489 623 927 1827 1838 1873 2143
    - I^{a3} — 1 38 69 209 218 226 241 256 337 436 460 547 642 794 808 919 920 1311 1319 1522 1525 1835 1837 1845
      Comment: This group simply cannot be treated as a unity. D, of course, is "Western," but E has both Byzantine and Alexandrian elements; its "Western" readings are probably derived from the Latin. Many of the other witnesses are also Byzantine, or Byzantine/Alexandrian mixes. There are valuable manuscripts in this section, but they do not form a text-type, and need to be investigated individually.
  - I^{b} —
    - I^{b1} — 206 242 429 491 522 536 1758 1831 1891
    - I^{b2} — 066? 323 440 216 1739 2298
      This group is Family 1739, which unquestionably exists and includes the majority, perhaps all, of these witnesses (206 323 429 522 1739 1891, for instance, have been confirmed by Geer). There is, however, no basis for Von Soden's subgroups, and even less reason to think that the type is "Western." Available evidence indicates that Family 1739 is either Alexandrian, an Alexandrian/Western mix, or a distinct type.

- Ic —
  - I^{c1} — 1108 1245 1518 1611 2138
  - I^{c2} — 255 257 378 383 614 913 1765 2147
  - *Comment: This is the entity variously called Family 614, Family 1611, or Family 2138. Its existence cannot be questioned (though not all of the witnesses listed here have been verified as members of the family). Von Soden's subgroups are, however, questionable (they are demonstrably wrong in Paul and the Catholic Epistles). It is also questionable whether this type is, in fact, "Western"; while it has certain of the D-type readings, it does not agree consistently with D, and does not agree with D F G of Paul or the Old Latin fragments in the Catholics.*

- K —
  Comment: In the Acts and Epistles, Von Soden generally does not break down the Byzantine types. Thus the major Byzantine uncials — H L P 049 — are simply listed as "K" with some I influence. However, von Soden does distinguish two Byzantine subgroups:

- K^c — 42 51 57 223 234 479 483 etc.
  Comment: K^c has not been examined extensively, but the type does seem to be real. It is clearly Byzantine, but has enough characteristic readings that it can easily be told from the Byzantine mass.

- K^r — 18 141 201 204 328 363 386 394 444 480 etc.
  Comment: K^r in the Acts and Epistles is generally similar in form to the recension of the same name in the Gospels. It has been verified since von Soden's time. Textually, however, it is of very little interest, being almost indistinguishable from the main run of Byzantine witnesses (the group which, in the Gospels, von Soden called K^x, but here does not distinguish with a title).

Paul

For an overall view of Von Soden's system in the Acts, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles, see the Summary following the section on the Catholic Epistles.

- **H** — P^{13} P^{15} P^{16} ℵ A B C H I P Ψ 0121a+b 048 062 081 082 088 6 33 81 104 326 424c 1175 1739 (1852) 1908
  Comment: All of these witnesses are traditionally listed as Alexandrian, and most of them are certainly witnesses of that type (e.g. ℵ A C I 33 81 1175). Ψ, however, is strongly Byzantine, while P^{13} and B probably go in their own type —

or at least their own subtype — with P^{46}, and the group 0121 1739 6 424^{c} also deserved to be treated as a separate group.

- I —
  - I^{a} —
    - I^{a1} — D (D^{abs1}) (F) (G) 88 181 915 917 1836 1898 1912
      Comment: The kindest thing we can say about this group is, "not established." The uncials D F G clearly do form a type, and this type is old — but their only clear minuscule ally is the diglot 629 (which derives its "Western" readings largely from the Latin). The minuscules listed here are generally interesting, but they are not necessarily "Western"; several seem to contain the Euthalian recension, and have a text which seems to be Alexandrian if anything.
    - I^{a2} — 5 467 489 623 927 1827 1838 1873 2143
      Comment: The link between 5 and 623 has been fairly well verified (though the pair seem to be rather weaker in Paul than the Acts and Catholic Epistles). Several of the other manuscripts are of interest, though some appear to be Byzantine. The group, however, has not been established. The manuscripts do not appear particularly "Western."
    - I^{a3} — 1 38 69 177 218 226 241 255 256 263 319 321 330 337 436 460 462 547 642 794 919 920 999 1311 1319 1738 1835 1837 1845 2127
      Comment: This is the largest group von Soden recognizes in Paul, and it is certainly true that some of the manuscripts are akin (e.g. 256 1319 2127 and probably 263 are all part of Family 2127). The manuscripts of Family 2127 also appear to show some kinship, at a greater distance, with other members of the I^{a3} group such as 330 and 436. But as usual with von Soden's classifications, the group contains certain Byzantine witnesses (e.g. 1, 177, 226, 319, 337). And even if the non-Byzantine witnesses form a group (which remains to be proved), it is not a "Western" group; the text of Family 2127 (which is probably the least Byzantine of all the witnesses listed here) consists mostly of Alexandrian and Byzantine readings, with very few that are characteristically "Western." If there is a "Cæsarean" text of Paul, this may be it; Family 2127 appears to be the closest Greek witness to the Armenian version.
  - I^{b} —
    - I^{b1} — 2 206 242 429 522 635 941 1099 1758 1831 1891

- I^{b2} — 35 43 216 323 336 440 491 823 1149 1872 2298
  Comment: I^{b} contains many members which belong with Family 1739 in Acts (e.g. 206, 323, 429, 522, 1891, 2298). Some of these (323, 2298) are also members of Family 1739 in the Catholics; others (206, 429, 522) shift to Family 2138. All of these witnesses, however, lose their value in Paul, and there is no reason to believe any of the other I^{b} witnesses are any better. Although this group has some meaning in the Acts, and rather less in the Catholics, in Paul it can be completely ignored. The manuscripts are, almost without exception, Byzantine in this corpus.

- I^{c} —

  - I^{c1} — 1108 1245 1518 1611 2005 2138
    Comment: The members of this group are generally members of Family 2138 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles. In Paul, however, this group is simultaneously much smaller and noticeably more Byzantine. 2138, for instance, seems to depart it; indeed, of the above witnesses, only 1611 and probably the lost 1518 clearly belong to this type (other known witnesses include 1505 and 2495). The type is legitimate, but von Soden's list of witnesses is unreliable.

  - I^{c2} — 203 221 257 378 383 385 506 639 876 913 1610 1867 2147
    Comment: This group, like the preceding, contains some witnesses which, in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, are members of Family 2138 (Soden's I^{c1}). Almost all of these witnesses, however, become Byzantine in Paul, and there is no reason to believe they belong together or form a textual grouping.

- **K** —
  Comment: As in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, Von Soden generally does not break down the Byzantine text in Paul. One major Byzantine uncial, L^{ap}, is listed as K with I influence; most of the others are not listed (e.g. 049) or simply listed as commentary manuscripts (e.g. K^{ap}, 056, 0142). However, as in the Acts, von Soden does distinguish two Byzantine subgroups:

- K^{c} — 42 51 57 223 234 479 483 etc.
  Comment: K^{c} has not been examined extensively, but the type does seem to be real. It is clearly Byzantine, but has enough characteristic readings that it can easily be told from the Byzantine mass.

- K^{r} — 18 141 201 204 328 363 386 394 444 480 etc.
  Comment: K^{r} in the Acts and Epistles is generally similar in form to the

recension of the same name in the Gospels. It has been verified since von Soden's time. Textually, however, it is of very little interest, being almost indistinguishable from the main run of Byzantine witnesses (the group which, in the Gospels, von Soden called K^x, but here does not distinguish with a title).

Catholic Epistles

For an overall view of Von Soden's system in the Acts, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles, see the Summary following the section on the Catholic Epistles.

- **H** — P^{20} א A B C P Ψ 048 (056) (0142) 33 81 104 323 326 424c 1175 1739 2298
  Comment: With the exception of 056 0142 (which von Soden does not list as H manuscripts, but theoretically cites with the H group), the manuscripts in this group are commonly listed as Alexandrian. This is, however, much too simple. Many of the manuscripts are indeed Alexandrian (e.g. A Ψ 33 81). 1175, however, is Byzantine at least in the Catholic Epistles, א and B are rather more distant from the A–33 group, and a large subset of this type — C 323 1739 2298 — belong to a different though perhaps related type. In addition, a number of witnesses to this type, such as 436, are listed by von Soden as I rather than H.
- **I** —
  - I^a —
    - I^{a1} — 36 88 181 307 431 453 610 915 917 1829 1836 1874 1898
    - I^{a2} — 5 467 489 623 927 1827 1838 1873 2143
    - I^{a3} — 1 38 69 209 218 226 241 256 321 337 384 436 460 547 642 794 808 919 920 1311 1319 1522 1525 1738 1835 1837 1845
      Comment: I^a, in the Acts and Paul, contains the uncials which are the core of the "Western" text. In the Catholic Epistles, however, there are no "Western" uncials — indeed, there is no absolute proof that there ever was a "Western" text of these writings. Deprived of the uncials, the I^a group becomes a collection of not-necessarily-related minuscules (some, such as 436, are Alexandrian; many others are Byzantine and seem to be listed here based primarily on their texts in the Acts or Paul).
  - I^b —
    - I^{b1} — 206 216 242 429 440 522 1758 1831 1891

- I^{b2} — 35 216 440 491 823 1149 1872
  Comment: Most of the members of the I^{b} group, when examined in Acts, seem to belong to Family 1739. In the Catholics, however, von Soden withdrew all the true Family 1739 witnesses (323 1739 2298) and listed them with the H text. This leaves the I^{b} group very weak; many of the members are Byzantine, and the handful which are not (206 429 522) here belong with Family 2138 — i.e. in the I^{c} group. The I^{b} groups do not appear to have any meaning in the Catholics.

- I^{c} —

  - I^{c1} — 1108 1245 1518 1611 1852 2138
    Comment: These manuscripts are part of the core of Family 2138, but Wachtel considers 1852 merely a relative, not a member, of this type, and does not include 1109 and 1245. Thus, while the I^{c} group is real, it is falsely subdivided.

  - I^{c2} — 255 378 383 614 913 1765 2147
    Comment: At least one of these witnesses (614) belongs with the group 2138–1611–1518. Several of the others, however, are mostly Byzantine. This group should be dissolved, with the better members joining Family 2138 and the rest ignored.

- **K** —
  Comment: As in the Acts and Paul, Von Soden generally does not break down the Byzantine text in the Catholic Epistles. One major Byzantine uncial, L^{ap}, is listed as K with I influence; another, 049, is listed as Byzantine; others are simply listed as commentary manuscripts (e.g. Ka^{p}, 056, 0142). However, as elsewhere, von Soden does distinguish two Byzantine subgroups:

- K^{c} — 42 51 57 223 234 479 483 etc.
  Comment: K^{c} has not been examined extensively, but the type does seem to be real. It is clearly Byzantine, but has enough characteristic readings that it can easily be told from the Byzantine mass.

- K^{r} — 18 141 201 204 328 363 386 394 444 480 etc.
  Comment: K^{r} in the Acts and Epistles is generally similar in form to the recension of the same name in the Gospels. It has been verified since von Soden's time — in the Catholics specifically by Wachtel. Textually, however, it is of very little interest, being almost indistinguishable from the main run of Byzantine witnesses (the group which, in the Gospels, von Soden called K^{x}, but here does not distinguish with a title).

Summary of Von Soden's work on the Acts, Paul, Catholic Epistles

It has become customary to ignore Von Soden's groupings outside the Gospels, and with good reason; many of the manuscripts he classified simply do not show the features he attributes to them, and manuscripts shift groups more than his system allows. And yet, if we look at the overall results for the Acts and Epistles, von Soden's results bear a striking resemblance to the results I have outlined elsewhere in this document. The "H" group is the Alexandrian text (von Soden cannot be faulted for failing to realize the existence of the P^{46}/B type in Paul; a text-type can only be recognized when two witnesses exist, and von Soden did not know P^{46}). I^a is the "Western" text. I^b is Family 1739. I^c is Family 2138. And the "K" text is the Byzantine text. If von Soden is to be faulted, it is for not clearly identifying the boundaries of the types. In other words, though Von Soden did not realize it, he too was struggling with the definition of a text-type, just as we have done. In addition, von Soden included many irrelevant witnesses in his groups (often, it appears, by assuming that a manuscript had the same type in all three sections unless it was known to undergo a shift). This, combined with the rather sloppy way witnesses were cited, makes it hard to perceive the broad accuracy of its groupings (e.g. it's hard to realize that I^b is Family 1739 in Paul when von Soden places 1739 and all its kin in H!).

Apocalypse

Von Soden's textual theory in the Apocalypse has received even less attention than his work in other areas, having been completely eclipsed by the work of Schmid. The outline which follows is, therefore, less detailed than those which preceded. *Note that the following list does not agree, even approximately, with the citation order in Merk or Bover!* Von Soden in this book has a bad habit of putting manuscripts in multiple categories — e.g. 051 is listed as an Andreas manuscript (Av^2) with a text-type of H. The information here is as interpreted in the *Kurzgefasste Liste.* Note that not all the manuscripts listed under the Andreas type actually have Andreas's commentary; the manuscripts listed here are listed by von Soden as having the Andreas-type text, but some (e.g. 1611) have no commentary at all.

- **H** — א A C (P) (051) (052) 0169
- I —
  - I^a —
    - I^{a1} — 598 2026 2060 2065 2081 2286
    - I^{a2} — 1 181 296 1894 2059

- I^{a3} — 35 209 2031 2056
- I^{a4} — 1876 2014 2015 2036 2043
- I^{a5} — 2028 2029 2033 2054 29068 2069
- I^{a6} — 743 2055 2074 2067
- I^{a7} — 60 432 2023 2061

- I^{b} —
  - I^{b1} — 1778 2080
  - I^{b2} — 104 459 628 922
- I^{o} —
  - I^{o1} — 172 250 424 1828 1862
  - I^{o2} — 42 325 468 517
- I’ — 69 (2016) 2020 2057 2329 2351

- **K** — 046 1841 2030
  - K^{c} — 920 1859 1872 2027
  - K^{o} — 91 175 242 256 314 617 1934 (2016) 2017
- **Av** (Andreas) — 94 241 (469) 1611 1678 1854 2019 (2040) 2042 2050 2070 2071 2073 2091 2254 2302
- **O** (Oecumenius) — 2053 2062

The *Textus Receptus*

Introduction

Textus Receptus, or “Received Text,” (abbreviated *TR*) is the name we use for the first published Greek text of the New Testament. For many centuries, it was *the* standard text of the Greek Bible. The name arose from the work of the kinsmen Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir, who said of their 1633 edition, “Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum” — “So [the reader] has the text which all now receive.”

The irony is that the Received Text is not actually a single edition, but a sort of text-type of its own consisting of hundreds of extremely similar but not identical editions. Nor do any of its various flavours agree exactly with any extant text-type or manuscript. Thus

the need, when referring to the Received Text, to specify *which* received text we refer to.

If this all sounds complicated, it is because of the complicated history of the *Textus Receptus.* Let's take it from the beginning.

The Origin of the Textus Receptus

Although printing with movable type was in use no later than 1456, it was many years before a Greek New Testament was printed. This is not as surprising as it sounds; the Greek minuscule hand of the late fifteenth century was extremely complicated, with many diverse ligatures and custom symbols. Cutting a Greek typeface required the creation of hundreds of symbols — more than were used for most Latin typefaces once people like Nicolas Jensen had gotten around to simplifying the Latin alphabet. Printers probably did not relish the idea. (It is worth noting that the Complutensian Polyglot *invented* a new type of Greek print for its edition. For more on this evolution of type and typefaces, see the article on Books and Bookmaking.) According to Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking,* third revised edition, Oxford, 1943, between 1450 and 1500 at least 133 editions of the Vulgate were printed, and 15 German editions (in various dialects); there were at least 13 Italian editions, 11 French editions, two in Czech, one in Spanish, and one in Dutch. But none in Greek.

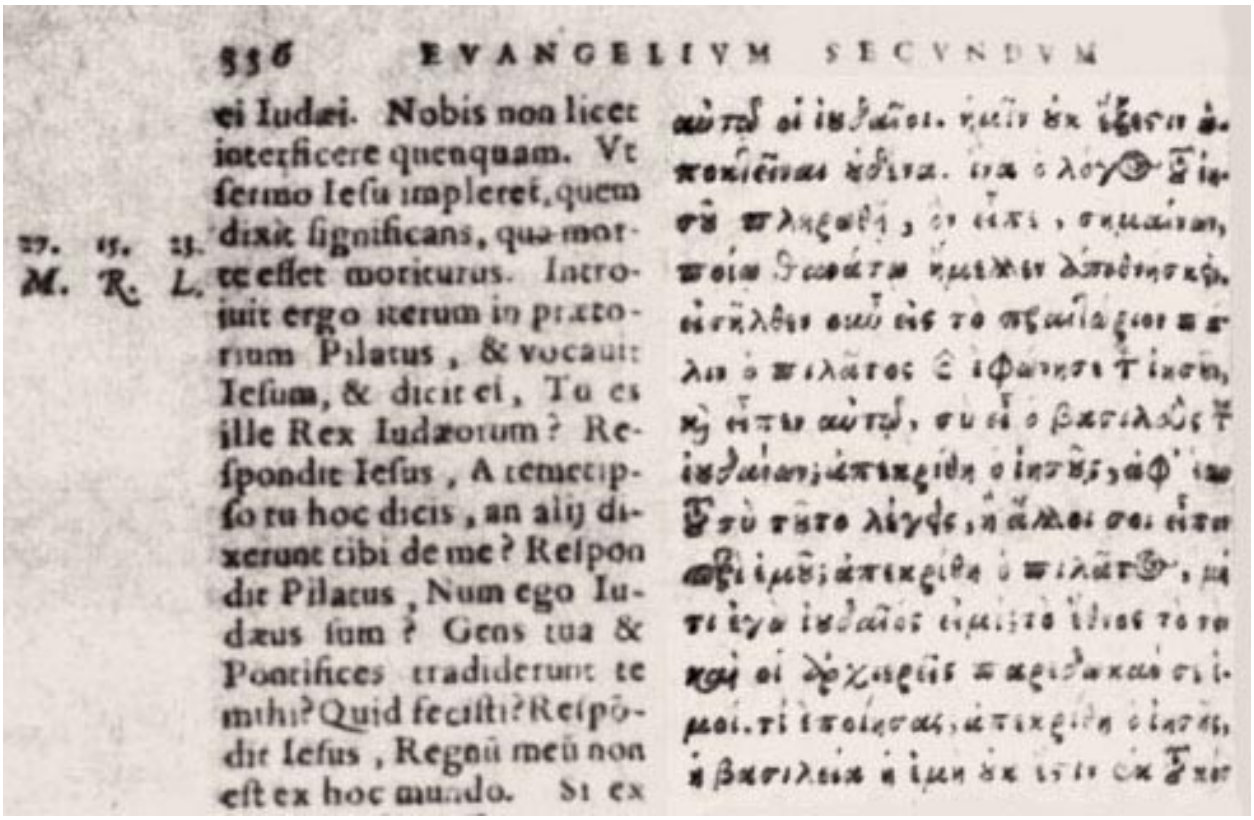
It was not until the early sixteenth century that Cardinal Ximénes de Cisneros decided to embark on a Greek and Latin edition of the New Testament — the famous Complutensian Polyglot. The New Testament volume of this work was printed in 1514 — but it was not published until after 1520. This left a real opportunity for an enterprising printer who could get out an edition quickly.

Such a printer was John Froben of Basle. Apparently having heard of the Complutension edition, he was determined to beat it into print. Fortunately, he had the contacts to pull this off.

Froben decided to approach Desiderius Erasmus, one of the most notable (if rather humanistic) scholars of his generation. The proposal appears to have been transmitted on April 17, 1515. Work began in the fall of that year, and the work was pushed through the press in February of 1516.

For a project that had taken fifty years to get started, the success of Erasmus's edition (which contained his Greek text in parallel with his own Latin version) was astonishing. The first printing soon sold out, and by 1519 a new edition was required. Three more would follow, each somewhat improved over the last.

It is sad to report that such a noble undertaking was so badly handled (all the more so since it became the basis of Luther's German translation, and later — with some slight modifications — of the English King James Version). The speed with which the book went through the press meant that it contained literally thousands of typographical errors. What is more, the text was hastily and badly edited from a few late manuscripts (see below, The Text of the Textus Receptus).



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ei Iudæi. Nobis non licet interficere quenquam. Vt sermo Iesu impleretur, quem dixit significans, qua morte esset moriturus. Introiuit ergo iterum in prætorium Pilatus, & vocauit Iesum, & dicit ei, Tu es ille Rex Iudæorum? Respondit Iesus, A temetipso tu hoc dicis, an alij dixerunt tibi de me? Respondit Pilatus, Num ego Iudæus sum? Gens tua & Pontifices tradiderunt te mihi? Quid fecisti? Respondit Iesus, Regnū meū non est ex hoc mundo. Si ex

27. 15. 23. M. R. L.

A part of page 336 of Erasmus's Greek Testament, the first "Textus Receptus." Shown is a portion of John 18.

The History of the Textus Receptus

Erasmus's first edition was a great success; some 3300 copies of his first two editions were sold. (If that sounds like a small number, recall that there were probably fewer than 300 copies of the Mainz Vulgate, and that editions were usually restricted to 1000 copies as late as Elizabethan times and after.) The success of Erasmus's edition soon called forth new Greek testaments, all of them based largely on his. The first of these was published by Aldus Manutius in 1518 — but although it contained an independent text of the Septuagint (the first such to be printed), its New Testament text was taken almost verbatim from Erasmus, including even the typographical errors. Hence the first

truly new publication was Erasmus's own second edition of 1519. This featured almost the same text as the 1516 edition, but with the majority (though by no means all!) of the errors of the press corrected. It also features some new readings, believed by Scrivener to come from 3^{eap} (XII; classified by von Soden as e: K^{x} a: I [K]; c: K).

Erasmus's third edition of 1522 contained one truly unfortunate innovation: The "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in 1 John 5:7–8. These were derived from the recently-written Codex 61, and (as the famous story goes) included by Erasmus "for the sake of his oath." Sadly, they have been found in almost every TR edition since.

There followed a great welter of editions, all slightly different (based on such figures as I have seen, it would appear that editions of the Textus Receptus typically vary at between one hundred and two hundred places, though very few of these differences are more than orthographic). None of these editions were of any particular note (though the 1534 text of Simon Colinæus is sometimes mentioned as significant, since it included some variant readings). It was not until 1550 that the next great edition of the Textus Receptus was published. This was the work of Robert Stephanus (Estienne), whose third edition became one of the two "standard" texts of the TR. (Indeed, it is Stephanus's name that gave rise to the common symbol ς for the Textus Receptus.) Stephanus included the variants of over a dozen manuscripts — including Codices Bezae (D) and Regius (L) — in the margin. In his fourth edition (1551), he also added the verse numbers which are still used in all modern editions. The Stephanus edition became the standard *Textus Receptus* of Britain, although of course it was not yet known by that name. (The esteem in which the Textus Receptus was already held, however, is shown by Scrivener's report that there are 119 places where all of Stephanus's manuscripts read against the TR, but Stephanus still chose to print the reading found in previous TR editions.)

Forced out of France by the bigotry of a less-learned academic community, Stephanus fled to Geneva in 1550; he died there in 1559.

Stephanus's editions were followed by those of Theodore de Bèza (1519–1605), the Protestant reformer who succeeded Calvin. These were by no means great advances over what had gone before; although Beza had access to the codex which bears his name, as well as the codex Claromontanus, he seems to have made little if any use of them. A few of his readings have been accused of theological bias; the rest seem largely random. Beza's editions, published between 1565 and 1611, are remembered more for the sake of their editor (and the fact that they were used by the translators of the King James Bible) than for their text.

The next great edition of the Textus Receptus is the Elzevir text already mentioned in the Introduction. First published in 1624, with minor changes for the edition of 1633, it

had the usual minor variants from Stephanus (of which Scrivener counted 287), but nothing substantial; the Elzevirs were printers, not critics.

(Lest the above statement be taken as being in any way particularly critical of the Elzevir firm, let it be noted that, in 1638, Louis Elzevir published Galileo's *Two New Sciences,* which John Gribbin, in *Science: A History 1543–2001*, p. 101, calls "the first modern scientific textbook." Galileo had by then been condemned by the Inquisition, and the book had to be smuggled out of Italy; while the Elzevirs were not subject to the Inquisition, it was a time when science was a rather dangerous occupation. (Not that that has changed much.) Whatever slight harm the firm of Elzevir did by perpetuating the already universally-used *Textus Receptus* was vastly outweighed both by the value of *Two New Sciences* and by the poke in the eye that it gave to the supporters of folly. Would that there were more publishers with such courage today!)

The Elzevir text, which became the primary TR edition on the continent, was the last version to be significant for its text. From this time on, editions were marked more by their marginal material, as scholars such as Mill, Wettstein, and later Griesbach began examining and arranging manuscripts. None of these were able to break away from the TR, but all pointed the way to texts free of its influence.

Only one more TR edition needs mention here — the 1873 Oxford edition, which forms the basis of many modern collations. This edition is no longer available, of course, though some editions purport to give its readings.

Beginners are reminded once again that not all TR editions are identical; those collating against a TR must state very explicitly which edition is being used.

The Text of the Textus Receptus

Erasmus, having little time to prepare his edition, could only examine manuscripts which came to hand. His haste was so great, in fact, that he did not even write new copies for the printer; rather, he took existing manuscripts, corrected them, and submitted *those* to the printer. (Erasmus's corrections are still visible in the manuscript 2.)

Nor were the manuscripts which came to hand particularly valuable. For his basic text (in effect, his copy text) he chose 2^{e}, 2^{ap}, and 1^{r}. In addition, he was able to consult 1^{eap}, 4^{ap}, and 7^{p}. Of these, only 1^{eap} had a text independent of the Byzantine tradition — and Erasmus used it relatively little due to the supposed "corruption" of its text. Erasmus also consulted the Vulgate, but only from a few late manuscripts.

Even those who favor the Byzantine text cannot be overly impressed with Erasmus's choice of manuscripts; they are all rather late (see table):

Manuscript	Date	Von Soden Classification (in modern terms)
[1^{eap}]	XII	e: family 1; ap: I^{a3}
[1^{r}]	XII	Andreas
2^{e}	XII/XIII	K^{x} (Wisse reports K^{mix}/K^{x})
[2^{ap}]	XII	I^{b1}
4^{ap}	XV	
7^{p}	XI/XII	$O^{\pi 18}$

Not only is 1^{r} an Andreas manuscript rather than purely Byzantine, but it is written in such a way that Erasmus could not always tell text from commentary and based his reading on the Vulgate. Also, 1^{r} is defective for the last six verses of the Apocalypse. To fill out the text, Erasmus made his own Greek translation from the Latin. He admitted to what he had done, but the result was a Greek text containing readings not found in any Greek manuscript — but which were faithfully retained through centuries of editions of the Textus Receptus. This included even certain readings which were not even correct Greek (Scrivener offers as an example Rev. 17:4 ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΗΤΟΣ).

The result is a text which, although clearly Byzantine, is not a good or pure representative of the form. It is full of erratic readings — some "Caesarean" (Scrivener attributes Matt. 22:28, 23:25, 27:52, 28:3, 4, 19, 20; Mark 7:18, 19, 26, 10:1, 12:22, 15:46; Luke 1:16, 61, 2:43, 9:1, 15, 11:49; John 1:28, 10:8, 13:20 to the influence of 1^{eap}), some "Western" or Alexandrian (a good example of this is the doxology of Romans, which Erasmus placed after chapter 16 in accordance with the Vulgate, rather than after 14 along with the Byzantine text), some simply wild (as, e.g., the inclusion of 1 John 5:7–8). Daniel B. Wallace counts 1,838 differences between the TR and Hodges & Farstad's Byzantine text (see Wallace's "The Majority Text Theory: History, Methods, and Critique," in Ehrman & Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research,* Studies & Documents, Eerdmans, 1995. The figure is given in note 28 on page 302.) This, it should be noted, is a *larger* number than the number of differences between the UBS, Bover, and Merk texts — even though these three editions are all eclectic and based largely on the Alexandrian text-type, which is much more diverse than the Byzantine text-type.

Thus it will be conceded by all reputable scholars — even those who favor the Byzantine text — that the Textus Receptus, in all its various forms, has no textual authority whatsoever. Were it not for the fact that it has been in use for so long as a basis for collations, it could be mercifully forgotten. What a tragedy, then, that it was the Bible of Protestant Christendom for close to four centuries!

Addendum I: The King James Version

Authorized in 1604 and published in 1611, the King James version naturally is based on the TR. When it was created, there was no demand for critical editions. (Though in fact the original KJV contains some textual notes. These, like the preface, are usually suppressed in modern versions, making the version that much worse than it is. In addition, editions of the KJV do not print precisely the same text. But this is another issue.)

Even accepting that the KJV derives from the TR, and has most of its faults, it is reasonable to ask *which* TR it is based on. The usual simplistic answer is Stephanus's or Beza's. F.H.A. Scrivener, however, who studied the matter in detail, concluded that it was none of these. Rather, it is a mixed text, closest to Beza, with Stephanus in second place, but not clearly affiliated with any edition. (No doubt the influence of the Vulgate, and of early English translations, is also felt here.) Scrivener reconstructed the text of the KJV in 1894, finding some 250 differences from Stephanus. Jay P. Green, however, states that even *this* edition does not agree entirely with the KJV, listing differences at Matt. 12:24, 27; John 8:21, 10:16 (? — this may be translational); 1 Cor. 14:10, 16:1; compare also Mark 8:14, 9:42; John 8:6; Acts 1:4; 1 John 3:16, where Scrivener 's reconstruction includes words found in the KJV in italics as missing from their primary text.

Since there are people who still, for some benighted reason, use the King James Bible for Bible study, we perhaps need to add a few words about its defects (defects conceded by all legitimate textual critics, plus most people who know anything about translations). This is not to deny that it is a brilliant work of English prose; it *is* a brilliant work of English prose. But it is not an adequate English Bible.

The first reason is the obvious textual one: It is translated from the Textus Receptus. There was no good alternative at the time, but we know now that it is simply a *bad* text. This is true event if one accepts the Byzantine text as original; the TR is not a good representative of that text-form, and is even worse if one accepts any other text form, or if one is eclectic.

The Old Testament suffers the same problem — in some ways, worse. The Hebrew text had hardly been edited at all when the KJV was translated. Today, with more Hebrew manuscripts, the Dead Sea Scrolls, various translations, more ancient commentaries, and a better grasp of textual criticism, we can establish a much better Hebrew text.

The lack of Hebrew scholarship at the time contributed to an even greater problem with the Old Testament: The translators didn't know what it *meant*. Textual damage caused some of the cruxes; others arose from ignorance of classical Hebrew. The translators

often had to turn to the translations in LXX or the Vulgate — which often were just as messed up as the Hebrew. Today, we have more samples of ancient Hebrew to give us references for words; we have knowledge of cognate languages such as Ugaritic and Akkadian, and we have the tools of linguistics. There are still unsolved problems in the Old Testament — but they are far fewer.

The same is true, to a lesser extent, of the New Testament. Greek never entirely vanished from the knowledge of scholars, as Hebrew did, but the language evolved. At the time the KJV was translated, classical Greek — the Greek of Homer and the tragic playwrights — was considered the standard. Koine Greek — the Greek of the New Testament — was forgotten; the Byzantine empire had undergone a sort of Classic Revival. People referred to the Greek of the New Testament as "the Language of the Holy Spirit" — and then sneered at its uncouth forms. Over the past century and a half, the *koine* has been rediscovered, and we know that the New Testament was written in a living, active language. This doesn't affect our understanding of the meaning of the New Testament as much as our increased knowledge of Hebrew affects our understanding of the Old — but it does affect it somewhat.

In addition, there is the translation style. The KJV was created by six separate committees, with relatively little joint effort and a relatively small body of prior work (for which they are hardly to be faulted — this was 1604, after all; the committee from Cambridge couldn't just buzz down to Westminster for the afternoon, e.g.). This meant that there wasn't much standardization of vocabulary; a word might be translated two or three or even half a dozen different ways. Sometimes, of course, multiple renderings were necessary (as, e.g. with ΑΝΩΘΕΝ, "again," "from above" in John 3:3, 7, 31 — a case where the KJV translators seem, ironically, to have missed the multivalued meaning). But it is generally agreed that that KJV used various renderings for solely stylistic reasons; their translation was meant to be read aloud. They produced a version that was excellent for these purposes — but, in consequence, much less suitable for detailed study, especially, e.g., of Synoptic parallels, which can look completely different when the KJV renditions are set side by side.

Plus the committee was under instructions to stay as close as possible to the previous standard, the so-called Bishop's Bible, which in turn had been created based on the Great Bible. And even *it* was derived largely from Tyndale's work. The Great Bible had been created some 75 years earlier, and Tyndale in the decades before that — not long in ordinary terms, but this was a time when English was evolving fast. This heritage means that a number of the features — e.g. the use of you/ye/thou/thee/thy/thine — was actually incorrect even by the standards of the time, and its influence came to produce a truly curious effect: "Thou," initially the second person singular pronoun, (as opposed to "ye," the plural form, loosely equivalent to the American Southernism "y'all")

was briefly a form used to address a social inferior, and then, under the influence of the KJV itself, treated as a form of address to one deserving of high dignity. This is genuinely confusing at best.

Finally, the KJV does not print the text in paragraphs, but rather verse by verse. Readers can see this, but it's one thing to know it and another to really read the text in that light.

To be fair, the translators were aware of most of these problems. The preface, in fact, urges "the Reader.... not to conclude or dogmatize upon this or that peremptorily." The Old Testament, according to Alister McGrath, contained 6,637 marginal notes, most of them variant readings (more notes than many modern translations, we should observe). But I have yet to find a recent printing of the KJV which includes its marginal notes, let alone its preface. (I'm told there is one — or at least a reprint of an allegedly-exact nineteenth century repring — but it's an expensive edition you won't find in ordinary bookstores.)

And, of course, since the time of publication, the language of the KJV — already somewhat antiquated in its time, based as it was largely upon Tyndale's translation — has become entirely archaic.

In an aside, we might note that, at the time of its publication, the KJV was greeted with something less than enthusiasm, and for the first few decades of its life, the Geneva Bible remained the more popular work; the Geneva edition (unlike the other pre-KJV translations) remained in print for more than thirty years after the KJV was published. During the Commonwealth period (1649–1660), there was talk of commissioning another new translation. It wasn't until the KJV became quite venerable that it somehow assumed an aura of special value — even of independent canonicity.

Quite simply, while the King James Bible was a brilliant work, and a beautiful monument of sixteenth century English, it is not fit to be used as a Bible in today's world.

Addendum II: The "New TR"

The phrase "The New TR" is sometimes applied to editions which threaten to dominate the field of textual criticism. Thus the edition of Westcott & Hort was a sort of "New TR" in the late nineteenth century, and in the twentieth century the name is sometimes applied to the United Bible Societies edition. In terms of number of copies printed, and translations from it, this description of the UBS text is probably justified — no complete new edition has been issued since its publication — but no reputable textual scholar would regard it as the "final word."

Another sort of “New TR” is found in the Majority Text editions of Hodges & Farstad and Robinson & Pierpont. These are attempts to create a true Byzantine text (as an alternative to the TR, which is a very bad Byzantine text), but they have received relatively little critical attention — less, probably, than they deserve (though few would consider them to contain the original text). Thus they cannot be considered truly “received” texts.

Textual Criticism and Modern Translations

Please note that this is an article about how textual criticism should be handled in translations. For information about the text used in English translations, see the article on English Versions.

Consider the first verse of the gospel of John, and consider its usual English translation:

Εν αρχη ην ο λογος	In the beginning was the word,
και ο λογος ην προς τον θεον	and the word was with God,
και θεος ην ο λογος	and the word was God.

Now consider retroverting the latter back into Greek. Chances are that a translator, lacking any knowledge of the Greek, would produce something like

Εν η αρχη ην ο λογος
και ο λογος ην συν τω θεω
και ο λογος ην ο θεος.

Note that, while the English translation is more or less an adequate rendering of the Greek (except, perhaps, for the interesting flavour of the Greek preposition προς instead of συν or μετα), it is simply impossible to move from the English to the Greek. It doesn’t preserve the same attributes.

This is a constant difficulty, and one rarely addressed in either the manuals of textual criticism or those on translation; both leave it for the other.

Fundamentally, to the translator, variants can be classified into four groups based on two criteria:

1. Meaningful variants, *and*
2. Translatable variants.

The former list is almost the same from language to language; the latter differs from tongue to tongue.

Using English as our target language, let’s give examples of each class:

a. *Translatable and meaningful variants.* These, obviously, are the most important class. This can include anything from the presence or absence of “Christ” after “Jesus” to the presence or absence of John 7:53–8:11.

b. *Translatable but not meaningful variants.* Typically changes in word order fall into this class. Consider the sentence “I crossed a field of red and yellow flowers.” Is the meaning changed if it were transcribed as “I crossed a field of yellow and red flowers”? Hardly.

c. Meaningful but not translatable variants. These depend on the languages involved. Consider these three English sentences:
“I am the Lord, God of Israel.”
“I am the Lord, a God of Israel.”
“I am the Lord, the God of Israel.”
Clearly there is a difference in meaning between the second and the third, and also between the first and at least one of the others. And the distinction can be conveyed in, say, German, which has both indefinite and definite articles. But the difference is harder in Greek, which has a definite but no indefinite article, and still worse in Latin, which has no articles at all.
We can illustrate with several examples in Greek as well. Consider John 21 and the exchange between Jesus and Peter about whether Peter loves Jesus. Two verbs, αγαπαω and φιλεω, are involved. There is debate among scholars over whether these verbs “really” mean something different — but there can be little doubt that the author deliberately contrasted them. Since, however, both words are rendered in other languages by a word meaning “love,” it is almost impossible to convey this distinction in English or German or other modern languages.
Then, too, what of the construction μεν.... δε. The two together have a specific meaning (“on the one hand.... on the other”), but individually μεν is almost incapable of being rendered in English, and δε has a very different range of uses in the absence of μεν Thus an add/omit involving μεν has meaning but is not translatable.

d. Variants neither translatable nor meaningful. We saw a potential one in our sample of John above: the absence of an article before αρχη. In English, “beginning,” when it refers to creation, *always* takes the article, so the fact that Greek idiom does not use the article cannot be translated. And because the Greek form is idiomatic, it should not be translated into English. We see a similar phenomenon in certain British versus American usages — for example, a Briton goes “to hospital”; an American will surely go “to THE hospital.”

It will presumably be evident that variants of the first class are the most important, and variants of the last class can be ignored. We will return to this subject later.

More complex are the cases where the distinction is blurred. Take the disciple whose name was either Lebbaeus or Thaddaeus. This is clearly a translatable distinction. But is it *meaningful*? Not necessarily, since neither name occurs elsewhere in the New Testament. If this disciple had instead been called "James Francis Edward Stuart the Old Pretender," it might set us wondering about anachronisms, but it wouldn't affect the plot, if I may so call it, of the gospels. It would affect synoptic studies, but those should be conducted based on the Greek text anyway.

Or, similarly, take the parable of the two sons (Matthew 21:28–31). We know that the son who went to the vineyard is the one who did the will of the father. But is that the first or the second son? This is a difficult question textually. The *meaning*, however, is the same either way. Is this a translationally significant variant?

There is also the question of textual support. Matthew 1:16 has a major variant concerning the paternity of Jesus — but the real variant is found only in the Sinai Syriac. Is that enough reason to note a variant? Or 1 John 5:7–8 — the work of a known heretic, with no significant textual support at all. Is that worth noting?

So which variants should go in the margin of a translation (if any)?

The answer to this depends very much on the intended audience of the translation. Obviously a translation intended for children should not have any marginalia at all if it can be avoided. But a translation for educated adults certainly should note places where the text is doubtful.

The number of variants still depends on the intended audience. As well as on the style of the translation. A severely literal translation, we should observe, ought to have more textual variants noted in the margin, because readers are trusting it to say what it says. By the same argument, a translation with a high number of marginal notes on the translation should have a high number of textual notes as well, because the text affects the translation.

The obvious temptation is to take the United Bible Societies' edition — which, after all, has variants selected for translators — and simply follow the variants there, or perhaps those marked as being of only the "{C}" level or higher, indicating significant uncertainty. This is presumably why the editors provided those variants, and for a translator with no text-critical background, it's certainly better than nothing. But there are several problems with this. First is the fact that it is generally conceded that the UBS editors are overconfident — the fourth edition, in particular, marks many variants as more secure than they should be. Second, their selection of variants is somewhat questionable. And

third, there is the problem of how this will be used. My experience is that the notes in a translation are most often used by groups such as small Bible Study classes. These groups will usually have several translations in use — including, perhaps, someone with a King James Bible. The UBS apparatus omits many variants where it differs significantly from the Byzantine tradition behind the King James Bible. A *good* translation needs better notes than UBS provides; it needs those Byzantine variants, even if there is no likelihood that they are original.

A point I don't often see addressed is the different types of marginal notes. Typically, a translation, if it has notes at all, will feature both notes on the text and notes on the translation. This, of course, is perfectly reasonable — but it's not obvious that they should be grouped together. (Note that most other critical editions with marginal glosses — e.g. editions of Shakespeare or Chaucer — have textual and linguistic glosses firmly separated.) In the case of translational differences, you put the best rendering you can in the text (either you think ανωθεν means "again" or it means "from above," but it means what it means). If something is in the margin, it's a less likely rendering. Textual variants are fundamentally different: Only one can be correct. There is no doubt of meaning; there is doubt of reading. It makes a different demand on the reader. A note on the translation often makes our understanding of the text richer. But a note on the text says that there are two different traditions about what is read here.

Then, too, most editions don't really indicate the nature of a variant. Is it highly uncertain? Is it included only because it's found in the King James Bible (e.g. 1 John 5:7–8)? Admittedly a translation probably shouldn't be a textual commentary. But a strong case can be made that it should be more than it is: That it should include nearly every translatable and meaningful variant where there is significant doubt about the text, and that it should also include translatable and meaningful variants where the reading is not really in doubt but where some well-known edition has included the reading anyway — and that these two classes of readings should be clearly distinguished.

There is no absolute and final rule for how to deal with textual variants in translations. There is no doubt in my mind, however, that more needs to be done.

Theology and Textual Criticism

The textual critic.... is a scholar who respects neither familiarity nor tradition insofar as texts and readings are concerned.

— P. Kyle McCarter (*Textual Criticism,* Fortress Press, 1986, p. 11)

The tendency to make the Bible read what we want it to read is strong. Let's take an example: Matthew 19:24 (and parallels). The vast majority of texts read that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter Heaven.

For Greek καμηλον, *camel*, however, a handful of authorities read καμιλον, *a rope.*

The witnesses for this reading? In Matthew 19:24, they are 579, 1424, the Armenian, and a handful of lectionaries. In Mark 10:25, the list is family 13, 28, 579, and the Georgian version. In Luke 18:25, the list is S, family 13, 180, 579^{vid}, 1010, 1424, and the Armenian and Georgian. Streeter would perhaps call this reading "Cæsarean." But surely we would recognize it as simply an error — either an itacism or a clarification.

And yet, I recently had someone tell me that she had heard this reading was original. This is, be it noted, a modern who was hearing it from someone who claimed knowledge of the text.

I've also heard this reading explained in terms of the "eye of a needle" being a very narrow entry into Jerusalem. The clear tendency seems to be to try to explain away this reading: It's tricky for the rich to get in, but There Are Ways.

No doubt there are, on the principle that "all things are possible with God." But modifying the text to make it easier is surely an example of theological bias — and surely to be avoided.

✧ ✧ ✧

Theology has affected textual criticism for a very long time. Origen, in doing his textual work, adopted readings which he felt Christianity required. So, for instance, he rejected the reading "Jesus Barabbas" in Matthew 27:16–17 because he didn't believe the name Jesus could be applied to evildoers.

An even more extreme instance is shown by Justin Martyr, who quoted the first line of Psalm 95:10 LXX (=96:10 Hebrew) as "the Lord reigned FROM THE TREE." The key words "from the tree" do not appear in the Hebrew, nor in our major LXX manuscripts. But Justin accused the Jews of mutilating this verse, because it was so useful to his theological understanding. There is no question at this point; these words are not original. But theology led Justin to claim that they were.

More recently, we have seen various sects claim divine inspiration for their particular translations, rather than seeking the original text. The Catholic church long canonized the Clementine Vulgate; perhaps even more absurdly, there are many fundamentalist sects in the United States which give direct adherence to the The King James Bible. This may not seem like a theological issue, but it is: "God spoke to *us*, using this version."

To what extent should theology affect textual criticism? This is a truly complex question, which has been answered in several ways. (It doesn't help that some who have followed their theological opinions have concealed it under the guise of following the author's style or the like.)

To demonstrate how important all this could be, consider the Longer Ending of Mark. This passage contains (16:16) the only NT passage explicitly linking baptism with salvation. All others refer to baptism as a cleansing of sins or the equivalent — obviously worthwhile and desirable, and a token of membership of the church, but *not* a requirement for salvation. Does it not follow that, if critics allow theology to influence their criticism, then those who consider baptism important (e.g. Baptists) will tend to include the ending of Mark, while those who consider baptism less important (e.g. Quakers) would be inclined to omit it?

There are also historical implications. Consider the issue of whether Jesus was crucified on Passover or Passover Eve. On one side, we have the date in John. On the other, we have the date of the Synoptic Gospels, which essentially means the tradition of Mark. One witness on each side. Except that there is a single passage in Luke which may come from his special tradition: Luke 22:16. The Byzantine tradition has a reading which implicitly supports the Markan date; the Alexandrian tradition implies the Johannine date. A particular bias might lead one to support one or the other reading on non-textual grounds.

One group of textual workers (I hesitate to call them scholars) base their whole method on theology. These are the Providential Preservationists. So, for instance, Wilbur N. Pickering, "I believe that God has providentially preserved the original wording of the text down to our day.... I see in the Traditional Text ('Byzantine') both the result and the proof of that preservation" (*The Identity of the New Testament Text,* First Edition, 1977, pp. 143–144.)

But, as Harry Sturz notes in reacting to Hills (another exponent of this doctrine), "Hills fails to show why the sovereign God *must* act in a particular way" (Harry A. Sturz, *The Byzantine Text-Type & New Testament Textual Criticism,* 1984, p. 42. Italics added.) Even if one accepts Providential Preservation, one must admit that it is arguing from theology back to the text, rather than from the text to theology.

It's also worth asking why Providential Preservation would preserve a text-type, as opposed to an actual text. If God were trying to preserve the Biblical text, would not God have given us one manuscript which is absolutely correct? Yet the Byzantine manuscripts do not agree entirely. How does one decide which manuscript has *the* exact text? Might it not as easily be B, or 1739, or 33, as opposed to K or 861 or whatever manuscript contains the Byzantine standard? And if God is going to hit us over

the head with such a patent giveaway as preserving the exact text of the New Testament, wouldn't God also offer a few other obvious tokens of existence, such as would be available to ordinary people who didn't read Greek? (It will be evident that I consider Providential Preservation not only false but quite insulting.)

Not all who believe theology has a place in criticism go to this extreme. Most would, in fact, be angered by comparison to a Providential Preservationist. Most consider the manuscripts involved, the context, the nature of the variant, etc. (Note: For the critic to consider his oen theology is *not* the same as considering the author's theology. Knowing the author's theology is obviously a tool for evaluating internal evidence. But that's not the same as considering the critic's own theology.)

I will admit, at this point, that I get lost. How can one consider theology in assessing a variant reading? You're telling God what God should have written! If one takes the Protestant view that the Bible is the determiner of faith, then you are applying an ex post facto judgment: The text should be telling you what to believe; you should not tell it. And even if one takes a Catholic/Orthodox view, with stress on church tradition, does not the fact that tradition has a place mean that the Bible is not a complete and perfect repository of the truth? This implies that it could have readings with false theological implications — meaning that the original reading might not be "theologically correct."

Since I cannot understand the viewpoint of the theological critics, I will not attempt to take this point further. I will simply make the observation that a scientific criticism must necessarily reject any theological approach. But we should note that there has never been a scientific New Testament textual critic. Some have used mathematical methods — but as tools, not final arbiters.

A quote from A. J. Ayer is relevant here, though not directed at textual criticism: "A man can always maintain his convictions in the face of apparently hostile evidence if he is prepared to make the necessary ad hoc assumptions. But although any particular instance in which a cherished hypothesis appears to be refuted can always be explained away, there must still remain the possibility that the hypothesis will ultimately be abandoned. Otherwise it is not a genuine hypothesis. For a proposition whose validity we are resolved to maintain in the face of any experience is not a hypothesis at all, but a definition" *(Language, Truth, and Logic,* p. 95).

I'll make one more appeal to logic. Several people have told me that they feel we *must* consider theology in editing the text. Some have, in fact, told me that I will be damned for not following their version of the New Testament text. Unlike them, I am not willing to pass such judgments. (I might be willing to allow that they are fools, but folly is surely not sufficient reason for damnation, else Hell is going to be very crowded indeed!) But I am willing to say that I would never trust a New Testament such a person edited. And

they would never trust a New Testament I edited according to my theological principles. Is it not better to edit without reference to such principles, which would result in every editor producing a different New Testament? It might be different if somehow we all agreed on our theology. But we don't (and if we did, what need for the Bible anyway?).

Or try it another way: Would you want me, with my theological principles, editing the Bible according to my theology? If no, then why should anyone else want *you* to edit it according to your principles? There is an ancient name for this: It's called "heresy."

τιτλοι

The κεφαλαια are an ancient system of textual divisions somewhat similar to the modern chapters; the τιτλοι are descriptions of these sections. See the section on Divisions and Organization of the Text.

Transmissional Probability: see under Inherent Probability

Transcriptional Probability: see under Inherent Probability

U

Uncials and Uncial Letterforms

Introduction

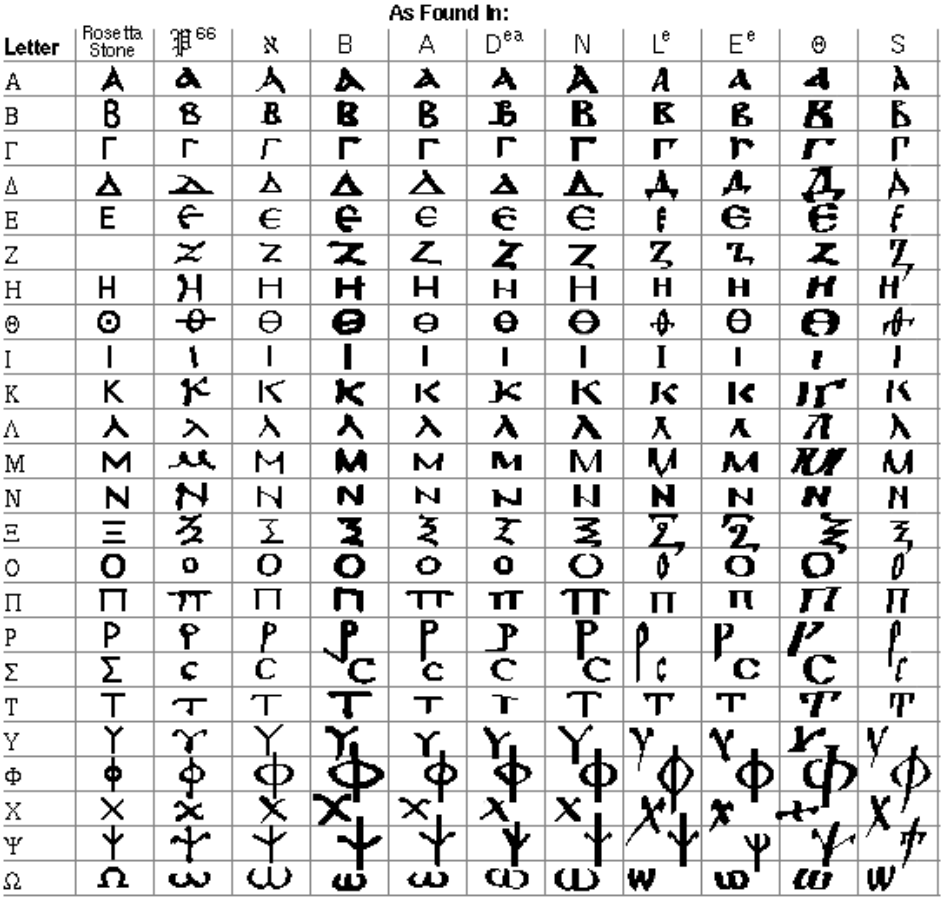
In describing the script used Greek manuscripts, we speak of “uncial” and “minuscule” writing. But neither of these forms are fixed; both evolved over time. (Fortunately for us, else paleographers would have very little evidence to work with.) Indeed, late uncials show many features of the minuscule script, and many minuscules use uncial forms of at least certain letters.

The table below shows how uncials evolved over the centuries. Observe how the clear, simple forms of early centuries could give way to very crabbed, difficult styles toward the end of the uncial era.

Note: Most uncials are rather small — rarely more than a centimetre tall, and often much less. This means that it is difficult to reproduce them accurately on a computer screen. Although I worked hard to get reasonably clean scans (often enlarging the lettering for clarity), one should not consider the images below authoritative. For detailed paleographic work, refer to a manual on the subject, preferably one with high-quality photos.

The table below generally shows the most typical hand used for each manuscript — e.g. the chart for Sinaiticus shows the hand of scribe A, who wrote all but a handful of the leaves of the New Testament.

Table of Scripts Used in Various Uncials



Description of Manuscripts in the Above Table

Keep in mind that your screen size may differ from mine. I have shown the letters from א at roughly actual size; scale comparisons are relative to that.

- **The Rosetta Stone**. Inscription from 196 B.C.E. (Included for comparison. Note that this is not written in an uncial script but in an engraved style. This is particularly evident in the forms used for Σ and Ξ.)
- **P^{66}**. Probably the oldest substantial New Testament papyrus, dating to the second century. Written in a good calligraphic hand of that period.
- Codex **Sinaiticus**. Fourth century. One of several hands used in this manuscript.
- Codex **Vaticanus**. Fourth century. Recall that this manuscript, written in very small, neat uncials, was retraced by a later scribe, resulting in some minor

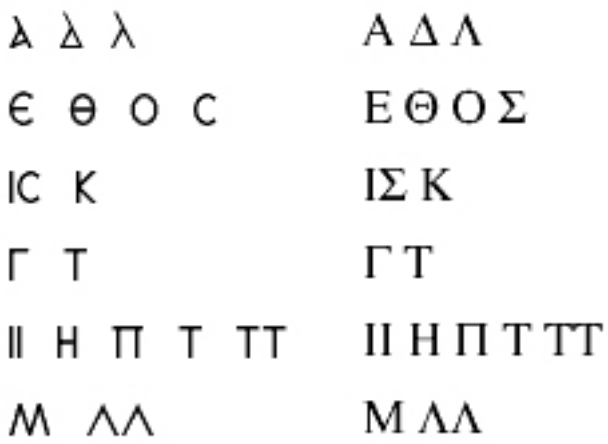
changes in the letterforms and in a much coarser appearance. Lettering shown about 25% larger than actual size.

- Codex **Alexandrinus**. Fifth century. Note that the letterforms are slightly more elaborate than those in the early manuscripts.
- Codex **Bezae**. Fifth or sixth century. Greek/Latin diglot, with the lettering styles of the Greek and Latin sides partially conformed to each other, resulting in a script with few outside parallels. Lettering shown about very slightly smaller than actual size.
- Codex **Petropolitanus** (N/022). Sixth century. Written in large silver uncials (with some gold) on purple parchment. This is, in terms of style, perhaps the ideal uncial. Lettering shown about 50% smaller than actual size.
- Codex **Regius** (L/019). Eighth century. Written by a scribe whose familiarity with Greek was perhaps somewhat limited. Even so, it illustrates well the increasing complexity which by this time was affecting the uncial style — a complexity which is found in most manuscripts of this era, and which reached its height in the "Slavic" style seen, e.g., in S/028.
- Codex **Basiliensis** (E/07). Eighth century.
- **Koridethi** Codex (Θ/038). Usually believed to date from about the ninth century, although this is uncertain as no similar script style has ever been found. It is believed that the scribe (perhaps a Georgian) did not know Greek well, and may even have been drawing imitations of the letterforms rather than reading and copying. The size of the letters varies widely (the sizes shown here seem to be fairly typical). Due to the state of the parchment it has been difficult to obtain a good scans, particularly of unusual letters such as Z.
- Codex **S** (028). One of the very last uncial manuscripts written, and the only uncial to carry a date (March 5, 949). A clear example of the exaggerated, thick-and-thin "Slavic" style. The effort required to write in this style may have contributed to the abandonment of uncial writing. Lettering shown is about 30% smaller than actual size.

As a very rough rule of thumb, the trend of manuscript evolution was toward narrower letters and smaller lower-case forms, in an attempt to conserve parchment. But this is only a rough guide.

Easily Confused Uncials (Greek and Latin)

As in most scripts, certain letters are easily confused in Greek uncials, and can sometimes give rise to errors. Some such examples are shown below (though each particular style of uncial will have its own examples), with the uncial form on the left and the modern form on the right:



In Latin, the following uncials are frequently confused (note that E, like the Greek epsilon, was written in rounded form as an uncial):

I L T

F P R

C E O G U

EU COG

Appendix: The Evolution of Writing Styles

To understand the letterforms of a particular language, it is necessary to know the characteristics of the material it was written on. We noted above, for instance, the difference between the letterforms carved on the Rosetta Stone and the uncial script of the same general period: The engraved letterforms use almost entirely straight strokes.

Nonetheless it is clear that the Greek alphabet is originally a written (as opposed to a carved or inscribed) alphabet. This is in contrast to, for instance, the German runic alphabet, designed for inscriptions; its every stroke is straight.

Even more curious are the letterforms used in the Indian Ocean region (Sri Lanki, Burma). Books in those areas were written on palm leaves which had been cut to size

and smoothed. Letters were inscribed with a stylus, and then (in at least some cases) inked.

Because the palm leaves were fragile and had a distinct grain, it was not possible, in the case of these writings, to use a horizontal stroke. Such a stroke would inevitably split the grain of the palm leaf, ruining the writing surface.

I have read that portions of the Quran were written on palm leaves also. But these portions were actually *written*, not inscribed, so the matter of stroke directions is somewhat less significant.

Other odd writing materials would have other effects. Certain important classical documents, e.g., were written on linen or woven cloth. Such cloth may not have a grain, but if it does, it will usually be easier to write horizontal and vertical strokes. And curves would be difficult on any woven material.

Cuneiform writing was not restricted so much by the writing material (clay will accept strokes in any direction) as by the stylus used to write it. You could, theoretically, draw almost anything in such a system, but it will be much slower.

All of these constraints have affected writing at one time or another. Imagine trying to inscribe the myriad symbols of Chinese writing in stone! The Chinese ideographic alphabet is possible only on surfaces which make writing possible. Surfaces which make writing difficult but make a wide variety of strokes possible, on the other hand, encourage syllabaries, which use fewer total strokes than alphabetic systems though they are somewhat harder to learn.

These concerns are not entirely trivial for students of New Testament writing and paleography. Papyrus was not as fragile as palm leaf, but it did have a very definite grain. This seems to be one reason why the codex was not popular for classical writings. A papyrus sheet consisted of two sets of strips pasted together. For reasons of strength, one set of strips would be set vertically, the other horizontally — as a toy house today might be made with a double set of popsicle sticks, one half running vertically, the other horizontally. It was easy enough to write on the horizontal side — indeed, that side of the sheet would not even need to be ruled. The vertical side was another matter. There were, of course, seams between the reeds of the vertical side; writing on these seams was difficult, but avoiding them was also problematic.

The roughness of the papyrus also had the effect of encouraging straight strokes. This was much less of a concern on vellum, which was nearly smooth and did not hinder curved strokes.

V

verso

In printing, the verso is the left-hand page of a pair, as opposed to the recto. With reference to leaves in a quire, in modern usage, the verso refers to the *inner* leaf. In a papyrus codex, this would normally be the side with the plant strips running horizontally.

W

The Western Non-Interpolations

Introduction

The textual theory of Westcott and Hort recognized four text-types — the Neutral, the Alexandrian (these two really being different phases of the same type, and now generally called "Alexandrian"), the Syrian (what we call the Byzantine), and the Western.

Of these types, in their view, the Alexandrian is restrained, the "Western" is marked by extensive paraphrase and expansion, and the Byzantine is a smooth combination of the two.

It is a good rule of criticism that, when manuscripts go against their tendencies, the significance of this reading is increased. So, for instance, when the "Western" text preserves a short reading, that reading is more likely to be original than when it preserves a longer reading. This is the basis on which Hort isolated the "Western Non-Interpolations."

If Hort's theory is to be believed, the "Western Non-interpolations" are in fact places in which readings have been interpolated into the Neutral text (and usually the Byzantine text as well). Although Hort usually rejects "Western" readings, in this case he regards them as original, placing the common reading of the Neutral text in double brackets, [[ ]]. The non-interpolations are described in §240–242 of Hort's *Introduction [and] Appendix.*

The "Western Non-interpolations" actually fall into two classes. The first are the full-fledged non-interpolations, of which there are nine (all placed in double brackets by Hort). All of these are supported by D^{ea} (Codex Bezae) and the Old Latins, and in all cases Hort regards the words as "superfluous, and in some cases intrinsically suspicious" (§240). The second class consists of readings which, due either to shifts in the manuscript evidence or to differences in the way he assesses them, Hort regards as doubtful enough to place in brackets but not to reject as clearly spurious.

The force of Hort's argument was so strong that for three-quarters of a century most editions and translations (including the Revised Standard Version and the New English Bible) omitted these nine passages. Then $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ was found (which included all the "non-interpolations" for which it was extant). Such was the respect for this manuscript that the passages began to re-assert their place in the editions — notably in UBS/GNT and its

follower the New Revised Standard Version. E. C. Colwell, however, in “Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program,” offers this assessment of the case:

> [Aland] reverses Westcott and Hort on the Western non-interpolations because P^{75} disagrees with them in agreeing with Codex Vaticanus. But there is nothing in that agreement that is novel to Hort’s theory. Hort did not possess P^{75}, but he imagined it. He insisted that there was a very early ancestor of his Neutral text, that the common ancestor of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus was a remote ancestor, not a close ancestor. P^{75} validates Hort’s reconstruction of the history, *but P^{75} does not add a new argument* for or against that theory.

To put it another way, P^{75} — despite its age — is just another Alexandrian witness. Its existence does not alter the case that the “Western Non-interpolations” are just that. They are still present in the Alexandrian text and missing in the “Western.” The student may well feel that they belong in the text, but the existence of P^{75} should not sway this decision.

The list below gives the nine full-fledged Non-interpolations; this is followed by a list of some of the more questionable interpolations. In each case the support for the shorter reading is listed. It is noteworthy that eight of the nine Non-interpolations are in Luke (and the remaining one is not a true example of the form). If the Non-interpolations are not accepted as original, their presence should offer strong evidence for the theory that D is an edited text — at least in Luke.

The Major Western Non-Interpolations

Matt. 27:49 — αλλος δε λαβων λογχην ενυξεν αυτου την πλευραν, και εξηλθεν υδωρ και αιμα (This is not a true non-interpolation; the reading — derived from John 19:34 — is found in א B C L U Γ 1010 1293 dubl ept^{marg} kenan lich mac-regol mull mae slav, but is omitted by all other texts, including A D E F G H K M S W Δ Θ Σ *Byz* it am cav ful hub tol cur pesh hark sa bo arm geo)

Luke 22:19b–20 — το υπερ υμων διδομενον… [20] το υπερ υμων εκχυννομενον omitted by D a (b e have the order 19a, 17, 18) d ff^2 i l (cur omits only verse 20; the order is 19, 17, 18) (sin has a modified form of 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18) (pesh omits 17, 18 but includes 19, 20)

Luke 24:3 — του κυριου Ιησου omitted by D a b d e ff^2 l r^1 (579 1071 1241 cur sin pesh have του Ιησου but omit κυριου)

Luke 24:6 — ουκ εστιν ωδε αλλ(α) ηγερθη omitted by D a b d e ff^{2} l r^{1} arm^{mss} geo^{B}

Luke 24:12 — entire verse omitted by D a b d e l r^{1}

Luke 24:36 — και λεγει αυτοις ειρηνη υμιν omitted by D a b d e ff^{2} l r^{1}

Luke 24:40 — και τουτο ειπων εδειξεν αυτοις τας χαιρας και τους ποδας omitted by D a b d e ff^{2} l r^{1} sin cur

Luke 24:51 — και ανεφερετο εις τον ουρανον omitted by א* D a b d e ff^{2} l (*hiat* r^{1}) sin (*hiat* cur) geo^{1}

Luke 24:52 — προσκυνησαντες αυτον omitted by D a b d e ff^{2} l (*hiat* r^{1}) sin (*hiat* cur) geo^{2}

Other Possible Non-Interpolations

The following readings are omitted in certain authorities (especially the Latins) which may be considered "Western," and are placed in single brackets by Westcott & Hort as possible "Western Non-interpolations." As above, the support for the shorter reading is listed, as are lacunae in certain of the major "Western" witnesses (D, the Old Syriac, a b e k and sometimes others of the Latins; recall that k contains Matthew and Mark only, so it is not mentioned for Luke or John).

- Matt. 6:15 — τα παραπτωματα αυτων omitted by א D 1–118–205–209–1582 22 892* a aur c ff^{1} g^{1} h k l am ful pesh mae bo^{part} Augustine (*hiat* e sin)
- Matt. 6:25 — η τι πιητε (*vl* και τι πιητε) omitted by א 1–1582 22 892 l2211 a b ff^{1} k l vg cur pal sa^{mss} arm^{mss} (*hiat* D e sin)
- Matt. 9:34 — οι δε φαρισαιοι ελεγον εν τω αρχοντι των δαιμωνιων εκβαλλει τα δαιμονια omitted by D a d k sin Hilary (*hiat* e cur)
- Matt. 13:33 — ελαλησεν αυτοις omitted by D d (k) sin cur
- Matt. 21:44 — entire verse omitted by D 33 a b d e ff^{1} ff^{2} r^{1} sin Irenaeus^{lat} Origen (*hiat* k)
- Matt. 23:26 — και της παροψιδος (found in א B C L W 33 *Byz* cop but omitted by UBS/GNT) omitted by D Θ 1–118–209–1582 700 a d e ff^{1} r^{1} sin geo Irenaeus^{lat} Clement (*hiat* b cur)
- Mark 2:22 — αλλα οινον νεον εις ασκους καινους omitted by D 2427 a b d e ff^{2} i r^{1} t bo^{ms} (*hiat* k cur)

- Mark 10:2 — προσελθοντες Φαρισαιοι (or προσελθοντες οι Φαρισαιοι; word order varies) omitted by D a b d k r^1 sin (sa^{mss}) (*hiat* e cur)
- Mark 14:39 — τον αυτον λογον ειπων omitted by D a b c d ff^2 k (*hiat* e cur)
- Luke 5:39 — entire verse omitted by D a b c d e ff^2 l r^1 (*hiat* sin cur)
- Luke 10:41–42 — for μεριμνας και θορυβζη περι πολλα ολιγων δε εστιν χρεια η ενος [43] Μαριαμ γαρ the Westcott-Hort margin reads θορυβζη Μαριαμ with (D has Μαρια) (a b d e ff^2 i l r^1 sin Ambrose omit θορυβζη)
- Luke 12:19 — κειμενα εις ετη πολλα αναπαυου φαγε πιε omitted by D a b c e (ff2)
- Luke 12:21 — entire verse omitted by D a b d
- Luke 12:39 — for εγρηγορησεν αν και ουκ (found in א** A B E L Q W Θ 33 *Byz* aur f l q) the Westcott-Hort margin (followed by *UBS/GNT*) reads ουκ αν with P^{75} א* (D) (d) e i cur sin sa^{mss} ach arm (Note that, in the light of the current evidence, this is not a purely "Western" reading)
- Luke 22:62 — entire verse omitted by (0171 does not appear to leave space) a b e ff^2 i l r^1
- Luke 24:9 — απο του μνημειου omitted by D a b c d e ff^2 l r^1 arm geo
- John 3:31 — επανω παντων εστιν (omitted in the Westcott-Hort margin, with additional variations in verse 32) omitted by P^{75} א* D 1–118–205–209–1582 22 565 a b d e ff^2 j l r^1 arm $geo^{(2)}$ cur sa $Origin^{part}$ Eusebius (this is clearly another reading that is not purely "Western")
- John 4:9 — ου γαρ συνχρωνται ιουδαιοι σαμαρειταις omitted by א* D a b d e j fay

Outside the Gospels

Westcott and Hort did not extend the concept of the "Non-interpolations" outside the Gospels. Such caution was probably justified in the case of Acts, where the text of Codex Bezae is extraordinarily wild. But the "Western" text of Paul (as represented by D F G Old Latin with some support from 629 Vulgate) is much more restrained. The possibility of such "non-interpolations" must be conceded. A few candidates are listed below (this list is not comprehensive, and includes weak as well as strong candidates. Most of these deserve to be rejected, although at least two have very strong cases. The others I leave for the reader to judge). I have listed only readings which are at least two

Greek words long and which do not have support from the major uncial witnesses P^{46} א A B C or from the Byzantine text. If readings supported by B are omitted from this list, we find a few other candidates, e.g. Rom. 5:2, Eph. 6:1).

Rom. 1:7 — εν ρωμη omitted by G g 1739^{margin} (*hiat* D F (but in D^{abs})); cf. Rom. 1:15

Rom. 6:16 — εις θανατον omitted by D 1739* d r am pesh sa arm^{mss} Ambrosiaster (I must admit that I think the case for the originality of this reading extremely strong)

Rom. 10:21 — και αντιλεγοντα omitted by F G g Ambrosiaster Hilary

Rom. 16:20 — η χαρις του κυριυ ημων ιησου (Χριστου) μεθ υμων omitted by D*^{vid} F G d f g m bodl Ambrosiaster Pelagius^{ms}

Rom. 16:25–27 — verses omitted by F G 629 d**? g goth? Jerome^{mss}

1 Cor. 15:3 — ο και παρελαβον omitted by b Ambrosiaster Irenaeus^{lat} Tertullian?

1 Cor. 15:15 — ειπερ αρα νεκροι ουκ εγειρονται omitted by D a b r bam ful** harl* kar mon reg val* pesh Ambrosiaster Irenaeus^{lat} Tertullian?

2 Cor. 10:12–13 — ου συιασιν 13 ημεις δε omitted byD* F G a b d f (429? s am cav dem ful hub tol val omit ου συιασιν) Ambrosiaster *(h.a. ?)*

Eph. 4:13 — του υιου omitted by F G b f? g Clement^{part} Lucifer *(h.a. ?)*

Eph. 4:16 — κατ ενεργειαν omitted by F G b d f g arm Irenaeus^{lat} Ambrosiaster Lucifer

Col. 1:28 — παντα ανθρωπον omitted by D* F G 0278 33 88 330 614 629 b d f ful mon reg tol (pesh) Clement Ambrosiaster

Col. 4:2 — εν ευχαριστια omitted by D* d Ambrosiaster Cyprian?

1 Tim. 3:14 — προς σε omitted by F G 6 263 424** 1739 1881 sa pal arm (181 g? vg^{cl} have the phrase in different poitions) (This is another instance where the case for the shorter reading is very good. Note that P^{46} and B are both defective here. Since the short reading is supported by both 1739 and sa, it is highly likely that their text would have omitted. And there is no basis for scribal error.)

1 Tim. 5:19 — εκτος ει μη επι δυο η τριων μαρτυρων omitted by b Ambrosiaster Pelagius Cyprian?

Titus 3:10 — και δευτεραν omitted by b 1739 Irenaeus^{lat} Tertullian Cyprian Ambrosiaster Speculum (D Ψ 1505 1881 hark include the words after νουθεσιαν)

(Ancient) Writing Materials

Introduction

Biblical manuscripts, with a few minor exceptions such as verses written on amulets and pots, are written on one of three materials: Papyrus, Parchment, and Paper. Each had advantages and disadvantages. Parchment (treated animal skins) was by far the most durable, but also the most expensive, and it's difficult to get large numbers of sheets of the same size and color. Papyrus was much cheaper, but wore out more quickly and, since it is destroyed by damp, few copies survive to the present day, except from Egypt (and even those usually badly damaged). Paper did not become available until relatively recently, and while it was cheaper than parchment once paper mills were established, the mills had high overhead costs, so they were relatively few and far between; paper was by no means as cheap in the late manuscript era as today (when paper is made from wood pulp rather than rags).

The following sections discuss the various types of ancient writing materials and how they were prepared.

Papyrus

The earliest relatively complete description of how papyrus was prepared comes from Pliny's *Natural History* (xiii.11f.): "Papyrus [the writing material] is made from the papyrus plant by dividing it with a needle into thin [strips], being careful to make them as wide as possible. The best quality material comes from the center of the [stalk]," with lesser grades coming from nearer to the edges. The strips are placed upon a table, and "moistened with water from the Nile… [which], when muddy, acts as a glue." The strips are then "laid upon the table lengthwise" and trimmed to length, after which "a cross layer is placed over them." These cross-braced sheets are then "pressed together, and dried in the sun."

This statement has its questionable parts — e.g. there is no evidence that water from the Nile as such can be used as a glue, though it is possible that some sort of glue could be made from some sort of soil found by the Nile. (An alternative possibility that I have not seen elsewhere is that perhaps Nile water was used as a sizing agent to smooth the surface of the papyrus — it might perhaps have carried a suitable sort of clay. But this is only a wild guess.) Pliny and Varro also state that papyrus as a writing material was unknown in the Greco-Roman world before Alexander the Great, which seems to be false (note the existence of the word χαρτες for papyrus, which became charta in Latin; there seem to be records of papyrus being used well before Alexander), and deny that parchment existed as an alternative until still later than that, which is

patently false. Nonetheless Pliny's basic description is certainly true: The stalks were sliced, set side by side, braced by having another layer of strips glued across them perpendicularly, pressed, and dried.

Papyrus sheets came in all sizes, depending on the size of the usable strips cut from the plant; the largest known are as much as two-thirds of a metre (say 25 inches) wide, but the typical size was about half that, and occasionally one will find items not much bigger than a business card (presumably made of the leftovers of larger strips trimmed down to size). According to Pliny, these various sizes and qualities were given distinct names (Augustan, Livian, amphitheatre, etc.), but it is not clear that these distinctions were always observed.

A standard papyrus roll consisted of twenty sheets and was called a *scapus*. But there was no reason why such a roll could not be lengthened or shortened; this apparently was just an informal standard. In general, according to Pliny, the best sheets were placed on the outer edge, both because they took more wear and tear and because they were the most certain to be written on; the last sheet or two, which were the worst, were the least likely to be used. (Of course, putting the best scheets on the outside also made the scroll look better and more saleable.) The first sheet was a πρωτοκολλον, a word which gave rise to our *protocol*, although the word εσχατοκολλιον for the last sheet seems to have left no descendents in modern languages.

Various grades of papyrus were reportedly sold, although the details are somewhat obscure and should not detain us.

The best papyrus could be sliced thin enough that the final product was flexible and even translucent, like a heavy modern paper, though it could not be folded as easily. (To be sure, not all papyrus was this good, although I have not seen any information as to why; I have heard that Latin papyri have not lasted as well as Greek papyri, but I have no explanation for this, either.)

The plant itself, *Cyperus papyrus,* shown at right, is a tall, slender stalk topped by a bushy growth of leaves. It grows in water, with the height of the stalk depending on the species and conditions but generally quite tall. It will tell you something about its importance that Herodotos seems to have called the plant itself by the "book-name" βυβλος or even βιβλος.

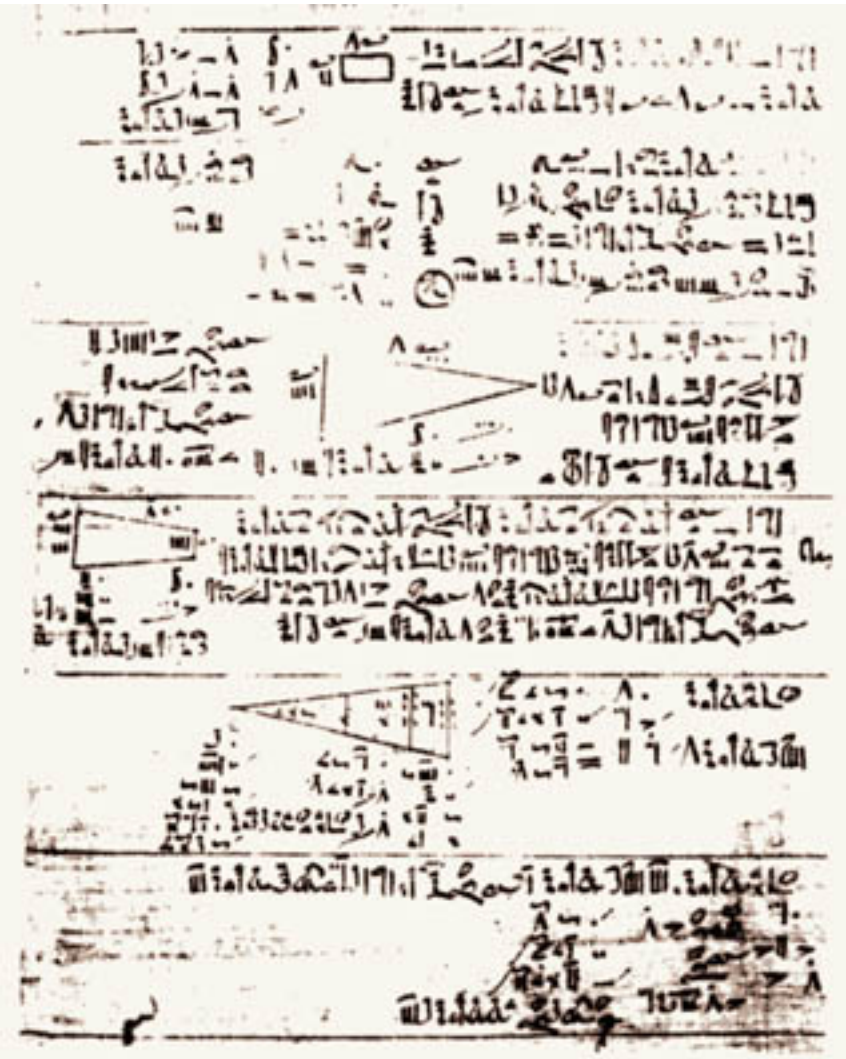
Those wishing to see Pliny's description of papyrus in full can find an English translation in C. K. Barrett's widely available *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents;* the description begins on page 23 of my 1966 edition. Much of the information is restated by in Sir Edmund Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography,*

On occasion, papyrus would be treated with cedar oil to guard it from moths. This would also improve the smell — there are reports of people burning papyrus as a sort of incense, and I suspect they were using the cedar-treated type — but it had the side effect of turning the material yellow.

What happens after the sheets were made depends on the purpose for which the papyrus is intended. Individual sheets of papyrus were of course often sold for use in record-keeping, memoranda, writing training, etc. It is believed that some really coarse papyrus was used exclusively for wrapping rather than writing. But we are most interested in books. When working with papyrus, the scroll was genuinely the more convenient form. The individual leaves were bound together edge to edge. The standard roll, again according to Pliny, was 20 sheets, which would mean a scroll about 5 metres long (though longer scrolls are certainly known — Papyrus Harris I, British Museum 10053, is roughly 40 metres long).

It is perhaps illustrative that Juvenal once made a wisecrack about a play so long that it had to be written on both the inside and outside of a standard scroll (and still didn't fit).

Scrolls have the advantage that they allowed a continuous curve, which did not excessively stress any particular point of the papyrus. A papyrus codex had to have a single sharp fold (either in a single sheet or at the joining of two sheets). This naturally was a very fragile point; even the nearly-intact P^{66} is much broken at the spine, and to my knowledge, only one single-quire papyrus (P^{5}) has portions of both the front and back sheets of a folded leaf (and, in fact, I know of no proof that the two halves — which are not joined; they are part of the middle of a page — are in fact part of the same sheet, though it is generally assumed and several scholars have made rather extravagant assumptions on this basis).



Scrolls were made to certain standards — e.g. the horizontal strips of each sheet were placed on the same side of the scroll, since only one side was likely to be written upon, and it was easier to write parallel to the strips. See the illustration above, of the Rhind Papyrus, clearly showing lines between papyrus strips. (The Rhind Papyrus, acquired in 1858 by A. Henry Rhind, is a fragmentary Egyptian document outlining certain mathematical operations. It was written by a scribe named Ahmose probably in the Hyksos period, making it, in very round numbers, 3700 years old; it is thought to be a copy of a document a few hundred years older still, written during the period of the Twelfth Dynasty. This makes it one of the oldest mathematical documents extant.)

It is widely stated that (with the exception of Opisthographs) scrolls were only written on one side, and that this was always the side where the strips ran horizontally. Pliny, indeed, says that poorer quality material was often used on the back of a sheet, since it

would not be written on; sometimes papyrus leaves were used for this purpose instead of papyrus fibre, since the goal was not beauty but strength. While it seems to be nearly always true that Greek papyri are one-sided, Egyptian papyri sometimes used both sides, and we are told that some papyri had their texts written on the inside and a summary on the outside.

Most scrolls were set up so that the lines of writing paralleled the longer dimension of the scroll — that is, if === represents a line of text, a typical scroll would look something like this:

```
+----------------------------------+
| === === === === === === === === |
| === === === === === === === === |
| === === === === === === === === |
| === === === === === === === === |
+----------------------------------+
```

Suetonius, however, says that pre-Imperial Roman legal scrolls went the other way, that is

```
+---------+
| === === |
| === === |
| === === |
| === === |
| === === |
| === === |
| === === |
| === === |
+---------+
```

If there are survivals of this format, though, my sources fail to mention it.

It is thought that early papyrus rolls were sewn together, but this caused enough damage to the pages that bookmakers early learned to glue the sheets together. From ancient descriptions and illustrations, it seems that the scroll would would then normally be wrapped around a rod, usually of wood (Hebrew Torah scrolls generally had two rods, at inner and outer ends), though few such rods survive. It was not unusual for a *titulus*, or title-slip, to be pasted to the outside. Indeed, it has been suggested that this explains the mystery of the Letter to the Hebrews, which when originally filed had a slip on the outside listing its author or destination, but that this was lost early in its history (something which reportedly often happened to such slips). I will admit to thinking this

unlikely; surely someone would remember what the scroll was, if it was respected enough to eventually become scripture.

One of the real problems with papyrus was its fragility. Damp destroys it (there are a few reports of papyrus palimpsests, but they are very rare — how do you erase a manuscript without wetting it?), which is why papyrus manuscripts survive only in Egypt and a few other very dry locations. And while exposure to dry weather is not as quickly destructive, the papyrus does turn brittle in dry conditions. It would be almost impossible make a standard reference volume, say, on papyrus; it just wouldn't last.

It will be seen that papyrus was used as a writing material for at least three thousand years. It is nearly sure that the earliest Christian writings were on papyrus. As the church grew stronger and richer, the tendency was to write on the more durable parchment. Our last surviving papyrus Bible manuscripts are from about the eighth century. It is thought that manufacture of papyrus ceased around the tenth century.

This may not have been voluntary. Papyrus plants are now rare in Egypt (E. Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography,* p. 21, goes so far as to declare them extinct in that country, although still found further up the Nile). It is reasonable to assume that the heavy demand for writing material caused the supply of the plant to dwindle. Presumably, given time, the population would eventually be restored — but with the banks of the Nile now having been so heavily developed, and the river itself regulated, the environment is no longer what it was thousands off years ago.

Leo Deuel, in *Testaments of Time: The Search for Lost Manuscripts & Records* (p. 87), reports "[the] Church continued using papyrus for its records and bulls into the eleventh century. The last document of this nature which bears a date is from the chancery of Pope Victor II, in 1057."

The Jews of course continue to use scrolls to this day, although not on papyrus. Jewish scrolls have two interesting peculiarities: Because Hebrew is written from right to left, the scrolls are rolled in the opposite direction from Greek or Latin scrolls, and they also tend to use wider columns than pagan scrolls (sometimes as wide as 20 cm/8 inches).

Parchment

The history of parchment is among the most complicated of any writing material. The historical explanation, both for the material and for the the name, comes from Pliny *(Natural History* xiii.11), who quotes Varro to the effect that a King of Egypt (probably Ptolemy V) embargoed exports of papyrus to Pergamum (probably during the reign of Eumenes II). This was to prevent the library of Pergamum from becoming a rival to the

Alexandrian library. Eumenes's people then developed parchment as a writing material, and the term "parchment" is derived from the name Pergamum.

The difficulty with this hypothesis is that skins were in use for books long before the nation of Pergamum even existed — although even as late as the time of Jerome, papyrus was considered a better material for letters (my guess would be that this was because papyrus had a more porous surface, meaning that the ink would soak in and dry quickly, whereas ink on vellum would need an extended drying period. Ink on particularly smooth parchment was in fact likely to flake off, leaving no mark behind; this was reportedly a particular problem with Italian parchment, which was polished very heavily.)

Parchment must really be considered the result of a long, gradual process. Leather has been used as a writing material for at least four thousand years; we have from Egypt the fragments of a leather roll thought to date to the sixth dynasty (c. 2300 B.C.E.), with an apparent reference to leather as a writing material from several centuries earlier — all the way back to the early fourth dynasty. Given that the handful of clay scribbles from the pre-dynastic period do not seem to involve an actual writing system, this would seem to imply that the use of skins dates back almost to the standardization of the Egyptian writing system. We have a substantial leather roll from the time of Rameses II, and one which cannot be precisely dated but which is thought to go back to the Hyskos era several centuries before that. And, of course, there is the long tradition of writing Jewish scripture on leather. The Dead Sea Scrolls, for instance, are written primarily on leather.

But leather is not truly parchment. Leather is prepared by tanning, and is not a very good writing material; it is not very flexible, it doesn't take ink very well, and it will usually have hair and roots still attached.

Parchment is a very different material, requiring much more elaborate preparation to make it smoother and more supple. Ideally one started with the skin of young (even unborn) animals. This skin was first washed and cleansed of as much hair as possible. It was then soaked in lime, stretched on a frame, and scraped again. (The scraping was a vital step: If any flesh at all remained on the skin, it would rot and cause the skin to stink terribly.) It was then wetted, coated in chalk, rubbed with pumice, and finally allowed to dry while still in its frame. This process obviously required much more effort, and special materials, than making leather, but the result is a writing material some still regard as the most attractive known to us.

An illustration from a Latin codex (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. 4, 2o, folio 183v) shows a parchment-seller. In the background is the rack on which a parchment is being stretched, as well as a scraper.

Certainly it was the best writing material known to the ancients. Smoother than leather or papyrus, it easily took writing on both sides, and the smoothness made all letterforms easy — no worries about fighting the grain of the papyrus, e.g. And it was durable. Plus it was quite light in colour, making for good contrast between ink and background. And, because the surface was smooth, it could be painted. I have never seen an instance of a true color illustration on papyrus (there may be a few, but I don't know of it), but many vellum manuscripts are decorated with miniatures. These rarely add to our knowledge of the text, of course, but many are quite beautiful.

This does not mean that parchment was a perfect writing material. It is denser than papyrus, making a volume heavier than its papyrus equivalent. And the pages tend to curl — particularly a problem when it is touched by a human hand; the heat of the hand, and the perspiration, cause it to curl even more. Plus it was always expensive. It is noteworthy that not one parchment manuscript was found in the Herculaneum or Pompeii excavations; every one of the surviving scrolls was of papyrus. As long as papyrus was cheap, parchment was a special-purpose material.

And, just as with papyrus, there are differences between the sides: The flesh side is darker than the hair side, but it takes ink somewhat better. The differences in tone caused scribes to arrange their quires so that the hair side of one sheet faced the hair side of the next, and the flesh side faced the flesh side. It is reported that Greek manuscripts preferred to have the flesh side be the outer page of a quire, while Latin scribes tended to arrange their quires with the hair side out.

Another disadvantage of parchment, from our standpoint, is that it was reusable. Or maybe it's an advantage. The very smoothness and sturdiness which make parchment such a fine writing material also make it possible to erase new ink, and even old writing. Combine this with the expense of new parchment and you have ample reason for the creation of palimpsests — rewritten documents. Many are the fine volumes which have been defaced in this way, with the under-writing barely legible if legible at all. And yet, had they not been overwritten, the books might not have survived at all; who can tell?

To be sure, from the writer's standpoint, the ability to erase was an advantage. Because erasures could be partial. A scribe working on papyrus wrote, and having written, moved on. Corrections were simply crossed out. But scribes working on parchment added a sponge and a scraper to their tools. Fresh ink could be blotted up with the sponge. Ink that had dried could still be scraped off. This meant that parchment manuscripts were often more attractive to the reader. One suspects it also encouraged illustrations, since one errant stroke did not have to ruin the whole drawing.

One of the most interesting contemporary accounts of the preparation of parchment comes from the Old English codex known as the Exeter Book. This contains a series of riddles. Several pertain to the act of bookmaking. #26 is perhaps the most interesting. I won't give you the Old English version (which is incomprehensible to most moderns), but the following is based on a comparison of three modern English translations.

An enemy robbed me of life, stole my strength, then washed me in water and drew me out again. He set me in the sun, where soon all my hair came off. Then the knife came across me, cutting away all my blemishes. Fingers folded me, and a bird's delight spread black droppings over me, back and forth, stopping to swallow droppings from a tree, then marking me more.

Then a man bound me with boards, and stretched skin around me, and covered it with gold. A smith wound his wondrous work around me.

Now let this art, this crimson dye, and all this fine work celebrate the Ruler of nations everywhere, and proclaim against folly. If children of men will use me, they will be safer and surer of salvation, their hearts bolder and their minds wiser and more knowing. Friends and dear ones will be truer, more virtuous, more wise, more faithful. Fortune

and honor and grace will come to them; kindness and mercy will surround them; they will be held tight in love.

What am I, this thing so useful to men? My name is renowned. I am bountiful to men, and holy.

The answer is a gospel book. Animals are killed, and their skins made into parchment; they are written upon with a pen of a bird's quill (and, in some instances, a coating derived from eggs), with ink made from tree gum, then are bound, and the binding decorated; the book then goes to serve in a church or monastery.

We might add incidentally that "parchment" is not the native English name for the material; it derives from French. In Old English, the name was *bók-fel,* book-skin. The French name, of course, came into use after the Norman Conquest.

Paper

There is little that needs to be said about paper, except that early paper was made from rags, e.g. of linen, or sometimes cotton or hemp, rather than wood pulp, and that, in the west, it became popular as a writing material only around the twelfth century.

Rag paper apparently was invented in China around the beginning of the second century C.E.; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking,* third revised edition, Oxford, 1943, p. 61 reports that an official named Ts'ai Lun was given official recognition for the invention in 105 C.E. This early paper typically had a yellowish color.

Paper gradually spread westward, and was in widespread use in the Islamic world by about the ninth century. McMurtrie, p. 65, reports that "The oldest extant European paper document is a deed of Count Roger, of Sicily, written in Latin and Arabic and dated 1109."

The first European paper mill reportedly was opened around 1270 in Italy. The spread was slow; England didn't get its first mill for another two centuries. It is likely that many paper Biblical manuscripts were written on paper from Islamic countries. Acceptance of paper in the west did not come easily — in the year 1221, the Emperor Frederick II explicitly declared that documents on paper were not legally binding (McMurtrie, p. 67). Fortunately, the Greek East was not so short-sighted, or we would probably have rather fewer New Testament manuscripts. It was not until the mid-fourteenth century that paper was generally accepted in the west. For a time, there were instances of books with mixed parchment and paper — typically with parchment supplying the outermost leaf of

a quire, and perhaps the inner leaf also. This was perhaps to take advantage of the greater durability of parchment.

The first watermarks were introduced around 1270 (McMurtrie, pp. 71–72), and so can be used as an indication of date.

Some additional detail can be found in the section on Books and Bookmaking.

Clay

It may seem odd to include clay as a writing material, since there are no clay New Testament manuscripts. But there *are* ostraca and talismans, some of which are clay, and of course there are many pre-New Testament writings found on clay: The cuneiform texts of Babylonia and Sumeria, plus the ancient Greek documents in Linear B. Since these give us our earliest linguistic evidence for *both* Greek and the Semitic languages, it is hardly fair to ignore these documents.

Such of them as are left. It is not just papyrus that is destroyed by water. Properly baked clay is fairly permanent, but sun-dried clay is not. Most of the Linear B tablets that survive from Pylos, for instance, survived because they were caught in the fire that destroyed the citadel. A number of cuneiform tablets from Mesopotamia, initially perfectly legible, are now decaying because they were displayed in museums which did not maintain the proper humidity (in some cases, indeed, the curators left them encrusted with salts, which hastens the process of destruction). We think of clay as if it were a rock, and we think of rocks as permanent — but it really isn't so. Who can say what treasures on clay have been destroyed, possibly even by moderns who did not recognize what they were…

Fortunately for us, it is unlikely that many copies of the New Testament were written on clay.

The other major disadvantage of documents on clay was their weight. My very, very rough estimate is that a complete New Testament would require about 650 tablets and would be too heavy for an ordinary person to carry. Plus you'd need a way to keep the tablets in order.

Wax

As far as I know, there are no New Testament writings preserved on wax. Indeed, as far as I know, there are no ancient writings of any sort actually preserved on wax (we have a number of the tablets which held the wax, but the wax itself, and the writing on it, is gone). We should however keep in mind the existence of wax tables, because there are

indications that they were often used to prototype portions of actual manuscripts — especially illustrations in illuminated manuscripts, but I wouldn't be surprised if they were used for commentary texts as well, because these sometimes required elaborate layouts.

A typical wax tablet was used for jotting quick notes. Apparently the standard was a wooden tablet, lined with beeswax, written with a stylus (metal or bone), and tied with a leather thong so it could be carried around the next.

Wax tablets did have a "security advantage": A message could be written in a multi-leaf tablet, and the two leaves bound together by cords, over which a seal was applied. This could be used in several ways: To maintain the secrecy of the inner message, or in some cases to assure that the inner message matched the outer.

Reportedly, the standard for waxed tablets was a black wax (so Maunde Thompson's *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography,* p. 15), even though it would seem that this would make it harder to tell the writing from the background. Quintillian in fact recommended the use of parchment (which was erasable) for those with weak eyes who could not easily read scribbles on wax.

Styli eventually were created with a sharp end for writing and a broad, flat end for rubbing out any old messages in the wax. Thompson reports that some in fact had three blades: The point, for writing, the flat, for smoothing — and a third projection, at right angles to the shaft, for drawing lines on the wax. (Although what good lines on wax would do is beyond me. Practice, maybe.)

Other Materials

Many other writing materials have been used at one time or another. In the east, silk was sometimes employed. Linen was used in Egypt, and probably by the Romans as well. Potsherds were often used for short scribbles — they were standard for Greek elections, for instance. Leaves and bark have sometimes been employed — early palm leaf books have survived in significant numbers. But few trees in the Christian world grew suitable leaves; there seem to be no Christian documents of this type. We have a few examples of notes written on wood in ink, or scratched into wood; this may have been relatively common in some areas, but since wooden writings were not kept in libraries, and would gradually decay in damp, very little of this sort of thing survives, and none of it of Christian significance.

For permanent records, metal was sometimes used, either cast (i.e. molten metal was poured into a mold of some sort) or engraved. Romans had laws written in lead, and even some lead writing tablets, and bronze was sometimes used for very permanent

records such as treaties. Bronze was also used by the Romans for the awards given to soldiers who had earned citizenship. It is possible that Paul carried such documentation, although obviously there is no BIblical evidence of this.

I know of only one piece of actual Judeo-Christian writing on metal, however: The famous Copper Scroll from Qumran (and even that did not contain a Biblical text). Although metal might seem like an ideal material for books, it in fact had several disadvantages. For starters, it's hard to write on. Inks normally soak into the surface on which they are written, but not on copper! A copper book, unless engraved (a slow process), would have to use a non-runny ink, and would have to be allowed much time to dry. A metal scroll has an additional disadvantage: The metal will not roll well. Copper is a soft metal, and malleable, so it is possible to make a scroll from it (a scroll of, say, iron, would be almost impossible). But the copper can be bent, or otherwise damaged, and will not take well to repeated rollings and unrollings. And, over time, it oxidizes; the Qumran scroll, when found, could not be unrolled, and had to be sliced apart to be read. (A procedure developed for dealing with burnt papyrus scrolls such as those from Herculaneum.)

Reeds and Quills

It appears that the earliest utensils for writing with ink were made of reed. In 3 John 13, we read of the author writing with a καλαμος, which is certainly a reed of some kind.

At some stage, reeds started to give way to quills — feathers of large birds. This usage is old enough that Old English called its writing implements "feðer," *fether*. However, it was not a sudden and complete shift. Quills seem to have provided a smoother flow and probably sputtered less, but reeds could have their own advantages — it was easier to adjust the tip size, and one could also in some instances create a better hand hold. It has been claimed that quills were not suitable for writing on papyrus — their stiff points would skip and/or scratch.

There is strong evidence that reeds and quills were used simultaneously in Anglo-Saxon England — one of the riddles in the Exeter Book describes writing a book with a quill, while another describes a reed. The following poetic translation is based on one by R. K. Gordon (I've improved the meter — at least to my ears — at slight cost to the accuracy of the rendering):

Beside the shore and near the strand,
Where the sea beats on the land,
I dwelt there, rooted in my place,
And few there were of human race
Who saw my lonely home abode,

Where ev'ry morn the brown wave flowed,
And in its wat'ry clasp me caught,
And little had I any thought
That it should ever be decreed
That by the bench where men drank mead,
I, mouthless once, should speak and sing
Both soon and late. A wondrous thing
To mind which cannot understand
How point of knife and firm right hand
A man's mind coupled with the blade
Cut and pressed me, and so made
Me give a message without fear
To you with no one else to hear,
So that no other man e'er may
Tell far and wide the words we say.

Few modern references even mention pens in this period, but they did exist, made of bronze or bone. It is likely that pens were used primarily for parchment, which had a smooth surface; a hard nib might have damaged papyrus. It is suggested that, as a rule of thumb, papyri were written with reeds, parchments with quills or, sometimes, manufactured pens.

Ink

The ideal ink (the name itself being a French word, from *enque*; the Old English word was *blaec*) has three characteristics: Permanence, clarity of color, and strong attachment to the page. These three attributes were rarely found together in ancient times.

For a strong black, the ideal substance was lampblack, which is almost pure carbon. By itself, unfortunately, it did not adhere to the page very well. Some scribes nonetheless used a lampblack ink, similar to modern "india ink," which is carbon mixed with a gum or glue.

The other basis for ink was galls — nutgalls or oak gall, for instance. These are sometimes called metallic inks — a description that would drive a modern printer crazy. (Metallic inks today look like metals!) Frequently the gall was combined with a "vitriol" — in modern terms, a metal sulfate. Vitriols were often made with sulphuric acid — hence a high acidity.

Gall-based ink usually was brown rather than black (modern inks based on metal sulfates and tannic and gallic acid are very dark black, and permanent, supposedly

getting darker as they age, but I gather the formulation has changed). Apart from the color, gall ink had advantages and disadvantages. It was more acidic than lampblack-based inks — which meant that it adhered to the parchment better (since the acid etched the surface slightly), but if the acidity was too great, it could damage the surface. (True metallic inks, such as the gold used on some purple manuscripts, were even more acidic and caused worse damage.)

Lampblack-based inks, assuming the ink stayed on the page, are far more permanent; inks written with this sort of ink (including the Qumran scrolls) usually still look black to this day. Gall-based inks tend to fade — Codex Vaticanus, for instance, was written with a gall-based ink, and faded enough that it was famously retraced. Codex Bezae is another well-known manuscript written with gall ink.

It is reported that the ink of squid (cuttlefish) was also used on occasion. I know of no manuscripts which have been verified as using squid ink as a source of black, and do not know what the characteristics of such ink are.

Ink was often kept in an inkhorn, which in turn required a special hole in a desk to hold it.

For more on inks and pigments, see the article on Chemistry.

Other Tools Used by Scribes

Obviously pen and ink and writing material were the bare minimum equipment for a scribe. But most used many more implements. An illustration in the Latin Codex Amiatinus shows a picture of Ezra with (among other tools) a pair of dividers or calipers, a stylus for scoring lines, and an unknown triangular tool perhaps used for some sort of illustrations. Other scribes' kits included knives or scrapers for removing ink, as well as a knife (which might or might not be the same sort at the scraping knige) for putting new tips on their reeds or quills. Since these knives needed to be sharp, scribes often had whetstones to sharpen them. Those working on an illuminated manuscript would want a wax tablet to practice their illustrations. Most would need a straight edge for scoring lines. Sponges might be used to erase errors in newly-written text. The scribe might also have a pumice block for smoothing parchment, although ideally this would have been done by those responsible for preparing the parchment. Those doing geometric drawing would need a compass (which might also be used in ruling the manuscript). Some authorities believe scribes also used scissors, although I know of no absolute proof of this.

Word Divisions

It is well known that, in early manuscripts, word divisions were not marked; WORDSWERERUNTOGETHERLIKETHIS (i.e. “words were run together like this”). On the very rare occasions that a division was marked in an early uncial, it was usually a dot, not a space. None of the early uncials has any regular system of word breaks — although spaces are quite common in the numerous ninth century Byzantine uncials. The practice of dividing words began roughly in the seventh century, although it was far from consistent at that time.

Initially, so little attention was paid to word breaks that even a line break could occur in the middle of a word. But not, it appears, *anywhere* in the middle of a word. There were rules, although they seem strange to us: A break had to follow a vowel, or between the consonants of a double consonant, or following a liquid consonant in an instance of a liquid consonant followed by another consonant. If anyone knows the reason for this system, I have not seen it.

Latin manuscripts occasionally followed the Greek system of breaking words after a vowel, but by far the more normal method was to break a word at the end of a syllable — the system we still tend to follow.

The hyphen as the mark for a continued word did not become common until the twelfth century.

Paragraph markings are known from an early date, but in early times usually consisted of a mark in the margin, such as a dash or >. There was initially no line break; the reader had to guess what place the symbol referred to. Later it became common to put some space (perhaps the width of three letters) between the last word of one paragraph and the first word of the next. In time, it became common to put a large or illuminated letter at the start of a paragraph — although some manuscripts actually put the illuminated letter at the start of the line, not the first word of the new paragraph!

The lack of word division naturally implies a lack of punctuation. Various systems were tried over the years, mostly consisting of points, high, low, or middle. Commas and interrogative marks started to be seen around the end of the uncial era. Late manuscripts of course contain a fairly full punctuation, but in an early manuscript, an editor cannot assume anything — any symbol might be used for any sort of meaning (comma, semicolon, period, paragraph), and it may or may not be used correctly, and it may or may not be used regularly.

X • Y • Z

zero variant

Keith Ralston tells me that this is a term used in Janzen's analysis of Jeremiah. It refers to a variant in the Hebrew tradition where the LXX shows no variant from the MT text.

Symbols

N.B. The symbols in the apparatus of the Nestle-Aland editions are covered in the article on the Nestle Apparatus.

* and ** (asterisks)

In a critical apparatus, * generally refers to the first hand of a manuscript, e.g. B* is the original scribe of B, and D* is the copyist who first wrote D. This notation is almost universal. Correctors of the manuscript are sometimes marked **, or *** or even more if there are multiple correctors; hence 424** is the corrected text of 424. This notation is less common than in the past; the Nestle-Aland editions, for instance, number the correctors with superscripts.

[ ] (square brackets)

A symbol found in the majority of critical editions, including e.g. Westcott & Hort and the UBS edition. The purpose of brackets is to indicate a high degree of uncertainty whether the text found within the brackets is original. For example, the UBS edition, in Mark 1:1, has the final words [υιου θεου] in brackets because they are omitted by, among others, א* Θ 28.

The one problem with the bracket notation is that it can only be used for add/omit readings. Where two readings are equally good, but one substitutes for the other, there is no way to indicate the degree of uncertainty expressed by the brackets. This has caused some editors (e.g. Bover) to avoid the use of brackets; these editors simply print the text they think best.

The third course, and probably the best in terms of treating all variants equally, is to do as Westcott and Hort did and have noteworthy marginal readings. But this policy has not been adopted by modern editors.

[[ ]] (double square brackets)

A notation used in certain editions, notably the United Bible Societies edition, for a reading considered a certain addition. That is, a text in double square brackets, such as Mark 16:9-20 or John 7:53-8:11, is felt not to be part of the original text. The editors include the reading because of its strong place in the tradition. But it is not original, and the obvious assumption is that it is not canonical.

⁀ (Leap)

Symbol used in some apparatus (e.g. Merk) for a “leap,” i.e. an error caused by Homoioteleuton.

~ (rearrange)

Symbol used in some apparatus (e.g. Merk) to indicate that the the cited witnesses rearrange the order of the words.

> (omit)

Symbol used in some apparatus (e.g. Merk) to indicate that the the cited word(s) are omitted by certain witnesses.

Greek and Other Special Letters Used in Some Apparatus

Letter	Meaning
𝔊	A Greek text (i.e. usually the LXX)
Θ	Used in the Stuttgart Vulgate to refer to the consensus of Theodulph's recension.
𝔓	Used in the early editions of the Nestle text (not the 26th edition and after) to refer to the Hesychian/Egyptian group, i.e. the Alexandrian text
𝔑	Used in the early editions of the Nestle text (not the 26th edition and after) for the Byzantine Text (in practice, the Textus Receptus)
λ	family 1, the Lake Group.
𝔐	Used in the recent editions of the Nestle text (26th edition and after) for the Majority Text.
ς	The Textus Receptus.
Φ	Used in the Stuttgart Vulgate to refer to the consensus of Alcuin's recension.
φ	family 13, the Ferrar Group.
ω	The Byzantine Text (in practice, the Textus Receptus)

Appendix I: Manuscript Descriptions

Papyri

Note: Many of the papyri, especially the Beatty and Bodmer papyri, have been subject to so much discussion that no attempt is made to compile a full bibliography.

$\mathfrak{p}^4$

Location/Catalog Number

Paris, National Library Suppl. Greek 1120.

Contents

Luke 1:58–59, 1;62–2:1, 2:6–7, 3:8–4:2, 4:29–32, 4:32–35, 5:3–8, 5:30–6:16

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third century.

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list P^4 as Category I with a "Normal" text. Von Soden listed it as H (Alexandrian), which is quite clearly correct; has a number of significant readings shared with א and B.

It has been suggested that P^4 is part of the same document as P^{64}+P^{67}. This is certainly possible on chronological grounds. The latter pair, however, contain fragments of Matthew. If P^4 and P^{64}+P^{67} are indeed one manuscript, they represent quite possibly the earliest instance of a papyrus containing more than one gospel. I do not think the evidence sufficient to draw firm conclusions, however.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε34

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Von Soden.

Other Works:

$\mathfrak{p}^{10}$

Location/Catalog Number

Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University, Semitic Museum, MS. Inv. 3736, Designated by its discoverers Oxyrhynchus papyrus 209.

Contents

Romans 1:1–7. The only variant for which it is cited in Bover, Merk, or NA^{27} is Romans 1:1, where it agrees with B 81 m am cav dubl ful hub reg val in reading χριστου ιησου for ιησου χριστου of P^{26} א A G 1739 *Byz*.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourth century.

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list P^{10} as Category I. Von Soden did not list a type. Most authorities would probably list it as Alexandrian.

Deissman suggested that this was written for use in an amulet. He believes the owner was probably named Aurelius Paulus. Grenfell and Hunt believed it to have been a school child's practice copy. It almost certainly was not meant to be part of a complete text of Paul.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1032

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Von Soden.

Other Works:

$\mathfrak{p}^{11}$

Location/Catalog Number

Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library Gr. 258A

Contents

1 Corinthians 1:17–22, 2:9–12, 2:14, 3:1–3, 3:5–6, 4:3–5:5, 5:7–8, 6:5–9, 6:11–18, 7:3–6, 7:10–14, with even the surviving verses often damaged (so much so that Tischendorf was unable to tell whether the fragments he had were of five or six leaves).

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the seventh century. Some older manuals give its date as the fifth century, but this was based on comparison with uncial manuscripts; a comparison with the style of papyri resulted in the change.

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list P^{11} as Category II. Von Soden listed its text as "H or I."

In fact the text of P^{11} seems fairly ordinary, although its fragmentary nature makes a firm determination difficult; the Nestle text, for instance, cites it explicitly only about fifteen times, most often with the Alexandrian group ℵ A C 33, but also, with the Byzantine and "Western" texts; there appears to be some slight kinship with the later members of Family 1739, particularly 1881. Overall, the best description of its text is probably "mixed," although most of the readings are old. It does not appear to have any immediate relatives.

The most noteworthy thing about P^{11}, therefore, is not its text but its history: It was the first biblical papyrus to be discovered (Tischendorf observed it in 1862), and the only one to be cited in Tischendorf (as Q).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1020
Tischendorf: Q^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

Ellwood M. Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament*
See also K. Junack, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, Vol. 2: Die paulinischen Briefe*

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf.

Other Works:

Kurt Aland, “Neutestamentliche Papyri,” *NTS 3*

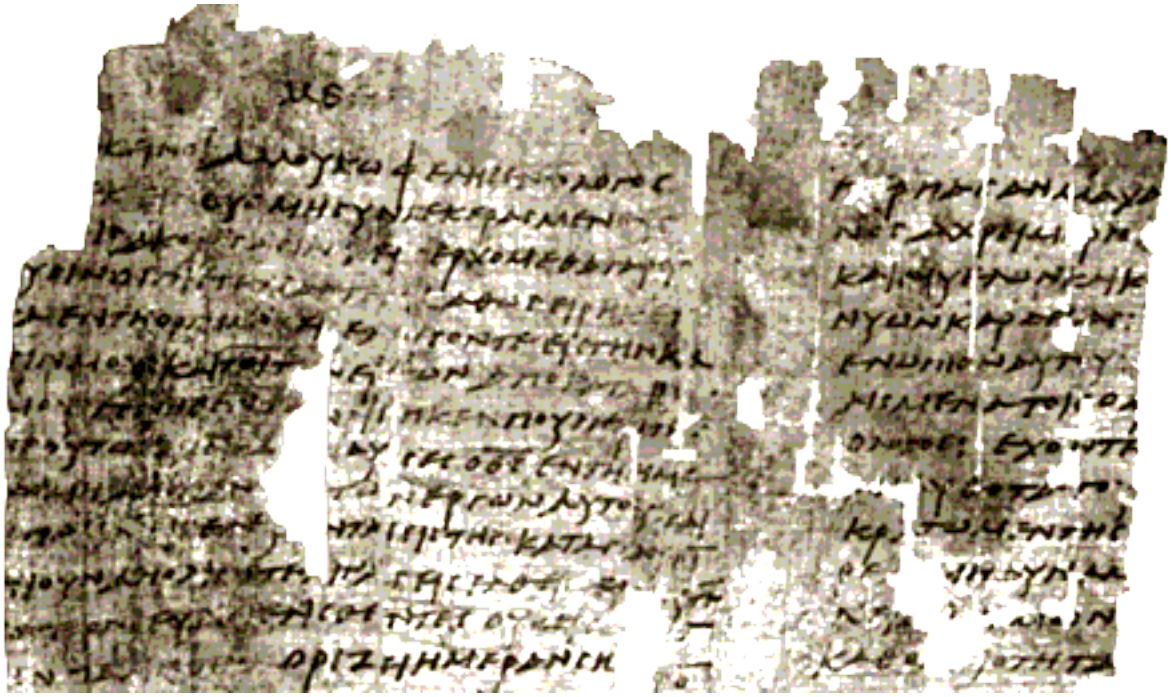
$\mathfrak{p}^{13}$

Location/Catalog Number

London (British Library, Papyrus 1532 verso) and elsewhere (Florence, Cairo). Designated by its discoverers P. Oxy. 657

Contents

P^{13} is an opisthograph, with the epitome of Livy on the reverse side. Presumably the manuscript originally contained all of Hebrews (it has been suspected that it contained other material as well; a full-length scroll could contain rather more than twice the material found in Hebrews); it now retains Hebrews 2:14–5:5, 10:8–22, 10:29–11:13, 11:28–12:17, with many minor lacunae. Despite the damage, P^{13} is the most extensive papyrus outside the Beatty and Bodmer collections.



Portions of two columns of P^{13}, beginning with Hebrews 4:2. Note the extensive damage (which is even worse in the lower halves of the columns). P^{13} is the only extensive NT opisthograph. Observe the surviving numbering at the top of the left column. Image is in false color.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third or fourth century. It has been speculated that the scroll was carried to Egypt by a Roman official, then left behind and rewritten.

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list P^{13} as a free(?) text with "A number of distinctive readings, often with P^{46}." Von Soden lists its text-type as H.

The most substantial of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, P^{13} is also perhaps the most important. As noted by the Alands, it frequently aligns with P^{46} (and — perhaps even more often — with B for the portions of Hebrews where both exist); Kenyon notes an 82% agreement rate between the two papyri, with similarities even in punctuation and pagination (even though the two cannot have had the same contents; a scroll simply could not contain ten Pauline letters. It is possible that P^{13} contained Romans and Hebrews, in that order, in which case it followed the same order as P^{46}). P^{13} contains a number of singular and subsingular readings, but this seems to be characteristic of the P^{46}/B type. Since this type contains only three other witnesses (P^{46}, B, and the Sahidic Coptic), P^{13} is an extremely important witness which has not, so far, received sufficient attention (Zuntz, e.g., never even mentions it in his work on 1 Corinthians and Hebrews).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1034
Designated P. Oxy. 657 in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri series.

Bibliography

Collations:

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* Volume 4.
See also K. Junack, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, Vol. 2: Die paulinischen Briefe*

Sample Plates:

Comfort, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 page)
Comfort, *The Quest for the Original Text of the New Testament* (1 page; same photo as above)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since von Soden.

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* p. 37

$\mathfrak{p}^{20}$

Location/Catalog Number

Princeton University Library, Am 4117 — Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1171

Contents

Portions of James 2:19–3:9

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third century.

Description and Text-type

P^{20} is a fragment of a single leaf, 11.5 cm. tall and somewhat less than 4.5 cm. wide at the widest. It is the central portion of a leaf; both left and right edges are damaged, as is the bottom. Portions of 20 lines survive on each side, with usually about twelve characters per line. The original seems to have had about 30–35 characters per line, so the surviving portion is relatively slight. The hand is rough and hasty-looking; given the state of the manuscript, it is often difficult to distinguish the letters.

The small amount of remaining text makes it difficult to classify the manuscript. The Alands list it as Category I, with a "normal" text. Von Soden lists it as H (Alexandrian). Schofeld reports that it only twice departs only twice from the "B-group," — but of course this is a vague group description. Still, the general feeling is that the manuscript is Alexandrian.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1019

Bibliography

Collations:

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* volume 9.

Sample Plates:

W. H. P. Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament*

Editions which cite:

Cited in Von Soden, Merk, Bover, NA^{26}, NA^{27}.

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* pp. 39–40
Ellwood M. Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament*

$\mathfrak{p}^{24}$

Location/Catalog Number

Newton Centre: Andover Newton Theological School, Franklin Trask Library, O.P. 1230 (i.e. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1230)

Contents

Portions of Rev. 5:5–8, 6:5–8

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourth century by the Alands, though some have preferred the third century. The hand is unattractive and rather difficult; the copyist was probably not a trained scribe.

Description and Text-type

P^{24} is a fragment of a single leaf, shaped rather like a very short, fat letter T turned upside down. The vertical stroke of the T contains two lines, with only about five or six surviving letters per line; the cross of the T contains portions of four lines, with about sixteen letters on the two central (and best-preserved) lines. The lines appear to have been fairly long — about 30–32 letters per line — so even the best-preserved lines retain only about half the text of the relevant verses.

The fact that the manuscript has so many letters per line, and so many lines per page (there are over 1600 letters between Rev. 5:6 and Rev. 6:6, which at 32 letters per line gives us some 50+ lines per page) implies a large papyrus size; Schofield thought it might have been a church Bible.

With only about 150 letters to examine, it is simply not possible to decide P^{24}'s text-type. The Alands list P^{24} as Category I, but this is doubtless based primarily on its date (early manuscripts of the Apocalypse being so rare); even they don't venture a guess as to whether its text is free, normal, or strict. Comfort observes that the manuscript has "only" three divergences from A, but this is quite a high number given the available amount of text.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* volume 10.

Sample Plates:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* has plates of the entire manuscript.

Editions which cite:

Cited in Von Soden, Merk, Bover, NA^{26}, NA^{26}.

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament*, pp. 41–42
Ellwood M. Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament*

$\mathfrak{p}^{28}$

Location/Catalog Number

Berkeley (Palestine Institute Museum), Pacific School of Religion Papyrus 2 — Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1596

Contents

Portions of John 6:8–12, 17–22

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third century. The hand slants slightly and looks hasty and unattractive. Numbers are spelled out (as, e.g., in P^{66}) rather than written as numerals (as in P^{75}). Its use of the Nomina Sacra is incomplete; although we find Ιησους abbreviated, in verse 9, we find ανθρωπους spelled out.

Description and Text-type

P^{28} is a fragment of a single leaf, ten cm. tall and five wide. The surviving portion is from the bottom of the leaf, and is broken on both sides. Eleven lines survive on the recto, twelve on the

verso (plus a few blots from a thirteenth). About 13–15 letters survive on each line, out of an average of perhaps 32 letters per line (the lines seem to have been somewhat irregular).

Textually, most scholars have regarded P^{28} as Alexandrian. The Alands list it as Category I, with a "normal" text. Grenfell and Hunt described it as eclectic, somewhat closer to א than B (though, given the list of variants below, I find it hard to see what led them to this conclusion). The small amount of surviving text makes any determination difficult, but the description "eclectic" seems to fit; it has noteworthy differences with almost every important manuscripts. The following table shows the notable readings of P^{28}, with their supporters (the text is as transcribed by Finegan):

Readings of P^{28} and supporters	Other readings
6:9 ταυτα τι εστιν P^{28} P^{66c} P^{75} rell UBS	ταυτα εστιν D*; τι εστιν ταυτα P^{66*} e
6:11 ελαβεν ουν (P^{28} .λεβεν ο…) P^{66} A B D L W 892 *al* UBS	ελαβεν δε א* E F H 33 700 *Byz*; και λαβων G Θ f^{1} f^{13} 565 (579 και ελαβεν)
6:11 ε.... ριστησας εδ… (i.e. ευχαριστησας εδωκεν or similar) P^{28} P^{66} (P^{75} .... εδωκεν, which could agree with P^{28} or with the later witnesses) N Γ 69 579	ευχαριστησας διεδωκεν A B K L W f1 33 565 700 892 *rell* UBS; ευχαριστησας και διεδωκεν א D
6:11 τοις ανακειμενοις (P^{28} .... ενοις but lacks space for a longer reading) P^{66} P^{75} א* A B L N W f^{1} 33 565 579 1241 *al* UBS	τοις μαθταις οι δε μαθεται τοις ανακειμενοις D E F G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ f^{13} 892 *Byz*
6:17 και σκοτια ηδη εγεγονει (P^{28} .... σκοτια ηδ…) (P^{75} .... σκοτια ηδη εγεγονει) *rell* UBS	καταλβεν δε αυτους η σκοτια א D
6:17 ουπω προς αυτους εληλυθει ο Ιησους (P^{28} .... ηλυθει ο Ις) (P^{75} ηδ. .... προς αυτους εγεγον… . Ις) B N Ψ	ουπω εληλυθει προς αυτους ο Ιησους (L) W (f^{13} 33 69 788 *pc* UBS; ουπω εληλυθει ο Ιησους προς αυτους D; ουπω εληλυθει Ιησους προς αυτους א; ουκ εληλυθει προς αυτους ο Ιησους A E F G H (K) Δ Θ f^{1} 565 579 700 892 *Byz*
6:19 σταδιους P^{28} $P^{75\text{-vid}}$ *rell* UBS	σταδια א* D
6:20 ο δε λεγει (P^{28} ο δε…) (P^{75} .... γει) *rell* UBS	και λεγει א
6:21 επι της γης P^{28} *rell* UBS	επι την γην א* f^{13} 579 1424 *pc*
6:22 ειδεν οτι (P^{28} .... ιδεν οτι) א D	ειδον οτι (P^{75} ειδο…) A B L N W Θ 33 *al* UBS; ιδων οτι E F G H Δ Ψ 565 579 700 1241 *Byz*

(There are, of course, many other variants in this part of John, but P^{28} is too fragmentary to testify to these, and the line lengths seemingly too irregular to testify to most of the add/omit variants.) NOTE: NA^{27} and related editions list P^{28} as reading ωσει πεντακισχιλιοι in verse 10. This is based solely on calculations of line lengths; the only surviving text is -χιλιοι. This reading does appear likely — the line is extremely short if the reading is ως — but is too uncertain for us to use it in determining textual groupings. A similar situation occurs in verse 19, θεωρουσιν τον Ιησουν. P^{28} breaks off in the previous line at εικουσι π.... i.e. εικουσι πεντε, and all that survives of the text θεωρουσιν τον Ιησουν is ν Iν. The Aland Synopsis lists P^{28} as omitting τον, but this is based solely on line lengths and must be considered quite uncertain.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* volume 13.

Sample Plates:

Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts*

Editions which cite:

Cited in Merk, Bover, NA^{26}, NA^{27}.

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* p. 43
Ellwood M. Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament*

$\mathfrak{p}^{39}$

Location/Catalog Number

Rochester (New York, USA). Ambrose Swabey Library, Inv. no. 8864 — Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1780

Contents

Portions of John 8:14–22

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third century. The hand is very clear and the surviving text easily read; one suspects an expert scribe.

Description and Text-type

P^{39} is a fragment of a single leaf, preserving the entire height of the manuscript but only one edge. There are 25 lines per page, but only about six or seven surviving letters per line (occasionally less, especially on the verso). There appear to have been about thirteen or fourteen letters per line (column?), meaning that about half the text survives.

There is general agreement that the manuscript is Alexandrian. The Alands list it as Category I, with a "strict" text. Grenfell and Hunt list it as aligning with B; Schofield goes further, claiming it never departs from B. This raises the question of its relationship with P^{75}. When these authors wrote, of course, P^{75} was not known. In the area covered by P^{39}, there are only a handful of differences between P^{75} and B. P^{39} does not testify to verse 14, και/η. In verse 15, where P^{75} d f cop add δε, P^{39} is not extant, but line lengths make is more likely than not that it omits the word with B *rell*. The next variant in P^{75}, the omission of εγω in verse 22, occurs after the end of the manuscript (which actually breaks off at the end of verse 21; all that is visible of verse 22 is part of a stroke of the first letter.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1019

Bibliography

Collations:

B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* volume 15.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in Merk, Bover, NA^{26}, NA^{26}.

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* p. 47
Ellwood M. Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament*

$\mathfrak{p}^{45}$

Location/Catalog Number

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. Chester Beatty I; Vienna, Austrian National Library, Pap. Vindob. G. 31974 (one leaf, containing Matt. 25:41–26:39)

Contents

P^{45} is surely in the worst condition of any of the substantial Biblical papyri. Even the surviving leaves (a small fraction of the original contents, estimated at 30 of 220 original leaves) are damaged; the most substantial pages are perhaps 80–90% complete, but many others are just small fragments. There are relatively few complete lines; many of the surviving leaves represent only about 20% of the width of the original manuscript. Therefore any list of verses included in the manuscript will make it seem more substantial than it really is; very many of these verses survive only in part (often very small part).

With that said, the verses represented at least partly in P^{45} are: Matt. 20:24–32, 21:13–19, 25:41–26:39; Mark 4:36–40, 5:15–26, 5:38–6:3, 6:16–25, 36–50, 7:3–15, 7:25–8:1, 8:10–26, 8:34–9:8, 9:18–31, 11:27–12:1, 12:5–8, 13–19, 24–28; Luke 6:31–41, 6:45–7:7, 9:26–41, 9:45–10:1, 10:6–22, 10:26–11:1, 11:6–25, 28–46, 11:50–12:12, 12:18–37, 12:42–13:1, 13:6–24, 13:29–14:10, 14:17–33; John 4:51, 54, 5:21, 24, 10:7–25, 10:31–11:10, 11:18–36, 43–57; Acts 4:27–36, 5:10–20, 30–39, 6:7–7:2, 7:10–21, 32–41, 7:52–8:1, 8:14–25, 8:34–9:6, 9:16–27, 9:35–10:2, 10:10–23, 31–41, 11:2–14, 11:24–12:5, 12:13–22, 13:6–16, 25–36, 13:46–14:3, 14:15–23, 15:2–7, 19–26, 15:38–16:4, 16:15–21, 16:32–40, 17:9–17.

It is possible that the codex originally contained other books (e.g. the Catholic Epistles); unlike many of the major papyri, it is not a single-quire codex, but rather uses gatherings of two leaves, meaning that it could have had many more leaves at the end.

All told, we have two leaves of Matthew, six of Mark, seven of Luke, two of John, and thirteen of Acts, with the leaves of Matthew being only the smallest fragments. The leaves of Mark and Acts are rather more substantial, but still badly damaged; those of Luke and John are relatively complete. The leaves are broad enough, and the single column of text wide enough, that these thirty leaves contain substantial amounts of text, but still only about 5% of the original contents.

Kenyon was of the opinion that the gospels were originally in the “Western” order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, with Acts (and conceivably other material) following. Given the state of the manuscript, the fact that it used multiple quires, and the fact that it was brought to the west in pieces, this cannot be proved — but Mark and Acts were discovered together, so it seems likely.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third century.

Description and Text-type

It appears that P^{45} was originally the most extensive of all papyrus manuscripts — the only one to include more than one NT section. It has, however, been very badly damaged, meaning that relatively little text survives. This makes an accurate assessment of the manuscript's type rather difficult. Wisse, for instance, did not even attempt a profile.

When Kenyon first published the manuscript, however, he attempted to classify it, stating that in Mark it seemed to be Cæsarean; in Luke and John, neither purely Alexandrian nor Western; in Acts, primarily Alexandrian (although it has some of the smaller "Western" variants, it has few if any of the greater).

Kenyon, however, was probably led astray by Streeter's bad definition of the "Cæsarean" text and by all the bad work which followed from this. Two more recent works have re-examined the ground and produce a very different conclusion.

The first and, in the long term, probably more important is E. C. Colwell, "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P^{45}, P^{66}, P^{75}" (1965; now available as pages 106–124 in Colwell's *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament).* This showed that P^{45} is the result of a freely paraphrased copy; the scribe of P^{45} or one of its immediate ancestors felt free to expand, paraphrase, and shorten the text. (Though Colwell noted that deletions were much more common than additions — "The dispensable word is dispensed with.")

The noteworthy point here is that this sort of thorough editing is typical of at least two other Gospel text-types, the "Western" and the "Cæsarean." (Though both of these add and harmonize more than they delete.) Observe what this means: To a scholar who simply studied the *types* of readings in P^{45} (as opposed to the *pattern* of readings, which is the true definition of a text-type), P^{45} would appear to belong to one of the periphrastic text-types. Of the two, the "Cæsarean" is, of course, the more restrained, and also has more Alexandrian readings; P^{45}, as an Egyptian manuscript, probably started with an Alexandrian text.

Thus, Colwell established that P^{45} needed to be examined more closely before it could be labelled "Cæsarean." Kenyon's "Cæsarean" classification was not rigorous, and was just what one would expect from a non-rigorous examination of a manuscript like P^{45}.

Colwell's implicit call for a more detailed study was supplied by Larry W. Hurtado in *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark.* This study suffers from major methodological flaws, but it pretty definitely establishes its main conclusion: That P^{45} and W do not belong with the so-called "Cæsarean" text. (Hurtado has also been

interpreted to mean that the "Cæsarean" text does not exist. This conclusion, however, is premature, given his methodology; see the discussion of the "Cæsarean" text in the article on Text-Types.)

So where does this leave P^{45}? The truth is, very little controlled analysis has been done of the manuscript. It was discovered too late for Von Soden. Wisse did not profile it. The Alands list it as Category I with a free text, but it seems likely that this assessment is based simply on what they think of the manuscript. The manuscript needs a re-evaluation before we can really state firm conclusions. My own analysis indicates that the manuscript is in fact closer to B than to any other uncial. On the face of it, it would appear that P^{45} comes from the Alexandrian tradition, but has been so heavily edited that it begins to appear "Westernized."

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Note: As with most major manuscripts, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

The basic publication remains Frederic G. Kenyon, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri (Part II, The Gospels and Acts,* in two fascicles). Various authors (Gerstinger, Merk, Zuntz) have published supplements or additional analysis.

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 plate)
Sir Frederick Kenyon & A. W. Adams, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{16} and later, UBS, Merk, Bover

Other Works:

The two most important works are probably those already cited: E. C. Colwell, "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P^{45}, P^{66}, P^{75}" (1965; pp. 106–124 in Colwell's *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament).*

Larry W. Hurtado in *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark.*

$\mathfrak{p}^{46}$

Location/Catalog Number

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. Chester Beatty II; Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Inv. 6238

Contents

86 leaves (out of an original total of 104), containing portions of Romans 5:17–1 Thes. 5:28 (including Hebrews, following Romans). The surviving leaves (most of which are somewhat damaged) contain Romans 5:17–6:3, 6:5–14, 8:15–25, 27–35, 8:37–9:32, 10:1–11, 11, 24–33, 11:35–15:9, 15:11–end (with 16:25–27 following chapter 15!); 1 Cor. 1:1–9:2, 9:4–14:14, 14:16–15:15, 15:17–16:22; 2 Cor. 1:1–11:10, 12–21, 11:23–13:13; Gal. 1:1–8, 1:10–2:9, 2:12–21, 3:2–29, 4:2–18, 4:20–5:17, 5:20–6:8, 6:10–18; Eph. 1:1–2:7, 2:10–5:6, 5:8–6:6, 6:8–18, 20–24; Phil. 1:1, 1:5–15, 17–28, 1:30–2:12, 2:14–27, 2:29–3:8, 3:10–21, 4:2–12, 14–23; Col. 1:1–2, 5–13, 16–24, 1:27–2:19, 2:23–3:11, 3:13–24, 4:3–12, 16–18; 1 Thes. 1:1, 1:9–2:3, 5:5–9, 23–28; Heb. 1:1–9:16, 9:18–10:20, 10:22–30, 10:32–13:25

The original contents of P^{46} are subject to debate. If the manuscript was indeed 104 pages long (and the quire numberings make it clear that it was intended to be so), there is no possible way it could have contained the Pastoral Epistles; the remaining space would have allowed inclusion of 2 Thessalonians but not much more. But, of course, scribes had to guess how many pages they would need in a single-quire codex. The Pastorals represent only a little more than 10% of the Pauline corpus, and an scribe's error of 10% in estimating the length of the codex is not impossible. Thus, while it seems fairly likely that P^{46} did not and was not intended to include the Pastorals, the possibility cannot be denied that they were included on additional leaves attached at the end.

Date/Scribe

Various dates have been proposed for P^{46}, based entirely on paleographic evidence. The earliest dates have been around the beginning of the second century (a date which has significant implications for the formation of the Pauline canon, but to which few experts subscribe); the latest have placed it in the third. The most widely accepted date is probably that of the Alands, who place it circa 200 C.E.

The scribe of P^{46} seems to have been a professional copyist, working in a scriptorium. The former conclusion is implied by the neat book hand. The latter is less certain, but Zuntz notes several places where the scribe came to a crux in copying and left a small gap in the manuscript. Zuntz theorizes, and this seems reasonable, that the scribe was unable to read or understand the exemplar, and so left space to allow the corrector to settle the reading.

Despite his apparent profession, the scribe left a great deal to be desired; P^{46} contains a high number of peculiar errors. Zuntz thinks (and here again I believe he is right) that the copyist did much of the copying while tired or otherwise not at his best, as the errors seem to come in bunches, and are often quite absurd (e.g. writing ΓΡΑ for ΓΑΡ).

The correctors weren't much better. The first corrector was the scribe himself, who occasionally spotted his own errors and attempted to repair them. The second corrector seems to have been contemporary, and employed as the διορθωτης. But this scribe wasn't all that much better; according to Zuntz, he missed the large majority of the original scribe's peculiar errors. (This raises the possibility that the errors were in their common exemplar, but Zuntz does not believe this.)

A third corrector, working probably in the third century, made a handful of corrections in a cursive script, as well as a line count. Zuntz thinks that this corrector was a private owner of the manuscript, making corrections as he spotted them rather than systematically examining the manuscript.

Description and Text-type

The text of P^{46} has been the subject of a quiet but significant controversy, with too many scholars ignoring others' results. When the manuscript was first found, it was thought to have mostly Alexandrian readings, but with a number of "Western" readings as well, especially in Romans.

The only possible word for this description is "simplistic." A number of those so-called "Western" readings are not readings characteristic of D-F-G, but rather scribal blunders in P^{46}. The rest are much more interesting, because they have a very strong tendency to agree with B.

This point is well worth remembering. If two manuscripts display a mixture of Alexandrian and "Western" readings, they may simply be mixed manuscripts. But if they display the same *pattern* of mixture, then they are genetically related.

It should also be noted that P^{46} and B have a number of singular agreements — and that these agreements are by no means harmonistic adjustments or the like. Several of them (e.g. Col. 2:2, του θεου χριστου; Col. 3:6, omit επι τους υιους της απειθειας) display strong signs of originality.

It was Zuntz who first tackled this issue head-on. In *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum,* he examined the text of Paul starting not from the established Alexandrian/Byzantine/"Western" perspective but from the standpoint of P^{46}. This proved an immensely (and probably excessively) laborious process; it took Zuntz a whole volume just to examine the data for two books (1 Corinthians and Hebrews). Nonetheless, it produced a

noteworthy result: P^{46} and B form a group (along with a handful of other witnesses) which is *clearly distinct from the main Alexandrian group* found in א A C 33 81 1175 etc.

Zuntz proceeded to confuse the issue by calling this type "proto-Alexandrian," Even though he found that, where the types differed, both the proto-Alexandrian and Alexandrian texts preserved original readings (meaning that neither could be derived from the other), he still gave the clear impression that the proto-Alexandrian text was a forerunner of the mainstream Alexandrian group. I believe Zuntz knew better, but he did not really analyse the relations between his types, except on a reading-by-reading basis. This made his results hard to understand. In addition, Zuntz analysed the data only with respect to P^{46}. This sounds reasonable, but in fact it has severe drawbacks. By his method, any manuscript which has a significant number of readings found only in P^{46}+B, and not in the Alexandrian or Byzantine or "Western" texts, will appear to belong to the P^{46} type. So the Bohairic Coptic, which actually appears to be an Alexandrian text with some P^{46}/B mixture, went into the P^{46}/B type, as did 1739 (which on detailed examination shows readings of all three other text-types, plus some of its own, making it perhaps a text-type in its own right).

Unfortunately, Zuntz's research has not been pursued. Metzger's *The Text of the New Testament,* for instance, persists in describing P^{46} in terms of Alexandrian and "Western" readings. And Zuntz's research needs to be continued, as it focuses entirely on P^{46} and does not examine the tradition as a whole.

My own results imply that there are fully five text-types in Paul: The Alexandrian text of א A C 33 81 1175 1506 and the Bohairic Coptic; the P^{46}/B type (consisting only of these two and the Sahidic Coptic; this type too seems associated with Egypt, and so needs a name); the Western text of D F G and the Latins, the Byzantine text, and the Family 1739 text (in Paul, 1739 0121 0243 6 424** 630+2200 (Romans-Galatians) 1881; Origen's text is close to, but not identical with, that of this group). The Alexandrian, P^{46}/B, and 1739 texts are somewhat closer to each other than to the other two, but by no means a single text. But it should be noted that these results, like Zuntz's, have not been tested (though based on stronger statistical tools than most scholars have used).

P^{46} should have been the most important papyrus ever discovered. P^{45} is too fragmentary and periphrastic to be important, P^{47} too limited in extent, P^{66} too error-prone, and P^{72} and P^{75} too close to B to really contribute much. P^{46} should have changed our view of the entire history of the text of Paul. Somehow, this seems not to have happened.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Note: As with most major manuscripts, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

Frederick G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri.* (P^{46} is found in fascicle III, covering Paul)
See also K. Junack, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, Vol. 2: Die paulinischen Briefe*

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 plate)
Comfort, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 plate, same page as the above)
Comfort, *The Quest for the Original Text of the New Testament* (1 plate; same page as above)
Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 plate)
Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 plate — again, the same leaf)
Sir Frederick Kenyon & A. W. Adams, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{16} and later, UBS, Merk, Bover

Other Works:

Perhaps most important of the many works on P^{46} is the one already mentioned, as it is the only one to treat P^{46} in light of its own text rather than by comparison to the more recent uncials:

G Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition Upon the* Corpus Paulinum.

$\mathfrak{p}^{48}$

Location/Catalog Number

Florence, Laurentian Library, PSI 1165.

Contents

Portions of Acts 23:11–17, 25–29.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third century. The script is considered quite similar to P^{13}.

Description and Text-type

P^{48} consists of a single leaf, and is extremely defective even for the surviving portion of that leaf. We have portions of three margins, but the key word is "portions"; we have really only about ten lines, from the middle of the page, and even those are damaged (e.g. one whole vertical strip of papyrus has been lost). The latter verses hardly exist at all; the surviving material is just a few strings and strips extending down to the bottom margin of the page.

It has become traditional to regard P^{48} as "Western" — the Alands, e.g., list is as having a Category IV text, free but related to D. It is worth noting, however, that P^{48} and D have *no common material at all*.

Determining the actual text-type of P^{48} is extremely difficult simply because of its limited size. The Nestle-Aland text, for instance, reports ten readings from the first section (Acts 23:11–17). Two of these readings are singular according to the apparatus, one is supported only by *pc*, and four are supported only by versions (usually Latin). One is supported by 614 h and the Harklean margin. But several of these citations of P^{48} are really conjectural readings from the heavily damaged portion of the papyrus. At least one reading (23:16, insert εαν δεη και απεθανειν) is based on only the barest handful of letters and is reconstructed on the basis of 614 h hark-marg. This can hardly be accepted as valid evidence of text-type.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

E. Lobel, C. H. Roberts, E. P. Wegener, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* Volume 18.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in Merk, NA[26], NA[27], and the UBS editions.

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* p. 55

$\mathfrak{p}^{51}$

Location/Catalog Number

Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2157).

Contents

Portions of Galatians 1:2–10, 13, 16–20. Every line of the surviving fragment is damaged (usually at both ends); every surviving verse is missing at least a few letters.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourth or fifth century.

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list P^{51} as Category II. It is hard to see how they determined this, however, as the fragment is so small. Collating its text against P^{46} א A B D G K L 81 30 365 1739 produced only eight variants where at least two of these manuscripts agree against the others; in these eight readings, P^{51} showed the following rates of agreement:

Manuscript	Agreement Rate
P^{46}	3/7=43%
א	3/8=38%
A	3/8=38%
B	7/8=88%
D	2/8=25%
G	2/8=25%
K	2/8=25%
L	2/8=25%
81	3/8=38%
330	4/8=50%
365	2/8=25%
1739	5/8=63%

Thus P^{51} is quite close to B. This is confirmed by the original editors, who describe the text as "eclectic.... its closest affinities seem to be with B, but an agreement with D F G against א A B P^{46} is worth noting." This reading is not, however, a true agreement with the "Western" witnesses; where D* F G read αποστολων ειδον ουδενα and the remaining witnesses have αποστολων ουκ ειδον, P^{51} appears to conflate to read αποστολων ουκ ειδον ουδενα (It

should be noted, however, that every letter of this reading is at least slightly damaged; we should perhaps not place much importance on this variant.) It is curious to observe that P^{51} is not close to B's ally P^{46}; as the editors note, "None of the three peculiar readings of … [P^{46}].... find support here, nor does [P^{51}] ever agree with P^{46} except when the latter is supporting B." The most interesting reading of P^{51} is, surely, in Gal. 1:5, where (along with H 0278 330) it reads ω **εστιν** η δοξα. But this is only one reading. Given the small amount of text we have to work with, we can hardly be dogmatic about P^{51}'s text.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

E. Lobel, C. H. Roberts, E. P. Wegener, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* Volume 18.
See also K. Junack, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, Vol. 2*: Die paulinischen Briefe

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26}, NA^{27}, and the UBS editions. (The edition of Merk also claims to cite it, but lists it as containing Matthew!)

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* p. 55

$\mathfrak{p}^{52}$

Location/Catalog Number

Manchester, John Rylands Library, Gr. P. 457

Contents

Portions of John 18:31, 32, 33, 37, 38 (see transcription below)

Date/Scribe

Generally dated to the second century. C. H. Roberts, who first observed the manuscript, dated it before 150 C.E.. More recent observers have tended to date it in the range of 110 to 125 C.E.

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list P^{52} as a "normal" text. However, it should be noted that we really know nothing about the textual affiliations of this manuscript, which contains about 118 legible letters. The most noteworthy feature of the manuscript is its age — though even this should be taken with some caution. How certain can a paleographic determination be when it is based on so small a sample?

I have also seen it stated that P^{52} comes from a single-quire codex. However, we have only a fragment of a single leaf — and no part of the binding. Because it is written on both sides, it is safe to assume that P^{52} is a codex. But we have no basis on which to claim that it is a single-quire codex.

The story of the manuscript is well-known. Acquired by Grenfell in Egypt in 1920, it went unnoticed among many other manuscript fragments until 1934, when C. H. Roberts recognized that it contained part of the Gospel of John. Impressed with the antiquity of the writing, he hastily published a booklet, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library.* Despite some caution among scholars about his early and precise dating, almost all accept that it comes from the second century — simultaneously proving that the codex form and the Gospel of John were in use by that date.

The surviving fragment is only about 9 cm. tall by 6 cm. wide at its widest, counting lines makes it appear that the pages contained about eighteen lines of about 32 letters per line. This implies a page size of about 22 cm. by 20 cm.

Textually P^{52} tells us little. The complete text is transcribed below:

recto	*verso*
ΟΙΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΗΜΕ	ΤΟΓ ΝΝ ΑΙ
ΟΥΔΕΝΑΙΝΑΟΛ	ΣΜΟΝΙΝΑΜΑΡΤΥ
ΡΕΝΣΗΜΑΙΝΩ	ΤΗΣΑLΗΘΕ
ΘΝΗΣΚΕΙΝΙΣ	LΕΓΕΙΑΥΤΩ
ΡΙΟΝΟΡ	ΙΤΟΥΤ
ΚΑΙΕΙΡ	ΤΟΥΣΙ
ΙΩ	ΜΙ

As noted, it appears that P^{52} had about thirty characters per line. If so, then the likely reconstruction of the surviving lines is as follows (surviving characters shown in upper case, the rest in lower)

recto

ΟΙ ΙΟΥΔΑΙοι ΗΜΕιν ουκ εχεστιν αποκτειναι
ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΙΝΑ Ο Λογος του ῑῡ πληρωθη ον ει-
ΠΕΝ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΩν ποιω θανατω ημελλεν απο-
ΘΝΗΣΚΕΙΝ ΙΣηλθεν ουκ παλιν εις το πραιτω-
ΡΙΟΝ Ο Πιλατος και εφωνησεν τον ῑν
ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡεν αυτω συ ει ο βασιλευς των ιου-
δαΙΩν…

verso

(.... Ιευς) ειμι εγω εις τουΤΟ ΓεγΝΝημΑΙ
και εληλυθα εις τον κοΣΜΟΝ ΙΝΑ ΜΑΡΤΥ-
ρησω τη αληθεια πας ο ων ΤΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΕι-
ας ακουει μου της φωνης ΛΕΓΕΙ ΑΥΤΩ
ο πιλατος τι εστιν αληθεία καΙ ΤΟΥΤο
ειπων παλιν εξηλθεν προς ΤΟΥΣ Ιου-
δαιους και λεγει αυτοις εγω ουδεΜΙαν

Observe the mis-spellings of ΗΜΕιν (line 1r), ΙΣηλθεν (line 4r).

Perhaps more interesting are the uses of the name of Jesus in lines 2r and 5r. Was the name abbreviated? This is an important and difficult question. Looking at the verso, we find the following line lengths: 28, 30 (38 if εις τουτο is included), 29, 28, 29, 28, 31. In the recto, if "Jesus" is abbreviated, we have 35, 31, 31, 33, 28, 30; if it is expanded, 35, 34, 31, 33 (28 if we omit παλιν), 31, 30. This is problematic, as the average line lengths on recto and verso are distinctly different — 29 for the verso, 31.33 or 32.33 for the recto. If we consider only the

recto, using the long forms produces less deviation for the line lengths (standard deviation of 1.97; it is 2.42 if we use the short lengths). However, if we take all thirteen lines we can measure, using the abbreviations produces the lesser deviation (2.14, with a mean line length of 30.1; without abbreviations the mean is 30.5 and the deviation 2.30). On the whole, then, it is perhaps slightly more likely that the manuscript used the Nomina Sacra than not, but it is absolutely impossible to be dogmatic.

As far as interesting variants go, P^{52} tells us little. The following is a list of variants to which it attests (note that these are all either idiosyncratic readings or of trivial importance, often both):

18:32 ινα ο λογος του ιησου πληρωθη $P^{52\text{-vid}}$ $P^{66\text{-vid}}$ *rell*; W sa ac^{2} pbo *pc* ινα πληρωθη ο λογος του ιησου

18:32 ον ειπεν $P^{52\text{-vid}}$ א^{c} *rell*; א* omits

18:33 παλιν εις το πραιτωριον $P^{52\text{-vid}}$ $P^{66\text{-vid}}$ B C* D^{supp} L W X Δ f13 579 1071 844 lat; $P^{60\text{-vid}}$ א A C^{c} (N Ψ) Θ 087 565 700 892^{supp} *Byz* εις το πραιτωριον παλιν; 33 1424 εις το πραιτωριον (P^{52} might support this reading; with παλιν this line is longer than it ought to be, but without it it is too short).

18:37 και εληλυθα P^{52} (or other reading omitting 5–10 letters); και εις τουτο εληλυθα *rell*

18:38 λεγει αυτω P^{52} *rell*; P^{66} λεγει ουν αυτω

By the nature of the case, P^{52} cannot help us with the variant add/omit εγω (after ειμι in verse 37), since it occurs before the scrap picks up in that verse.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

The bibliography for P^{52} is too extensive to be tracked here. The basic article is the C. H. Roberts item (*An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library)* mentioned above. For more popular works on the subject see the lists below.

Collations:

Collations of P^{52} are common — and often rather optimistic in their readings of almost obliterated letters. Many include reconstructions of the text as well. The following list includes some of the less scholarly, but more widely available, reconstructions

Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts,* pp. 85–100 (text, reconstruction, and comparison with other manuscripts)

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible,* p. 62 (includes reconstructed text)

Salmon, *The Fourth Gospel: A History of the Text,* pp. 50–53

Sample Plates:

Almost every modern introduction to textual criticism includes photos of P^{52} (which is why no photo is included here). Examples include:

Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*
Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts*
Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*
Salmon, *The Fourth Gospel: A History of the Text*

Editions which cite:

Cited in all the recent Nestle-Aland editions and the like; it should be noted, however, that P^{52} is so short that it plays no real role in the critical apparatus.

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* pp. 55–56

$\mathfrak{p}^{54}$

Location/Catalog Number

Princeton (University Library, P. Princeton 15).

Contents

Portions of James 2:16–18 (beginning with του σωμτος), 22, 24–25, 3:2–4. The manuscript is damaged on both sides and at the bottom (though the defect at the bottom does not involve much text); in addition, the manuscript is broken in the middle (it in fact consists of two major pieces and some shreds), which explains how a single leaf can contain four sections of text. All four sections are damaged. The state of the fragment is so bad that it is hard to determine even the line length, but it appears to have been about twenty characters; we have about ten characters in the surviving lines. A total of 29 lines survive.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fifth or sixth century. The hand is quite firm and clear (or would be if the fragment were not so discoloured and faded).

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list P^{54} as Category III or possibly Category II. The Nestle text, however, cites it for only four readings (one of them, in 2:18, being subsingular); there just isn't enough text to make a clear determination of the manuscript's type.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

E. H. Kase, *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections, Volume II*

Ellwood M. Schofield, *The Papyrus Fragments of the Greek New Testament*

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26}, NA^{27}, and the UBS editions.

Other Works:

$\mathfrak{p}^{64}$+$\mathfrak{p}^{67}$

Location/Catalog Number

P^{64}: Oxford, Magdalen College Gr. 18.

P^{67}: Barcelona, Fundació Sant Lucas Evangelista P. Barc. 1

Contents

(scraps of) Matthew 3:9, 3:15, 5:20–22, 5:25–28, 26:7–8, 26:10, 26:14–15, 26:22–23, 26:31–33. For instance, P^{64}, the Oxford fragment (which contains the material from Matthew 26) consists of three small scraps, the largest four lines tall with and the widest being only about 12 letters across. The Barcelona fragment contains the portions of Matthew 3 and 5, and is not in much better shape.

It appears that the page was originally about 200 by 130 mm., with two columns per page and about 35–40 lines per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to around the year 200.

Interestingly, the fragment appears to have Nomina Sacra — but not in full form. The words κυριος and Ιησους are abbreviated, but the words do not appear to have lines above them.

Description and Text-type

It has been suggested that P^{64}+P^{67} are part of the same document as P^{4}. This is certainly possible on chronological grounds. The latter manuscript, however, contain fragments of Luke. If P^{4} and P^{64}+P^{67} are indeed one manuscript, they represent quite possibly the earliest instance of a papyrus containing more than one gospel. I do not think the evidence sufficient to draw firm conclusions.

Aland and Aland list P^{64+67} as Category I with a “Strict” text.

The text of P^{4} is clearly Alexandrian. The evidence for P^{64}+P^{67} frankly does not strike me as sufficient to draw a firm conclusion.

It is interesting to note that the Alands rate P^{64}+P^{67} a “strict” text, P^{4} a “normal” text. However, neither is extensive enough for such a judgment to be truly meaningful.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA[26], NA[27], and the UBS editions.

Other Works:

$\mathfrak{p}^{74}$

Location/Catalog Number

Cologne, Bodmer library. Bodmer Papyrus XVII

Contents

Contains most of Acts (1:2–5, 7–11, 13–15, 18–19, 22–25, 2:2–4, 2:6–3:26, 4:2–6, 8–27, 4:29–27:25, 27:27–28:31) and fragments of all seven Catholic Epistles (portions of 75 verses of James, 16 verses of 1 Peter, 4 of 2 Peter, 27 of 1 John, 4 of 2 John, 2 of 3 John, and 5 of Jude).

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the seventh century.

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list P^{74} as Category I. Richards lists it as a member of his Group A^3 (Family 1739), but even he admits "P^{74} was classified even though there are only eight non-TR readings in 1–3 John by which the manuscript could be judged. We placed P^{74} in A3 because seven of its eight non-TR readings are group readings in A^3, while only five of the eight are group readings in A^2 [the main Alexandrian group], and just three of the eight are A^1 [Family 2138] group readings" (W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles,* p. 139). However, Richards seems to have been betrayed by his inaccurate groups and his small sample size. In the Catholic Epistles as a whole (meaning primarily James), P^{74} is not close to Family 1739. The following data examines all readings of P^{74} in the Catholics cited explicitly in NA^{27}. There are exactly fifty such readings. Of these fifty, P^{74} agrees with the Byzantine text in a mere six. Nine of its readings are singular or subsingular (i.e. not supported by any of the test witnesses ℵ A B L P 33 323 614 1241 1505 1739) It has six readings which have only one supporter among the test witnesses. Its rate of agreements are as follows:

Witness	Overall Agreements	Agreements supported only by P^{74} and the listed witness
א	17 of 50 (34%)	0
A	30 of 49 (61%)	4
B	21 of 50 (42%)	1
L	11 of 50 (22%)	1
P	14 of 46 (30%)	0
33	21 of 44 (48%)	0
323	17 of 50 (34%)	0
614	14 of 50 (28%)	0
1241	20 of 49 (41%)	0
1505	14 of 50 (28%)	0
1739	22 of 50 (44%)	0

Thus P^{74}'s allegiance is clearly with A. If we omit P^{74}'s nine singular readings, they agree in 30 of 41 variants, or 73% of the time. A is the only manuscript to agree with P^{74} over 70% of the time. In addition, A agrees with the larger part of P^{74}'s most unusual readings.

We also observe that P^{74}'s next closest relative is 33, which is fairly close to A.

Without adding statistics, we can observe that P^{74} seems to have a similar text of Acts. Although it has been called Byzantine, in fact it is a high-quality Alexandrian text of that book, and deserves the Alands' Category I description.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

Rudolf Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XVII: Actes des Apôtres, Epîtres de Jacques, Pierre, Jean et Jude*
See also K. Junack, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus* (vols. 1 and 3, Catholic Epistles, Acts)

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all UBS editions and in NA^{26} and NA^{27}

Other Works:

$\mathfrak{p}^{75}$

Location/Catalog Number

Cologny (Geneva), Switzerland, Bodmer library. Bodmer Papyrus XIV, XV

Contents

Contains major portions of Luke and John: Luke 3:18–22, 3:33–4:2, 4:34–5:10, 5:37–6:4, 6:10–7:32, 7:35–39, 41–43, 7:46–9:2, 9:4–17:15, 17:19–18:18, 22:4–end, John 1:1–11:45, 11:48–57, 12:3–13:10, 14:8–15:10. The volume, despite loss of leaves, is in surprisingly good condition, we even have portions of the binding (which is thought to have been added later). We have all or part of 102 pages (51 leaves), out of an original total of about 144 (72 leaves). Generally speaking, the earlier leaves are in better condition; many of the pages in the latter part of John have gone to pieces and have to be reconstructed from fragments.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third century (with most scholars tending toward the earlier half of that century); Martin and Kasser, who edited the manuscript, would have allowed a date as early as 175. The scribe seems to have been generally careful, writing a neat and clear hand (though letter sizes vary somewhat), and (with some minor exceptions) using a fairly consistent spelling. Colwell observed that the natural writing tendencies of the scribe were strongly restrained by the text before him, indicating a copy of very high fidelity. The editors of the codex argued that the copyist was a professional scribe. We do note, however, that lines are of very variable length (25 to 36 letters per line), as are the pages (38 to 45 lines per page). As P^{75} is a single-quire codex of (presumably) 36 folios, it has been argued that the scribe, as he approached the end of the book, was trying to get more text on a page to hold the codex to the available space.

Description and Text-type

The fact which has struck every examiner of P^{75} is its extremely close resemblance to B. A number of statistical studies to this effect have been made; as far as I know, however, all have been done by textual critics with weak mathematical backgrounds and with inadequate controls. Thus, none of their figures for agreements between manuscripts can be regarded as meaning much. Still, the result is unquestionable: P^{75} is closer to B than to any other manuscript, and vice versa. There are enough differences that P^{75} cannot be the parent of B, and is unlikely to be a direct ancestor, but P^{75} and B certainly had a common ancestor, and this ancestor must have been older than P^{75}. Moreover, both manuscripts have remained quite close to this ancestral text. The mere fact that the two agree does not tell us how good this

ancestral text is (most scholars would regard it as very good, but this is for other reasons than the closeness of the two manuscripts). The point is that, good or bad, we are able to reconstruct this text with great accuracy.

Interestingly, there has been no systematic study examining the text of P^{75}. The Alands, of course, list it as Category I, with a strict text, but this is based simply on the date and character of the manuscript; it is not really an examination of the text. Wisse, for some reason, did not profile P^{75}, even though it is the only papyrus of Luke substantial enough to allow such an evaluation (at least of Chapter 10).

The discovery of P^{75} has had a profound effect on New Testament criticism. The demonstration that the B text is older than B seems to have encouraged a much stronger belief in its originality. The UBS committee, for instance, placed the Western Non-Interpolations back in their text based largely on the evidence of P^{75}.

The irony, as E. C. Colwell pointed out in the essay "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program" (p. 156 in the reprint in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament),* is that P^{75} should have had no such effect. The existence of manuscripts such as P^{75} had never been questioned. The major Bodmer papyri (P^{66}, P^{72}, P^{74}, and P^{75}) are important and influential witnesses, but they should have little effect on our textual theory. The truly significant witnesses were the Beatty papyri — P^{46}, as Zuntz showed, should have completely altered our view of the text of Paul (but somehow it didn't); P^{47} perhaps should have a similar if less spectacular effect on our text of the Apocalypse; and P^{45} (as Colwell showed) allows us to see the sorts of liberties some copyists could take with the Biblical text.

This is not to deny the great value of P^{75}. Since P^{66} is a notably inaccurate copy, and P^{45} paraphrases (see Colwell, "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P^{45}, P^{66}, P^{75}," pp. 196–124 in *Studies in Methodology),* P^{75} is the earliest substantial and careful manuscript of the Gospels. Most would also regard it as having the best text. It does have a few limitations, however. It has been accused of omitting minor words such as personal pronouns (see page 121 in the Colwell essay).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Note: As with most major manuscripts, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

Rudolf Kasser and Victor Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV.* Two volumes; Volume I contains the Lukan material, Volume II the Johannine.

Supplementary portions of the text are found in Kurt Aland, “Neue neutestamentliche Papyri III,” *New Testament Studies #22.*

Sample Plates:

Complete plates in Kasser & Martin. Sample plates in almost every recent book, including Aland & Aland, Metzger’s *Text of the New Testament* and *Manuscripts of the New Testament*, Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts*, and anything ever published by Philip Wesley Comfort.

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions published since its discovery — including NA^{25} and higher, all UBS editions, and even Hodges & Farstad.

Other Works:

Calvin Porter, “Papyrus Bodmer XV (P^{75}) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81.

E. C. Colwell, “Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P^{45}, P^{66}, P^{75},” pp. 196–124 in *Studies in Methodology*

$\mathfrak{p}^{78}$

Location/Catalog Number

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2684

Contents

Portions of Jude 4–5, 7–8 (additional material illegible)

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the third or fourth century.

Description and Text-type

P^{78} contains only a fragment of a single leaf, measuring a little over 10 cm. across by 2.5 cm. tall. This suffices to hold three to four lines of text. There are two columns of about a dozen lines each. The surviving portion appears to be the top of the page.

The verso portion is easily read, although written in a rather hurried, inelegant hand. The left-hand column begins with verse 4, αρνουμενοι, and ends with verse 5, ειδοτας. Column 2 begins with verse 7, αιωνιου and ends with verse 8, ενυπνιαζομε[νοι].

The recto portion is in much worse shape, being practically illegible. The left column begins with verse 8, σαρκα μεν. The rest of this column is only marginally legible, and the second column cannot really be deciphered (at least in visible light). The fragment thus contains a total of only about 100 Greek characters.

Nonetheless its text is striking. The Alands classify it as Category I (based on its date) with a "free" text. We observe several noteworthy readings:

v. 5 — add αδελφοι after βουλομαι (singular reading)

v. 7 — επεχουσαι for υπεχουσαι (with 630 1505 2495 and certain other Family 2138 witnesses)

v. 8 — αυτοι for ουτοι (singular reading)

v. 8 — δοξαν for δοξας (a reading seemingly supported only by Latin and Syriac witnesses)

Several of these may be the result of a hasty and careless scribe. Sadly, the fragment is so short that we cannot really draw further conclusions.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

L. Ingrams, P. Kingston, P. Parsons, J. Rea, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* volume 34.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in UBS[4], NA[26], and NA[27].

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* pp. 64–65

$\mathfrak{p}^{90}$

Location/Catalog Number

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 3523

Contents

Portions of John 18:36–19:7

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the second century (making it, after P[52], perhaps the oldest surviving New Testament papyrus). The script is considered similar to the "unknown gospel," P. Egerton 2.

Description and Text-type

P^{90} contains only a part of a single leaf, about 15 cm. tall and nowhere more than six cm. wide. It appears that we have the entire height of the leaf, but only a portion of its width, with thirteen or fewer characters surviving on each line (24 lines visible on the recto, 23 on the verso). Even the surviving characters are often illegible. (So much so that, of the eleven readings noted in NA[27], eight are marked ^{vid}.) The manuscript appears to have originally has about twenty characters per line, meaning that even the best-preserved lines are missing a third of their text, and most are missing half or more. The hand is generally clear but not polished.

Because the manuscript is so newly-discovered, it has not been classified according to any of the standard classification schemes. It does not appear to contain any noteworthy variants. The following table shows its rate of agreement with some key manuscripts in the variants cited in NA[27]:

MS	Agreements	Percent Agreement
P^{66}	5/11	45%
ℵ	7/11	64%
A	1/11	9%
B	3/11	27%
D^{sup}	3/11	27%
K	2/11	18%
L	6/11	55%
Q	2/11	18%
1	3/11	27%

With such small samples, our percentages of agreement obviously don't mean much. But it will be clear that P^{90} is not Byzantine; it appears to be an Alexandrian witness of some kind. Comfort listed it as closest to P^{66} (based probably on some relatively unusual readings they share), but his bias toward early papyri is well-known; in fact it looks closer to ℵ. Its lack of kinship with B is noteworthy.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

L. Ingrams, P. Kingston, P. Parsons, J. Rea, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* volume 50.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA[27].

Other Works:

Comfort, *Early Manuscripts & Modern Translations of the New Testament,* pp. 68–69

Uncials

Note regarding the Great Uncials (especially א A B C D): These manuscripts have simply been studied too fully for there to be any hope of a complete examination here, let alone complete bibliographies. The sections below attempt no more than brief summaries.

Manuscript א (01)

Location/Catalog Number

The entire New Testament portion, plus part of the Old and the non-Biblical books, are in London, British Library Add. 43725. (A singularly obscure number for what is one of the most important manuscripts in the world!) A handful of Old Testament leaves are at Leipzig. Originally found at Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, hence the name "Codex Sinaiticus." A few stray leaves of the codex apparently remain at Sinai. א is the famous Codex Sinaiticus, the great discovery of Constantine von Tischendorf, the only surviving complete copy of the New Testament written prior to the ninth century, and the only complete New Testament in uncial script.

Contents

א presumably originally contained the complete Greek Bible plus at least two New Testament works now regarded as non-canonical: Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. As it stands now, we have the New Testament complete (all in London; 148 leaves or 296 pages total), plus Barnabas and Hermas (to Mandate iv.3.6). Of the Old Testament, we have about 250 leaves out of an original total of some 550. Apart from the portions still at Sinai (which are too newly-found to have been included in most scholarly works), the Old Testament portion consists of portions of Gen. 23, 24, Numbers 5–7 (these first portions being cut-up fragments found in the bindings of other books), plus, more or less complete, 1 Ch. 9:27–19:17, 2 Esdras (=Ezra +Nehemiah) 9:9–end, Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees, 4 Maccabees (it appears that 2 and 3 Maccabees never formed part of the text), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lament. 1:1–2:20, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Job.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourth century. It can hardly be earlier, as the manuscript contains the Eusebian Canons from the first hand. But the simplicity of the writing style makes a later dating effectively impossible.

Tischendorf was of the opinion that four scribes wrote the manuscript; he labelled them A, B, C, and D. It is now agreed that Tischendorf was wrong. The astonishing thing about these scribes is how similar their writing styles were (they almost certainly were trained in the same school), making it difficult to distinguish them. Tischendorf's mistake is based on the format of the book: The poetic books of the Old Testament are written in a different format (in two columns rather than four), so he thought that they were written by scribe C. But in fact the difference is simply one of page layout; scribe C never existed. For consistency, though, the three remaining scribes are still identified by their Tischendorf letters, A, B, and D.

An interesting aspect of Sinaiticus is its severe plain-ness. Even Codex Vaticanus has occasional graphics (though a lot of them are pretty ugly) and a few instances of red ink. Sinaiticus has almost none. (This may not have been all bad. Sinaiticus is thought to have been in Palestine in the early Islamic era, and a manuscript which did not violate the Islamic ban of representations of living things perhaps had a better chance of surviving.)

Of the three, scribe D was clearly the best, having almost faultless spelling. A, despite having a hand similar to D's, was a very poor scribe; the only good thing to be said about him was that he was better than B, whose incompetence is a source of almost continual astonishment to those who examine his work.

The New Testament is almost entirely the work of scribe A; B did not contribute at all, and D supplied only a very few leaves, scattered about. It is speculated (though it is no more than speculation) that the few leaves written by D were "cancels" — places where the original copies were so bad that it was easier to replace than correct them. (One of these cancels, interestingly, is the ending of Mark.)

It has been speculated that Sinaiticus was copied from dictation. This is because a number of its errors seem to be errors of hearing rather than of sight (including an amusing case in 1 Macc. 5:20, where the reader seems to have stumbled over the text and the copyist took it all down mechanically). Of course, the possibility cannot be absolutely ruled out that it was not Sinaiticus itself, but one of its ancestors, which was taken down from dictation. In the case of the New Testament, at least, the consensus seems to be that it was not taken from dictation but actually copied from another manuscript.

Sinaiticus is one of the most-corrected manuscripts of all time. Tischendorf counted 14,800 corrections in what was then the Saint Petersburg portion alone!

The correctors were numerous and varied. Tischendorf groups them into five sets, denoted a, b, c, d, e, but there were actually more than this. Milne and Skeat believe "a" and "b" to have been the original scribes (though others have dated them as late as the sixth century); their corrections were relatively few, but those of "a" in particular are considered to have nearly as much value as the original text.

The busiest correctors are those collectively described as “c,” though in fact there were at least three of them, seemingly active in the seventh century. When they are distinguished, it is as “c.a,” “c.b,” and “c.pamph.” Corrector c.a was the busiest of all, making thousands of changes throughout the volume. Many of these — though by no means all — were in the direction of the Byzantine text. The other two correctors did rather less; c.pamph seems to have worked on only two books (2 Esdras and Esther) — but his corrections were against a copy said to have been corrected by Pamphilius working from the Hexapla. This, if true, is very interesting — but colophons can be faked, or transmitted from copy to copy. And in any case, the corrections apply only to two books, neither in the New Testament. There may have been as many as two others among the “c” correctors; all told, Tischendorf at one time or another refers to correctors c, ca, cb, cc, and cc*.

Correctors d and e were much later (e is dated to the twelfth century), and neither added particularly many changes. Indeed, no work of d’s is known in the New Testament.

It is unfortunate that the Nestle-Aland edition has completely befuddled this system of corrections. In Nestle-Aland 26 and beyond, א^{a} and א^{b} are combined as א^{1}; the correctors א^{c} are conflated as א^{2}, and (most confusing of all) א^{e} becomes א^{c}.

(For more information about the correctors of א, see the article on Correctors and Corrections.)

Description and Text-type

The history of Tischendorf’s discovery of Codex Sinaiticus is told in nearly every introduction to New Testament criticism; I will not repeat it in any detail here (especially since there is a great deal of controversy about what he did). The essential elements are these: In 1844, Tischendorf visited Saint Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai. (Sadly, he did not do much to investigate the many fine minuscules at Mount Sinai, such as 1241 and 1881). At one point, he noted 43 sheets of very old parchment in a waste bin, destined to be burned. Tischendorf rescued these leaves (the Leipzig portion of Sinaiticus, all from the Old Testament), and learned that many more existed. He was not able to obtain these leaves, and saw no sign of the manuscript on a second visit in 1853.

It was not until 1859, near the end of a third visit, that Tischendorf was allowed to see the rest of the old manuscript (learning then for the first time that it contained the New Testament — complete! — as well as the Old). Under a complicated arrangement, Tischendorf was allowed to transcribe the manuscript, but did not have the time to examine it in full detail. Tischendorf wanted to take the manuscript to the west, where it could be examined more carefully.

It is at this point that the record becomes unclear. The monks, understandably, had no great desire to give up the greatest treasure of their monastery. Tischendorf, understandably, wanted to make the manuscript more accessible (though not necessarily safer; unlike Saint Petersburg

and London, Mount Sinai has not suffered a revolution or been bombed since the discovery of א). In hindsight, it seems quite clear that the monks were promised better terms than they actually received (though this may be the fault of the Tsarist government rather than Tischendorf). Still, by whatever means, the manuscript wound up in Saint Petersburg, and later was sold to the British Museum.

There is at least one interesting sidelight on this, in that Tischendorf's story of his discovery has a clear historical precedent in the discovery of the Percy Manuscript. In around 1753, Thomas Percy was visiting his friend Humphrey Pitt when he discovered the maids burning a paper folio. (A much more reasonable thing to burn than a pile of parchments, which do not burn well!) Percy was able to rescue the century-old poetic miscellany, which eventually inspired him to publish his *Reliques* in 1765. [Source: Nick Groom, The Making of Percy's Reliques, Oxford, 1999, p. 6.] Happily, the parallels did not extend beyond that point: Percy edited, rewrote, and generally misrepresented his manuscript; Tischendorf published Sinaiticus with great precision.

However unfair these proceedings, they did make the Sinaiticus available to the world. Tischendorf published elaborate editions in the 1860s, Kirsopp Lake published a photographic edition before World War I, and once the manuscript arrived in the British Museum, it was subjected to detailed examination under ordinary and ultraviolet light.

The fact that א is both early and complete has made it the subject of intense textual scrutiny. Tischendorf, who did not pay much attention to text-types, did not really analyse its text, but gave it more weight than any other manuscript when preparing his eighth and final critical edition. Westcott and Hort regarded it as, after B, the best and most important manuscript in existence; the two made up the core of their "neutral" text. Since then, nearly everyone has listed it as a primary Alexandrian witness: Von Soden listed it as a member of the H type; the Alands list it as Category I (which, in practice, means purely Alexandrian); Wisse lists it as Group B in Luke; Richards classifies it as A^2 (i.e. a member of the main Alexandrian group) in the Johannine Epistles, etc. The consensus was that there were only two places where the manuscript is not Alexandrian: the first part of John, where it is conceded that it belongs to some other text-type, probably "Western," (Gordon D. Fee, in a study whose methodology I consider dubious — one can hardly divide things as closely as a single verse! — puts the dividing point at 8:38), and in the Apocalypse, where Schmid classifies it in its own, non-Alexandrian, type with P^{47}.

The truth appears somewhat more complicated. Zuntz, analyzing 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, came to the conclusion that א and B do not belong to the same text-type. (Zuntz's terminology is confusing, as he refers to the P^{46}/B type as "proto-Alexandrian," even though his analysis makes it clear that this is *not the same type* as the mainstream Alexandrian text.) The true Alexandrian text of Paul, therefore, is headed by א, with allies including A C I 33 81 1175. It

also appears that the Bohairic Coptic tends toward this group, although Zuntz classified it with P^{46}/B (the Sahidic Coptic clearly goes with P^{46}/B), while 1739, which Zuntz places with P^{46}/B, appears to me to be separate from either.

This leads to the logical question of whether א and B actually belong together in the other parts of the Bible. They are everywhere closer to each other than to the Byzantine text — but that does not mean that they belong to the same type, merely similar types. There are hints that, in the Gospels as in Paul, they should be separated. B belongs to a group with P^{75}, and this group seems to be ancestral to L. Other witnesses, notably Z, cluster around א. While no one is yet prepared to say that B and א belong to separate text-types in the gospels, the possibility must at least be admitted that they belong to separate sub-text-types.

In Acts, I know of no studies which would incline to separate א and B, even within the same text-type. On the other hand, I know of no studies which have examined the question. It is likely that the two do both belong to the Alexandrian type, but whether they belong to the same sub-type must be left unsettled.

In Paul, Zuntz's work seems unassailable. There is no question that B and א belong to different types. The only questions are, what are those types, and what is their extent? Zuntz's work is little help, but it would appear that the א-type is the "true" Alexandrian text. P^{46} and B have only one certain ally (the Sahidic Coptic) and two doubtful ones (the Bohairic Coptic, which I believe against Zuntz to belong with א, and the 1739 group, which I believe to be a separate text-type). א, however, has many allies — A, C, 33 (א's closest relative except in Romans), and the fragmentary I are all almost pure examples of this type. Very many minuscules support it with some degree of mixture; 81, 1175, and 1506 are perhaps the best, but most of the manuscripts that the Alands classify as Category II or Category III in Paul probably belong here (the possible exceptions are the members of Families 365/2127, 330, and 2138). It is interesting to note that the Alexandrian is the only non-Byzantine type with a long history — there are no P_{46}/B manuscripts after the fourth century, and the "Western" text has only three Greek witnesses, with the last dating from the ninth century, but we have Alexandrian witnesses from the fourth century to the end of the manuscript era. Apart from certain fragmentary papyri, א is the earliest and best of these.

The situation in the Catholic Epistles is complicated. The work of Richards on the Johannine Epistles, and the studies of scholars such as Amphoux, have clearly revealed that there are (at least) three distinct non-Byzantine groups here: Family 2138, Family 1739 (which here seems to include C), and the large group headed by P^{72}, א, A, B, 33, etc. Richards calls all three of these Alexandrian, but he has no definition of text-types; it seems evident that Amphoux is right: These are three text-types, not three groups within a single type.

Even within the Alexandrian group, we find distinctions. P^{72} and B stand together. Almost all other Alexandrian witnesses fall into a group headed by A and 33 (other members of this group include Ψ, 81, 436). א stands alone; it does not seem to have any close allies. It remains to be determined whether this is textually significant or just a matter of defective copying (such things are harder to test in a short corpus like the Catholic Epistles).

As already mentioned, Schmid analysed the manuscripts of the Apocalypse and found that א stood almost alone; its only ally is P^{47}. The other non-Byzantine witnesses tend to cluster around A and C rather than א. The general sense is that the A/C type is the Alexandrian text (if nothing else, it is the largest of the non-Byzantine types, which is consistently true of the Alexandrian text). Certainly the A/C type is regarded as the best; the P^{47}/א type is regarded as having many peculiar readings.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ2

Many critical apparati (including those of Merk and Bover) refer to א using the siglum "S."

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

A full edition, with special type and intended to show the exact nature of the corrections, etc. was published by Tischendorf in 1861. This is now superseded by the photographic edition published by Kirsopp Lake (1911). And that in turn has been updated by the detailed scans at www.codexsinaiticus.org.

Sample Plates:

Images are found in nearly every book on NT criticism which contains pictures.

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf.

Other Works:

See especially H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of Codex Sinaiticus* (1938)

Manuscript A (02)

Location/Catalog Number

British Library, Royal 1 D.v-viii. Volumes v, vi, and vii (as presently bound) contain the Old Testament, volume viii the New Testament. Originally given to the English by Cyril Lucar, at various times patriarch of Alexandria and Constantinople. He had it from Alexandria, and so the manuscript came to be called "Codex Alexandrinus," but it is by no means sure that it had always been there; it has been suggested that it was originally from Mount Athos.

Contents

A originally contained the entire Old and New Testaments, plus I and II Clement and (if the table of contents is to be believed) the Psalms of Solomon. As the manuscript stands, small portions of the Old Testament have been lost, as have Matthew 1:1–25:6, John 6:50–8:52 (though the size and number of missing leaves implies that John 7:53–8:11 were not part of the manuscript), 2 Cor. 4:13–14:6. The final leaves of the manuscript have been lost, meaning that 2 Clement ends at 12:4. Like the New Testament, the Old contains some non-canonical or marginally canonical material: 3 and 4 Maccabees, Psalm 151, Odes.

Date/Scribe

There is some slight disagreement about the date of A. A colophon attributes it to Thecla, working in the time of Saint Paul (!), but this colophon is clearly a later forgery; it may have been written by a Thecla, but not *that* Thecla. Although most experts believe the manuscript is of the fifth century, a few have held out for the late fourth. A very few have held out for later dates: Semler said seventh, and someone by the name of Oudin apparently placed it in the tenth century! (This was based on the inclusion of an alleged letter of Athanasius, which, it was claimed, must have been written in the tenth century because there were lots of forgeries written around that time.) No scholar since the early nineteenth century has taken either of these claims seriously, however, and our knowledge of ancient manuscripts and their dating is vastly greater now.

The number of scribes has also been disputed; Kenyon thought there were five, but Milne and Skeat (who had better tools for comparison) suggest that there are only two, possibly three. (The uncertainty lies in the fact that part of the New Testament, beginning with Luke and ending with 1 Cor. 10:8, present a rather different appearance from the rest of the New Testament — but when compared in detail, the hand appears extremely similar to the scribe who did the rest of the New Testament.) Occasional letterforms are said to resemble Coptic letters, perhaps hinting at Egyptian origin, but this is not universally conceded.

A contains a significant number of corrections, both from the original scribe and by later hands, but it has not undergone the sort of major overhaul we see in א or D or even B (which was retraced by a later hand). Nor do the corrections appear to belong to a particular type of text.

Description and Text-type

The story of how A reached its present location is much less involved than that of its present neighbour א. A has been in England since 1627. It is first encountered in Constantinople in 1624, though it is likely that Cyril Lucar (recently translated from the Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria to that of Constantinople) brought it with him from Egypt. Lucar was involved in a complex struggle with the Turkish government, the Catholic church, and his own subordinates, and presented the codex to the English in gratitude for their help. The Church of Constantinople was disorderly enough that Lucar seems to have had some trouble keeping his hands on the codex, but it eventually was handed over to the English.

After arriving in Britain, it did have one brief adventure: During the English Civil War, there was threat of dispersal of the Royal Library (the core of what became first the British Museum then the British Library). When Librarian Patrick Young was allowed to retire, he took the Alexandrinus with him; it was finally returned to the Library in 1664. Given how erratic was the behavior of Cromwell's followers, that may have been just as well.

A is somewhat confounding to both the friends and enemies of the Byzantine text, as it gives some evidence to the arguments of both sides.

A is Byzantine in the gospels; there can be no question of this. It is, in fact, the oldest Byzantine manuscript in Greek. (The Peshitta Syriac is older, and is Byzantine, but it obviously is not Greek.) But A is not a "normal" Byzantine witness — that is, it is not directly related to the K^{x} type which eventually became dominant. The text of A in the Gospels is, in fact, related to Family Π (Von Soden's I^{κ}). Yet even those who documented this connection (Silva Lake and others) note that A is not a particularly pure member of Family Π. Nor, in their opinions, was it an ancestor of Family Π; rather, it was a slightly mixed descendent. The additional elements seem to have been Alexandrian — the obvious example being the omission of John 7:53–8:11, but A also omits, e.g., Luke 22:43–44 and (in the first hand) John 5:3. Westcott and Hort felt the combination of B and A to be strong and significant. We are nonetheless left with the question of the relationship between A and the rest of the Byzantine text. The best explanation appears to me to be that A is derived from a Byzantine text very poorly and sporadically corrected against an Alexandrian document (most likely not systematically corrected, but with occasional Byzantine readings eliminated as they were noticed in an environment where the Alexandrian text dominated). But other explanations are certainly possible.

The situation in the rest of the New Testament is simpler: A is Alexandrian throughout. It is not quite as pure as א or B or the majority of the papyri; it has a few Byzantine readings. But the basic text is as clearly Alexandrian as the gospels are Byzantine. The Alands, for instance, list A as Category I in the entire New Testament except for the Gospels (where they list it as Category III for historical reasons). Von Soden calls it H (but I^{ka} in the Gospels).

In Acts, there seems to be no reason to think A is to be associated particularly with א or B. It seems to be somewhat closer to P^{74}.

In Paul, the situation changes. A clearly belongs with א (and C 33 etc.) against P^{46} and B. This was first observed by Zuntz, and has been confirmed by others since then.

The case in the Catholic Epistles is complicated. The vast majority of the so-called Alexandrian witnesses seem to be weaker texts of a type associated with A and 33. (Manuscripts such as Ψ, 81, and 436 seem to follow these two, with Byzantine mixture.) The complication is that neither B nor א seems to be part of this type. The simplest explanation is that the Alexandrian text breaks down into subtypes, but this has not been proved.

In the Apocalypse, A and א once again part company. According to Schmid, א forms a small group with P^{47}, while A is the earliest and generally best of a much larger group of witnesses including C, the vulgate, and most of the non-Byzantine minuscules. In this book, the A/C text is considered much the best witness. Based on its number of supporters relative to the P^{47}/א text, one must suspect the A/C text of being the mainstream Alexandrian text, but this cannot be considered proved — there aren't enough early patristic writings to classify the witnesses.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ4

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

The first publication was as footnotes to the London Polyglot. The symbol "A" is from Wettstein. A photographic edition (at reduced size) was published by Kenyon starting in 1909.

Sample Plates:

Images are found in nearly every book on NT criticism which contains pictures.

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf (plus Wettstein, etc.)

Manuscript B (03)

Location/Catalog Number

Vatican Library, Greek 1209. The manuscript has been there for its entire known history; hence the title “Codex Vaticanus.”

Contents

B originally contained the entire Old and New Testaments, except that it never included the books of Maccabees or the Prayer of Manasseh. The manuscript now has slight defects; in the Old Testament, it omits most of Genesis (to 46:28) and portions of Psalms (lacking Psalms 105–137). In the New Testament, it is defective from Hebrews 9:14 onward (ending KATA), omitting the end of Hebrews, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and the Apocalypse. It is possible that additional books might have been included at the end — although it is also possible that the Apocalypse was not included. Indeed, it is barely possible (though this is rarely mentioned) that B originally omitted the Pastorals; this would accord with the contents of its relative P^{46}.

Date/Scribe

Early estimates of the date of this manuscript, at a time when knowledge of paleography was limited, varied significantly — e.g. Montfaucon suggested the fifth or sixth century, and Dupin the seventh. But Hug (who was the first to really stress the importance of this manuscript) suggested the fourth century, and this is no longer questioned; B is now universally conceded to belong to the fourth century, probably to the early part of the century. It is in many ways very primitive, having very short book titles and lacking the Eusebian apparatus. It has its own unique system of chapter identifications; that in the gospels is found elsewhere only in Ξ. It uses a continuous system of numbers in Paul, showing that (in one or another of its ancestors), Hebrews stood between Galatians and Ephesians, even though Hebrews stands after Thessalonians in B itself. There is a second system in Paul as well; we also find two sets of chapter numbers in Acts and the Catholic Epistles, save that 2 Peter is not numbered (perhaps because it was not considered canonical by the unknown person who created this chapter system).

A single scribe seems to have been responsible for the New Testament, though two scribes worked on the Old. There were two primary correctors, though the dates of both are rather uncertain. The first is tentatively dated to the sixth century; the second comes from the tenth or eleventh. The second of these is much the more important, though more for damage done than for the actual readings supplied. This scribe, finding the manuscript somewhat faded, proceeded to re-ink the entire text (except for a few passages which he considered

inauthentic). This scribe also added accents and breathings. This re-inking had several side effects, all of them (for us) bad. First, it defaced the appearance of the letters, making it harder to do paleographic work. Second, it rendered some of the readings of the original text impossible to reconstruct. And third, it makes it very difficult to tell if there are any original accents, breathings, punctuation, etc. Such marks will generally disappear under the re-inking. Only when such a mark has not been re-inked can we be sure it came from the original hand. Modern techniques could perhaps see through the work of this defacer, but as far as I know, no one has been willing to put up the money for this, and I doubt the Vatican would allow the manuscript to leave their library for as long as the project would need.

It is not absolutely certain when B was damaged, but it certainly happened in the manuscript era, because a supplement with the missing material was later added to the volume. This supplement is late, in a minuscule hand (manuscript 1957, dated paleographically to the fifteenth century; it is believed that the Apocalypse was copied from a manuscript belonging to Cardinal Bessarion. It has been conjectured that Bessarion contributed B to the Vatican library, but this is pure conjecture; all that is known is that the manuscript has been in the library since the compiling of the first catalog in 1475.)

Description and Text-type

This is **the** manuscript. The big one. The key. It is believed that every non-Byzantine edition since Westcott and Hort has been closer to B than to any other manuscript. There is general consensus about the nature of its text: Westcott and Hort called it “Neutral” (i.e. Alexandrian); Von Soden listed it as H (Alexandrian), Wisse calls it Group B (Alexandrian), the Alands place it in Category I (which in practice also means Alexandrian). No other substantial witness is as clearly a member of this text-type; B very nearly defines the Alexandrian text.

Despite the unanimity of scholars, the situation is somewhat more complicated than is implied by the statement “B is Alexandrian.” The facts change from corpus to corpus.

In the Gospels, Westcott and Hort centered the “Neutral”/Alexandrian text around B and א (01). At that time, they agreed more closely with each other than with anything else (except that Z had a special kinship with א). Since that time, things have grown more complex. B has been shown to have a special affinity with P^{75} — an affinity much greater than its affinity with א, and of a different kind. The scribal problems of P^{66} make it harder to analyse (particularly since א departs the Alexandrian text in the early chapters of John), but it also appears closer to B than א. Among later manuscripts, L has suffered much Byzantine mixture, but its non-Byzantine readings stand closer to B than to א. Thus it appears that we must split the Alexandrian text of the Gospels into, at the very least, two subfamilies, a B family (P^{66}, P^{75}, B, L, probably the Sahidic Coptic) and an א family (א, Z, at least some of the semi-Alexandrian minuscules). This is a matter which probably deserves greater attention.

There is little to be said regarding Acts. B seems once again to be the purest Alexandrian manuscript, but I know of no study yet published which fully details the relations between the Alexandrian witnesses. It is likely that B, A, and א all belong to the same text-type. We have not the data to say whether there are sub-text-types of this text.

In Paul, the matter is certainly much more complex. Hort described B, in that corpus, as being primarily Alexandrian but with "Western" elements. This was accepted for a long time, but has two fundamental flaws. First, B has many significant readings not found in either the Alexandrian (א A C 33 etc.) or the "Western" (D F G latt) witnesses. Several good examples of this come from Colossians: In 2:2, B (alone of Greek witnesses known to Hort; now supported by P^{46} and implicitly by the members of Family 1739) has του θεου Χριστου; in 3:6, B (now supported by P^{46}) omits επι τους υιους της απειθειας Also, B was the earliest witness known to Hort; was it proper to define its text in terms of two text-types (Western and Alexandrian) which existed only in later manuscripts?

It was not until 1946 that G. Zuntz examined this question directly; the results were published in 1953 as *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition Upon the Corpus Paulinum*. Zuntz's methods were excessively laborious, and cannot possibly be generalized to the entire tradition — but he showed unquestionably that, first, B and P^{46} had a special kinship, and second, that these manuscripts were not part of the mainstream Alexandrian text. This was a major breakthrough in two respects: It marked the first attempt to distinguish the textual history of the Epistles from the textual history of the Gospels (even though there is no genuine reason to think they are similar), and it also marked the first attempt, in Paul, to break out of Griesbach's Alexandrian/Byzantine/Western model.

Zuntz called his proposed fourth text-type "proto-Alexandrian" (p. 156), and lists as its members P^{46} B 1739 (plus the relatives of the latter; Zuntz was aware of 6 424** M/0121 1908; to this now add 0243 1881 630 2200) sa bo Clement Origen.

It appears to me that even this classification is too simple; there are five text-types in Paul — not just the traditional Alexandrian, Byzantine, and "Western" texts, but two others which Zuntz combined as the "Proto-Alexandrian" text. (This confusion is largely the result of Zuntz's method; since he worked basically from P^{46}, he observed the similarities of these manuscripts to P^{46} but did not really analyse the places where they differ.) The Alexandrian, "Western," and Byzantine texts remain as he found them. From the "Proto-Alexandrian" witnesses, however, we must deduct Family 1739, which appears to be its own type. Family 1739 does share a number of readings with P^{46} and B, but it also shares special readings with the Alexandrian and "Western" texts and has a handful of readings of its own. It also appears to me that the Bohairic Coptic, which Zuntz called Alexandrian, is actually closer to the true Alexandrian text.

This leaves B with only two full-fledged allies in Paul: P^{46} and the Sahidic Coptic. I also think that Zuntz's title "Proto-Alexandrian" is deceptive, since the P^{46}/B type and the Alexandrian text

clearly split before the time of P^{46}. As a result, I prefer the neutral title P^{46}6/B type (if we ever find additional substantial witnesses, we may be able to come up with a better name).

When we turn to the Catholics, the situation seems once again to be simple. Most observers have regarded B as, once again, the best of the Alexandrian witnesses — so, e.g., Richards, who in the Johannine Epistles places it in the A^2 group, which consists mostly of the Old Uncials: א A B C Ψ 6.

There are several peculiar points about these results, though. First, Richards lumps together three groups as the "Alexandrian text." Broadly speaking, these groups may be described as Family 2138 (A^1), the Old Uncials (A^2), and Family 1739 (A^3). And, no matter what one's opinion about Family 1739, no reasonable argument can make Family 2138 an Alexandrian group. What does this say about Richards's other groups?

Another oddity is the percentages of agreement. For the A^2 group, Richards gives these figures for rates of agreement with the group profile (W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles,* SBL Dissertation Series, 1977, p. 141):

Manuscript	Agreement %
Ψ	96%
C	94%
א	94%
B	89%
A	81%
6	72%

This is disturbing in a number of ways. First, what is 6 doing in the group? It's far weaker than the rest of the manuscripts. Merely having a 70% agreement is not enough — not when the group profiles are in doubt! Second, can Ψ, which has clearly suffered Byzantine mixture, really be considered the leading witness of the type? Third, can C (which was found by Amphoux to be associated with Family 1739 in the Catholics) really be the leading Old Uncial of this type? Fourth, it can be shown that most of the important Alexandrian minuscules (e.g. 33, 81, 436, none of which were examined by Richards) are closer to A than to B or א. Ought not A be the defining manuscript of the type? Yet it agrees with the profile only 81% of the time!

A much more reasonable approach is to take more of the Alexandrian minuscules into account, and a rather different picture emerges. Rather than being the weakest Alexandrian uncial, A becomes (in my researches) the earliest and key witness of the true Alexandrian type, heading the group A Ψ 33 81 436 *al*. The clear majority of the Alexandrian witnesses in the Catholics go here, either purely (as in the case, e.g., of 33) or with Byzantine mixture (as, e.g., in 436 and its near relative 1067). In this system, both B and א stand rather off to the side — perhaps part

of the same type, but not direct ancestors of anything. B also has a special kinship, at least in the Petrine epistles, with P^{72}, the one substantial papyrus of the Catholic Epistles. Despite Richards, it appears that B and P^{72} form at least a sub-type of the Alexandrian text.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ1

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

B has been published several times, including several recent photographic editions (the earliest from 1904–1907; full colour editions were published starting in 1968). It is important to note that the early non-photographic editions are not reliable. Tischendorf, of course, listed the readings of the manuscript, but this was based on a most cursory examination; the Vatican authorities went to extraordinary lengths to keep him from examining Vaticanus. Others who wished to study it, such as Tregelles, were denied even the right to see it. The first edition to be based on actual complete examination of the manuscript was done by Cardinal Mai (4 volumes; a 1 volume edition came later) — but this was one of the most incompetently executed editions of all time. Not only is the number of errors extraordinarily high, but no attention is paid to readings of the first hand versus correctors, and there is no detailed examination of the manuscript's characteristics. Despite its advantages, it is actually less reliable than Tischendorf, and of course far inferior to recent editions. Philipp Buttmann produced a New Testament edition based largely on B, but he had B's text via Mai, which he seemingly didn't trust very much, so the resulting edition isn't much like B or anything else (except 2427, which apparently was copied from Buttmann).

Sample Plates:

Images are found in nearly every book on NT criticism which contains pictures.

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf

Other Works:

The bibliography for B is too large to be covered here. The reader is particularly referred to:

G Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition Upon the Corpus Paulinum.*

See also, e.g., S. Kubo, P^{72} *and the Codex Vaticanus.*

Manuscript C (04)

Location/Catalog Number

Paris, National Library Greek 9. It was heard of in the sixteenth century, when Cardinal Ridolfi of Florence acquired it; it passed to Catherine de Medici, and then to France.

Contents

C originally contained the entire Old and New Testaments, but was erased in the twelfth century and overwritten with Syriac works of Ephraem. The first to more or less completely read the manuscript was Tischendorf, but it is likely that it will never be fully deciphered (for example, the first lines of every book were written in red or some other colour of ink, and have completely vanished). In addition, very many leaves were lost when the book was rewritten; while it is barely possible that some may yet be rediscovered, there is no serious hope of recovering the whole book.

As it now stands, C lacks the following New Testament verses in their entirety:

- Matt. 1:1–2, 5:15–7:5, 17:26–18:28, 22:21–23:17, 24:10–45, 25:30–26:22, 27:11–46, 28:15–end
- Mark 1:1–17, 6:32–8:5, 12:30–13:19
- Luke 1:1–2, 2:5–42, 3:21–4:5, 6:4–36, 7:17–8:28, 12:4–19:42, 20:28–21:20, 22:19–23:25, 24:7–45
- John 1:1–3, 1:41–3:33, 5:17–6:38, 7:3–8:34 (does not have space for 7:53–8:11), 9:11–11:7, 11:47–13:8, 14:8–16:21, 18:36–20:25
- Acts 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–end
- Romans 1:1–2, 2:5–3:21, 9:6–10:15, 11:31–13:10
- 1 Corinthians 1:1–2, 7:18–9:16, 13:8–15:40
- 2 Corinthians 1:1–2, 10:8–end
- Galatians 1:1–20
- Ephesians 1:1–2:18, 4:17–end
- Philippians 1:1–22, 3:5–end
- Colossians 1:1–2

- 1 Thessalonians 1:1, 2:9–end
- 2 Thessalonians (entire book)
- 1 Timothy 1:1–3:9, 5:20–end
- 2 Timothy 1:1–2
- Titus 1:1–2
- Philemon 1–2
- Hebrews 1:1–2:4, 7:26–9:15, 10:24–12:15
- James 1:1–2, 4:2–end
- 1 Peter 1:1–2, 4:5–end
- 2 Peter 1:1
- 1 John 1:1–2, 4:3–end
- 2 John (entire book)
- 3 John 1–2
- Jude 1–2
- Revelation 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

(and, of course, C may be illegible even on the pages which survive). We might note that we are fortunate to have even this much of the New Testament; we have significantly more than half of the NT, but much less than half of the Old Testament.

Date/Scribe

The original writing of C is dated paleographically to the fifth century, and is quite fine and clear (fortunately, given what has happened to the manuscript since). Before being erased, it was worked over by two significant correctors, C^2 (C^b) and C^3 (C^c). (The corrector C^1 was the original corrector, but made very few changes. C^1 is not once cited in NA^{27}.) Corrector C^2 is thought to have worked in the sixth century or thereabouts; C^3 performed his task around the ninth century. (For more information about the correctors of C, see the article on Correctors and Corrections.)

It was probably in the twelfth century that the manuscript was erased and overwritten; the upper writing is a Greek translation of 38 Syriac sermons by Ephraem.

Description and Text-type

It is usually stated that C is a mixed manuscript, or an Alexandrian manuscript with much Byzantine mixture. The Alands, for instance, list it as Category II; given their classification scheme, that amounts to a statement that it is Alexandrian with Byzantine influence. Von Soden lists it among the H (Alexandrian) witnesses, but not as a leading witness of the type.

The actual situation is much more complex than that, as even the Alands' own figures reveal (they show a manuscript with a far higher percentage of Byzantine readings in the gospels than elsewhere). The above description is broadly accurate in the Gospels; it is not true at all elsewhere.

In the Gospels, the Alands' figures show a manuscript which is slightly more Byzantine than not, while Wisse lists C as mixed in his three chapters of Luke. But these are overall assessments; a detailed examination shows C to waver significantly in its adherence to the Alexandrian and Byzantine texts. While at no point entirely pure, it will in some sections be primarily Alexandrian, in others mostly Byzantine.

Gerben Kollenstaart brings to my attention the work of Mark R. Dunn in *An Examination of the Textual Character of Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (C, 04) in the Four Gospels* (unpublished Dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary 1990). Neither of us has seen this document, but we find the summary, "C is a weak Byzantine witness in Matthew, a weak Alexandrian in Mark, and a strong Alexandrian in John. In Luke C's textual relationships are unclear" (Summarized in Brooks, *The New Testament Text of Gregory of Nyssa,* p. 60, footnote 1). I dislike the terminology used, as it looks much too formulaic and appears to assume that C's textual affinities change precisely at the boundaries between books. (Given C's fragmentary state, this is even more unprovable than usual.) But the general conclusion seems fair enough: Matthew is the most Byzantine, John the least. In all cases, however, one suspects Byzantine and Alexandrian mixture — probably of Byzantine readings atop an Alexandrian base. This would explain the larger number of Byzantine readings in Matthew: As is often the case, the corrector was most diligent at the beginning.

Outside the Gospels, C seems to show the same sort of shift shown by its near-contemporary, A — though, because C possessed Alexandrian elements in the gospels, the shift is less noticeable. But it is not unfair to say that C is mixed in the Gospels and almost purely non-Byzantine elsewhere.

In short works such as Acts and the Catholic Epistles, the limited amount of text available makes precise determinations difficult. In the Acts, we can at least state definitively that C is less Byzantine than it is in the Gospels, but any conclusion beyond that is somewhat tentative. The usual statement is that C is Alexandrian, and I know of no counter-evidence. Nonetheless, given the situation in the Catholic Epistles, I believe this statement must be taken with caution.

The situation in the Catholic Epistles is purely and simply confused. The published evaluations do not agree. W. L. Richards, in his dissertation on the Johannine Epistles using the Claremont Profile Method, does a fine job of muddling the issue. He lists C as a member of the A^2 text, which appears to be the mainstream Alexandrian text (it also contains א, A, and B). But something funny happens when one examines C's affinities. C has a 74% agreement with A, and a 77% agreement with B, but also a 73% agreement with 1739, and a 72% agreement with 1243. This is hardly a large enough difference to classify C with the Alexandrians as against the members of Family 1739. And, indeed, Amphoux and Outtier link C with Family 1739, considering their common material possibly "Cæsarean." Tim Finney has indicated something similar.

My personal results seem to split the difference. If one assumes C is Alexandrian, it can be made to look Alexandrian. But if one starts with no such assumptions, then it appears that C does incline toward Family 1739. It is not a pure member of the family, in the sense that (say) 323 is; 323, after all, may be suspected of being descended (with mixture) from 1739 itself. But C must be suspected of belonging to the type from which the later Family 1739 descended. (Presumably the surviving witnesses of Family 1739 are descended from a common ancestor more recent than C, i.e. Family 1739 is a sub-text-type of the broader C/1241/1739 type.) It is possible (perhaps even likely) that C has some Alexandrian mixture, but proving this (given the very limited amount of text available) will require a very detailed examination of C.

Westcott, in his commentary on the Johannine Epistles, lists the peculiar readings of C (that is, those not shared by א A B), adding that they "have no appearance of genuiness":

1 Jn 1:3 omit δε with the late mss. [C* P 33 81 322 323 429 453 630 945 1241 1505 1739 2298 hark sa arm]

1 Jn 1:4 add εν ημιν [C* pesh]

1 Jn 1:5 επαγγελια with the late mss. [C P 33 69 81 181 323 429 436 614 630 945 1505 1739 2298 hark bo ($א^2$ Ψ αγαπη της επαγγελιας)]

1 Jn 1:9 omit ημας [C singular reading]

1 Jn 2:4 omit οτι with the late mss. [C K L P 049 69 1881 arm; not 1739]

1 Jn 2:21 omit παν [singular reading]

1 Jn 3:14 add τον αδελφον with the late mss. [C K L Ψ 81 (P 69 206 614 630 1505 τον αδελφον αυτου)]

1 Jn 3:20 κυριος for θεος [singular reading]

1 Jn 4:2 χριστον ιησουν [singular reading]

Westcott's statement seems to be generally true — all the items here appear to be either singular, simple errors of omission, or minor paraphrases. But C still appears highly valuable when in company with good witnesses.

In Paul, the situation is simpler: C is a very good witness, of the Alexandrian type as found in א A 33 81 1175 etc. (This as opposed to the type(s) found in P^{46} or B or 1739). So far as I know, this has never been disputed.

In the Apocalypse, C is linked with A in what is usually called the Alexandrian text. No matter what it is called, this type (which also includes the Vulgate and most of the better minuscules) is considered the best type. Note that this is not the sort of text found in P^{47} and א.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ϐ3

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

Various editors extracted occasional readings from the manuscript, but Tischendorf was the first to read C completely. Tischendorf is often reported to have used chemicals, but in fact it is believed that they were applied before his time — and they have hastened the decay of the manuscript. Tischendorf, working by eye alone, naturally did a less than perfect job. Robert W. Lyon, in 1958–1959, published a series of corrections in New Testament Studies (v). But this, too, is reported to be imperfect. The best current source is the information published in the *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus* series. But there is no single source which fully describes C.

Sample Plates:

Sir Frederick Kenyon & A. W. Adams, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf

Other Works:

Mark R. Dunn, *An Examination of the Textual Character of Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (C, 04) in the Four Gospels* (unpublished Dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary 1990)

Manuscript D^{ea} (05)

Location/Catalog Number

Cambridge, University Library Nn. 2. 41. The well-known Codex Bezae, so-called because it was once the possession of Theodore Beza.

Contents

Greek/Latin diglot, with the Greek on the left page. The Greek currently contains the Gospels and Acts with lacunae; the manuscript lacks Matt. 1:1–20, 6:20–9:20, 27:2–12, John 1:16–3:26, Acts 8:29–10:14, 21:2–10, 16–18, 22:10–20, 29–end. In addition, Matt. 3:7–16, Mark 16:15–end, John 18:14–20:13 (a total of ten leaves) are supplements from a later hand (estimated to date from the tenth to twelfth century). The Gospels are in the "Western" order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, though Chapman offered evidence that an ancestor had the books in the order Matthew, Mark, John, Luke.

Since the Greek and Latin are on facing pages, the losses to the Latin side are not precisely parallel; d (the symbol for the Latin of D; Beuron #5) lacks Matt. 1:1–11, 2:20–3:7, 6:8–8:27, 26:65–27:2, Mark 16:6–20, John 1:1–3:16, 18:2–20:1, Acts 8:21–10:3, 20:32–21:1, 21:8–9, 22:3–9, 22:21–end. In addition, the Latin includes 3 John 11–15.

The original contents of D are somewhat controversial. Obviously it must have contained the Gospels, Acts, and 3 John. This would seem to imply that the manuscript originally contained the Gospels, Catholic Epistles, and Acts (in that order). This, however, does not fit well with the pagination of the manuscript; Chapman theorized that the manuscript actually originally contained the Gospels, Apocalypse, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John, and Acts (in that order). This makes sense, but cannot be considered certain — particularly since it is at least possible that some works would have been included in only one language (e.g. the Catholic Epistles in Latin only, plus some other work, also in Latin only).

Date/Scribe

The manuscript has been variously dated, generally from the fourth to the sixth centuries (very early examiners gave even more extreme dates: Kipling, who published a facsimile in 1793, claimed a second century date, and Michaelis also considered it the earliest manuscript known, but a few guessed dates as late as the seventh century.) In the middle of the twentieth century, the tendency seemed to be to date it to the sixth century; currently the consensus seems to be swinging back toward the fifth. It is very difficult to achieve certainty, however, as the handwriting is quite unusual. The Greek and Latin are written in parallel sense lines (a system which Scrivener believed existed in Bezae's exemplar, and probably several

generations before that), and the scribe uses a very similar hand for both languages — so much so that a casual glance cannot tell the one language from the other; one must look at the actual letters and what they spell.

The unusual writing style is only one of the curiosities surrounding the scribe of D. It is not clear whether his native language was Greek or Latin; both sides of the manuscript contain many improbable errors. (Perhaps the easiest explanation is that the scribe's native language was something other than Greek or Latin.) It is believed to have been in Gaul by the ninth century, but its history before that can only be conjectured.

D's text, as will be discussed below, was far removed from the Byzantine standard (or, perhaps, from any other standard). As a result, it was corrected many times by many different scribes. Scrivener believed that no fewer than nine correctors worked on the manuscript, the first being nearly contemporary with the original scribe and the last working in the eleventh or twelfth century. In general, these correctors brought the manuscript closer to the Byzantine text (as well as adding occasional marginal comments and even what appear to be magical formulae at the bottom of the pages of Mark).

Harris tabulated Scrivener's list of correctors as follows (a shortened summary):

Corrector (symbol)	Century	# of corrections
A	vi	181
B	vii	327
C	late vii	130
D	late vii	163
E	late vii?	72
F	viii? (Kenyon said vii)	34
G	xi (Kenyon says vii)	283
H	xii?	97
I	ix	2 in annotations
J	ix	1 in text, 2 in annotations
K	"modern"	74
L	ix or x	1 in text, 149 in annotations
M	xii?	12 in annotations; lect. notes
M_1	x	32 in annotations; τιτλοι
M_2	x?	22 in annotations; τιτλοι
M_3	x	69 in annotations; non-biblical material
M_4	x?	23 in annotations; lect. notes
N	?	25 in annotations; lect. notes
O	early xi	8 liturgical notes in Acts

O_2	“modern”	1 liturgical note in Acts

Correctors A, C, E, F, and H worked primarily on the Greek; B on Greek and Latin; G primarily in Latin. Thus the largest share of early corrections was to the Greek. But the corretors from the tenth century on were much more interested in adding lectionary and liturgical material.

For more recent views on these correctors, see D. C. Parker’s work on Codex Bezae; Parker redates some of the correctors (moving them back some centuries), and believes that one had an Alexandrian text.

Description and Text-type

The text of D can only be described as mysterious. We don’t have answers about it; we have questions. There is nothing like it in the rest of the New Testament tradition. It is, by far the earliest Greek manuscript to contain John 7:53–8:11 (though it has a form of the text quite different from that found in most Byzantine witnesses). It is the only Greek manuscript to contain (or rather, to omit) the so-called Western Non-Interpolations. In Luke 3, rather than the Lucan genealogy of Jesus, it has an inverted form of Matthew’s genealogy (this is unique among Greek manuscripts). In Luke 6:5 it has a unique reading about a man working on the Sabbath. D and Φ are the only Greek manuscripts to insert a loose paraphrase of Luke 14:8–10 after Matt. 20:28. And the list could easily be multiplied; while these are among the most noteworthy of the manuscript’s readings, it has a rich supply of other singular variants.

In the Acts, if anything, the manuscript is even more extreme than in the Gospels. F. G. Kenyon, in *The Western Text of the Gospels and Acts,* describes a comparison of the text of Westcott & Hort with that of A. C. Clark. The former is essentially the text of B, the latter approximates the text of D so far as it is extant. Kenyon lists the WH text of Acts at 18,401 words, that of Clark at 19,983 words; this makes Clark’s text 8.6 percent longer — and implies that, if D were complete, the Bezan text of Acts might well be 10% longer than the Alexandrian, and 7% to 8% longer than the Byzantine text.

This leaves us with two initial questions: What *is* this text, and how much authority does it have?

Matthaei referred to it as *editio scurrilis,* but nineteenth century scholars inclined to give the text great weight. Yes, D was unique, but in that era, with the number of known manuscripts relatively small, that objection must have seemed less important. D was made the core witness — indeed, the key and only Greek witness — of what was called the “Western” text.

More recently, Von Soden listed D as the first and chief witness of his I^{α} text; the other witnesses he includes in the type are generally those identified by Streeter as “Cæsarean” (Θ 28 565 700 etc.) The Alands list it as Category IV — a fascinating classification, as D is the

only substantial witness of the type. Wisse listed it as a divergent manuscript of Group B — but this says more about the Claremont Profile Method than about D; the CPM is designed to split Byzantine strands, and given a sufficiently non-Byzantine manuscript, it is helpless. (Biologists have a term for this phenomenon: It's known as "long branch assimiliation." If you have a large mass of closely related entities, and two entities not related to the large mass, the two distant entities may look related just because they are way out in the middle of nowhere.)

The problem is, Bezae remains unique among Greek witnesses. Yes, there is a clear "Western" family in Paul (D F G 629 and the Latin versions.) But this cannot be identified with certainty with the Bezan text; there is no "missing link" to prove the identity. Not one manuscript contains a "Western" text of both the Gospels and Paul! There are Greek witnesses which have some kinship with Bezae — א in the early chapters of John; the fragmentary papyri P^{29} and P^{38} and P^{48} in Acts. But none of these witnesses is complete, and none is as extreme as Bezae.

D's closest kinship is with the Latin versions, but none of them are as extreme as it is. D is, for instance, the only manuscript to substitute Matthew's genealogy of Jesus for Luke's. On the face of it, this is not a "Western" reading; it is simply a Bezan reading.

Then there is the problem of D and d. The one witness to consistently agree with D^{greek} is its Latin side, d. Like D, it uses Matthew's genealogy in Luke. It has all the "Western Non-Interpolations." And, perhaps most notably, it has a number of readings which appear to be assimilations to the Greek.

Yet so, too, does D seem to have assimilations to the Latin.

We are almost forced to the conclusion that D and d have, to some extent, been conformed to each other. The great question is, to what extent were they conformed, and what did the respective Greek and Latin texts look like *before* this work was done?

On this point there can be no clear conclusion. Wettstein theorized that the Greek text was conformed to the Latin. Matthaei had a modified version of this in which the marginal readings of a commentary manuscript might also have been involved, and considered it deliberately edited. Hort thought that D arose more or less naturally; while he considered its text bad, he was willing to allow it special value at some points where its text is shorter than the Alexandrian. (This is the whole point of the "Western Non-Interpolations.") More recently, however, Aland has argued that D is the result of deliberate editorial work. This is unquestionably true in at least one place: The Lukan genealogy of Jesus. Is it true elsewhere? This is the great question, and one for which there is still no answer.

As noted, Bezae's closest relatives are Latin witnesses. And these exist in abundance. If we assume that these correspond to an actual Greek text-type, then Bezae is clearly a witness to this type. And we do have evidence of a Greek type corresponding to the Latins, in Paul. The

witnesses D F G indicate the existence of a “Western” type. So Bezae does seem to be a witness of an actual type, both in the Gospels (where its text is relatively conservative) and in the Acts (where it is far more extravagant). (This is in opposition to the Alands, who have tended to deny the existence of the “Western” text.)

So the final question is, is Bezae a proper witness to this text which underlies the Latin versions? Here it seems to me the correct answer is probably *no*. To this extent, the Alands are right. Bezae has too many singular readings, too many variants which are not found in a plurality of the Latin witnesses. It probably has been edited (at least in Luke and Acts; this is where the most extreme readings occur). If this is true (and it must be admitted that the question is still open), then it has important logical consequences: It means that the Greek text of Bezae (with all its assimilations to the Latin) is not reliable as a source of readings. If D has a reading not supported by another Greek witness, the possibility cannot be excluded that it is an assimilation to the Latin, or the result of editorial work.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ5

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

The standard reference is probably still F. H. A. Scrivener, Bezae Codex Canatabrigiensis, simply because of Scrivener’s detailed and careful analysis. J. Rendel Harris published a photographic reproduction in 1899. See also J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts and A. C. Clark, The Acts of the Apostles, both of which devote considerable attention to the text of Bezae in Acts.

Sample Plates:

(Sample plates in almost all manuals of NT criticism)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf, and most prior to that.

Other Works:

The most useful work is probably James D. Yoder’s *Concordance to the Distinctive Greek Text of Codex Bezae*. There are dozens of specialized studies of one or another aspect of the codex, though few firm conclusions can be reached (perhaps the most significant is the

conclusion of Holmes and others that Bezae has been more thoroughly reworked in Luke than in Matthew or Mark). See also the recent work by D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae.*

Manuscript D^p (06)

Location/Catalog Number

Paris, National Library Greek 107, 107 AB. The famous Codex Claromontanus — so-called because Beza reported that it had been found at Clermont. It should not be confused with the even more famous, or infamous, Codex Bezae, also designated D.

Contents

Greek/Latin diglot, with the Greek and Latin in stichometric lines on facing pages. Contains the Pauline Epistles with the slightest of lacunae: It lacks Romans 1:1–7 (though we can gain some information about the readings of D in these verses from D^{abs}). In addition, Romans 1:27–30 and 1 Corinthians 14:13–22 are supplements from a later hand. (Scrivener, however, notes that this hand is still "very old.") Hebrews is placed after Philemon.

The Latin side, known as d (Beuron 75) has not been supplemented in the same way as the Greek; it lacks 1 Corinthians 14:9–17, Hebrews 13:22–end. Romans 1:24–27 does come from a supplement.

Scrivener observes that the very fine vellum actually renders the manuscript rather difficult to read, as the writing on the other side often shows through. The extent of this problem varies from page to page, but often the ink from the reverse side is almost as visible as that on the side being read.

Date/Scribe

The first three lines of each book is written in red ink. Greek and Latin hands are similar looking and elegant in a simple way.

Almost all scholars have dated D to the sixth century (some specifying the second half of that century); a few very early examiners would argued for the seventh century. The writing is simple, without accents or breathings; some of the uncial forms seem to be archaic. The Greek is more accurately written than the Latin; the scribe's first language was probably Greek. We should note certain broad classes of errors, however. The scribe very frequently confuses the verb ending -θε with -θαι; this occurs so regularly that we can only say that D is not a witness at variants of this sort.

A total of nine correctors have been detected, though not all of these are important. The first important corrector (D** or, in NA^{26}, D^{1}) dates probably from the seventh century; the single most active corrector (D*** or D^{2}, who added accents and breathings and made roughly 2000 changes in the text) worked in the ninth or tenth century; the final significant corrector (D*** or D^{c}) probably dates from the twelfth century or later.

Description and Text-type

There is an inherent tendency, because D is a Greek/Latin diglot and because it is called "D," to equate its text with the text of Codex Bezae, making them both "Western." This is, however, an unwarranted assumption; it must be proved rather than simply asserted.

There is at least one clear and fundamental difference between Bezae and Claromontanus: They have very different relationships to their parallel Latin texts. The Greek and Latin of Bezae have been harmonized; they are very nearly the same text. The same is not true of Claromontanus. It is true that D and d have similar sorts of text — but they have not been entirely conformed to each other. The most likely explanation is that d^{p} was translated from a Greek text similar to D^{p}, and the two simply placed side by side.

Claromontanus also differs from Bezae in that there are Greek manuscripts similar to the former: The close relatives F^{p} and G^{p} are also akin, more distantly, to Claromontanus. All three manuscripts, it should be noted, have parallel Latin versions (in the case of F, on a facing page; the Latin of G is an interlinear). All three, we might add, are related to the other Old Latin codices (a, b, m; they are rather more distant from r) which do not have Greek parallels.

Thus it seems clear that there *is* a text-type centred about D^{p} F G and the Latins. Traditionally this type has been called "Western," and there is no particular reason to change this name.

We should make several points about this Western text of Paul, though. First, it is nowhere near as wild as the text of Codex Bezae, or even the more radical Old Latin witnesses to the Gospels and Acts. Second, *it cannot be demonstrated that this is the same type as is found in Bezae.* Oh, it is likely enough that Bezae's text is edited from raw materials of the same type as the ancestors of D F G of Paul. But we cannot prove this! Astonishingly enough, there is not one Old Latin witness containing both the Gospels and Paul. There are a few scraps (primarily t) linking the Acts and Paul, but even these are quite minimal. Thus, even if we assume that Bezae and Claromontanus represent the same type, we cannot really describe their relative fidelity to the type (though we can make a very good assumption that Claromontanus is the purer).

We should also examine the relations between the "Western" witnesses in Paul. It is sometimes stated that F and G are descendants of D. This almost certainly not true —

certainly it is functionally untrue; if F and G derive from D, there has been so much intervening mixture that they should be regarded as independent witnesses.

Interestingly, there is a sort of a stylistic difference between D and F/G. F and G appear to have, overall, more differences from the Alexandrian and Byzantine texts, but most of these are small, idiosyncratic readings which are probably the result of minor errors in their immediate exemplars. D has far fewer of these minor variants, but has an equal proportion (perhaps even a higher proportion) of more substantial variants.

So far we have mentioned only these two uncials as relatives of D. We should note that these manuscripts were merely the leading witnesses of Von Soden's I^{a1} type; with them he classified a number of minuscules: 88 181 915 917 1836 1898 1912. Several of these minuscules (e.g. 88 and 181) do appear to be somewhat related to each other, but there is no real evidence that they are akin to the key "Western" witnesses. (88*, it is true, joins the Western uncials in placing 1 Corinthians 14:34–35 after 14:40, but this is almost its only special agreement). The only minuscule to show real kinship with the Western uncials is 629. It is likely, however, that this kinship is not properly genetic; rather, 629 is a Greek/Vulgate diglot, and there are instances where the Greek seems to have been conformed to the Latin. Since the Vulgate, in Paul, has many "Western" readings, this has given 629 something of a "Western" tinge.

The case is rather different for the Latin witnesses. These clearly are related to D F G. The Latin d is closest to D, though by no means identical; b is also closely related. D, d, and b are rather more distant from a and m, and still more distant from r (the latter fragments sometimes seem to approach the Alexandrian text). The other Old Latin fragments of Paul are too short to assess properly.

The classification used by the Alands for the diglot uncials of Paul is fascinating. None of them is classified as Category IV — in other words, the Alands do not regard them a belonging to the same type as Codex Bezae. (Of course, it should be noted have not published definitions of their categories, but that it is clear that Category IV has no definition at all; they simply placed witnesses there because they felt like it.) But the situation is curious even if we ignore Category IV. In the second edition of their *Introduction*, they list D, the oldest manuscript of the type, as *Category* III; the same description is applied to G — but F, which is universally agreed to be a close relative of G, but inferior on the whole, is listed as *Category* II! The most charitable word I can think of for this is "inexplicable."

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1026

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

Tischendorf's 1852 edition remains the standard (if it can be found); beyond that, one must turn to *K. Junack, Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, Vol. 2: Die paulinischen Briefe*

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 plate); also a facsimile in Scrivener

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf, and most prior to that.

Other Works:

D^{abs}

There are actually two manuscripts which circulate under the symbol D^{abs}, correctly designated D^{abs1} and D^{abs2}. Both are Greek/Latin diglots. It is one of the curiosities of textual criticism that almost no manuscripts are known which are copies of other manuscripts. Only two uncials are known to be copies of other uncials — and both are copies of the Pauline Codex D/06 (Claromontanus). Their descriptions are as follows:

D^{abs1}. Codex Sangermanensis, Saint Petersburg, Public Library Greek 20. Von Soden's α1027 (D/06 is α1026); Tischendorf/Scrivener E^{p}. Dated to the ninth (Aland) or late ninth/tenth (Scrivener) centuries. Contains Paul, copied from Claromontanus; lacking Rom. 8:21–33, 9:15–25, 1 Tim. 1:1–6:15, Heb. 12:8–end. Its relationship with Claromontanus has been repeatedly proved (mostly based on odd errors), and I will not offer the data here (though it should be noted that Semler thought that either Codex Sangermanensis was not a direct copy of Claromontanus or that the copyist consulted other manuscripts as well as D). It was copied some time after the fourth corrector of D had done his work, and uses the accents supplied by the correctors. The Greek and Latin are in parallel columns on the same page, with the Greek on the left; the letters are described as "coarse, large, and thick." The sole value of D^{abs1} for criticism of the Greek lies in Rom. 1:1–7 (where Claromontanus is defective), and perhaps also with regard the supplements in D in Rom. 1:27–30, 1 Cor. 14:13–22. In addition, the Latin side, although based on that in Claromontanus, has been suspected of some outside influence; where this version (labelled e) differs from d, it may have independent value.

D^{abs2}. Mengeringhausen (Waldek), Stadtarchiv. Von Soden's α1120. Dated paleographically to the tenth century. Now consists only of fragments of Ephesians (1:13–9, 2:11–18 in Greek; 1:5–13, 2:3–11 in Latin). It will be evident that this manuscript has even less value than D^{abs1}.

Manuscript E^{e} (07)

Basel, University Library A.N. III. 12. Von Soden's ε55. Contains the Gospels almost complete; lacks Luke 3:4–15, 24:47–end. Luke 1:69–2:4, 12:58–13:12, 15:8–20 are supplements in a later, cursive hand. Dated paleographically to the eighth century (so all recent authorities; Burgon argued for the seventh; the letterforms look old, but the accents, breathings, and punctuation argue that it is relatively recent). This makes it the very first *purely* Byzantine uncial in any part of the Bible; it is the first Byzantine manuscript to contain not merely the small, more ordinary Byzantine readings but also the story of the Adulteress (found earlier in D, but no one will claim Bezae is Byzantine!). (In the gospels, there are earlier almost-pure Byzantine uncials: A and the Purple Uncials; elsewhere, all Greek witnesses to the Byzantine text are even later than E. Obviously the Byzantine type is much older than E. E is simply the earliest pure representative of what became the dominant type in the Middle Ages.) All examiners have agreed on E's Byzantine nature; the Alands list it as Category V; von Soden lists it as K^{i}; Wisse calls it K^{x} Cluster Ω (We might add that K^{x} Cluster Ω is K^{i}; Wisse's three chapters did not provide enough text to distinguish the two groups, but historical evidence seems to imply that K^{x} proper and K^{x} Cluster Ω are distinct although very closely related.) Certain disputed passages are marked with asterisks (Matt. 16:2–3, Luke 22:43–44, 23:34, John 8:2–11). E is well and carefully written, and probably deserves inclusion in critical apparatus as the leading witness of the later Byzantine type.

Manuscript E^{a} (08)

Location/Catalog Number

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Greek 35. Called "Codex Laudianus" because it was donated to the Bodleian Library by William Laud (1573–1645†), the anti-Calvinist Archbishop of Canterbury under the British King Charles I.

Contents

Contains the Acts almost complete; lacks 26:29 (from παυλος) to 28:26 (resuming after λεγον). The parchment is very thin, and there is some burn-through of ink, which, combined with the light colour of some letters, occasionally makes it difficult to read. Greek/Latin diglot, with the languages in parallel columns on the same page. The Latin, which is cited as e, is on the left. The manuscript is divided into sense lines of sorts, for purposes of parallelism, but as

the lines are generally no more than fifteen letters long (often consisting of a single word!), they rarely form any real sort of syntactic unit.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the sixth or seventh century, with most scholars inclining toward the sixth (a few early examiners gave fifth or eighth century dates). Early in its career, it was in Sardinia; an entry (not by the original hand) refers to an edict of a Byzantine governor of that island (which was under Byzantine rule from 534).

A very noteworthy fact is the high degree of agreement between the Latin text and that used by the Venerable Bede for his commentary *Expositio Retractata.* (If we assume the continued identity after the end of the surviving portion of e, Bede gives us two Latin readings now lost: 27:5, 28:2). It is generally assumed that Bede used this very manuscript for his commentary, which would guarantee that it was in existence in 716, and located at that time in what is now northern England. It has been speculated that the manuscript may have been brought to Britain by Theodore or Hadrian, respectively archbishop and abbot of Canterbury, who arrived in the country in 668; both of them were familiar with Greek as well as Latin and reportedly arrived with a significant library.

I have seem some state that Bede cannot in fact have used this manuscript, despite the similarity, but I have not seen any reasons advanced. (The flip side is, of course, that E must have had an exemplar, and perhaps had offspring, and possibly Bede used one of those.)

It is hard to know what to make of the scribe. Although Metzger calls the uncials “clumsy,” in fact both Greek and Latin letterforms are clearly written if large. On the other hand, the scribe had a great deal of difficulty with his pen, which ran dry every few letters. Based on this fact, it appears to me that he wrote the Latin column first, then the Greek, rather than writing across the page.

Description and Text-type

The Greek of E, it is generally conceded, is more Byzantine than anything else. The manuscript is mixed, however, there are many “Western” and some Alexandrian readings. (In fact, the manuscript seems somewhat block-mixed; “Western” readings are much more common in some sections than in others.) The Latin is not the vulgate, but rather a unique version of the Old Latin.

This raises the question of whether the Greek has been conformed to the Latin or vice versa. Different scholars have answered this differently. Scrivener, for instance, reports that “the Latin.... is made to correspond closely with the Greek, even in its interpolations and rarest various readings. The contrary supposition that the Greek portion of this codex *Latinised*, or

has been altered to coincide with the Latin, is inconsistent with the facts of the case." More recent scholars such as Ropes and Clark, however, maintain that the Greek has in fact been conformed to the Latin. Lake and New said that "It is essentially a Latin MS. with a 'conformed' Greek text added to it — Latino-Greek, not Graeco-Latin" In this connection, it is worth noting that the Latin is in the left-hand column, usually regarded as the place of honour.

It should be added, however, that the Latin of e seems somewhat unusual. And the arrangement of the two parts, with such short sense lines, argues that both texts may have undergone some adjustment. This is, however, only logic.... The most important point is that E has a mixed text, heavily but not purely Byzantine. It also has a number of interesting long readings, the most famous being Acts 8:37 (the Ethiopian Eunuch's acceptance of faith). By its nature, any reading in E must be taken with some hesitation and examination of its sources. This is reflected in earlier classifications of the manuscript: Von Soden listed it as I^{a1} (i.e. as part of the core "Western" text), but the Alands list it as only Category II.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1001

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

First published, with many inaccuracies, by Hearne in 1715 (Sabatier used this transcription in his Old Latin edition). Also collated by Tischendorf. Ropes and Clark also studied the manuscript in detail. Finally, if it can be found, there is a Ph.D. dissertation by O. Kenneth Walther, Codex Laudianus G 35: A Re-Examination of the Manuscript, Including a Reproduction of the Text and an Accompanying Commentary. The manuscript will also be published in the Acts volume of Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus.

Sample Plates:

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 page)

Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 page — a smaller version of the above)

Sir Frederick Kenyon & A. W. Adams, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (that same page again)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf

Other Works:

E^p: see D^{abs}

Manuscript F^e (09)

Utrecht, University Library MS. 1. Contains the Gospels with significant lacunae, especially in Luke; the damage has been progressive, and some leaves have been lost since Wettstein saw it in 1730. (Between 1730 and 1830 it was in private hands, and was unbound, with the leaves becoming disordered and torn.) As it stands now, it begins with Matt. 9:1 (though in Wettstein's time it apparently started at 7:6); it also lacks Matt. 12:1–44, 13:55–14:9, 15:20–31, 20:18–21:5. In addition, SQE lists a lacuna at 24:13–15, but Scrivener says these verses are extant, and Bob Relyea points out that they can be found in the online transcription at http://digbijzcoll.library.uu.nl/metadata.php?lang=en&W=On&BoekID=1553&style=fmw. Mark lacks 1:43–2:8, 2:23–3:5, 11:6–26, 14:54–15:5, 15:39–16:19, John 3:5–14, 4:23–38, 5:18–38, 6:39–63, 7:28–8:10, 10:32–11:3, 12:14–25, 13:34–end. Luke is in even worse shape; Scrivener reports that there are 24 different lacunae, and SQE does not even bother collating the manuscript in that book. Dated paleographically to about the ninth century (so Tischendorf, von Soden, Aland; Tregelles preferred the tenth century). It has the Ammonian sections but not the Eusebian references; otherwise it has all the features of late uncials, including accents and breathings. The text is definitely Byzantine; the Alands list it as Category V; von Soden lists it as K^i. Wisse's classification doesn't mean much in this case; he lists F as K^{mix} in Luke 1, but it is defective for the other two chapters. In all likelihood it is actually either K^x or K^i (what Wisse would call K^x Cluster Ω). The date of the manuscript makes it potentially important for the history of the Byzantine text, but the large number of lacunae significantly reduce its value; it would have been much better had another Byzantine manuscript (preferably one of a type other than K^x) been used in the apparatus of SQE and UBS^4.

Manuscript F^a

This Symbol No Longer Used. This symbol was given by Wettstein to a manuscript of the Septuagint (M of sixth or seventh century) in which he found, in the original hand, a marginal text containing Acts 9:24–25. Uncials of the Acts were few enough that Wettstein included this as an uncial witness to Acts. Detailed examination later showed it to include several other New Testament passages. The complete list is: Matt. 5:48, 12:48, 27:25, Luke 1:42, 2:24, 23:21, John 5:35, 6:53, 55, Acts 4:33, 34, 9:24, 25, 10:13, 15, 22:22, 1 Cor. 7:39, 11:29, 2 Cor. 3:13, 9:7, 11:33, Gal. 4:21, 22, Col. 2:16, 17, Heb. 10:26. When Gregory regularized the catalog of uncials, however, he eliminated F^a on the grounds that it was not a continuous-text manuscript; it has not been cited since.

Manuscript F^{p} (010)

Location/Catalog Number

Cambridge, Trinity College B.17.1. (Most Biblical catalogs seem to call it B.XVII.1, but the Cambridge catalog compiled by M. R. James uses arabic numerals.) Codex Augiensis, so-called because it comes from the monastery of Augia Dives in Lake Constance. The catalog prefix B indicates that it is a theological manuscript, and the number 17 indicates that it came to the library from the Bentley collection. Most of the items in the B.17 group are printed books; this is the most important exception.

Contents

Greek/Latin diglot. The Greek lacks Romans 1:1–3:19, 1 Cor. 3:8–16, 6:7–14, Col. 2:1–8, Philem. 21–25, Hebrews. Save for the lacuna in Romans, all of these defects are supplied in the Latin. All the omissions save that in Romans are also paralleled in the sister manuscript G^{p}. The clear conclusion (also supported, e.g., by the pagination) is that both F and G were copied from a manuscript which omitted the passages in 1 Corinthians through Hebrews, but that the Romans passage (or most of it) was originally present in the source manuscript and has now been lost in F. (Note: The general run of the Latin is not the Vulgate, but Hebrews does have a Vulgate text; in addition; NA^{26} lists the Latin sections not paralleled in the Greek as being supplements, but this seems to be based not on the nature of the writing but on its relationship with the Greek.)

The Greek and Latin are in parallel columns on the page, with the Greek in the inner column (closer to the spine of the book) and the Latin in the outer. Where the Greek fails, the Latin occupies the full width of the page — a curious fact which shows that the scribe knew there were defects in the Greek text. It is not obvious why these were allowed to stand.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the ninth century. Greek and Latin are both beautifully written, but the Greek quite incompetently; it is clear that the scribe was more comfortable in Latin (the most obvious example of this is word division: the exemplar clearly did not have word divisions, and while the scribe put in points to show divisions, they are very often in error. Another example is his handling of O and Ω; these vowels are often confused — a trait I notice that I share as a user of the Roman alphabet). The scribe was almost certainly a native speaker of German or a related language (I have seen the Latin letterforms called “Anglo-Saxon”).

Description and Text-type

The first and most obvious point about F is that it is an immediate relative of G^p, Codex Boernianus — a fact noticed very early on by Bentley, who acquired the manuscript in 1718 (from L. C. Meig of Heidelberg). The resemblances are both textual (they agree almost absolutely) and physical (they have many of the same lacunae).

It is generally conceded that G^p, although less attractive, has the better text. For this reason, many editions cite G and not F. This fact has also led to some rather absurd speculation — notably that F is a copy of G. This is not the case. The two manuscripts are not direct descendants of one another; rather, they have a recent common ancestor. It is not impossible that they are sisters, both derived from a somewhat defective Greek/Latin diglot. Even this is by no means certain, however. It is worth noting that F and G, while they have nearly identical Greek texts, do not have identical Latin texts. The Latin of G (known as g) is a strict interlinear translation of the Greek. F, however, has a parallel Latin version, and this version is not the same as the Latin of G. Rather, the Latin of F (known as f) is a modified Vulgate. As the Latin version does not exactly match the Greek, it seems likely that it has been conformed to an Old Latin version.

It is worth noting that both G and F are written without heavy correction by the scribes. This strongly implies that both were copying texts that lay before them, rather than editing their Latin sides to match the Greek. In other words, there was *probably* (note the word probably; this is simply logic, and not assured!) an ancestor before the scribe of G with an interlinear Latin, and an ancestor before the scribe of F with a parallel Latin, including the lacunae in the Greek. Since the ancestor of F/G probably did not contain both an interlinear and a parallel Latin, there is presumably an intermediate manuscript in one or the other case. Continuing the logic, it appears more likely that G is copied directly from the common exemplar than that F is — had the exemplar resembled F, it is likely that G's interlinear Latin would more nearly resembled f. Thus the highest likelihood is not that F and G are sisters, but that they are no closer than aunt and niece, and it is possible that they are merely cousins of some degree. (Thus the tendency to cite only G in the critical apparatus, ignoring F, is to be deplored; there may well be readings where F preserves the family text better than G, though it seems clear that G is overall the better and more complete witness. The only significant scholars to disagree with this assessment seem to be the Alands, who — in what can only be labelled an inexplicable classification — list F as Category II, but G, and D for that matter, as Category III.)

The relationship with Codex Claromontanus (D^p) has also been a matter of discussion. I have seen stemma implying that F and G are descended from D, and others implying a common ancestor which was the parent of D. This too is absurd; there are simply too many major differences between the three (perhaps the best single example of this is the ending of Romans: D includes 16:25–27 at the end of that book, but F and G omit altogether). No one

will deny that these three manuscripts form a text-type, but they are by no means immediate kin.

For the relationship between the "Western" text of Paul (the usual name given to the text of D F G and the Latin versions) to the "Western" text of Codex Bezae, see the entry on that manuscript and the entry on Codex Claromontanus.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1029

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

The basic work remains F. H. A. Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of Codex Augiensis.* This is now available on Google Books. One may check this against the Pauline portion of *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus.*

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Because of its close similarity to G, most editions cite F only intermittently. The primary exceptions are Tischendorf and NA^{2}6 and NA^{27}.

Other Works:

G^{a}: see 095 and 0123

G^{b}: see 0120

Manuscript G^{e} (011)

London, British Museum Harley 5684 (a single leaf, taken from the codex by J. C. Wolff and given to Bentley, is in Cambridge, Trinity College B.17.20; it contains Matt. 5:29–31, 39–43). This manuscript number also refers to a portion of H^{e} (013)). Called codex Wolfii A after the first important owner (though the manuscript in fact originated in the east, and was brought to the west by Andrew Erasmus Seidel), or alternately Codex Harleianus after its present location. Contains the Gospels with lacunae; lacks Matt. 1:1–6:6 (a small part of this, be it noted, being included on the Cambridge leaf), 7:25–8:9, 8:23–9:2, 28:18–Mark 1:13, Mark 14:19–25, Luke 1:1–13, 5:4–7:3, 8:46–9:5, 12:27–41, 24:41–end, John 18:5–19, 19:4–27.

Portions of this damage were rectified by later hands: One scribe supplied Matt. 28:18–Mark 1:8 and John 18:5–19, another Luke 12:27–41. Earlier editors, such as Scrivener, dated the manuscript to the tenth century, but the Alands have lowered this to the ninth century. (Part of the problem may be the scribe's coarse writing, small uncials drawn with a pen much too large for the chosen size; Scrivener gives a facsimile showing irregular accents and breathings and demonstrating the ugly writing style.) There is more agreement about the text; all would agree that it is Byzantine. Von Soden classified it as K^{i}, and the Alands list it as Category V; Wisse describes it as K^{x}. There are hints of something more, though; even the Alands' figures show G as having a relatively high number of non-Byzantine, non-UBS readings (a total of 21, out of 288 readings tested; by way of comparison, E has 9 such "s" readings out of 326 readings examined, H has 7 in 265 test readings; M has 12 in 327; S has 12 in 327). It may be simply that the manuscript is carelessly written, but in working through the apparatus of SQE, I was struck by how many of the non-Byzantine readings seemed to be "Cæsarean." Great care, of course, must be taken in dealing with the "Cæsarean" text, as its very existence is questionable and the text has never been properly defined — but this pattern of readings may imply that the handful of non-Byzantine readings, few though they are, are not errors and may have some slight value. (I repeat, however, that this is based solely on my subjective examination of the SQE critical apparatus; the matter needs to be examined in detail before this is taken as fact.)

Manuscript Gp (012)

Location/Catalog Number

Dresden, Sächsiche Landesbibliothek A 145b. Codex Boernerianus, so-called because it was formerly owned by C. F. Börner of Leipzig.

Contents

Greek/Latin interlinear diglot, lacking Romans 1:1–4, 2:17–24, 1 Cor. 3:8–16, 6:7–14, Col. 2:1–8, Philem. 21–25, Hebrews. These defects were clearly present in the exemplar as well, as all are shared by F^{p}, which is universally believed to derive from a recent common source.

It has been argued that G and the gospel manuscript Δ were originally part of the same volume; they are are similarly written, both are interlinear diglots, and the pages are exactly the same size. We should note, though, that not all commentators are convinced by these arguments. There is at least one counter-argument, though it is textual rather than physical or paleographic: The text of Δ is Byzantine, with Alexandrian elements in Mark; the text of G is purely and simply "Western." And while there are genuine physical similarities between the manuscripts (probably because they both derive from Saint Gall), Δ appears rather finer and fancier (though this may simply be because the Gospels are usually given finer treatment).

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the ninth century by all authorities. The manuscript is written without accents or breathings, but with spaces between words (sometimes misplaced), in a stiff, awkward hand; the letterforms do not much resemble other manuscripts of the period (save Δ; while the two may not be part of the same volume, they are almost certainly from the same school as they resemble each other even in small details of preparation). The Latin interlinear is written above the Greek, with the Greek lettering fairly large and the Latin extremely small. There is some slight decoration in colour, though not nearly as much as in Δ. A dot and an e**N**^{la}rged letter marks the beginning of phrases. It has been hypothesized (probably correctly) that the exemplar of G was written in some sort of sense lines, as the separate phrases and e**N**^{la}rged letters are almost evenly spaced.

A peculiar fact about the manuscript is that it contains (on folio 23) some verses in (archaic) Irish Gaelic referring to a pilgrimage to Rome. The writing in these verses appears similar to that of the Latin; the original scribe may have been Irish (many Irish monks settled in Saint Gall). But this point has not, as far as I know, been proved.

Another fact is that the scribe doesn't seem to have been accustomed to the type of text he copied. G (along with F and 629) omits Romans 16:25–27 — but the scribe of G left room for the verses after 14:23. There is no sign of this in F; the simplest explanation (though by no means sure!) is that the scribe of G was more accustomed to a text containing those verses there.

Description and Text-type

In the entry on F^{p}, we noted the similarities between F and G. Not only are they both Greek/Latin diglots, but they have the same lacunae (with the exception of the first part of Romans, where F is defective). The similarity is further confirmed by their texts. Scrivener, who collated both, lists 1,982 differences — but breaks them down as 578 blunders of the scribe, 967 vowel changes (including itacisms), 166 instances of interchanged consonants, and 71 grammatical or orthographic differences, 32 instances of addition or omission of the article, and 168 instances of clear variants. 168 differences may sound like a lot, but in context, the number is relatively small.

Like F, the word division in G is sometimes peculiar, implying that the two were copied from an exemplar without word divisions. The two do not use identical word divisions, however, meaning that they can hardly have been copied from one another. That neither is a copy of the other is confirmed by much additional evidence. The key fact, perhaps, is that the two are in completely different styles: F has a facing Latin text, G an interlinear, but both are copied

without major corrections by the scribes, implying that both Greek and Latin texts were present *in their current forms* in the exemplars. Nor do the Latin versions match closely.

Of the two, G seems to be the more accurate overall (despite the much uglier writing). One often finds G cited to the exclusion of F. This is unfortunate, since both are needed to reconstruct the exemplar, but certainly G is the one to choose if only one is to be cited.

That F and G belong to the same text-type as D^p and the Old Latin versions need not be doubted. This type is generally called "Western," though no absolutely convincing proof has been offered that this is truly the same type as found in Codex Bezae in the gospels. The relationship between D, F, and G is somewhat involved; while F and G are cousins or closer (see the discussion in the entry on F), D is much more distant — not really kin at all, except at the text-type level. (Some manuals show D as an uncle, or even a direct ancestor, of F and G, but this is extremely unlikely — there are too many differences; consider, for instance, their various forms of the ending of Romans.) Examination seems to show that F and G have more minor divergences from the common Alexandrian and Byzantine text than D (indeed, F and G may be the most idiosyncratic of all manuscripts in this regard, adding, changing, and omitting articles, pronouns, and other secondary words almost at random). They may actually have fewer *large* variants than D, however (this position was first stated by Corssen in 1889; I came to the conclusion independently). Casual inspection also seems to imply that F and G fall slightly closer to P^{46} and B than does D.

The Latin side of G, known as g (Beuron 77), is less interesting than the Greek. As an interlinear, it has been heavily conformed to the Greek, though there probably was an independent Latin version behind it (and used as a crib). An interesting feature of g is that it sometimes has alternate rendering. Metzger cites an example from 1 Corinthians 3:2; the Greek text of G reads γαλα υμας επoτεισα (NA^{26} γαλα υμας **εποτισα**). The alternate readings are for υμας, where g reads *vos vel vobis*. It is at least possible that some of these alternate readings are places where the Latin reference edition used to compile g disagreed with the Greek text of G (particularly as there are instances where g does not match G at all).

Most classifications of G, of course, have closely followed the classification of F — Von Soden, e.g., lists both as I^{a1}, in the same group as D (and, we must note, some unrelated minuscules). The one curiosity is the Alands, who place G in Category III but F in Category II. (For further discussion, see the entry on F^p).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1028

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

First published by Matthei, in an edition said to be highly accurate but, of course, now nearly inaccessible. Scrivener published a detailed collation against F in F. H. A. Scrivener, *An Exact Transcript of Codex Augiensis.* One may check this against the Pauline portion of *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus.*

Sample Plates:

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 plate)

Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf, and some before.

Other Works:

Manuscript H^e (013)

Primarily at Hamburg, University Library, Cod. 91 in scrin.; one folio (formerly in the possession of Bentley, who never returned it to its rightful owner) is in Cambridge, Trinity College Library B.17.20; also B.17.21. (The catalog prefix B indicates that it is a theological manuscript, and the number 17 indicates that it came to the library from the Bentley collection. Most of the items in the B.17 group are printed books, but there are some manuscripts as well. Most catalogs seem to refer to the manuscripts of the Trinity B collection by Roman numerals, e.g. B.XVII.21, but the catalog of M. R. James uses arabic numerals.)

Called Codex Seidelianus II (after the man who brought it from the east) or Wolfii B after the first important owner. Contains the Gospels with major lacunae; lacks Matt. 1:1–15:30, 25:33–26:3, Mark 1:32–2:4, 15:44–16:14, Luke 5:18–32, 6:8–22, 10:2–19, John 9:30–10:25, 18:2–18, 20:12–25. It may never have been fully finished; it contains the Ammonian sections but not the Eusebian canons. Dated by all authorities to the ninth century. The text is definitely Byzantine — though Scrivener reports that some esteemed H as having somewhat greater value than G, meaning probably that it was a little less Byzanine. This does not seem to be born out by the evidence; the Alands, naturally, list H as Category V, but also show it with a very low number of non-Byzantine readings (only 9 readings in either Category 2 or Category S; G, by contrast, has 25). My own informal experience bears this out; H has very few non-Byzantine readings.

Wisse describes H as K^x. Von Soden (who designated it as ε88) listed it as K^i, a group which Wisse considers part of K^x.

Manuscript H^a (014)

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, G.196 (II.G.3), folios 9–51 (the remaining folios, which contain the Catholic and Pauline Epistles, are now designated 2125). Codex Mutinensis. The uncial portion contains Acts only, and is defective for Acts 1:1–5:28, 9:39–10:19, 13:36–14:3, 27:4–28:31. The first three lacunae have been supplied in a minsucule hand (formerly designated h), the last by an uncial hand. Overall, the manuscript is dated to the ninth century, and Burgon thought the minuscule supplements to be "scarcely later," while the uncial supplement containing 27:4–28:31 has been dated to the eleventh century. The additional material found in 2125 was dated to the twelfth century by Scrivener, but the Alands give a tenth century date. There is little to be said about the text, save that it is Byzantine; the Alands list H as Category V, while Von Soden (who gave the manuscript the symbol α6) lists it as K with some I influence.

Manuscript H^p (015)

Location/Catalog Number

41 folios distributed among eight numbers in seven libraries in six cities: 8 leaves at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos; 3 leaves in Kiev (Nat.-Bibl. Petrov 26); 3 leaves in St. Petersburg (Bibl. Gr. 14); 3 leaves in Moscow (Hist. Mus. 563 and Ross. Gosud. Bibl. Gr. 166,1); 22 leaves in Paris (Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Gr. 1074 and Bibl. Nat. Coislin 202; the latter number also describing 94); 2 leaves at Turin (Bibl. Naz. A.1). Collectively known as Codex Coislinianus.

Contents

H presumably originally contained the entire Pauline corpus. At some point it was disassembled and the leaves used to bind other books (the Athos leaves were placed in the binding of a book dated 1218 by a monk named Makarius, although we cannot prove either that this was the date when H was disassembled or that the binding dates from 1218). The surviving leaves contain 1 Cor. 10:22–29, 11:9–16; 2 Cor. 4:2–7, 10:5–11:8, 11:12–12:4; Gal. 1:1–10, 2:9–17, 4:30–5:5; Col. 1:26–2:8, 2:20–3:11; 1 Thes. 2:9–13, 4:5–11; 1 Tim. 1:7–2:13, 3:7–13, 6:9–13; 2 Tim. 2:1–9; Titus 1:1–3, 1:15–2:5, 3:13–15; Hebrews 1:3–8, 2:11–16, 3:13–18, 4:12–15, 10:1–7, 10:32–38, 12:10–15, 13:24–25.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the sixth century. H is written on parchment in extremely large uncials (over 1.5 cm in height), one column per page. The text is written stichometrically. A later hand added accents and breathings to the text although not to the subscriptions of the books.

Description and Text-type

Aland and Aland list H as Category III; von Soden classifies it among the Alexandrian witnesses. From the stichometric arrangement of the lines, as well as the subscriptions to the various books (written in vermillion), H would appear to be based on the Euthalian edition of Paul — probably the earliest example of this type.

A footnote to Titus claims that the text was corrected based on a manuscript written by Pamphilius. This is either an error or refers to the exemplar used for H; such corrections as we find in the text are almost always Byzantine (see the entry on Correctors and Corrections).

Overall, the text of H does appear to be Alexandrian, but with much Byzantine mixture. It is probably of more note for the history of the Euthalian text than the biblical text as a whole.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α1022

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf.

Other Works:

M. H. Omont, *Notice sur un très ancien manuscrit grec en onciales des Epîtres de Paul, conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale,* 1889 (a partial edition, based on materials available at the time).

Manuscript I (016)

Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, 06.275. Called Codex Freerianus or Codex Washingtonensis. Contains fragments of the Pauline Epistles (84 folios). The extant fragments consists of

(portions of) 1 Cor. 10:29, 11:9–10, 18–19, 26–27, 12:3–4, 27–28, 14:12–13, 22, 32–33, 15:3, 15, 27–28, 38–39, 59–50, 16:1–2, 12–13; 2 Cor. 1:1, 9, 16–17, 2:3–4, 14, 3:6–7, 16–17, 4:6–7, 16–17, 5:8–10, 17–18, 6:6–8, 16–18, 7:7–8, 13–14, 8:6–7, 14–17, 8:24–9:1, 9:7–8, 9:15–10:1, 10:8–10, 10:17–11:2, 11:9–10, 20–21, 28–29, 12:6–7, 14–15, 13:1–2, 10–11; Gal. 1:1–3, 11–13, 1:22–2:1, 2:8–9, 16–17, 3:6–8, 16–17, 24–28, 4:8–10, 20–23; Eph. 2:15–18, 3:6–8, 18–20, 4:9–11, 17–19, 28–30, 5:6–11, 20–24, 5:32–6:1, 6:10–12, 19–21; Phil. 1:1–4, 11–13, 20–23, 2:1–3, 12–14, 25–27, 3:4–6, 14–17, 4:3–6, 13–15; Col. 1:1–4, 10–12, 20–22, 27–29, 2:7–9, 16–19, 3:5–8, 15–17, 3:25–4:2, 4:11–13; 1 Thes. 1:1–2, 9–10, 2:7–9, 14–16, 3:2–5, 11–13, 4:7–10, 4:16–5:1, 5:9–12, 23–27; 2 Thes. 1:1–3, 10–11, 2:5–8, 14–17, 3:8–10; 1 Tim. 1:1–3, 10–13, 1:19–2:1, 2:9–13, 3:7–9, 4:1–3, 10–13, 5:5–9, 16–19, 6:1–2, 9–11, 17–19; 2 Tim. 1:1–3, 10–12, 2:2–5, 14–16, 22–24, 3:6–8, 3:16–4:1, 4:8–10, 18–20; Tit. 1:1–3, 10–11, 2:4–6, 14–15, 3:8–9; Philem. 1–3, 14–16; Heb. 1:1–3, 9–12, 2:4–7, 12–14, 3:4–6, 14–16, 4:3–6, 12–14, 5:5–7, 6:1–3, 10–13, 6:20–7:2, 7:7–11, 18–20, 7:27–8:1, 8:7–9, 9:1–4, 9–11, 16–19, 25–27, 10:5–8, 16–18, 26–29, 35–38, 11:6–7, 12–15, 22–24, 31–33, 11:38–12:1, 12:7–9, 16–18, 25–27, 13:7–9, 16–18, 23–25. These represent 84 leaves — many fragmentary; often only a few lines can be read due to damage to the surviving pages. Only portions of the pages have survived, and even these were stuck together badly, adding to the damage.

Based on the numbering of the quires, it is thought that the original had either 208 or 212 leaves. Hebrews followed 2 Thessalonians. Since 210 or so leaves would have been more than sufficient for Paul, it is likely that the manuscript originally contained the Acts and Catholic Epistles also. The manuscript is generally dated to the fifth century, though a few have suggested the sixth century instead. There is little doubt about the text; it is clearly Alexandrian. Von Soden (who designated it as α1041) lists it as type H, while the Alands place it in Category II, ascribing it to the Egyptian text. The Alands' own numbers, however, make this dubious; of the 34 readings of I, only one is purely Byzantine, while 22 agree with UBS against the Byzantine text; six agree with neither. While this is too small a sample to allow for absolute certainty, on its face it implies that I is not Category II but Category I, and Alexandrian, not a member of the later Egyptian text. By the numbers, I is the most Alexandrian manuscript of Paul! And my own checking indicates that I is the closest relative of ℵ in existence (and much closer to A C 33 than it is to P^{46} or B or 1739). Its fragmentary nature limits its usefulness, but where it exists, I deserves to be treated with all the respect accorded to ℵ or A.

Manuscript K^e (017)

Location/Catalog Number

Paris — Bibliothèque Nationale Gr. 63. It was taken to Paris from Cyprus in 1673, and is called Codex Cyprius.

Contents

Contains the Gospels complete.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the ninth century (though scholars up to the time of Scholz sometimes suggested the eighth, and Mill thought it tenth century or later). K is written on parchment, one column per page. The scribe was named Basil, and the manuscript was bound by one Theodulos. Wettstein thought it had latinizing tendencies, but it seems clear that this is merely because it is part of Family Π rather than the main run of the Byzantine text. Scrivener says of the writing, "[It has] one column of about twenty-one lines per page, but the handwriting is irregular and varies much in size. A single point being often found where sense does not require it, this codex has been thought to have been copied from an older one arranged in στιχοι.... The subscriptions, τιτλοι, the sections, and indices of the κεφαλια of the last three gospels are believed to be the work of a later hand: the Eusebian canons are absent. The breathings and accents are *primâ manu,* but are often omitted or incorrectly placed. Itacisms and permutations of consonants are very frequent… " Scholz's opinion was that, although it had most of the accents expected of its date, many are incorrectly placed, and the breathings are confused (Scholz suspected it derived from an ancestor without these symbols); we also see some shuffling of vowels and consonants in words.

Description and Text-type

Recognized from a very early date as Byzantine, and still so listed today (so, e.g., Aland and Aland, who include it in Category V). Von Soden classified it as I^{ka}, i.e. Family Π. This has been confirmed by all who have investigated the matter, most recently by Wisse (who places K in the $Π^{a}$ group in all three tested chapters of Luke, and calls it a core member of the group).

Wisse distinguishes two groups within Family Π — $Π^{a}$ and $Π^{b}$. Of these, $Π^{a}$ is more distinct and has more differences from the Byzantine bulk Kx. Among the more important members of this group are K itself, Π, 1079, and 1546. A (which is, of course, the earliest substantial Byzantine witness) is a diverging member of this group. The case can thus be made that K belongs to the oldest family of the Byzantine text — and that it is the oldest complete witness to this text.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε71

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited by Tischendorf (who also collated it).

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Cited as a secondary witness in NA[26] and NA[27], but not in SQE[13]

Cited in UBS[3] but not UBS[4]

Other Works:

All of the following pertain to Family Π, and so include information on K as well (although the works of Geerlings are sometimes guilty of dubious methodology):

Jacob Geerlings, *Family Π in John,* Studies & Documents 23, 1963

Jacob Geerlings, *Family Π in Luke,* Studies & Documents 22, 1962

Jacob Geerlings, *Family Π in Matthew,* Studies & Documents 24, 1964

Silva Lake, *Family Π and the Codex Alexandrinus: The Text According to Mark,* Studies & Documents 5, 1937

Manuscript K^{ap} (018)

Location/Catalog Number

Moscow — Historical Museum V.93, S.97. Originally from Mount Athos.

Contents

Contains the Catholic Epistles complete and Paul almost complete (lacks Romans 10:18–1 Corinthians 6:13; 1 Corinthians 8:8–11). Includes a marginal commentary.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the ninth century. K is written on parchment, two columns per page.

Description and Text-type

Von Soden classifies K as I in Paul and $A^{\pi\rho}$ in the Catholics. This is based, however, on the commentary (being that of John of Damascus in Paul and, according to von Soden, that of

Andreas in the Catholics). The text is correctly described by Aland and Aland as Category V (i.e. purely Byzantine).

Within the Byzantine tradition, K forms a pair with 0151. The two may be sisters; certainly they are very closely related. Taking the book of Galatians as an example, we find 279 variants which can count at least two papyri or uncials on each side. K and 0151 agree on 263 of these. (In addition, K has seven singular readings and 0151 has ten.) Of these 263 agreements, seven are found only in these two manuscripts (a very high rate of subsingular agreement for Byzantine manuscripts).

Even their sixteen disagreements are suggestive:

Verse	K reads	0151 reads
1:22	της	ταις
2:4	καταδουλωσωνται	καταδουλωσονται
3:8	σοι	συ
3:19	ω	ο
3:22	-	τα
4:4	γεννομενον εκ	γενομενον εκ *vid*
4:6	κραζων	κραζον
4:7	αλλα	αλλ
5:14	σεαυτον	εαυτον
5:26a	γινομεθα	γινωμεθα
5:26b	αλληλοις	αλληλους
6:4	εαυτου	αυτου
6:8	εαυτου	αυτου
6:9	θερισομεν	θερισωμεν
6:10	εργασωμεθα	εργασομεθα
6:13	καυχησωνται	καυχησονται

Thus every difference between the two is trivial, usually revolving around vowel sounds. In this list there is not one instance of a reading that is clearly of genetic significance. In all likelihood these two commentary manuscripts descend from a common ancestor at a distance of no more than a handful of generations. It is unlikely, however, that one is copied from the other, since *both* have singular readings.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: I^{1} (Paul); $A^{\pi p1}$ (Cath)

Matthei's g

Scholz's 102^{a}, 117^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf (though Nestle cites it only silently).

Other Works:

Manuscript L^{e} (019)

Location/Catalog Number

Paris, National Library Greek 62. Codex Regius.

Contents

Contains the four Gospels with small lacunae: Now lacks Matt. 4:22–5:14, 28:17–end, Mark 10:16–30, 15:2–20, John 21:15–end. Portions of the remainder have been rendered difficult to read by damp.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the eighth century (though some early critics placed it in the ninth century); it is, by general consent, the most important manuscript of that period. The manuscript is written in a fairly firm, if clearly late, hand, but the scribe was not especially competent. Errors in the text are common; errors in externals perhaps even more common. Scrivener notes that "The breathings and accents are often deficient, often added wrongly, and placed throughout without rule or propriety. The apostrophus is common, and frequently out of place; the points for stops are quite irregular… " Spaces between words are infrequent, and iota subscriptum and postscriptum are said to be "entirely wanting." The manuscript contains many ornamentations, but they are not regarded as attractive (Scrivener calls them "in questionable taste"). In addition, the lectionary apparatus and Eusebian material is included, but the number of errors in the latter may indicate that the scribe did not understand their purpose. There are also occasional marginal comments on the text (some even stand in the text, such as that on the variant endings of Mark).

It seems likely that the scribe was an Egyptian, more used to writing Coptic than Greek.

Description and Text-type

When Hort defined his text-types, he described an "Alexandrian" text which was basically the "neutral" text with some grammatical corrections. Hort could not point to a single pure witness, but the closest he came was L.

L is fascinating because, among the late uncials of the Gospels, it is far and away the least Byzantine. If having an Alexandrian text is taken as a measure of quality, L is probably the fourth-best substantial manuscript of the Gospels, trailing only P^{75}, B, and א.

L is not without a Byzantine element; the first half of Matthew agrees almost entirely with the Majority Text. But this element fades toward the end of Matthew, and the rest is quite different. (The logical conclusion is that the ancestor of L was corrected toward the Byzantine standard, but that the corrector gave up somewhere in Matthew. This is not unusual; we see something similar in manuscripts such as 579 and 1241). From that point on, L has mostly Alexandrian readings, although there are some readings of other sorts. Some are Byzantine; others seem to be simply the sorts of readings that crept into the tradition with time. (Hort would call these readings Alexandrian, and the Alands have labelled this late phase of the Alexandrian text "Egyptian," but there is no real reason to think that this is in any sense a separate text-type. It's simply a text-type which has undergone continuous mixture and corruption. L may fairly be called a Late Alexandrian manuscript, but to call it a member of a "Late Alexandrian" or "Egyptian" text-*type* goes far beyond the available evidence.) As between B and א, L is clearly closer to the former; L is obviously descended from a manuscript in the P^{75}/B phase of the Alexandrian text.

The exact point at which L shifts from primarily Byzantine to primarily Alexandrian has been disputed. Some have said that all of Matthew is Byzantine; this is clearly false. My data put the change around chapter 20, but that was based on checking blocks of readings; it wasn't designed to find an exact point of change. The most detailed examination is probably Vincent Broman's; he compared L's text to the Byzantine and Alexandrian types (using Pierpont/Robinson as the standard for the former and the UBS text as a standard for the latter, while admitting the inadequacy of the latter). It is his belief that the change comes at Matthew 17:26, and is abrupt: He finds 14 straight Byzantine readings before the break, and eight straight Alexandrian readings after.

The single most significant reading in L is certainly the ending of Mark. L is the first important Greek manuscript to include both the longer ending (Mark 16:9–20) and the so-called "shorter ending." Both, of course, clearly predate L (the shorter ending is found in k, some Coptic manuscripts, and the margin of the Harklean Syriac, as well as in the uncial fragments 083 and 099; the longer ending is obviously ancient), but L is the earliest Greek witness to the shorter ending whose text-type we can exactly fix. The existence of alternate endings in this manuscript clearly indicates that the reading is *not* an original part of the Alexandrian text — in other words, its omission in B and א is not casual.

L has many other readings which indicate its non-Byzantine nature. It omits, for instance, Mark 7:16, Luke 11:2b, c, John 5:3b (although it includes 5:4), 7:53–8:11. These facts all combine to confirm the various classifications of the manuscript: Von Soden listed it as H (and listing it as

the seventh H witness, implying that he regarded it as one of the better manuscripts of the type); Wisse lists it as a core member of Group B; the Alands list it as Category II (meaning, in effect, Alexandrian with some Byzantine mixture).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε56

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

Published by Tischendorf in *Monumenta sacra inedita* (1846). There is a strong need for a modern edition using all the current tools of scholarship.

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

First cited, imperfectly, by Stephanus (as η), and cited in almost every edition since.

Other Works:

Manuscript L^{ap} (020)

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 39. Called Codex Angelicus after the library. Von Soden's α5. Contains the Acts, Paul, and the Catholics. Acts lacks 1:1–8:10; the Catholics are complete; Paul lacks Hebrews 13:10–end. Scrivener says that is is "of a date not earlier than the middle of the ninth century," although most moderns accept a ninth century date for it. Textually, about the only thing it appears noteworthy for is its complete lack of noteworthiness. The Alands assign it to Category V (Byzantine), and I have no quarrel with that whatsoever; it appears to be among the most Byzantine of manuscripts. Von Soden also classified it as K (Byzantine), though with a few I readings. If the manuscript has any real significance, it is simply because it is among the very earliest purely Byzantine manuscripts of the books it contains.

Manuscript M^{e} (021)

Paris, National Library Greek 48. Called Codex Campianus after Abbé François de Camps, who gave it to Louis XIV in 1707. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated paleographically to the ninth century by all authorities. Both the manuscript and the writing are small and neat

(though the writing would have been more legible had a finer pen been used). The margins, however, are crowded, with lectionary, notes, Eusebian materials, and more. It is interesting to examine the number of languages used in the margins; we observe Greek, Arabic, and Slavonic comments. The text, in addition to accents and breathings, has Neumes for singing. The text of M is Byzantine but interesting; it is definitely not part of K^x. The Alands classify it (correctly, by their standards) as Category V, but the situation is more complicated than that. It was Von Soden who first tried to classify M (though earlier scholars, such as Scrivener, thought its text interesting and valuable). Soden categorized M as part of his $I^{\Phi r}$ group; other members of this group include but are not limited to 27 71 692 1194 (several of these only in certain books; these are the witnesses von Soden cited regularly; in addition, von Soden recognized subgroups within this type but did not really distinguish them in his apparatus). The I^{Φ} groups as a whole are an interesting lot; $I^{\Phi a}$ is what Streeter calls Family 1424; $I^{\Phi b}$ has never received much attention; $I^{\Phi c}$ includes such noteworthy manuscripts as 945 and 1010.

This classification has, however, been heavily modified by Wisse. Wisse concedes the existence of a Byzantine sub-type including M and related manuscripts, but completely redoes the grouping. Although Wisse calls them the "M groups," M itself is listed as a diverging member of Group M27; the other M groups include M10, M106, M350, M609, and M1386, along with a variety of clusters and pairs. Wisse believes the M groups have kinship with the Π groups.

M^p: see under 0121 and 0243

Manuscript N (022)

Location/Catalog Number

Codex Purpureus. Various libraries: Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library Gr. 537 (182 folios); Patmos, Ioannou 67 (33 folios); London, British Library Cotton Titus C. XV (4 folios); Vienna, National Library Gr. 31 (2 folios); Athens, Byz. Museum Frg. 21 (1 folio); Lerma (Spinola Collection) (1 folio); Rome, Bibl. Vat. Gr. 2305 (6 folios) New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. 874 (1 folio); Salonika, Byz. Museum Ms. 1 (1 folio). (Total of 231 folios, representing roughly half of the original manuscript.)

Contents

Contains the Gospels with very many lacunae: Matt. 1:1–24, 2:7–20, 3:4–6:24, 7:15–8:1, 8:24–31, 10:28–11:3, 12:40–13:4, 13:33–41, 14:6–22, 15:14–31, 16:7–18:5, 18:26–19:6, 19:13–20:6, 21:19–26:57, 26:65–27:26, 26:34–end; Mark 1:1–5:20. 7:4–20, 8:32–9:1, 10:43–11:7, 12:19–24:25, 15:23–33, 15:42–16:20; Luke 1:1–2:23, 4:3–19, 4:26–35, 4:42–5:12, 5:33–9:7, 9:21–28, 9:36–58, 10:4–12, 10:35–11:14, 11:23–12:12, 12:21–29, 18:32–19:17, 20:30–21:22,

22:49–57, 23:41–24:13, 24:21–39, 24:49–end; John 1:1–21, 1:39–2:6, 3:30–4:5, 5:3–10, 5:19–26, 6:49–57, 9:33–14:2, 14:11–15:14, 15:22–16:15, 20:23–25, 20:28–30, 21:20–end. It has been thought that it was originally broken up by Crusaders (so Metzger; Scrivener says this of Φ); certainly its career was exciting (Gregory reports how the Saint Petersburg portion, when it was still in Asia Minor, was stolen — and recovered by a crowd of angry villagers).

Date/Scribe

Although in the seventeenth century some scholars claimed that the British portion was the oldest extant Greek manuscript, that distinction can no longer be maintained. Moderns date N paleographically to the sixth century. It is written on purple parchment in (now badly faded) silver ink, with certain of the Nomina Sacra in gold. The letters are very large (see the reduced sample in the section on uncial script), and are very regular in form; they seem to have been stamped on the page (though there are multiple stamps for the letters, and they are not uniform in size). There are two columns per page, with the columns containing only a dozen or so letters due to the large size of the print; there are typically sixteen lines per column. Scrivener/Miller say of the manuscript, "[T]he punctuation [is] quite as simple [as in A of the fifth century], being a single point (and that usually neglected) level with the top of the letter.... and there is no space between words even after stops.... It exhibits strong Alexandrian forms.... and not a few such itacisms as the change of ι and ει, αι and ε."

Description and Text-type

There is general agreement that N forms a group with the other sixth century purple uncials (O Σ Φ). Cronin believed that N O Σ are in fact sisters, copied from a single exemplar (Φ he believed to have some "Western" mixture). There is less agreement about the nature of this group. Von Soden classifies it as I^{π}, but this really begs the question as it is simply another of those mixed I-K groups, and has no witnesses except the purple uncials. Streeter laid claim to the group as a weak witness to the "Cæsarean" text — but of course Streeter insisted that everything not otherwise classified was "Cæsarean." In any case, studies of the group have been hindered by the fact that O contains only Matthew, while Σ Φ contain only Matthew and Mark. Thus only N represents the type in Luke and John, and passages where all four purple uncials exist are relatively few.

In recent times, Aland and Aland have described N as Category V (Byzantine). Wisse reports that it is mixed in Luke 20; there is, of course, no text of chapter 1 and very little of chapter 10.

All of these claims are slightly imprecise. N is much more Byzantine than anything else (about 80% of its readings seem to belong to that type), but by no means purely. It omits John 7:53–8:11, for instance, as well as Luke 22:43–44. There seems to be no pattern to the non-Byzantine readings, though; certainly they are not "Cæsarean" (N agrees with the Koridethi

codex in only 31 of 44 non-Byzantine readings tested, with Family 1 in 26 of 34, and with Family 13 in 23 of 36; by contrast, it agrees with A in 20 of 24, with K in 16 of 21, and with Ψ in 29 of 32). The simplest conclusion is that N is mostly Byzantine with occasional surviving readings of all types.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε19

Bibliography

Collations:

Since N came to light in so many pieces, there is no complete collation. H. S. Cronin published the text as it was known in 1899 *(Texts and Studies* volume 4). A few additional leaves have been published in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* by Stanley Rypins (lxxv, 1956).

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26} and NA^{27} for the Gospels.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover for the Gospels.

Other Works:

The work of Cronin cited above (and its follow-up in JTS, July 1901) discusses the relationship between the purple uncials.

B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins,* 1924, discusses on pp. 575–577 his perceived relationship between the purple uncials and the "Cæsarean" text. This discussion shows at once the strengths and weaknesses of Streeter's method; since he equates the Textus Receptus entirely with the Byzantine text, almost any manuscript — even one purely Byzantine! — will show "Cæsarean" readings by this method.

Manuscript O (023)

Paris, National Library MS. suppl Gr. 1286. Known as Codex Sinoponensis. Von Soden's ε21. Matthew, with some lacunae. Dated paleographically to the sixth century. Written on purple parchment with silver (often gold) ink (now quite hard to read, especially in photographs, due to the discoloration of the purple). With elaborate paintings featuring excellent handling of light and dark contrasts. The text is generally thought to go with the other purple uncials (N Σ Φ); Cronin in fact thought N O Σ to be sisters. Von Soden classified this group as I^{π}, although there

is little question but that the type is mostly Byzantine; the Alands place it in Category V. Streeter naturally regarded it as Cæsarean, but very weakly so; even if the Cæsarean type exists, O is so mixed as to be of little use as a witness. The least complete of the purple uncials, it is rarely cited. Given its extremely large size, it has been suggested that it contained only Matthew. This makes it almost the last, if not the last, manuscript to contain only a single gospel. However, the possibility must be admitted that it was part of a multi-volume deluxe set.

Manuscript P^{e} (024)

Codex Guelpherbytanus A. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, (portions of) Weissenburg 66 (loose folios). Von Soden's ε33. Palimpsest, containing small portions of all four gospels (Matthew 1:11–21, 3:13–4:19, 10–7–19, 10:42–11:1, 13:40–50, 14:15–15:3, 15:29–39; Mark 1:2–11, 3:5–17, 14:13–24, 48–61, 15:12–27; Luke 1:1–13, 2:9–20, 6:21–42, 7:32–8:2, 8:31–50, 9:26–36, 10:36–11:4, 12:34–45, 14:14–25, 15:13–16:22, 18:13–39, 20:21–21:3, 22:3–16, 23:20–33, 23:45–24:1, 24:14–37; John 1:29–40, 2:13–25, 21:1–11). Like Q (026), it is part of the under-writing of a manuscript of Isidore of Seville. It is written in two columns per page, in large uncials. Tischendorf dated it to the sixth century, and in this the Alands agree. Von Soden assigns it to the I' group. Wisse can't do much with it, since it is entirely defective for two of his three chapters; he says it is mixed in Luke 20. The Alands call it Category V, i.e. Byzantine, although with only 43 readings, their sample is too small to be confident. But I know of no particularly noteworthy readints found in it.

Manuscript P^{apr} (025)

Location/Catalog Number

Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library Gr. 225. Called Codex Porphyrianus after its former possessor, Bishop Porphyry.

Contents

Palimpsest originally containing the Acts, Catholic Epistles, Paul, and the Apocalypse complete. Apart from the occasional letters obliterated by the upper writing (works of Euthalius), a number of leaves have been lost, including those containing Acts 1:1–2:13, Romans 2:16–3:4, 8:32–9:10, 11:23–12:1, 1 Cor. 7:15–17, 12:23–13:5, 14:23–39, 2 Cor. 2:13–16, Col. 3:16–4:8, 1 Thes. 3:5–4:17, 1 John 3:20–5:1, Jude 4–15, Rev. 16:12–17:1, 19:21–20:9, 22:6–end. Scrivener states that, in addition, James 2:12–21, 2 Pet. 1:20–2:5 are "barely legible." Presumably modern methods have made it more possible to read these sections, but they will be poorly cited in older editions. (Scrivener notes that it also contains "a few

fragments of 4 Maccabees," but given that it is palimpsest, one may wonder if these are truly part of the same volume.)

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the ninth century. Considering its date, it has a rather primitive appearance; accents and breathings are fairly rare. But it does have lectionary indications in the margin. The over-writing has been dated to 1301, though the upper writing itself appears more typical of the thirteenth century.

Description and Text-type

The text of P varies significantly from section to section. It is quite thoroughly Byzantine in Acts; this was recognized by Hort, supported by Von Soden (who lists it as with some I influence in that book), and confirmed by the Alands (who list it as Category V in Acts). Even a fairly casual examination will confirm this point.

The Apocalypse may also be regarded as Byzantine; the Alands again list P as a member of Category V. (Von Soden lists P as H with I influence, but his classifications in the Apocalypse are now all but completely ignored.) A number of older commentators followed Von Soden as viewing P as valuable — but this is probably due to methodological difficulties. P is a witness to the Andreas type (according to Schmid), but it lacks the Andreas commentary and differs just enough from the Andreas type of the Textus Receptus as to cause a Byzantine manuscript to appear non-Byzantine when compared against the TR. (This just reinforces the fact that we cannot use differences from the TR as a measure of quality.) Observers were probably further biased by the fact that P is an uncial, and with only a handful of substantial uncials of the Apocalypse (א A C P 046), it is natural that its importance would be exaggerated.

The matter is more complex in Paul and the Catholic Epistles. Here P is clearly a mixed manuscript. The Alands make P more Alexandrian than Byzantine in Paul; by their tables, P has 87 readings which agree with UBS against the Byzantine text, plus 31 readings which agree with neither, while it has only 82 readings which agree with the Byzantine text against UBS. My experience in working over the readings in NA^{26}, however, made it appear that P agrees with the Byzantine text at at least two-thirds of the points of variation. Both my numbers and the Alands' agree that P is more Byzantine than anything else in the Catholics — according to Hort, it is entirely Byzantine in 1 Peter.

In Paul and the Catholics, the Alands list P as Category III, while Von Soden assesses it as H (Alexandrian). He also places it next to Ψ in his list of manuscripts cited, implying some degree of kinship. Speaking informally, there does appear to be some truth to this; while Ψ in Paul is much more Byzantine than P, it has a significant number of non-Byzantine readings in the last

few books (particularly Hebrews), and in examining the readings, I seemed to see kinship between P and Ψ. This is only a feeling, however; I have not verified this statistically.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α3

Bibliography

Collations:

Published by Tischendorf in volumes v and vi of *Monumenta sacra inedita;* the only publication based on modern methods of decipherment is in the *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus* series.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf (though some do not cite it for Acts).

Other Works:

Manuscript Q (026)

Codex Guelpherbytanus B. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, (portions of) Weissenburg 64 (folios 194–201, 299, 302, 303, 304, 311). Von Soden's ε4. Palimpsest, containing small portions of Luke and John (Luke 4:34–5:4, 6:10–26, 12:6–43, 15:14–31, 17:34–18:15, 18:34–19:11, 19:47–20:17, 20:34–21:8, 22:27–46, 23:30–49; John 12:3–20, 14:3–22, with large parts even of these verses illegible). Dated paleographically to the fifth century. Assessments of the text of Q have varied widely. Von Soden listed it as H (Alexandrian) in John and I' in Luke (I' being a large and disjoint group containing many uncial fragments — P Q R 074 090 0116 0130 0131 — plus the Byzantine uncials Γ 047 and a number of minuscules which generally have not been regarded as noteworthy). The Alands list Q as Category V, and regard it as the first truly Byzantine text (it should be noted, however, that Q exists for only twelve of their sample readings — too small a number for classification). Wisse reports it as Mixed, though due to lack of text he was only able to examine chapter 20. The real truth seems to fall somewhere between these assessments. Q is much more Byzantine than anything else — but it is no more a purely Byzantine text than is A or R. It furnishes evidence that the Byzantine type was in existence in the fifth century, but not that it had reached its final form or that it was in any way dominant. Consider the Nestle apparatus: Listing only a limited number of variants, NA^{27} shows Q departing from the Byzantine text 54 times (in the space of 209 verses, many of them fragmentary) in Luke, and 16 times (in 38 verses) in John. Thus Q is perhaps 80% Byzantine (though even this may be exaggerated; Q seems to be heavily given to

harmonization, and some of its agreements with the Byzantine text may be coincidental). The remaining text seems to agree with the later Alexandrian witnesses (L, 33, 579) more than anything else. Physically, Q is part of a large palimpsest containing also the fragments of P^{e} (024) and the Gothic version; the upper writing consists of Latin treatises of Isodore of Seville. It has the Ammonian Sections, but if the Eusebian Canons were supplied, they must have been written in a coloured ink which has not survived. (This is not impossible; the manuscript seems to have had some writings in vermillion which are now illegible and barely detectable, and the Eusebian numbers were intended to be written in color.) It has a handful of breathings, though they are not applied in any systematic way.

Manuscript R (027)

Location/Catalog Number

Codex Nitriensis. London. Catalog Number: British Museum Add. 17211. Originally from Egypt; brought to England in the 1840s from the convent of S. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert.

Contents

Contains Palimpsest fragments of Luke: Luke 1:1–13, 1:69–2:4, 2:16–27, 4:38–5:5, 5:25–6:8, 6:18–36, 6:39, 6:49–7:22, 7:44, 7:46, 7:47, 7:50, 8:1–3, 8:5–15, 8:25–9:1, 9:12–43, 10:3–16, 11:5–27, 12:4–15, 12:40–52, 13:26–14:1, 14:12–15:1, 15:13–16:16, 17:21–18:10, 18:22–20:20, 20:33–47, 21:12–22:6, 22:8–15, 22:42–56, 22:71–23:11, 23:38–51 (the above list is approximate; in some cases the manuscript is so hard to read that we cannot tell exactly where each portion ends). A second hand adds 15:19–21, but these are not generally cited.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the sixth century. R is written on parchment, two columns per page. The hand is very large and clear, though Scrivener calls the letters “somewhat irregular and straggling,” and notes that “the punctuation is effected by a single point almost level with the tops of the letters, as in Cod. N. The pseudo-Ammonian sections are there without the Eusebian canons.” In the eighth or ninth century the manuscript was overwritten with a Syriac text of Severus of Antioch against Johannes Grammaticus. (R was not the only manuscript demolished to hold Severus’s text; a manuscript of the *Iliad* was used as well.)

Description and Text-type

Assessments of R over the years have varied. Hort says of it (§209, p. 153) that it is mixed, but has “a large proportion of Pre-Syrian [i.e. non-Byzantine] readings.” Von Soden assigns it to I’ (which tells us very little, since this is one of the catchall groups, containing both mixed and

purely Byzantine manuscripts). Wisse, based on the fragments available to him, lists it as K^x in Luke 1, K^x in Luke 10, and mixed in Luke 20. The Alands list it as Category V (Byzantine).

Of all these assessments, the most accurate appears to be Hort's. The Alands, in particular, base their opinion on a mere nineteen readings — too small a sample to tell us anything.

A much more detailed assessment can be made by examining the apparatus of NA^{26}. The table below classifies readings in the Nestle apparatus into six categories: Those where R agrees with the Majority text against B, those where R agrees with B against the Majority Text, those where R agrees with both and B but where at least two important witnesses have a different reading, readings where R disagrees with both 𝔐 and B, and those where the majority text is split but R either agrees or disagrees with B. The numbers given below are slightly approximate (due mostly to the readings where the apparatus only cites evidence for one reading), but these generally affect the third category, which is the least significant for our purposes.

	R with 𝔐 against B	R with B against 𝔐	R with 𝔐 and B	R against 𝔐 and B	R with B against *pm*	R with *pm* against B
Luke 1–3	13	3	13	1	2	0
Luke 4–6	32	8	16	3	4	0
Luke 7–9	51	13	29	2	6	2
Luke 10–12	25	6	20	3	0	3
Luke 13–15	12	20	9	8	2	0
Luke 16–18	33	13	11	4	1	0
Luke 19–21	56	13	19	6	0	2
Luke 22–24	28	6	9	4	1	1
Totals						
Readings: 513	250	82	126	31	16	8

Thus we see that, no matter where we look, about 20–25% of R's readings are non-Byzantine, and that the manuscript is not Byzantine at all in about chapters 13–16. Although it is by no means a primary witness, R should not be completely ignored.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε22

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited by Tischendorf, who also collated it.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Cited in NA^{26} but deleted in NA^{27}

Other Works:

Manuscript S (028)

Codex Guelpherbytanus B. Rome, Vatican Library Gr. 354. Von Soden's ε1027. Contains the four gospels complete. Dated by its colophon to 949. This makes S the only dated uncial (other than Γ, which has a partial date which we cannot interpret with certainty). It is also one of the four oldest dated New Testament manuscripts (the oldest being the minuscule 461, from the year 835; this is followed by 2500, from 891, then by S and the minuscule 1582, both from the year 949). Textually, it is entirely Byzantine. Von Soden classified it as K^1 (along with such other Byzantine uncials as V and Ω); Wisse has made the minor correction of listing S as K^x Cluster Ω. (The other members of this group include E V Ω and some thirty-three minuscules.) The Alands corroborate this by listing S as Category V. The writing is large and compressed (see the sample in the Table of Scripts Used in Various Uncials), and appears Slavic. Scrivener notes that it "contains many later corrections.... and marginal notes" (both patristic and textual, e.g. one of them obelizes John 5:4) as well as the Eusebian apparatus. It also includes Neumes. The scribe was a monk named Michael. Note: The symbol S is also used in some apparatus for א. (These apparatus will usually use 028 as a symbol for the real S.) One should always be aware of which symbol is used for which manuscript.

Sample plates in Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible;* Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography* (plate 50).

Manuscript T (029)

Location/Catalog Number

Codex Borgianis. It was recovered in several parts, and bears multiple catalog numbers:: Rome, Vatican Library Borg. Copt. 109, Borg Copt. 109; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 664A; Paris, National Library Copt. 129.7, 129.8, 129.9, 129.10. The various fragments, when discovered, were designated T (029), 0113, 0125, 0139.

Contents

Contains fragments of the gospels of Luke and John, in Greek and Sahidic (Sahidic on the verso), with the Greek containing Luke 6:18–26, 18:2–9, 10–16, 18:32–19:8, 21:33–22:3, 22:20–23:20, 24:25–27, 29–31; John 1:24–32, 3:10–17, 4:52–5:7, 6:28–67, 7:6–8:31 (with some of these leaves being fragmentary). The following list shows how the various portions are designated:

Luke 6:18–26 (0139, Paris; 6:11–18 in Sahidic)

18:2–9 (0139, Paris; 17:29–18:2 in Sahidic)

18:10–16 (T, New York; 18:2–9 in Sahidic)

18:32–41 (T, New York; 18:?–32 in Sahidic)

18:42–19:8 (0139, Paris; 18:32–42 in Sahidic)

21:33–38 (0139, Paris; 21:25–32 in Sahidic) (except for 21:36, 0113, Paris; 21:26–28 in Sahidic)

22:1–3 (0113, Paris, 21:31–32 in Sahidic)

22:20–23:20 (T, Rome; 22:12–23:11 in Sahidic)

24:25–27 (0139, Paris; 24:18–19 in Sahidic)

24:29–31 (0139, Paris; 24:21–23 in Sahidic)

John 1:24–32 (0113, Paris; 1:16–23 in Sahidic)

3:10–17 (0113, Paris; 3:2–10 in Sahidic)

4:52–5:7 (0125, Paris; 4:45–52 in Sahidic; fragmentary)

6:28–67 (T, Rome; 6:21–58 in Sahidic)

7:6–8:31 (T, Rome; 6:58–8:23 in Sahidic)

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fifth century, though Giorgi, who first published portions of it, prefers the fourth. T is written on parchment, two columns per page — but, curiously, the Greek and Sahidic are not in facing columns but on facing pages. Tischendorf thought the scribe was a Copt, as the letters often show Coptic forms. It has a handful of breathings, but they are not supplied consistently. As far as the punctuation goes, Scrivener notes that “a single point indicates a break in the sense, but there are no other divisions.”

Description and Text-type

That T stands close to B has been widely observed — e.g. by Hort; von Soden classified all four parts as H, and the Alands place it in Category II. (Wisse was unable to classify it, as no text exists in his sample chapters.) But few seem to have realized how close the two are. The following tables show the relations between T and thirteen other witnesses in Luke and John. The readings are the variants in NA^{27} which are supported by at least two of the witnesses cited.

Affinities of T — Luke

MS.	P^{75}	א	A	B	D	K	L	T	Γ	Θ	f^{1}	f^{13}
P^{75}	-	44/64 =69%	17/64 =27%	53/64 =83%	12/64 =19%	24/64 =38%	46/64 =72%	57/64 =89%	15/64 =23%	17/64 =27%	21/62 =34%	19/64 =30%
א	44/64 =69%	-	36/98 =37%	66/98 =67%	33/98 =34%	42/98 =43%	76/98 =78%	69/98 =70%	32/98 =33%	43/98 =44%	44/95 =46%	42/97 =43%
A	17/64 =27%	36/98 =37%	-	28/98 =29%	37/98 =38%	73/98 =74%	35/98 =36%	26/98 =27%	82/98 =84%	73/98 =74%	55/95 =58%	60/97 =62%
B	53/64 =83%	66/98 =67%	28/98 =29%	-	25/98 =26%	37/98 =38%	72/98 =73%	91/98 =93%	19/98 =19%	32/98 =33%	35/95 =37%	30/97 =31%
D	12/64 =19%	33/98 =34%	37/98 =38%	25/98 =26%	-	38/98 =39%	33/98 =34%	23/98 =23%	41/98 =42%	37/98 =38%	44/95 =46%	43/97 =44%
K	24/64 =38%	42/98 =43%	73/98 =74%	37/98 =38%	38/98 =39%	-	45/98 =46%	35/98 =36%	73/98 =74%	67/98 =68%	55/95 =58%	65/97 =67%
L	46/64 =72%	76/98 =78%	35/98 =36%	72/98 =73%	33/98 =34%	45/98 =46%	-	75/98 =77%	31/98 =32%	42/98 =43%	41/95 =43%	38/97 =39%
T	57/64 =89%	69/98 =70%	26/98 =27%	91/98 =93%	23/98 =23%	35/98 =36%	75/98 =77%	-	21/98 =21%	30/98 =31%	31/95 =33%	28/97 =29%
Γ	15/64 =23%	32/98 =33%	82/98 =84%	19/98 =19%	41/98 =42%	73/98 =74%	31/98 =32%	21/98 =21%	-	69/98 =70%	53/95 =56%	62/97 =64%
Θ	17/64 =27%	43/98 =44%	73/98 =74%	32/98 =33%	37/98 =38%	67/98 =68%	42/98 =43%	30/98 =31%	69/98 =70%	-	61/95 =64%	61/97 =63%
f^{1}	21/62 =34%	44/95 =46%	55/95 =58%	35/95 =37%	44/95 =46%	55/95 =58%	41/95 =43%	31/95 =33%	53/95 =56%	61/95 =64%	-	47/95 =49%
f^{13}	19/63 =30%	42/97 =43%	60/97 =62%	30/97 =31%	43/97 =44%	65/97 =67%	38/97 =39%	28/97 =29%	62/97 =64%	61/97 =63%	47/95 =49%	-

Affinities of T — John

MS.	P^{75}	ℵ	A	B	D	K	L	T	Γ	Θ	f^{1}	f^{13}
P^{75}	-	54/125 =43%	18/52= 35%	103/125=82%	28/113 =25%	48/125 =38%	80/125 =64%	101/125=81%	51/125 =41%	56/125 =45%	52/120 =43%	48/125 =38%
ℵ	54/125 =43%	-	20/55= 36%	49/144 =34%	75/132 =57%	55/144 =38%	66/144 =46%	54/144 =38%	52/144 =36%	66/144 =46%	55/139 =40%	56/144 =39%
A	18/52= 35%	20/55= 36%	-	22/55= 40%	25/43= 58%	42/55= 76%	33/55= 60%	24/55= 44%	37/55= 67%	31/55= 56%	35/52= 67%	38/55= 69%
B	103/125=82%	49/144 =34%	22/55= 40%	-	35/132 =27%	57/144 =40%	92/144 =64%	114/144=79%	53/144 =37%	59/144 =41%	59/139 =42%	48/144 =33%
D	28/113 =25%	75/132 =57%	25/42= 60%	35/132 =27%	-	56/132 =42%	61/132 =46%	38/132 =29%	54/132 =41%	57/132 =43%	57/127 =45%	60/132 =45%
K	48/125 =38%	55/144 =38%	42/55= 76%	57/144 =40%	56/132 =42%	-	76/144 =53%	67/144 =47%	114/144=79%	83/144 =58%	96/139 =69%	102/144=71%
L	80/125 =64%	66/144 =46%	33/55= 60%	92/144 =64%	61/132 =46%	76/144 =53%	-	103/144=72%	77/144 =53%	74/144 =51%	81/139 =58%	71/144 =49%
T	101/125=81%	54/144 =38%	24/55= 44%	114/144=79%	38/132 =29%	67/144 =47%	103/144=72%	-	63/144 =44%	69/144 =48%	71/139 =51%	67/144 =47%
Γ	51/125 =41%	52/144 =36%	37/55= 67%	53/144 =37%	54/132 =41%	114/144=79%	77/144 =53%	63/144 =44%	-	85/144 =59%	93/139 =67%	102/144=71%
Θ	56/125 =45%	66/144 =46%	31/55= 56%	59/144 =41%	57/132 =43%	83/144 =58%	74/144 =51%	69/144 =48%	85/144 =59%	-	80/139 =58%	100/144=69%
f^{1}	52/120 =43%	55/139 =40%	35/52= 67%	59/139 =42%	57/127 =45%	96/139 =69%	81/139 =58%	71/139 =51%	93/139 =67%	80/139 =58%	-	86/139 =62%
f^{13}	48/125 =38%	56/144 =39%	38/55= 69%	48/144 =33%	60/132 =45%	102/144=71%	71/144 =49%	67/144 =47%	102/144=71%	100/144=69%	86/139 =62%	-

Examining these numbers tells us that T is not simply close to B in Luke; it is immediate kin — as close to B as is P^{75}. Indeed, *T agrees with these two more than they agree with each other.* The difference is not statistically significant given the size of the sample, but if this is in fact the case, it would imply that T is actually closer to the group archetype than either P^{75} or B. In any case, it deserves to be on a footing equal to theirs.

The matter is not quite as clear in John. T is still very close to P^{75}5 B, but not as close as in Luke. In first examining the data, it appeared to me that T had acquired some Byzantine mixture. Full examination of the data, however, makes it appear that instead it had been infected with late Alexandrian readings — of the sort we find, e.g., in L. Thus in Luke T is a manuscript of the first magnitude, though in John its value is slightly less.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε5 (=T), ε50 (=0113), ε99 (=0125), ε1002 (=0139)

Bibliography

Collations:

As this manuscript was recovered in sections, there has been no comprehensive publication. The first edition, by Giorgi in 1789, includes only the portions of John then known.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited by Tischendorf as far as known.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover as far as known.

Cited in NA^{26} and UBS^{3} (under four sigla) and in NA^{27} and UBS^{4} under the combined symbol T.

Other Works:

Note: The symbol T was used by Tischendorf and Scrivener for certain other manuscripts: T^{b} = 083; T^{c} = 084; T^{g} = 061; T^{k} = 085; T^{woi} = 070.

T^{g} (Scrivener T^{p}): see 061

T^{k} (Scrivener T^{g}): see 085

Manuscript U (030)

Venice, Biblioteca San Marco 1397 (I.8). Called Codex Nanianus after a former owner. Von Soden's ε90. Contains the four gospels complete. Dated by modern sources to the ninth century, though Scrivener, based on Tregelles, writes that it dates "scarcely before the tenth century, although the 'letters are in general an imitation of those used before the introduction of compressed uncials; but they do not belong to the age when full and round writing was customary or natural, so that the stiffness and want of ease is manifest.'" It is an ornate codex, with full marginalia, as well as pictures and golden ornaments. Textually, it appears Byzantine; the Alands place it in Category V (though their statistics for the manuscript are manifestly wrong; a complete copy of the Gospels will have many more than the 155 readings they list!). Wisse calls it $K^{mix}/K^{x}/K^{mix}$, with some similarity to 974 and 1006. This not-quite-pure Byzantine-ness may explain why Von Soden lists the manuscript as I^{o}; I^{o} contains a number of

manuscripts strongly but not entirely Byzantine (e.g. X and 1071), though there is no real reason to think they are related.

Manuscript V (031)

Moscow, Historical Museum V.9, S.399. Called Codex Mosquensis. Von Soden's ε75. Contains the four gospels almost complete; Mark and Luke are intact; Matthew lacks 5:44–6:12, 9:18–10:1, 22:44–23:35; John is lacking from 12:10–25. The latter two lacunae are recent; they apparently developed between 1779, when it was first collated, and 1783, when next examined.

Although we say the manuscript runs through John 12:10, the uncial portion breaks off with John 7:39, the rest being in minuscules, dated to the thirteenth century. Matthei, who first examined V, dated the uncial portion to the eighth century, but moderns tend to prefer the ninth. It is written on parchment, one column per page. Textually, it is universally agreed that it is Byzantine; von Soden classified it as K^1; the Alands place it in Category V; Wisse calls it K^x Cluster Ω. Thus it is a very typical Byzantine manuscript; it has been suggested that it would be a good manuscript to use as a standard for the K^x type.

Manuscript W (032)

Location/Catalog Number

Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 06.274 (Smithsonian Institution). Called Codex Washingtonensis for its location, or the Freer Gospels for its purchaser.

Contents

Originally contained the four gospels complete; now lacks Mark 15:13–38, John 14:27–16:7. In addition, John 1:1–5:11 are a supplement from a later hand, probably to replace a quire that was lost. Gospels are in the "Western" order: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

Date/Scribe

Generally dated to the fifth century, though some have preferred a date in the late fourth century. The supplemental leaves are probably from about the seventh century. The cover may also date from this time; it is wax painting on wooden boards, showing the four Evangelists, and survives fairly well. On the other hand, the chains that were added with the covers kept the book from being properly opened for reading! This very likely protected the volume — but rendered it largely useless.

Description and Text-type

W is textually a curiosity, as the nature of the text varies wildly. The usual statement (found, e.g., in Kenyon/Adams, p. 215) is that Matthew is Byzantine, Mark chapters 1–5 (possibly 1:1–5:30) are "Western," Mark chapters 6–16 are "Cæsarean," Luke 1:1–8:12 are Alexandrian, Luke 8:13–end are Byzantine, John 5:13–end are Alexandrian. (The supplement in John 1:1–5:12 is variously assessed; in my experience, it is Alexandrian, though perhaps not quite as pure as the original text. Based simply on the text, it is not impossible that the replacement quire was actually copied, at least in part, from the quire that it replaced.) These boundaries are, of course, impossibly precise; one cannot determine a text-type boundary to the nearest sentence. But that there are shifts at about these points seems true enough.

The nature of the text-types is, however, open to question. So far as I know, no one has questioned the Byzantine designation in Matthew or the Alexandrian designation in John. My own experience, moreover, indicates that both assessments are correct.

Things are a not quite as clear in Luke. Here, Wisse assesses W as Group B (Alexandrian) in Luke 1, as expected. In Luke 10, he lists it as K^x, while in Luke 20 it is mixed. The classification in Luke 10 is, in a sense, what we expect, since it was generally felt that W is Byzantine in that part of Luke. But the finding that it is K^x is extraordinary; this makes W the earliest K^x manuscript by at least three centuries. The "Mixed" assessment in chapter 20 is also somewhat surprising, as it indicates that W is less Byzantine than expected in that chapter. It's worth noting, though, that all these assessments are based on single chapters; assessments of larger sections of text might produce a slightly different view. The assessment that W's text of Luke is Alexandrian in the early chapters and Byzantine in the final two-thirds is probably essentially accurate.

The question of Mark is much more complicated. Sanders, who first edited the manuscript, linked 1:1 to 5:30 to the Old Latin (claiming even to see Latin influence in the text). The rest of Mark he recognized as non-Byzantine and non-Alexandrian, but he thought it was not "Western" either; he linked it to manuscripts such as 1 and 28.

At this point Streeter entered the picture. Streeter claimed the last ten chapters of Mark as "Cæsarean," basing this mostly on a comparison against the Textus Receptus. Unfortunately for Streeter's case, this method is now known to be completely faulty (as he should have known himself). Streeter's "proof" in fact proved nothing — although we must remember that his method was merely *faulty*, not necessarily that it produced inaccurate results. His contention may be true; he simply didn't prove it.

There things sat for half a century, while the "Cæsarean" text was sliced, diced, added to, subdivided, and finally slowly dissolved under scrutiny. Finally Larry W. Hurtado published *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (1981).

This study compared W, chapter by chapter, against some of the leading witnesses of the various text-types.

Unfortunately, Hurtado's study has its own defects. The analysis is rather rigidly defined by chapters, and several vital witnesses are ignored. The key defect, however, is the fact that it simply counts readings without weighing them. This is fine for detecting immediate kinship, but less effective for dealing with mixed manuscripts — and even Streeter admitted that all "Cæsarean" witnesses, except W itself, are mixed.

Hurtado found about what one would expect: W, in Mark 1–4, is indeed "Western" (note that he moved the dividing line toward the beginning of the book somewhat). Starting with chapter 5, it is something else, and that something does not match any of the other witnesses precisely. It is assuredly not Byzantine or Alexandrian. But neither does it agree particularly closely with the so-called "Cæsarean" witnesses.

Hurtado's study has been viewed, quite inaccurately, as dissolving the "Cæsarean" text. In fact it does no such thing, in that Hurtado nowhere so much as addresses Streeter's definition (which finds the "Cæsarean" text in the non-Byzantine readings of the "Cæsarean" witnesses. Since Hurtado did not classify readings, he could not study the type as defined by Streeter). Nonetheless, Hurtado did a reasonable job of demolishing Streeter's claim that W is a pure "Cæsarean" witness in the latter portions of Mark. The fact that the "Cæsarean" witnesses do not agree with each other is not relevant (the effect of random mixture is to make the mixed witnesses diverge very rapidly). The fact that they do not agree with W, however, *is* significant. W can hardly be part of the type from which the surviving "Cæsarean" witnesses descended. This still does not, however, prove that it is not "Cæsarean" — merely that it does not spring from the sources which gave rise to Θ, 565, and Family 13. Further conclusions must be left for a study which addresses Streeter's text-type according to Streeter's definitions. (For what it is worth, my statistical analysis does seem to imply that the "Cæsarean" type exists — but the sample size is not enough to allow certainty about W's relationship to it.) Hurtado found that W had a special relationship with P^{45}, and this is by no means improbable. Hurtado also hypothesized that W in the final chapters of Mark was still "Western," but with mixture. This too is possible, and given Streeter's sloppy methods, it might explain why Streeter associated W with the "Cæsarean" type. But Hurtado's method cannot prove the matter.

There has been much discussion of why W is so strongly block mixed. Sanders thought that it was compiled from bits and pieces of other manuscripts. Streeter counter-argued that an exemplar was heavily corrected from several different manuscripts, each manuscript being used to correct only part of the exemplar. Neither theory can be proved; they have different strengths and weaknesses (Sanders's theory explains the abrupt textual shifts, but is it really probable that any church would have so many fragments and no complete books? Streeter's

theory eliminates this objection, but does very little to explain why the text does not show more mixture. W is block mixed, but the text is generally pure in each part.)

The most noteworthy reading of W is the so-called "Freer Logion" (so-called because it occurs only in W; Jerome quotes a portion of it). This passage, inserted after Mark 16:14, is quoted in most textual criticism manuals and will not be repeated here.

There is little else to say about the text of W. The Alands list it as Category III, but of course this is an overall assessment; they do not assess it part by part (if they did, the assessment would probably range from Category II in the Alexandrian portions to Category V in the Byzantine). Von Soden's classification is more complex (I^{α} — i.e. mainstream "Western"/"Cæsarean" — in Mark, H in Luke and John), but this tells us little that we did not already know.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε014

Bibliography

Note: As with all the major uncials, no attempt is made to compile a complete bibliography.

Collations:

The basic edition is still Henry A. Sanders, *Facsimile of the Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Freer Collection,* plus (again by Sanders) *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection, Part I: The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels*

Sample Plates:

Almost every handbook has a photo, but it's always the same page (the Freer Logion in Mark 16). The book *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000* has a large color version of that page and the facing page (pp. 152–153); on pp. 151–152 it shows the cover artwork of the four evangelists. Finegan has a plate of the supplement in John 1.

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Von Soden

Other Works:

See most recently and most notably Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark.* This is largely a reaction to Streeter; for Streeter's opinions concerning W, see Appendix V to *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins.*

Manuscript X (033)

Location/Catalog Number

Codex Monacensis. Munich. Catalog Number: University Library fol. 30. It arrived in Munich in 1827; prior to that it had been in Landshut (from 1803), still earlier in Ingoldstadt; its earliest known home was Rome.

Contents

Contains the Gospels in the "Western" order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark (as presently bound, there are actually leaves of Matthew at both beginning and end of the codex, and Scrivener implies that the original order was John, Luke, Mark, Matthew, but this is probably a binding error). It has suffered some damage, and now contains Matt. (5:45 in commentary only), 6:6, 10, 11, 7:1–9:20, 9:34–11:24, 12:9–16:28, 17:14–18:25, 19:22–21:13, 21:28–22:22, 23:27–24:2, 24:23–35, 25:1–30, 26:69–27:12, John 1:1–13:5 (2:23–6:71 lost but added in a later hand), 13:20–15:25, 16:23–end, Luke 1:1–37, 2:19–3:38, 4:21–10:37, 11:1–18:43, 20:46–end, Mark 6:46–end (with portions of chapters 14–16 illegible and 16:6–8 completely lost). Text with commentary; most of the marginal material is from Chrysostom. The commentary is very full in Matthew and in John; that in Luke contains references to the previous sections as well as new material; Mark has no commentary at all. The commentary is written in minuscules and is contemporary with the uncial text.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the tenth or possibly ninth century. X is written on parchment, two columns per page. The hand is described as "very elegant"; Scrivener quotes Tregelles's work to the effect that the letters are "small and upright; though some of them are compressed, they seem as if they were partial imitations of those used in the very earliest copies." The text has, apart from the commentary, relatively few guides for the user; there are no lectionary notes or κεφαλαια.

Description and Text-type

The most recent assessment of this manuscript, that of the Alands, is stark: they place is in Category V as purely Byzantine. This is, however, much too simple. While it is certainly true that the manuscript is more Byzantine than anything else, it has a number of noteworthy readings not of that type. Wisse, for instance, finds it to be mixed insofar as it exists, with "some relationship to Group B."

Von Soden isn't much help in this matter; he classified X as I^{o}. However, the members of this group, according to Wisse, are a very mixed lot: U (K^{mix}/K^{x}; close to 977 1006), 213 (Mix), 443 (M159), 1071 (Mix; "some relationship to Group B"), 1321(part) 1574 (Mix) 2145 (M1195/K^{x}). Still, a handful of striking readings will show that X is at least occasionally linked with the Alexandrian text, especially with the B branch:

Matt. 16:2–3 — א B X f^{13} 157 579 1216 sin sur sa arm omit "the signs of the times"; in C D K L W f^{1} 33 565 700 892 1241 *Byz* it vg pesh

Luke 15:21 — add ποιησον με ως ενα των μισθιων σου א B (D) X 33 700 1241 hark; P^{75} A L W f^{1} f^{13} 565 579 892 *Byz* a b c e f ff^{2} q r^{1} sin cur pesh sa bo arm geo omit

John 7:53–8:11 — omit verses P^{66} P^{75} א A^{vid} B C^{vid} L N T W X 33 157 565 1241 al; in D F G H K M S U *Byz*

John 12:1 — Λαζαρος א B L W X 0218 a aur c e r^{1} sa; add ο τεθνηκως P^{66} A D K f^{1} f^{13} 33 565 700 892 1241 *Byz* b d f ff^{2} vg geo arm goth

John 13:32 — omit ει ο θεος εδοξασθη εν αυτω P^{66} א* B C* D L W X f^{1} 1071 *al*; in A K f^{13} 33 565 700 892 *Byz*

John 14:4 — την οδον P^{66-c} א B C* L Q W X 33 579 1071 a bo; P^{66*} A D E K N f^{1} f^{13} 565 700 892 1241 Byz και την οδον οιδατε

It appears that the largest fraction of X's Alexandrian readings is in John; this may explain why the Alands (who did not examine John) classified it as Byzantine.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: A^{3}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited by Tischendorf, who also collated it.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Cited in UBS^{3} but deleted in UBS^{4}

Other Works:

Manuscript Y (034)

Cambridge, University Library Additional MS. 6594. Called Codex Macedonensis. Von Soden's ε073. Contains the four gospels fairly complete. Matthew 1–8 are lacking and 9–11 are somewhat mutilated. Mark is intact. There are small lacunae in chapters 15–16 and 23 of Luke and the last two chapters of John.

There is one column per page. Most authorities agree that it dates to the ninth century. Textually, it is universally agreed that it is Byzantine; von Soden classified it as I^{K}. which is Family Π, and Wisse concurs, placing it in group Π171. The Alands place it in Category V, which is their usual classification for the uncial (although not the minuscule) members of Family Π.

Manuscript Z (035)

Codex Dublinensis Rescriptus. Dublin, Trinity College K.3.4. Von Soden's ε26. Palimpsest, containing portions of Matthew (Matt. 1:17–2:6, 2:13–20, 4:4–13, 5:45–6:15, 7:16–8:6, 10:40–11:18, 12:43–13:11, 13:57–14:19, 15:13–23, 17:9–17, 17:26–18:6, 19:4–12, 21–28, 20:7–21:8, 21:23–30, 22:16–25, 22:37–23:3, 23:15–23, 24:15–25, 25:1–11, 26:21–29, 62–71). The upper

writing is a cursive, no earlier than the tenth century, consisting of works of various church fathers, Chrysostom contributing the largest share.

Of the original 120 or so leaves, fourteen double leaves and four half-leaves survive — in other words, a bit less than 15% of the original text of Matthew.

Dated paleographically to the sixth or possibly fifth century. Written in a large, attractive, and very precise uncial, with the Ammonian Sections but seemingly no Eusebian canons. It has spaces at key points, but very little punctuation, and no breathings or accents. Quotations are

indicated with the > symbol. Scrivener notes that it displays unusual forms of many letters, and gives evidence from Abbott that it is relatively free of scribal errors.

Assessments of its text have universally rated it highly; Von Soden lists it as H (Alexandrian) and the Alands show it as Category III. The text is in fact very close to א, and may be regarded as that manuscript's closest ally. On the Aland scale, it probably ought in fact to be Category II, except that there is too little text to be useful for much.

The illustration here was taken from a very bad photograph, and has been heavily manipulated to try to bring out as much as possible. The colours are false. Note that this is the correct orientation to read the Greek text; the over-writing is at right angles to the lower text.

The manuscript, which by then was already "miserably discoloured" (so Scrivener), was exposed to chemicals by Tregelles in 1853, which yielded little new text but has of course not helped its legibility.

Manuscript Γ (Gamma, 036)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. infr. 2.2 and Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library Greek 33. Codex Tischendorfianus IV. Von Soden's ε70. The date of this manuscript is a mystery: It gives a date by Indiction, and also mentions that (in modern terms) November 27 was a Thursday. Tischendorf calculated that the only date between 800 and 950 which fits this description is 844, but Gardthausen calculated that 979 also meets the conditions. Paleographers tend to date the manuscript to the tenth century. It is rather sloppily written, with lines ruled badly and irregularly. A later corrector added additional accents and breathings to those supplied by the original scribe; Scrivener calls these additions "very careless" and describes the later scribe as a "scrawler." Γ is a copy of the gospels, with many lacunae in Matthew (lacks Matt. 5:31–6:16, 6:30–7:26, 8:27–9:6, 21:19–22:25) and one in Mark (lacks Mark 3:34–6:21); Luke and John are complete (there is some damage from damp to the end of Luke, but this does not render the manuscript illegible). Γ was found by Tischendorf in "an eastern monastery" and divided into rather odd portions: England has part of Matthew, all that survives of Mark, all of Luke, and a few leaves of John; Russia has the rest of Matthew and the larger portion of John.

Assessments of the text of Γ have varied a great deal. Scrivener, without being able to examine it fully, remarked that "Some of its peculiar readings are very notable, and few uncials of its date deserve more careful study." Von Soden also saw some value in it, as he classified it as I' (in other words, among the miscellaneous members of the I group. Most I' members seem in fact to be mostly Byzantine). But one has to suspect that this classification is actually based on only a single reading: Γ is one of the several manuscripts to exclude Matthew 16:2–3 (others which do so include א B X f^{13} 157 579 and many of the early versions). Recent

assessments have been much less kind. The Alands classify it as Category V (with only one non-Byzantine reading in 286 test passages, though it also has 12 readings which agree neither with the Byzantine nor the UBS text). Wisse lists it as K^{x} in all his test chapters. On the face of it, it would appear Γ, rather than being an unusually distinguished manuscript for its date, is in fact a perfectly typical Byzantine manuscript with more than its share of singular errors, the work of a somewhat inept scribe.

Manuscript Δ (Delta, 037)

Location/Catalog Number

Saint Gall, where it has been as long as it has been known (hence the title Codex Sangallensis). Catalog number: Stiftsbibliothek 48.

Contents

Contains the gospels almost complete; it lacks John 19:17–35. The Greek is accompanied by an interlinear Latin translation (designated δ). It has been argued that Δ was originally part of the same volume as G^{p}; for the arguments for and against this (e.g. their similar appearance and identical size), see the entry on that manuscript.

Date/Scribe

Usually dated paleographically to the ninth century. (It can hardly be earlier, as reference is made to the (heretical) opinions of Godeschalk at Luke 13:24, John 12:40. These references appear to be in the original hand, and Godeschalk died in 866.) A few sources prefer a tenth century date.

The hand is quite awkward and stiff, resembling G^{p} in this as in many other ways. The Latin is written above the Greek, and the scribe seems to have been more comfortable with that than with Greek. (There are many reasons for believing this; one of the more noteworthy is his regular confusion of certain Greek letters.) It has been widely suggested that his native language was (Irish) Gaelic.

The form of the manuscript again reminds us of G: It is written in continuous lines, but appears to have been made from a manuscript written in sense lines of some sort; there are e**N**^{la}rged, decorated letters in almost every line. (Though the decorations are very inartistic; Gregory suggests that "[t]he larger letters are rather smeared over than painted with different colours.") The e**N**^{la}rged letters do not really correspond with sentences, but rather are quite evenly spaced. Spaces are supplied between words, but these are very inaccurate (more evidence of the scribe's weakness in Greek). There are only a few accents and breathings, not always accurate. Gregory notes that "[t]he titles for the chapters often stand in the middle of the text."

Rettig believed that several scribes worked on the manuscript. This is a difficult question to say the least. The style of the manuscript is very similar throughout. At first glance — indeed, at any number of glances — it appears that the scribe is the same throughout. But this is because the hand is so peculiar. The evidence of G indicates that this was more or less the normal style at Saint Gall. So it is possible that there were several scribes — but the matter really needs to be investigated with modern resources.

Description and Text-type

For once there is almost universal agreement: Δ is block-mixed. The usual assessment is that Matthew, Luke, and John are Byzantine, while Mark is Alexandrian. (Indeed, Δ was the single most important prop in Streeter's argument that manuscripts should be examined first in Mark.) Interestingly, most formal investigations have not precisely confirmed this division into parts; von Soden listed Δ as H, and the Alands list it as Category III. Even Wisse does not find it to be purely Byzantine in Luke 1; his assessment is that it is Mixed in Luke 1 and K^x in Luke 10 and 20.

It should be noted, however, that both the Aland and von Soden were listing text-types for the gospels as a whole; they are not book-by-book assessments. (The Alands, at least, did not so much as examine John.) An examination of the actual readings of the manuscript shows that conventional wisdom is correct at least in general: Δ is Byzantine in Matthew, Luke, and John, and is Alexandrian in Mark. We should however add that it is not purely Alexandrian even in Mark; nowhere does it approach the quality of B, or even of L. It is a late Alexandrian/Byzantine mix. It is also my personal impression that Δ has rather more Alexandrian readings in the early part of Mark, and that the Byzantine component increases somewhat in the final chapters — but I have not formally verified this.

The interlinear Latin version is sometimes listed as an Old Latin version; hence the designation δ. This is probably at least technically a misnomer; the Latin version was probably prepared after the translation of the Vulgate. But since it has been made to correspond to the text of Δ, it is not a pure vulgate text. Still, it has no real critical value.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε76

Bibliography

Collations:

H. Ch. M. Rettig's edition of 1836 remains the only full-fledged edition. Fortunately, this edition is said to be highly accurate (Gregory calls it the best edition of a manuscript prior to Tischendorf).

Sample Plates:

Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Tischendorf

Other Works:

Manuscript Θ (Theta, 038)

Location/Catalog Number

Tbilisi, Georgia (the former Soviet republic), Inst. rukop. Gr. 28 Known as the Koridethi Codex or Codex Koridethianus (after its earliest known location).

Contents

Contains the four gospels almost complete; lacks Matthew 1:1–9, 1:21–4:4, 4:17–5:4.

Date/Scribe

The writing of Θ is unique — see the sample letterforms in the article on uncial script; note in particular the Δ (well on its way to becoming a Cyrillic letterform), K, Λ, M, and the horizontal shape of Ξ. The odd letterforms make the manuscript impossible to date; extreme estimates range from the seventh to the tenth century. A date late in the uncial era is all but assured, however, by the generally narrow letterforms and the strong serifs. The most common estimate is the ninth century, and later seems more likely than much earlier.

The scribe of Θ was, to put it mildly, not comfortable in Greek; there are strange errors of spelling and grammar on every page. In addition, the scribe does not seem to have been trained to write Greek; he has been accused of drawing rather than writing his letters. Certainly they vary significantly in size and in their relationship to the line. If the scribe knew Greek at all, it was probably as a spoken language.

Gregory and Beermann gave this information about the codex (thanks to Wieland Willker for making this available to me): "In the year 1853 a certain Bartholomeé visited a long abandoned monastery in Kala, a little village in the Caucasian mountains near the Georgian/Russian border.... he discovered the MS. The MS rested there probably for several hundred years

(Beermann: ca. 1300-1869).... Before this time the MS was in a town called Koridethi. This was a village near the Black Sea, near today's Bat'umi in Georgia. There should still be some ruins of a monastery. Notes in the Gospel indicate dates from ca. 965 CE on. At around this time, according to a note, the book has been rebound. The book was there until around 1300 CE."

The most likely explanation is that the scribe was a Georgian, or possibly (as Beermann argued) an Armenian. Not only is the manuscript from the Caucasus, but it has a Georgian inscription on the back cover. In addition, the text appears to have affinity with the Georgian and Armenian versions.

Description and Text-type

Other than Codex Bezae, perhaps no other manuscript has been so enshrouded in scholarly controversy as the Koridethi Codex. The common statement in the manuals (e.g. Metzger, Kenyon) that it is Byzantine in Matthew, Luke, and John, while having a different text in Mark is simply false; it is based on a misreading (I am tempted to say a perverse misreading) of Streeter. Whatever Θ is (and we must defer this question a bit), it is the same throughout the Gospels: It is a mixture of readings of the Byzantine type and something else.

The key question, though, is *What* is the something else? That the manuscript was interesting was obvious from the very start. When it was first published, it was obvious that some of the non-Byzantine readings were typical of the Alexandrian text, others of the "Western" type.

It was Kirsopp Lake who first looked at those other readings, and perceived a kinship. It appeared to him that these readings were similar to the non-Byzantine readings of manuscripts such as 1, 13, and 565.

At this point, B. H. Streeter entered the picture. He found, in these readings, a kinship to the text which Origen used while in Cæsarea. He therefore declared this type to be the "Cæsarean" text. Within this type, he included the non-Byzantine readings of a large number of manuscripts, notably (family) 1, (family) 13, 28, 565, and 700 — but also such things as the purple uncials (N etc.) and family 1424.

But note the key phrase: the *non-Byzantine readings* of these manuscripts. This proved to be a real sticking point. It has two problems. One is methodological: Streeter assumed that the Textus Receptus is identically equal to the Byzantine text. This is simply not the case; while the TR is Byzantine, it is not a normal Byzantine text. To make matters worse, the chief non-Byzantine influence on the TR is none other than 1. This means that the TR itself has "Cæsarean" readings — and that, in turn, means that a reading which is purely Byzantine might be classified as "Cæsarean" under Streeter's system.

So does the "Cæsarean" text exist? This is an extremely vexed issue. Streeter described the text as having a mixture of Alexandrian and "Western" readings. Here, again, the description

muddies the picture. If the "Cæsarean" type is real, it has only "Cæsarean" readings; it's just that it shares some with the Alexandrian text, and it shares a different set with the "Western" text. (This is to be expected; the majority of variants are binary — that is, have two and only two readings — so it follows, if the Alexandrian and "Western" texts disagree, that the "Cæsarean" text will agree with one of them.) But this leads to a problem: If all "Cæsarean" readings are shared with either the Alexandrian or Byzantine or "Western" texts, how do we tell a "Cæsarean" witness from an Alexandrian/Western mixed text? (To add to the uncertainty, we have to decide what is the "Western" text; the fact that Codex Bezae is our only Greek witness, and it in many ways peculiar, makes this a very difficult question.)

There are two partial answers to the question of how to tell a "Cæsarean" from a mixed manuscript: One is that the "Cæsarean" text does have some unique readings. A famous example is Matt. 27:16–17, where Θ f^{1} 700* arm geo^{2} call the criminal released instead of Jesus "Jesus Barabbas," while all other Greek witnesses read simply "Barabbas."

The other is the *pattern* of agreements. If you create two manuscripts which arbitrarily mix Alexandrian and "Western" readings, they will only agree on *half* the readings where the two types separate. If two manuscripts have a percentage of agreements which is significantly higher than this, then they are kin.

This was more or less Streeter's argument. But Streeter had a problem: All his "Cæsarean" witnesses were mixed — they had definite Byzantine overlays. That meant that he could only assess the nature of the underlying text *where the manuscripts were non-Byzantine.* This was a real difficulty, and made worse by the fact that Streeter (because he used the Textus Receptus to represent the Byzantine text) did not know what the Byzantine text actually read!

Streeter, in examining the non-Byzantine readings of his sundry witnesses, found agreement rates usually in the 70% to 90% range. This is a weak point. Allowing for a 50% inherent agreement rate, and 10% readings where the TR is not Byzantine (making agreements against the TR actually Byzantine), and 10% for coincidental agreement (e.g. harmonizations which could occur independently), and the expected rate of agreement in non-Byzantine readings is on the order of 70%. (I have verified this in testing a number of manuscripts. Unrelated manuscripts usually agree in 60% to 70% of non-Byzantine readings.) Certainly 70% agreement in non-Byzantine readings doesn't prove much.

The result was some decades of confusion. Streeter, by his faulty method, managed to make nearly everything a "Cæsarean" witness, and many scholars followed him. For some decades, there was a hunt for "Cæsarean" witnesses. This more or less culminated in the declaration that P^{45} was "Cæsarean."

At this point, the whole edifice started to crumble of its own weight. *Everything* not nailed down had been declared "Cæsarean," often on no stronger basis than the fact that it wasn't in pure agreement with the Textus Receptus. People started wondering about the "Cæsarean" text.

These doubts began to surface as early as the 1940s, but the single strongest blow was not struck until the 1980s, when Larry W. Hurtado published *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark.* This dissertation attempted to re-examine the entire "Cæsarean" question.

Great claims have been made about the results of this study (not least by its author), but in fact it was a limited work. Still, it accomplished two things: First, it demonstrated (as was already known) that the members of the "Cæsarean" text were not immediate kin, and second, it showed that P^{45} and W, often treated as the earliest and key "Cæsarean" witnesses, were not "Cæsarean" at all. (That P^{45} was simply a mixed witness had already been shown by Colwell, who found it to be a freely edited manuscript, but Hurtado generally confirmed Colwell's findings.)

But Hurtado's study had severe flaws of its own. One Hurtado has admitted in internet correspondence: The study did not examine all of the leading "Cæsarean" witnesses. The other is more fundamental: He refuses to acknowledge Streeter's definition of the "Cæsarean" type. Streeter defined the type in terms of non-Byzantine readings. Hurtado dealt with all readings. While he did some classification, it was not *Streeter's* method of classification. The two are talking past each other. Thus the final word on the "Cæsarean" text remains to be spoken. (As is shown by the fact that many modern scholars firmly believe in the "Cæsarean" text, while others are equally vehement in denying its existence.)

We, unfortunately, cannot prove the matter. The nature of the case, however, is that we must look at the matter using multiple statistical measures — because only by this means can we reconcile the contradictory results of the single-statistic studies. Those who dismiss the "Cæsarean" text use Hurtado's method of overall agreements. Streeter defined it in terms of non-Byzantine agreements. And those who believe in the type today tend to point to the *unique* readings of the type, such as the "Jesus Barabbas" reading noted above.

There is, in fact, no fundamental reason why all three methods cannot be used. I have attempted this myself (see the article on Text-Types). The results are interesting: Θ and the other "Cæsarean" witnesses do *not* show unusually high degrees of overall kinship (except that Θ and 565 are quite close in Mark). They show high degrees of agreement in non-Byzantine readings — but not so close a degree of kinship that we can automatically say it is statistically significant. In near-singular readings, however, there does appear to be kinship.

Does this settle the matter? No. Since we don't have a mathematical definition of a text-type, we can't just state that the numbers tell us this or that. It appears to me that Streeter's

definition is sound, and that Θ is the best surviving witness of a small group (Θ family 1 family 13 565 700; I am less certain of 28, and I find no others) which have a text-type kinship but have been heavily mixed. Streeter's claim that these are a *family* (i.e. a group of closely related manuscripts, close than a text-type) is, however, thoroughly untrue. A final answer, sadly, must await better definitions of our terms.

This has not, of course, kept people from classifying Θ. Von Soden, who was the first to really examine the manuscript (and who worked before Streeter) listed it as I^{α}, i.e. as a member of the main "Western" group. (We should note that Streeter took all the I^{α} witnesses, save D, and declared them "Cæsarean.") Wisse classified the manuscript as "mixed" in Luke (a result which should have told him something about his method, but didn't. Certainly Θ is mixed — but we don't want to know if it's mixed; we want to know what elements compose the mixture! Wisse could detect a weak Group B manuscript, because manuscripts like B and ℵ gave him a clear Group B profile — a profile so clear, in fact, that he could include D in the type! But there is no pure witness to the "Cæsarean" text; meaning that Wisse could not have hoped to identify a "Cæsarean" type if one exists). The Alands, who do not classify by text-types, simply list Θ as Category II.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε050

(and note that the symbol Θ was used for assorted small uncial fragments until Gregory reorganized the manuscript list)

Bibliography

Note: A true bibliography about Θ is impossible, since every work about the "Cæsarean" text is largely about Θ. The following list includes only a selection of key works.

Collations:

A Russian facsimile edition of Mark is extremely hard to find. Gustav Beerman and Caspar René Gregory published the complete text in *Die Koridethi Evangelien* Θ 038 (1913). Streeter, however, warns that the secondary collations in this book (comparing Θ against other manuscripts) are highly inaccurate, at least for the minuscules.

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (1 plate)

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since Von Soden

Other Works:

Kirsopp Lake and Robert P. Blake, "The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex" (Harvard Theological Review, xvi, 1923) is the first major work on what came to be called the "Cæsarean" text.

B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (1924) is the basic definition of the "Cæsarean" text.

Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* is the most recent major study of the "Cæsarean" text.

Manuscript Λ (Lambda, 039)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. infr. 1.1. Codex Tischendorfianus III. Von Soden's ε77. Dated paleographically to the ninth century (although Scrivener allows the bare possibility of the eighth century). It is a curious manuscript, containing only Luke and John in uncials. The gospels of Matthew and Mark were written in minuscules; this half of the manuscript is numbered 566 (von Soden's ε77) and located in Saint Petersburg. It has the Eusebian apparatus and a few comments in the margins. It is also noteworthy for having the "Jerusalem Colophon" after all four gospels. Textually, Von Soden listed it as I^r; other members of this group include 262 (which also has the colophon) 545(part) 1187 1555 1573. Wisse lists it as a member of his Group Λ (though with some "surplus"); this is his equivalent of Soden's I^r. Other members of the group, according to Wisse, include 161 164 166 173(part) 174 199 211 230 262 709 710(part) 899 1187 1205 1301(part) 1502(part) 1555 1573(part) 2465 2585(part) 2586 2725(part). Wisse notes that the group is fairly close to K^x, falling between Group 1216 and K^x. This is confirmed by the Alands, who place Λ in Category V (Byzantine).

Manuscript Ξ (Xi, 040)

Cambridge, University Library, British and Foreign Bible Society MS. 24. Codex Zacynthius. Von Soden's A^1. Palimpsest, with the upper writing being the lectionary ℓ^{299} (thirteenth century). Presumably originally contained the entire Gospel of Luke with a catena (probably the oldest catena left to us, and the only one with both text and commentary in uncial script; nine Fathers are thought to have been quoted.), but the surviving leaves contain only Luke 1:1–9, 19–23, 27–28, 30–32, 36–60, 1:77–2:19, 2:21–22, 2:33–3, 3:5–8, 11–20, 4:1–2, 6–20, 32–43, 5:17–36, 6:21–7:6, 7:11–37, 39–47, 8:4–21, 25–35, 43–50, 9:1–28, 32–33, 35, 9:41–10:18, 10:21–40, 11:1–4, 24–33 (86 full leaves and three partial leaves, originally quite large in size). Dated by W. P. Hatch and the Alands to the sixth century, but Scrivener argues that the writing in the catena (which is interwoven with the text, and clearly contemporary, in a hand so

small as to be all but illegible since its erasure) belongs to the eight century, and other authorities such as Greenlee have tended toward the later rather than the earlier date (though the absence of accents and breathings inclines us against too late a date). Textually, Ξ clearly has Alexandrian influence, probably of a late sort (indeed, it appears to be closer to L than any other manuscript). Wisse lists it as being K^x in Luke 1 and Group B (Alexandrian) in Luke 10, but this probably does not indicate block mixture so much as sporadic Byzantine correction. Since it is a catena manuscript, Von Soden does not really indicate a text-type (listing it simply as one of the witnesses to Titus of Bostra's commentary), but the Alands assign it to Category III. Perhaps even more interesting than the text, however, is the system of chapter division, for Ξ uses the unusual scheme of divisions found in Codex Vaticanus (B), though it also has the usual system of τιτλοι. This serves as additional reason to believe that the text is basically Alexandrian. First edited by Tregelles in 1861, the text has been re-edited as recently as 1957 (by Greenlee), but probably is due for another examination with the most modern technology.

Manuscript Π (Pi, 041)

Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library Greek 34. Codex Petropolitanus. Formerly owned by Parodus of Smyrna, who was persuaded by Tischendorf to give it to the Tsar of Russia. Von Soden's ε73. Dated paleographically to ninth century. Contains the four gospels with minor lacunae: Matt 3:12–4:18, 19:12–20:3, John 8:6–39. In addition, Scrivener reports that John 21:22–25 are from a later hand.

When Π was first discovered, it was observed that it generally agreed with the Byzantine text, but with certain unusual readings, most of which agreed with K^e. This kinship was later formalized by Von Soden, who declared Π (along with K Y and a number of minuscules such as 265 489 1219 1346) to be members of his I^{ka} group. Von Soden felt this group to be a mix of I and K (Byzantine) texts, with K heavily predominating.

Speedy confirmation of Von Soden's results followed, though the studies (primarily by Lake, New, and Geerlings) were subject to severe methodological flaws. It should be noted, however, that the type was first discovered long before their time; Scholz called K and its relatives a text-type, the Cyprianic. This is exaggerated, since it's much more Byzantine than anything else, but it stands well apart from the Byzantine mass and can be seen even using relatively small samples. I^k, now generally known as Family Π, is a genuine and highly recognizable Byzantine subgroup. The most recent work, that of Wisse, finds Family Π to involve in excess of 100 manuscripts, and breaks it down into two basic groups ($Π^a$ and $Π^b$) plus ten sundry clusters. Of these, $Π^a$ is the largest (65 members) and most significant, containing the two uncials K and Π (both of which Wisse calls core members of the group) and many minuscules. (The other Family $Π^a$ uncial, Y, Wisse places in the group $Π^a$171.) Wisse also places A in the $Π^a$ group (an opinion first stated by the Lake/Geerlings studies), but admits it is a diverging member.

The Π^a group is clearly distinct from the "mainstream" Byzantine text of K^x; in his three chapters of Luke, Wisse notes some three dozen places where Π^a and K^x diverge (apart from passages where neither group formed a fixed reading), out of 196 passages tested. If one takes the readings noted in the footnotes of UBS/GNT, the number is somewhat smaller (on the order of 10–12% of the readings), but still large enough to allow easy recognition of Family Π^a readings. The type is Byzantine, but few Byzantine groups differ so sharply from the Byzantine norm.

The other interesting point is that Π^a is *old*. A is not a perfect member of this group, but it isn't a perfect member of the Byzantine text, either. Still, A attests to the existence of the Byzantine text in the fifth century — and to the existence of Family Π in the same century. The earliest witnesses to the $K^x/K^i/K^1$ group, by contrast, is E of the eighth century. Although Family Π did not prove to be the dominant Byzantine group (K^x certainly provides more manuscripts, and K^r probably does as well), the possibility must be considered that this is the earliest form of the Byzantine text.

About Π itself there is relatively little to add. The Alands, naturally, list it as Category V. Interestingly, however, it has obeli by John 5:4 and 8:3–6 (omitting the earlier portion of the pericope); we also note that Mark 16:8–20, while present and not marked doubtful, are not as fully annotated as the rest of the manuscript.

Manuscript Φ (Phi, 043)

Tirana, Staatsarchiv Nr. 1. Formerly at Berat, hence the name Codex Beratinus. Von Soden's ε17. Dated paleographically to fifth (Scrivener) or sixth (Aland) century (Scrivener reports that it "may probably be placed at the end of the fifth century, a little before the Dioscorides (506 A.D.), and before the Codex Rossanensis." No supporting evidence is offered for this.) Purple parchment. Contains portions of the gospels of Matthew and Mark (the loss of Luke and John may be traced to "the Franks of Champagne."). Matt. 1:1–6:3, 7:26–8:7, 18:23–19:3, and Mark 14:62–end are lacking. Textually, Von Soden classified Φ as I^π, that is, as part of the group which also contains N O Σ This assessment has been all but universally accepted, though assessments of the text of the group itself have varied. The Alands place all four manuscripts of the group (the Purple Uncials) in Category V, and it is certain that they are more Byzantine than anything else. Streeter, however, felt that the group had a "Cæsarean" element (for discussion, see the entry on N), which accords with Von Soden's view that they were members of the I text. Samples do not indicate a clear affiliation with any text other than the Byzantine (it should be noted, however, that their defects have kept the profile method from being applied to any of these manuscripts). Of the four, Φ is generally regarded as being the most unusual — though this may be based primarily on a single reading, the "Western" addition in Matthew 20:28 about seeking what is greater (shared by D a b c d e ff^1 ff^2 hub^{marg} ox theo cur $hark^{marg}$?). Scrivener describes the writing as follows: "The pages have the κεφαλαια marked at the top, and the sections and canons in writing of the eighth century at the side. The letters are in

silver, very regular, and clearly written. None are in gold, except the title and the first line in St. Mark, and the words Πατηρ, Ιησους, and some others in the first six folios. There is no ornamentation, but the first letters of the paragraphs are twice as large as the other letters. The letters have no decoration, except a cross in the middle of the initials O's. The writing is continuous in full line without stichometry. Quotations from the Old Testament are marked with a kind of inverted comma. There are no breathings.... Punctuation is made only with the single comma or double comma.... or else with a vacant space, or by passing to the next line.... Abbreviations are of the most ancient kind." Edited by P. Batiffol in 1887.

Manuscript Ψ (Psi, 044)

Location/Catalog Number

Mount Athos, where it has been as long as it has been known. Catalog number: Athos Laura B' 52

Contents

Ψ originally contained the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse. All of Matthew, as well as Mark 1:1–9:5, have been lost; in addition, the leaf containing Hebrews 8:11–9:19 is lost. The Catholic Epistles have 1 and 2 Peter before James. Ψ is written on parchment, 1 column per page. It has been furnished with Neumes— one of the oldest manuscripts to have musical markings.

Date/Scribe

Usually dated paleographically to the eighth/ninth centuries; the latest editions (e.g. NA[27]) date it to the ninth/tenth centuries.

Description and Text-type

Ψ has an unusually mixed text. Aland and Aland list it as Category III in the Gospels, Acts, and Paul, and Category II in the Catholic Epistles. Von Soden lists it as generally Alexandrian.

In fact the situation is even more complicated than this. In Mark the manuscript is distinctly Alexandrian, of the sort of late, mixed cast we see, e.g., in L; like L, it has the double Markan ending. In Luke the manuscript loses almost all traces of Alexandrian influence and becomes predominantly Byzantine. In John the manuscript is mixed — more Byzantine than anything else, but with significant numbers of Alexandrian readings.

In Acts Ψ is largely Byzantine.

In Paul Ψ is more Byzantine than anything else (it is perhaps the earliest substantial witness to that type), although there are certain Alexandrian readings (which seem to bear a certain similarity to those of P). The Alexandrian element seems to be slightly greater in the later books.

In the Catholics Ψ is again mostly Alexandrian, though with Byzantine influence. The text seems to be of the type found in A 33 81 436.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ6

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since von Soden.

Other Works:

Kirsopp Lake, "Texts from Mount Athos," *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* V (Oxford, 1903), pp. 89–185 discusses this manuscript in some depth

Manuscript Ω (Omega, 045)

Athos, Dionysiou (10) 55. Von Soden's ε61. Dated paleographically to the ninth century (Scrivener says eighth or ninth). Contains the four gospels complete almost complete; part of Luke 1 is missing. Textually, Von Soden classified Ω as K^1, which Wisse modifies to K^x Cluster Ω (which is, however, just another name for the same thing). It has in fact been suggested that Ω is a good standard for K^x. The Alands generally confirm this assessment by placing Ω in Category V.

ב: see 047

ב: see 048

Manuscript 046

Rome, Vatican Library Greek 2066. Soden's α1070; Tischendorf/Scrivener B(r). Contains the Apocalypse complete, along with much other non-Biblical matter (the Biblical text occupies folios 259–278) including homilies of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa. It has been variously dated; Scrivener favours the eighth century, Aland the tenth. The text is of the Byzantine type (so von Soden, who listed it as K, and all experts since); 046 is the earliest manuscript of the main Byzantine group ("a"). The Alands therefore classify it as Category V, though early manuscripts of the Apocalypse are so rare that even a Byzantine uncial deserves special attention. Scrivener describes the writing thus: "the uncials being of a peculiar kind, leaning a little to the right; they hold a sort of middle place between square and oblong characters.... The breathings and accents are *primâ manu,* and pretty correct… " while the punctuation is fairly well evolved.

Manuscript 047

Princeton, New Jersey, University Library Med. and Ren. Mss. Garrett 1. Soden's ε95; original Gregory ב. Contains the Gospels with some mutilations (in Matt. 2–3, 28, Mark 5–6, 8–9, John 12, 14, and breaking off in John 17). Dated paleographically to the eighth or perhaps the ninth century. Textually of no great interest; von Soden places it in I' (with such diverse manuscripts as P Q R Γ 064 074 079 090 0106 0116 0130 0131 4 162 251 273 440 472 485 495 660 998 1047 1093 1295 1355 1396 1604 2430), but the Alands simply list it as Category V (Byzantine), and Wisse corroborates this by placing it in K^x throughout. What interest 047 has is, therefore, derived from its format, for the manuscript is written in the form of a cross (photo in Aland & Aland and in Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible).* It is believed that this is the only continuous-text cruciform manuscript (the lectionaries ℓ^{233} and ℓ^{1635} are also cruciform, and ℓ^{2135} has some cruciform pages. So too the Latin codex Cavensis among others). This format has many drawbacks; it is very wasteful of writing materials (047 has about 37–38 lines per page; of these typically ten reach the full width of the page, with about twelve lines above and fifteen below being slightly less than half the available width. Thus about three-eights of the usable area of the page is blank), and the format makes it harder to use the marginalia. These are no doubt among the reason the format is so rarely encountered. The manuscript has some marginal corrections (including, e.g., one obelizing John 5:4).

Manuscript 048

Rome, Vatican Library Greek 2061. Soden's α1; Tischendorf/Scrivener ב^{ap}. Double Palimpsest (i.e. the biblical text has been overwritten twice), resulting in a manuscript very difficult to read even on the leaves which survive (and the leaves which survive are few — only 21 of what are believed to have been originally 316 folios. The leaves that make up 048 constitute folios 198–199, 221–222, 229–230, 293–303, 305–308 of Vatican Gr. 2061). These surviving leaves contain (according to NA^{27}; other sources give slightly different contents, no doubt based partly on the illegibility of the manuscript) Acts 26:6–27:4, 28:3–31; James 4:14–5:20; 1 Pet. 1:1–12; 2 Pet. 2:4–8, 2:13–3:15; 1 John 4:6–5:13, 5:17–18, 5:21; 2 John; 3 John; Romans 13:4–15:9; 1 Cor. 2:1–3:11, 3:22, 4:4–6, 5:5–11, 6:3–11, 12:23–15:17, 15:20–27; 2 Cor. 4:7–6:8, 8:9–18, 8:21–10:6; Eph. 5:8–end; Phil. 1:8–23, 2:1–4, 2:6–8; Col. 1:2–2:8, 2:11–14, 22–23, 3:7–8, 3:12–4:18; 1 Th. 1:1, 5–6, 1 Tim. 5:6–6:17, 6:20–21, 2 Tim. 1:4–6, 1:8, 2:2–25; Titus 3:13–end; Philemon; Heb. 11:32–13:4. The hand is dated paleographically to the fifth century. The manuscript is one of the very few to be written with three columns per page. Due to the small amount of text, the manuscript's type has not been clearly identified. The Alands classify it as Category II, which is probably about right, but this is on the basis of a mere 44 readings in Paul. Von Soden did not classify it at all. Observation shows that it is clearly not Byzantine; the strongest element is probably Alexandrian, though some of the readings may be "Western."

Manuscript 049

Athos, Codex Lavra A' 88. Tischendorf S^{ap}. Von Soden's α2. Contains the Acts and Catholic Epistles complete, and Paul with some lacunae (lacking 1 Corinthians 5:9–13:7; parts of Ephesians 1–2; parts of Philippians 2–3; and breaks off in 1 Thessalonians 4, lacking all of 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews. So the Alands, anyway; Scrivener has a somewhat different list of lacunae). Dated by modern sources to the ninth century; Scrivener says eighth or ninth. The text, based on the Aland statistics, appears extraordinarily dull; they count only 13 non-Byzantine readings in the whole manuscript, and place it in Category V. Von Soden too called it primarily Byzantine, although he would allow a little I ("Western") influence in Acts.

Manuscript 050

In four parts: Athens, National Library 1371 (2 folios); Athos, Dionysiu (71) 2 (7 folios); Moscow, Historical Museum V. 29, S. 119 (7 folios); Oxford, Christ Church College Wake 2 (3 folios). Tischendorf O^{e} (the Moscow portion), W^{e} (the Oxford portion, John 4:7–14). Von Soden's C^{t1}. Contains John 1:1–4, 2:17–3:8, 3:12–13, 3:20–22, 4:7–14, 20:10–13, 20:15–17. With commentary. Dated to the ninth century by the Alands. With so little text, it is hard to say

much about its contents, but the Alands place it in Category III. Von Soden merely lumped it with the manuscripts containing the "anonymous catena."

Manuscript 053

Munich, Bavarian state library Greek 208, folios 235–248. Tischendorf X^{b}. Von Soden's A^{4}. Contains Luke 1:1–2:40, with a commentary, the text and scholia reported by the Alands to alternate. Von Soden lists it among the manuscripts with Titus of Bostra's commentary. Dated to the ninth century by the Alands. With so little text, it is hard to say much about its contents; the Alands place it in Category V (Byzantine) but with a question mark. Wisse classifies it as K^{x}, which supports this belief. NA^{27} does not bother to cite it fully.

Manuscript 054

Rome, Vatican Library Barberini Gr. 521 (Scrivener says Barberini 225). Tischendorf Y^{e}; Von Soden's ε54. Contains John 16:3–19:41. The original hand is believed to be from about the eighth century. According to Scrivener, it has been retraced "coarsely." The accents and breathings are relatively few and often incorrect; it has a peculiar system of punctuation with up to four points. It has the Ammonian sections but no Eusebian numbers. The Alands put it in Category V (Byzantine) with a question mark, but Von Soden wasn't sure whether it belonged with K or I (although he inclined toward the former), and Scrivener says the text is "midway" between that of A and B, which would imply a manuscript that belongs to about Category III.

Manuscript 055

Paris, National Library Gr. 201. Tischendorf/Scrivener 309^{e}. Dated paleographically to the very end of the uncial period (e.g. Aland lists XI; Scrivener says X-XII). Despite being numbered among the uncials, it is not a true New Testament manuscript, containing rather a commentary with partial text (Chrysostom on Matthew and John, Victor on Mark, Titus of Bostra on Luke). Thus it has not been subjected to textual analysis; Von Soden did not even include it in his catalog (despite listing manuscripts of his A type with even less text), the Alands did not place it in a Category, and Wisse did not profile it. Such minimal evidence as is available indicates, however, that the text is Byzantine. The writing itself, as might be expected of a semi-uncial manuscript variously listed as an uncial and a minuscule, is reported as "very peculiar in its style and beautifully written."

Manuscript 056

Paris, National Library Coislin Gr. 26. Soden's O^{7}; Tischendorf/Scrivener 16^{a}, 19^{p}. Contains the Acts and Epistles complete. Dated paleographically to the tenth century or even after (Scrivener lists the eleventh century). Commentary manuscript. The commentary is described

by Scrivener as “like” that of (the pseudo-)Oecumenius, and of course Soden lists 056 among the Oecumenius manuscripts. The manuscript also includes, according to Scrivener, “a catena of various fathers [and] a life of St. Longinus on two leaves [ix].” Textually, 056 has been little studied; Soden simply listed it as having the Oecumenius text. The Alands correctly place it in Category V (Byzantine). This is elaborated somewhat by Wachtel, who lists it among the manuscripts which are 10–20% non-Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles, pairing it with 0142 (also an Oecumenius manuscript, Soden’s O^{6}) and 1066 (another Oecumenius text, though this one exists only in the Acts and Catholic Epistles; Soden’s $O^{\pi p21}$). That 056 also goes with 0142 in Paul and the Acts is easily demonstrated; indeed, they seem to be closer than we would expect even of Oecumenius texts, and probably go back to a recent common exemplar. In Acts, for instance, the two agree in 184 of 189 test readings (the test readings being of UBS^{3} for which both exist, including a subsingular reading in Acts 28:14, επι, found in 056 0142 pesh). For comparison, 056 agrees with other Byzantine witnesses as follows: L, 127 of 141; P, 172 of 183; 049, 174 of 190, 1241, 170 of 187. The five differences between 056 and 0142 in the test readings in Acts are as follows:

Reading	Text and Supporters of 056	Text and Supporters of 0142
Acts 5:16	εις Ιερουσαλημ D E P *Byz*	Ιερουσαλημ P^{74} א A B 0189 a gig vg
Acts 10:5	ος א E P 33 *Byz*	τινα ος A B C 81 1739 a vg
Acts 11:9	απεκριθη δε φωνη εκ δευτερου εκ του ουρονου P^{45} P^{74} א A 049 81 1739 gig vg	απεκριθη δε μοι φωνη εκ του ουρονου (singular reading, probably a parablepsis for the reading απεκριθη δε μοι φωνη εκ δευτερου εκ του ουρονου of P *Byz*)
Acts 13:42	παρκαλουν τα εθνη εις το P *Byz*	παρκαλουν εις το P^{74} א A C (D) 33 81 1739 *al*
Acts 27:5	καθηλθομεν P^{74} א A B P 33 81 1739 *Byz* gig	καθηλθομεν δι εμερων δεκαπεντε (singular reading, probably derived from the καθηλθομεν δι δεκαπεντε εμερων 614 1518 2138 2147 2412 a h hark**)

Thus it would appear that, if anything, 0142 is the ancestor of 056, but my examination of the data in Hebrews makes it appear more likely they are derived from a common exemplar, with 0142 perhaps copied slightly earlier. A notable peculiarity of both manuscripts is the use of extra iotas at the end of words. Most of these (perhaps all of them) are instances where an iota would normally be found subscripted, but neither manuscript is consistent in this usage.

Manuscript 061

Paris, Louvre MS. E 7332. Tischendorf’s T^{g}; Scrivener’s T or T^{p}; Von Soden’s α1035. Contains a small fragment of 1 Timothy, 3:15–16, 4:1–3, 6:2–4, 5–8, on two leaves, both damaged.

Dated paleographically to the fifth century by most authorities; Scrivener says IV or V. Based on this date, it is very surprising to find the Alands classifying it as Category V — and even more surprising to find them calling it Category V with singular readings (!). They do not make it easy to check the point, however, as 061 is not cited in the Nestle-Aland editions. Nor did Von Soden classify the manuscript. It must be regarded as a small question mark in the manuscript lists.

Manuscript 065

St. Petersburg, Russian National Library Gr. 6 I, folios 1–3. Tischendorf's I(^{1}); Von Soden's ε1. Contains John 11:50–12:9, 15:12–16:2, 19:11–24 on three leaves. Palimpsest; the upper text is a Georgian calendar. This 28–leaf document contains palimpsest fragments of seven different Biblical manuscripts. Dated paleographically to the sixth century by the Alands; Scrivener seems to argue for the fifth. Tischendorf found it in 1853 in St. Saba. It is said to be very hard to read, which perhaps helps to explain why the Nestle-Aland edition does not cite it. Scrivener's data seems to imply a Byzantine text, but Von Soden classified it as H. The Alands, however, relegate it to Category V.

Manuscript 066

St. Petersburg, Russian National Library Gr. 6 II, folio 4. Tischendorf's I(^{2}); Von Soden's α1000. Contains Acts 28:8–17. Palimpsest; the upper text is a Georgian calendar. This 28–leaf document contains palimpsest fragments of seven different Biblical manuscripts. Dated paleographically to the sixth century by the Alands. Von Soden classified it as I^{b}; the Alands place it in Category III. The Nestle-Aland edition does not often cite it, but in five of the six instances where it is cited, it goes against the Byzantine text.

Manuscript 067

St. Petersburg, Russian National Library Gr. 6 III, folios 7–12. Tischendorf's I(^{3}); Von Soden's ε2. Contains Matthew 14:13–16, 19–23, 24:37–25:1, 25:32–45, 26:31–45, Mark 9:14–22, 14:58–70 (with some defects in the Markan leaves). Palimpsest; the upper text is a Georgian calendar. This 28–leaf document contains palimpsest fragments of seven different Biblical manuscripts. Dated paleographically to the sixth century by the Alands. Von Soden classified it as I' in Matthew, I^{α} in Mark; the Alands place it in Category III "influenced by V" (whatever that means).

Manuscript 068

London, British Library MS. Additional 17136, folios 117 and 126. Tischendorf's I^{b}, Scrivener's N^{b}; Von Soden's ε3. Contains John 13:16–17, 19–20, 23–24, 26–27, 16:7–9, 12–13, 15–16,

18–19. Double Palimpsest; the upper texts are Syriac, with the top text being hymns of Severus. Dated paleographically to the fifth century by the Alands; Tischendorf could not decide whether it was fourth or fifth century. Von Soden classified it as H; the Alands place it in Category III. This seems about right; based on the Nestle apparatus, it has some Alexandrian readings, but seems a little more Byzantine than anything else. Its most noteworthy reading may be in John 13:24, where it agrees with B C L 33 892 in reading και λεγει αυτω ειπε τις εστιν against P^{66} א A (D) W *Byz* UBS^3.

Manuscript 085

Currently Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library Greek 714 (formerly at Cairo). Tischendorf's T^k; Scrivener's T^g; Von Soden's ε23. Contains a small fragment of Matthew, 20:3–32, 22:3–16. Dated paleographically to the sixth century by most authorities, though Scrivener allows the possibility of a seventh century date. He notes that the letters resemble Coptic. Textually, it is regarded as Alexandrian; Von Soden lists it as H, while the Alands place it in Category II. A spot check seems to show a mixed manuscript; looking at the places in Matthew 22 where NA^{27} cites 085 explicitly, we find 32 cited readings of 085, of which 16 agree with א, 16 with B, 19 with D, 22 with L, 17 with Θ, and 12 with the majority text; a couple of readings are subsingular.

Manuscript 095 and 0123

Both parts of this manuscript are in Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library. 095 is MS. Greek 17; 0123 is the first folios of MS. Greek 49. 095 is Von Soden's α1002 and Tischendorf/Scrivener G^a; 0123 is Von Soden's α1014 (Gregory 70^{apl}, possibly Scrivener 72^{apl}, though Scrivener's list gives a ninth century date and gives the contents incorrectly. Scrivener also lists it as a Palimpsest, but the Alands simply list it as fragments; one must assume that portions of this manuscript, so fragmented as to be mistaken for a lectionary, are partly palimpsest). Scrivener dates the portion known as 095 (his G or G^a) to the seventh century, but the Alands describe it as being from the eighth. Scrivener reports that 095 was "written in thick uncials without accents, torn from the wooden cover of a Syriac book." 095 contains Acts 2:45–3:8. The portion known as 0123 consists of fragments with parts of Acts 2:22–28. It is difficult to assess the manuscript's type because of its small size. Von Soden listed 095 as H (Alexandrian), and the Alands list it as Category III, while Scrivener admits "a few rare and valuable readings." If we examine the apparatus of Nestle-Aland^{27}, we find the manuscript cited explicitly only six times; in these, it agrees with A and C five times (and with P^{74} in all four readings for which both are extant); with E, Ψ, 33, and 1739 four times; with the Majority Text three times; and with א, B, and D twice. If such a small sample means anything at all, it would seem to imply a late Alexandrian witness.

Manuscript 098

Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia Z' α' 24. Tischendorf R^{p}. Von Soden's α1025. Palimpsest, containing only 2 Corinthians 11:9–19. The upper writing is the *Iliad*. Dated by the Alands to the seventh century; Scrivener (who gives the catalog number as Z' β1) says seventh or eighth. With such a small amount of text, it is hard to assess the manuscript, but von Soden considered it to be non-Byzantine, although he couldn't decide whether it was H or I. The Alands give it the amazing status of a Category I manuscript. This is quite surprising given that they cite it only twice, and neither reading is particularly unusual although neither one is Byzantine.

Manuscript 0120

Rome, Vatican Library Greek 2302. Tischendorf/Scrivener G^{b}; Von Soden's α1005. Palimpsest, six folios (only five of which had been discovered by Scrivener's time), consisting of pp. 65–66, 69–72, 75–76, 79–94 of the upper manuscript (a menaeon). The manuscript consists of Acts 16:30–17:17, 17:27–29, 31–34, 18:8–26. The date of the manuscript is most uncertain; the date listed in Scrivener (apparently from Gregory) is fourth century (with a question mark); the Alands date the manuscript to the ninth century! (In favour of the later date is the fact that the Alands will have examined the manuscript using more modern methods.)

0120 is rarely cited; it is not, e.g., a "constant witness" in the Nestle-Aland text. We are, as a result, largely dependent on the classifications of others. The Alands list 0120 as Category III. Von Soden listed it as I^{b1}, which (if accurate) is very interesting; Ib1 is the group containing witnesses such as 206 429 522. In other words, in Acts, this is a weaker branch of Family 1739. Unfortunately, we must remind ourselves that Von Soden's results are anything but reliable, particularly for fragments. Clearly a more thorough examination is called for.

Manuscripts 0121 and 0243

Location/Catalog Number

0121: London. British Museum Harley 5613.

0243 (Corinthian portion): Venice. San Marco Library 983 (II 181)

0243 (Hebrews portion): Hamburg. Univ. Libr. Cod. 50 in scrin.

Contents

As currently designated (the designations have changed over time):

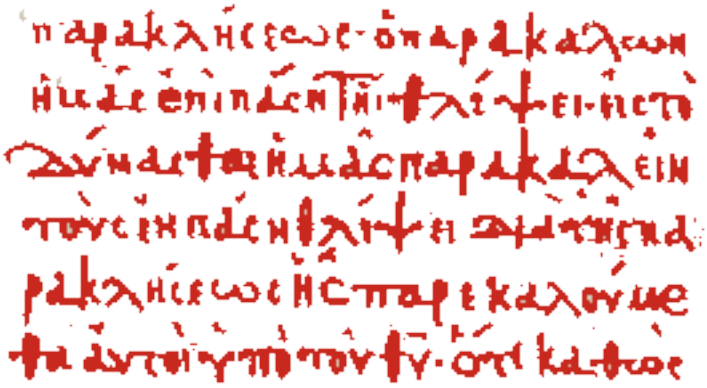
0121 contains 1 Cor. 15:42–end, 2 Cor. 1:1–15, 10:13–12:5

0243 contains 1 Cor. 13:4–end and all of 2 Cor.; Heb. 1:2–4:3, 12:20–end.

Date/Scribe

Henke, who first published the Hebrews portion (the first to be found), believed it to be the two outer leaves of a six-leaf quire. He noted that it uses only a single point as punctuation, except that there is a single instance of an interrogative mark. It has accents and breathings, but no iota adscript. This portion was known as Codex Uffenbachianus, after M. von Uffenbach, its first known possessor, who suggested a seventh or eighth century date. Wettstein gave an eleventh century date. Henke moved this back to the ninth century. Since then, we've reached a sort of compromise: both 0121 and 0243 generally dated to the tenth century (so, e.g. NA[27]).

G. Zuntz, however *(The Text of the Epistles,* London, 1953, pp. 74, 286–287) states that 0121 "is by no means an 'uncial': its letters are the kind of majuscule which scribes of the tenth and later centuries often used to distinguish marginal scholia from the text. In M [=0121] these majuscules contain a significant admixture of minuscule forms.... I should ascribe M to the twelfth century." (See facsimile below.)



Facsimile of 2 Cor. 1:3–5 in 0121 (after Scrivener). Colors are exaggerated and manuscript is enlarged. The unaccented text reads

ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΕΩΣ • Ο ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩΝ
ΗΜΑΣ Ε&Pil ΠΑΣΗ ΤΗΙ ΘΛΙΨΕΙ • ΕΙΣ ΤΟ
ΔΥΑΝΣΘΑΙ ΗΜΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙΝ
ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΗ ΘΛΙΨΕΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑ
ΡΑΚΛΗΣΕΩΣ ΗΣ ΠΑΡΕΚΑΛΟΥΜΕ
ΘΑ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ • ΟΤΙ ΚΑΘΩΣ

Both 0121 and 0243 are written in red ink on parchment, two columns per page, which explains why their contents were confused for a time.

Description and Text-type

Before we can describe these manuscripts, we must describe their recent history. When first two portions of the manuscript (what we now call 0121 and the Hebrews portion of 0243) were discovered, it was observed that both were of about the same date, that both were in red ink, that they had similar texts, and that both were in two columns on parchment. It was naturally assumed that they were the same. In Tischendorf, the fragments were referred to as M. In the Gregory catalog, this became 0121. Then Birdsall observed that the two were in distinct hands. So the Corinthian portion became 0121a and the Hebrews portion 0121b. They were cited in this way in NA[26].

Of course, many manuscripts are written by more than one scribe. This was not really proof that they were originally separate. But more was forthcoming.

At about the same time Birdsall discovered that the two were by different scribes, the larger (Corinthian) portion of 0243 came to light. Some time later, it was realized that this was part of the same manuscript as 0121b. This finally proved that 0121a and 0121b were separate (since 0121a and 0243 overlap). So 0121b was renumbered 0243 and 0121a became 0121. This is how things are cited in NA[27].

If this is confusing, maybe this table will help:

Contents	Tischendorf Symbol	Gregory Symbol	NA[26] symbol	NA[27] symbol
1 Cor. 15:42–end, 2 Cor. 1:1–15, 10:13–12:5	M	0121	0121a	0121
Heb. 1:2–4:3, 12:20–end	M	0121	0121b	0243
1 Cor. 13:4–end and all of 2 Cor.	-	-	0243	0243

In all this shuffling, one thing remains certain: Both manuscripts are closely affiliated with 1739. 0243 is a probably a first cousin (perhaps even a sister); 0121 is a cousin or descendant.

Several striking examples of agreements between 0243 and 1739 may be cited. Perhaps the most noteworthy is Hebrews 2:9, where 0243, 1739*, and perhaps 424**, alone among Greek manuscripts, read ΧΩΡΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ instead of the majority reading ΧΑΡΙΤΙ ΘΕΟΥ.

The reader who wishes further details, including a comparison of the readings of 0121 and 1739, is referred to the entry on 1739 and Family 1739.

Von Soden lists 0121 as H. Aland and Aland list 0121a as Category III and the Corinthian portion of 0243 as Category II (its sister 1739 is, however, a Category I). 0121b is still in their list, and is Category III (!).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

For 0121: von Soden: α1031. Tischendorf: M^{p}

Bibliography

J.N. Birdsall, *A Study of MS. 1739 and its Relationship to MSS. 6, 424, 1908, and M* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1959)

Collations:

Sample Plates:

(I know of none in the standard editions; Scrivener has a facsimile)

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26} as 0121a, 0121b, and 0243.

Cited in UBS^{3} as 0121a, 0121b, and 0243.

Cited in NA^{27} as 0121 and 0243.

Cited in UBS^{4} as 0121 and 0243.

Von Soden, Merk, and Bover cite the "M" portions.

Other Works:

Manuscript 0122

Saint Petersburg, Russian Pubic Library Greek 32. Soden's α1030; Tischendorf/Scrivener $N^{(p)}$; Hort's O^{d}. Two folios containing small fragments of Paul: Gal. 5:12–6:4, Heb. 5:8–6:10. Dated paleographically to the ninth century. Textually, the Alands have assigned it to Category III, but Von Soden listed it as K (purely Byzantine), and the latter assessment seems to be correct. An examination of its readings in Galatians reveals the following departures from the Byzantine text:

Verse	Byzantine reading	0122(*) reads	comment
5:12	αναστατουντες	0122* αναστανταντουντες	singular; probable copying error at some stage
5:14	εαυτον	0122* σεαυτον	Byzantine text divided
5:17	α αν	0122* α εαν	also found in א A *pc*
5:22	δε	0122^{c} omits	singular reading
5:23	εγκρατεια	0122^{c} εγκρατεεια υπομονη	singular reading
5:24	Ιησου Χριστου	0122^{1} Χριστου Ιησου	0122*, 0122^{2} with the Byzantine text
6:1	προληφθη	0122^{c} προσληφθη	singular reading
6:3	τι	0122^{c} omits	subsingular, found also in B* 075^{c}

It will thus be observed that all deviations from the Byzantine text are relatively trivial and generally poorly supported. I have not examined the portion in Hebrews in detail, but the Nestle apparatus makes it appear that 0122 is equally Byzantine there. It will be observed that the manuscript has been fairly heavily corrected (observe the double correction in Gal. 5:24), but the corrections have no more significance than the original text; indeed, in this admittedly tiny sample they seem simply to be more idiosyncratic.

Manuscript 0145

Current location unknown. Formerly at Damascus, Kubbet et Chazne. Von Soden's ε013. Fragment of a commentary manuscript, with the only surviving portion being John 6:26–31. Dated to the seventh century. Von Soden tentatively classified it as a K (Byzantine) manuscript but with a possibility that it was H (Alexandrian). The Alands list it as Category III but offer no statistics about its text. With so little text to work with, we cannot really hope to offer a judgment — but we observe that it has the Byzantine reading in the only place in NA^{27} where it is cited (John 6:29). There are three readings in SQE^{13}; two are Byzantine and one is subsingular. Probably we should simply call the manuscript "unclassifiable."

Manuscript 0212

New Haven, Yale University Library P. Dura 10. 0212 is not technically a New Testament manuscript; rather, it is a fragment of a gospel harmony. It was discovered in the ruins of Dura Europus in 1933. Since Dura was a Roman fortress town sacked by Shapur I of Persia in 256/7 C.E., the assumption is that the manuscript was written in the first half of the third century, though an earlier date cannot be excluded. The fragment was found in an earth embankment believed to have been built for the final defense of the town. It was fairly close to a small Christian chapel, but far enough away that it may have come from some other source.

Physically, the surviving fragment (usually regarded as only a portion of a leaf, though the edges are sharp and some seem to have been cut with a knife) measures 10.5 cm by 9.5 cm. It is written on only one side, and may well have come from a scroll. (The most recent study of the manuscript, D. C. Parker, D. G. K. Taylor, M. S. Goodacre, "The Dura-Europos Gospel Harmony," published in Taylor, *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts,* concludes that it is definitely a scroll, not a codex, based on observations of holes along one edge which seemingly correspond to stitches.) The surviving column originally contained about 30–35 letters per line (with the first five or more letters lost, and with additional damage to certain of the lines). Portions of fourteen lines survive. As noted, it is a gospel harmony, containing phrases seemingly from Matt. 27:56–57, Mark 15:40, 42, Luke 23:49, 50, 51, John 19:38. (So Kraeling, who first edited the manuscript; for this transcription, see e.g. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible,* p. 66. The reconstruction of Parker, Taylor, and Goodacre, found in the article cited above, differs in only a few particulars, though some of the differences are significant). The manuscript has some unusual orthographic features, including the Nominum Sacrum στα — an abbreviation found nowhere else, with uncertain meaning.

0212 has generally been regarded as a fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron, though the small size of the fragment meant that this was never certain. Parker, Taylor, and Goodacre, upon detailed examination and comparison with recent studies, are convinced that the fragment is not Tatianic, but is a fragment of a separate Gospel harmony (perhaps devoted solely to the passion narrative), compiled in Greek from Greek sources.

Since 0212 is not a New Testament fragment, the Alands did not analyse it, and it is too recent to have been analysed by Von Soden. It appears to contain a unique reading in Luke 23:49, referring to the wives of Jesus's disciples. This text is, however, only partly legible.

0243: see 0121 and 0243

Minuscules

Manuscript 1^{eap} and Family 1

Location/Catalog Number

Basel. Catalog number: University Library A. N. IV. 2.

Contents

1 contains the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Usually dated paleographically to the twelfth century. (Scrivener, however, gives the date as the tenth century while noting that Burgon dated it to the twelfth or thirteenth.) Originally contained a set of illuminations, but most of these were extracted by 1862. One of the illustrations is thought to be of the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI (reigned 886–911) and his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus (reigned 911–959), which seems to be the basis for the tenth century date. Scrivener notes that Hebrews is the last book in Paul, and that as bound the gospels appear at the end of the volume. The writing style is described as "elegant and minute," and "fully furnished with breathings, accents, and ι adscript. The initial letters are gilt, and on the first page of each gospel the full point is a large gilt ball." Hatch reports, "Words written continuously and without separation; accents and breathings; ruling with a sharp point; letters pendents; high, middle, and low points, comma, and interrogation point...." It has the Ammonian sections and lectionary notes but not the Eusebian canons.

Description and Text-type

That 1 has a not-entirely-Byzantine text has been known at least since 1516, when Erasmus consulted it to compile the Textus Receptus. For the Gospels, Erasmus worked primarily from 1, 2^{e}, and the vulgate, but he preferred the latter two as 1's text appeared to be aberrant.

In recent centuries, this "aberrant" text came to be recognized as valuable; 1 was, for instance, one of the very few minuscules cited by Tregelles, and Hort mentions it as having a relatively high number of pre-Syrian readings. (All of this, it should be noted, applies only in the gospels; elsewhere 1 appears to be an entirely ordinary Byzantine text.)

A crucial discovery came in 1902, when Kirsopp Lake published *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies.* This work established the existence of the textual family known as "Family 1" or "the Lake Group" (symbolized in NA^{26} as f^{1} and in earlier editions as λ; von Soden calls the group

I^{η}). In addition to these basic four known to Lake (1, 118, 131, 209), we now consider 205, 205^{abs}, 872 (Mark only), 884 (in part), 1582, 2193, and 2542 (in part) to be members of the family. Within the type, 1 and 1582 form a close pair (they also seem to be the best representatives of the family). 205 goes with 209; in fact, Lake thought 205 a descendent of 209; although Wisse disagrees, the only differences between the two seem to be Byzantine corruptions, usually if not always in 205.

The most obvious characteristic of the Lake Group is that these manuscripts place John 7:53–8:11 after John 21:25. In addition, 1 and 1582 contain a scholion questioning the authenticity of Mark 16:9–20.

Von Soden classifies 1 as $I^{\eta a}$ (i.e. Family 1) in the Gospels and I^{a3} in the Acts and Epistles. Aland and Aland list it as Category III in the Gospels and Category V elsewhere. Wisse lists it as a core member of Family 1, and "close to 1582."

This does not settle the question of what sort of text is found in Family 1. Here the name of B. H. Streeter is most important. Streeter, working largely on the basis of data supplied by Lake, proposed that Family 1, along with the Koridethi Codex (Θ), Family 13, the minuscules 28, 565, 700, and the Armenian and Georgian versions, were the remnants of what he labelled the "Cæsarean Text." Streeter's theory, however, has become controversial in recent years, and cannot be discussed here. See the article on Text-Types and Textual Kinship; also the very brief mention in the entry on 13 and Family 13. It might be noted that even Streeter concedes Family 1 to be somewhat more Alexandrian than the other "Cæsarean Text" witnesses.

In fact the relationship between Family 1 and the other "Cæsarean" witnesses is somewhat uncertain. While the other members of the type often do show some sort of special relationship to each other, that of Family 1 to the others is slightly weaker. Streeter would define the "Cæsarean" witnesses in terms of non-Byzantine agreements. The following table shows the percentages of non-Byzantine agreements for certain leading "Cæsarean" witnesses (with B, D, and E thrown in for controls). The table is based on a set of 990 sample readings:

	Θ	Family 1	Family 13
B	145/224=65%	181/249=73%	102/166=61%
D	140/211=66%	110/192=57%	75/141=53%
E	2/5=40%	0/3=0%	4/6=67%
Θ	-	125/156=80%	115/145=79%
Family 1	125/156=80%	-	92/121=76%
Family 13	115/145=79%	92/121=76%	-
28 (Mark)	37/50=74%	34/45=76%	37/39=95%
565	109/127=86%	100/122=82%	63/83=76%
700	87/104=84%	74/98=76%	60/78=77%
arm	135/168=80%	131/167=78%	89/118=75%
geo1	117/156=75%	119/153=78%	81/111=73%

The interpretation of these results is left as an exercise for the reader.

The following offers a brief summary of information about the various members of Family 1:

MS	Date	Location	Catalog #	Soden descrip	Wisse descrip.	Cited in	Comment
1	XII	Basel	University Library A. N. IV. 2	$I^{\eta a}$	1 core; close to 1582	SQE[13], Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels, Acts, Epistles complete.
118	XIII	Oxford	Bodl. Libr. Auct. D. infr. 2. 17	$I^{\eta b}$	1 core	Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels with lacunae; Matt. 1:1–6:2, Luke 13:35–14:20, 18:8–19:9, John 16:25–end from later hands. Many of the leaves are palimpsest, with 118 being the upper writing.
131	XIV?	Rome	Vatican Library Gr. 360	I^{η}	1	Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels, Acts, Epistles complete. Dated to the eleventh century by Birch. “This copy contains many itacisms, and corrections *primâ manu”* (Scrivener).

205(+ 205^{abs})	XV	Venice	San Marco Library 420 (Fondo Ant. 5)	I^{η}	1; pair with 209	SQE^{13}	Old and New Testaments complete. Thought by Lake, and earlier Rinck, to be copied from 209. This is probably not true (Burgon considers 205 and 209 to be descended from the same uncial ancestor), but the two are very close. 205 was copied for Cardinal Bessarion, probably by his librarian John Rhosen.
209	XIV	Venice	San Marco Library 394 (Fondo Ant. 10)	$I^{\eta b}$	1; pair with 205	SQE^{13}, Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	New Testament complete (gospels, acts, epistles are XIV century; r is XV century). Like 205, once belonged to Cardinal Bessarion, who used it at the Council of Florence in 1429. Many marginal notes in vermillion from the first hand. Writing style resembles 1 (Scrivener).
1582	948	Athos	Vatopediu 949	$I^{\eta a}$	1; close to 1	SQE^{13}, Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels complete. Evidently written by the same scribe as 1739.
2193	X			$I^{\eta a}$		Soden, Merk, Bover	Lost.

Note: Von Soden also classified 22 as a member of the Lake Group; however, Wisse considers 22 to be the head of a different group. 872 is considered by von Soden to be part of $I^{\eta b}$, but Wisse finds it to be K^{x}. Two additional Family 1 witnesses found by Wisse, 884 and 2542, are only weak and partial members of the family. These four witnesses are therefore omitted.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ254.

Bibliography

Collations:

Kirsopp Lake, *Codex 1 of the Gospels and its Allies, Texts and Studies,* volume vii, Cambridge, 1902, collates 1 with 118, 131, and 209.

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA[26] and NA[27] for the Gospels (usually as part of f^{1})

Cited, along with 205, 209, 1582, and 2542, in SQE[13].

Family 1 is cited in all the UBS editions.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

Harvard Theological Review, July 1923, offers an article by R. P. Blake and K. Lake on the Koridethi Codex and related manuscripts.

B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (MacMillan, 1924) devotes considerable space to the relations between the various "Cæsarean" witnesses.

Manuscript 1^{r}

Augsburg, University Library Codex I. 1.4.1. Labelled 1 in all previous catalogs, but now renumbered 2814 in the new Aland list. Soden's Av[20]. Contains the Apocalypse only. Twelfth century. Has the Andreas commentary. Noteworthy primarily as the single Greek manuscript used by Erasmus to prepare the Apocalypse of his 1516 New Testament. It now ends (as it did in 1516) with 22:16, δαδ, forcing Erasmus to compile the remaining verses by retranslating the Vulgate. Erasmus borrowed the manuscript from Reuchlin, but it was lost for many years until rediscovered in 1861 by Delitzsch. Hort said of it, "it is by no means.... of the common sort. On the one hand it has many individualisms and readings with small and evidently unimportant attestation: on the other it has a large and good ancient element." Hort associates it with 38 [=2020]. Other scholars have not placed it so high, however; the text (which often cannot be distinguished from the commentary) seems to be fairly typical of the Andreas manuscripts.

Hodges and Farstad, following Schmid, place it in their "M^{e}" group, a subset of the Andreas text containing such manuscripts as 181, 598, 2026, 2028, 2029, 2031, 2033, 2038, 2044, 2052, 2054, 2056, 2057, 2059, 2060, 2065, 2068, 2069, 2081, 2083, 2186, 2286, and 2302.

Manuscript 2^{ap}

Basel, University Library A. N. IV.4. Labelled 2 in all previous catalogs, but now renumbered 2815 in the new Aland list. Soden's α253. Contains the Acts and Epistles complete. Generally dated to the twelfth century, although Scrivener and Burgon list XIII/XIV. Classified as I^{b1} by von Soden, but in Paul (the only section in which Von Soden cites it), this group (which includes such manuscripts as 206, 429, 522, and 1891) is mostly Byzantine. That 2 is mostly Byzantine is confirmed by the Alands, who place the manuscript in Category V. Scrivener notes that it has "short introductions to the books," but these have no more critical value than those found in any other manuscript. Thus the only real interest in 2 is historical; it is the manuscript Erasmus used as the primary basis for his 1516 edition of the Acts and Epistles. (This, at least, is reported by most experts; Gary S. Dykes, however, claims that the Textus Receptus does not contain any of 2's distinctive readings.) Scrivener quotes Hoskier to the effect that his (Erasmus's) binder cut off significant portions of the margin.

Manuscript 4^{e}

Paris, National Library Greek 84. Soden's ε371. Contains the Gospels with minor mutilations (Matt. 2:9–20, John 1:49–3:11). Generally dated to the thirteenth century, although Scrivener and Burgon list the twelfth. Classified as I' by von Soden, but this group (containing among others P Q R Γ 047 064 074 079 090 0106 0116 0130 0131 and a number of undistinguished minuscules) is amorphous; most of its members are heavily if not purely Byzantine. That 4 is mostly Byzantine seems to be confirmed by Wisse; who classifies it as $K^{mix}/K^{x}/K^{x}$. (The Alands do not assign 4 to a Category; this often means that the manuscript is heavily but not quite purely Byzantine.) In the past, Mill considered 4 to have some relationship to the Latin versions and the Complutensian Polyglot; this may, however, be simply an indication that it agreed with the Byzantine text where the latter differs from the Textus Receptus. The manuscript was included in the editions of Stephanus as γ.' It is described as "clumsily written" and has extensive lectionary apparatus.

Manuscript 5

Paris, National Library Greek 106. Soden's δ453. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles complete. Usually dated to the thirteenth century; Scrivener gives twelfth century or later. In the Gospels, Soden lists it as A^{k}; other members of this group include 15, 32, 53, 169, 225, 269, 292, 297, 416, 431, 448, 470, 490, 496, 499, 534, 546, 558, 573, 715, 752, 760, 860, 902, 946,

968, 976, 987, 1011, 1015, 1058, 1091, 1163, 1167, 1171, 1211, 1227, 1291, 1299, 1321, 1439, 1481, 1484, 1498, 1566, 1800, 2142, and 2176 — an undistinguished group of manuscripts which Wisse generally classifies with K^x or its related groups (Wisse classifies 5 itself as Mix/K^{mix}/1519; seven other A^k manuscripts also go with 1519, but many of the rest go with 1167 or have unique texts). That 5 is largely Byzantine is confirmed by the Alands, who in the Gospels place it in Category V. Outside the gospels, 5 is much more interesting. The Alands promote it to Category III, and Von Soden places it in I^{a2} (along with such manuscripts as 467 489 623 927 1827 1838 1873 2143). Some support for Soden't grouping is offered by Richards, as 623 is 5's closest relative in his tests of the Johannine Epistles (so close that they might almost be sisters). The kinship of 5 with 489 927 1827 2143, however, is not notable in Richards's lists; 5 agrees with all of these in the 60% range, which is fairly typical of its agreement with Byzantine manuscripts. Richards classifies 5 and 623 as members of his Group A^3 (family 1739); even by his numbers, however, they are weak members, and should be discarded. Wachtel classified 5 as a distinctly non-Byzantine (40+) manuscript, but without distinguishing its kinship. Scrivener notes that it is "carefully written and full of flourishes." Colossians precedes Philippians. The manuscript was included in the editions of Stephanus as δ'.

Manuscript 6

Location/Catalog Number

Paris. Catalog number: Bibl. Nat. Gr. 112.

Contents

6 contains the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century. Scrivener writes of it, "This exquisite manuscript is written in characters so small that some pages require a glass to read them."

Description and Text-type

The quality of 6 varies in the various parts of the New Testament. In the Gospels it appears to be Byzantine (belonging to family Π; Wisse specifies the subgroup Π6). In Acts it is also primarily Byzantine.

The situation changes in Paul and the Catholic Epistles. 6 still possesses many readings characteristic of the late phases of the Byzantine text, but it also has many distinct readings, many of which it shares with 1739. Noteworthy among these are:

Rom. 3:12 omit ουκ εστιν [B 6 424** 1739]

1 Cor. 1:14 omit τω θεω [א* B 6 424** 1739]

Gal 1:15 omit και καλεσας δια της χαριτος αυτου [P^{46} 6 424** 1739 1881]

Eph. 1:1 omit εν εφεσω [P^{46} א B 6 424** 1739]

Eph. 4:28 omit ταις (ιδιαις) χερσιν [P 6 424** 1739 1881]

Eph. 5:31 omit και προσκολλησεται προς την γυναικα αυτου [6 1739* Origen Jerome]

1 Tim. 3:14 omit προς σε (εν) [(F G) 6 263 424** 1739 1881]

2 Tim. 4:8 omit πασι [D** 6 424** (1739) 1881 lat Ambrst]

Heb. 5:12 omit τινα [075 6 424** 1739 1881]

It will be observed that 6 shares all of these readings with 1739 — and does not consistently agree with anything else. This pattern continues elsewhere; where 6 is non-Byzantine, it agrees with 1739 over 90% of the time. (The connection of 1739 and 6 has been known almost since the discovery of the former, and recently was reaffirmed by Birdsall.)

6 also has a peculiar affinity with 424**; although these manuscripts actually have fewer special agreements with each other than with 1739, this is because they are more Byzantine than 1739. 6 and 424** seem to form their own subgroup within family 1739 (note, e.g., their unique reading ευωχιαις in Jude 12).

Von Soden lists 6 as I^{k} (family Π) in the Gospels and as H in the Acts and Epistles. Wisse's classification as Π6 in Luke makes it a part of a subgroup of $Π^{b}$ also containing 515 and 1310. Aland and Aland list 6 as Category V in the Gospels and Acts and Category III in Paul and the Catholics.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ356. Tischendorf: 6^{e}; 6^{a}; 6^{p}. Cited in Stephanus as ε'.

Bibliography

J.N. Birdsall, *A Study of MS. 1739 and its Relationship to MSS. 6, 424, 1908, and M* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1959)

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited frequently in NA[26] and NA[27].

Cited in UBS[4] for Paul.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

Manuscript 7[e]

Paris, National Library Greek 71. Soden's ε287. Contains the Gospels compete. Generally dated to the twelfth century; Scrivener quotes the eleventh. Classified as $I^{\Phi b}$ by von Soden; other members of this group include 115 179 267 659 827 and parts of 185 1082 1391 1402 1606. It is associated with Family 1424 ($I^{\Phi a}$). Wisse classified 7 as "Cluster 7." This group contains 7, 267 (Soden: $I^{\Phi b}$), 1651 (Soden: K^{x}), and 1654 (Soden: I^{α}). Wisse describes the group as "close to K^{x} in Luke 1 and 10, but.... quite distinct in Luke 20." The Alands do not assign 7 to a Category; this is not inconsistent with Wisse's classification of the manuscript as often but not universally close to K^{x}. Physically, Scrivener describes 7 as having a "very full [lectionary apparatus]" and a metrical paraphrase. It is said to be "[i]n style not unlike Cod. 4, but neater." It is Stephanus's ς.'

Manuscript 13 and Family 13

Location/Catalog Number

Paris. Catalog number: Bibl. Natl. Gr. 50.

Contents

13 contains the Gospels with lacunae: lacking Matthew 1:1–2:20 (two leaves lost), 26:33–52 (one leaf), 27:26–28:9 (two leaves), Mark 1:20–45 (one leaf), John 16:19–17:11 (one leaf), 21:2–end. It is written on parchment, two columns per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century. Scrivener says of its appearance simply "it is not correctly written." Griesbach called it "inelegant," and Ferrer/Abbott admit that there are numerous orthographic errors (though not exceptionally numerous). They say that the number

of itacisms is especially noteworthy (the introduction, p. xii, counts 1523!). On page xiii, they add that the scribe "was somewhat prone to the omission of words, from carelessnes, sometimes even a part of a word being dropped… "

Description and Text-type

It was W. H. Ferrar who first brought widespread attention to 13. In a posthumous work published by T. K. Abbott in 1877, he pointed out the relationship between 13, 69, 124, and 346. For this reason, the group Family 13 (f^{13}) is often called the Ferrar Group (symbolized ϕ; von Soden calls the group I^{ι}).

The most obvious characteristic of the Ferrar Group is that these manuscripts place John 7:53–8:11 after Luke 21:38.

Since the time of Ferrar, many more manuscripts have been added to the Ferrar Group. The list as given in Nestle-Aland consists of 13, 69, 124, 174, 230, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689, and 1709. Von Soden broke the group up into three subgroups, the a subgroup containing 983 and 1689; the b subgroup consisting of 69, (124), 174, and 788; and the c subgroup containing 13, 230, 346, 543, 826, and 828.

The Lakes offered a similar scheme (with slightly different nomenclature, essentially reversing the names of the a and c groups). In Colwell's opinion, this means that Family 13 is not a true "family"; it is a "tribe" within which the Lakes' Group *a* is a family. The Lakes' groups are as follows:

a consists of 13, 346, 543, 826, and 828. These manuscripts are generally very close, and also have on the whole the best text, nearly identical to 826.

b consists of 69, 124, and 788. This group is much more mixed than the a group; and cannot be represented by a single exemplar.

c consists only of 983 (and perhaps the lost 1689), which is very distinct from the other groups.

Wisse makes various adjustments to von Soden's list, associating 174 and 230 with the uncial Λ rather than with Family 13, describing 983 as "weak" in Luke 1, and listing 124 as "weak" in all chapters profiled. Wisse denies the existence of subgroups (p. 106 — although we should note that conclusions based on just three chapters don't prove much), and claims that either 543 or 828 can represent the group as a whole. The studies of Geerlings, and the unpublished work of Geoffrey Farthing, also indicate that 826 stands near the center of the group.

It is widely believed that the Ferrar group is derived from a lost uncial ancestor once located in southern Italy or Sicily (possibly Calabria; see, e.g., the notes on 124, 174, and 346).

In the decades after the Ferrar Group was discovered, it was found to have certain textual affinities with the Lake Group, the Koridethi Codex, and a handful of other minuscules. In 1924, B. H. Streeter suggested that the two groups, plus the Koridethi Codex, the minuscules 28, 565, and 700, and the Armenian and Georgian versions, were the remnants of a "Cæsarean" text-type.

In the following decades, the "Cæsarean" type was further subdivided. Ayuso, for instance, split it into a "pre-Cæsarean" group, containing $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ W (Mark) f^{1} f^{13} 28, and the "Cæsarean" text proper, consisting of Θ 565 700 Origen Eusebius and the early forms of the Armenian, Georgian, and Syriac versions.

This was, in fact, the first step toward what appears to be an unraveling of the "Cæsarean" text. Hurtado has shown, for instance, that $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ and W are not as close to the other "Cæsarean" witnesses as Streeter and Kenyon claimed. (It should be noted, however, that Hurtado at no point addresses Streeter's definition of the "Cæsarean" text; only his own. For a comparison of the non-Byzantine readings of Family 13 with those of other "Cæsarean" witnesses, see the item on 1^{eap} and Family 1.)

For whatever value the information may have, Aland and Aland (who are not enthusiastic about the "Cæsarean" text) rate 13 (and most of the other members of its type) as Category III. The classifications of von Soden and Wisse have, of course, already been covered.

The following table offers a brief summary of information about the various members of Family 13:

MS	Date	Loc.	Catalog Number	Soden descr.	Wisse descr.	Lake descr.	Cited in	Comment
13	XIII	Paris	Nat. Libr. 50	I^{tc}	13	a	SQE[13], Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels with several lacunae. Said to be "not correctly written."
69	XV	Leicester	Records Office 6 D	I^{tb}	13	b	SQE[13], Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	New Testament with lacunae. Lacks Matt. 1:1–18:15. Rapidly and poorly written on bad materials. See separate entry

124	XI	Vienna	Austrian Nat. Libr. Theol. Gr. 188	I^{tb}	weak 13	b	Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels. Missing Like 23:31–24:28. Written on parchment, one column per page. Ferrer/Abbott considers it to be more carefully written than the other manuscripts of the family they studied (p. xvii). Scrivener reports, “The manuscript was written in Calabria, where it belonged to a certain Leo, and was brought to Vienna probably in 1564.”
174	1052	Rome	Vatican Libr. Gr. 2002	I^{tb}	Λ		Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels with several lacunae, including John 8:47–end. Written by a monk named Constantine, and associated with “Georgilas dux Calabriae.”
230	1013 ?	Escorial	Gr. 328 (Y. III. 5)	I^{tc}	Λ		Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels complete, written by a monk/priest named Luke (who miscalculated or miswrote the indiction)

346	XII	Milan	Ambrosian Libr. S. 23 sup	I^{ic}	13 core	a	SQE[13], Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels. Missing John 3:26–7:52. Bought in 1606 in Gallipoli. That is not, note, Gallipoli in Turkey, the site of the World War I battle, but the one in Apulia in Italy. Dr. Ceriani of the Ambrosian Library, who of course had much occasion to examine the volume, thought it was written in Calabria. It is written in a single column of 13 lines per page; some of the writing is badly faded. Ferrer and Abbott, p. xv, report that it shares very many of the scribal peculiarities of 13. It has a peculiar tendency to split compound verbs into a preposition and a simple verb.
543	XII	Ann Arbor	Univ. of Mich. MS. 13	I^{ic}	13 core	a	SQE[13], Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels with several lacunae. Scrivener's 556
788	XI	Athens	Nat. Libr. 74	I^{ib}	13 core	b	SQE[13], Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels. Missing John 21:20–end
826	XII	Grottaferrata	della badia Libr. A a 3	I^{ic}	13 core	a	Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels complete. "A beautiful codex: written probably at Rhegium" (Scrivener)

828	XII	Grottaferrata	della badia Libr. A a 5	Iιc	13	a	Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels complete
983	XII	Athos	Esphigmenu 31	I^{ta}	13	c	SQE[13], Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels. Missing John 11:34–19:9
1689	1200 ?			I^{ta}			Soden, Merk, Bover, Huck-Greeven	Gospels (complete?). **Lost**. Sample plate in Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography* (plate 73).
1709	XII	Tirana	Staatsarchiv Koder-Trapp 15 fol. 141–194	K^{x}				(John only)

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε368.

Bibliography

Collations:

W. H. Ferrar and T. K Abbott, *Collation of Four Important Manuscripts of the Gospels by the late William Hugh Ferrar,* 1877, collated 13, 69, 124, and 346, establishing the Ferrar Group.

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Family 13 is cited in NA^{26} and NA^{27} for the Gospels

Cited, along with 69, 346, 543, 788, and 983, in SQE^{13}.

Family 13 is cited in all the UBS editions.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

B. H. Streeter, T*he Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (MacMillan, 1924) devotes considerable space to the relations between the various "Cæsarean" witnesses.

Kirsopp Lake & Silva Lake, *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group): The Text According to Mark,* Studies & Documents 11, 1941

Jacob Geerlings, *Family 13 — The Ferrar Group: The Text According to Matthew,* Studies & Documents 19, 1961

Jacob Geerlings, *Family 13 — The Ferrar Group: The Text According to Luke,* Studies & Documents 20, 1961

Jacob Geerlings, *Family 13 — The Ferrar Group: The Text According to John,* Studies & Documents 21, 1962 (It should be noted that the Geerlings volumes suffer from significant methodological problems.)

E. C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and its Limitations," 1947, reprinted in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament,* New Testament Tools and Studies IX, 1969, summarizes an attempt to apply Quentin's "Rule of Iron" to Family 13.

E. C. Colwell, "Method in Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," 1958, reprinted in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament,* New Testament Tools and Studies IX, 1969, illustrates the various sorts of textual groupings based on Family 13 among others.

Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark,* Studies and Documents 43, 1981

Manuscript 16

Paris, National Library Greek 54. Soden's ε449. Contains the Gospels with minor mutilations ; Mark 16:6–20 are lost and the manuscript was "never quite finished" — hardly surprising given the complexity of the copying process, as we will see below. The Ammonian Sections, for instance, are supplied only in Matthew and Mark, though the lectionary apparatus extends farther. It has a Latin parallel, but this is much less complete than the Greek. Dated by all authorities to the fourteenth century. Classified as $I^{\beta b}$ by von Soden; other members of this group include 1216 1579 1588. Von Soden considered this group to be weaker than $I^{\alpha b}$ (348 477 1279), but in fact both groups are largely Byzantine. Wisse, in evaluating 16, assigns it to its own group. Of this "Group 16" he remarks, "This group consists mainly of MSS. classified

by von Soden as the weak group of I^{β}. However, the group is not simply a weakened form of Gr. 1216 [=152 184 348 477 513(part) 555 752 829 977 1216 1243 1279 1579 2174 2726], though it stands closer to K^{x}. If there is a relationship between Grs 16 and 1216 in Luke, it is a rather distant one." Other members of Group 16 include 119 217 330 491 578(part) 693 1528 (which Wisse pairs with 16) 1588. Despite Wisse's comments, this group is much more Byzantine than anything else, though the Alands do not place 16 in any Category. Much more interesting than 16's actual text is the appearance of the text. Scrivener calls it "gorgeous and 'right royal,'" and the reason is not hard to see, for the manuscript is written in four colours (as well as being illustrated). Narrative is copied in vermillion; the words of Jesus and of angels, along with the genealogy of Jesus, are in crimson; blue is used for Old Testament quotations and for the speeches of those who might be regarded as sympathetic to Christianity: the disciples, Mary, Zechariah, Elizabeth, Simeon, John the Baptist; the words of evildoers (Pharisees, Judas, the Devil; also the mob) are in black, as are the words of the centurion and the shepherds (it is possible that these are by mistake). Gregory believes that an Armenian had a hand in its preparation, as it has Armenian as well as Greek quire numbers. The quires consist of five rather than the usual four leaves. The manuscript was once owned by the Medicis.

Manuscript 18

Paris, National Library Greek 47. Soden's δ411; Tischendorf/Scrivener 18^{e}, 113^{a}, 132^{p}, $51^{r.}$ Contains the New Testament complete. Dated by a colophon to 1364. Textually it is not noteworthy; the Alands list it as Category V (Byzantine) throughout. This agrees with Von Soden, who lists it as K^{r}, and Wisse, who also describes it as K^{r} in Luke. Wachtel lists it as K^{r} in the Catholics. In the Apocalypse, Schmid places it in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine text headed by 046. In Merk's apparatus, it is part of the K^{1} group, most closely associated with 1835 2039 2138 2200. According to Scrivener, the manuscript has two synaxaria between the Pauline Epistleas and Apocalypse, and otherwise full lectionary equipment, but (typically of Kr manuscripts) does not have the Eusebian apparatus. It was written at Constantinople.

Manuscript 21

Paris, National Library Greek 68. Soden's ε286. Contains the Gospels with slight mutilations. Dated paleographically to the twelfth century (so Aland; Scrivener says tenth). Classified as I^{α} by Von Soden — that is, he regarded it as a mainstream "Western" or "Cæsarean" witness. More recent studies have not supported this classification. Wisse finds the manuscript to be K^{x}, and the Alands affirm this by placing 21 in Category V. The manuscript has pictures and most of the usual marginalia; the synaxarion was added by a later hand.

Manuscript 22

Paris, National Library Greek 72. Soden's ε288. Contains the Gospels with some mutilations (lacking Matt. 1:1–2:2 4:20–5:25, John 14:22–16:27) and dislocated leaves. Dated paleographically to the twelfth century (so Aland, Gregory, Von Soden; Scrivener and Scholz preferred the eleventh). Classified as $I^{\eta b}$, by Von Soden. I^{η} is what we now refer to as family 1; the b group contains the poorer witnesses to the type (118 131 209 872). This view has received partial — but only partial — support from later scholars; Sanders (who published a "New Collation of Codex 22" in *Journal of Biblical Studies* xxxiii, p. 91) noted that Von Soden's collation is inaccurate, but in general supported the classification, and Streeter, while he believed 22 to be "Cæsarean," was not certain it was part of Family 1. The manuscript has a comment about the authenticity of Mark 16:9–20; it is somewhat similar to, but distinctly shorter than, that in 1. The Alands do not place 22 in any Category, implying that they do not regard it as purely Byzantine but also do not regard it as a member of Family 1 or any other noteworthy type. Wisse's conclusion is more interesting; he makes it a core member of the b subgroup of Group 22. Wisse does not analyse the nature of Group 22, but lists 660, 697, 791, 924, 1005, 1278, 1365, 2372, and 2670 (part) as members of 22a while listing 22, 134, 149, 351 (part), 1192, and 1210 as members of 22b. He also lists some seemingly related groupings. Describing 22 itself, Scrivener reports that it is a "beautiful copy, singularly free from itacisms and errors from homoeoteleuton, and very carefully accentuated, with slight illuminated headings to the gospels." The Eusebian apparatus is incomplete, and it lacks lectionary equipment.

Manuscript 27

Paris, National Library Greek 115. Soden's ε1023. Contains the Gospels with slight mutilations; in addition, the text has been lost from John 18:3, being replaced by a supplement (on paper) which Scrivener dates to the fourteenth century. The main run of the text is dated paleographically to the tenth century (so Gregory and Aland; Scrivener says the eleventh). Classified by von Soden as $I^{\Phi r}$; this is part of the amorphous group containing also Family 1424 ($I^{\Phi a}$) as well as the groups headed by 7 and 1010. This classification is largely affirmed by Wisse, who lists 27 as a member of M27 (Wisse catalogs two basic M groups, M27 and M1386, along with a number of subgroups). Wisse lists M, 27, 71, 248 (part), 447 (part), 518, 569, 692, 750, 830 (part), 1914 (part), 1032 (part), 1170, 1222, 1228 (part), 1413, 1415, 1458, 1626, 1663 (part), and 2705 as members of M27. (Note that few of the members of Soden's other I^{Φ} groups go here; Von Soden's $I^{\Phi r}$, corresponding to Wisse's M groups, stands distinct). It should be kept in mind that the M groups are still Byzantine; the Alands place 27 in Category V. Physically, 27 has pictures and most of the usual marginalia including the Eusebian apparatus; the lectionary tables were added later, and Scrivener reports that it has been heavily corrected.

Manuscript 28

Location/Catalog Number

Paris. Catalog number: Bibl. Nat. Gr. 379.

Contents

28 contains the gospels with lacunae (missing Matt. 7:19–9:22, 14:33–16:10, 26:70–27:48, Luke 20:19–22:46, John 12:40–13:1; 15:24–16:12, 18:16–28, 20:19–21:4, 21:19–end). John 19:11–20:20, 21:5–18 are from a later hand.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the eleventh century (the added leaves are from the fifteenth century). 28 is written on parchment, one column per page. Scrivener says it was "most carelessly written by an ignorant scribe;" Streeter too calls the writer "ill-educated." Hatch comments, "Words written continuously without separation; accents and breathings; ruling with a sharp point, letters pendent; high and middle points, comma, colon (:), and interogation point; initials red; initials at the beginning of books ornamented with red, blue, green, and brown… " It has a synaxarion, but the lectionary indications are from a later hand. The Eusebian apparatus appears original.

Description and Text-type

Von Soden classifies 28 as I^{α} — i.e. among the primary "Western/Cæsarean" witnesses. However, Aland and Aland remark that it is "Category III in Mark only; elsewhere V." Wisse generally agrees; although he labels 28 "mixed" in Luke 1, he puts it with K^{x} in Luke 10 and 20.

There is little doubt that most of 28's non-Byzantine readings are in Mark (there are a few in John); in my sample of 889 test readings for which 28 exists, only 150 are non-Byzantine, and 92 of these are in Mark.

But what is this relatively non-Byzantine text of Mark? Streeter proposed that it was "Cæsarean;" Ayuso further classified it as "pre-Cæsarean" (along with P^{45} W (Mark) f^{1} f^{13}). The "Cæsarean;" text has, however, come under severe attack in recent decades (though the crucial study, that of Hurtado, does not cite 28). Therefore it is perhaps useful to cite the agreement rates of 28 — in both overall and non-Byzantine agreements — for Mark (the data set is the same as that cited above. In Mark, 28 exists for 211 of the readings).

	Overall Agreements	Non-Byzantine Agreements	Near-singular Agreements
א	87/211=41%	30/52=58%	3
A	117/211=55%	[4/5=80%]	0
B	88/211=42%	29/49=59%	1
C	84/167=50%	14/23=61%	1
D	79/211=37%	31/50=62%	3
E	125/211=59%	[0/0= —]	0
K	121/210=58%	[2/3=67%]	0
L	93/203=46%	26/47=55%	0
W	110/204=54%	41/55=75%	7
Γ	108/187=58%	[1/2=50%]	0
Δ	103/211=49%	23/44=52%	1
Θ	117/211=55%	37/50=74%	6
f^{1}	145/210=69%	34/45=76%	4
f^{13}	147/211=70%	37/39=95%	4
33	83/158=53%	11/20=55%	1
565	126/210=60%	46/55=84%	4
700	124/211=59%	28/36=78%	5
892	97/211=46%	19/35=54%	0
1071	122/210=58%	12/17=71%	1
1342	111/209=53%	22/32=69%	0
1424	129/211=61%	11/14=79%	1
a	74/172=43%	29/42=69%	1
b	64/160=40%	25/44=57%	1
f	65/154=42%	10/14=71%	0
ff^{2}	78/185=42%	23/40=58%	0
k	37/99=37%	15/22=68%	0
vg^{ww}	92/188=49%	10/19=53%	0
sin	86/163=53%	30/42=71%	3
sa	80/165=48%	23/35=66%	0
bo	90/178=51%	25/42=60%	0
arm	92/178=52%	28/40=70%	1
geo^{1}	95/167=57%	34/49=69%	2

I would draw attention particularly to all three rates of agreement with f^{13}, and also to the rate of near-singular agreements with 565. Whatever the type is called, there does appear to be kinship here. On the face of it, a common ancestral type between 28 and f^{13} seems nearly

certain. Whether this was related to Θ, etc. is less clear, though the data does seem to lean that way.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε168.

Bibliography

Collations:

Kirsopp Lake & Silva Lake, *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group): The Text According to Mark,* Studies & Documents 11, 1941 (Mark only)

Sample Plates:

Hatch (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA[26] for all four gospels, but in NA[27] only for Mark.

Cited by Von Soden, Merk, and Bover for the gospels.

Other Works:

B. H. Streeter, T*he Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (MacMillan, 1924) devotes considerable space to the relations between the various "Cæsarean" witnesses (though 28 receives relatively little attention).

Manuscript 33

Location/Catalog Number

Paris. Catalog number: Bibl. Nat. Gr. 14.

Contents

33 originally contained the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse (as well as the LXX prophets, not including Daniel). Mark 9:31–11:11, 13:11–14:60, Luke 21:38–23:26 have been lost. In addition, the manuscript has suffered severely from damp; Tregelles said that, of all the manuscripts he collated (presumably excluding palimpsests), it was the hardest to read. The damage is worst in Acts, where some readings must be determined by reading the offprint on the facing page. In addition, Luke 13:7–19:44 are on damaged leaves and contain significant lacunae. 33 is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the ninth century (so Omont, Von Soden, Aland; Scrivener suggests the eleventh, while Gregory thought the prophets and gospels to come from the ninth century and the rest from the tenth). Several scribes seem to have been involved; Von Soden suggests that one wrote the Prophets and Gospels, another the Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Romans, and a third the remainder of Paul. Hatch supports this conclusion. The text supports this opinion in part; the manuscript changes type dramatically between Romans and 1 Corinthians. Hatch notes, "Words written continuously without separation; accents and breathings; ruling with a sharp point; letters pendent; high, middle, and low points and comma; initials brown.... O.T. quotations sometimes indicated; numbers and titles of chapters; no Ammonian sections or Eusebian canons...." The Gospels have superscriptions and subscriptions; the Acts and Epistles have superscriptions but only occasional subscriptions and no στιχοι.

Description and Text-type

33 was christened "the queen of the cursives" in the nineteenth century. At that time, it was without doubt the most Alexandrian minuscule text of the New Testament. Today its title as "best minuscule" may perhaps have been usurped for individual sections (892 is perhaps slightly more Alexandrian in the Gospels; 81 and 1175 rival it in Acts; in the Epistles, 1739 is at least as good and more interesting). But overall there is no minuscule with such a good text over so many books.

In the Gospels, 33 is mostly Alexandrian, of a late type, with a heavy Byzantine mixture (the extent of which varies from section to section). Wieland Willker, following a detailed analysis, is of the opinion that it has most of the major Byzantine variants but few of the minor, which he believes means that it an ancestor started with an Alexandrian text but was corrected very casually toward the Byzantine text (the corrector changing only those readings he noticed on casual inspection to be incorrect). This matches my own unstatistical impression.

In Acts, it is Alexandrian, though with a significant mixture of Byzantine readings. It appears closer to A than to א or B. It is very close to 2344; the two almost certainly have a common ancestor. One might almost suspect 33 of being the ancestor of 2344 if it weren't for their differences elsewhere.

In Paul the manuscript falls into two parts. Romans, which is not in the same hand as the other books, is mostly Byzantine; here as in Acts, Davies believes it to be akin to 2344. Elsewhere in Paul, 33 is purely Alexandrian, with almost no Byzantine influence. It is, in fact, the closest relative of א, agreeing with that manuscript even more than A does.

In the Catholics, 33 is again purely Alexandrian; here it aligns most closely with A. These two are the main representatives of the main phase of the Alexandrian text, which also includes (in more dilute form) 81, 436, Ψ, bo, etc.

Von Soden lists 33 as H. Wisse lists it as Group B ("weak in [chapter] 1"). Aland and Aland list 33 as Category II in the Gospels and Category I elsewhere.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ48. Tischendorf: 33^{e}; 13^{a}; 17^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

Frequently collated in the nineteenth century (e.g. by Grisbach, Scholz, Tregelles); given the state of the manuscript, there is a real need for a modern collation using present-day resources.

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 page — but this is of the ending of Romans, which is from the less valuable hand)

Hatch (1 page)

Facsimile in Scrivener

Editions which cite:

Cited in all critical editions since Von Soden, and frequently in Tischendorf.

Other Works:

M. Davies, *The Text of the Pauline Epistles in MS. 2344* (Studies & Documents 38, 1968) briefly discusses the relationship of 33 with 2344.

Manuscript 35

Paris, National Library Coislin Greek 199. Soden's δ309; Tischendorf/Scrivener 35^{e}, 14^{a}, 18^{p}, 17^{r}. Dated paleographically to the eleventh century. Contains the entire New Testament, without lacunae but with fairly heavy corrections. Von Soden classifies it as K^{r} in the Gospels (based probably on the marginalia), and Wisse confirms that it belongs to this group. Wisse places it (or, more specifically, the first hand) in subgroup 35 along with 141, 170, 204, 394, 402, 516c, 521, 553, 660c, 758*, 769, 797, 928, 1250, 1482, 1487, 1493, 1559, 1572, 1600,

1694*, 2204, 2261, 2554. (It is slightly peculiar to note that Wisse attributes the K^r recension to the twelfth century while accepting the eleventh century date for 35.) In the Acts and Epistles, Von Soden lists 35 as part to I^{b2}, though he cites it only in Paul (where the members of I^{b2} include 43 216 323 336 440 491 823 1149 1872 2298). This more or less corresponds to the judgement of the Alands, who do not place the manuscript in a Category (which usually implies a manuscript very strongly but not quite purely Byzantine). In the Apocalypse Von Soden places it in I^{a3}; Schmid places it in the "c" or Complutensian branch of the Byzantine text with manuscripts such as 432 757 824 986 1075 1740 1957 2061 2352 (compare Merk's K^c group). Physically, like most K^r manuscripts, it has extensive marginalia, including substantial lectionary equipment.

Manuscript 38

Paris, National Library Coislin Greek 200. Soden's δ355; Tischendorf 38^e, 19^a, 377^p; Scrivener 38^e, 19^a, 341^p. Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles with lacunae (lacking Matt. 14:15–15:30, 20:14–21:27, Mark 12:3–13:4). Von Soden classifies it as I^k in the Gospels, but Wisse lists it as K^x (Cluster 1053 in chapters 1 and 20; other members of this group include 31, 113(part), 298, 407(part), 435, 552(part), 1053, 1186(part), 1288(part), 1578(part), 2141(part), and 2724(part)). The Alands have little to add to this; they do not place 38 in a Category (which generally means that it is heavily but not purely Byzantine), but we are not told whether it is non-Byzantine in some areas or in all (Wachtel classifies it as 10–20% non-Byzantine in the Catholics, but tells us no more). In the Acts and Epistles, von Soden lists the manuscript as a member of I^{a3} (the largest and most amorphous of the I groups, consisting largely of late Alexandrian witnesses with moderate to heavy Byzantine overlay). In Paul, it is cited after 1319 2127 256 263, implying that it may be a weak member of Family 2127 (Family 1319; see the entry on 365). In the Acts and Catholic Epistles, it still is listed with 1319 and 256; these manuscripts, however, have little if any value outside Paul. The manuscript has an interesting history; it was written for the Byzantine Emperor Michael Paleologus (reigned 1259–1282), and was given to the French King Louis IX (St. Louis, reigned 1226–1270, who died of the plague while on his way to lead what would be the Eighth Crusade). Scrivener calls it "beautiful"; it is illustrated, but has only limited marginal equipment (Ammonian sections but no Eusebian apparatus or lectionary data).

Manuscript 42

Lost. Formerly Frankfurt on the Oder, Gymnasium MS. 17. α107; Tischendorf/Scrivener 42^a, 48^p, 13^r. A single leaf of a lectionary was also bound in this manuscript; this is Gregory 923; Tischendorf/Scrivener 287^{evl}, 56^{apl}. Dated paleographically to the eleventh century. Contained the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation with lacunae; Acts 2:3–34, 2 Pet. 1:1–2, 1 Jo. 5:11–21, Rev. 18:3–13 were lost before the rest of the manuscript was catalogued. Acts 27:19–34 were a

supplement from another hand. Von Soden classified 42 as K^c in the Acts and Paul; K in the Catholic Epistles, and I^{o2} in the Apocalypse. Schmid placed it in the in the main or "a" group of Apocalypse manuscripts — the chief Byzantine group, headed by 046. Beyond this we cannot add much, since the manuscript is lost; the Alands were obviously unable to assign it to a Category. Scrivener describes it as "carelessly written, with some rare readings." Its text is said to resemble that of 51 and the Complutensian Polyglot; this appears to confirm Von Soden's classification in part, as 51 is also a K^c manuscript.

Manuscript 43

Paris, Arsenal 8409, 840. Soden's ε107, α270; Tischendorf/Scrivener 43^e, 54^a, 130^p. Variously dated; Scrivener lists the whole as eleventh century, Soden lists the gospels as eleventh and the rest as twelfth; Aland lists both parts as twelfth century. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles (in two volumes with slightly different formats). Von Soden classifies it as K^x in the Gospels. Wisse concurs, specifying that it is part of Cluster 43 (15, 43, 680, 1163, 1350, 1364, 1592, 2195(part), 2420, 2539) and pairs with 2420. The Alands do not explicitly concur, as they do not place the manuscript in any Category — but this is probably based on the text of the epistles, not the gospels. In the Acts and Epistles, von Soden classifies 43 as I^b (and cites it with I^{b2} in Paul; the members of this group, however, are not particularly distinguished). Wachtel lists it as having between 10% and 20% non-Byzantine readings in the Catholics. Scrivener reports that, in the Gospels, the Eusebian apparatus is from the first hand but the lectionary notes are later; he speculates that it was written at Ephesus.

Manuscript 59

Cambridge (England), Gonville and Caius College MS. 403. Von Soden's ε272. Gregory gave the date as XIII; Scrivener says XII; James lists it as "Cent. xii, xiii, finely written." Scrivener, while noting that Tischendorf considered it to contain a "textu notabili," says that it is carelessly written; he counts 81 instances of *homoioteleuton*. Contains the Gospels complete, although the pages (according to James) are misnumbered. The manuscript seems not to have been finished; although the first pages (with the prologue to Matthew) are missing, the first page appears to have left a space for an illustration, and this was never supplied. (Illustrations of Mark and Luke are in the text; that of John seems to have been removed.) There are 237 surviving pages (plus an added page); there are 23 lines per page. The first surviving page was written in red ink. The manuscript appears to have had an interesting history. James says that it was "Doubtless one of the books left by Robert Grosseteste to the Franciscans of Oxford," (Grosseteste being the famous and controversial Bishop of Lincoln who died in 1253). James believes that at least one of the comments in the margin was written by Grosseteste himself. James notes that "Throughout the book are headlines in Latin, and chapter numbers, of cent. xiii. There are also interlineations in a similar hand in Latin." Thus the manuscript was

probably copied in the West, and certainly came to England at an early date. It was given to Cambridge by Thomas Hatcher in 1567.

In addition to Grosseteste's marginal scribbling, there are several other marginal addenda, some quite interesting — e.g. on page 2 we find the Latin names "Ioram and Ioatham" added to Matthew's genealogy of Jesus. Rendel Harris thought that the writer of some of the interlinear comments also wrote commented on a Greek psalter in the Corpus Christi library. Scrivener published a collation in 1893 in Adversaria Critica Sacra.

Von Soden classifies 59 as Kx, which Wisse amends slightly to $K^{mix}/K^{x}/K^{x}$. The Alands do not classify it, implying that it is not purely Byzantine but clearly heavily influenced by the Byzantine text. It is perhaps not of great value to New Testament textual critics, but might well be worthy of more examination by church historians.

Manuscript 60

Cambridge, University Library Dd. IX. 69. Soden's ε1321, α1594; Tischendorf/Scrivener 60^{e}, 10^{r}. Contains the Gospels and Apocalypse complete, though probably written separately (Scrivener reports that "[t]he Gospels appear to have been written in the East, the Apocalypse in the West of Europe.") A colophon dates it to 1297, but this probably applies only to the Gospels; the Apocalypse appears more recent. Von Soden classifies it as K^{x} in the Gospels, but Wisse elaborates this to Cluster 1685, "consisting of MSS 60, 1454, and 1685, [and] closely related to Cl 7 and K^{x} Cl 1084." Thus, although the manuscript is perhaps not purely K^{x}, it is strongly Byzantine, which the Alands support by classifying it as Category V. In the Apocalypse it is also Byzantine; Von Soden places it in I^{a7}, with manuscripts such as 432 2067; Schmid places it in the "c" or Complutensian branch of the Byzantine text with manuscripts such as 35 432 757 824 986 1075 1740 1957 2061 2352 (compare Merk's K^{c} group). Physically, Scrivener reports that it is an elegant copy, that it has lectionary apparatus (added later), and that it has the Ammonian but not the Eusebian apparatus. In the Apocalypse, "[it] has a few scholia from Arethas about it."

Manuscript 61

Dublin, Trinity College A 4.21. Soden's δ603; Tischendorf/Scrivener 61^{e}, 34^{a}, 40^{p}, 92^{r}. Contains the New Testament complete. Generally dated to the sixteenth century (though Scrivener admits that a fifteenth century date is possible on paleographic grounds, and an early scholar by the name of A. Clarke suggested the thirteenth century. Someone named Martin who worked in the seventeenth century in fact suggested an eleventh century date. But these early dates are surely ruled out by the fact that it uses the Latin chapter numbering as well as the Greek). Its text is not of particular note; Von Soden classifies it as K^{x}, and there is no reason to doubt this (though Wisse did not profile it due to its late date). The Alands place it in Category

V in the Gospels and Acts (confirming that it is at least Byzantine if not a member of K^x); in the Epistles and the Apocalypse they raise it to Category III. That it is non-Byzantine in the Apocalypse is confirmed by Schmid (though Von Soden listed it as a Koine witness); it is close to 69 (though not, as Dobbin thought, a copy of that manuscript, except perhaps in the Apocalypse; Harris declares that some readings were copied from 69 to the margin of 61 and admist a "suspicion almost amounting to certainty that in the Apocalypse the Montfort Codex [61] is an actual copy of the Leicester MS. [69]"). What is noteworthy about this manuscript, however, is not its text (which is at best mildly interesting) but the historical use to which it was put. 61 is the manuscript which was presented to Erasmus to force him to include the "three heavenly witnesses" passage (1 John 5:7–8) in his third edition of the Textus Receptus. It is believed that the codex was written for this express purpose, and in some haste; at least three and possibly four scribes were involved in the project (the gospels having quite likely been written *before* Erasmus's edition was published, then the Acts and Epistles added to confute him; the Apocalypse may be later still; a date of around 1580 has been conjectured for it). Dobbin thought the Acts and Epistles might have been copied from 326, although the latter manuscript seems somewhat more interesting than 61. It has also been supposed that the gospels were taken from 56, but as 56 is a K^r manuscript, and manuscripts of that type are extremely similar. it is possible that another copy of that text was used. The haste with which 61 was written is perhaps evidenced by its lack of lectionary apparatus (though it has the κεφαλαια and Ammonian/Eusebian apparatus) and by the number of later corrections it required. It has been said that the only page of the manuscript to be glazed is that containing 1 John 5:7–8, but in fact the paper is glazed throughout; it is simply that so many readers have turned directly to that passage that the wear and tear has caused the glazing to be visible on that page as on no other.

Manuscript 66

Cambridge, Trinity College O.viii.3. Soden's ε519. Contains the Gospels complete. Estimates of its date vary widely; Scrivener offers the twelfth century, the Alands the fourteenth, von Soden the fifteenth. M. R. James in his catalog of the Trinity manuscripts of class O says "Cent. xv. late, with neat but not good pictures and ornaments. The hand is very good." Textually, Von Soden classifies it as K^r, and Wisse concurs though he notes that it has a "large surplus." The Alands, unsurprisingly, place it in Category V. It is unusual for a K^r manuscript in that it has the Ammonian and Eusebian apparatus. It contains ten blank pages, on five consecutive leaves (for some additional material which was not supplied?). They follow the Eusebian tables. Scrivener believes that two later hands have worked on it, the earlier making some corrections in the text while the later added some scholia in the margin. Frankly it seems a thoroughly unexceptional manuscript.

Manuscript 69

Location/Catalog Number

Leicester. Catalog number: Town Museum Cod. 6 D 32/1

Contents

69 contains the entire New Testament with many lacunae. Missing Matt. 1:1–18:15, Acts 10:45–14:17 (the manuscript skips from Acts 10:45 to 14:17 without break; it would appear the scribe did not realize there was a defect in his exemplar here!), Jude 7–25, Rev. 19:10–22:21; Rev. 18:7–19:10 are fragmentary. It appears, from the quire numbers, that the Gospels originally stood at the end of the codex. The manuscript also contains five pages of assorted information about church history and doctrine.

Date/Scribe

The scribe is known from his other writings to have been Emmanuel, a former resident of Constantinople who spent the second half of the fifteenth century in England copying Biblical and classical texts. M. R. James, in the *JTS* article cited in the Bibliography, discovered this fact In 1903/1904. Rendel Harris had already reported that the scribe of 69 had written Psalters at Cambridge (Gonville and Caius 348 and Trinity College O.3.13), an Aristotle at Durham (C.I.15), a Plato, also at Durham (C.IV.2). James was able to identify this writing with that of the Leiden MS. Voss. Graec. 56, which says it was written by Emmanuel: εγω εμανουελ απο της κωνσταντινουπολεως διδωμι ταυτην την βιβλεω(vid.) τω αιδεσιμωτατω πατρι και κυριω γεωργιω αρχιεπισκοπω της εβορακου — George archbishop of Eboracum=York. James later identified two books at Oxford's Corpus Christi college as also being by Emmanuel.

Dated paleographically to the fifteenth century, which means that the Archbishop of York involved was George Neville. This means that 69 was probably written in the period 1465–1472, the time of Neville's episcopate (a surprising gift to such a man, since Neville was a very political prelate, born *c.* 1432, appointed to his first church office in 1446, made Bishop of Exeter in 1455, and Archbishop of York in 1465 even though still in his early thirties! He was deposed in 1472 because of his politics — his brother was Warwick the Kingmaker, killed in 1471 while in rebellion — and died in 1476). James, in fact, goes so far as to date 69 to the precise year 1468. James suspects that the two classical manuscripts at Durham were written while Neville was still in power and Emmanuel worked for him, while the manuscripts at Cambridge were made after Neville's deposition. James suspects Emmanuel moved to Cambridge at that time and produced his later works there.

Emmanuel's writing style is absolutely peculiar; epsilons closely resemble alphas (even Harris, who generally defends the scribe, admits that "the recumbent ε... has given sometimes the impression that the whole of the writing was back-handed"), and accents are often placed over consonants rather than vowels. Acute and grave accents are confused and hard to distinguish. Errors are also common; Scrivener counted 74 omissions of various sorts, and many words interrupted in the middle. The scribe also used the Nomina Sacra in peculiar ways; Ιησους is consistently spelled out until John 21:15, when contractions begin to be used sporadically. The manuscript appears to have been written with a reed. Scrivener also remarks, "Though none of the ordinary divisions into sections, and scarcely any liturgical marks, occur throughout, there is evidently a close connection between Cod. 69 and the church service books, as well in the interpolations of proper names, particles of time, or whole passages (e.g. Luke xxii. 43, 44 placed after Matt. xxvi.39) which are common to both… " Ferrer/Abbott amplifies: "besides [a strange list of sections], there is no liturgical matter whatever, no division into sections, or Eusebian canons, or notes about lessons, except a marginal mark or two, and a few words, which are often illegible, scribbled at the foot of the first page of each leaf."

Ferrer/Abbott adds, "Many of the changes met with in this MS. arise from inversion of order, the substitution of simple for compound words, and *vice versâ.* 'A corrector's hand,' adds Dr. Scrivener, 'has been busy throughout this copy, whom Dr. Dobbin considers to have been the original scribe. I have deemed the changes to be *secundâ manu,* but nearly as old as the first."

A number of marginal notes ("too many," Scrivener acidly remarks) are written in the hand of William Chark, who owned the manuscript probably in the late sixteenth century. Chark, according to Harris, was a cleric who was expelled from his post for anti-Episcopal views.

69 is written on a mix of paper and parchment. Abbott/Ferrer, probably based on Scrivener, speculate that the scribe had a limited supply of parchment and estimated how much paper would have to be added to allow enough material for a whole codex. As a result, the quires are usually of five sheets rather than four, with two parchment and three paper sheets per quire, the parchment leaves being on the outside of the quire. The paper is very poor — so bad that one side of four of the paper leaves had to be left blank; Harris reports in addition that it has proved impossible to trace. The manuscript has one column per page. The books seem to have originally been in the order Paul (with Hebrews last), non-Biblical materials, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, Gospels.

Description and Text-type

The text of 69 varies significantly from section to section. In the Gospels it was identified by Ferrar with Family 13, and this has been affirmed by everyone since (Wisse classifies it as 13, and von Soden put it in I^{b}). However, some have thought it one of the best Family 13 manuscripts, and others count it one of the poorer. Probably the peculiar readings generated

by scribal errors had something to do with this. Within the Ferrar group, it has been placed in the “b” group (along with 174 and 788) by scholars from von Soden and Lake to Colwell. The Alands, interestingly, classify 69 as Category V (Byzantine) — despite the fact that its profile (134^{1} $63^{1/2}$ 22^{2} 50^{s}) seems to be fairly typical for the Ferrar Group (e.g. 13 is 150^{1} $71^{1/2}$ 31^{2} 54^{s}; 346 is 172^{1} $82^{1/2}$ 24^{2} 53^{s}).

In the Acts even Scrivener concedes the text to be “less valuable.” Von Soden classes it as I^{a3}, but places it among the lower members of the group. The Alands again classify it as Category V.

It is generally agreed that 69 and 462 are closely akin in the Pauline Epistles. Their combined text is, however, only slightly removed from the Byzantine. The Alands classify 69 as Category III in Paul (they do not categorize 462). Von Soden places 69 and 462 next to each other in I^{a3}. Davies links 462 (and so by implication 69) with 330, 436, and 2344; her technique, however, makes these results questionable. There is as yet no clear evidence that 69 and 462 should go with any of the stronger members of the I^{a3} group, such as Family 330 or 365 and Family 2127.

In the Catholics the Alands again classify 69 as Category V, and von Soden again classifies it as I^{a3}. Wachtel lists it as having 10–20% non-Byzantine readings. Richards in the Johannine Epistles classifies it as M^{w}, which makes it a mixed manuscript that does not seem to have any close relatives. This seems to conform with the results of Wachtel.

In the Apocalypse, the Alands classify 69 as Category V. Von Soden lists it as I’, grouping it with 61 and 046.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ505. Tischendorf: 31^{a}, 37^{p}, 14^{r}

Bibliography

Collations:

W. H. Ferrar and T. K Abbott, *Collation of Four Important Manuscripts of the Gospels by the late William Hugh Ferrar,* 1877, collates 13, 69, 124, and 346 in the Gospels. Much of the material in the introduction, and the collation, are based on Scrivener’s collation.

F. H. A. Scrivener, *An Exact Transcription of Codex Augiensis,* 1859, collates and discusses the manuscript.

Sample Plates:

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 page)

J. Rendel Harris, *Origin of the Leicester Codex of the New Testament* (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in SQE[13] where it differs from Family 13 and the Majority Text.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

J. Rendel Harris, *Origin of the Leicester Codex of the New Testament,* 1887.

M. R. James, "The Scribe of the Leicester Codex," *Journal of Theological Studies,* v 19 (1903/4); pp. 445-447.

Manuscript 71

London, Lambeth 528. Soden's ε253. Scrivener's g of the Gospels. Contains the Gospels complete. Generally dated to the twelfth century; Scrivener offers the exact date 1100 C.E. Classified by Von Soden as $I^{\Phi r}$, along with M 27(part) 692(part) 1194; I^{Φ} as a whole is what Streeter calls Family 1424. Wisse partly corroborates Von Soden, making 71 a core member of the M27 group (while pointing out that M is not really a good example of the M type). Other members of M27 include M 27 71 248(part) 447(part) 518(part) 569 692 750 830(part) 1014(part) 1032(part) 1170 1222 1228(part) 1413 1415 1458 1626 1663(part) 2705. The Alands give this their usual half-hearted endorsement by refusing to place 71 in a Category; this generally means that the manuscript belongs to the Byzantine text but not one of the mainstream Byzantine groups. Scrivener reports that "This elegant copy, which once belonged to an Archbishop of Ephesus, was brought to England in 1675 by Philip Traheron, English Chaplain at Smyrna." It has a lectionary apparatus, and is said to have "many" later corrections. Scrivener also notes that "this copy presents a text full of interest, and much superior to that of the mass of manuscripts of its age." Mill thought its text similar to that of 29, though Wisse's analysis does not confirm this in Luke.

Manuscript 81

Location/Catalog Number

57 folios are in the British Library in London (Catalog number: Add. 20003); 225 folios are in Alexandria (Patriarchal Library MS. 59). The British Museum portions were taken from Egypt, where Tischendorf "discovered" the manuscript.

Contents

81 contains the Acts and Epistles. Acts 4:8–7:17, 17:28–23:9 have been lost. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated by its colophon to April 20, 1044, and written by a scribe named John.

Description and Text-type

81 has been called "the best minuscule witness to Acts." It is consistently Alexandrian (although with some Byzantine corruptions). In Paul, its text seems to fall somewhere between the early and late forms of the Alexandrian text, and may represent a transitional phase in the evolution of that text (most late Alexandrian witnesses — e.g. 436, 1175, family 2127, 2464 — seem to be closer to 81 than they are to each other). In the Catholics it is again Alexandrian with some Byzantine mixture; it seems to be a slightly less pure form of the A/33 text.

Von Soden lists 81 as H. Aland and Aland describe it as "at least Category II."

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α162. Tischendorf: 61a; also loti and pscr

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited for the Acts and Epistles by all editions since Von Soden.

Other Works:

Manuscript 82

Paris, National Library Gr. 237. Soden's O^{1}; Tischendorf/Scrivener 10^{a}, 12^{p}, 2^{r}. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse complete. Universally dated to the tenth century. Includes a commentary (listed by Von Soden as that of Oecumenius, i.e. the pseudo-Oecumenius; Scrivener describes it simply as "scholia and other matter.") Von Soden did not classify it beyond listing it among the Oecumenius manuscripts, but Scrivener believed that "its value in the Apocalypse is considerable." This has not been confirmed by further research; Schmid places it in the main or "a" group of Apocalypse manuscripts — the chief Byzantine group, headed by 046. This is confirmed by the Alands, who place 82 in Category V in all sections. Scrivener describes 82 as "neatly written," and notes that it contains non-Biblical matter (including the treatise of Dorotheus of Tyre mentioned in the entry on 177). The manuscript was included in the editions of Stephanus as ιε'.

Manuscript 83

Munich, Bavarian State Library Gr. 518. Soden's ε1218; Contains the Gospels complete. Dated by both Scrivener and Aland to the eleventh century; Von Soden prefers the twelfth. Von Soden classifies it as K^{r}, and Wisse concurs, listing it as a perfect member of the type. The Alands list it as Category V (Byzantine). Scrivener describes it as "beautifully written." It has all the marginalia expected of a K^{r} manuscript, even though (or perhaps because) it is one of the earliest examples of this type.

Manuscript 91

Paris, National Library Gr. 219. Von Soden's O^{14}; Tischendorf/Scrivener 12^{a}, 16^{p}, 4^{r}. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse complete, with commentary. Dated paleographically to the eleventh century. The commentary on the Acts and Epistles is that of the (pseudo-) Oecumenius; that on the Apocalypse is that of Arethas. As an Oecumenius manuscript, Von Soden does not really classify the text (beyond listing it as K^{o} in the Apocalyse), and the Alands do not list it as belonging to any Category. This implies that it is largely but not quite purely Byzantine. In the Apocalypse, Schmid places it in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine text headed by 046. Scrivener describes it as "neat," with lectionary tables but no apparatus. It once belonged to the Medicis.

Manuscript 93

Paris, National Library Coislin Gr. 205. Von Soden's α51; Tischendorf/Scrivener 17^{a}, 21^{p}, 19^{r}. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse with lacunae (lacking 1 Cor. 16:17–2 Cor. 1:7; Heb. 13:15–25; Rev. 1:1–2:5 is an addition by a later hand). The colophon, written by a monk named Anthony, dates it to the year 1079 (though for some reason the *Kurzgefasste Liste* simply gives the manuscript's date merely as XI). The text is described by Von Soden as a mix of I and K types in the Acts, and as purely K (Byzantine) elsewhere. The Alands do not place 93 in any Category, but this implicitly supports Von Soden, as uncategorized manuscripts are usually very heavily but not quite purely Byzantine. Wachtel lists it as being between 20% and 30% non-Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles. In the Apocalypse, Schmid places 93 in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine text headed by 046. The manuscript has the usual lectionary equipment, prologues, etc.

Manuscript 94

Paris, National Library Coislin Gr. 202 (folios 27–328; this number also includes a portion of H^{p}). Von Soden's O^{31} and Av^{24}; Tischendorf/Scrivener 18^{a}, 22^{p}, 18^{r}. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse complete and with commentary. The Apocalypse is dated paleographically to

the twelfth century; the Acts and Epistles to the thirteenth (so the *Kurzgefasste Liste;* Scrivener lists eleventh and twelfth, respectively. The change in script corresponds to a change in writing material; the first portion is on parchment, the rest on paper). The commentary on the Apocalypse is that of Andeas; Von Soden lists the rest as having the commentary of the (pseudo-)Oecumenius, though Scrivener describes it simply as "scholia to the Acts and Catholic Epistles… [prologues] to St. Paul's Epistles." Von Soden, as usual, classifies the text by its commentary; the Alands list it as Category III in the Acts and Catholic Epistles "but clearly lower for Paul and Revelation." In the Catholic Epistles, Wachtel lists it as having from 30% to 40% non-Byzantine readings.

Manuscript 104

Location/Catalog Number

British Library, London. Catalog number: Harley 5537. (The Harley catalog number means that it was previously in the library of the Harley Earls of Oxford; the Harleian collection was part of the British Museum collection from its founding.)

Contents

104 contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation complete. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated by its colophon to 1087.

Description and Text-type

Generally listed as an Alexandrian witness, and it does have Alexandrian readings in the Epistles, although it is more Byzantine than anything else. There are also hints of other text-types — e.g. 104 shares a certain number of readings with family 1611. On the whole, the best description of the manuscript is probably "mixed."

Von Soden lists 104 as H in the Acts and Epistles; he lists is at I^{b2} in the Apocalypse. Merk places it in the An^{r} group (a sub-group of the Andreas text). Aland and Aland describe it as Category III in Paul and the Catholics, Category V in Acts and the Apocalypse.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α103. Tischendorf: 25^{a}; 31^{p}; 7^{r}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited by NA^{26} for Paul.

Cited by NA^{27} for Paul.

Cited by UBS^{3} for Acts, Paul, and the Catholics.

Cited by UBS^{4} for Paul.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

Manuscript 110

London, British Museum Harley 5778. Soden's α204; Tischendorf/Scrivener 28^{a}, 34^{p}, 8^{r}. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse with some mutilations: Acts 1:1–20, Rev. 6:14–8:1, 22:19–21 "and perhaps elsewhere" (so Scrivener, who collated the Apocalypse). Dated paleographically to the twelfth century. Classified as K by Von Soden, and the Alands concur by placing it in Category V. In the Apocalypse, Schmid places it in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine text headed by 046. Scrivener describes it as being in "wretched condition, and often illegible."

Manuscript 115

London, British Museum Harley 5559. Soden's ε1096. Contains the Gospels with extensive mutilations: Matt. 1:1–8:10, Mark 5:23–36, Luke 1:78–2:9, 6:4–15, John 11:2–end are all lost, though a few additional words of John 11 can be read. Generally dated to the tenth century; though Scrivener gives a twelfth century date. Classified as I$^{\phi b}$ by von Soden; other members of this group include 7 179 267 659 827 and parts of 185 1082 1391 1402 1606. Wisse, however, does not concur; he finds the manuscript to be K^{mix}/K^{x}/K^{mix}. The Alands do not assign 115 to a Category; this is not surprising for a manuscript with a text close to but not identical to K^{x}. The manuscript has only a limited set of reader aids; according to Scrivener, it offers κεφαλαια, "some" τιτλοι, the Ammonian sections, and "frequently" the Eusebian apparatus; Scrivener speculates that the manuscript was "never quite finished."

Manuscript 118

Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D. infr. 2.17 (was Bodleian Misc. Gr. 13). Soden's ε346. Contains the Gospels with some defects; later hands supplied Matt. 1:1–6:2; Luke 13:15–14:20, 18:8–19:9, John 16:25–end. The binding also contains portions of the Psalms on paper. Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century. 118 is one of the manuscripts found by Lake to belong to Family 1; every examination since has confirmed this. Von Soden listed it as $I^{\eta b}$, i.e. part of the b subgroup of Family 1; other manuscripts he places in this group include 22, 131 (in Mark and Luke), 209, and 872 (in Mark). Wisse concurs with the assignment to the Lake Group, listing 118 as a core member of Family 1. The Alands, interestingly, do not place 118 in any Category, but do list it with Family 1. Most seem to agree with Von Soden in placing 118 closer to 209 than to 1 and 1582. Scrivener reports the manuscript to be a Palimpsest, but with the gospel text uppermost. It has the full set of scribal aids, though the lectionary tables were added later. For more details on the text, see the entry on Family 1.

124: see under 13 and family 13

131: see under 1 and family 1

Manuscript 138

Rome, Vatican Library Greek 757. Soden's A^{201} and C^{i24}. Contains the Gospels with a commentary and minor lacunae. Universally dated to the twelfth century. The commentary on Mark is that of Victor; elsewhere Scrivener lists it as being primarily from Origen, though Von Soden considers it to be the "Antiochene commentary" (Chrysostom on Matthew, Victor on Mark, Titus of Bostra in Luke) in the Synoptic Gospels while John is listed as having the "Anonymous Catena." The text itself Von Soden places in the A^{c} group — a generally undistinguished group containing such manuscripts as 127, 129, 137, 139, 143, 151, 374, 377, 391, 747, 989, 1312, 1313, 1392. In any case Wisse's classifications do not accord with von Soden's; the manuscripts von Soden lists as A^{c} appear to belong to almost every Byzantine subgroup. 138 itself was profiled only in Luke 1, but there Wisse lists it as K^{x} This is supported by the Alands, who classify 138 as Category V. Scrivener summarizes Burgon's report on the manuscript by saying that the commentary is "mixed up with the text, both in a slovenly hand."

Manuscript 141

Rome, Vatican Library Greek 1160. Soden's δ408; Tischendorf 141^{e}, 75^{a}, 86^{p}, 40^{r}. Contains the New Testament complete. Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century by Gregory, Aland, Scrivener; von Soden prefers the fourteenth. The text of the manuscript is not noteworthy; both Von Soden and Wisse declare it to belong to K^{r} in the Gospels, and the Alands classify 141 as

Category V throughout. In the Apocalypse Schmid places it in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine text headed by 046. It is in two volumes, with the two volumes numbered separately. In the Acts and Epistles it has the Euthalian apparatus, though it does not appear to have the text. The full lectionary equipment is supplied, and it has pictures, but like most K^r manuscripts it lacks the Eusebian apparatus.

Manuscript 157

Rome, Vatican Library Urbin Gr. 2. Soden's ε207. Contains the Gospels complete. Universally dated to the twelfth century, based both on the writing and on a pair of pictures, of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus (Byzantine Emperor 1081–1118) and his son John (II) Comnenus (1118–1143). It was apparently written for John Comnenus, and was was brought to Rome by Pope Clement VII (1523–1534). Classified as I^σ by von Soden, the other members of this group being 235(part) 245 291 713 1012. Wisse's data, however, paints a completely different picture; he finds 157 to be a member of K^x in Luke 1, mixed with some relationship to the Alexandrian text ("Group B") in Luke 10, and Alexandrian in Luke 20. The other manuscripts of I^σ do not share this profile, and in fact do not seem to be related to each other at all. That 157 is mixed is confirmed by the Alands, who list it as Category III, and by Hort, who considered it mixed but still the most important minuscule of the gospels other than 33. Streeter thought it Alexandrian with "Cæsarean" influence — but it should be noted that Streeter thought everything had "Cæsarean" influence. Zahn thought it might have had Marcionite influence. Hoskier, who collated it *(J.T.S.* xiv, 1913), thought there were points of contact with the Palestinian Syriac. 157 is noteworthy for having the Jerusalem Colophon after each gospel. Scrivener observes that 157 is "very beautifully written… [with] certain chronicles and rich ornaments in vermillion and gold." It has other pictures in addition to the portraits of the Emperors, as well as lectionary apparatus.

Sample plate in Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography* (plate 68).

Manuscript 160

Rome, Vatican Library Barb. Gr. 445. Soden's ε213. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated by its colophon to the year 1123. Classified as $I^{\Phi c}$ by von Soden, the other members of this group being 945 990 1010 1207(part) 1223 1293. I^Φ is Streeter's Family 1424, but the c branch, if it is part of the family at all, is very weak. Wisse lists 160 as Mixed in Luke 1 and K^x Cluster 160 in Luke 10 and 20. It is interesting to note, however, that all three manuscripts which Wisse lists in Cluster 160 (160, 1010, and 1293) were called $I^{\Phi c}$ by von Soden; this would seem to imply at least some unique traits to that group. Given the connection of this group with K^x, it is surprising to note that the Alands do not list a Category for 160, implying that they find it to be

somewhat less than purely Byzantine. The manuscript itself has the full lectionary equipment and the Ammonian Sections, but no Eusebian apparatus.

Manuscript 162

Rome, Vatican Library Barb. Gr. 449. Soden's ε214. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated by its colophon to May 13, 1153. Classified as I by von Soden, but with no subgroup specified; it is not one of his regularly cited manuscripts. It would appear that this was a casual classification — based, perhaps, on the manuscript's reading in Luke 11:2, where it has ελθετω σου το πνευμα το αγιον και καθαρισατω ημας for ελθετω η βασιλεια σου — a reading shared, in its essentials, by 700, Marcion (or Tertullian in talking about Marcion), Maximus, and Gregory of Nyssa but no other known witnesses. In any case, Wisse does not concur with von Soden's classification of 162 as an I witness (which would make it Western or "Cæsarean"); he lists 162 as $K^{x}/K^{mix}/K^{x}$, and the Alands confirm its Byzantine nature by placing it in Category V. The manuscript, written by one Manuel, has the Eusebian apparatus but no lectionary equipment at all.

Manuscript 174

Rome, Vatican Library Gr. 2002. Soden's ε109. Contains the four Gospels with major lacunae; Matt. 1:1–2:1, John 1:1–27, 8:47–end are gone. Dated by its colophon to September 7, 1052. Classified as I^{tb} — that is, as part of Family 13 — by von Soden, but only in Matthew is it cited. Wisse confirms that its text shifts, for he places it in Group Λ in Luke. The Alands seem to confirm this as well; although they list 174 as a member of Family 13 in NA^{27}, they do not assign it to a Category (most members of Family 13 are Category III; the fact that 174 is not implies that it is weaker than other members of the family). For more details on Family 13, see the entry on that manuscript. 174 itself was written by a monk named Constantine under the authority of "Georgilas dux Calabriae" [Scholz]. It has the full Ammonian and Eusebian apparatus, plus lectionary indications, but the lists of readings, if it had any, have not survived.

Manuscript 175

Rome, Vatican Library Gr. 2080. Soden's δ95; Tischendorf/Scrivener 175^{e}, 41^{a}, 194^{p}, 20^{r}. Contains the entire New Testament except for Matt. 1:1–4:17. Dated paleographically to the tenth century (so Gregory, Aland, von Soden; Scrivener would allow any date between the tenth and twelfth). Von Soden classifies the Gospels as K^{x}, but Wisse lists them as weak $Π^{a}$. The Alands seem to agree with the latter judgement, as they do not place 175 in any Category (which usually means that the manuscript is strongly Byzantine but not a member of K^{x} or K^{r}). In the Acts and Epistles, Von Soden lists the text as K (Byzantine), and there is no reason to doubt this. In the Apocalypse Schmid places it in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine

text headed by 046. The arrangement of the sections is unusual; Scrivener notes that the book places them in the order Gospels, Acts (with scholia), Apocalypse, Catholic Epistles, Paul. The book has “some” marginal corrections from the first hand. Paul has the Euthalian subscriptions, but otherwise the marginal equipment is limited.

Manuscript 177

Munich, Bavarian State Library Gr. 211. Soden’s α106; Tischendorf/Scrivener 179^{a}, 128^{p}, 82^{r}. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse complete. Dated paleographically to the eleventh century (so Soden, Scrivener, and the *Liste*; Delitzsch suggested the thirteenth century). Von Soden classifies it as I^{a3} in the Acts and Paul; in the Catholic Epistles he lists it as K. If it is a member of I^{a3} (a group consisting mostly of late Alexandrian witnesses with greater or lesser degrees of Byzantine mixture), it must be a weak one, as the Alands list 177 as Category V (Byzantine) throughout. In the Apocalypse Schmid places 177 in the dominant or “a” group of the Byzantine text headed by 046. In addition to the New Testament material, it contains the treatise by Dorotheus of Tyre (fl. *c.* 360) on the Twelve and the Seventy (found also in 82, 459, etc.). Scrivener reports that the text is “very near that commonly received.” It also contains fragments of Eusebius’s canon tables (perhaps implying that it was once a complete New Testament); there are marginal scholia on Paul from a later hand.

Manuscript 179

Rome, Angelicus Library 11. Soden’s ε211. Contains the gospels with lacunae. Dated paleographically to the twelfth century. Classified as I$^{\Phi b}$; other manuscripts of this group include 7 115 179 185(part) 267 659 827 1082(part) 1391(part) 1402(part) 1606(part). This classification is not confirmed by Wisse, who lists 179 as Mix/K^{x}/K^{x} and seems to dissolve the I$^{\Phi}$ groups (except for I$^{\Phi r}$). The Alands do not place 179 in any Category, implying that they agree with Wisse’s classification as mostly but not purely Byzantine. The lectionary lists in 179 are in a later hand (fifteenth or sixteenth century) on supplied leaves. Seven other leaves (five at the end) are also from later hands.

Manuscript 180

Rome, Vatican Library Borgiae Gr. 18. Soden’s ε1498, α300; Tischendorf/Scrivener 180^{e}, 82^{a}, 92^{p}, 44^{r}. Contains the New Testament complete. The gospels, which were written by one Andreas, are dated paleographically to the twelfth century (so Aland; Scrivener says XI, and Gregory proposed XIV). The remainder of the New Testament (with some additional material) were written by John, evidently in November 1273. The gospels are classified as K^{x} by von Soden (this seems to have been the only section he examined), and this is confirmed by Wisse, who places it in K^{x} Cluster 180 in the two chapters profiled. Other members of Cluster

180 are 998 and 1580. The Alands also confirm that 180 is Byzantine in the Gospels, where they place it in Category V. They also classify it as Category V in Paul, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse (in the latter it goes with the largest "a" Koine group headed by 046); in the Acts, however, they raise it to Category III. Includes lectionary apparatus.

Manuscript 181

Rome, Vatican Library Reg. Gr. 179. Soden's α101, α1578; Tischendorf/Scrivener 40^{a}, 46^{p}, 12^{r}. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. The basic run of the text, containing the Acts and Catholic Epistles, plus Paul through Titus 3:3, is dated to the eleventh century. The remainder of the text (Titus 3:3–end, Philemon, and the Apocalypse) was supplied in the fifteenth century. The text is arranged according to the Euthalian edition, and so is classified by Von Soden as I^{a1} — most of the other members of this group (which contains 88 917 1898 throughout the Acts and Epistles, plus 36 307 431 610 453 915 1829 1874 in the Acts and Catholics, as well as 1838 in Paul and the Catholics; and 1912 in Paul alone) are also Euthalian (see Von Soden i.674). In Paul, however, 181 does not seem to be a good representative of the type; samples indicate that its text is about 80% Byzantine, and there are hints of block mixture with the Byzantine text. In the Acts the text is noticeably better, and has a number of Alexandrian readings. The Alands place 181 in Category III. in the Acts and Epistles, V in the Apocalypse (though their numbers in the Catholics barely qualify it for that category, and it does not appear in Wachtel's lists of interesting manuscripts. Clearly 181 is better in the Acts than elsewhere). The later additions to the manuscript are classified as I^{a2} by Von Soden; in the Apocalypse it has an Andreas type of text, forming part of the group which also contains 1 598 2026 2028 2029 2031 2033 2038 2044 2052 2054 2056 2057 2059 2060 2065 2068 2069 2081 2083 2186 2286 2302. 181 itself, however, does not have the text of the commentary. It does have lectionary apparatus but no synaxarion. We first hear of the manuscript during the papacy of Alexander VIII (1689–1691), when Christina presented it to that pope.

Manuscript 185

Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. VI.16. Soden's ε410. Contains the gospels complete. Dated paleographically to the fourteenth century (Scrivener says twelfth). Classified by von Soden as I$^{\Phi b}$ (but in John only); other manuscripts of this group include 7 115 179 185(part) 267 659 827 1082(part) 1391(part) 1402(part) 1606(part). This classification is not confirmed by Wisse, who lists 185 as Cluster 1531 along with such manuscripts as 1531, 2291, 2387, and 2771. The Alands list 185 as Category V (Byzantine). It should be noted, however, that neither Wisse nor the Alands examined readings in John; thus its text has not been fully examined. It is at least possible that it is block mixed, with a better text in John than elsewhere. Physically 185 is not noteworthy; it has lectionary indications and the Ammonian Sections but not the Eusebian apparatus.

Manuscript 189

Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. VI.27. Soden's ε1401, α269; Tischendorf/Scrivener 189^{e}, 141^{a}, 239^{p}. Contains the Acts and Epistles complete and the gospels with lacunae (lacking John 19:38–end). The Acts and Epistles are dated paleographically to the twelfth century, and the Gospels to the fourteenth (except that Scrivener dates the whole to the twelfth century). The gospels are classified as K^{r} by Von Soden, and this is confirmed by Wisse (who further classifies 189 as Cluster 189 along with 1236, 1625, and perhaps 825). This is consistent with the marginal apparatus of 189, which lacks the Ammonian/Eusebian material. The Alands also concur, describing 189 as Category V (Byzantine). Outside the gospels, the Alands still list 189 as Category V, agreeing with Von Soden's "K" classification. The manuscript has the Euthalian apparatus (though not the arrangement or text). Scrivener describes the manuscript itself as "minute [certainly true; it measures 12 cm. x 7 cm.] and beautifully written."

Manuscript 201

London, British Museum Add. 11837. Soden's δ403; Tischendorf/Scrivener 201^{e}, 91^{a}, 104^{p}, 94^{r}; also m^{scr} (Gospels); p^{scr} (Acts/Paul); b^{scr} (Apocalypse). Contains the compete New Testament. Dated by a colophon to 1357. The gospels are classified as K^{r} by Von Soden, and this is confirmed by Wisse (who notes that it is a "perfect member" of the group). The Alands also concur, listing 201 as Category V in all sections. Wachtel lists it as a member of K^{r} in the Catholics. In the Apocalypse, Schmid places it in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine text headed by 046. Scrivener says of it that it has "many changes by a later hand;" it also has a very full marginal apparatus, including prologues, subscriptions, and stichoi lists, plus "some foreign matter." Rather curiously for a K^{r} manuscript, it has the Ammonian Sections and "some" of the Eusebian numbers.

Manuscript 203

London, British Museum Add. 28816. Soden's α203; Tischendorf/Original Gregory 203^{a}, 477^{p}, 181^{r}; Scrivener 232a, 271p (Acts/Paul), 107r. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse with lacunae (lacking 1 Cor. 16:15–end plus the prologue to 2 Corinthians; Eph. 5:3–6:16 is supplied in a fifteenth century hand). At the end of the volume are ten pages of non-Biblical material (in the original hand). These include a list of the errors condemned by the seven ecumenical councils; Scrivener says that this resemble the exposition in 69. Dated by a colophon to 1111. Von Soden classifies the manuscript as I^{c2} in the Acts and Epistles (though he cites it only in Paul, where the other members of the group include 221 257 378 383 385 506 639 876 913 1610 1867 2147). This group is of some interest in the Catholic Epistles (where many of its members are part of Family 2138), but in Paul they seem generally to be of limited value. Its Byzantine nature is confirmed by the Alands, who place 203 in Category V. In

the Apocalypse, Schmid places it in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine text headed by 046. Scrivener says of it that it is "a splendid copy," with "many marginal glosses in a very minute hand." It has the κεφαλαια numbers in red in the margins and the entries themselves before each epistle. It has the Euthalian apparatus, and Arethas's prologue and tables on the Apocalypse. It has lectionary indications but no τιτλοι. The scribe was named Andreas.

Sample plate in Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography* (plate 67).

Manuscript 205

Venice, Bibl. San Marco 420 (Fondo ant. 5). Soden's δ500; Tischendorf/Scrivener 205^{e}, 93^{a}, 106^{p}, 88^{r}. Contains the complete New Testament and the Greek Old Testament. Dated paleographically to the fifteenth century. The text of 205 has long been recognized as being very close kin to the earlier 209 (at least in the Gospels). The two are such close kin that several scholars, starting with Rinck, have believed that 205 is a copy of 209. Burgon offered the hypothesis that both were copied from the same uncial ancestor. While the manner has not been definitively settled, the modern opinion seems to be that 205 is not copied from 209, but that they have a close common ancestor. 209, of course, is known to be a member of Family 1; it therefore follows that 205 must also be part of this group. Von Soden acknowledges this by placing 205 in the I^{η} group (Family 1; 209 is a member of the "b" subgroup), and Wisse concurs, going so far as to say "Pair with 209." (Curiously, the Alands do not list 205 as a member of Family 1, and even insist on citing 205 separately in SQE^{13}. They do list both manuscripts in the same Categories: Category III in the Gospels and Apocalypse; Category V in the Acts and Epistles.) In the Acts and Epistles, 205 is listed by Von Soden as I^{a} (again agreeing with 209, which is I^{a3}). The data of the Alands, however, clearly implies that 205 is Byzantine (rather than late/mixed Alexandrian, as Von Soden's classification would imply). As a consequence, we cannot determine the manuscript's relationship with 209 without detailed examination. In the Apocalypse, Von Soden lists 205 as an Andreas manuscript, even though it lacks the commentary. Physically, 205 is a rather large volume but with limited marginalia; it lacks the entire Eusebian apparatus (209, by contrast, has the Ammonian sections but not the Eusebian canons) as well as all lectionary data. 205 has the κεφαλαια in both Greek and Latin, subscriptions, and prologues to the Pauline and Catholic Epistles. It was written for Cardinal Bessarion, probably by his librarian John Rhosen. A copy of 205 exists; now designated 205^{abs}, it is Tischendorf/Scrivener 206^{e}, 94^{a}, 107^{p}, 101^{r}. (Note: It is the opinion of most examiners that 205 is the original and 205abs the copy; Maurice Robinson, however, based on the text in the story of the Adulteress, believes that 205abs is the original and 205 the copy.) For more details on the text of 205, see the entry on 1 and Family 1.

Manuscript 206

London, Lambeth Palace 1182. Soden's α365; original Gregory 214[a], 270[p]; Scrivener 182[a], 252[p], a[scr]; Hort 110. Contains the Acts and Epistles with minor lacunae and many later supplements; Acts 1:1–12:3, 13:5–15, 2 John, 3 John, and Jude are from a later (fourteenth century) hand. Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century (except that Scrivener, who probably examined it most fully, says twelfth). Scrivener reports that the readings in Acts "strongly resemble those of [429], and [81] hardly less, especially in [chapters 13–17]." Von Soden lists the text of 206 as I[b1], placing it with 242 429 491 522 536 1758 1831 1891 in Acts (1739 2298 323, it should be noted, are key members of I[b2], so von Soden is placing 206 and its relatives in a group similar the the 1739 text); in Paul the group members include 2 242 429 522 635 941 1099 1758 1831 1891; in the Catholics 206 is listed along with 216 242 429 440 522 1758 1831 1891.

This classification (rather typically of Von Soden's groups) contains both truth and falsehood. Thomas C. Geer, Jr., in *Family 1739 in Acts,* studies 206 (among others), and finds that 206 is indeed a member of Family 1739 (along with 323 429 522 1739 1891; Geer does not examine the other members of von Soden's I[b] group). Within Family 1739, the closest relatives of 206 are 429 and 522. Geer does not compare the first hand of 206 with 206[supp], but he does compile separate statistics for the first and second halves of Acts. It is worth noting that, in chapters 1–14, 206 agrees only 81% of the time with 429, and 75% of the time with 1739 (Geer, p. 69), while in Acts 15–28, it agrees with 429 fully 93% of the time (though still only 77% of the time with 1739). Thus it appears quite likely that the supplements in 206, while having perhaps some kinship with Family 1739, has been heavily influenced by the Byzantine text. The original hand, by contrast, seems to belong to that subtext of Family 1739 represented also by 429 522 630 2200. This grouping is very significant, because these manuscripts are also akin in the Catholic Epistles. But in the Catholic Epistles, instead of being members of Family 1739 (which, it should be noted, is even more distinctive in the Catholics than in Acts), the 206–group shifts and become members of Family 2138. This kinship has been confirmed by all who have investigated the matter; Wachtel places 206 in his group Hk[gr] along with 429 522 630 2200 (plus such important manuscripts as 614 1505 1611 1799 2138 2412 2495, which are not related to the 206–429–522–630–2200 group in Acts). Similarly, Richards places 206 in his A1 group along with 614 1611 1799 2138 2412 (in 1 John; the supplements in 2 and 3 John Richards finds to be Byzantine). And Amphoux places 206 in Family 2138 (along with nearly all the above manuscripts, plus such others as 1108 and 1518). In Paul, 206 has not been as heavily studied; our best information comes from the Alands, who list 206 as Category V in Paul (they list it as Category III in the Catholics — along with all the other members of Family 2138; in Acts, they list 206 as Category V, but here the supplement may have mislead them). 429 and 522 are also Category V in Paul; it thus appears likely that these three manuscripts are related throughout. (630 and 2200 are not wholy Byzantine in

Paul; in the latter books, they are Byzantine, but in Romans through Galatians they are weak members of Family 1739. In addition, they appear to be closer to 1739 in Acts. Thus 630 and 2200 might possibly represent a forerunner of the 206–429–522 text, but are not actually part of it.) Physically, Scrivener reports of 206 that it has Paul before the Catholic Epistles, that it is illustrated, that it has full lectionary apparatus, and that it includes antiphons for Easter and "other foreign matter." It is said to have come from a Greek island. See also the discussion on 429 or on 522.

209: see under 1 and family 1

Manuscript 213

Venice, Bibl. San Marco 542 (Fondo ant. 544). Soden's ε129. Contains the Gospels with mutilations (John 18:40–end have been lost). Universally dated to the eleventh century. Classified by Von Soden as I^0 — a group which contains a very mixed bag of manuscripts: U X 443 1071 1321(part) 1574 2145. Wisse classifies 213 as mixed throughout. The Alands do not assign it to any Category. Some of the confusion may be due to a poor scribe; 213 has many strange properties. Scrivener notes "heroic verses as colophons to the Gospels," "[l]arge full stops in impossible places," the Ammonian/Eusebian apparatus "most irregularly inserted," and only scattered lectionary indications.

Manuscript 223

Location/Catalog Number

Ann Arbor. Catalog number: University of Michigan MS. 34. It was originally acquired at Janina in Epirus.

Contents

223 contains the Acts and Epistles, with some minor defects (in Paul, 2 Corinthians 1:1–3, Eph. 1:1–4, Hebrews 1:1–6 are missing; Scrivener believes they were cut out for the sake of the illuminations). It is written on parchment, 1 column per page. The parchment is of excellent quality, and the manuscript has many colorful illuminations, implying that unusual effort and expense was devoted to its preparation. Scrivener says of it, "This is one of the most superb copies extant of the latter part of the N.T., on which so much cost was seldom bestowed as on the gospels."

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourteenth century. A colophon at the end of Jude states that it was written by Antonios of Malaka, who is also credited with writing 1305 (dated by its colophon to 1244) and 279 (dated paleographically to the twelfth century). The dating of the manuscript is thus problematic, since Antonios can hardly have written manuscripts in both the twelfth and fourteenth centuries! It is noteworthy, however, that the colophon of 223 is not in the hand of the original scribe.

Description and Text-type

Von Soden lists 223 as K^c. Clark and his collaborators questioned this, since von Soden's collation was highly inaccurate. However, spot checks of Clark's collation indicate that 223 possesses about 70% of the characteristic readings of K^c. Thus it is likely that it is at least a weak K^c witness.

Aland and Aland list 223 as Category V, i.e. Byzantine. This is clearly correct.

Richards lists 223 as belonging to his B^3 group in the Johannine Epistles, having all nine of the characteristic readings in 1 John. Other members of this group, with von Soden's classification of them, are 97 (K), 177 (a weak member of the B^3 group, K), 1597 (K^x), 1872 (I^{b2}, but K^c in r), and 2423.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α186. Scrivener: 220^a; 264^p. Tischendorf: 223^a; 278^p

Bibliography

Collations:

K.W. Clark, *Eight American Praxapostoloi* (1941).

Sample Plates:

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Other Works:

Manuscript 225

Naples, Bibl. Naz., Cod. Vein. 9. Soden's ε1210. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated by its colophon to 1192. The manuscript is among the smallest known, measuring less than 14 cm.

by 10 cm. Perhaps to accommodate such a pocket edition, the Eusebian and Ammonian apparatus are omitted, as are most other reader helps except the lectionary markings (the manuscript is supplied with pictures, however). Classified by Von Soden as A^{k} — a group which also contains 5, 15, 32, 53, 169, 269, 292, 297, 416, 431, 448, 470, 490, 496, 499, 534, 546, 558, 573, 715, 752, 760, 860, 902, 946, 968, 976, 987, 1011, 1015, 1058, 1091, 1163, 1167, 1171, 1211, 1227, 1291, 1299, 1321, 1439, 1481, 1484, 1498, 1566, 1800, 2142, and 2176. These manuscripts are, however, mostly Byzantine, and Wisse largely disregards this group. 225 itself he classifies as K^{mix}/1167/1167; other members of Group 1167 include 75 116(part) 245(part) 431 496 546 578(part) 843 896 951 1015 1167 1242(part) 1438 1479(part) 1511(part) 1570 2095(part) 2229 2604. The Alands more or less confirm that 225 is Byzantine but not a mainstream witness to the type by refusing to assign it to a Category. The most noteworthy thing about 225's text, however, is where it places the story of the Adulteress (John 7:53–8:11). Alone among all known witnesses, it places the story after John 7:36.

Manuscript 229

Escorial X.IV.21. Soden's ε1206. Contains the Gospels with lacunae (lacking Mark 16:15–20, John 1:1–11). Dated by its colophon to 1140. Classified by Von Soden as I^{kc} — i.e. as a offshoot of Family Π; other members of this group include 280 473 482 1354. Wisse, however, reports that 229 is block mixed; it is Π^{a} in Luke 1, K^{x} in Luke 10 and 20. The Alands do not assign it to a Category; this perhaps implies that the Family Π element predominates, as they usually classify K^{x} witnesses as Category V but leave Family Π witnesses unclassified. Scrivener notes that it was written by "Basil Argyropolus, a notary." It includes pictures. A later hand has added lectionary indications and retraced parts of the text, as well as correcting various readings (apparently correcting the Family Π text toward the Byzantine mainstream, as Scrivener reports that the original readings resemble those of A and K, both of which are associated with that family.)

230: see under 13 and family 13

Manuscript 235

Copenhagen, Kgl. Bibl. GkS 1323, 4^{0}. Soden's ε456. Described by Scrivener as "written by the ιερομοναχος Philotheus, though very incorrectly; the text agrees much with Codd. DK. i. 33 and the Harkleian Syriac… [T]he words are often ill-divided and the stops misplaced." The kinship with these manuscripts is, however, at best very weak; Von Soden lists it as I^{σ} (along with 157 245 291 713 1012), but cites it only for John. Wisse lists it as $K^{mix}/K^{x}/K^{x}$, and the Alands also regard it as Byzantine, listing it as Category V.

Manuscript 245

Moscow, Historical Museum V.16, S.278. Soden's ε1226. Dated by its colophon to the the 1199. Written by "John, a priest" and formerly kept at the monastery of Batopedion. Von Soden categorizes its text as I^{σ}; other manuscripts of this type include 157 235(John) 291 713 1012. Wisse lists the text as K^{mix}/1167/1167. The members of Group 1167 do not correspond to those of Von Soden's group. Whatever its exact type, it seems certain that the manuscript is primarily Byzantine, and this is reflected by the Alands, who list it as Category V.

Manuscript 249

Moscow, Historical Museum V. 90, S.93. Soden's N^{t10}. Contains the Gospel of John (only), with a catena. Its dating varies wildly; Aland says XIV, Scrivener XI. Von Soden's number implies that he agrees with Scrivener. Von Soden lists it as having Nicetas's commentary on John, assigning its symbol on this basis (other manuscripts with this commentary include 317 333 423 430 743). Merk lists the text-type as K (Byzantine). Little else can be said of it; the Alands do not assign it to a Category (presumably because it contains only John, and they tested only Matthew through Luke), and Wisse of course does not profile it. Originally from Mount Athos.

Manuscript 251

Moscow, Russian Gosud. Library Greek 9. Von Soden's ε192. Contains the gospels complete. Dated paleographically to the eleventh (Scrivener, von Soden) or twelfth (Aland) century. Von Soden lists it as a member of I' (the vaguest of all the I groups, containing a handful of Byzantine uncials, assorted uncial fragments — not all of which are Byzantine — and many mostly-Byzantine minuscules). Wisse lists 251 as a member of Cluster 1229, the other members of this group being 1229 (which, like 251, von Soden lists as I') and 2487. The Alands do not assign 251 to a Category, implying that it contains at least some readings (though not many) which are not purely Byzantine. Physically, 251 has the Eusebian tables and Ammonian sections, but not the Eusebian marginalia; these perhaps were never finished. 251 has illustrations, but no lectionary equipment.

256: see under 365 and family 2127

Manuscript 262

Paris, National Library Greek 53. Soden's ε1020. Contains the Gospels complete, though the marginalia seem not to have been completed; Scrivener reports that it has "some" τιτλοι. The Ammonian and Eusebian apparatus (including harmonizations) are complete in Matthew and Mark, but only partial, and in a later hand, in Luke and John. 262 is universally dated to the

tenth century. Scrivener observed a similarity to Λ, and this is confirmed both by Von Soden (who places it in the I^{r} group with Λ 545 1187 1555 1573) and Wisse (who makes it a core member of Group Λ). The Alands assign it to Category V as Byzantine.

Manuscript 263

Paris, National Library Greek 61. Soden's δ372. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles complete. Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century. The text is generally uninteresting; in the Gospels, von Soden listed it as K^{1}, which Wisse corrects minimally to K^{x}, and the Alands list it as Category V (Byzantine). The Alands also place it in Category V in the Acts and Catholic Epistles (though Von Soden listed it as I^{a3}, based probably on the text of Paul). The one exception to this trend of ordinariness is in Paul. Here the Alands promote it to Category III, and Von Soden's I^{a3} classification makes somewhat more sense. Bover, in particular, specifies it as a member of "Family 1319" (for which see the entry on 365 and Family 2127) — and while 263 does not seem as good as the leading members of the family (256, 365, 1319, 2127), there does seem to be kinship. Scrivener believed the manuscript came from Asia Minor, and this is perhaps reasonable for a text somewhat related to the Armenian version. In the Gospels, it has Ammonian Sections but not the Eusebian equipment, and lectionary indications but no tables.

Manuscript 265

Paris, National Library Greek 66. Soden's ε285. Contains the Gospels complete. Generally dated to the twelfth century, though Scrivener lists the tenth. Classified by Von Soden as I^{ka}, i.e. as a member of the main Family Π group, along with such manuscripts as A K Y Π This is confirmed by Wisse, who lists it as a core member of the main $Π^{a}$ group. The Alands do not place it in any Category; this is fairly typical for Family Π manuscripts. Physically, the manuscript has the Eusebian apparatus but not much else; lectionary equipment is lacking.

Manuscript 267

Paris, National Library Greek 69. Soden's ε1289. Contains the Gospels with minor lacunae (missing Matt. 1:1–8, Mark 1:1–7, Luke 1:1–8, Luke 24:50–John 1:12 — perhaps cut out for the sake of illustrations or the like?). Generally dated to the twelfth century, though Scrivener lists the tenth. Classified by Von Soden as $I^{Φb}$ along with such manuscripts as 7 115 179 185(part) 659 827 1082(part) 1391(part) 1402(part) 1606(part). That it is close to 7, at least, is confirmed by Wisse, who places 267 in Cluster 7 along with 7, 1651, and 1654. The Alands place 267 in Category V (Byzantine). The manuscript is slightly unusual in having the Ammonian and Eusebian numbers in the same line.

Manuscript 270

Paris, National Library Greek 75. Soden's ε291. Contains the Gospels complete. Generally dated to the twelfth century, though Scrivener lists the eleventh. Classified by Von Soden as I^{kb} (i.e. as a member of one of the weaker subgroups of Family Π) along with such manuscripts as 726 1200 1375. Wisse confirms its kinship with the Π groups, listing it as part of the b subgroup in Luke 1 and the a subgroup in Luke 10 and 20. The Alands place 270 in Category V (Byzantine). Curiously, Scrivener reports that the manuscript has both synaxarion and menologion (along with illustrations and the Eusebian apparatus), but no lectionary indications in the text.

Manuscript 273

Paris, National Library Greek 79. Soden's ε370. Contains the Gospels with some slight damage, most of it made good by a supplement. Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century by Aland and von Soden; Scrivener lists the twelfth century and dates the supplements (which are on paper; the rest of the manuscript is vellum) to the fourteenth century. Classified by Von Soden as I', i.e. as one of the miscellaneous weak "Western" witnesses. Wisse, however, finds it to be mostly Byzantine; he lists it as $K^{mix}/K^{x}/K^{mix}$. The Alands do not place 273 in any Category, which usually means it is strongly but not quite purely Byzantine; this perhaps supports Wisse's analysis. Scrivener lists it as having a very full marginalia (though some of the lectionary material is from the later hand), and says of it that is "contains also some scholia, extracts from Sererianus's commentary, annals of the Gospels, a list of gospel parallels, with a mixed text."

Manuscript 280

Paris, National Library Greek 87. Soden's ε294. Contains the Gospels with some damage (Mark 8:3–15:36 are missing). Dated paleographically to the twelfth century. Classified by Von Soden as I^{kc} (i.e. as a member of one of the weaker subgroups of Family Π) along with such manuscripts as 229 473 482 1354. Wisse confirms its kinship with the Π groups, but lists it as a core member of the primary group $Π^{a}$. The Alands place 280 in Category V (Byzantine); this may indicate that it it less pure in the other gospels than it is in Luke (since the Alands usually do not assign Πa manuscripts to any category). However, it could also be an indication of the Alands' lack of control of their Categories.

Manuscript 291

Paris, National Library Greek 113. Soden's ε377. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated paleographically to the twelfth (Scrivener) or thirteenth (Aland, von Soden) century. Written

with silver ink, but with relatively few reader aids (lectionary markings but no tables; no Ammonian or Eusebian apparatus). Classified by Von Soden as I^{σ} — a strange mixed group containing also 157 235(part) 245 713 1012. Wisse however places 291 in its own Group 291, which he associates loosely with the Π groups; other members of this group are 139 371 449 597 1235 1340 2346 2603 2728. The Alands place 280 in Category V (Byzantine).

Manuscript 304

Paris, National Library Greek 194. Soden's $C^{\mu 23}$, A^{215}. Contains the gospels of Matthew and Mark (only), with commentary interspersed with the text. Dated paleographically to the twelfth (von Soden, Aland) or thirteenth (Scrivener) century. Classified by von Soden based on the commentary: He lists it as having the "Anonymous Catena" on Matthew (one of only three manuscripts to have this commentary, the others being 366 and 2482) and the "Antiochene Commentary" of Victor on Mark. (Scrivener quotes Burgon to the effect that the commentary on Mark is a "modification of Victor's," however.) The Alands list 304 as Category V (Byzantine). Since the manuscript does not include Luke, it has not been studied by Wisse, but there is no particular reason to doubt the Alands' judgement. Thus there is no reason to consider 304 particularly unusual — except for the fact that it is commonly cited in critical apparatus (NA^{27}, UBS^{4}, etc.) as omitting the longer ending of Mark (16:9–20). Maurice Robinson has examined a microfilm of the end of the manuscript, however, and offers these observations: "[T]he primary matter [in 304] is the commentary. The gospel text is merely interspersed between the blocks of commentary material, and should not be considered the same as a 'normal' continuous-text MS. Also, it is often very difficult to discern the text in contrast to the comments....

"Following $\gamma\alpha\rho^{2}$ at the close of [16:8], the MS has a mark like a filled-in 'o,' followed by many pages of commentary, all of which *summarize* the endings of the other gospels and even quote portions of them.

"Following this, the commentary then begins to summarize the ετερον δε τα παρα του Μαρκου, presumably to cover the non-duplicated portions germane to that gospel in contrast to the others. There remain quotes and references to the other gospels in regard to Mary Magdalene, Peter, Galilee, the fear of the women, etc. But at this point the commentary abruptly ends, without completing the remainder of the narrative or the parallels. I suspect that the commentary (which contains only Mt and Mk) originally continued the discussion and that a final page or pages at the end of this volume likely were lost.... I would suggest that MS 304 should *not* be claimed as a witness to the shortest ending...."

Manuscript 307

Paris, National Library Coislin Greek 25. Soden's $A^{\pi p11}$; Tischendorf/Scrivener 15^{a}. Contains the Acts and Catholic Epistles complete. Dated paleographically to the tenth (Aland) or eleventh (Scrivener) century. Commentary manuscript, described by both Von Soden and Scrivener as that of Andreas the Presbyter. Von Soden classified it as I^{a1} (along with 36^{ac} 88 181 307 431 453 610 915 917 1829 1836(caths only) 1874 1898). Some of these manuscripts probably are not allies of 307, but at least some are; an examination of the data in the UBS^{4} apparatus to Acts shows that 36, 307, 453, 610, and 1678 (all Andreas manuscripts) agree over 90% of the time (and 100% or nearly in non-Byzantine readings; for details, see the entry on 453). Geer, based on the data compiled by the Alands (who classify 307 as Category III), notes a very high agreement of 307 with 453 and 2818 (the new number for 36). The situation is slightly more complicated in the Catholic Epistles; here Wachtel identifies a group containing 36 94 307 453 720 918 1678 2197, but does not place 307 in the same subgroup as 453. The text of 307 itself is said to have been "compared with Pamphilius'[s] revision" [Scrivener].

Manuscript 314

Oxford, Bodleian Library Barroc. 3. Soden's O^{11}; Tischendorf/Scrivener 23^{a}, 28^{p}, 6^{r}. Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse with severe mutilations. Losses include Acts 1:1–11:12 (with 1:1–3:10 replaced by a later hand), 14:6–17:19, 20:28–24:12, 1 Pet. 2:2–16, 3:7–21, 2 Cor. 9:15–11:9, Gal. 1:1–18, Eph. 6:1–19, Phil 4:18–23, Rev. 1:10–17, 9:12–18, 17:10–18:11. Dated paleographically to the eleventh century. Commentary manuscript; Scrivener describes it as having "scholia on the Epistles" (identified by Von Soden as the commentary of (the pseudo-)Oecumenius) and "a full and unique commentary on the Apocalypse." As usual, Von Soden simply describes it as an Oecumenius manuscript; in the Apocalypse he lists it as being of type K^{0}, but Merk modifies this to place it among the Arethas manuscripts. Schmid grouped it with the "a" or primary Byzantine group (headed by 046) in the Apocalypse. The Alands simply list it as Category V (i.e. Byzantine), though one wonders if they really had enough text of Acts for the determination to be reliable there. Scrivener calls it "a beautiful little book," and it certainly is small (13 cm. x 10 cm.), and in a small hand. Apart from the commentary, the only marginal equipment are the κεφαλαια; it also has prologues and τιτλοι but no lectionary or other apparatus.

Manuscript 317

Paris, National Library Greek 212. Soden's $N^{\iota31}$. Contains somewhat more than half of John (10:9–end), with a commentary reported by von Soden to be that of Nicetas. Dated paleographically to the twelfth century. Textually, relatively little is known about the manuscript. Wisse did not examine it, as it does not contain Luke, and von Soden simply listed it among

the Nicetas manuscripts (the other manuscripts with the Johannine portion of this commentary include 249 333 423 430 743). The Alands do not assign 317 to any Category, because they examined test readings only from the Synoptic Gospels. Thus 317 has never been subjected to any systematic textual evaluation.

Manuscript 319

Cambridge, England, Christ's College MS. DD.1.9 (Aland's number) or F.1.13 (James, Scrivener). Soden's α256; Tischendorf 24^{a}, 29^{p}. Collated by Scrivener and cited as l in his *Codex Augiensis.* 313 pages with 22 lines per page. James describes it as "Cent. xii, in a fine clear hand, hanging from lines ruled with the dry point." The *Liste* and Scrivener agree with the twelfth century date although Scrivener notes that there are many later corrections. James observes that the quires are "wrongly numbered by old hand," adding "There are a good many errors in the numbering of the quires." There are several cancels. Several leaves have been lost; Acts 18.20–20.14, James 5.14–1 Peter 1.4 are lacking. The order of the books is Acts, Catholics, Paul. Hebrews follows Philemon. Two leaves in 2 Timothy are out of order. The Alands list it as Category V (Byzantine). Based on an examination of Scrivener's collation of 319 in Galatians, this appears correct. There are only 35 differences from the Textus Receptus. One of these is corrected, and in one the corrector has messed up a Byzantine reading. Of the remaining 33, 17 are places where 319 is in fact Byzantine and the TR is not, or places where the Byzantine text divides and 319 follows one of the strands. Of the remaining 16 readings, about half are differences of spelling or accent. Almost all the remainder appear to be simple scribal slips.

322: see under 1739 and Family 1739; also 323

Manuscript 323

Location/Catalog Number

Geneva. Catalog number: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Gr. 20.

Contents

323 contains the Acts and Epistles. Acts 1:1–8, 2:36–45 are from a later hand; there are a few other minor defects. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the eleventh century. Scrivener calls it "beautifully but carelessly written, without subscriptions."

Description and Text-type

323 is very closely related to the fifteenth century minuscule 322; the two are evidently sisters. Beyond that, 323's closest affinity is with the members of Family 1739 and with the Byzantine text.

323 is at its closest to 1739 in the Catholic Epistles, particularly in 2 Peter-Jude. In those books it might almost be a copy of 1739 with some corruptions. In James and 1 Peter it still has affinities with family 1739, but the ties are weaker and the Byzantine text more prominent.

The situation is similar in Acts. 323 appears to belong with family 1739, but the Byzantine element is very strong. (So strong that Geer tried to classify it as a Byzantine member of family 1739!) For details on Geer's analysis, see the entry on 1739.

In Paul, 323 is almost entirely Byzantine. The few non-Byzantine readings hint at a family 1739 text (perhaps related to 945), but they are so few that no definite conclusions can be reached.

Von Soden lists 323 as I^{b2}. Aland and Aland list it as Category II in the Catholics and Category III elsewhere. Richards lists 323 as a member of Group A^{3} (Family 1739). Amphoux also associated it with 1739.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α157. Tischendorf: 29^{a}; 35^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26} for the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

Cited in NA^{27} for the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

Cited in UBS^{4} for the Catholic Epistles.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover, but rather sketchily (especially in Paul).

Other Works:

Thomas C. Geer, Jr., *Family 1739 in Acts* (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 1994). Consists mostly of tables comparing manuscripts 206, 322, 323, 429, 453, 522, 630, 945, 1704, 1739, 1891, 2200. The analysis is flawed, but the results are generally valid.

Manuscript 330 and Family 330

Location/Catalog Number

Saint Petersburg. Catalog number: Public Library Gr. 101.

Contents

330 originally contained the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse. It is now slightly damaged. 330 is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the twelfth century.

Description and Text-type

For the most part, 330 is a quite ordinary Byzantine manuscript. In the Gospels, for instance, Von Soden listed it as K^x and Wisse specifies it as Group 16 (a group close to K^x). Colwell describes 330 as part of Family 574 (=330 574 [Mix/K^xCluster 585 according to Wisse] and 1815+2127 [Π473 according to Wisse]) in the Gospels. The Alands classify it as Category V (Byzantine). Although there is obviously some doubt about the exact Byzantine group to which 330 belongs, there is no question but that it is Byzantine.

The same is true in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, where the Alands again list 330 as Category V. In the Johnannine Epistles, Richards lists 330 as Byzantine, assigning it specifically to Group B^1 (which also contains 319, 479, 483, 635, 1829, and 1891).

The situation is entirely different in Paul. Here the Alands upgrade the manuscript to Category III. But 330's content is, perhaps, even more interesting than the typical manuscript of that category.

330 has a highly distinct type of text shared by only three other known manuscripts: 451, which outside of Hebrews is almost close enough to 330 to be a sister; 2400 (according to Gary S. Dykes); and 2492, which seems to have a slightly more Alexandrian-influenced version of the same text. The text of family 330, as we have it, is largely Byzantine, but the remaining readings do not belong purely to either the Alexandrian or "Western" texts. The following list shows some of the unique or nearly unique readings of 330:

Rom. 15:19 πνευματος θεου **αγιου** [330 451]

1 Cor. 2:14 πνευματος (*omit* του θεου) [330 451 1506 pc pesh]

1 Cor. 15:5 τοις **ενδεκα** [D* F G 330 451 latt hark^{marg}]

2 Cor. 4:5 δια χριστον [326 330 451 1241 1984 1985 2492]

2 Cor. 9:4 τη υποστασει ταυτη της καυχεσεως **ημων** [330 2492]

2 Cor. 11:6 φανερωσαντες **εαυτους** [0121a 0243 330 451 630 1739 1881 2492]

2 Cor. 12:12 σημειοις και [A (D*) 330 451 2492 it am ful]

Phil. 2:5 τουτο **ουν** φρονειτε [330 451 2492]

Col. 4:8 γνω τα περι ημων [330 451 ℓ^{598} ℓ^{1356}]

Philem. 12 αναπεμψα συ δε αυτον προσλαβου τουτ εστιν τα εμα σπλαγχνα [330^{c} 451 2492]

Von Soden lists 330 as I^{a3} in the Acts and Epistles. This is interesting, since I^{a3} also contains 462 and 436, which Davies links to 330. Even Davies, however, admits that the strength of the link "varies," and 436 and 462 do not belong to Family 330. Still, Von Soden appears to be correct in believing the family to be linked, very loosely, with Family 2127 (often called Family 1319; see the information on 365 and Family 2127). The link probably comes via the Euthalian recension; 330 has the Euthalian apparatus.

There are also hints, although only very slight ones (due to 1506's fragmentary nature), that Family 330 should be linked to the text of 1506. Given 1506's extraordinary text, the matter deserves examination.

330 is not the best of the Family 330 texts. It is almost purely Byzantine in Hebrews. However, it is the only member of family 330 to have been published, and deserves fuller study.

The other members of Family 330 are as follows:

451. (Tischendorf/Scrivener 79^{a}, 90^{p}; von Soden α178). Contains the Acts and Epistles. Dated paleographically to the eleventh century, making it the oldest member of Family 330. (It is also probably the best.) Catalog number: Vatican Library (Rome) Urbin. Gr. 3. Classified by von Soden as K (Byzantine). This is probably accurate in the Acts and Catholics (though even here it probably pairs with 330). In Paul, of course, it is not true. The Alands more accurately list it as Category III in Paul, V in the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

2400. (Reported by Gary S. Dykes; I have not been able to personally verify this.) Catalog number: University of Chicago Ms. 965. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles with lacunae.

Dated by the Alands to the thirteenth century, but Dykes prefers the twelfth. He also reports that it was written by the same scribe as 1505. The Alands list it as "obviously Category V," and their figures support this in the Gospels, Acts, and Catholic Epistles, but with 74 non-Byzantine of 264 readings in Paul, it clearly deserves to be listed higher. In the Gospels, Wisse lists it as a weak member of Π^{a}.

2492. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century. Catalog number: St. Catherine's Monastery (Sinai) Gr. 1342. Listed by the Alands as "Clearly" Category III in Paul, Category III in the Catholics "with reservations," and Category V in the Gospels and Acts. Wisse lists it as a weak member of Π^{b} in the Gospels. Amphoux claims it can be linked to Family 1739 in the Catholics. All of these claims except the last appear to be true; while 2492 shares assorted readings with members of Family 1739, there are simply not enough such readings to imply kinship. 2492 in the Catholics seems simply to be a mostly Byzantine manuscript with scattered readings of all other types.
In Paul, of course, 2492 goes with 330 451, though it is not as close as the other two. It seems to have slightly more Alexandrian readings. Dykes reports that it is block-mixed, with a text purely of the 330 type in parts of Paul and an unrelated text elsewhere.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ259. Tischendorf: 330^{e}; 132^{a}; 131^{p}. Also cited as 8^{pe}.

Bibliography

Collations:

M. Davies, *The Text of the Pauline Epistles in MS. 2344* (Studies & Documents 38, 1968) collates 330 for Paul, and discusses its relationship with 436, 462, and especially 2344.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in UBS^{3} for the Acts, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles, but omitted from UBS^{4}.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover for Paul, but this collation is very bad.

Other Works:

E. C. Colwell, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar I,* History and Text, Chicago, 1936, examines assorted manuscripts in the gospels, placing 330 in Family 547

346: see under 13 and family 13

Manuscript 348

Milan, Ambrosian Library Barb. B. 56 Sup. Soden's ε121. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated by its colophon to December 29, 1022. Classified as $I^{\beta a}$ by von Soden, the other members of this group being 477 1279. Wisse lists it as a core member of Group 1216 (which corresponds to Von Soden's I^{β}), and though Wisse expels many of Soden's family members from the group (and lists no subgroups), he shows all three of the $I^{\beta a}$ manuscripts as part of Group 1216. Colwell also affirmed the existence of I^{β}. The Alands do not place 348 in any Category; this is fairly typical for manuscripts with a largely but not purely Byzantine text. Scrivener notes that it is in two columns, with Old Testament citations marked with an asterisk (a somewhat unusual notation). It has full lectionary and Eusebian equipment.

Sample plate in Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography* (plate 62).

Manuscript 349

Milan, Ambrosian Library F. 61 Sup. Soden's ε413. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated by its colophon to 1322. Classified as $I^{\Phi a}$ by von Soden, i.e. as a member of Family 1424 (the other members of this group are 517 954 1188(part) 1424 1675). Wisse does not quite agree; rather than placing 349 in Cluster 1675 (the approximate equivalent of Family 1424), he places 349 in M349, pairing it with 2388. (The M groups are roughly equivalent to von Soden's $I^{\Phi r}$). The Alands do not place 349 in any Category; this is fairly typical for manuscripts of this type. Physically, 349 has relatively little equipment: Ammonian sections but no Eusebian apparatus; lectionary tables but no indications in the text. It was taken from Corfu.

Manuscript 356

Cambridge (England), Emmanuelle College I.4.35. Soden's α255. Tischendorf's 53^{a}, 30^{p} (but note that it does not contain the Acts, only the Catholics, and those not complete). It is n in Scrivener's *Codex Augiensis.* M. R. James says of it "Cent. x, xi (Gregory says xii), in a most beautiful minute hand, hanging from lines ruled with a dry point." It needed to be in a minute hand; it is a tiny codex, 3⅝" by 3⅛" or 9.2 cm. x 7.8 cm. Despite this tiny size, there are 24 lines to the page. Not too surprisingly, it uses a very large number of abbreviations. There are 144 regular pages and one added page. According to an inscription, it was given to Emmanuelle college in 1598 by Samuel Wright. It contains the Catholic and Pauline Epistles, with several lacunae and disarrangements. The Catholic Epistles open the manuscript, but pages have been lost at the beginning. The first extant page probably begins with 2 Peter 2:1,

but is so illegible that the first really readable verse is 2 Peter 2:4. Many other portions of the manuscript are also very hard to read. The text continues to 1 John 3:20, then breaks off, to resume in the middle of the prologue to Romans (which is from Oecumenius). There is another lacuna from 1 Cor. 11:7–15:56. A second hand, "not quite so good," takes up the writing at 1 Tim. 6:5, and is responsible for the rest of the surviving text, which breaks off at Hebrews 11:27. There are pencilled notations in Latin from about century xiii. This obviously implies that it was brought into the Roman Catholic regions by that century. Scrivener, despite collating it, says nothing about its text, and von Soden did not classify it. The Alands put it in Category V (Byzantine).

Manuscript 365 and Family 2127

Location/Catalog Number

Florence. Catalog number: Laurentiana library. VI.36.

Contents

365 originally contained the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse, plus the Psalms. Rom. 1:18, 7:18–21, 8:3–31 have been lost. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century.

Description and Text-type

365 first examined by Scholz, then declared "lost" by Burgon when a librarian assured him there was no such manuscript. It was "rediscovered" by Gregory.

365 is primarily Byzantine in the Gospels, Acts, and Catholics. In Paul it is significantly different. Although it still has more Byzantine readings than anything else, there are a number of Alexandrian readings as well. The vast majority of these readings are shared with 2127 and other texts of what Bover, following the lead of von Soden, calls "family 1319" (a subgroup of the I^{a3} text, containing 1319, 2127, 256, 263, etc.; also evidently 1573. A better name would probably be Family 2127, as 2127 is probably the best manuscript of the type. There are hints of a connection with the Armenian; 256 is a Greek/Armenian diglot). 365 agrees with 2127 about 85% of the time (90% of the time in non-Byzantine readings), including such noteworthy readings as

Rom. 11:31 αυτοι υστερον [33 256 263 365 1319 1573 1852 1912 1962 2127 sa]

1 Cor. 12:9 omit εν τω ενι πνευματι [C* 256 365 1319 1573 2127]

Gal. 5:1 τη ελευθερια χριστος ημας ηλευθερωσεν στητε ουν [H 256 365 1175 (1319) 1573 1962 (2127)]

Heb. 7:14 περι ιερωσυνην μωυσης ουδεν ελαλησεν [104 256 263 365 442 1573 2127 2344]

Other important agreements with family 2127 (although not with 2127 itself) include:

Ending of Romans in the order 16:23, 16:25–27, 16:24 [P 33 104 256 263 436 459 1319 1573 1852 arm]

1 Cor. 15:14 add ετι εστε εν ταις αμαρτιαις υμων [365 1319 1573]

Von Soden, as noted, considered family 1319 to belong to the I type. However, it has many more Alexandrian than "Western" readings. 365 seems to be a slightly mixed member of the group (it is more Byzantine than, e.g., 2127), perhaps closest to 1573.

Von Soden lists 365 as I^{k} in the Gospels and K in the Acts and Epistles. Wisse lists it as Π^{b} in Luke (1319 and 2127 also belong to Family Π). Aland and Aland list 365 as Category III in the Paul and Category V elsewhere.

The following offers a brief summary of information about the various members of Family 2127 (note: The "cited in" data is for Paul, although von Soden, Merk, and Bover generally cite the same manuscripts in the Acts and Catholics):

MS	Date	Location	Catalog Number	Soden descrip.	Aland Categ'ry	Cited in	Comment
256	XI/XII	Paris	National Libr. Armen. 9	I^{a3}	II	Soden, Merk, Bover, UBS^{4}	Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse with lacunae. Greek/Armenian diglot. The Alands list it as Category II in Paul only; V elsewhere.
263	XIII	Paris	National Libr. Gr. 61	I^{a3}	III	Soden, Merk, Bover, UBS^{4}	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. The Alands list it as Category III in Paul only; V elsewhere. Von Soden lists as K^{1} in the Gospels; Wisse lists it as K^{x}. "Probably from Asia Minor" (Scrivener).
365	XIII	Florence	Laurentiana Libr. VI.36.	K	III	NA^{26}, NA^{27}, UBS^{4}	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles with lacunae. Valuable only in Paul.

1319	XII	Jerusalem	Taphu 47.	I^{a3}	III	Soden, Merk, Bover, UBS^{4}	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. The Alands list it as Category III in Paul only; V elsewhere. Von Soden lists as I^{k} in the Gospels; Wisse describes it as Π^{b}.
1573	XII/XIII	Athos	Vatopedi u 939		III	UBS^{4}	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. The Alands list it as Category III in Paul only; V elsewhere. Von Soden lists as Ir in the Gospels; Wisse describes it as Mix in Luke 1 and Group Λ in Luke 10 and 20.
2127	XII	Palermo	National Libr. Sep. Mus. 4; also Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis Collection	I^{a3}	II	Soden, Merk, Bover, UBS^{3}, UBS^{4}	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. The Alands list it as Category II in Paul only; V elsewhere. Von Soden lists as I^{β} in the Gospels and K in the Catholics; Wisse describes it as Π473. The number 1815 was also assigned to this manuscript. Probably the best manuscript of the family, although it seems to be prone to occasional short omissions.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ367. Tischendorf: 145^{a}; 181^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

M. Davies, *The Text of the Pauline Epistles in MS. 2344* (Studies & Documents 38, 1968) collates 365 for Galatians (only).

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26} and NA^{27} for Paul.

Cited in UBS^{4} for Paul.

Other Works:

Manuscript 372

Rome, Vatican Library Greek 1161. Soden's ε600. Contains the Gospels, breaking off at John 3:1. Dated to the fifteenth century by Scrivener, the sixteenth century by von Soden and Aland. Classified as I^{a} by von Soden, which would make it "Western" or "Cæsarean." Wisse does not find a relationship to the major manuscripts of either group, but concedes that it has a mixed text, which he describes as "very strange." The Alands do not assign 372 to any Category; this at least seems to confirm that it is not purely Byzantine. Scrivener describes it as "beautifully written," but lists it as having almost no marginal equipment (e.g. no lectionary information or Eusebian apparatus), and what it has is in Latin. One wonders if the Latin did not somehow influence the Greek.

Manuscript 383

Oxford, Bodleian Library E. D. Clarke 9. Soden's α353; Tischendorf's and Scrivener's 58^{a}, 224^{p}. Contains the Acts and Epistles (Heb. 13:7–end have been lost). Universally dated to the thirteenth century. Classified as I^{c2} by von Soden. In Acts, this places 383 with manuscripts such as 614 2147, with 1108 1245 1518 1611 2138 (I^{c1}) at a greater distance. This corresponds with conventional wisdom that makes 383 a secondary witness to the "Western" text of Acts. (Though it should be noted that it has not clearly been demonstrated that Family 2138, to which 383 evidently belongs, is actually "Western.") In Paul, 383 and its allies appear to be much more Byzantine (this is perhaps confirmed by the Alands, who declined to place 383 in a Category. This often indicates a manuscript largely but not purely Byzantine). In the Catholics, 383 is again grouped with 614 2147 etc. by Von Soden, but neither Wachtel nor Amphoux lists it as a member of Family 2138. It seems likely that it is again Byzantine in these books. Collated by August Pott in *Der abendlädische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Wuelle,* and has been used by many others such as Clark and Ropes in determining the "Western" text of Acts.

Manuscript 423

Munich, Bavarian State Library 36, 37. Soden's N$^{\mu 60}$, N$^{\iota 60}$; Tischendorf/Scrivener 423^{e}+425^{e}. Two volumes, the first containing Matthew (complete) with the catena of Nicetas (this is Tischendorf 423^{e}) and the second John (also complete and with what Scrivener calls a "very full" catena of Nicetas). The first volume contains a colophon dating it to 1566. The scribe is unnamed, but wrote two manuscripts which were in the Tischendorf list (424^{e}, a commentary on Luke, and 432^{e}, a commentary on Mark) which Gregory deleted from the catalog. It is not

certain that the manuscript was ever intended to include Mark or Luke; the Matthew volume is marked Tomos A and the John volume is Tomos B. Little is known of the text; Von Soden simply listed it as a Nicetas manuscript, and of course it did not contain Luke, so Wisse could not classify it. The Alands do not place it in any Category, but it is not clear whether this is because of its text or because of the limited sample size.

Manuscript 424

Location/Catalog Number

Vienna. Catalog number: Nat. Bibl. Theol. Gr. 302, folios 1–353.

Contents

424 contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation (the latter missing 15:6–17:3, 18:10–19:9, 20:8–22:21). It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the eleventh century. The original run of the text does not contain an unusual number of obvious errors, but the manuscript has been heavily corrected (see below).

Description and Text-type

The original text of 424 is of the ordinary Byzantine type of the period, and is in no way worthy of note. However, the manuscript has been subjected to a complete revision in the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, constituting many hundreds of alterations (with three hands reportedly involved; see also the entry on Correctors and Corrections). Some noteworthy examples include:

1 Cor. 1:14 omit τω θεω [א* B 6 424** 1739]

Gal 1:15 omit και καλεσας δια της χαριτος αυτου [P46 6 424** 1739 1881]

Eph. 1:1 omit εν εφεσω [P46 א B 6 424** 1739]

Eph. 4:28 omit ταις (ιδιαις) χερσιν [P 6 424** 1739 1881]

1 Tim. 3:14 omit προς σε (εν) [(F G) 6 263 424** 1739 1881]

2 Tim. 4:8 omit πασι [D** 6 424** (1739) 1881 lat Ambrst]

Heb. 2:9 χωρις θεου [0121b/0243 424** 1739* Origen^{mss}]

Heb. 5:12 omit τινα [075 6 424** 1739 1881]

It will be observed that 424** shares all of these readings with 1739. This pattern continues in the uncited readings; apart from trivial corrections, the corrections agree with 1739 over 90% of the time — and even where they do not agree with 1739, other members of family 1739 (e.g. 6, 1881) can be found which agree with 424**. (The connection of 1739 and 424** has been known almost since the former was discovered, and more recently was reaffirmed by Birdsall.)

Within family 1739, 424** is perhaps closest to 6 (see, e.g., their unique readings χαριτος for πιστεως in Rom. 12:3 and ευωχιαις in Jude 12). The two are by no means identical (as the list above shows), but 6 424** appear to me to form a subfamily within family 1739.

This does not mean that the corrected text of 424 is as important a text as 1739. It remains more Byzantine than anything else. But where 424** presents us with a non-Byzantine reading, it should be treated as very important, especially when supported by some other member of family 1739 such as 6, 1739, 1881, or 0243.

Von Soden lists 424** as H in the Acts and Epistles (with the (pseudo-)Oecumenius commentary on the Praxapostolos); in the Apocalypse he describes it as I^{o1}. Aland and Aland list 424* as Category V and 424** as Category III (in Paul and the Catholics). Richards lists 424* as belonging to group B^{6} and 424 as corrected as belonging to group M^{2} in 1 John and M^{W} in 2 and 3 John. (This, of course, ignores the obvious facts that 2 John and 3 John are too short to allow textual classification, the fact that "mixed" is not a text-type, and the fact that we should treat the corrections in 424 as distinct from 424 as corrected.) In the Apocalypse, Schmid placed it in the "b" group of the K type.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: O^{12}. Tischendorf: 66^{a}; 67^{p}; 34^{r}

Bibliography

J.N. Birdsall, *A Study of MS. 1739 and its Relationship to MSS. 6, 424, 1908, and M* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1959)

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in UBS^{4} for Paul.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover, but very imperfectly.

Also cited frequently by Souter.

Other Works:

Manuscript 429

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 16.7 A0. Soden's α398 (Acts and Epistles), α1471 (Apocalypse); Tischendorf/Scrivener 69^{a}, 74^{p}, 30$^{r.}$ Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse complete. The Acts and Epistles were written by a monk named George in the thirteenth (Scrivener) or fourteenth (Aland) century. The Apocalypse was added later in a fourteenth (Scrivener) or fifteenth (Aland) century hand. The manuscript has relatively little in the way of reader aids, but has "many marginal readings." The text is an interesting mix; Von Soden classifies it as I^{b1} in the Acts and Epistles (grouping it with 206 522 1758 1831 1891 etc.) and as K in the Apocalypse, but in fact the matter is much more complicated. The Alands correctly assess it as Category III in the Acts and Catholic Epistles and as Category V in Paul and the Apocalypse. In the Acts, 429 has been shown by Geer to belong with Family 1739 (206 322 323 429 522 630 945 1704 1739 1891 2200), being closest to 206 522. Like 206 and 522 — and also 630 and 2200, with which 429 seems to form a group — 429 shifts to Family 2138 in the Catholic Epistles (where its classification has been confirmed by both Amphoux and Wachtel). The manuscript (again like 206 522, but unlike 630 2200) loses almost all value in Paul, however; the Alands correctly assess it as Byzantine. In the Apocalypse, 429 falls within the main or "a" Byzantine group headed by 046. See also under 2138 and Family 2138 and 1739 and Family 1739 as well at the extensive discussion under 206.

Manuscript 430

Munich, Bavarian State Library 437. Soden's N^{t11}. Contains only a fragment of the Gospel of John (1:1–8:14), with the commentary of Nicetas. Dated to the eleventh century by all authorities. Its text, unfortunately, has never been properly assessed; Von Soden simply lists it as a Nicetas manuscript, and Wisse and the Alands did not profile the text of John.

Manuscript 431

Stasbourg, Seminary 1. Soden's δ268; Tischendorf/Scrivener 431^{e}, 180^{a}, 238^{p}. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Dated to the eleventh century by Scrivener, to the twelfth by von Soden and Aland. In the Gospels, von Soden lists it as A^{k} and Wisse as 1167 (indicating rough agreement, as six of Von Soden's A^{k} witnesses are listed by Wisse as part of 1167). The Alands list it as Category V, i.e. Byzantine. In the Acts and Catholic Epistles, the text is more interesting; here the Alands raise it to Category III, and von Soden lists it as I^{a1} (which in Acts includes the "Western" text, but clearly von Soden is actually placing it with the rather amorphous but interesting group of minuscules 36 88 181 307 453 610 915 917 1829 1874

1898). Amphoux, however, mentions it as a member of Family 2138 (though this is perhaps on the basis of its affinities in the Catholic Epistles). This is not supported by Wachtel, who lists it simply as a manuscript with 20–30% non-Byzantine readings — and indeed, his evidence makes it highly unlikely that it is a member of Family 2138. In Paul, von Soden still reports the manuscript to be I^{a1}, but the Alands return it to Category V. Scrivener simply says that the manuscript has "many unusual readings," but it is not clear which part of the manuscript he is referring to.

Manuscript 436

Location/Catalog Number

Rome. Catalog number: Vatican Library Gr. 436.

Contents

436 contains the Acts and Epistles. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Usually dated paleographically to the eleventh century; NA^{27} moves it up to the tenth century.

Description and Text-type

436 is generally regarded as a mixed Alexandrian manuscript (so, e.g. the Alands place it in Category III). Wachtel lists it in the least Byzantine (40%) category in the Catholic Epistles, pairing it with 1067.

Von Soden classifies 436 as I^{a3}, but this group in fact consists mostly of mixed Alexandrian witnesses. Thus von Soden's classification implicitly agrees with that of the Alands.

Detailed investigation seems generally to support Wachtel's conclusions in the Catholics. It is one of the better minuscules, and agrees most strongly with A, 33, and the Bohairic Coptic, making it a primary witness to the dominant form of the Alexandrian text. It has very few unique readings.

In Paul the manuscript is somewhat less good; it agrees with the Byzantine text more than anything else. Apart perhaps from 1067, it seems to fall closest to 104. Even this kinship is rather distant. Overall, the ancestry of the text seems to belong with 1962, family 2127, and the other late Alexandrian manuscripts (this agrees generally with von Soden's results).

As far back as the nineteenth century, 436 was linked with 69, and Davies extends this group to include 462 (known to be very closely related to 69), 330, and 2344. The link to 330 appears

false; their similarities lie simply in late Alexandrian readings. The tie to 69 and 462 appears stronger; 436 and 462 have high rates of agreement where both are non-Byzantine. However, they are not immediate kin; an examination of Davies's collations shows that they do not share many special readings, and that they have each suffered distinct patterns of Byzantine corruptions (with 462 being much the more Byzantine of the two; it is closer to the Byzantine text than to 436).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α172. Tischendorf: 73^{a}; 80^{p}.

Bibliography

Collations:

M. Davies, *The Text of the Pauline Epistles in MS. 2344* (Studies & Documents 38, 1968) collates 436 for Paul, and discusses its relationship with 330, 462, and especially 2344.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in UBS^{3} for the Acts and Epistles, and in UBS^{4} for Paul and the Catholics.

Cited in von Soden, Merk, and Bover for the Acts and Epistles.

Other Works:

Manuscript 443

Cambridge, University Library Nn.ii.36. Soden's ε270. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated paleographically to the twelfth century by all authorities. Classified by von Soden as I^{o}; this amorphous group also contains U X 213 1071 1321(part) 1574 2145. This is not confirmed by Wisse (who dissolves Io, and evidently with good reason); he reports 443 as a member of M159 (along with 159 and part of 1557). The Alands list 443 as Category V. Scrivener reports that the ordinary κεφαλαια have been subdivided in this manuscript. It has the Eusebian apparatus, but the lectionary data is partial, coming from another, apparently later hand.

Manuscript 451

Rome, Vatican Library Urbin. Gr. 3. Soden's α178; Tischendorf/Scrivener 79^{a}, 90^{p}. Contains the Acts and Epistles complete. Universally dated to the eleventh century. Von Soden lists it as a K witness, and this appears to be true in the Acts and Catholic Epistles. Certainly the Alands concur, placing 451 in Category V in those books, with only three non-Byzantine readings (out

of 105) in Acts and 8 (out of 98) in the Catholics. Matters change entirely in Paul, and the Alands reflect this by upgrading the manuscript to Category III. Here 451 is a clear and obvious member of family 330; the two agree in fully 436 of 464 test readings, including 75 of 77 readings where both are non-Byzantine. Over a third of their 28 differences are in Hebrews, where 330 is largely Byzantine. (The third member of this family, 2492, is by no means this close to the other two.) It is possible that 451 and 330 are sisters, with the common exemplar having some corrections between the time 451 and 330 were copied. Certainly the two have a common ancestor not far back in their ancestry. It is conceivable that 451 is the ancestor of 330, but this seems somewhat unlikely, as the following readings from the apparatus of GNT^{3} demonstrate:

Rom. 4:11 — 451 λογισθηναι αυτον; 330 (+א* A B 81 630 1739 1881) λογισθηναι και; 2492 *Byz* λογισθηναι

Eph. 5:9 — 451 (+P^{46} Dc *Byz*) πνευματος; 330 (+P^{49} א A B D* F G 33 81 1738* 1881 al) φωτος

2 Tim. 4:22 — 451 η χαρις μεθ υμων. αμην (supported by all other Greek manuscripts, with variants); 330 sa^{mss} Ambrosiaster? Pelagius? omit

For more about family 330, see the notes on 330.

Manuscript 453 and Family 453

Location/Catalog Number

Rome. Catalog number: Vatican Library Barb. Greek 582.

Contents

453 contains the Acts and Catholic Epistles complete, with a commentary (reported by Von Soden to be that of Andreas).

Date/Scribe

Dated by the *Kurzgefasste Liste,* following Gregory, to the fourteenth century. Scrivener listed an eleventh century date, but his information was incomplete. Scholz was unable to see the manuscript, and Scrivener's list says that the manuscript "contains but one chapter of the Acts and the Catholic Epistles."

Description and Text-type

Von Soden lists 453 as a member of I^{a1} in Acts, a diverse group containing, e.g., D 88 181 431 915 917 1829 1874 1898. But this group also contains 36 (now renumbered 2818) 307 453 610. All of these manuscripts, according to Von Soden, have the Andreas commentary, and they are certainly closely related. The following shows the percentage agreements of these manuscripts, and certain control manuscripts, in the variants noted in UBS^4. Agreements over 90% are highlighted:

ms	36	307	453	610	1678
P^{74}	59%	60%	59%	60%	57%
ℵ*	55%	57%	55%	57%	55%
A	60%	58%	58%	58%	57%
B	47%	48%	49%	47%	46%
C	75%	75%	72%	73%	72%
D	26%	27%	28%	28%	28%
E	66%	65%	66%	66%	65%
L	64%	64%	65%	64%	64%
P	64%	65%	66%	65%	65%
Ψ	70%	69%	68%	71%	70%
33	70%	71%	70%	72%	69%
36	100%	96%	94%	97%	94%
81	62%	63%	63%	63%	62%
181	67%	70%	69%	72%	70%
307	96%	100%	97%	98%	95%
323	71%	71%	73%	73%	74%
453	94%	97%	100%	96%	95%
610	97%	98%	96%	100%	97%
614	60%	61%	62%	62%	62%
945	78%	78%	78%	80%	78%
1175	70%	71%	71%	72%	68%
1409	68%	68%	70%	71%	69%
1505	71%	72%	72%	71%	70%
1678	94%	95%	95%	97%	100%
1739	75%	76%	76%	76%	73%
1891	78%	79%	79%	80%	78%
2344	68%	69%	69%	70%	68%

(We should note that Von Soden lists several other Andreas manuscripts: K/018, 437, 832, 886, 1895, 2186. K, however, does not contain the Acts — and is Byzantine in any case. 832 2186 also lack Acts. 437 887 1895 contain Acts, but based on the information compiled by the Alands, they cannot be true members of Family 453; either they are severely mixed or they belong to another text-type.)

These numbers demonstrate clearly that there is a group consisting of these five manuscripts. The question then becomes, what is the nature of the Family 453 text? The Alands esteem it highly; in Acts, they list 36 as Category II and 307 453 610 1678 as Category III (we should note, however, that there is no reason, based on their numbers, to separate 36 from the other four; all have almost exactly the same ratio of Byzantine readings to UBS readings). But the Alands' classification does not characterize text-types; it simply tells us how non-Byzantine a manuscript is. If we look at the above list, it would appear that the members of Family 36 fall closer to 1739 than to any of the other primary manuscripts (e.g. א A B D L P 614). And indeed, we find Thomas C. Geer, Jr., who studied Family 1739 in Acts, labeling 453 as a weak member: it is "somewhat significantly related to [the leading manuscripts of Family 1739]" — but he adds that it "does not have a strong enough relationship to be considered a leading member of the family.... it is already clear that it is a 'cousin' at best" (*Family 1739 in Acts,* p. 100). Geer did not study the other members of Family 453, but there is every reason to believe that he would have regarded the other members similarly. The evidence listed in the table above is also inconclusive; while 453 and its relatives agree with 1739 on the order of 75% of the time in the sample (which those who follow the Colwell Definition would regard as close enough to belong to a text-type), it should be noted that the above sample is biased; it contains many readings where D opposes the entire Greek tradition — readings which should not be counted under the Colwell definition. If these are omitted, the agreement between 1739 and Family 453 falls well below the 70% threshold (on the order of 65%). It's also noteworthy that 453 agrees more with 1739's more Byzantine relatives (945 1891) than with 1739 itself. Finally, if we examine the number of non-Byzantine agreements in the above sample, 453 does *not* stand all that close to 1739; it has 37 such agreements with 1739, but 37 also with P^{74} and B (even though P^{74} is not complete), 36 agreements with א — and, by comparison, 53 non-Byzantine agreements with 36, 57 with 307, 50 with 610, and 53 with 1678. Thus it would seem likely that 453 and Family 453, while they may share common influences with Family 1739, are not truly members of the same text-type (though a fuller study would be needed to make this certain; Geer's work, even if one ignores several methodological problems, did not examine Family 453 as a whole, and the data for Acts given above is based on too small a sample).

In the Catholic Epistles, the situation changes somewhat. The Alands' data implies that 453 and its relatives are much more Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles than in Acts. Wachtel elaborates this analysis of the data considerably. 453 and its relatives are listed among the

manuscripts with a text 30–40% non-Byzantine. Within this class (not really a text-type), we find 453 heading a group of eight manuscripts: 36, 94, 307, 453, 918, 920, 1678, 2197. 36, 307, and 1678 we of course recognize as members of Family 453 in Acts. 94 is reported by Von Soden to have Oecumenius's commentary on the Acts and Epistles, but has Andreas on the Apocalypse. 918 is listed as another Oecumenius manuscript by Von Soden (though the *Kurzgefasste Liste* does not show it as having a commentary); it does not contain Acts. 920 is not a commentary manuscript, but Von Soden lists it as another I^{a} manuscript (although von Soden assigns it to the I^{a3} group rather than I^{a1}). 2197 contains only Paul and Catholic Epistles, and Von Soden does not seem to have classified it outside Paul (since he lists it simply as a Theophylact/Paul manuscript).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: $A^{\pi p40}$

Tischendorf/Scrivener: 453^{a}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in UBS^{4} for Acts.

Other Works:

Thomas C. Geer, Jr., *Family 1739 in Acts,* Scholars Press, 1994, discusses 453 in the context of Family 1739.

Manuscript 472

London, Lambeth Palace 1177. Soden's ε1386; Scrivener's $511^{e}/c^{scr}$. Contains the Gospels with extensive lacunae (lacking Matt. 4:1–7:6, 20:21–21:12, Luke 4:29–5:1, 16:24–17:13, 20:19–41, John 6:51–8:2, 12:20–40, 14:27–15:13, 17:6–18:2, 18:37–19:14). Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century by Aland and von Soden; Scrivener says eleventh or twelfth. Classified by von Soden as I', that is, among the miscellaneous "Western"/Byzantine mixed manuscripts. Wisse's data would seem to at least allow the possibility that it is mixed with something not quite Byzantine; he lists it as "Mix/K^{mix}/Mix; pair with 1009." This is given some additional support by the Alands, who do not assign 472 to any Category. Scrivener notes that it is "for valuable readings by far the most important at Lambeth [presumably of the

gospel minuscules], shamefully ill written, torn and much mutilated." It has rather incomplete equipment: Ammonian sections but no Eusebian data; lectionary markings and Synaxarion but no Menologion; partial κεφαλαια.

Manuscript 473

London, Lambeth Palace 1178. Soden's ε1390; Scrivener's $512^{e}/d^{scr}$. Contains the Gospels, now complete (the first few leaves, containing introductory matter and Matt. 1:1–8, were lost for a time). Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century by the Liste and von Soden; Scrivener offers the curious dating "xi or xiv." Classified by von Soden as I^{kc}, that is, as part of the third group of Family Π witnesses, along with such manuscripts as 229 280 482 1354. Wisse's results generally confirm this; 473 is listed as a member of Π473 — although it should be noted that none of von Soden's other I^{kc} witnesses are part of Π473. The Alands classify 473 as Category V. Physically, Scrivener describes the manuscript as "A noble-looking copy" and written "in a fine hand, splendidly illuminated, and with much curious matter in the subscriptions." It has the usual Eusebian apparatus and lectionary equipment.

Manuscript 476

London, British Museum, Arundel 524. Soden's ε1126; Scrivener's $566^{e}/h^{scr}$. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated paleographically to the eleventh century by all authorities. Classified by von Soden as K^{1}. Wisse almost agrees, listing the manuscript as K^{x} (to Wisse, K_{1} is part of K^{x}). As one would expect, the Alands classify 476 as Category V. Physically, 476 is rather small (just more than 17x13 cm), but otherwise un-noteworthy; it has the usual Eusebian and lectionary apparatus.

Manuscript 477

Cambridge, Trinity College B.X.17. Soden's ε350; Scrivener's 508^{e}, which he included in his collations as i. Contains the Gospels, on vellum with some leaves of paper. The *Kurzgefasste Liste* says it is complete, but M. R. James notes that quire IH* has lost its fourth leaf, and quires ΛH and M have lost their eighth leaves. In addition, there are twelve leaves which have been replaced by cancels. Despite the cancels. James calls it "well written." Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century by all recent authorities (Bentley, who gave it to Trinity College — it was originally from the monastery of Pantocrator on Athos — dated it xi). Classified by von Soden as $I^{\beta a}$; other members of this group include 348 and 1279; and the "b" group of this type contains 16 1216 1579 1588(part). Wisse gives a similar classification, placing 477 in Group 1216 (one of two groups Wisse associated with I^{β}, Group 16 being the other). Wisse calls Group 1216 clearly distinct from K^{x}, but the Alands classify 477 as Category V. It has only limited marginalia: Ammonian Sections but no Eusebian apparatus, and while the

lectionary information is present, there is no menologion. Even the synaxarion may be an afterthought, as it (and the hypotheses to Matthew) are on six paper leaves at the beginning while the remainder of the manuscript (including the list of readings at the end) is parchment.

Manuscript 482

British Library Burney 20. Soden's ε329; Scrivener's $570^{e}/p^{scr}$. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated by its colophon to 1285 — although, in an interesting forgery, this has been altered to read 985 (the two have the same Indiction). Classified by von Soden as I^{Kc}, that is, as part of the third group of Family Π witnesses, along with such manuscripts as 229 280 473 1354. Wisse's results partly confirm this; he lists 482 as $K^{x}/\Pi^{a}/\Pi^{a}$. Scrivener, who collated the manuscript, comments that it is "quite equal in value to Cod. c^{scr} [472, which shows in Wisse's list as primarily mixed].... and often agrees closely with w^{scr} [489, which is listed by Wisse as pure Π^{a}]." The Alands, however, assign 482 to Category V. As members of Family Π more often than not are uncategorized in the Alands' lists, they would seem to supply some faint support for the Wisse's contention that 482 has some K^{x} content. The manuscript was written by a monk named Theophilus, and Scrivener reports that it has "many corrections" from a later hand, which also added the lectionary lists (though the lectionary markings in the text, like the Eusebian apparatus, are from the first hand).

Manuscript 485

London, British Library Burney 23. Soden's ε1386; Scrivener's $572^{e}/s^{scr}$. Contains the Gospels with major lacunae (lacking Luke 5:22–9:32, 11:31–12:25, 27:24–28:4, John 8:14–end). Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century by von Soden and Aland; Scrivener suggests the twelfth. Classified by von Soden as I', i.e. in the miscellaneous vaguely "Western" witnesses. Wisse classifies it as K^{x}, and this is supported by the Alands, who list it as Category V. Von Soden may have been confused by the way it was written; Scrivener describes the manuscript as "boldly but carelessly written" — though he also comments "with many later changes and weighty readings." It has full lectionary equipment and the Ammonian Sections, but not the Eusebian apparatus.

Manuscript 489

Cambridge, Trinity College B.X.16. Soden's δ459; Tischendorf's 489^{e}, 195^{a}, 252^{p}. Scrivener's 507^{e}, 224^{a}, 260^{p}; he collates it in *Codex Augiensis*, using the symbol w in the Gospels and k in the Epistles. Hort used the number 102 for it. Contains the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse, plus much additional material. The order is Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Paul, with Hebrews at the end. It has just about every reader help ever invented — lectionary lists, prologues (although some of these are slightly disarranged), Eusebian apparatus, you name it.

At the end, it also has the Pseudo-Dorotheus's treatise on the 72 disciples, a brief *vita Jacobi,* and some other odds and ends (all this, including the synaxarion and calendar of readings, occupies only a couple of dozen pages, although there are lacunae and the end seems to be lost). The colophon credits it to Jacobus, on Mount Sinai, and dates it to 1316. Scrivener describes it as "inelegantly written." It is notable that there are fully a dozen cancels in the last several quires (although no fewer than nine of these are in quire κα, so it may just be that this quire was messed up beyond fixing). Classified by von Soden as $I^{\kappa a}$ in the gospels and I^{a2} in the Acts and Epistles. The former assessment is confirmed by Wisse, who describes 489 as Π^{a} in all chapters of Luke. He pairs it with 1216 — an interesting assessment, since 1216 (which is dated XI century) remains at Sinai. The relationship between the two might be worth examining. Scrivener also mentions a similarity to his 570^{e}, i.e. 482 (XII century). This relationship may not be genetic; 482 is listed by Wisse as Π^{a} in Luke 10 and 20, but K^{x} in Luke 1; probably what Scrivener noticed was simply the Family Π readings. The Alands do not place 489 in any Category; this is fairly typical of their treatment of Family Π manuscripts. The text of the Acts and Epistles might warrant further examination.

Manuscript 495

London, British Museum Add. 16183. Soden's ε243; Scrivener's 581^{e}. Contains the Gospels complete, though some of the introductory material has been lost. Dated paleographically to the twelfth century. Classified by von Soden as I', i.e. in the miscellaneous vaguely "Western" witnesses. Wisse classifies it as K^{mix}, while the Alands do not list it as belonging to any Category. All of these descriptions, diverse as they sound, imply much the same thing: A manuscript clearly Byzantine, but with some readings not associated with K^{x}. Whether these readings have any real value must await a more detailed study. It has a full apparatus (Eusebian materials, lectionary equipment, etc.), though the Eusebian tables were not finished. The hand is described by Scrivener as "minute." The manuscript is thought to have been taken from Sinai.

Manuscript 517

Oxford, Christ Church Wake 34. Soden's ε167, α214; Tischendorf/Old Gregory 517^{e}, 190^{a}, 244^{p}, 27^{r}; Scrivener 503^{e}, 190^{a}, 244^{p}, 27^{r}. Contains the New Testament with major lacunae (missing Mark 16:2–17, Luke 2:15–47, 6:42–end, all of John, Heb. 7:26–9:28, 1 Jo. 3:19–4:9, and possibly other passages). Dated paleographically to the eleventh or twelfth century (von Soden lists the Gospels as XI, the rest as XII; the *Liste* describes the whole as XI/XII; Scrivener also says XI/XII). The order of the pages is peculiar; Scrivener writes, "[t]his remarkable copy begins with the υποθεσις to 2 Peter, the second leaf contains Acts [17:24–18:13] misplaced, then follow the five later Catholic Epistles.... with υποθεσις: then the Apocalypse on the same page as Jude ends, and the υποθεσις to Romans on the same page

as the Apocalypse ends, and then the Pauline Epistles.... All the the Epistles have.... Oecumenius's smaller (not the Euthalian) [κεφαλαια], with much *lect. primâ manu*, and *syn*. later. Last, but seemingly misplaced by an early binder, follow the Gospels [with the Ammonian sections but no Eusebian material]." Textually, Von Soden places 517 in his $I^{\Phi a}$ group (what Streeter called Family 1424) in the Gospels; other members of this group include 349 1188(part) 954 1424 1675. Wisse lists 517 as a core member of Cluster 1675; this is essentially the same group, containing 517 954 1349 (part) 1424 1675. The Alands do not assign 517 to any Category; this is typical of manuscripts which are mostly but not entirely Byzantine. In the Acts and Epistles, Von Soden lists 517 as K (Byzantine), and there seems no reason to doubt this. In the Apocalypse, though Von Soden listed it as I^{o2}, Schmid placed it in the dominant or "a" group of the Byzantine text headed by 046.

Manuscript 522

Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Greek 34. Soden's δ602; Tischendorf/Old Gregory 522^{e}, 200^{a}, 267^{p}, 98^{r}; Scrivener 488^{e}, 211^{a}, 249^{p}, 98^{r}; also k^{scr}. Contains the New Testament with minor lacunae (missing Rev. 2:11–23). Dated by its colophon to the year 1515/1516. The text varies from section to section; Von Soden lists it as K^{x} in the Gospels, and the Alands concur to the extent of placing it in Category V. (Wisse, unfortunately, did not profile the manuscript, probably due to its late date.) In the Acts and Epistles, things are more interesting. Von Soden classifies it as I^{b1}, (grouping it with 206 429 1758 1831 1891 etc.) and as I^{b} in the Apocalypse, but this description is at best incomplete. The Alands correctly assess 522 as Category III in the Acts and Catholic Epistles and as Category V in Paul and the Apocalypse. In the Acts and Catholic Epistles, 522 has been shown by Geer to belong with Family 1739 (206 322 323 429 522 630 945 1704 1739 1891 2200), being closest to 206 429. Like 206 and 429 — and also 630 and 2200, with which 522 seems to form a group — 522 shifts to Family 2138 in the Catholic Epistles (where its classification has been confirmed by both Amphoux and Wachtel). The manuscript (again like 206 429, but unlike 630 2200) loses almost all value in Paul, however; the Alands are correct in listing it as Byzantine. In the Apocalypse, 522 falls within the main or "a" Byzantine group headed by 046. It was written by a Cretan, Michael Damascenus, for John Francis Picus of Mirandola. It has no lectionary and very little other equipment, but does have Oecumenius's and Euthalius's prologues (Scrivener). See also under 2138 and Family 2138 and 1739 and Family 1739 as well at the extensive discussion under 206.

Manuscript 528

Oxford, Bodleian Library Cromwell 16. Soden's ε148; Tischendorf/Old Gregory 528^{e}; Scrivener 483^{e}. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated paleographically to the eleventh century by all authorities. It has a very full apparatus, with κεφαλια, τιτλοι, lectionary apparatus, and the Eusebian marginalia.

Textually, it has no independent value; although Nicholson once declared it “well worth proper examination,” the Alands place it in Category V. Von Soden listed its text as K^{x}, and Wisse concurs. Its value lies primarily in its art; the initial illustration, of Matthew writing his gospel set on an embossed gold background, is often reproduced. The book originated on Mount Athos and was given to the Bodleian in 1727. It has been suggested that the book was produced in the “Ephraim scriptorium,” i.e. the monastery responsible for manuscripts such as 1582 and 1739. The style makes this possible, but the text shows no sign of the textual value associated with Ephraim’s own works.

Manuscript 536

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan MS. 24 (previously B.C. II.7). Soden’s δ264; Tischendorf/Old Gregory 535^{e}, 201^{a}; Scrivener 549^{e}, 219^{a}. Contains the Gospels complete and the Acts to 26:24, with some additional material. Dated paleographically to the twelfth or thirteenth century (von Soden preferring the former, the *Liste* offering the latter, and Scrivener allowing either). Von Soden lists the text-type as K^{r} in the Gospels, but Wisse does not confirm this; he lists it as Kmix/Π200/K^{x}. In the Acts, von Soden lists the type as I^{b1} (corresponding very loosely with Family 1739, although this kinship has not to this point been tested). The Alands do not assign 536 to any Category, which would appear to confirm that it is not entirely Byzantine. Physically, it is an unusual production; Scrivener writes, “a very curious volume in ancient binding with two metal plates on the covers much resembling that of B.-C. I.7 [=534]… [The writing is] unusually full of abbreviations, and the margins gradually contracting, as if vellum was becoming scarce. The last five pages are in another, though contemporary hand. Seven pages contain Gregory Nazianzen’s heroic verses on the Lord’s genealogy, and others on His miracles and parables, partly in red, precede κεφ *t.* to St. Matthew; other such verses of Gregory precede SS. Mark and Luke, and follow St. John.... In the Gospels there is a *prol.,* and no chapter divisions in the Acts, but a few capitals in red. Pretty illuminations precede each book.” The manuscript has only the most limited marginalia (perhaps due to the compressed margins?); lectionary equipment is entirely lacking, and the Eusebian apparatus has been noted on only one page.

Manuscript 543

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan MS. 30 (previously B.C. III.10). Soden’s ε257, Scrivener 556^{e}. Contains the Gospels with several minor lacunae, each of a single page; missing are Matt. 12:11–13:10, Mark 8:4–28, Luke 15:20–16:9, John 2:22–4:6, 4:53–5:43, 11:21–47; in addition, John 1:51–2:22 has been misplaced by the binders. Dated paleographically to the twelfth century. Its textual kinship with Family 13 has been recognized since the time of Scrivener, and it shows the Ferrar variant of placing the story of the Adulteress after Luke 21:28. Textually, von Soden lists it as I^{ic}, i.e. with the c group of Family 13; this group also includes 230 346 826 828, and is probably the best Ferrar subgroup. Wisse also describes it

as a member of Family 13 (though he refuses to subdivide the family); he also notes that "[e]ither MS 543 or 826 could represent the whole group in a critical apparatus" (p. 106). The Alands do not classify 543's text in such detail; they simply describe it as Category III — but also include it among the manuscripts which witness to Family 13.

Manuscript 545

Ann Arbor, University of Michigan MS. 15 (previously B.C. III.5). Soden's ε511, Scrivener 555^{e}. Contains the Gospels complete, though Scrivener notes that the "leaves [have been] much misplaced in the binding." Dated by its colophon to the year 1430. Von Soden listed its text-type as I^{r}, i.e. the Λ group, along with 262 1187 1666 1573. This is not, however, confirmed by Wisse, who makes 545 a core member of Cluster 585 (along with 331 574(part) 585 2375); Wisse believes this group somewhat related to Group 22. The Alands offer little help here; they do not place the manuscript in any Category. It has a fairly full set of reader helps along with a number of pictures.

Manuscript 565

Location/Catalog Number

Saint Petersburg. Catalog number: Public Library Gr. 53. Originally found in Houmish-Khan in the Caucasus.

Contents

565 contains the gospels with lacunae (missing John 11:26–48, 13:2–23, and with Matt. 20:18–26, 21:45–22:9, Luke 10:36–11:2, 18:25–37, 20:24–26, John 17:1–12 from another hand). It is written on purple parchment (one of only two known purple minuscules, 1143 being the other) with gold ink. It has one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Widely known as the "Empress Theodora's Codex," and said by some to have been written by her. If we pay this any attention at all, it cannot have been Justinian's wife, but rather the Theodora who died in 867 — but in any case it is only a legend. It is dated paleographically to the ninth or tenth centuries (Von Muralt and Belsheim explicitly prefer the ninth; Hort, Gregory, and Von Soden all list it as ninth or tenth.) Of the writing, Hatch notes, "Words written continuously without separation; accents and breathings; ruling with a sharp point, letters on the line [except in the supplements]; high, middle, and low points; initials gold.... O.T. quotations not indicated." It has the Ammonian sections, but the Eusebian equipment is from another hand.

Description and Text-type

565 possesses several marginal annotations of interest, e.g. it omits John 7:53f. with a comment that it is not found in current copies. The insertion "blessed are you among women" in Luke 1:28 is also omitted (it is found in the margin with a note that it is not in the ancient copies).

565 contains the famous "Jerusalem Colophon" after Mark, stating that the manuscript was derived from "ancient manuscript at Jerusalem," copies of which were preserved on the Holy Mountain" (=Mount Athos). It is interesting that the text of Mark, which bears this inscription, is the least Byznatine part of the manuscript — but also worth noting that many of the manuscripts which bear this colophon (e.g. Λ) are entirely Byzantine.

The combination of purple vellum, unusual text, and marginal comments made 565 noteworthy from the moment it came to scholars' attention. Hort, for instance, notes it as an interesting text for its "Western" readings, but really didn't study it in depth.

It was B. H. Streeter who put the manuscript "on the map" when he connected it with the "Cæsarean" text. In Mark, Streeter thought 565 to be one of the best witnesses to this text (though it is far less noteworthy elsewhere; Streeter calls it the weakest of the "Cæsarean" witnesses in the other three gospels). Even Hurtado, who has done much to dissolve the "Cæsarean" text, finds a very close relationship between Θ and 565 in Mark.

Other studies have generally supported Streeter's analysis of the shifting nature of the text, though not all support his "Cæsarean" classification. Von Soden, e.g., listed 565 in Mark and Luke 1:1–2:21 as I^{α} — i.e. as a member of the main "Western/Cæsarean" — while placing it in Ka (Byzantine) in Matthew and the rest of Luke, and listing it as H^{r} in John. There are, of course, some good readings in Matthew and Luke, and rather more in John, but the Alands (who place it in Category III) point out that its rate of non-Byzantine readings is "raised by Mark, with Matthew and Luke far lower." This corresponds with Von Soden's information, save that the Alands did not examine John (where, however, a casual examination shows that 565 is not purely Byzantine, though it is not purely anything else, either). NA^{27}, in fact, implies that, except for Mark, the larger portions of the gospels are supplements from other hands.

Wisse classifies 565 as a core member of Group B in Luke 1 (!), and lists it as belonging to K^{x} in Luke 10 and 20. This too seems to loosely support Von Soden's data, though it doesn't really say much either way about Streeter's "Cæsarean" claim.

If there is any conclusion we can draw from this, it is simply that the manuscript is worthy of great attention in Mark, less in John and the early chapters of Luke, and almost none in Matthew or the last twenty chapters of Luke.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε93. Scrivener: 473. Hort: 81. Tischendorf: 2^{pe}

Bibliography

Collations:

Johannes Belsheim, *Das Evangelium des Markus nach dem griechischen Codex aureus Theodorawe Imperatricis purpureus Petropolitanus aus dem 9ten Jahrhundert,* part of *Christiana Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger,* Number 9, 1885, prints the text of Mark with collations of the other books. Corrections are offered in H. S. Cronin's edition of N *(Texts and Studies* volume 4, 1899)

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 plate)

Hatch (1 plate)

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26} and NA^{27}

Cited in $SQE^{13}3$.

Cited in UBS^{23} and UBS^{24}.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (MacMillan, 1924) devotes considerable space to the relations between the various "Cæsarean" witnesses.

Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark,* Studies and Documents 43, 1981, discusses the relationship between 565, Θ, family 13, W, P45, and assorted non-"Cæsarean" manuscripts.

Manuscript 579

Location/Catalog Number

Paris. Catalog number: Bibl. Nat. Gr. 97.

Contents

579 contains the gospels with lacunae (missing Mark 3:28–4:8, John 20:15–end. The first of these, however, is not properly a lacuna; it is simply *missing*, and was presumably missing in the exemplar also). 579 is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century (so Scrivener, Gregory, von Soden, Schmidtke, Aland; Hatch prefers the twelfth). Hatch observes, "Words written continuously without separation; accents and breathings; rulings with a sharp point, letters pendent; high and middle points, comma, and colon (:); initials red; initials at the beginning of books ornamented with human figures in red or with a hand in red.... O. T. quotations rarely indicated." It has the Ammonian sections but not the Eusebian canons, and while it marks the end of lections, the beginning is rarely marked.

Description and Text-type

579 has traditionally been regarded as Byzantine in Matthew and mixed Alexandrian in the other three gospels (though where the text is best has been disputed; Streeter thinks it most Alexandrian in Luke, yet Wisse finds it a weak Alexandrian witness in the latter parts of that book). It is often stated (following Schmidtke) that it was copied from a sixth century uncial.

The situation is in fact more complex than that. 579 is everywhere mixed. That the Byzantine element is much stronger in Matthew than the other Gospels is undeniable; the Byzantine is the strongest element in that book. But there are Alexandrian readings as well, of which perhaps the most notable is the omission of 16:2–3 (the "Signs of the Times").

That the primary element elsewhere is Alexandrian (often late Alexandrian) is also clear. 579 is the only known minuscule to have the double Markan ending in the text (274 has both endings, but with the short ending in the margin). 579 also omits Luke 22:43–44 (the Bloody Sweat) and Luke 23:34 (" Father, forgive them… "). Surprisingly, it contains John 7:53–8:11 (this is perhaps an argument against it being descended from a sixth century Alexandrian uncial).

Von Soden classifies 579 as H (Alexandrian, but weak in Matthew) Wisse classifies 579 as a member of Group B in Luke (weak in chapters 10 and 20). The Alands list it as Category II in Mark and Luke (presumably III or perhaps V in Matthew; their database does not examine John).

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε376. Scrivener: 743^{e}.

Bibliography

Collations:

A. Schmidtke, *Die Evangelien eines alten Unzialcodex,* Leipzig, 1903

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{27}.

Cited in SQE^{13}.

Cited in UBS^{4}.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover for Mark, Luke, and John.

Other Works:

Manuscript 597

Venice, San Marco Library 1277 (I.59). Soden's ε340; Scrivener's 464^{e}. Contains the Gospels complete. Dated to the thirteenth century by Gregory and Von Soden; Scrivener lists the twelfth. Descriptions of its text differ; Scrivener says it has "very remarkable readings," but Von Soden lists it as K^{x} and does not cite it. Wisse classifies it as a member of group 291 (along with 139, 291, 371, 449, 1235, 1340, 1340, 2346, 2603, 2728), a group which he reports has some similarity to Family Π. The Alands list it as Category V (Byzantine), but the editors of *GNT* made the surprising decision to cite it anyway. As originally written, it had only a very limited apparatus, without either lectionary or Eusebian apparatus. The lectionary markings were added later.

Manuscript 610

Paris, National Library Greek 221. Soden's A$^{\pi p21}$, Scrivener's 130^{a}. Contains the Acts and Catholic Epistles with lacunae (lacking Acts 20:38–22:3, 2 Peter 1:14–3:18, 1 John 4:11–end, 2 John, 3 John, Jude 1–8). Dated by all authorities to the twelfth century. Commentary manuscript; Scrivener simply describes it as a catena, but Von Soden lists it as the commentary as that of Andreas the Presbyter on Acts and the Catholic Epistles, with a text of type I^{a1}. Von Soden's analysis seems to be accurate in the Acts at least; the Alands list the manuscript simply as Category III, but an analysis of its text shows that it is clearly a member of the family headed by 36 and 453 — a group consisting entirely of manuscripts with the Andreas commentary and classified as I^{a1} by Von Soden. Other members of this group include 36 307 453 1678 2186; see the notes on 453. In the Catholic Epistles, the Alands demote 610

to Category V, i.e. Byzantine (though their sample is smaller than usual because of lacunae). Wachtel also dissociated 610 from Family 453 in the Catholics, but it should be noted that he is working from the Aland data. While it appears quite likely that the Alands are correct and 610 is Byzantine in the Catholics, a more detailed examination is desirable — the Aland sample set, which is much too small anyway, is especially inadequate in this case.

Manuscript 614

Location/Catalog Number

Milan. Catalog number: Biblioteca Ambrosiana E97 sup.

Contents

614 contains the Acts and epistles. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the thirteenth century.

Description and Text-type

614 is very closely related to 2412. Clark and Riddle, who collated and published 2412, speculated that 614 might even have been copied from 2412. This is far from assured — the two have a few differences which cannot be laid at the door of scribal error — but they certainly have a common ancestor within a few generations.

Beyond this, the type of 614 and 2412 is open to debate. In Paul, the two are almost purely Byzantine. In the Acts and Catholic Epistles, however, they are much more unusual, forming a particular subgroup of Family 2138 (which also contains, e.g., 206, 429, 522, 630 (Catholics only), 1505, 1573, 1611, 1799 (Catholics only), 2138, 2495, the Harklean Syriac, and many other manuscripts; for the place of 614 in this group see, e.g., Amphoux, Wachtel). See also the entry on 2138].

Traditionally, the best-known members of this family (614 and the margin of the Harklean Syriac) have been regarded as “Western.” It is this designation which is questionable. It is true that Family 2138 shares a number of striking readings with Codex Bezae in Acts. On the other hand, there are many readings of the family *not* found in D. What is more, family 2138 (as represented by 1505, 1611, 2495, hark) shows no relationship with the uncials D-F-G in Paul. In the Catholics, of course, there are no clearly “Western” witnesses, but family 2138 does not seem particularly close to the Old Latins ff and h. It is the author’s opinion that family 2138 is not “Western”; it may belong to its own text-type. (Of course, it is also the author’s opinion that

Codex Bezae should not be used as the basis for defining the “Western” text, so you may wish to form your own conclusions.)

Aland and Aland list 614 as “Category III because of its special textual character [related to the D text?].” Von Soden lists its text-type as I^{c2}. Merk lists it with the D text in Acts and with C^{c2} in the Catholics.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α364; Tischendorf: 137^{a}; 176^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in UBS^{3} for Acts, Paul, and the Catholics.

Cited in UBS^{4} for Acts

Cited in NA^{26} for Acts and the Catholics.

Cited in NA^{27} for Acts and the Catholics.

Cited by Von Soden, Merk, and Bover for Acts and the Catholics

Other Works:

C.-B. Amphoux, “Quelques témoins grecs des formes textuelles les plus anciennes de l’Epître de Jacques: le groupe 2138 (ou 614),” *New Testament Studies* 28.

A. Valentine-Richards, *The text of Acts in Cod. 614 and its Allies* (Cambridge, 1934), devoted to 383, 431, 614, 876, and 1518.

The relationship between 614 and 2412 is briefly discussed in the collation of 2412 found in K.W. Clark, *Eight American Praxapostoloi* (1941)

Manuscript 623

Rome, Vatican Library Greek 1650. Soden’s α173; Tischendorf/Scrivener 156^{a}, 190^{p}. Contains the Acts (lacking 1:1–5:3) and Epistles (complete). Includes the full apparatus of the Euthalian edition (though not the text or the stichometric arrangement), as well as lectionary information.

Paul has an (unidentified) commentary. Chrysostom's commentary on Acts is also found in the manuscript. Dated by its colophon to January 1037. Classified by Von Soden as I^{a2} along with such manuscripts as 5 467 489 927 1827 1838 1873 2143. The Alands list it as Category III. Richards places it in his group A^{3}, i.e. Family 1739, in the Johannine Epistles, but it shows as one of the weakest members of the group. It seems much better to split 623 and its close relative 5 off of Family 1739 and classify them as a pair. (Wachtel does not explicitly classify 623 and 5 together, being content simply to list both among the manuscripts which are at least 40% non-Byzantine in the Catholics as a whole, but his profiles indicate that the closeness in 1–3 John extends to the other Catholic Epistles as well.) 623 and 5 are not, however, conspicuously close to the other members of von Soden's I^{a2} group (insofar as this can be tested). The manuscript, which is quite large, was written in a neat and precise hand by the κληρικος Theodore for Nicolas, (arch)bishop of Calabria. A sample plate is found in Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible.*

Manuscript 629

Location/Catalog Number

Vatican Library, Rome. Catalog number: Ottob. Gr. 298.

Contents

629 contains the Acts, Catholics, and Pauline epistles entire. Greek/Latin diglot (the Latin is a typical late vulgate text). It is written on parchment, with Greek and Latin in parallel columns.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourteenth century.

Description and Text-type

629 has the minor distinction of being apparently the only "Western" minuscule (at least in Paul). It is not a strong "Western" text — it is about 80% Byzantine — but is the only minuscule to agree with the Pauline uncials D F G in dozens of their special readings.

It appears likely that the special character of 629 derives from the Latin (a view first stated by Scholz; Gregory writes "[T]he Greek text is made to conform to the Vulgate Latin text. Words are put in different order. Sometimes the division of lines and syllables in the Greek is assimilated to that of the Latin text.") In general this is confirmed by my own observations — but the assimilation is far from complete. 629 has at least as many Byzantine readings as variants derived from the Vulgate, though the strong majority of its "Western" readings are also found in the Vulgate (note, for instance, the inclusion of part of 1 John 5:7–8). Other readings

may come from an old latin type similar to codex Dublinensis (a/61), and there are a few readings which match neither the Byzantine text nor the Vulgate. Thus 629 has little authority where it agrees with either the Vulgate or the Byzantine text, but probably at least some value where it departs from them.

In the Catholics 629 is noteworthy for the very high number of singular and near-singular readings it displays. These readings do not seem to belong to any known text-type, and do not seem as closely associated with the Latin as in Paul.

Aland and Aland list 629 as Category III. Von Soden lists its text-type as K.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α460; Tischendorf: 162^{a}; 200^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in UBS^{3} for Acts, Paul, and the Catholics

Cited frequently in NA^{26} and NA^{27} for Paul.

Other Works:

Manuscript 630

Location/Catalog Number

Vatican Library, Rome. Catalog number: Ottob. Gr. 325.

Contents

630 contains the Acts (lacking 4:19–5:1), Catholics, and Pauline epistles. It is written on paper, 1 column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourteenth century.

Description and Text-type

630 is a peculiarly mixed text. In the Acts, it is clearly a member of Family 1739, although not a particularly excellent one. In Romans-Galatians, it also goes with family 1739, again weakly, with the rate of Byzantine mixture increasing as one goes along. From Ephesians on, it is almost purely Byzantine. (The text in Paul may be the result of block mixture; I suspect, however, that 630 is the descendent of a manuscript which was Byzantine in Paul but was corrected toward family 1739 by a copyist who became less and less attentive and finally gave up. This corrected manuscript gave rise to 630 and 2200.) In the Catholics, 630 belongs with Family 2138. It heads a subgroup of the family which includes 1799 (so close to 630 as to approach sister status), as well as 206 and probably 429 and 522. (For further information on this group, see the entry on 2138.)

It would appear that 630 and 2200 form a very close group — they are probably cousins, perhaps (though this is unlikely) even sisters. For details, see the entry on 2200.

Aland and Aland list 630 as Category III. Von Soden lists its text-type as I^{b}.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α461

Tischendorf: 163^{a}; 201^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26} for Paul and the Catholics.

Cited in NA^{27} for Paul and the Catholics.

Cited in UBS^{3} for Acts, Paul, and the Catholics

Other Works

Thomas C. Geer, Jr., *Family 1739 in Acts* (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 1994). Consists mostly of tables comparing manuscripts 206, 322, 323, 429, 453, 522, 630, 945, 1704, 1739, 1891, 2200. The analysis is methodologically flawed, but the results are generally valid.

Manuscript 642

London, Lambeth Palace 1185. Soden's α552; Tischendorf/old Gregory 217^{a}, 273^{p}; Scrivener 185^{a}, 255^{p}; also d^{scr}. Contains the Acts and Epistles with large lacunae (lacking Acts 2:36–3:8, 7:3–59, 21:7–25, 14:8–27, 18:20–19:12, 22:7–23:11, 1 Cor. 8:12–9:18, 2 Cor. 1:1–10, Eph. 3:2–Phil. 1:24, 2 Tim. 4:12–Titus 1:6, Heb. 7:8–9:12). Dated usually to the fourteenth century (so, e.g., Scrivener, NA^{27}) or perhaps the fifteenth century (von Soden, etc.) Scrivener observes that 642 "must be regarded as a collection of fragments in at least four different hands, pieced together by the most recent scribe." (This piecing together led to the duplication of 1 Cor. 5:11–12, 2 Cor. 10:8–15.) Nor were any of the scribes notable; Scrivener adds that it is "miserably mutilated and ill-written." It includes most of the usual marginal equipment; the synaxarion is missing, but this may simply be another lost part of the manuscript. Textually it varies somewhat (as might be expected of such a manuscript); although Von Soden categorizes it with I^{a3} throughout, the Alands place it in Category III in the Catholic Epistles and Category V elsewhere (it is unfortunate that they do not investigate the individual fragments). In the Catholic Epistles, Wachtel lists it as between 20% and 30% non-Byzantine, showing it as a member (probably a weaker one) of the group headed by 808, which also contains 218 (also listed by von Soden as I^{a3} in the Acts and Epistles, as is 808) as well as 1127 1359 1563 1718 (the latter four not being classified by von Soden).

Manuscript 692

London, British Museum Add. 22740. Soden's ε1284; Scrivener 596^{e}. Contains the Gospels with major lacunae; Luke 2:7–21 has been lost, and all that remains of John is the list of τιτλοι. Dated to the twelfth century by all authorities. Scrivener observes that it has illustrations and the Eusebian apparatus (with the numbers in blue), but no lectionary marking. He describes it as "exquisitely written, and said to greatly resemble Cod. 71 (g^{scr}) in text, with illuminated headings to the gospels." The kinship with 71 is confirmed by both Wisse and Von Soden; Wisse lists 71 as a core member of Group M27, and 692 is also part of M27. Similarly, Von Soden lists both 71 and 692 as I$^{\Phi r}$ (his name for the M groups). The Alands, however, place 692 in Category V (Byzantine). The manuscript came to the British Museum from Athens.

Manuscript 700

Location/Catalog Number

London. Catalog number: British Museum, Egerton 2610. It was purchased for the British Museum in 1882 from a German bookseller; its original location seems to be unknown.

Contents

700 contains the gospels complete. It is written on parchment, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the eleventh (Gregory, Von Soden, Aland) or twelfth (Hoskier) century (Scrivener would allow either date). It is small enough (about 15 centimetres by 12 centimetres) that it might possibly have served as a portable or personal testament. It contains illustrations of the evangelists, which Scrivener calls "beautifully executed." Metzger remarks, "The scribe employs a rather wide variety of compendia and ligatures (see Hoskier, pp. xi-xiii), and is quite erratic in his (mis)use of the *iota* adscript." The various reader aids are supplied rather sporadically — e.g. the Eusebian apparatus is found in Matthew and Mark, plus part of Luke, but very rarely in John; lectionary markings (in gold), by contrast, occur mostly in the latter gospels. Hatch notes, "Words written continuously without separation; accents and breathings; ruling with a sharp point, letters pendent; high, middle, and low points, and comma; initials gold...."

Description and Text-type

When Hoskier first collated this manuscript, he noted 2724 differences from the *Textus Receptus*. While in all probability many of these are actually Byzantine readings, the number was high enough to gain scholarly attention. (It is also interesting that omissions outnumbered additions by more than two to one.) Some of the most noteworthy readings are in the Lukan form of the Lord's Prayer, particularly in 11:2, where for ελθετω η βασιλεια σου it reads ελθετω το πνευμα σου το αγιον εφ ημας και καθαρισατω ημας (a reading shared with only a handful of witnesses: 162, Gregory of Nyssa, and perhaps Marcion). In several other readings it goes with P^{75} B against the majority readings of the prayer.

Aland and Aland classify 700 as Category III. Von Soden classified it as I^{a} (="Western/ Cæsarean"). Wisse lists it as mixed in Luke 1, a core member of Group B (Alexandrian) in Luke 10, and K^{x} in Luke 20. The most widely quoted classification, however, is Streeter's, who groups it with the "Cæsarean" text. (Ayuso later specified 700 as a member of the pure "Cæsarean" text, along with Θ 565 etc., as opposed to the "pre-Cæsarean" text.)

The above mixture of descriptions shows our current methodological uncertainties. That 700 exhibits a mixture of readings typical of the Alexandrian and "Western" types (with, of course, a considerable Byzantine overlay) cannot be questioned. But such a mix is not necessarily "Cæsarean"; the "Cæsarean" text (if it exists) is a particular pattern of readings, most of which are shared by one of the other types. It is *not* a description of manuscripts which mix the readings of the two types.

In fact, an overall analysis of the readings of 700 (data below) reveals hints of a kinship with the "Cæsarean" witnesses — but only a hint, even in the non-Byzantine readings. We need a better definition of the type before we can be certain. The three closest relatives in each category are shown in **bold**.

Manuscript	Overall Agreements with 700	Non-Byzantine Agreements with 700	Near-Singular Agreements with 700
P^{45}	50/109=45.9%	17/21=81.0%	2
P^{66}	96/216=44.4%	2/3=66.7%	0
P^{75}	125/325=38.5%	15/20=75.0%	1
ℵ	365/990=36.9%	74/117=63.2%	7
A	523/743=70.4%	10/14=71.4%	1
B	363/990=36.7%	92/134=68.7%	**8**
C	323/615=52.5%	19/38=50.0%	2
D	387/929=41.7%	67/112=59.8%	6
E	**764/981=77.9%**	1/3=33.3%	1
K	744/988=75.3%	13/19=68.4%	3
L	457/975=46.9%	57/93=61.3%	2
W	538/973=55.3%	49/75=65.3%	7
Γ	**731/932=78.4%**	**10/12=83.3%**	3
Θ	649/980=66.2%	**87/104=83.7%**	**12**
Ψ	424/622=68.2%	20/28=71.4%	2
Ω	**758/979=77.4%**	5/7=71.4%	2
f^{1}	626/982=63.7%	74/98=75.5%	7
f^{13}	691/989=69.9%	60/78=76.9%	3
28	679/889=76.4%	33/43=76.7%	6
33	484/868=55.8%	41/63=65.1%	2
565	699/975=71.7%	**62/74=83.8%**	**9**
579	616/975=63.2%	55/75=73.3%	5
892	619/990=62.5%	52/79=65.8%	2
1071	655/977=67.0%	23/28=82.1%	2
1241	608/937=64.9%	37/49=75.5%	3
1342	713/970=73.5%	31/44=70.5%	2
1424	731/990=73.8%	30/42=71.4%	4
a	386/837=46.1%	65/94=69.1%	0
b	383/814=47.1%	56/96=58.3%	1
e	239/590=40.5%	36/65=55.4%	0
f	512/834=61.4%	30/49=61.2%	0

ff^{2}	381/766=49.7%	56/88=63.6%	1
k	105/257=40.9%	22/27=81.5%	2
vg^{ww}	522/870=60.0%	44/66=66.7%	0
sin	295/710=41.5%	55/83=66.3%	5
cur	166/379=43.8%	18/32=56.3%	1
pesh	506/812=62.3%	29/49=59.2%	2
sa	340/760=44.7%	59/88=67.0%	1
bo	365/747=48.9%	63/89=70.8%	4
arm	468/779=60.1%	83/105=79.0%	3
geo^{1}	413/708=58.3%	76/97=78.4%	3

This is the sort of profile we generally find in “Cæsarean” manuscripts: 700’s closest overall relatives are K^{x} (E, Γ, Ω), but its two closest relatives where it departs from the Byzantine text are Θ and 565.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε133. Scrivener: 604^{e}.

Bibliography

Collations:

H. C. Hoskier, *A Full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive Codex Evangelium 604,* London, 1890. (Also examined by Burgon, Simcox, Scrivener.)

Sample Plates:

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 page)

Hatch (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26} and NA^{27}

Cited in SQE^{13}.

Cited in UBS^{3} and UBS^{24}.

Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (MacMillan, 1924) devotes considerable space to the relations between the various "Cæsarean" witnesses.

Manuscript 713

Birmingham, Selly Oak College Codex Algerina Peckover Greek 7. Soden's ε351; Scrivener's 561^{e}. Contains the Gospels with mutilations (lacking, according to Scrivener, Matt. 27:43–44, John 7:53–8:11 (?), 10:27–11:14, 11:29–42). (Also has some Palimpsest leaves of an uncial lectionary, formerly 43^{apl} though now deleted from the catalog.) Variously dated; Scrivener says the eleventh century "or a little later"; von Soden lists it as thirteenth century; the *Kurzgefasste Liste* suggests the twelfth. Scrivener describes it as having the Ferrar (f^{13}) text, but this is not confirmed by more recent examinations. Von Soden places the manuscript in I$^{\sigma}$ (a mixed group whose other members include 157 235(part) 245 291 1012); Wisse lists it as Mix/K^{mix}/Mix. The Alands do not place it in any Category, which generally means a manuscript which is mixed but much more Byzantine than anything else. Still, it probably deserves more examination than it has had. It has illustrations and an extremely full apparatus, though parts of it (prologues and menologion) were added later. There are a handful of marginal notes.

Manuscript 716

London, British Museum Egerton 2784. Soden's ε448; Scrivener's 565^{e}. Contains the Gospels complete (though only a fragment of the synaxarion survives; we cannot tell if other material, such as a menologion or even other parts of the Bible, might once have been included). Dated to the fourteenth century by Gregory, Aland, von Soden; Scrivener says twelfth. Of the text, Scrivener says that "some of [its readings are] quite unique." Soden classifies it as I' — a catch-all classification; it tells us that the manuscript is probably not purely Byzantine, but it is not really a description of the text-type. Wisse classifies it as Cluster 343 in Luke 1 and 10 and Cluster 686 in Luke 20 (where he claims Cluster 343 is "not coherent"). Other members of Cluster 343 are 343 and 449; Cluster 686 consists of 686, 748, 1198 (but not in Luke 20), 2693 (Luke 1 only). Wisse considers 686 to be somewhat close to Group Λ. The small size of these clusters, however, makes their classification seem somewhat suspect. The Alands do not place 716 in any Category, implying the sort of mixed, mostly-but-not-purely Byzantine, text also hinted at by Von Soden and Wisse. Scrivener describes the manuscript as "beautifully written" and comments that "[i]ts older binding suggests a Levantine origin." It has the Eusebian apparatus and lectionary indications, though (as noted) little survives of the lectionary tables.

Manuscript 892

Location/Catalog Number

British Museum, London. Catalog number: Add. 33277.

Contents

892 contains the four gospels. John 10:6–12:18 and 14:23–end are insertions from another hand (on paper, from about the sixteenth century). It is written on parchment, 1 column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the ninth (Aland) or tenth (von Soden, Scrivener) century; Gregory would allow either date. Von Soden observes that 892 was copied from an uncial, and that the page dimensions and divisions of the exemplar have been preserved. Hatch observes,"Words written continuously without separation; accents and breathings; ruling with a sharp point, the line running through the letters; high and low points and interrogation point.... O.T. quotations sometimes indicated… " The manuscript includes the full Eusebian apparatus and complete lectionary information.

Description and Text-type

892 is probably the best surviving minuscule of the Gospels. The base text was clearly of a late Alexandrian type, although there is significant Byzantine mixture. It is noteworthy that, despite its largely Alexandrian text, it has almost all of the major insertions of the Byzantine text; it includes John 7:53–8:11 (being the first important Greek-only manuscript to have the *pericope),* as well as Matthew 16:2–3, Luke 22:43–44, 23:34, and of course Mark 16:9–20. (Luke 22:43–44 show symbols in the margin which may indicate that the scribe thought them questionable; no doubts are expressed about the others.) 892 omits the Alexandrian interpolation in Matt. 27:48.

Overall, the text appears slightly closer to א than to B.

Von Soden classified 892 as H. Wisse lists it as Group B (=Alexandrian). Aland and Aland list it as Category II.

The sixteenth-century supplements in John are, of course, much more Byzantine than the run of the text.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε1016

Bibliography

Collations:

J. Rendel Harris, "An Important MS of the New Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* ix (1890), pp. 31–59.

Sample Plates:

Aland & Aland (1 page)

Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (1 page)

Hatch (1 page)

Editions which cite:

Cited in all editions since von Soden.

Other Works:

Discussed explicitly and with great fullness in von Soden's introduction.

Manuscript 945

Location/Catalog Number

Mount Athos, where it has been as long as it has been known. Catalog number: Athos Dionysiu 124 (37)

Contents

945 contains the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the eleventh century.

Description and Text-type

The text of 945 is most noteworthy in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, where it is a clear member of family 1739 (so Amphoux, Waltz; Wachtel lists it among the Alexandrian witnesses

without associating it clearly with 1739). The text is very close to 1739 itself, although noticeably more Byzantine. In the Catholics, in particular, the text is so similar to that of 1739 that one may suspect 945 of being a (distant) descendant of 1739, with several generations of Byzantine mixture.

In Paul, the manuscript is mostly Byzantine, though it has a few readings reminiscent of family 1739 and of the (also largely Byzantine) 323.

In the Gospels, 945 has generally been classified with family 1424 (e.g. von Soden lists it as $I^{\Phi c}$). Wisse, however, lists it as $K^{mix}/K^{mix}/K^{x}$.

Aland and Aland list 945 as Category III in Acts and the Catholics and Category V in the Gospels and Paul.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ϑ362. Tischendorf: 274^{a}; 324^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Cited in NA^{26} for Acts. Many readings are cited for the Catholics.

Cited in NA^{27} for Acts. Many readings are cited for the Catholics.

Cited in UBS^{3} for Acts and the Catholics.

Cited in UBS^{4} for Acts and the Catholics.

Cited in Huck-Greeven for Matthew-Luke.

Cited (imperfectly) by von Soden, Merk, and Bover for the Gospels.

Other Works:

Thomas C. Geer, Jr., *Family 1739 in Acts* (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 1994). Consists mostly of tables comparing manuscripts 206, 322, 323, 429, 453, 522, 630, 945, 1704, 1739, 1891, 2200. The analysis is flawed, but the results are generally valid.

Manuscript 1010

Location/Catalog Number

Athos. Catalog number: Iviron, (66) 738.

Contents

1010 contains the gospels. The original text of Luke 8:4–44; John 12:25–13:22 has been lost and replaced by supplements.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the twelfth century. 1010 is written on parchment, one column per page.

Description and Text-type

Von Soden classified 1010 as $I^{\Phi c}$ — i.e. a member of Family 1424 (the other members of the c branch include 945, 990, 1207, 1223, and 1293). But neither Wisse nor the Alands found evidence to support this. The Alands list 1010 as Category V (i.e. purely Byzantine), although they admit that it might be a member of Family 1424. Huck-Greeven cites 1010 — but not as a member of the "Soden group" (=Family 1424).

It is, however, the evidence of Wisse which is most decisive. Wisse confirms the existence of von Soden's I^{Φ} subgroups, but finds no connection between them. Wisse lists 1010 as K^{mix} in Luke 1 and a member of K^{x} (cluster 160) in Luke 10 and 20. (K^{x} cluster 160 consists of 160, 1010, and 1293, all of which von Soden labelled as $I^{\Phi c}$.) However, 1424 is a (diverging) member of Cluster 1675, along with 517, 954, 1349 in Luke 1, 1424, and 1675 — all found by von Soden to be members of $I^{\Phi a}$. Thus Wisse sees no evidence of a link between 1010 and 1424.

Finally, a check of 987 test readings for 1010 reveals no kinship with 1424 beyond the Byzantine — as well as showing 1010 to be an entirely Byzantine manuscript. As far as the test readings are concerned, it appears simply to be a member of K^{x}, whereas 1424 has at least a few independent readings. (For more on Family 1424, see the entry on 1424.)

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ε1266.

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA[26], but dropped from NA[27].
Cited in UBS[3] and UBS[4].
Cited by Von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

1108: see under 2138 and Family 2138

Manuscript 1175

Location/Catalog Number

Patmos. Catalog number: Ioannou 16.

Contents

Originally contained the Acts and Epistles. 1 Thes. 1:10–3:2, Tit. 1:7–end, Philemon, and Hebrews 3:6–6:7, 8:6–10:8, 11:20–12:2, 13:21–end have been lost. 1175 is written on parchment, with two columns per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the eleventh century.

Description and Text-type

1175 has suffered a great deal of block mixture. The greater part of the text is Alexandrian, but large sections are purely Byzantine: Romans, the Johannine Epistles, probably Thessalonians. Elsewhere, 1175 is one of the most Alexandrian of the minuscules. In Paul, for instance, it is second only to 33 and 1739 in its freedom from Byzantine influence, and second only to 33 in the purity of its Alexandrian text. It is, along with 81, the leading witness to the late Alexandrian text.

In the Catholics, the degree of mixture makes it less valuable. In Acts, it is considered (along with 81) one of the leading Alexandrian minuscules, but even here Lake and New detect some

degree of mixture; they believe that the manuscript fluctuates in the degree of “Western” influence.

Von Soden lists 1175 as H. Richards lists it as a member of the Byzantine Group B^{6} in the Johannine Epistles (other members of this group include L, 049, 424*, 794, 1888, and 2143). Wachtel considers it Alexandrian in the earlier Catholic epistles. Aland and Aland in the first edition of *The Text of the New Testament* listed it as Category II; despite its Byzantine mixture, the second edition lists it as Category I. My opinion inclines toward their earlier assessment; even in the Alexandrian parts, 1175 has few unique readings; it almost always has lots of company among the Alexandrian manuscripts.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α74. Tischendorf: 389^{a}; 360^{p}

Bibliography

Collations:
Kirsopp Lake & Silva New, *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts* (1932). Only Acts is collated.

Sample Plates:
Aland & Aland (1 page)

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA^{26} for Acts and Paul.
Cited in NA^{27} for Acts and Paul.
Cited in UBS^{4}.
Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover.

Other Works:

Manuscript 1241

Location/Catalog Number

Mount Sinai, where it has been for as long as it has been known. Catalog number: Katharinen-Kloster 260.

Contents

1241 contains the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse. Matthew 8:14–13:3 and Acts 17:10–18 have been lost. A few other portions are slightly damaged. 1 Cor. 2:10–end, 2 Cor.

13:3–end, Galatians, Eph. 2:15–end, Philippians, Colossians, Hebrews 11:3–end, and the Catholics Epistles come from a different hand. 1241 is written on parchment, with one column per page in the Gospels and two columns per page elsewhere.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the twelfth century. The original scribe is regarded as careless; there are many minor errors.

Description and Text-type

1241 has a very diverse text. The text of Matthew and Mark is more Byzantine than anything else, though with many Alexandrian readings. In Luke the Alexandrian element prevails; 1241 is perhaps the best minuscule witness to that book. John is not as Alexandrian as Luke, but much better than Matthew and Mark.

1241 is entirely Byzantine in Acts.

In Paul, the basic run of the text is Byzantine, but the supplements are of higher quality. Although still primarily Byzantine, there are many Alexandrian and other early readings.

In the Catholic Epistles 1241 is an excellent text, affiliated with Family 1739. It appears to belong to a separate branch of the type (perhaps a “Sinai Group” as opposed to the “Athos Group” found in 1739 and 945?).

Wisse classifies 1241 as Group B (but notes that “the last part of [chapter] 1 is not Group B”). Von Soden lists it as H. Richards lists it as Group A^3 (family 1739) in the Johannine Epistles. Amphoux also lists it as family 1739. Aland and Aland list it as Category I in the Catholics and Category III in the Gospels, Acts, and Paul.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ϑ371. Tischendorf: 290^a; 338^p

Bibliography

Collations:
Kirsopp Lake & Silva New, *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts.* (1932) Only Luke and John are collated.

Sample Plates:
Aland & Aland (1 page)

Editions which cite:
Cited in full in NA[26].
Cited in full in NA[27].
Cited in full in UBS[3].
Cited in UBS[4] for the Gospels, Paul, and the Catholics.
Cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover for the Gospels.
Cited by SQE[13] for the Gospels.
Cited by Huck-Greeven for the Luke.
Cited in IGNTP Luke.

Other Works:

1243: see under 1739 and Family 1739

1292: see under 2138 and Family 2138

1319: see under 365 and Family 2127

Manuscript 1409

Athos, Xiropotamu 244. Soden's ε371. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles with lacunae (e.g. there is a lacune of about a chapter around Acts 17). Dated to the fourteenth century in the *Kurzgefasste Liste,* and no other assessment is available (note that von Soden didn't even list it outside the Gospels). Relatively little is known of its text as a result. In the Gospels, Wisse lists it as K^r with a surplus in Luke 1; this broadly agrees with the Alands, who list it as Category V. The Alands also list it as Category V in Paul. In the Acts and Catholic Epistles, however, they promote it to Category II. That it is not entirely Byzantine in Acts is clear; whether it is as good as other Category II manuscripts is less so. There is a strong Byzantine element, and the non-Byzantine readings do not stand particularly close to any other witness. In the Catholic Epistles, Wachtel groups it with 436 1067 2541 (though the Alands list 436 2541 as Category III in the Catholics and 1067 as Category II); this group of manuscripts appears generally Alexandrian, with a text much like A 33 but with more Byzantine readings.

Manuscript 1424

Location/Catalog Number

Chicago (Maywood). Catalog number: Jesuit-Krauss-McCormick Library, Gruber Ms. 152. Originally from Kosinitza, Turkey.

Contents

1424 contains the entire New Testament with marginal commentary. Matthew 1:23–2:16 are lost. There are marginal commentaries on the Gospels and Pauline Epistles. Also contains Hermas.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the ninth or tenth century. 1424 is written on parchment, one column per page. It was written by a monk names Sabas; the books are in the order Gospels (with commentary), Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, and Pauline Epistles (with commentary). The Eusebian apparatus is by a different, probably later, hand.

Description and Text-type

Although 1424 contains the entire New Testament, all interest in the manuscript has focussed on the gospels (the Alands classify it as Category V, i.e. purely Byzantine, everywhere but in the Gospels, and there is no reason to question this).

The manuscript generated uncertainty from the very start, when it received the Scrivener symbol Gimel (ג), although it is not an uncial.

Von Soden did not help matters when he classified 1424 as a witness to the I^{Φ} group. He broke this group down into four subgroups:

$I^{\Phi a}$: 1424 517 1675 954 349 1188(John)

$I^{\Phi b}$: 7 267 659 1606(Matt-Luke) 1402(Matt+Mark) 1391(Matt+Mark) 115 117 827 1082(Mark) 185(John)

$I^{\Phi c}$: 1293 1010 1223 945 1207(Luke+John) 990

$I^{\Phi r}$: M 1194 27(Matt+Mark) 71 692(Mark)

Streeter renamed this group Family 1424 (the name most often used today, although Huck-Greeven uses the symbol σ and adopts the title the “Soden Group”). Not unexpectedly, Streeter also declared the family to be “Cæsarean” (this is not surprising because Streeter declared everything “Cæsarean” that was not demonstrably something else). Even Streeter conceded family 1424 to be only a tertiary witness to the type.

The work of Wisse, however, seems to have separated the I^{Φ} group, finding little if any relationship between the subgroups. Wisse finds 1424 to be a diverging member of Cluster 1675, which also contains 517, 954, 1349 (in Luke 1), and 1675, and thus corresponds to Iφa.

However, Wisse classifies the members of $I^{\Phi b}$ as follows: 7=Cluster 7, 267=Cluster 7, 1606=K^{x} Cluster 187, 115=K^{mix}/K^{x}, 117=K^{x}, and 827=Cluster 827. Thus this group apparently is to be dissolved.

The members of $I^{\Phi c}$ break down as follows: 1293=K^{mix}/K^{x} Cluster 160, 1010=K^{mix}/K^{x} Cluster 160, 1223= Family Π (various subgroups), 945=K^{mix}/K^{x}, 1207=Family Π (Group 473, pair with 944). Thus $I^{\Phi c}$ may survive in the form of Kx Cluster 160 (consisting of 160, 1010, and 1293, all classified as $I^{\Phi c}$), but there is no reason to link this group with 1424.

The members of $I^{\Phi r}$ are listed by Wisse as follows: M=M27 (diverging member), 1194=M10, 71=M27 (core member). Thus $I^{\Phi r}$, which Wisse renames the "M groups," is also real, but not evidently related to 1424.

All of the above must be treated with a certain amount of caution, since Wisse worked only on Luke and his method does not assess mixture. However, it would appear that I^{Φ} needs to be dissolved. Thus Family 1424, instead of referring to I^{Φ} as a whole, should be reserved for the small group 517, 954, (1349), 1424, 1675.

Whether this group is "Cæsarean" is another question. It is worth noting that Aland and Aland find 1424 to have an interesting text only in Mark (but do not classify the other members of Wisse's Cluster 1675. This often means that the manuscripts are heavily Byzantine but have too many non-Byzantine readings to write off as Category V; such manuscripts often belong to one of the non-K^{x} groups). The table below shows the rate of agreements for 1424 with an assortment of other manuscripts. Both overall and non-Byzantine readings are noted. The data is for Mark only; 1424 was profiled in 212 readings, of which 49 were non-Byzantine.

Manuscript	Overall Agreements	Non-Byzantine Agreements
ℵ	35%	33%
A	80%	(Insufficient samples)
B	40%	41%
C	58%	56%
D	36%	56%
E	84%	(No samples)
K	82%	(Insufficient samples)
L	51%	59%
W	45%	53%
Δ	54%	57%
Θ	53%	76%
Ω	81%	(Insufficient samples)
f^{1}	68%	56%
f^{13}	69%	69%

28	61%	79%
33	72%	100%
565	50%	65%
579	73%	82%
700	66%	73%
892	62%	71%
1071	80%	82%
1241	85%	91%
1342	65%	67%
a	38%	50%
arm	54%	75%
geo[1]	47%	73%

On the evidence, it would appear that 1424's non-Byzantine readings are Alexandrian, not "Cæsarean."

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ð30.

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA[26] and NA[27] for the Gospels.
Cited in UBS[3] and UBS[4] for the Gospels.
Cited by Von Soden, Merk, and Bover for the Gospels.

Other Works:
B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (MacMillan, 1924) devotes considerable space to the relations between the various "Cæsarean" witnesses.

1448: see under 2138 and Family 2138

1490: see under 2138 and Family 2138

Manuscript 1505

Location/Catalog Number

Mount Athos, where it has been as long as it has been known. Catalog number: Athos Laura B' 26

Contents

1505 contains the entire New Testament except the Apocalypse; also Psalms and Odes. It is written on parchment, 1 column per page.

Date/Scribe

The colophon (which is not in the same hand as the manuscript) claims a date of 1084. E. C. Colwell has shown that the colophon (the text of which is shown below; depending on your software, text with overbars may show up as underlined) is fraudulent.

Εγραφη επι της βασιλει[ας] του ευσεβετατου κ[αι] φιλουχριστου κυ[ριου] αλεξιου μ[ε]γ[α]λ[ου] δουκα σεμβαστου του κομνηνου επι ετ[ους] ϛφϙβ κυ[κλω ελιου] θ̅ κυ[κλω] [σεληνης] ιη̅ ενδ[ικτιωνος] η̅ η αποκρεα ιανουαριω λα̅ νομ[ικον] σαρκ[α] μ[α]ρ[τιω] κε̅ χρ[ιστιανον] πασχ[α] μ[α]ρ[τιω] κη̅ η νηστεια τ[ων] αγ[ιων] αποστολ[ων] ημερ[αι] λ̅ς̅

(For further discussion of this forged colophon, see the appropriate item in the article on Scribes and Colophons).

The manuscript probably dates from the twelfth century. Gary S. Dykes reports that it is by the same scribe as 2400, which the Alands date to the thirteenth century but which Dykes believes to come from the twelfth century.

Description and Text-type

1505 is most closely associated with 2495 (XV, at Sinai). 2495 could perhaps be a slightly corrupted descendent of 1505; certainly they have a close common ancestor.

In the gospels, von Soden listed 1505 as K^{x}. Wisse describes it as $K^{mix}/K^{mix}/K^{x}$, and adds "K^{x} Cluster 261 in 1 and 10; pair with 2495."

In the Acts and Epistles, 1505 is a member of Family 2138 (also known as family 614 or family 1611). It is one of the leading members of the group, especially in Paul, where the family consists of only a handful of manuscripts (1505, 1611, 2495, the Harklean Syriac, 1022 in part, and probably 2005). In the Acts and Catholics, where the family breaks down into several subgroups, 1505 and 2495 form their own subgroup (other important subgroups include 2138+1611, 2412+614, and — in the Catholics — 630+1799+429+522+206. For further details, see the entry on 2138].)

Family 2138 is often described as "Western." This is perhaps open to question; its kinship with D is, at the very least, loose. The family contains a significant number of non-Byzantine non-Alexandrian readings, but these appear to me to come from their own independent tradition.

Aland and Aland classify 1505 as Category V in the Gospels and Category III in the Acts and Epistles.

See also the entry on 2495.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: ϑ165

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:
Kirsopp & Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200 A.D.*

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA^{26} for the Catholic Epistles.
Cited in NA^{27} for Acts, Paul, and Catholics.
Cited in UBS^{4} for the Gospels and Catholics.

Other Works:
E.C. Colwell, "Methods in Validating Byzantine Date-Colophons: A Study of Athos, Laura B.26," originally published as "A Misdated New Testament Manuscript: Athos, Laura B.26 (146) in *Quntulacumque: Stodies Presented to Kirsopp Lake…*; republished in Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament,* pp. 142–147
See also the various articles by C.-B. Amphoux concerning Family 2138.

Manuscript 1506

Location/Catalog Number

Mount Athos, where it has been as long as it has been known. Catalog number: Athos Laura B' 89.

Contents

Contains the gospels with very many minor lacunae. Also contains Romans plus 1 Corinthians 1:1–2, 1:4–4:15, again with minor lacunae. Written on parchment, 1 column per page. Commentary manuscript; Maurice Robinson (confirming Von Soden) notes that it has a "Theophylact interspersed commentary."

Date/Scribe

The colophon gives a date of 1320. The text is written in red ink, with the commentary in black; the latter is much easier to read. Maurice Robinson, who has examined films of the manuscript, makes this observation: "Theoph. Comm. interspersed with text; but the red ink used for the text is so light [on the film] as to be virtually non-readable. Only major readings can be noted, and not orthographic or individual letters in most cases."

Description and Text-type

In the gospels 1506 is Byzantine. It was not profiled by Wisse due to an illegible microfilm. (No doubt the poor condition of the manuscript is largely responsible for this; in addition, Wisse generally did not examine commentary manuscripts.) Nonetheless, it does not appear to belong to the major Byzantine strands (K^{x}, K^{r}, etc.), as it omits the story of the Adulteress.

In Paul, insofar as it survives, 1506 is extraordinarily valuable. The overall cast of its text is Alexandrian, falling close to א. But it also has at least one unique reading: Alone among known Greek manuscripts, it *omits chapter 16 of Romans.* (It place the doxology of Romans after both chapter 14 and chapter 15.) Many scholars have, of course, questioned whether chapter 16 belongs here; the finding of a Greek manuscript which omits the chapter is, at the very least, interesting.

Aland and Aland classify 1506 as Category V in the Gospels and Category II in Paul.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: $\Theta^{\varepsilon 402}$

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA[26] and NA[27] for Paul (although, given the state of the manuscript, its readings can only be considered assured when it is cited explicitly).
Cited in SQE13 for the Gospels.
Cited in UBS[4] for Paul.

Other Works:

1518: see under 2138 and Family 2138

1573: see under 365 and Family 2127

1582: see under 1 and Family 1

1611: see under 2138 and Family 2138

1689: see under 13 and Family 13

1704: see under 1739 and Family 1739

1709: see under 13 and Family 13

1735: see under 1739 and Family 1739

Manuscript 1739

Location/Catalog Number

Mount Athos, where it has been as long as it has been known. Catalog number: Athos Laura B' 64

Contents

1739 contains the Acts, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles. Acts 1:1–2:6 are from another, later hand. The quire numbers indicate that the volume originally contained the Gospels as well. (One may speculate that Acts 1:1–2:6 stayed with the Gospels, when the Gospels and Acts

were separated, and hence were lost.) It may have also contained the Apocalypse; we simply cannot tell at this time (the last page of the manuscript shows signs of offprints of a kephalia list for the Apocalypse, but these do not appear to come from the same scribe). There are a number of marginal comments from early church fathers; in Paul the majority of these are from Origen, though in the Acts and Catholic Epistles other writers come to the fore.

At some point several of the pages had portions cut off; this evidently cost us the colophon for Acts and part of that for Paul. Several of the marginal notes also seem to have suffered attempts at erasure. It has been speculated that these were removed by an owner of the manuscript who disapproved of their contents (perhaps he didn't approve of the editor of the commentary? And the editor probably gave his name, as there are comments in the first person).

1739 is written on parchment, 1 column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the tenth century.

The scribe, who gives his name as Ephraim, also wrote the Venice Aristotle (Codex Marcianus 201), dated by its colophon to 954. Ephraim is also believed to have written the gospel codex 1582, dated 949, and our chief manuscript of Polybius (believed to date from 947).

In his work on 1739, Ephraim included a preface to the Pauline Epistles which apparently came from the compiler of this commentary edition. It states that that edition was based on a very ancient manuscript which was found to have a text similar to Origen's. The exception is Romans, which was taken directly from the text of Origen's commentary on that book.

It has been thought that Ephraim compiled the commentary itself, but it seems more likely that he had it before him and copied it.

One or two later hands have worked on the codex, probably during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One added lectionary notes. The same or (more likely) another added comments that Lake called "long but unimportant." Also around this time, a reader attempted to eradicate many of the ancient notes. It is possible that this is also the person who cut off the final colophon. Whoever this person was, he has significantly reduced our knowledge of this most valuable of codices.

Description and Text-type

The earlier editors classified 1739 as Alexandrian. Von Soden describes it as a member of the H group in Paul; in Acts he placed it with I^{b2}.

Zuntz, based on a far more detailed examination of 1 Corinthians and Hebrews (only), placed it in its own text-type with P^{46}, B, and the Coptic versions.

The Lakes considered it a strong representative of the "Cæsarean" text.

Richards places it in his "Group A^3," which I would call "family 1739," in the Johannine Epistles. The work of Duplacy and Amphoux confirms the existence of this group in the Catholics as a whole. (Wachtel, however, who examines manuscripts based on relatively few readings, does not distinguish the "Alexandrian" and family 1739 texts.)

Thomas C. Geer, who examined Family 1739 in Acts, concluded that the manuscript was Egyptian, but also belonged to Family 1739. (For this rather contradictory statement, see the section on Family 1739 below.)

The similarity to the text of Origen, first noted by the compiler of the ancestor, is real, although 1739's text is by no means identical to Origen's. It should be noted, however, that there is no evident change in text-type between Romans and Paul's other letters.

In the author's opinion, family 1739 forms its own text-type, which (in Paul in particular) falls between the other three non-Byzantine text-types (P^{46}/B, Alexandrian, "Western"). Also in the author's opinion, the readings of this group are extremely early and deserve consideration equal to that given to the best uncials. Stephen Carlson's work on the manuscripts of Galatians also places 1739 and its relatives on a branch of the stemma distinct from both the P^{46}/B and Alexandrian groups.

1739 is the best and usually the earliest representative of a large textual grouping. In the Acts (where the family is perhaps slightly poorer than in the Epistles), other members of this group include 323, 630, 945, and 1891. In Paul, they include 0121(a), 0243/0121b, 6, 424**, 630 (in part), and 1881 (1908 has an abbreviated form of the commentary in Romans, but the text is different). In the Catholics, 1739's allies include 323, 945, 1881, 2298, and (at a slightly greater distance) C/04 and 1241. Zuntz believes that the other Pauline manuscripts (0243, etc.) are descendants of 1739. In my opinion, however, the type goes back before 1739, as most of the lesser manuscripts (with the exception of 0121) preserve at least occasional non-Byzantine readings not found in 1739 itself.

Scholars have speculated that 1739 was copied from a fourth or fifth century commentary manuscript (since none of the marginal commentators quoted date from after the fourth century, and it appears that the scholia were already present in Ephraim's exemplar). Zuntz, in fact, believes that the text of this manuscript was contemporary with P^{46} (second century). Against this we should point out the flowering of family 1739 texts in the tenth century — there are three (1739, 0121, 0243) from that century, and only C (which is a marginal member of the type) occurs earlier. (See, however, the comments by Zuntz on 0121/M). The nature of the text also may argue against this; it seems to me likely (though far from certain) that the *combined*

edition of text and commentary was compiled during the Photian revival of learning of the ninth century. The text itself, of course, is very much older.

1739 was copied from an uncial ancestor. It is possible that this manuscript was also the exemplar of 0243; the two are that close. It seems more likely, however, that 0243 and 1739 are "first cousins," each copied from the same exemplar with one intervening copy. (The marginal commentary in 1739 may have been added to the intervening copy, or more likely the copyist of 0243 or its parent did not bother with the marginalia.) The other members of the family go back somewhat further, and form their own subgroups (e.g. 6 and 424** seem to descend from a common text).

Aland and Aland classify 1739 as Category II in Acts and Category I in Paul and the Catholics.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α78

Bibliography

Collations:
Kirsopp Lake & Silva New, *Six Collations of New Testament Manuscripts,* (1932). Collated by Morton S. Enslin from photographs by R.P. Blake. The text and annotations are collated separately. A few passages are omitted because of damaged photographs.

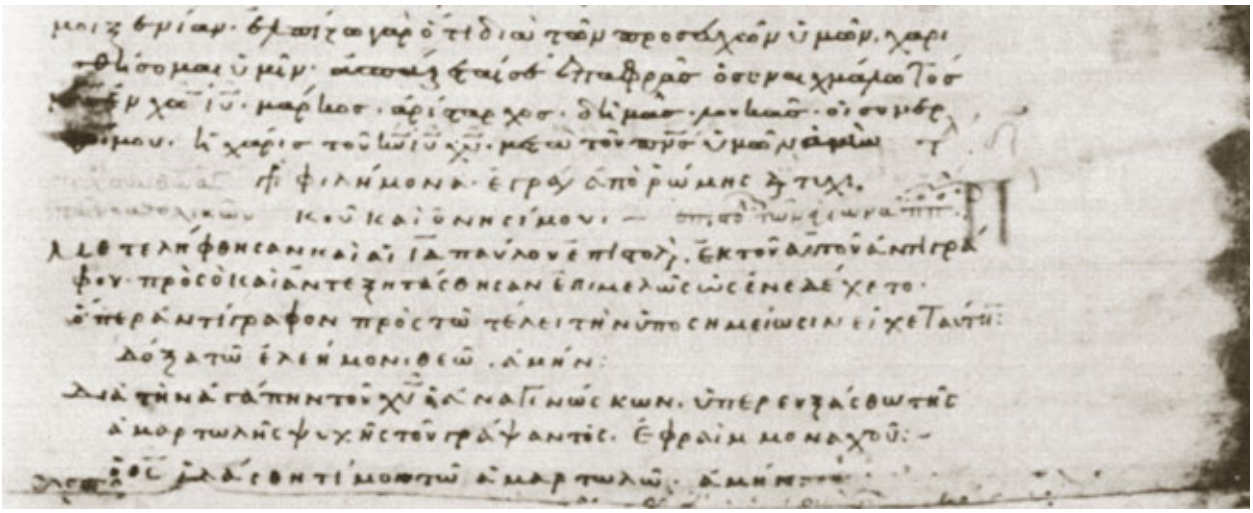
Sample Plates:
Lake & New (1 page)
Aland & Aland (1 page)
Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible (1 page)

Editions which cite:
Cited in full in NA^{26}, NA^{27}, and all UBS editions. Also cited by von Soden, Merk, and Bover, but these collations are highly inaccurate.

Other Works:
J.N. Birdsall, *A Study of MS. 1739 and its Relationship to MSS. 6, 424, 1908, and M* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1959)
E. von der Goltz, *Eine Textkritische des zehnten bezw. sechsten Jahrhunderts.* (1899; includes much of the text, but collated under bad conditions and rather inaccurate. The marginalia are not included.)
Otto Bauernfiend, *Der Römerbrieftext des Origens* (Texte und Untersuchungen, xiv.3, 1923; includes a discussion of 1739 and its relatives, supplementing von der Goltz)
Thomas C. Geer, Jr., *Family 1739 in Acts* (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 1994). Consists mostly of tables comparing manuscripts 206, 322, 323, 429, 453, 522, 630,

945, 1704, 1739, 1891, 2200. The analysis is flawed, but the results are generally valid.
K.W. Kim, “Codices 1582, 1739, and Origen,” *Journal of Biblical Literature,* volume 69 (1950), p. 167f.
G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (1953; includes a large section on 1739, its ancestry, and its relationship to P^{46} and B, as well as observations about its relation to Origen).

Note: The above list is very incomplete, and includes only works devoted largely or entirely to 1739.



The final lines of the final page (folio 102) of 1739. The last four lines of Philemon are shown (verses 22–25, beginning μοι ξενιαν). This is followed by the subscription, (προς as a ligature) ΦΙΛΗΜΟΝΑ ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΥΧΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΥ. This is followed by Ephraim’s signature. Note that the bottom of this page has been cut off rather sloppily by a later owner. This presumably was to suppress some information the owner did not approve of.

Family 1739

The existence of a “1739–text” was realized almost from the time when 1739 was discovered, when it was observed that, in Paul, the text of 1739 had similarities to those of M/0121, 6, and 424**, and that the marginal commentary was shared in part by 1908.

At the time, however, little attention was paid to this fact. As recently as 1953, Zuntz could write “At any rate, [the] common peculiarities [of 6, 424**, 1908, and 0121] are so striking as to rob these formerly important witnesses of their vote wherever their evidence is now found to be anticipated by 1739” (G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles, 1953,* p. 74). However, this view needs to be modified in light of modern discoveries. The 1739 text is not a simple group, but an actual type, which in the Catholics can be discerned as early as the fifth century in C (and is

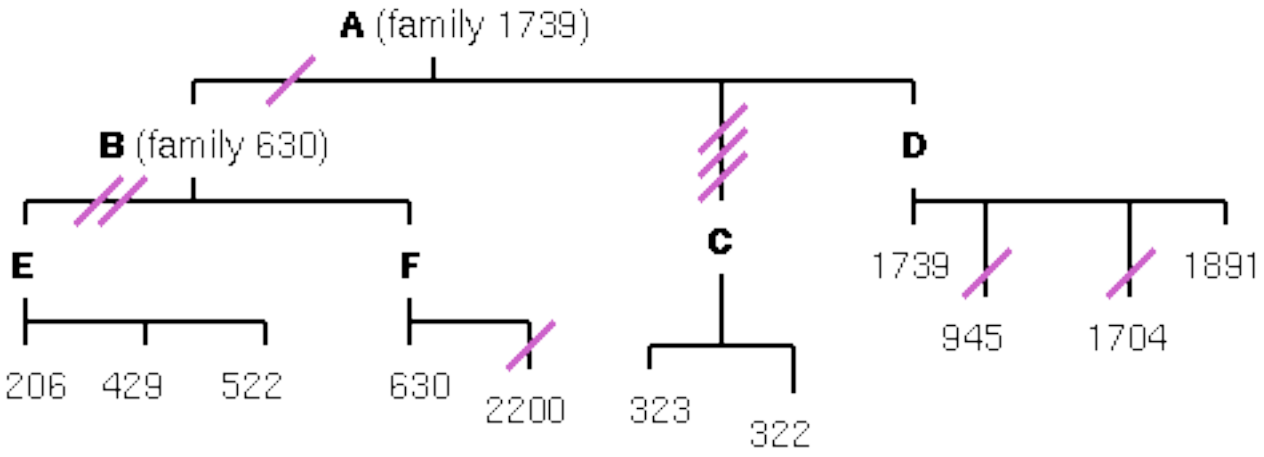
in fact even older, as Origen also attests the type). In any case, all witnesses to the family need to be considered to determine its scope.

The first steps toward this came when Birdsall (in the 1959 thesis noted in the entry on 1739) observed that 0121 was actually two codices, one of which proved to be part of 0243, which was discovered at about this time. I myself took a second step by adding to the family 1881, which is (after 1739 itself) the best witness to the complete family in Paul. In addition, the pair 630–2200 are weak members of the family in Romans-Galatians.

The family has also gathered some attention in the Catholics. Both Richards and Amphoux demonstrated its existence. Richards found the family to include (P^{74}) 1739 323 1241 1243 623 5 (1845) (642) in the Johannine Epistles; the more exact research of Amphoux and Outtier located the family text in 323 945 1241 1243 1735 2298 2492.

In Acts, the most detailed study has been that of Thomas C. Geer, Jr., in the monograph Family 1739 in Acts (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 1994). This work examines an even dozen members of family 1739 (206, 322, 323, 429, 453, 522, 630, 945, 1704, 1739, 1891, 2200). Methodologically it is hardly a success; apart from the fact that it uses too few readings to be of much use, and assumes that the only possible text-types are Aexandrian, Byzantine, and "Western," it tries to have things both ways by classifying eight manuscripts as Byzantine (206, 322, 323, 429, 522, 630, 1704, 2200) and four as Egyptian (453, 945, 1739, 1891) — but still calling them allmembers of family 1739! In fact all of these manuscripts (except perhaps 453) are family 1739 texts with some Byzantine mixture, with the mixture being least in 1739 1891 and most in 322 323.

Even so, Geer's results (when compared with our results from the Catholics) allow us to prepare a sort of a genealogy (though not a precise stemma) of family 1739. Note the existence of several subgroups, including family 630 (630 2200 and some lesser members), which carries across the Paulines and Catholics although it does not always align with 1739. In the diagram below, the numbers, of course, represent actual manuscripts. The bold letters represent hypothetical ancestors. Note that, since this is not a stemma, the lines do not represent actual acts of copying but lines of descent. They may represent only one generation of copying, but more likely they represent two or three or even more. Where there is Byzantine mixture, I have marked this with a light-colored slash. The extent of the mixture is shown by the number of slashes.



Partial genealogy of family 1739 in Acts.

The geographical center of Family 1739 is difficult to determine. 1739 itself, of course, is on Mount Athos, as are its mixed relative 945 1704. 1241 (the best representative in the Catholics other than 1739), 1243 (also good in the Catholics) and 1881 (the best representatives of the type other than 1739 in Paul), however, are at Sinai, and 1891 (the best representative other than 1739 in Acts) is at Jerusalem.

All of the above has been based on published results; very little of it is my own work. But the available publications are not always the most complete. The section which follows will attempt to outline the text-type of family 1739 in Paul and the Catholics, and then describe its significance.

Paul

As noted, the witnesses here are 0121, 0243, 6, 424**, 630/2200 (Romans-Galatians), 1881, and 1908.

The first and last of these need the least discussion. In both cases, the dependency is obvious.

If we examine the Nestle apparatus, we find that 0121 and 1739 both exist for 59 readings (disregarding conjectures, punctuation varia, etc.). The two agree in 47 of these cases, or 80% of the time. However, the agreement is actually closer than this. It appears distinctly possible that 0121 is a corrupt descendent of 1739. Let us examine the twelve differences briefly:

1Cor 15:54 το φθαρτον.... αθανασιαν 0121=1739* (1739^{margin} Byzantine)

1Cor 15:55 νικος.... κεντρον 0121=1739^{c}

1Cor 16:6 παραμενω 0121=1739^{c}

1Cor 16:24 αμην 0121=1739*^{vid}

2Cor 11:14 θαυμα 0121=*Byz*

2Cor 11:18 add την 0121=1739^{c} *Byz*

2Cor 11:21 ησθηνηκαμων 0121=1739c Byz

2Cor 11:23 φυλακαις.... υπερβαλλοντως 0121=*Byz*

2Cor 11:27 add εμ 0121=*Byz*

2Cor 11:28 επιστασις 0121=*Byz*

2Cor 12:1 δει 0121= K 223 945 1505 2412 *pm*

2Cor 12:5 add μου 0121=*Byz*

Thus in the fragment in 1 Corinthians 0121 agrees everywhere with 1739 (text or margin); in 2 Corinthians it either agrees with 1739 or the Byzantine text (there appears to have been block mixture here). While 0121 cannot have been copied directly from 1739, it could be a grandchild or niece via a sister which has suffered Byzantine mixture. In any case it adds little to the family text.

The same can be said for 1908, which we can briefly dismiss. It shares certain of 1739's marginal comments (e.g. in Romans 1:7 they share the scholion stating that Origen's text omitted EN ΡΩΜΗ), but there is no kinship between the texts. In addition, the marginal commentary in 1739 is fuller and better. 1908's commentary may or may not be descended from 1739's; in any case, it offers us nothing of value not found in 1739.

This is simply not true for the other witnesses (0243, 6, 424**, 630, 1881). All of them — especially the first and the last — can help us to move back beyond 1739. 0243 is helpful because it almost certainly derives from an exemplar no more than three copies removed from 1739's exemplar. 1881 is helpful because, although neither as pure nor as good as 1739, it is a complete text of the 1739 type which is independent of 1739 itself.

424** (Tischendorf's 67**) is a manuscript whose ordinary text is quite Byzantine. A corrector worked over that manuscript and made many hundreds of corrections, many of them quite striking (e.g. the omission of "in Ephesus" in Ephesians 1:1). The vast majority of these changes agree with 1739.

Given the Byzantine nature of its underlying text, 424 as corrected is not an overwhelmingly good Family 1739 witness. But the corrections themselves witness an excellent family 1739 text.

Relatively close to 424** is 6 (e.g. it too omits “in Ephesus” in Ephesians 1:1). 6 is an odd mix, with late Byzantine scattered among important Family 1739 readings (e.g. the omission of “and clings to his wife” in Eph. 5:31 — a reading shared only with 1739*).

630 (and its close relative 2200, which together form family 630 — a group found throughout Acts, Paul, and the Catholics, though its text-type changes) is a block-mixed witness. In Romans-Galatians it has a family 1739 text with a significant Byzantine overlay; from Ephesians on it is nearly purely Byzantine.

1881 is, after 1739, the best complete witness to family 1739. It has suffered some Byzantine mixture (it would appear that about 30% of its distinctive family 1739 readings have been replaced by Byzantine variants), but still agrees with 1739 some 80% of the time — as well as retaining a few family readings where 1739 seems to have suffered corruption.

Finally, there is 0243 (including the manuscript once known as 0121b). This manuscript, which includes 2 Corinthians complete as well as fragments of 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, is noteworthy for its close agreement with 1739. The two agree at about 95% of all points of variation. (A striking example is their reading χωρις θεου in Heb. 2:9). It is likely that 1739 and 0243 are first cousins; they may even be sisters. If we examine Hebrews, for instance, the complete list of differences is as follows:

Verse	1739 reads	0243 reads
1:2	τους αιωνας εποιησεν 1739* with K L *Byz*	εποισε τους αιωνας with B^{c} (P^{46} א B* D* I 33 1739^{c}? εποισεν)
1:3	εκαθισεν εν with *rell*	εκαθισεν *(hapl?)*
1:4	αυτους with *rell*	αυτοις
1:12	αυτους ως ιματιον with P^{46} א A B D*	αυτους with K L 056 0142 33 1881 *Byz*
2:9	1739^{margin} illegible (*rell* reads χαριτι θεου)	χωρις θεου with 1739* 424c
4:1	δοκη with P^{46} א A B D K *al*	δοκει with L 056 0142 *al (itac?)*
12:21	εμφοβος	ενφοβος (*rell* read εκφοβος)
12:25	χρηματισαντα	τον χρηματισαντα with P^{46}* א* A D (*rell* χρηματισοντα)
13:4	δε 1739^{c} with C D^{c} K L 33 *Byz*	γαρ 0243 1738* with P^{46} א* A D* P 81 1175 1881
13:5	αρκουμενοι 1739^{c} with *rell*	αρκουμενος 0243 1739* with P$^{46c\text{-}vid}$ 81 1881
13:6	ου with א* C* P 33 1175	και ου with P^{46} A D K L 81 1881 *Byz*
13:11	εισφερεται with *rell*	εισφερετε with D* *(itac.?)*
13:16	ευαρεστειται with P^{46} (א A) D(*) K L *rell*	ευεργετειται 0243^{vid}
13:17	υμων και with *rell*	υμων και και *(dittog?)*
13:21	αυτου αυτω 1739^{margin} with א* A C* 33* 81* 1175	αυτου 0243 1739* with D K L 1881 *Byz*

So we find a grand total of only fifteen differences between 1739 and 0243 in Hebrews, many of which do not qualify as “real” variants. Four (1:3, 1:4, 13:16, 13:17) are singular readings of 0243 (two being clear errors and the other two also possibly slips of the pen). 13:11 is a subsingular itacism in 0243, and the difference in 4:1 is also itastic. Five (1:2, 2:9, 13:4, 13:5, 13:21) involve places where 1739* and 1739^{margin} disagree, with 1739* agreeing with 0243 in four of five cases. 12:21 is a spelling variant. Thus, in the whole of Hebrews, 0243 and 1739 have only three substantial differences (1:12, 12:25, 13:6, and even 12:25 and 13:6 may be errors of copying).

From such a small sample, it is difficult to determine which of the two manuscripts is the earlier. If anything, 1739 (even though a minuscule) looks more primitive than 0243. The errors in 0243 imply that it cannot be the exemplar of 1739. But 1739 can hardly be 0243’s exemplar, either, because of 0243’s lack of acknowledgement of the marginal readings (most of which

were included by the original scribe of 1739). The two might be sisters, or even more likely, uncle and nephew or first cousins. They probably aren't much more distant than that.

The following tables summarize the members of Family 1739 in Acts, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles.

Family 1739 in Acts (based on the list offered by Thomas C. Geer, Jr. Family 1739 in Acts). (Note: Von Soden lists as related Ib witnesses the following: 1891 242 522 206 1758 1831 429 536 491 l 1739 2298 323 440 216 066. However, some of these cannot be verified, others are clearly not members of Family 1739 in Acts, and in any case the subgroups are wrong. Therefore only witnesses identified by Geer are included.)

MS	Date	Location	Catalog Number	Soden descr.	Comment
206	XIII	London	Lambeth 1182	I^{b1}	Contains the Acts and Epistles with lacunae. Acts 1:1–12:3, 13:5–15, 2 John, 3 John, and Jude are from another hand (dated XIV). 206 is listed as Category III by the Alands in the Catholics; V elsewhere. Originally from "a Greek island" (Scrivener). Like 429, 522, 630, and 2200, it belongs with Family 2138 in the Catholics. According to Geer, it belongs with the pair 429 522, but only in the second half of Acts (in the first half of Acts it is a much weaker member of the family).
322	XV	London	British Libr. Harley 5620	I^{b}?	Contains the Acts and Epistles. Sister of 323 or nearly. It has a weak Family 1739 text in Acts and the early Catholic Epistles; much more strongly Family 1739 in the later Catholics. Paul is mostly Byzantine. Classified by the Alands as Category II in the Catholics and III elsewhere. "There are no chapter divisions *primâ manu;* the writing is small and abbreviated" (Scrivener).

323	XII	Geneva	Public and University Library Gr. 20.	I^{b2}	Contains the Acts and Epistles, with Acts 1:1–8, 2:36–45 from a later hand. Known to be a near-sister or forerunner of 322 since at least the time of Scrivener. It has a weak Family 1739 text in Acts and the early Catholic Epistles; much more strongly Family 1739 in the later Catholics. Paul is mostly Byzantine. Classified by the Alands as Category II in the Catholics and III elsewhere. “Brought from Greece, beautifully but carelessly written, without subscriptions” (Scrivener).
429	XIV	Wolfenbüttel	Herzog August Libr. 16.7 Aug. Ao	I^{b1}	Contains the Acts and Epistles in the hand of one George; the Apocalypse was added by a later (XV) hand. The Alands list it as Category III in the Acts and Catholics; V in Paul and the Apocalypse. Von Soden lists it as $K^{(1)}$ in the Apocalypse. According to Geer, it is closest to 522; also to 206 in the second half of Acts. Like 206, 522, 630, and 2200, it belongs with Family 2138 in the Catholics.

453	XIV	Rome	Vatican Libr. Barb. Gr. 582	I^{a1}	Contains the Acts and Catholic Epistles (only), with commentary. Dated XI by Scrivener, but all other authorities give the date as XIV. Rated Category III by the Alands. Geer considers it a very weak member of Family 1739; certainly it is among the most Byzantine of the manuscripts listed here. Von Soden classified it as I^{a1}, and one of the manuscripts in that group is 307, found by the Alands to be very close to 453. (No one, however, has claimed 307 as a member of family 1739). In the Catholics, Wachtel lists it among the manuscripts that are 30–40% non-Byzantine, and groups it with 1678 and 2197.
522	1515	Oxford	Bodleian Library, Canon. Gr. 34	I^{b1}	Complete New Testament, “written by Michael Damascenus the Cretin for John Francis Picus of Mirandola” (Scrivener). Rev. 2:11–23 are lost. The Alands list 522 as Category III in the Acts and Catholics; V in the Gospels, Paul, and Apocalypse. Von Soden lists it as K^{x} in the Gospels and I^{b} in the Apocalypse. It has the Euthalian prologues but evidently not the text. According to Geer, it is closest to 429; also to 206 in the second half of Acts. Like 206, 429, 630, and 2200, it belongs with Family 2138 in the Catholics.

630	XIV	Rome	Vatican Libr. Ottob. Gr. 325	I^{b}	Contains the Acts and Epistles (lacking Acts 4:9–5:1). Pairs with 2200 throughout and and probably with 1799 in the Catholics only; also (at a greater distance) with 206, 429, 522 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles (all of these manuscripts belonging to Family 2138 in the Catholics). The Alands list as Category III, but the text in fact varies widely. In Acts it is Family 1739 (with significant Byzantine mixture). The early epistles of Paul are also mixed Family 1739; in the later epistles it is entirely Byzantine. Geer indicates that in Acts 630 and 2200 are closer to 1891 than to 1739, and share with 1891 a tendency to turn Byzantine in the final chapters of Acts.
945	XI	Athos	Dionysiu 124 (37)		Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. In both the Acts and Catholic Epistles it stands very close to 1739, but with more Byzantine readings; it is possible that it is actually a corrupt descendent of 1739 itself, though perhaps more likely that it is derived from one of 1739's immediate ancestors (since it has a few non-Byzantine readings not found in 1739). In Acts, Geer reports that 945 is also close to 1739's near-sister 1891, and also to 1704. In the Gospels, von Soden lists it as belonging to I^{Φ} (which he regarded as one of the weaker branches of Family 1424); Wisse corrects this to K^{mix}/K^{x}. The Alands list it as Category III in Acts and the Catholic Epistles, V in the Gospels and Paul. Even in Paul there are hints of 1739 type readings, but only very few; the main run of the text is Byzantine.

1704	1541	Athos	Kutlumusiu 356		Contains the entire New Testament. Classified by the Alands as Category III in Acts, V elsewhere. Not profiled by Wisse because of its late date. According to Geer, it stands closest to 945, with 1739 next on the list. Based on Geer's data for "Primary Family 1739 readings," it would appear possible that 1704 is a descendent of 945, or at least of one of its near kin (nearer than 1739); in seventy readings, only once does 1704 have the family text when 945 does not, and there are several instances where 945 preserves the family reading but 1704 has been conformed to the Byzantine text. Geer confirms that 1704 is much more Byzantine in its final chapters.
1739	X	Athos	Lavra B' 64	I^{b2}	Contains the Acts and Epistles, with marginal commentary. Acts 1:1–2:6 are from a later hand; they probably were added when the gospels were cut off. Written by the scribe Ephraem, who also wrote 1582. Best and often the earliest member of Family 1739, although the Alands rate it Category II in Acts (I elsewhere). Von Soden classifies it as H (Alexandrian) elsewhere. A near-sister of 1891 in Acts, and possibly the ancestor of some of the other Family 1739 witnesses (e.g. 945 and 1704; probably not of the 206–429–522–630–2200 group). Furnished with a marginal commentary, mostly from Origen in Paul but from other sources in the Acts and Catholics.

1891	X	Jerusalem; St. Petersburg	Jerusalem: Orthodox. Patr. Saba 107; St. Petersburg: Russ. National Libr. Gr. 317	I^b	The two leaves in St. Petersburg were formerly numbered 2162. Contains the Acts and Epistles. Text is valuable only in Acts (where the Alands rate it Category II; elsewhere V). Seems to be a near-sister of 1739, and very nearly as pure a text of the family. Geer reports a connection to 630, and also an increasing number of Byzantine readings in the final chapter. This suggests the possibility that its ancestor was a Byzantine manuscript corrected toward a good Family 1739 text, but only in Acts, with the corrector becoming careless as he approached the end of the manuscript.
2200	XIV	Elasson	Olympiotisses 79	I^b	Contains the entire New Testament. Pairs with 630 in the Acts and Epistles; also with 1799 in the Catholics. Von Soden classifies it as K^x in the Gospels; Wisse lists it as $K^x/K^{mix}/K^x$. The Alands classify it as Category III in the Acts and Epistles, V in the Gospels and Apocalypse. Geer confirms its closeness to 630, and also with 1891, and indicates a shift toward the Byzantine text in the final chapters of Acts.

Family 1739 in Paul. The following manuscripts have been shown to be connected with Family 1739 (or, in the case of 1908, with 1739 itself) in Paul:

MS	Date	Location	Catalog Number	Soden descr.	Comment
0121	X	London	British Libr. Harley 5613	H	Tischendorf's M, cited as 0121a in NA[26]; formerly lumped with the Hamburg portion of 0243 as M/0121. Contains 1 Cor. 15:52–16:24, 2 Cor. 1:1–15, 10:13–12:5. Written in red ink. Usually dated to century X, but Zuntz argues that its semi-uncial hand belongs to XII. Of the manuscripts of Family 1739, it is the one most likely to be descended from 1739 itself (see the list of readings cited above). The earlier portions (in 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians 1) are very close to 1739; the portion from the second half of 2 Corinthians has a heavy Byzantine overlay. Categorised by the Alands as Category III.
0243	X	Hamburg, Vienna	Vienna: National Libr. San Marco 983; Hamburg: Univ. Libr. Cod. 50 in scrin.	H	The Hamburg portion was formerly known as 0121(b); Tischendorf's M. Contains 1 Cor. 13:4–2 Cor. 13:13 (Vienna); Hebrews 1:1–4:3, 12:20–13:25 (Hamburg). Written in red ink. Categorized by the Alands as Category II, but it is extremely close to 1739 (which is Category I); the two might possibly be sisters, although first or second cousins is more likely. Where it exists, 0243 is of equal authority with 1739 in determining the text of Family 1739.

6	XIII	Paris	National Libr. Gr. 112.	H	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles with lacunae. Von Soden classifies it as I^{k} in the Gospels; Wisse refines this to Π^{6}. Elsewhere Von Soden classifies it as H (Alexandrian). The Alands specify it as Category III in Paul and the Catholics and V elsewhere. This assessment seems to be correct. 6 goes with Family 1739 in Paul and the Catholics (although it has a heavy mixture of Byzantine readings, often of the very latest sort); it appears Byzantine in Acts. Within Family 1739, it appears closest to 424**. The pair have a purer family text in Paul than in the Catholics. Wachtel places 6 in his 30–40% non-Byzantine group in the Catholics, without indicating any further classification. Scrivener reports that “This exquisite manuscript is written in characters so small that some pages require a glass to read them.”
424**	XI	Vienna	Austrian National Libr. Theol. Gr. 302	H	Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse (with some minor lacunae in the latter). The basic run of the text, 424*, is conceded by all to be purely Byzantine. The corrections (which are numerous only in Paul and the Catholic Epistles) are entirely different; in Paul they agree with 1739 some 90% of the time, and in the remaining instances we usually find 1739 to be Byzantine (with 424** often supported by other members of Family 1739). It would thus appear that 424 was corrected from a high-quality manuscript of the 1739 type. In both Paul and the Catholics it appears to be closest to 6; the pair are not quite so close to 1739 in the Catholics as in Paul.

630	XIV	Rome	Vatican Libr. Ottob. Gr. 325	I^b	Contains the Acts and Epistles (lacking Acts 4:9–5:1). Pairs with 2200 throughout and and probably with 1799 in the Catholics only; also (at a greater distance) with 206, 429, 522 in the Acts and Catholic Epistles (all of these manuscripts belonging to Family 2138 in the Catholics). The Alands list it as Category III, but the text in fact varies widely. In Acts it is Family 1739 (with significant Byzantine mixture). The early epistles of Paul are also mixed Family 1739; in the later epistles it is entirely Byzantine (the dividing line seems to fall roughly between Galatians and Ephesians, although the number of Byzantine readings increases steadily from Romans onward). In Acts, Geer indicates that 630 and 2200 are closer to 1891 than to 1739, and share with 1891 a tendency to turn Byzantine in the final chapters of Acts.

1739	X	Athos	Lavra B' 64	H	Contains the Acts and Epistles, with marginal commentary. Acts 1:1–2:6 are from a later hand; they probably were added when the gospels were cut off. Written by the scribe Ephraem, who also wrote 1582. Best and often the earliest member of Family 1739, although the Alands rate it Category II in Acts (I elsewhere). Von Soden classifies it as H in Paul and the Catholics; I^{b2} in Acts. Along with 0243, the best and most important of the Family 1739 witnesses in Paul, but probably not the ancestor of any of the others except perhaps 0121. Furnished with a marginal commentary, mostly from Origen in Paul but from other sources elsewhere. A colophon states that the text of Romans was taken from Origen's commentary on that book, but the evidence of the other Family 1739 witnesses (which agree equally with 1739 in Romans and elsewhere) implies that there is no great shift in the text.
1881	XIV	Sinai	St. Catherine's Monastery Gr. 300		Contains Paul and portions of the Catholic Epistles (commencing in chapter 1 of 1 Peter; James and probably Acts have been lost). Classified as Category II by the Alands; Wachtel places it in the "over 40% [non-Byzantine]" category in the Catholic Epistles. Beyond this it has not been studied, but in Paul it is clearly the best complete Family 1739 text other than 1739 itself. Although it has suffered some Byzantine mixture, it appears to preserve some readings which have been replaced in 1739 by Byzantine readings.

1908	XI	Oxford	Bodl. Libr. Roe 16	(H)	Contains Paul with a marginal commentary — according to von Soden, the commentary being that of (the pseudo-)Oecumenius. However, there are also certain comments in the margin which clearly derive from the commentary in 1739 (e.g. the omission of "in Rome" in Romans 1:7). Despite this, 1908 does *not* have a Family 1739 text; although it has some interesting readings (the Alands place it in Category III), these appear to be mostly Alexandrian.
2200	XIV	Elasson	Olympiotisses 79	I^{b}	Contains the entire New Testament. Pairs with 630 in the Acts and Epistles; also with 1799 in the Catholics. Von Soden classifies it as K^{x} in the Gospels; Wisse lists it as K^{x}/K^{mix}/K^{x}. The Alands classify it as Category III in the Acts and Epistles, V in the Gospels and Apocalypse. Geer confirms its closeness in Acts to 630, and also with 1891, indicating a shift toward the Byzantine text in the final chapters of Acts. Its relationship to 630 has not been explored in detail in Paul, but it seems to endure. Thus we find assorted Family 1739 readings in the early epistles, but an almost purely Byzantine text roughly from Ephesians onward.

Family 1739 in the Catholics. The following list is derived from Amphoux and my own researches, confirmed partly by Richards. Richards lists the members of Family 1739 (his group A^{3}) as P^{74} 5 323 623 642 1241 1243 1739 1845. However, 642 and 1845 are members only in 2 and 3 John (which are too short to make classification a meaningful declaration), P^{74} is classified on too few readings to be meaningful, and even 5 and 623 are too far from the heart of the family to be classified with certainty based on Richards' methods. These are therefore omitted from the list, as is 2492 (suggested by Amphoux). 2492 has some interesting readings (though it is more Byzantine than not), but there is no evident pattern of agreement with 1739. 322 should probably be included in the list (as a sister of 323), but its connection with Family 1739 has not been verified.

MS	Date	Location	Catalog Number	Soden descr.	Comment
C/04	V	Paris	National Libr. Gr. 9	H	Palimpsest, originally containing the entire Greek Bible, but most of the Old Testament and nearly half the New have been lost. (In the Catholics, in addition to the first verse or two lost at the beginning of each book that was lost when the coloured ink they were written in washed off, it lacks James 4:2–end, 1 Pet. 4:5–end, 1 John 4:3–3 John 2.) Text-type varies (Alexandrian/Byzantine mix in the Gospels and Acts; purely Alexandrian in Paul and the Apocalypse). In the Catholics there is no trace of Byzantine influence. The text is not purely Family 1739, but neither is it Alexandrian; it falls between the two traditions, with the balance somewhat favouring Family 1739. Pending further investigation it is not clear if the text is an Alexandrian/Family 1739 mix or if it is some sort of “proto-Alexandrian” text (though Family 1739 is also associated with Origen, who of course predates C by centuries).

6	XIII	Paris	National Libr. Gr. 112.	H	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles with lacunae. Von Soden classifies it as I^{k} in the Gospels; Wisse refines this to Π^{6}. Elsewhere Von Soden classifies it as H (Alexandrian). The Alands specify it as Category III in Paul and the Catholics and V elsewhere. This assessment seems to be correct. 6 goes with Family 1739 in Paul and the Catholics (although it has a heavy mixture of Byzantine readings, often of the very latest sort); it appears Byzantine in Acts. Within Family 1739, it appears closest to 424**. The pair have a purer family text in Paul than in the Catholics. Wachtel places 6 in his 30–40% non-Byzantine group in the Catholics, without indicating any further classification. Scrivener reports that “This exquisite manuscript is written in characters so small that some pages require a glass to read them.”
323	XII	Geneva	Public and University Library Gr. 20.	Ib2	Contains the Acts and Epistles, with Acts 1:1–8, 2:36–45 from a later hand. Known to be a near-sister or forerunner of 322 since at least the time of Scrivener. It has a weak Family 1739 text in Acts and the early Catholic Epistles; much more strongly Family 1739 in the later Catholics (roughly 2 Peter-Jude, but the increase in Family 1739 readings is gradual). Paul is mostly Byzantine. Classified by the Alands as Category II in the Catholics and III elsewhere. “brought from Greece, beautifully but carelessly written, without subscriptions” (Scrivener).

424**	XI	Vienna	Austrian National Libr. Theol. Gr. 302	H	Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse (with some minor lacunae in the latter). The basic run of the text, 424*, is conceded by all to be purely Byzantine. The corrections (which are numerous only in Paul and the Catholic Epistles) are entirely different; in Paul they agree with 1739 some 90% of the time, and in the remaining instances we usually find 1739 to be Byzantine (with 424** often supported by other members of Family 1739). It would thus appear that 424 was corrected from a high-quality manuscript of the 1739 type. In both Paul and the Catholics it appears to be closest to 6; the pair are not quite so close to 1739 in the Catholics as in Paul.
945	XI	Athos	Dionysiu 124 (37)		Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. In both the Acts and Catholic Epistles it stands very close to 1739, but with more Byzantine readings; it is possible that it is actually a corrupt descendent of 1739 itself, though perhaps more likely that it is derived from one of 1739's immediate ancestors (since it has a few non-Byzantine readings not found in 1739). In Acts, Geer reports that 945 is also close to 1739's near-sister 1891, and also to 1704. In the Gospels, von Soden lists it as belonging to I^{Φ} (which he regarded as one of the weaker branches of Family 1424); Wisse corrects this to K^{mix}/K^{x}. The Alands list it as Category III in Acts and the Catholic Epistles, V in the Gospels and Paul. Even in Paul there are hints of 1739 type readings, but only very few; the main run of the text is Byzantine.

1241	XII	Sinai	St. Catherine's Monastery Gr. 260	H	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, with two lacunae (Matt. 8:14–13:3, Acts 17:10–18). In addition, about a quarter of Paul, and the whole of the Catholic Epistles, are later insertions. The text is thoroughly mixed (so, e.g., the Alands consider it Category III in the Gospels, V in Acts, III in Paul, and I in the Catholics). In Matthew and Mark it is mostly Byzantine with some Alexandrian readings; in Luke (where Wisse assigns it for the most part to Group B) the Alexandrian element comes to the fore; 1241 may be the most Alexandrian minuscule of that book. John is less Alexandrian than Luke but better than Matthew or Mark. In Acts, the text is purely Byzantine. This is also true of the text of Paul in the first hand; however, the supplements are generally of other sorts. In places they appear mixed Alexandrian, in others perhaps mixed family 1739. However, it is difficult to say with certainty given the number of Byzantine readings even in the supplements and their relatively limited extent. In the Catholics, 1241 is all from a later hand, but the quality of the supplement is very strong. Both Richards and Amphoux recognize it as a member of Family 1739, and Wachtel (who does not acknowledge the family) still places it in his best and least Byzantine category. Within Family 1739, 1241 ranks with 1739 itself and C as a witness, although it appears to belong with a slightly different branch of the family. Unlike manuscripts such as 945, it clearly is *not* a descendent of 1739, and provides an important check on the family text. Although 1241 is written in a fairly neat hand, it is generally regarded as carelessly written, with many scribal errors, misspellings, and

1243	XI	Sinai	St. Catherine's Monastery Gr. 262	K	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. In the Gospels, it is classified Category III by the Alands; von Soden described it as I^{β}. Wisse lists it as group 1216, paired with 1579. In Acts and Paul, the Alands again rate it Category III; von Soden demotes it to K for Acts — which is reasonable for the Acts and Paul; non-Byzantine readings are few. It is not true in the Catholics, where the Alands raise 1243 to Category I, and Wachtel places it in the least Byzantine category. 1243 is clearly a member of Family 1739, falling closer to 1739 than to 1241, though perhaps with some influence from the C type of text.
1735	XI/XII	Athos	Lavra B' 42	K	Contains the Acts and Epistles with lacunae. Von Soden classed it as a Byzantine witness, and this is true or nearly in the Acts and Paul. The Alands list it as Category III in those books, but promote it to Category II in the Catholics. Wachtel lists it in his least Byzantine category. Based on the evidence gathered by the Alands and Wachtel, it seems to be a rather weak Family 1739 witness.

1739	X	Athos	Lavra B' 64	H	Contains the Acts and Epistles, with marginal commentary. Acts 1:1–2:6 are from a later hand; they probably were added when the gospels were cut off. Written by the scribe Ephraem, who also wrote 1582. Best and often the earliest member of Family 1739, although the Alands rate it Category II in Acts (I elsewhere). Von Soden classifies it as H in Paul and the Catholics; I^{b2} in Acts. Along with 0243, the best and most important of the Family 1739 witnesses in Paul, but probably not the ancestor of any of the others except perhaps 0121. Furnished with a marginal commentary, mostly from Origen in Paul but from other sources elsewhere. A colophon states that the text of Romans was taken from Origen's commentary on that book, but the evidence of the other Family 1739 witnesses (which agree equally with 1739 in Romans and elsewhere) implies that there is no great shift in the text. In the Catholics, 1739 might well be the ancestor of 945, and perhaps the pair 322/323 at a greater distance, but the leading witnesses (e.g. 1241, 1243, 1881) are clearly independent and probably go back to a slightly earlier form of the text.

1881	XIV	Sinai	St. Catherine's Monastery Gr. 300		Contains Paul and portions of the Catholic Epistles (commencing in chapter 1 of 1 Peter; James and probably Acts have been lost). Classified as Category II by the Alands; Wachtel places it in the "over 40% [non-Byzantine]" category in the Catholic Epistles. Beyond this it has not been studied, but in Paul it is clearly the best complete Family 1739 text other than 1739 itself. The situation is much the same in the Catholics: It is clearly a Family 1739 text with some Byzantine corruptions. It appears to stand slightly closer to 1241 than 1739, but generally stands between the two.
2298	XI	Paris	National Libr. Gr. 102	I^{b2}	Contains the Acts and Epistles complete. Despite its high Gregory number, this manuscript has long been known; it was 7^{a} and 9^{p} in the old catalogs, and seems to have been cited by Stephanus. Dated to century X by Scrivener and XII by Omond. A clear member of Family 1739 in the Catholics, and possibly a weak one in Acts. In Acts the Alands rate it Category III; they consider it Byzantine in Paul; in the Catholics they promote it to Category II, and Wachtel places it in his least Byzantine category. Still, it is not as strong a witness to the type as 1739 or 1241.

1758: see under 1739 and Family 1739

Manuscript 1799

Location/Catalog Number

Princeton, New Jersey (previously Baltimore, Maryland, and originally from Mount Athos). Catalog number: Univ. Lib. Med. a. Ren. MS. Garrett 8.

Contents

Acts and Epistles, lacking Acts 1:1–13:9, with assorted smaller lacunae (Jude 1–16, 2 Cor. 1:4–2:11, Phil. 4:13–Col. 1:21, 1 Thes. 1:1–2:5, 2 Thes. 1:1–3:5). It is written on parchment, 1 column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated XIII by Sprengling, who first examined it. K.W. Clark inclines to XII. The *Kurzgefasste Liste* dates it XII/XIII.

Description and Text-type

The only scholar who has classified this manuscript at all is Richards, who correctly assigns it to his "group A^1" (Family 2138) in the Johannine Epistles.

K.W. Clark, in the course of collating 1799, observed that (in Acts and the Catholics) it belongs with 2412 (i.e. Family 2138), being particularly close to 206. This is clearly correct; 1799 is a member of Family 2138, and approaches the group 630–429–522–206. It is so close to 630 that one is almost tempted to regard them as sisters.

In Paul the text is much weaker; it is largely Byzantine, and such few non-Byzantine readings as it has do not appear to belong with any particular group.

What is interesting about 1799, however, is not its text but the way it has been edited. For 1799 is assuredly not a normal continuous-text manuscript; it may even have been taken from a lectionary. There are no fewer than 217 modifications apparently designed for public reading. To be specific: There are in Paul 179 places where 1799 adds the word αδελφοι to the text. In fifteen other places, the word has been moved from its normal place in the text to the beginning of a sentence. (The word is dropped three times.) In the Pastoral Epistles, instead of αδελφοι we find τεκνον Τιμοθεε added 21 times (and moved once) and τεκνον τιτε added four times. It appears that all these exhortations are intended to mark the beginnings of paragraphs; in every case they mark the beginnings of sentences. One can only suspect that these insertions were made for purposes of public exhortation; they likely come from the lectionary. (Lection readings are noted in the margin.)

Aland and Aland neither collated nor classified 1799.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: (reported by the *Kurzgefasste Liste* to be ε610; obviously this is not correct!)

Bibliography

Collations:
K.W. Clark, *Eight American Praxapostoloi* (1941).

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:

Other Works:

1831: see under 2138 and Family 2138

Manuscript 1881

Location/Catalog Number

Sinai, where it has been as long as it has been known. Catalog number: Katharinen-Kloster 300

Contents

Contains Paul complete. Also contains the Catholic Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude. It is written on paper, 1 column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourteenth century.

Description and Text-type

1881 is a member of Family 1739 in both Paul and the Catholics. In Paul it is the best complete manuscript of the family other than 1739 itself. It appears to retain at least a few family readings lost in 1739. It also appears to have some special Family 1739 readings in the Catholics, although because of lack of text it is difficult to be certain.

Aland and Aland classify 1881 as Category II. This appears to be correct based on their definition of the Categories; 1881 is a Family 1739 text with Byzantine mixture.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α651

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:
Aland & Aland (1 page)

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA[26] for Paul.
Cited in NA[27] for Paul.
Cited all editions of UBS.

Other Works:

1890: see under 2138 and Family 2138

1891: see under 1739 and Family 1739

Manuscript 1906

Paris, National Library Coislin Gr. 28. Von Soden's $O^{\pi 101}$; Tischendorf/Scrivener 23^{p}. Contains the Pauline Epistles with a commentary (reported by Von Soden to be that of Oecumenius). The colophon dates it to the year 1056. As is typical of a commentary manuscript, it has such reader aids as prologues, but lacks lectionary equipment. It has a few interesting readings (as is typical of commentary manuscripts), but overall its text is fairly ordinary; the Alands list it as Category V, or Byzantine. This might be slightly unfair, but only slightly.

1908: see under 1739 and Family 1739

2127: see under 365 and Family 2127

Manuscript 2138 and Family 2138

Location/Catalog Number

Moscow. Catalog number: University 2.

Contents

2138 contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. It has a few slight lacunae (e.g. 1 John 2:7–17). 2138 is written on parchment, with one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated by its colophon to the year 1072.

Description and Text-type

Note: Family 2138 is the name that Amphoux offers for a large group of manuscripts having a very distinct text of the Acts and Catholic Epistles. The name is slightly deceptive — Family 2138 is actually a separate text-type (at least in the Catholic Epistles), not merely a family, and 2138 is not the earliest representative of the type (the Harklean Syriac is). Nor does 2138 always have the family text (in Paul, 2138 is mostly Byzantine). But I have adopted the name for consistency with Amphoux.

Now for the details on 2138:

Aland and Aland list 2138 as Category III in the Acts and Epistles and V in the Apocalypse. Von Soden describes it as I^{c1} in the Acts and Epistles and K in the Apocalypse. In the Johannine Epistles, Richards lists it as the best representative of his A^{1} group (which Richards describes as having an Alexandrian text, but in fact his A^{1} is Family 2138). Amphoux places it at the head of Family 2138 in the Catholics. Wachtel puts it in the Hk^{gr} family, another name for Family 2138.

The analysis of Amphoux, Richards, and Wachtel are clearly correct as far as the Catholic Epistles is concerned. 2138 is the oldest Greek witness, and one of the best representatives of the type, which bears its name. It should not, however, be considered the ancestor of the type. Family 2138 is fairly large (Amphoux lists as primary witnesses 206, 429, 522, 614, 1108, 1292, 1448, 1505, 1518, 1611, 1758, 1799, 1831, 1890, 2138, and 2495; Wachtel offers 206, 429, 522, 614, 630, 1292, 1490, 1505, 1611, 1799, 1831, 1890, 2138, 2200, 2412, and 2495. Richards confirms the results for 206, 614, 1611, 1799, 2138, and 2412; I have verified them for 206, 429, 522, 614, 630, 1505, 1518, 1611, 1799, 2138, 2412, and 2495). The Harklean Syriac also goes with this type. It can be shown that the family falls into various subgroups (2138+1611, 614+2412, 630+1799+2200, 1505+2495). Since the other groups preserve certain family readings not found in 2138 and 1611, it follows that the group is earlier (and less Byzantine) than 2138. It is, in fact, older than the Harklean Syriac, since the Harklean also lacks many characteristic readings of the family. It thus appears that Family 2138 is an early text-type. Amphoux equates it with the “Western” text, but this is rather doubtful based on the results in Paul.

It appears that Family 2138 also exists in the Acts, and includes many of the same witnesses as in the Catholics. In Acts, however, the family is somewhat less striking. Its best-known representative, 614, has often been labelled “Western” — but here, again, the evidence is somewhat weak. (See also the entry on 614.)

A distinct group of Family 2138 witnesses also exists in Paul, but here the name is deceptive, since 2138 — which in these books is largely Byzantine — appears to abandon it. The remaining texts are 1505, 1611, 2495, probably 2005, and a portion of 1022 (Pastorals, Hebrews), plus of course the Harklean Syriac. The family is much more Byzantine than in the Acts and Epistles. It is worth noting that this family does not show any demonstrable affiliation with the D-F-G text. Thus there is no direct evidence that Family 2138 is "Western" in any part of the New Testament.

The following offers a brief summary of information about the various members of Family 2138 in **Paul**. Note: Von Soden also classifies 1518, 1108, 2138, and 1245 with the I^{c1} group — but 1518 is lost, 1108 and 1245 seem to be mixed, and 2138 has at best a weak family text in Paul; they are therefore omitted from the table pending better information.

MS	Date	Location	Catalog Number	Soden descrip.	Comment
1022	XIV	Baltimore	Walters Art Gallery MS. 533	K^{x}	Contains the Acts and Epistles with minor lacunae. Contains a Family 2138 text only in the Pastorals and Hebrews; elsewhere it is Byzantine (the Alands do not classify 1022, but Richards places it in his group B^{4} in the Catholics). A collation was published by K. W. Clark.
1505	XII	Athos	Lavra B' 26	(K^{x})	Colophon claims a date of 1084, but Colwell has shown this is false. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. The Alands list it as Category III in the Acts and Epistles, V in the Gospels. Wisse confirms that it is Byzantine in the Gospels (K^{x} and K^{x} Cluster 281; paired with 2495, which pairs with 1505 in the Acts and Epistles as well).
1611	X (earlier dated XII)	Athens	National Library 94	I^{c1}	Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse with lacunae. Earliest and best Greek manuscript of the family in Paul. Rated Category III by the Alands (but II in the Apocalypse, where von Soden groups it with Andreas!).

2005	XIV	Escorial	Psi III 2	I^{c1}	Contains the Acts and portions of Paul (2 Corinthians-Hebrews). Rated Category III for Paul by the Alands. Not properly studied, and may not be a member of Family 2138, but scattered readings in von Soden imply that it probably goes with this text at least in part.
2495	XIV/ XV	Sinai	St. Catherine's Monastery Gr. 1992		Contains the entire New Testament with minor lacunae. Very close to 1505 but slightly more Byzantine; it may possibly be a descendent of 1505. Wisse reports that it also goes with 1505 in the Gospels (K^{x} and K^{x} Cluster 281; paired with 1505). The Alands rate it "Category III with reservations" in Paul.

The following offers a brief summary of information about the various members of Family 2138 in **the Catholics**. The column "Identified by" lists the scholar(s) who have associated the manuscript with Family 2138.

MS	Date	Location	Catalog Number	Soden desc.	Identified by	Comment
206	XIII	London	Lambeth 1182	I^{b1}	Amphoux, Richards, Wachtel	Contains the Acts and Epistles with lacunae. 2 and 3 John and Jude are not Family 2138; they come from another hand (dated XIV) which also supplied Acts 1:1–12:3, 13:5–15. 206 is listed as Category III by the Alands in the Catholics; V elsewhere. Originally from "a Greek island" (Scrivener). Like 429, 522, 630, and 2200, it belongs to Family 1739 in Acts.

429	XIV	Wolfen büttel	Herzog August Libr. 16.7 Aug. Ao	I^{b1}	Amphoux, Wachtel	Contains the Acts and Epistles in the hand of one George; the Apocalypse was added by a later (XV) hand. The Alands list it as Category III in the Acts and Catholics; V in Paul and the Apocalypse. Von Soden lists it as $K^{(1)}$ in the Apocalypse. Like 206, 522, 630, and 2200, it belongs to Family 1739 in Acts.
522	1515	Oxford	Bodleian Library, Canon. Gr. 34	I^{b1}	Amphoux, Wachtel	Complete New Testament, "written by Michael Damascenus the Cretin for John Francis Picus of Mirandola" (Scrivener). Rev. 2:11–23 are lost. The Alands list 522 as Category III in the Acts and Catholics; V in the Gospels, Paul, and Apocalypse. Von Soden lists it as K^{x} in the Gospels and I^{b} in the Apocalypse. It has the Euthalian prologues but evidently not the text. Like 206, 429, 630, and 2200, it belongs to Family 1739 in Acts.
614	XIII	Milan	Ambrosian Libr. E 97 Sup	I^{c2}	Amphoux, Richards, Wachtel	Contains the Acts and Epistles (missing Jude 3–end). Pairs with 2412 (the Alands, who rate 614 as Category III, consider them sisters; Clark thought 2412 might be 614's exemplar; it is perhaps most likely that 614 is a niece or grand-niece of 2412). Commonly linked to the "Western" text in Acts — although this cannot be considered conclusively proved.

630	XIV	Rome	Vatican Libr. Ottob. Gr. 325	I^{b}	Wachtel	Contains the Acts and Epistles (lacking Acts 4:9–5:1). Pairs with 2200 throughout and probably with 1799 (in the Catholics only); also (at a greater distance) with 206, 429, 522. The Alands list as Category III, but the text in fact varies widely. In Acts it, like 206, 429, 522, and 2200, belongs to Family 1739 (with significant Byzantine mixture). The early epistles of Paul are also mixed Family 1739; in the later epistles it is entirely Byzantine. In the Catholics it is one of the best Family 2138 groups.
1108	XIII	Athos	Esphigmenu 64	I^{c1}	Amphoux	Contains the Acts and Epistles with lacunae. Identified by Von Soden as Family 2138 in Paul as in the Catholics, but evidence for this is weak. Not classified by the Alands, which probably indicates that it has, at best, a weak family text.
1292	XIII	Paris	National Libr. Suppl. Gr. 1224		Amphoux, Wachtel	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. The Alands list 1292 as Category II in the Catholics and V elsewhere. Listed by the von Soden as I^{k} in the Gospels and K^{x} in Paul. Wisse describes it as weak Π^{b} in Luke 1 and K^{x} in Luke 20.

1448	XI	Athos	Lavra A’ 13		Amphoux	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. The Alands list 1448 as Category III in the Catholics and V elsewhere. Listed by Von Soden as K^{x} (?) in the Gospels; Wisse describes it as Cluster 127. Wachtel does not consider it to be a true member of Family 2138, but lists it (along with 1852) as being in the “Umfeld” of the family, implying that it is somewhat akin.
1490	XII	Athos	Lavra A’ 65	K^{r}	Wachtel	Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Not classified by the Alands or Wisse.
1505	XII	Athos	Lavra B’ 26	(K^{x})	Amphoux, Wachtel	Colophon claims a date of 1084, but Colwell has shown this is false. Contains the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Pairs with 2495. The Alands list it as Category III in the Acts and Epistles, V in the Gospels. Wisse confirms that it is Byzantine in the Gospels (K^{x} and K^{x} Cluster 281; paired with 2495).
1518	XIV			I^{c1}	Amphoux	*Lost* (formerly at Lambeth Palace in London; may be the same as 1896). Contained the Acts and Epistles (missing Acts 7:52–8:25).
1611	X	Athens	National Library 94	I^{c1}	Amphoux, Richards, Wachtel	Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse with lacunae. Pairs with 2138, although it seems to be later and inferior. Rated Category III by the Alands (but II in the Apocalypse, where von Soden groups it with Andreas!). Formerly dated XII.
1758	XIII	Lesbos	Limonos 132.	I^{b1}	Amphoux	Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalyse with lacunae. Not classified by the Alands.

1799	XII/ XIII	Princeton (N.J.)	Univ. Libr. Med. a. Ren. Ms. Garrett 8		Amphoux, Richards, Wachtel	Acts and Epistles with lacunae. Seems to go with 630 and 2200 in the Catholics. In Paul it has a mostly Byzantine text, with a very few readings of other sorts, plus lectionary incipits. Not classified by the Alands; von Soden lists it as a gospels manuscript!
1831	XIV	Athens	National Libr. 131	I^{b1}	Amphoux, Wachtel	Contains the Acts and Epistles with lacunae. Not classified by the Alands.
1890	XIV	Jerusalem	Taphu 462		Amphoux	Contains the Acts and Epistles. Not classified by the Alands. Wachtel notes that it belongs to Hk^{gr} (family 2138) in James and 1 Peter, but is largely Byzantine in the other epistles.
2138	1072	Moscow	Univ. 2	I^{ca}	Amphoux, Richards, Wachtel	Contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. Von Soden classified the Apocalypse as K. The Alands list it as Category III in the Acts and Epistles and V in the Apocalypse. 2138 pairs with 1611 (though 2138 is the better of the two). It is the best and (except for the Harklean Syriac) earliest manuscript of Family 2138, but is not the ancestor of the others; the 2138+1611 group has some Byzantine corruptions not found in the 614+2412, 630+1799+2200, and 1505+2495 groups.

2200	XIV	Elasson	Olympiotisses 79	I^b	Wachtel	Contains the entire New Testament. Pairs with 630 in the Acts and Epistles; also with 1799 in the Catholics. Von Soden classifies it as K^x in the Gospels; Wisse lists it as K^x/K^{mix}/K^x. Geer classifies it (like 630, and also 206, 429, and 522) with Family 1739 in Acts. The Alands classify it as Category III in the Acts and Epistles, V in the Gospels and Apocalypse.
2412	XII	Chicago	University of Chicago Libr. MS. 922		Richards, Wachtel	Contains the Acts and Epistles, missing Rom. 13:4–15:26, Hebrews 13:7–16. Heb. 12:28–13:6 was written by a later hand over an erasure. Pairs with 614 (the Alands list them as sisters, both belonging to Category III; Clark offers the possibility that 2412 is the exemplar of 614). K. W. Clark, who published a collation, describes it as “neat and plain, and fairly well preserved.”
2495	XIV/XV	Sinai	St. Catherine’s Monastery Gr. 1992		Amphoux, Wachtel	Contains the entire New Testament with minor lacunae. Very close to 1505 but slightly more Byzantine; it may possibly be a descendent of 1505. Wisse reports that it also goes with 1505 in the Gospels (K^x and K^x Cluster 281; paired with 1505). The Alands rate it “Category III with reservations” in Paul and “higher” for the Catholics.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: α116

Bibliography

Collations:
Barbara Aland with Andreas Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überliefung* I collates 2138 (along with 1505, 1611, and 2495) against the Harklean Syriac in James, 1 Peter, and 1 John.

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:
Cited in UBS^{4} for the Catholic Epistles.
Cited by Von Soden, Merk, and Bover for the Acts and Epistles, but the citations are not overly accurate.

Other Works:
C.-B. Amphoux, "La Parenté textuelle de syh et du gr. 2138 dans Jacques," Biblica 62.
C.-B. Amphoux, "Quelques témoins grecs des formes textuelles les plus anciennes de l'Epître de Jacques: le groupe 2138 (ou 614)" New Testament Studies 28.

Manuscript 2145

Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library Greek 222. Soden's ε1222. Contains the Gospels; Matthew 1:1–9:28 being lost. Dated by its colophon to 1144/1145, and written by a scribe named John. Textually the manuscript contains several interesting features; the first hand lacks the story of the Adulteress, which was added by a later hand. In addition, the title page of Mark contains a sort of summary of Mark 16:9–20. Von Soden classified 2145 as I^{o} (other manuscripts of this type being U X 213 443 1071 1321(part) 1574). Wisse describes it as M1195 in Luke 1 and 10 and K^{x} in Luke 20. Other members of M1195 include 293 1195 1589 2200(part) 2549(part). The Alands do not assign 2145 to a Category; this seems to imply that 2145 is not purely Byzantine, but is much more Byzantine than anything else.

2193: see under 1 and Family 1

Manuscript 2200

Location/Catalog Number

Elasson. Catalog number: Olympiotisses, 79.

Contents

Contains the entire New Testament. 2200 is written on paper, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourteenth century.

Description and Text-type

In the Gospels, von Soden grouped 2200 with K^x. This concurs with Aland and Aland (who place it in Category V) and for the most part with Wisse, who places it in K^x in Luke 10 and 20, although he classifies it as M1195 in Luke 1.

In the Apocalypse, the Alands place it in Category V. It belongs to the main K group (headed by 046).

2200 is much more interesting in the Acts and Epistles, where the Alands promote it to Category III and von Soden places it in I^b. We can, however, be more detailed. Wachtel places it in the Hk^{gr} (Family 2138) group in the Catholic Epistles. Geer places it among the members of Family 1739 in the Acts. Within family 1739, 2200 is closest to 630 (a fact confirmed by both the Alands and Geer).

This kinship between 630 and 2200 continues in Paul. The apparatus of UBS^4 lists 396 readings for 2200. 630 exists for 392 of these. And the two manuscripts agree in 378 of these 392 readings (96%; by comparison, 2200 agrees with L — a typical Byzantine manuscript — 80% of the time, and with 1739 61% of the time). Even more amazingly, 630 and 2200 agree in all 54 of their mutual non-Byzantine readings. The following table lists their disagreements, with comments:

Verse	2200 reads	630 reads	Comment
Rom. 5:1	εχομεν	εχωμεν	
Rom. 10:1	του Ισραελ εστιν	αυτων	2200 Byzantine; 630 with 1739
Rom. 14:19	2200*^{vid} διωκομεν	διωκωμεν	630 2200** Byzantine
Rom. 15:24	Σπανιαν	Σπανιαν ελευσομαι προς υμας	630 Byzantine; 2200 with 1739
1Co 4:17	Χριστω	Χριστω Ιησου	2200 Byzantine; 630 with 1739
1Co 11:15	δεδοται	αυτη δεδοται	2200 Byzantine; 630 with 1739
1Co 13:3	καυθησωμαι	καυθησομαι	
1Co 15:49	φορεσωμεν	φορεσομεν	2200 Byzantine (with 1739); 630 with 6 1881

1Co 15:54	οταν δε το θνητον.... αθανασιαν	οταν δε το φθαρτον.... αθανασιαν	630 Byzantine; 2200 with 1739*
1Co 15:55	νικος που σου αδη το νικος	κεντρον που σου αδη το νικος	630 Byzantine; 2200 subsingular
2Co 1:10	οτι και ετι	οτι και	2200 Byzantine
2Co 1:11	ημων	υμων	2200 Byzantine
2Co 12:1	καυχασθαι δη	καυχασθαι δει	
Gal 4:7	θεου δια Χριστου	δια Χριστου	2200 Byzantine; 630 subsingular

Thus it will be seen that 2200 and 630 are extremely close in both Acts and Epistles. (It is interesting that they are also of the same century.) Based on the above, it would appear that neither is the ancestor of the other. The two are probably cousins, descended from the same ancestor with one or two intermediate stages. This means that 2200's text is closely comparable to 630's: Weak Family 1739 in the Acts; weak Family 1739 in Romans-Galatians; purely Byzantine in Ephesians-Hebrews; Family 2138 in the Catholic Epistles.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

von Soden: δ414

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:
Cited in UBS^{4} for Paul.

Other Works:
Thomas C. Geer, Jr., *Family 1739 in Acts* (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 1994). Consists mostly of tables comparing manuscripts 206, 322, 323, 429, 453, 522, 630, 945, 1704, 1739, 1891, 2200. The analysis is flawed, but the results are generally valid.

2298: see under 1739 and Family 1739

2412: see under 2138 and Family 2138

Manuscript 2427

Location/Catalog Number

Chicago. Catalog number: University of Chicago Library, MS. 972.

Contents

2427 contains the Gospel of Mark (only).

Date/Scribe

2427 is written on parchment, one column per page. Paleographers looking at the writing have dated the manuscript to the fourteenth century (but see below).

Description and Text-type

Because 2427 came to light relatively recently, and because it contains only Mark, few attempts have been made to classify it. The only comprehensive classification to include it is that of the Alands, who rate it Category I.

Despite the limitations of the Alands' methods, this seems to be formally a correct evaluation. 2427 is unquestionably the least Byzantine and most strongly Alexandrian of the minuscules of Mark. It is, in fact, the strongest ally of Vaticanus in that book; it seems to stand in almost the same relationship with B as B has with P^{75} — i.e. the same sort of text, with a slight mixture of other readings which have arisen over time. Samples indicate about an 80% rate of agreement with B; the only substantial difference is that 2427 includes 16:9–20. 2427 is not nearly as close to the other Alexandrian witnesses.

The above circumstances have left 2427 under something of a cloud. It is certainly reasonable to ask how a fourteenth century minuscule could have fewer Byzantine readings than any other manuscript more recent than the fourth century! So there were many who have doubted its authenticity. This led to further examinations, of various types. Mary Virginia Orna, Patricia L. Lang, J. E. Katon, Thomas F. Mathews, and Robert S. Nelson, in "Applications of Infrared Microspectroscopy to Art Historical Questions about Medieval Manuscripts" (*Archaeological Chemistry,* 4 (1988), pp. 270–288) find that one of the illustrations contain a chemical with a cyanide (-CN) group. The earliest known pigment containing a cyanide group is Prussian Blue ($KFe[Fe(CN)_6]$) — first commercially produced by Diebach in around 1704. The chemical is

complex, and rather dangerous to create, so chances are strong (though it's not quite certain) that a painting containing it dates from the eighteenth century or later. (Thanks to Wieland Willker for bringing this to my attention.)

On the other hand, the parchment appears old (though it has not, to my knowledge, been examined in detail with modern methods), and the writing is also somewhat weathered. It's hard to know what to make of this. If genuine, 2427 should be considered among the leading Alexandrian witnesses. If a forgery (and the evidence does perhaps point in that direction), what was the purpose? Is it possible that the illustrations are later than the manuscript itself? Or could they have been retouched?

And chemical arguments have certain dangers (see the section on Chemistry). For example, it has been maintained that the presence of titanium dioxide in ink implies recent creation. But it has now been shown that titanium dioxide *does* occur in older inks.

It appears that the answer has finally been found. Stephen C. Carlson informs me (private communication) that 2427 appears to have been copied from the New Testament edition of Philipp Buttmann, published 1860. This in turn was largely based on Cardinal Mai's edition of Vaticanus. It is widely and correctly stated that Mai's edition of B is very bad — but it is genuinely an edition of B, just an error-filled one. This, then, explains both the similarity of 2427 to B and its significant divergences.

Carlson's results were published in 2006, and since then, Dr. Willker has undertaken to verify these results. He concurs with Carlson. It would appear that the mystery of 2427 has been solved. And that it should be removed from the critical apparatus.

That of course leaves the task of figuring out the history of the manuscript since the forgery was created. But if the manuscript was made in the nineteenth century — perhaps, if we wish to be generous, by someone who wanted a manuscript with a very old text — this could also explain the manuscript's weathered look.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:
Aland & Aland (1 page)

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA[27].

Cited in UBS[4].
Cited in SQE[13].

Other Works:

See Dr. Willker's web site for his detailed analysis. Carlson's work was published by SBL.

Manuscript 2464

Location/Catalog Number

Patmos. Catalog number: Joannu 742.

Contents

Originally contained the Acts and Epistles. The largest part of Acts has been lost; the manuscript begins in chapter 19. In Paul, 2464 lacks Rom. 11:29–16:10, the Pastorals, Philemon, and Hebrews 7:2–14, 9:20–10:4, 10:19–end. In the Catholics, the manuscript ends in 3 John; Jude has been lost. 2464 is written on parchment, with one column per page in the Gospels and two columns per page elsewhere.

Date/Scribe

Originally dated to the tenth century, NA[27] lowers this to the ninth century (probably based on the claim by F. J. Leroy that 2464 is from the same pen — that of Nikolaos Studites — as the dated ninth century minuscule 461. Aland and Wachtel do not concede this claim, but allow that "2464.... comes from the same time and probably even the same scriptorium as the Uspenski Gospels [=461]").

Description and Text-type

The basic run of the text is late Alexandrian, but heavily mixed. Romans is almost purely Byzantine. Even in the remaining books it appears that about half the original Alexandrian readings have been replaced by Byzantine. 2464 has few striking readings; its readings are usually supported by a large number of Alexandrian witnesses.

Aland and Aland list 2464 as Category II. It is the author's opinion that this is clearly too high a ranking. Even if one ignores the block mixture in Romans, the rest of the text has enough Byzantine readings that it belongs in Category III.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA[26] for Paul.
Cited in NA[27] for Paul.
Cited in UBS[4] for the Acts and Epistles.

Other Works:
F. J. Leroy, "Le Patmos St. Jean 742 [Gregory 2464]," published in *Th. Lefèvre, Zetesis, Bijdragen.... aan Prof. Dr. E. de Stijcker*, 1973.
Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel, "The Greek Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament" (translated by Bart D. Ehrman, and appearing in Ehrman & Michael W. Holmes, Eds., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis,* Eerdmans, 1995) very briefly discusses, with references, the history of 2464 (p. 45).

2492: see under 330 and Family 330

Manuscript 2495

Location/Catalog Number

Sinai. Catalog number: Kathar.-Kloster Gr. 1992.

Contents

Originally contained the entire New Testament. A few odd phrases have been lost due to damage over the years. It is written on paper, one column per page.

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the fourtheenth/fifteenth century.

Description and Text-type

In the Acts and Epistles, 2495 belongs with the Family 2138 text-type (also called family 1611, family 614, Hk[gr], etc.; a Greek text related to that also found in the Harklean Syriac; see the

entry on 2138). It is particularly close to 1505; if 2495 is not a descendent of 1505, they certainly have a close common ancestor. 2495, however, has noticeably more Byzantine readings than 1505. It preserves few if any family readings not found in 1505.

In the Catholics, 1505 and 2495 form a distinctive subtype within Family 2138 (other subgroups being 2138+1611, 614+2412, 630+1799+2200, etc). Some, e.g. Amphoux, have considered this to be residue of the "Western" text. This, however, can be disputed; see the entry on 614.

In Paul, the text of this family is much weaker, and clear representatives are fewer (to my knowledge, only 1505, 1611, 2495, the Harklean Syriac, probably 2005, and parts of 1022).

1505 and 2495 also go together in the Gospels, although there they are Byzantine.

To date, 2495 has not been studied in the Apocalypse. (1505 does not contain that book.)

See also the entry on 1505.

Wisse describes 2495 as $K^{mix}/K^{x}/K^{x}$, and adds "K^{x} Cluster 261 in 1 and 10; pair with 1505." Aland and Aland list it as "Category III with reservations, but higher in the Catholic Epistles."

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA^{26} for the Acts and Epistles. In NA^{27} it has been quite reasonably been replaced by 1505, which has an earlier and better text of the same type.
Cited in UBS^{3} for the Acts and Epistles.

Other Works:

Manuscript 2542

Location/Catalog Number

Saint Petersburg. Catalog number: Public Library Gr. 694

Contents

2542 contains Matthew with slight lacunae, Mark, and Luke (missing 24:20–end).

Date/Scribe

Dated paleographically to the twelfth (so SQE[13]) or thirteenth century (so NA[27], Wisse, etc.). 2542 is written on parchment, one column per page.

Description and Text-type

2542 has only recently come to scholarly attention, and relatively little is known of its text. The Alands classify it as Category III. Wisse lists it as Mixed in Luke 1 and a weak member of Family 1 in Luke 10 and 20.

Both assessments seem to be correct. Spot checks of the Nestle apparatus show 2542 to be much more Byzantine than anything else. In some places (e.g Mark 8) it does appear to have affinities with family 1 (although even here it is more Byzantine than most members of the family); in others (e.g. Mark 1) it seems to be simply a witness with many Byzantine readings and a handful of non-Byzantine variants of no particular type.

Since 2542 lacks the Gospel of John, we cannot tell where it places John 7:53–8:11 (which Family 1, of course, places after John 21:25). Other than that, it generally has the more Byzantine reading at noteworthy points of variation (e.g. it includes Mark 16:9–20 without variant or question; although the standard text of Family 1 has a note here; 2542 also includes Luke 22:43–44, 23:34, although of course both of these are found in Family 1).

Quite frankly, I do not understand 2542 was included in the NA[27] apparatus when manuscripts such as 157, 1071, and 1241 were omitted. It is a useful but not exceptional manuscript.

Other Symbols Used for this Manuscript

Bibliography

Collations:

Sample Plates:

Editions which cite:
Cited in NA[27] for Mark and Luke.
Cited in SQE[13] (with no notation in the list of witnesses of any lacunae, indicating that it is cited for all four gospels. Obviously, however, it cannot be cited for John, and a cursory examination of the apparatus to Matthew makes me wonder if it is fully cited for that gospel).

Other Works:

Appendix II: Manuscript Number Conversion Table

Introduction

Although all modern New Testament editions use the same numbering system (that created by Caspar Rene Gregory), this was by no means true in the past. The first apparatus to use Gregory numbers was that of Souter; prior to that, all editions — including the major editions of Tischendorf and Von Soden — used other nomenclature.

Conversion tables for these systems exist. The official *Kurzgefasste Liste* has tables for turning "Tischendorf Numbers" into Gregory numbers, and allows conversion back and forth between Gregory and Soden numbers. The Aland editions of the Liste, however, do not include Scrivener numbers, and do not allow retroversion of modern Gregory numbers to Tischendorf numbers.

The present list, therefore, is not intended to replace the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, which remains the comprehensive tool for converting Soden and Gregory numbers. Rather, this table is intended to allow retroversion of Gregory numbers to Tischendorf numbers, and also to allow inclusion of Scrivener numbers. For this purpose, only manuscripts cited regularly in one of the modern editions (Nestle/Aland, UBS, Merk, Bover) are included in the table. (Exception: The sundry lectionaries included in the UBS editions are not listed, as these are not cited with any regularity in those editions.)

Of course, you can use the table to do other conversions by searching for the appropriate numbers.

The columns in the table are described below. It should be noted that some of the column headings, although they use the common nomenclature, have rather complex meanings.

Gregory Numbers. The first column of the table is "Gregory Numbers." These are the current numbers, listed in numerical order, as catalogued in the *Kurzgefasste Liste* and used in the modern editions. This list was initiated by Gregory, and is the only one currently being maintained.

Tischendorf Numbers. The name "Tischendorf Numbers" is singularly unfortunate, as Tischendorf did not use Tischendorf numbers. The name is retained for compatibility with the *Kurzgefasste Liste,* but in fact these are Scholz/Gregory numbers. A better name would be "old Gregory" numbers. The early numbers in the series (to 449^{e}, 181^{a}, 230^{p}, 100^{r}) were assigned by Scholz and predecessors. New minuscules found by Tischendorf were called after their collators, with no numbers assigned. Later Gregory assigned numbers to these manuscripts.

Note that a manuscript will have different Tischendorf numbers in different portions of the New Testament. A superscript ^{e} indicates that the number applies in the Gospels; ^{a} is for the Acts and Catholic Epistles; ^{p} is Paul, ^{r} is the Apocalypse. ^{evl} is a lectionary containing the Gospels, while ^{apl} indicates a lectionary of the Acts and Epistles. (The superscripts ^{e}, ^{a}, ^{p}, and ^{r}, of course, were not used by Tischendorf, but ^{evl} and ^{apl} were used on the rare occasions he cited a lectionary.) It will be noted that certain other superscripts were used with the uncials (e.g. W^{a}, W^{b}, etc.); these denote separate manuscripts. (By Tischendorf's time, there were more uncials than could be accommodated by letters of the alphabet, so certain letters had to be applied to multiple manuscripts.)

As mentioned, Tischendorf used initials of collators to distinguish certain additional minuscules (a clumsy practice which all other editors have rejected). Thus 565 was cited as 2^{pe}, and 81 as p^{scr}. These symbols have, where possible, been included along with the Old Gregory number.

Von Soden Numbers. This category is straightforward; the symbol in this category is that used by Von Soden in his edition.

Scrivener Numbers. Another misnamed category; this one should be Scholz/Burgon/Scrivener/Miller numbers, though the basic catalog is in Scrivener's *Plain Introduction.* The catalog agrees with the Scholz catalog as far as that extends (i.e. it agrees with "Tischendorf" as far as 449^{e}, 181^{a}, 230^{p}, 100^{r}). The list was then extended by Dean Burgon, and eventually Miller continued the list (with some defects) when Scrivener died. Insofar as possible, Miller matched his new numbers to (old) Gregory, but this cannot be counted on. Scrivener numbers remain important as they were used by Hoskier even after the new Gregory system was created.

Contents. A summary of the contents of the manuscript. e=Gospels, a=Acts, p=Paul, c=Catholic Epistles, r=Apocalypse. If the manuscript contains only one book, the abbreviation for that book (e.g. Mt=Matthew, Jo=John) is given. Lacunae are not noted.

Date. The period during which the manuscript is believed to have been written. A roman numeral indicates a century, and is that used by the most recent paleographers; an arabic numeral indicates an exact date from a colophon. Dates are generally from the first edition of the *Kurzgefasste Liste* (and should be checked against the second edition or detailed studies), but other sources have been consulted.

Comments. These are not comments on the manuscript itself, but on the notation system and the various sigla for the manuscript; for information about the manuscript, see its entry (if it has one) in Appendix I: Manuscript Descriptions.

Note: If a manuscript does not have a symbol in a particular column (as, e.g., most papyri do not have Scrivener numbers), it means that that manuscript was not in that particular editor's catalog.

Further Note: Many manuscripts have moved or changed catalog numbers over the years. Some have suffered damage. Some catalogs contain typos. This list is as accurate as I can make it, but it's not guaranteed by any means!

Manuscript Conversion Table

Gregory Number	Tischend Number	Soden Number	Scrivener Number	Contents	Date	Comments
P^{1}		ε01		Mt	III	
P^{2}		ε020		Jo	VI	
P^{3}	348^{evl}		502^{evl}	Lk	VI/VII	
P^{4}	943^{evl}	ε34		Lk	III	
P^{5}		ε02		Jo	III	
P^{6}		ε021		Jo	IV	
P^{7}		ε11		Lk	IV?	
P^{8}		α8		a	IV	
P^{9}		α1009		1J	III	
P^{10}		α1032		Ro	IV	
P^{11}	Q	α1020	Q	1C	VII	
P^{12}		α1033		He	III	
P^{13}		α1034		He	III/IV	
P^{14}	T^{14}	α1036		1C	V	
P^{15}		α1044		1C	III	
P^{16}		α1045		Ph	III/IV	
P^{17}		α1043		He	IV	
P^{18}		α1074		r	III/IV	
P^{19}		ε025		Mt	IV/V	
P^{20}		α1019		Ja	III	
P^{21}				Mt	IV/V	
P^{22}				Jo	III	
P^{23}				Ja	III	
P^{24}				r	IV	
P^{25}				Mt	IV	
P^{26}				Ro	VI/VII	
P^{27}				Ro	III	
P^{28}				Jo	III	
P^{29}				a	III	
P^{30}				p	III	
P^{31}				Ro	VII	
P^{32}				Ti	II/III	

P^{33}				a	VI	+ P^{58}
P^{34}				p	VII	
P^{35}		ε14		Mt	IV?	
P^{36}		ε9		Jo	VI	
P^{37}				Mt	III/IV	
P^{38}				a	III/IV	
P^{39}				Jo	III	
P^{40}				Ro	III	
P^{41}				a	VIII	
P^{42}				Lu	VII/VIII	
P^{43}				r	VI/VIII	
P^{44}				e	VI/VII	
P^{45}				ea	III	
P^{46}				p	II/III	
P^{47}				r	III	
P^{48}				a	III	
P^{49}				E	III	
P^{50}				a	IV/V	
P^{51}				Ga	IV/V	
P^{52}				Jo	II	
P^{53}				ea	III	
P^{54}				Ja	V/VI	
P^{55}				Jo	VI/VII	
P^{56}				a	V/VI	
P^{57}				a	IV/V	
P^{58}				a	VI	see P^{33}
P^{59}				Jo	VII	
P^{60}				Jo	VII	
P^{61}				p	VII/VIII	
P^{62}				Mt	IV	
P^{63}				Jo	V/VI	
P^{64}				Mt	II/III	+ P^{67}
P^{65}				1Th	III	
P^{66}				Jo	II/III	
P^{67}				Mt	II/III	see P^{64}
P^{68}				1C	VII?	
P^{69}				Lk	III	
P^{70}				Mt	III	
P^{71}				Mt	IV	
P^{72}				c	III/IV	

P^{73}				Mt	VII	
P^{74}				ac	VII	
P^{75}				e	III	
P^{76}				Jo	VI	
P^{77}				Mt	II/III	
P^{78}				Jd	III/IV	
P^{79}				He	VII	
P^{80}				Jo	III	
P^{81}				1^{p}	IV	
P^{82}				Lk	IV/V	
P^{83}				Mt	VI	
P^{84}				e	VI	
P^{85}				r	IV/V	
P^{86}				Mt	IV	
P^{87}				Pm	III	
P^{88}				Mk	IV	
P^{89}				He	IV	
P^{90}				Jo	II	
P^{91}				a	III	
P^{92}				p	III/IV	
P^{93}				Jo	V	
P^{94}				Ro	V/VI	
P^{95}				Jo	III	
P^{96}				Mt	VI	
P^{97}				Lk	VI/VII	
P^{98}				r	II?	
01/א	א	δ2	א	eapcr	IV	
02/A	A	δ4	A	eapcr	V	
03/B	B	δ1	B	eapc	IV	
04/C	C	δ3	C	eapcr	V	
05/D	D	δ5	D	ea	V/VI	
06/D	D	α1026	D	p	VI	
06/D^{abs1}	E	α1027	E	p	IX	
07/E	E	ε55	E	e	VIII	
08/E	E	α1001	E	a	VI	
09/F	F	ε86	F	e	IX	
010/F	F	α1029	F	p	IX	
011/G	G	ε87	G	e	IX	
012/G	G	α1028	G	p	IX	

013/H	H	ε88	H	e	IX	
014/H	H	α6	H	a	IX	
015/H	H	α1022	H	p	VI	
016/I		α1041		p	V	
017/K	K	ε71	K	e	IX	
018/K	K, 102^{a}, 117^{p}	A$^{\pi p}$1, I^{1}	K	pc	IX	Designated 102^{a}, 117^{p} by Matthei
019/L	L	ε56	L	e	VIII	
020/L	L	α5	L	apc	IX	Formerly designated G
021/M	M	ε72	M	e	IX	
022/N	N, ג	ε19	N	e	VI	
023/O		ε21		Mt	VI	Scrivener and predecessors also use O for assorted lectionaries and liturgical books
024/P	P	ε33	P	e	VI	
025/P	P	α3	P	apcr	IX	
026/Q	Q	ε4	Q	e	V	
027/R	R	ε22	R	e	VI	
028/S	S	ε1027	S	e	949	
029/T	T^{a}	ε5	T	e	V	+ 0113, 0125, 0139. Tischendorf also uses T^{e}-T^{g} for assorted Greco-Coptic lectionaries.
030/U	U	ε90	U	e	IX	
031/V	V, 250^{e}	ε75	V, 250^{e}	e	IX	John 8:39–end is in minuscules, hence the designation 250^{e}
032/W		ε014		e	V	
033/X	X	A^{3}	X	e	IX	
034/Y		ε073	^{10}т	e	IX	
035/Z	Z	ε26	Z	Mt	VI	
036/Γ	Γ	ε70	Γ	e	IX	
037/Δ	Δ	ε76	Δ	e	IX	
038/Θ		ε050		e	IX?	
039/Λ	Λ	ε77	Λ	e	IX	
040/Ξ	Ξ	A^{1}	Ξ	Lk	VI	

041/Π	Π	ε73	Π	e	IX	
042/Σ	Σ	ε18	Σ	e	VI	
043/Φ	Φ	ε17	Φ	e	VI	
044/Ψ	Ψ	δ6	Ψ	eapc	IX?	
045/Ω	Ω	ε61	Ω	e	IX	
046	B	α1070	B	r	X	
047	ב	ε95		e	VIII	
048	ב	α1	ב	apc	V	
049	S	α2	S	apc	IX	
050	O, W^{e}, 257^{e}	C^{t1}	O, W^{e}, 257^{e}	Jo	IX	
051		Av^{2}		r	X	
052	183^{r}	Av^{3}		r	X	
053	X^{b}	A^{4}	429^{e}	Lk	IX	
054	Y	ε59	Y	Jo	VIII	
055	309^{e}		309^{e}	e	XI	
056	16^{a}, 19^{p}	O^{7}	16^{a}, 19^{p}	apc	X	
057		α1012		a	IV/V	
058		ε010		Mt	IV	
059		ε09		Mk	IV/V	+ 0215
060		ε13		Jo	VI	
061	T^{g}	α1035	T	p	V	
062		α1038		Ga	V	
063		ε64		e	IX	+ 0117
064		ε10		e	VI	+ 074, 090
065	I^{1}	ε1	I^{1}/I^{a}	Jo	VI	
066	I^{2}	α1000	I^{5}/I^{e}	a	VI	
067	I^{3}	ε2	I^{2}/I^{b}	e	VI	
068	I^{b}	ε3	N^{b}	Jo	V	
069		ε12		Mk	V	
070	T^{woi}	ε6	T^{s}, T^{woi}	e	VI	+ 0110, 0124, 0178, 0179, 0180, 0190, 0191, 0193, 0202
071		ε015		Mt	V/VI	
072		ε011		Mk	V/VI	

073	Τ^{7}	ε7		Mt	VI	+ 084
074	Τ^{10}	ε8		e	VI	see 064
075	382^{p}	Ο^{π3}	382^{p}	p	X	
076		α1008		a	V/VI	
077		α1015		a	V	
078	Ι^{4}	ε15	Ι^{3}/Ι^{c}	e	VI	
079	Ι^{7}	ε16	Ι^{4}/Ι^{d}	Lk	VI	
080	Ν^{a}	ε20		Mk	VI	
081	Ο	α1023	Ι, Ο^{a}	p	VI	see 0285
082	Ο^{b}	α1024	Ο	Eph	VI	
083	Τ^{b}	ε31	Τ^{b}	e	VI/VII	+ 0112, 0235
084	Τ^{c}	ε24	Τ^{c}	Mt	VI	see 073
085	Τ^{k}	ε23	Τ^{g}	Mt	VI	
086		ε35		Jo	VI	
087	Θ^{c}	ε27	Θ^{c}	e	VI	+ 092b
088	Ι^{2}	α1021	Ι^{e}	p	V/VI	
089	Θ^{e}	ε28	Θ^{e}	Mt	VI	see 0293
090	Θ^{f}	ε29	Θ^{f}	e	VI	see 064
091	Θ^{g}	ε30	Θ^{g}	Jo	VI	
092^{a}	Τ^{11}	ε32		Mt	VI	see 0293
092b	Τ^{11}	ε032		e	VI	see 087
093		α1013		ac	VI	
094		ε016		Mt	VI	
095	G	α1002	G	a	VIII	+ 0123
096	Ι^{5}	α1004	Ι^{6}/Ι^{f}	a	VII	
097	Ι^{6}	α1003	Ι^{7}/Ι^{g}	a	VII	
098	R, 486c^{evl}	α1025	(R), 337c^{evl}	2C	VII	
099		ε47		Mk	VII	
0100		ε070		Jo	VII	see ℓ ^{963}
0101		ε48		Jo	VIII	
0102	W^{i}	ε42		e	VII	+ 0138
0103	W^{l}	ε43		Mk	VII	
0104	W^{m}	ε44		e	VII	
0105	W^{n}	ε45		Jo	X	
0106	Θ^{a}	ε40	Θ^{a}	Mt	VII	+ 0119
0107	Θ^{b}	ε41	Θ^{b}	e	VII	

0108	Θ^{d}	ε60	Θ^{d}	Lk	VII	
0109		ε52		Jo	VII	
0110		ε017		e	VI	see 070
0111		α4		2Th	VII	
0112	Τ^{12}	ε46		e	VI/VII	see 083
0113		ε50		e	V	see T/029
0114		ε53		Jo	VIII	see ℓ ^{965}
0115	W^{a}	ε57	W^{a}	Lk	IX/X	
0116	W^{b}	ε58	W^{b}	e	VIII	R of Griesbach and early editions of Tischendorf
0117	W^{k}	ε69		e	IX	see 063
0118	Τ^{6}	ε62		Mt	VIII	
0119	Τ^{8}	ε63		Mt	VII	see 0106
0120	G^{b}	α1005	G^{a}, M	a	IX	
0121(a)	M, 53^{p}, 64^{p}	α1031	M	p	X	see also 0121b, 0243
0121b	M, 53^{p}, 64^{p}	α1031	M	p	X	see 0243
0122	N	α1030	N	p	IX	Hort's Od
0123	70^{b}(?)	α1014		a	VIII	see 095
0124		ε78		e	VI	see 070
0125		ε99		e	V	see T/029
0126		ε36		Mk	VIII	
0127		ε54		Jo	VIII	
0128		ε071		Mt	IX	
0129		α1037		1C	IX	see ℓ ^{1575}
0130	W^{c}	ε80	W^{c}	e	IX	
0131	W^{d}	ε81	W^{d}	Mk	IX	
0132	W^{f}	ε82	W^{f}	Mk	IX	
0133	W^{g}	ε83		e	IX	see also 0273
0134	W^{h}	ε84		Mk	VIII	
0135	W^{o}	ε85		e	IX	
0136	Θ^{h}	ε91	Θ^{h}	Mt	IX	+ 0137
0137	Τ^{9}	ε97		Mt	IX	see 0136
0138	733^{evl}	ε075	ה ^{d}	e	VII	see 0102
0139		ε1002		e	V	see T/029
0140		α1016		a	X	
0141	314^{e}	C^{t13}	314^{e}	Jo	X	
0142	46^{a}, 55^{p}	O^{6}	46^{a}, 55^{p}	apc	X	

0143		ε08		Mk	VI	
0144		ε012		Mk	VII	
0145		ε013		Jo	VII	
0146		ε37		Mk	VIII	
0147		ε38		Lk	VI	
0148		ε51		Mt	VIII	
0149				Mk	VI	see 0187
0150	413^{p}	X^{2}	413^{p}	p	IX	
0151	414^{p}	X^{21}	414^{p}	p	IX	
0152						Formerly T^{1} (talisman)
0153						Formerly $O^{1–20}$ (ostraca)
0154		ε074		Mk	IX	
0155		ε1055		Lk	IX	
0156		α1006		2^{p}	VIII	
0167		α1007		1J	VII/VIII	
0158		α1039		Ga	V/VI	
0159		α1040		Ep	VI	
0160		ε018		Mt	IV	
0161		ε019		Mt	VIII	
0162		ε023		Jo	III/IV	
0163		α1071		r	V	
0164		ε022		Mt	VI/VII	
0165		α1011		a	V	
0166		α1017		ac	V	
0167				Mk	VII	
0168				e	VIII	
0169		α1075		r	IV	
0170		ε026		Mt	V/VI	
0171		ε07		e	III/IV	
0172		α1042		Ro	V	
0173		α1018		Ja	V	
0174				Ga	V	
0175				a	V	
0176				Ga	IV/V	
0177				Lk	X	
0178				e	VI	see 070
0179				e	VI	see 070
0180				e	VI	see 070

0181				Lk	IV/V	
0182				Lk	V	
0183				1Th	VII	
0184				Mk	VI	
0185				1C	IV	
0186				2C	V/VI	+ 0224
0187		ε024		Mk	VI	
0188				Mk	IV	
0189				a	II/III	
0190				e	VI	see 070
0191				e	VI	see 070
0192						see ℓ 1604
0193				e	VI	see 070
0194				e	VI	same as 0124 (for which cf. 070)
0195				Jo	VII	same as 0100
0196				e	IX	
0197				Mt	IX	
0198				Co	VI	
0199				1C	VI/VII	
0200				Mt	VII	
0201				1C	V	
0202				e	VI	see 070
0203				e	IX	see ℓ 1575
0204				Mt	VII	
0205				Ti	VIII	see ℓ 1575
0206				1^{p}	IV	
0207				r	IV	
0208				p	VI	
0209				pc	VII	
0210				Jo	VII	
0211		ε051		e	IX	
0212				(e)	III	Diatessaron (?)
0213				Mk	V/VI	
0214				Mk	IV/V	
0215				Mk	IV/V	see 059
0216				Jo	V	

0217				Jo	V	
0218				Jo	V	
0219				Ro	IV/V	
0220				Ro	III	
0221				Ro	IV	
0222				1C	VI	
0223				2C	VI	
0224				2C	V/VI	see 0186
0225				2C	VI	
0226				1Th	V	
0227				He	V	
0228				He	IV	
0229				r	VIII	
0230				Ep	IV	
0231				Mt	IV	
0232				2J	V/VI	
0233				e	VIII	
0234		ε49		Mt	VIII	
0235				e	VI/VII	see 083
0236				a	V	
0237	349^{evl}	[ε014?]	503^{evl}	Mt	VI	
0238				Jo	VIII	
0239				Lk	VII	
0240				Ti	V	
0241				1Ti	VI	
0242				Mt	IV	
0243				p	X	+ 0121b
0244				a	V	
0245				1J	VI	
0246				Jo	VI	
0247				c	V/VI	
0248				Mt	IX	
0249				Mt	X	
0250				e	VIII	
0251				c	VI	
0252				He	V	
0253				Lu	VI	
0254				Ga	V	

0255				Mt	IX	
0256				Jo	VIII	
0257				e	IX	
0258				Jo	IV	
0259				1Ti	VII	
0260				Jo	VI	
0261				Ga	V	
0262				1Ti	VII	
0263				Mk	VI	
0264				Jo	V	
0265				Lu	VI	
0266				Lk	VI	
0267				Lk	V	
0268				Jo	VII	
0269				Mk	IX	
0270				1C	IV/V	
0271				Mt	IX	
0272				Lk	IX	
0273				Jo	IX	formerly part of 0133
0274				Mk	V	
0275				Mt	VII	
0276				Mk	VIII	see ℓ 962
0277				Mt	VII/VIII	
0278				p	IX	
0279				Lk	VIII/IX	
0280						
0281				Mt	VII/VIII	
0282				Ph	VI	
0283						
0284						
0285				p	VI	+ 081
0286						
0287						
0288						
0289				p	VIII?	
0290						
0291				Lk	VII/VIII	

0292				Mk	VI	
0293				Mt	VI	+ 089, 092a
0294				a	VI/VII	
0295						
0296				pc	VI	
0297						
0298				Mt	VIII/IX	
0299				Jo	X/XI?	
0300						
0301				Jo	V	
1^{eap}	1^{e}, 1^{a}, 1^{p}	δ254	1^{e}, 1^{a}, 1^{p}	eapc	XII	
1^{r}	1^{r}	Αν^{20}	1^{r}	r	XII	Officially renumbered 2814
2^{ap}	2^{a}, 2^{p}	ε1214	2^{a}, 2^{p}	apc	XII	Officially renumbered 2815
4^{e}	4^{e}	ε371	4^{e}	e	XIII	
5	5^{e}, 5^{a}, 5^{p}	δ453	5^{e}, 5^{a}, 5^{p}	eapc	XIV	
6	6^{e}, 6^{a}, 6^{p}	δ356	6^{e}, 6^{a}, 6^{p}	eapc	XIII	
7^{e}	7^{e}	ε287	7^{e}	e	XII	
13	13^{e}	ε368	13^{e}	e	XIII	
16	16^{e}	ε449	16^{e}	e	XIV	
18	18^{e}, 113^{a}, 132^{p}, 51^{r}	δ311	18^{e}, 113^{a}, 132^{p}, 51^{r}	eapcr	1364	
21	21^{e}	ε286	21^{e}	e	XII	
22	22^{e}	ε288	22^{e}	e	XII	
27	27^{e}	ε1023	27^{e}	e	X	
28	28^{e}	ε168	28^{e}	e	XI	
33	33^{e}, 13^{a}, 17^{p}	δ48	33^{e}, 13^{a}, 17^{p}	eapc	IX	
35	35^{e}, 14^{a}, 18^{p}, 17^{r}	δ309	35^{e}, 14^{a}, 18^{p}, 17^{r}	eapcr	XI	
36^{a}	36^{a}	Α$^{\pi p20}$	36^{a}	a	XII	Officially renumbered 2818
38	38^{e}, 19^{a}, 377^{p}	δ355	38^{e}, 19^{a}, 341^{p}	eapc	XIII	
42	42^{a}, 48^{p}, 13^{r}	α107	42^{a}, 48^{p}, 13^{r}	apcr	XI	
43	43^{e}, 54^{a}, 130^{p}	ε170, a270	43^{e}, 54^{a}, 130^{p}	eapc	XIII	
60	60^{e}, 10^{r}	ε1321, a1594	60^{e}, 10^{r}	er	1297	60^{r} officially renumbered 2821 (60^{e} is still 60)

61	61^{e}, 34^{a}, 40^{p}, 92^{r}	δ603	61^{e}, 34^{a}, 40^{p}, 92^{r}	eapcr	XVI	
69	69^{e}, 31^{a}, 37^{p}, 14^{r}	δ505	69^{e}, 31^{a}, 37^{p}, 14^{r}	eapcr	XV	
71	71^{e}	ε253	71^{e}	e	XII	
81	61^{a}, lo^{ti}, p^{scr}	α162	61^{a}, 61^{p}	apc	1044	
82	10^{a}, 12^{p}, 2^{r}	O^{1}	10^{a}, 12^{p}, 2^{r}	apcr	X	
88	83^{a}, 93^{p}, 99^{r}	α200	83^{a}, 93^{p}, 99^{r}(?)	apcr	XII	
91	12^{a}, 16^{p}, 4^{r}	O^{14}	12^{a}, 16^{p}, 4^{r}	apcr	XI	
93	17^{a}, 21^{p}, 19^{r}	α51	17^{a}, 21^{p}, 19^{r}	apcr	XI	
94	18^{a}, 22^{p}, 18^{r}	O^{31}, Av^{24}	18^{a}, 22^{p}, 18^{r}	apcr	XII	
103	100^{a}, 115^{p}	OΘ^{28}	100^{a}, 115^{p}	apc	XI	
104	25^{a}, 31^{p}, 7^{r}	α103	25^{a}, 31^{p}, 7^{r}	apcr	1087	
110	28^{a}, 34^{p}, 8^{r}	α204	28^{a}, 34^{p}, 8^{r}	apcr	XII	
115	115^{e}	ε1096	115^{e}	e	X	
118	118^{e}	ε346	118^{e}	e	XIII	
124	124^{e}	ε1211	124^{e}	e	XI	
131	131^{e}, 70^{a}, 77^{p}	δ467	131^{e}, 70^{a}, 77^{p}	eapc	XIV	
138	138^{e}	A^{201}, C^{l24}	138^{e}	e	XII	
141	141^{e}, 75^{a}, 86^{p}, 40^{r}	δ408	141^{e}, 75^{a}, 86^{p}, 40^{r}	eapcr	XIII	
157	157^{e}	ε207	157^{e}	e	XII	
160	160^{e}	ε213	160^{e}	e	1123	
162	162^{e}	ε214	162^{e}	e	1153	
172	178^{a}, 242^{p}, 87^{r}, m^{scr}	α404	178^{a}, 242^{p}, 87^{r}	apcr	XIII/ XIV	
174	174^{e}	ε109	174^{e}	e	1052	
175	175^{e}, 41^{a}, 194^{p}, 20^{r}	δ95	175^{e}, 41^{a}, 194^{p}, 20^{r}	eapcr	X	

177	179[a], 128[p], 82[r]	α106	179[a], 128[p], 82[r]	apcr	XI	
179	179[e]	ε211	179[e]	e	XII	
180	180[e], 82[a], 92[p], 44[r]	ε1498, a300	180[e], 82[a], 92[p], 44[r]	eapcr	XII, XIII	
181	40[a], 46[p], 12[r]	α101	40[a], 46[p], 12[r]	apcr	XI	
185	185[e]	ε410	185[e]	e	XIV	
189	189[e], 141[a], 239[p]	ε1401, a269	189[e], 141[a], 239[p]	eapc	XIV, XII	
201	201[e], 91[a], 104[p], 94[r]	δ403	201[e], 91[a], 104[p], 94[r]	eapcr	1357	
203	205[a], 477[p], 181[r]	α203	232[a], 271[p], 107[r]	aprc	1111	
205	205[e], 93[a], 106[p], 88[r]	δ500	205[e], 93[a], 106[p], 88[r]	eapcr	XV	
206	214[a], 270[p], a[scr]	α365	182[a], 252[p]	apc	XIII	
209	209[e], 95[a], 108[p], 46[r]	δ457	209[e], 95[a], 108[p], 46[r]	eapcr	XIV, XV	
213	213[e]	ε129	213[e]	e	XI	
216	215[a], 271[p], b[scr]	α469	183[a], 253[p]	apc	1358	
218	218[e], 65[a], 57[p], 33[r]	δ300	218[e], 65[a], 57[p], 33[r]	eapcr	XIII	
221	221[a], 276[p]	α69	212[a], 250[p]	apc	X	
225	225[e]	ε1210	225[e]	e	1192	
226	226[e], 108[a], 228[p]	δ156	226[e], 108[a], 228[p]	eapc	XII	
229	229[e]	ε1206	229[e]	e	1140	
230	230[e]	ε173	230[e]	e	1013	
235	235[e]	ε456	235[e]	e	1314	
241	241[e], 104[a], 120[p], 47[r]	δ507	241[e], 104[a], 120[p], 47[r]	eapcr	XI	
242	242[e], 105[a], 121[p], 48[r]	δ206	242[e], 105[a], 121[p], 48[r]	eapcr	XII	

245	245^{e}	ε1226	245^{e}	e	1199	
249	249^{e}	N^{ι10}	249^{e}	Jo	XIV	
250	250^{a}, 299^{p}, 121^{r}	O^{10}	264^{a}, 337^{p}	apcr	XI	
251	251^{e}	ε192	251^{e}	e	XII	
254	251^{a}, 301^{p}, 122^{r}	ε438	201^{a}, 396^{p}, 86^{r}	apcr	XIV	
255	252^{a}, 302^{p}	α174	249^{a}, 301^{p}	apc	XII	
256	301^{a}, 259^{p}, 102^{r}	α216	240^{a}, 396^{p}, 86^{r}	apcr	XI/XII	
257	302^{a}, 257^{p}	α466	250^{a}, 300^{p}	apc	XIII/ XIV	
262	262^{e}	ε1020	262^{e}	e	X	
263	263^{e}, 117^{a}, 137^{p}	δ372	263^{e}, 117^{a}, 137^{p}	eapc	XIII	
265	265^{e}	ε285	265^{e}	e	XII	
267	267^{e}	ε1289	267^{e}	e	XII	
270	270^{e}	ε291	270^{e}	e	XII	
273	273^{e}	ε370	273^{e}	e	XIII	
280	280^{e}	ε294	280^{e}	e	XII	
291	291^{e}	ε377	291^{e}	e	XIII	
307	15^{a}	A$^{\pi p11}$, (A^{217})	15^{a}	ac	X	
314	23^{a}, 28^{p}, 6^{r}	O^{11}	23^{a}, 28^{p}, 6^{r}	apcr	XI	
317	317^{e}	N^{ι31}	23^{a}, 28^{p}, 6^{r}	Jo	XII	
319	24^{a}, 29^{p}	α256	24^{a}, 29^{p}	apc	XII	
321	26^{a}, 32^{p}	α254	26^{a}, 32^{p}	apc	XII	
322	27^{a}, 33^{p}	α550	27^{a}, 33^{p}	apc	XIV	
323	29^{a}, 35^{p}	α157	29^{a}, 35^{p}	apc	XII	
326	33^{a}, 39^{p}	α257	33^{a}, 39^{p}	apc	XII	
330	330^{e}, 132^{a}, 131^{p}	δ239	330^{e}, 132^{a}, 131^{p}	eapc	XII	
336	45^{a}, 52^{p}, 16^{r}	α500	45^{a}, 52^{p}, 16^{r}	apr	XIV	
337	51^{a}, 133^{p}, 52^{r}	α205	51^{a}, 133^{p}, 52^{r}	apcr	XII	

346	346^{e}	ε226	346^{e}	e	XII	
348	348^{e}	ε121	348^{e}	e	1022	
349	349^{e}	ε413	349^{e}	e	1322	
365	365^{e}, 145^{a}, 181^{p}	δ367	365^{e}, 145^{a}, 181^{p}	eapc	XII	
367	367^{e}, 146^{a}, 182^{p}, 23^{r}	δ400	367^{e}, 146^{a}, 182^{p}, 23^{r}	eapcr	1331	
372	372^{e}	ε600	372^{e}	e	XVI	
378	56^{a}, 227^{p}	α258	56^{a}, 227^{p}	apc	XII	
383	58^{a}, 224^{p}	α353	58^{a}, 224^{p}	apc	XIII	
384	59^{a}, 62^{p}	α355	59^{a}, 62^{p}	apc	XIII	
385	60^{a}, 63^{p}, 29^{r}	α506	60^{a}, 63^{p}, 29^{r}	apcr	1407	
386	386^{e}, 151^{a}, 199^{p}, 70^{r}	δ401	386^{e}, 151^{a}, 199^{p}, 70^{r}	eapcr	XIV	
397	397^{e}	C^{ι10}	397^{e}	Jo	X/XI	
398	9^{a}, 11^{p}	α189	9^{a}, 11^{p}	apc	XI	
399		ε94		e	IX/X	
423	423^{e}+425^{e}	N^{μ60}, N^{ι60}	423^{e}+425^{e}	e	1556	
424	66^{a}, 67^{p}, 34^{r}	O^{12}	66^{a}, 67^{p}, 34^{r}	apcr	XI	
429	69^{a}, 74^{p}, 30^{r}	α398, a1471	69^{a}, 74^{p}, 30^{r}	apcr	XIV, XV	
430	430^{e}	N^{ι11}	430^{e}	Jo	XI	
431	431^{e}, 180^{a}, 238^{p}	δ268	431^{e}, 180^{a}, 238^{p}	eapc	XI	
432	72^{a}, 79^{p}, 37^{r}	α501	72^{a}, 79^{p}, 37^{r}	apcr	XV	
436	73^{a}, 80^{p}	α172	73^{a}, 80^{p}	apc	XI	
440	440^{e}, 111^{a}, 61^{p}+221^{p}	δ260	440^{e}, 111^{a}, 221^{p}	eapc	XII	
441	68^{a}, 73^{p}	O^{18}	68^{a}, 73^{p}	ap	XIII	Bound with 442 (hence their common numbering)
442	68^{a}, 73^{p}	O^{18}	68^{a}, 73^{p}	pc	XIII	Bound with 441 (hence their common numbering)
443	443^{e}	ε270	443^{e}	e	XII	

451	79[a], 90[p]	α178	79[a], 90[p]	apc	XI	
452	80[a], 91[p], 42[r]	α206	80[a], 91[p], 42[r]	apcr	XII	
453	81[a]	A[πp40]	81[a]	ac	XIV	
456	86[a]+147[a], 96[p], 75[r] +76[r]	α52	86[a], 96[p], 75[r]	apcr	X	
459	89[a], 99[p], 45[r]	α104	89[a], 99[p], 45[r]	apcr	1092	
460	96[a], 109[p]	α397	96[a], 109[p]	apc	XIII	
462	101[a], 116[p]	α359	101[a], 116[p]	apc	XIII	
467	116[a], 136[p], 53[r]	α502	116[a], 136[p], 53[r]	apcr	XV	
469	119[a], 139[p], 56[r]	α306	119[a], 139[p], 56[r]	apcr	XIII	
472	472[e], c[scr]	ε1386	511[e]	e	XIII	
473	473[e], d[scr]	ε1390	512[e]	e	XIII	
476	476[e], h[scr]	ε1126	566[e]	e	XI	
477	477[e], i[scr]	ε350	508[e]	e	XIII	
482	482[e], p[scr]	ε329	570[e]	e	1285	
485	485[e], s[scr]	ε247	572[e]	e	XII	
489	489[e], 195[a], 489[p], w[scr]	δ459	507[e], 224[a], 260[p]	eapc	1316	Hort's 102[a]
491	491[e], 196[a], 253[p]	δ152	576[e], 226[a], 268[p]	eapc	XI	
495	495[e]	ε243	581[e]	e	XII	
506	506[e], 199[a], 256[p], 26[r]	δ101	492[e], 193[a], 277[p], 26[r]	eapcr	XI	
517	517[e], 190[a], 244[p], 27[r]	ε167, a214	503[e], 190[a], 244[p], 27[r]	eapcr	XI/XII	
522	522[e], 200[a], 257[p], 98[r]	δ602	488[e], 211[a], 239[p], 98[r]	eapcr	1515	
536	536[e], 201[a]	δ264	549[e], 219[a]	ea	XIII	
543	543[e]	ε257	556[e]	e	XII	
544	544[e]	ε337	557[e]	e	XIII	

545	545^{e}	ε511	558^{e}	e	1430	
547	547^{e}, 202^{a}, 258^{p}	δ157	534^{e}, 215^{a}, 233^{p}	eapc	XI	
565	565^{e}, 2^{p}e	ε93	473^{e}	e	IX	Hort's 81
579	579^{e}	ε376	743^{e}	e	XIII	
582	582^{e}, 206^{a}, 262^{p}, 103^{r}	δ410	451^{e}, 194^{a}, 222^{p}, 102^{r}	eapcr	1334	
597	597^{e}	ε340	464^{e}	e	XIII	
598	598^{e}	N$^{\lambda 35}$, (Av^{31})	466^{e}	Lk	XIII	Merk and Bover cite 598 for the Apocalypse; it does not, however, contain this book. There is an error in the listing of Von Soden from which they worked
610	130^{a}	A$^{\pi p21}$	130^{a}	ac	XII	
614	137^{a}, 176^{p}	α354	137^{a}, 176^{p}	apc	XIII	
616	139^{a}, 174^{p}, 156^{r}	α503	139^{a}, 174^{p}	apcr	1434	
617	140^{a}, 215^{p}, 74^{r}	O^{13}	140^{a}, 215^{p}, 74^{r}	apcr	XI	
620	149^{a}, 349^{p}, 180^{r}	α207	149^{a}, 349^{p}, 180^{r}	apcr	XII	
623	156^{a}, 190^{p}	α173	156^{a}, 190^{p}	apc	1037	
627	160^{a}, 193^{p}, 24^{r}	α53	160^{a}, 193^{p}, 24^{r}	apcr	X	
628	161^{a}, 198^{p}, 69^{r}	α400	161^{a}, 198^{p}, 69^{r}	apcr	XIV	
629	162^{a}, 200^{p}	α460	162^{a}, 200^{p}	apc	XIV	
630	163^{a}, 201^{p}	α461	163^{a}, 201^{p}	apc	XIV	
635	173^{a}, 211^{p}	α161	173^{a}, 211^{p}	apc	XI	
639	192^{a}, 246^{p}	α169	192^{a}, 246^{p}	apc	XI	
642	217^{a}, 273^{p}, d^{scr}	α552	185^{a}, 255^{p}	apc	XIV	
655	655^{e}	ε177	635^{e}	e	XI/XII	
659	659^{e}	ε1216	637^{e}	e	XII	
660	660^{e}	ε178	638^{e}	e	XI/XII	
661	661^{e}	ε179	639^{e}	e	XI	

664	664^{e}, 253^{a}, 303^{p}, 106^{r}	δ102	605^{e}, 233^{a}, 243^{p}, 106^{r}	eapcr	XV	
680	680^{e}, 255^{a}, 305^{p}, 107^{r}	δ103	531^{e}, 199^{a}, 231^{p}, 104^{r}	eapcr	XIV	
692	692^{e}	ε1284	596^{e}	e	XII	
699	699^{e}, 256^{a}, 306^{p}, 108^{r}	δ104	603^{e}, 231^{a}, 266^{p} +271^{p}, 89^{r}	eapcr	XI	
700	700^{e}	ε133	604^{e}	e	XI	
713	713^{e}	ε351	561^{e}	e	XII	
716	716^{e}	ε448	565^{e}	e	XIV	
726	726^{e}	ε384	882^{e}	e	XIII	
743	743^{e}, 259^{a}, 123^{r}	N^{t40}, α1401, Av^{43}	738^{e}, 262^{a}, 123^{r}	ecr	XIV	
757	757^{e}, 260^{a}, 309^{p}, 110^{r}	δ304	846^{e}, 209^{a}, 394^{p}, 146^{r}	eapcr	XIII	
788	788^{e}	ε1033	788^{e}	e	XI	
792	792^{e}, 111^{r}	ε585, a1575	792^{e}, 111^{r}	er	XIII	
794	794^{e}, 262^{a}, 311^{p}	δ454	794^{e}, 269^{a}, 401^{p}	eapc	XIV	
808	808^{e}, 265^{a}, 314^{p}, 112^{r}	δ203	808^{e}, 265^{a}, 403^{p}, 150^{r}	eapcr	XII	
821	821^{e}	C^{t30}	821^{e}	Jo	XVI	
823	823^{e}, 266^{a}, 315^{p}	δ368	823^{e}, 266^{a}, 404^{p}	eapc	XIII	
824	824^{e}, 267^{a}, 316^{p}, 113^{r}	δ404	622^{e}, 242^{a}, 290^{p}, 110^{r}	eapcr	XIV	
826	826^{e}	ε218	624^{e}	e	XII	
827	827^{e}	ε309	625^{e}	e	XIII	
828	828^{e}	ε219	626^{e}	e	XII	
850	850^{e}	K^{t20}	729^{e}	Jo	XII	

869	869[e]	C[it21]	684[e]	Jo	XI	
872	872[e]	ε203	690[e]	e	XII	
876	224[a], 279[p]	α356	221[a], 265[p]	apc	XII	
892	892[e]	ε1016	892[e]	e	IX	
911	227[a], 282[p]	O[29], Av[13]	217[a], 234[p]	apcr	XII	includes 2040
913	229[a], 248[p]	α470	223[a], 262[p]	apc	XIV	
915	231[a]	α382	203[a]	apc	XIII	
917	233[a], 473[p]	α264	205[a], 473[p]	apc	XII	
919	235[a], 125[r]	α113	207[a], 125[r]	apcr	XI	
920	236[a], 126[r]	α55	208[a], 126[r]	apcr	X	
922	922[e], 270[a], 320[p], 116[r]	δ200	922[e], 270[a], 407[p], 151[r]	eapcr	1116	
927	927[e], 271[a], 321[p]	δ251	927[e], 271[a], 423[p]	eapc	1133	+2618
935	935[e], 272[a], 322[p]	δ361	935[e], 272[a], 424[p]	eapcr	XIV	
941	941[e], 273[a], 323[p]	δ369	941[e], 273[a], 425[p]	eapc	XIII	
945	945[e], 274[a], 324[p]	δ362	945[e], 274[a], 426[p]	eapc	XI	
954	954[e]	ε1454	954[e]	e	XV	
983	983[e]	ε3017	983[e]	e	XII	
986	986[e], 277[a], 326[p], 117[r]	δ508	986[e], 277[a], 430[p], 157[r]	eapcr	XIV	
990	990[e]	ε1260	990[e]	e	XIV	
994	994[e]	A[227], C[it33]	994[e]	e	X/XI	
998	998[e]	ε1385	998[e]	e	XII	
999	999[e], 280[a], 329[p]	δ353	999[e], 280[a], 433[p]	eapc	XIII	
1006	1006[e]	ε1156, a1174	1006[e]	er	XI	
1009	1009[e]	ε1265	1009[e]	e	XIII	
1010	1010[e]	ε1255	1010[e]	e	XII	
1012	1012[e]	ε1132	1012[e]	e	XI	
1038	1038[e]	ε1493	1038[e]	e	XIV	
1047	1047[e]	ε1354	1047[e]	e	XIII	

1067	368[a], 457[p]	α481	368[a], 457[p]	apc	XIV	
1071	1071[e]	ε1279	1071[e]	e	XII	
1075	1075[e], 286[a], 334[p], 119[r]	δ506	1075[e], 286[a], 478[p], 161[r]	eapcr	XIV	
1079	1079[e]	ε1045	1079[e]	e	X	
1082	1082[e]	ε3015	1082[e]	e	XIV	
1093	1093[e]	ε1443	1093[e]	e	1302	
1094	1094[e], 287[a], 335[p], 120[r]	δ307	1094[e], 287[a], 480[p], 182[r]	eapcr	XIV	
1099	344[a], 438[p]	α368	344[a], 438[p]	apc	XIV	
1108	353[a], 446[p]	α370	353[a], 446[p]	apc	XIII	
1149	1149[e], 288[a], 336[p]	δ370	735[e], 288[a], 336[p]	eapc	XIII	
1170	1170[e]	ε541	1170[e]	e	XI	
1175	389[a], 360[p]	α74	389[a], 360[p]	apc	XI	
1187	1187[e]	ε1038	1187[e]	e	XI	
1188	1188[e]	ε1114	1188[e]	e	XI/XII	
1194	1194[e]	ε1094	1194[e]	e	XI	
1195	1195[e]	ε1116	1195[e]	e	1123	
1200	1200[e]	ε1250	1200[e]	e	XII	
1207	1207[e]	ε1098	1207[e]	e	XI	
1216	1216[e]	ε1043	1216[e]	e	XI	
1219	1219[e]	ε1121	1219[e]	e	XI	
1223	1223[e]	ε1091	1223[e]	e	X	
1229	1229[e]	ε1317	1229[e]	e	XIII	
1230	1230[e]	A[225]	1230[e]	e	1124	
1241	1241[e], 290[a], 338[p]	δ371	1241[e], 290[a], 482[p]	eapc	XII	
1242	1242[e], 291[a], 339[p]	δ469	1242[e], 291[a], 483[p]	eapc	XIII	
1243	1243[e], 292[a], 340[p]	δ198	1243[e], 292[a], 484[p]	eapc	XI	
1245	395[a], 366[p]	α158	395[a], 366[p]	apc	XII	
1253	1253[e]	Θ[ε64]	1253[e]	e	XV	
1278	1278[e]	ε277		e	XII	
1279	1279[e]	ε1178	321[e]	e	XI	

1292		δ395		eapc	XII	
1293		ε190		e	XI	
1295		ε96		e	IX	
1311	303[a], 261[p]	α170	248[a], 298[p]	apc	1090	
1319		δ180		eapc	XII	
1321		ε1110		e	XI	+487
1342		ε1311		e	XIII/ XIV	
1344		ε1244		e	XII	
1346		ε1089		e	X/XI	+2150
1354		δ470		eapc	XIV	
1355		ε1246		e	XII	
1365		ε381		e	XII	
1375		ε1225		e	XII	
1391		ε1413		e	XIII	
1396		ε1416		e	XIV	
1402		ε1333		e	XII	
1409				eapc	XIV	
1424		δ30	λ	eapcr	IX/X	
1505		δ165		eapc	XII	(colophon has false date of 1084)
1506		Θ[ε402]		ep	1320	
1515		ε1442		e	XIII	
1518	216[a], 272[p], c[scr]	α551	184[a], 254[p]	apc	XV	lost/recovered as 1896
1522	218[a], 274[p], e[scr]	α464	186[a], 321[p]	apc	XIV	join with 1890
1525	248[a], 298[p]	α361	251[a], 301[p]	apc	XIII	
1542[a]		ε1337		e	XIII	
1542b		ε1337		e	XII	
1546		ε1339		e	1263?	
1555		ε1341		e	XIII	
1573		δ398		eapc	XII/XIII	
1574		ε551		e	XIV	
1579		ε139		e	XI	
1582		ε183		e	949	
1588		ε1435		e	XIV	

1597		δ308		eapcr	1284	
1604		ε1353		e	XIII	
1606		ε1441		e	XIII	
1610	306[a], 296[p]	α468	306[a], 333[p]	apc	1364	
1611	307[a], 351[p] +469[p], 105[r]	α208	307[a], 469[p], 111[r]	apcr	X?	
1646		δ267		eapc	1172	
1654		ε1468		e	1326	
1675		ε1444		e	XIV	
1678		Θ[ε404], A[πρ41], Θ[π404], Av[402]		eapcr	XIV	
1689		ε1054		e	1200	
1704	709[evl], 234[apl]		709[evl], 234[apl]	eapcr	1541	
1709		ε1053		e	X	
1728		α301		apcr	XIII	
1732		α405		apcr	1384	
1734		α105		apcr	1015	
1735		α182		apc	XI/XII	
1738		α164		apc	XI	
1739		α78		apc	X	
1740		α304		apcr	XIII	
1758		α396		apc	XIII	
1765		α486		apc	XIV	
1778		O[α41]		r	XV	
1795		α215		apcr	XII	+2349
1827	308[a], 420[p]	α367	308[a], 420[p]	apc	1295	
1828	309[a], 300[p], 124[r]	α202	309[a], 300[p], 124[r]	apcr	XII	
1829	310[a]	α1100	310[a]	ac	XI	
1831	312[a], 421[p]	α472	312[a], 421[p]	apc	XIV	
1835	316[a]	α56	316[a]	ac	XI	
1836	317[a], 423[p]	α65	243[a], 291[p]	pc	X	
1837	318[a], 424[p]	α192	244[a], 292[p]	apc	XI	
1838	319[a], 425[p]	α175	245[a], 293[p]	apc	XI	

1841	323[a], 429[p], 127[r]	α47	323[a], 429[p], 127[r]	apcr	IX/X	
1845	328[a], 431[p]	α64	334[a], 319[p]	apc	X	
1846	329[a], 432[p]	α151	256[a], 322[p]	pc	XI	
1852	335[a], 437[p], 129[r]	α114	236[a], 273[p], 108[r]	apcr	XIII	
1854	360[a], 452[p], 130[r]	α115	359[a], 452[p], 130[r]	apcr	XI	
1859	371[a], 460[p]?	α402	371[a], 460[p]	acr	XIV	
1862	374[a], 463[p], 132[r]	O[21]	374[a], 463[p], 132[r]	apcr	IX	
1867	381[a], 352[p]	α154	381[a], 352[p]	apc	XII	
1872	386[a], 357[p], 134[r]	α209	386[a], 357[p], 134[r]	apcr	XII	
1873	391[a], 362[p]	α252	391[a], 362[p]	apc	XII	+2556
1874	895[evl] 261[apl]	α7	895[evl] 261[apl]	apc	X	
1876	399[a], 367[p], 135[r]	α504	399[a], 367[p], 135[r]	apcr	XV	
1877	400[a], 368[p]	α455	400[a], 368[p]	apc	XIV	
1881	413[a], 370[p]	α651	413[a], 370[p]	pc	XIV	
1884	420[a]	α1603		a	XVI	
1888		α118		apcr	XI	
1891		α62		apc	X	+2162
1898		α70		apc	X	join with 1875
1906	23[p]	O[π101]	23[p]	p	1056	
1908	47[p]	O[π103]	47[p]	p	XI	
1912	71[p]	α1066	71[p]	p	X	
1955	290[p], 93[r], escr	α119	256[p], 93[r]	pr	XI	
1957	293[p], 91[r]	α1574	293[p], 91[r]	pr	XV	This is the manuscript which supplies the missing part of B
1962	373[p]	X[10]	373[p]	p	XI	
1984	394[p]	Θ[π43]	394[p]	p	XIV	
1985	395[p]	Θ[π55]	395[p]	p	1561	
2005	472[p]	α1436	232[p]	apc	XIV	
2014	21[r]	Av[51]	21[r]	r	XV	

2015	28^{r}, n^{scr}	α1580	28^{r}	r	XV	
2016	31^{r}, c^{scr}	α1579	31^{r}	r	XV	
2017	32^{r}	α1582	32^{r}	r	XV	
2018	35^{r}	Av^{46}	35^{r}	r	XIV	
2019	36^{r}	Av^{30}	36^{r}	r	XIII	
2020	38^{r}	α1573	38^{r}	r	XV	
2023	49^{r}	Av^{56}	49^{r}	r	XV	
2026	59^{r}	Av^{501}	59^{r}	r	XV	
2027	61^{r}	α1374	61^{r}	r	XIII	
2028	62^{r}	Av^{54}	62^{r}	r	1422	
2029	63^{r}	Av^{66}	63^{r}	r	XVI	
2030	65^{r}	α1272	65^{r}	r	XII	
2031	67^{r}	Av^{41}	67^{r}	r	1301	
2033	72^{r}	Av^{60}	72^{r}	r	XVI	
2034	73^{r}	Av^{50}	73^{r}	r	XV	
2036	79^{r}	Av^{40}	79^{r}	r	XIV	
2037	80^{r}	Av^{45}	80^{r}	r	XIV	
2039	90^{r}	α1271	90^{r}	r	XII	
2040	95^{r}, g^{scr}	(Av^{13})	95^{r}	apcr	XII	join with 911
2042	100^{r}	Av^{400}	100^{r}	r	XIV	
2043	101^{r}	Av^{57}	103^{r}	r	XV	
2044	136^{r}	Av^{601}	136^{r}	r	1560	
2045	137^{r}	Av^{55}	137^{r}	r	XIII	
2047	139^{r}	Av^{67}	139^{r}	r	1543	
2048	140^{r}	α1172	140^{r}	r	XI	
2050	143^{r}	α1273	143^{r}	r	1107	
2051	144^{r}	Av^{68}	144^{r}	r	XVI	
2053	146^{r}	O^{a31}	113^{r}	r	XIII	
2054	147^{r}	Av^{500}	147^{r}	r	XV	
2056	149^{r}	Av^{49}	120^{r}	r	XIV	
2057	150^{r}	α1576	121^{r}	r	XV	
2058	151^{r}	O^{a40}	122^{r}	r	XIV	
2059	152^{r}	Av^{10}	152^{r}	r	XI	
2060	153^{r}	Av^{42}	114^{r}	r	1331	
2061	154^{r}	α1588	154^{r}	r	XV	
2062	155^{r}	O^{a30}	155^{r}	r	XIII	
2064	158^{r}	Av^{62}	158^{r}	r	XVI	Same volume as 561
2065	159^{r}	Av^{503}	159^{r}	r	XV	

2067	161^{r}	Av^{52}	119^{r}	r	XV	
2073	169^{r}	Av^{47}	169^{r}	r	XIV	
2074	170^{r}	Av^{1}	170^{r}	r	X	
2075	171^{r}	Av^{48}	171^{r}	r	XIV	
2080	178^{r}, 161^{apl}	α406	178^{r}	apcr	XIV	
2081	179^{r}	Av^{21}	179^{r}	r	XI	
2082	182^{r}	α1682	112^{r}	r	XVI	
2083	184^{r}	Av^{602}		r	1560	
2084		α1886		r	XV	
2127		δ202		eapc	XII	+1815
2138		α116		apcr	1072	
2143		α184		apc	XII	
2145		ε1222		e	1145	
2147		δ299		eapc	XI	
2148		Θε400		e	1337	
2174		ε393		e	XIV	
2186		A$^{\pi\rho 22}$, Av^{23}		cr	XII	
2191		δ250		eapc	XII	
2193		ε1131		e	X	lost
2200		δ414		eapcr	XIV	
2259		Av^{12}		r	XI	
2286		Av^{22}		r	XII	
2298	7^{a}, 9^{p}	α171	7^{a}, 9^{p}	apc	XI	
2302		Av^{505}		r	XV	
2329		α1073		r	X	
2344				apcr	XI	
2349				apcr	XII	join with 1795
2351		α1072		r	X	
2352				r	?	
2377				r	XIV	
2412				apc	XII	
2427				Mk	XIV?	
2430				e	XI	
2432				r	XIV	
2464				apc	IX/X	
2492				eapc	XIII	
2495				eapcr	XIV/ XV	

2542				e	XIII	
ℓ 249	249evl, 178apl		191evl, 178apl	U- ℓ +asel	IX	
ℓ 547	547evl		547evl	ℓ esk	XIII	
ℓ 844	844evl		844evl	U- ℓ sel	861/862?	
ℓ 846	846evl		846evl	U- ℓ +asel	IX	
ℓ 962				U- ℓ P	XII	includes 0276
ℓ 963				ℓ P	XI	includes 0100
ℓ 965				U- ℓ P	IX	includes 0114
ℓ 1345	Oa		Oa	U- ℓ PsO	IX	
ℓ 1346	Ob		Ob	U- ℓ PsO	X	
ℓ 1347	Oc		Oc	U- ℓ PsO	VI	
ℓ 1348	Od		Od	U- ℓ PsO	VII	
ℓ 1349	Oe		Oe	U- ℓ PsO	IX	
ℓ 1350	Of		Of	U- ℓ PsO	IX	
ℓ 1351	Og		Og	U- ℓ PsO	IX	
ℓ 1352	Oh		Oh	U- ℓ PsO	IX	
ℓ 1353	Td		Td	U- ℓ P	VII	
ℓ 1354	Te		Te	U- ℓ	VI	
ℓ 1355	Tf	ε74	Tf	U- ℓ	IX	
ℓ 1575				U- ℓ aP	IX	includes 0129, 0203, 0205
ℓ 1596					V	
ℓ 1604				ℓ P	IV	includes 0192
ℓ 2211				U- ℓ sel	995/6	

Appendix III: Manuscript Classifications

Introduction

Textual critics are dependent on their materials — in this case, manuscripts. But how is a student to know which manuscripts contain which text? No one can possibly examine all the manuscripts now available.

To make matters worse, not all editors agree on the nature of the text found in the manuscripts.

This article attempts to summarize the judgments passed by previous editors. The tables below list all non-fragmentary manuscripts cited regularly in at least one of the major recent critical apparati (Merk, Nestle-Aland[26], Nestle-Aland[27], UBS[3], UBS[4], Huck-Greeven, SQE[13], IGNTP Luke). Notes on sources and how to interpret the data follow the table. Fragmentary manuscripts are omitted as they should be dealt with on a more detailed individual basis.

Notes to the Tables

The list below describes the column headings in the various tables which follow.

Gregory Number — The standard numerical designation for manuscripts, based on the system created by Caspar Rene Gregory.

Soden Symbol — The designation given to the manuscript by H. von Soden. The user is referred to von Soden's work or the commentaries for a discussion of these symbols, which may not even reproduce properly on your computer.

The Gregory/Soden equivalences given here are taken primarily from Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der Grieschischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (de Gruyer, 1963). They have been checked against Merk where necessary.

Note: If a manuscript has multiple Soden symbols, this usually means that it comes from two different eras and that von Soden assigned two numbers to the various parts. The first symbol will usually be the one used in the gospels.

Date — as given by the most recent catalogs (NA[27] or the *Kurzgefasste Liste*). Arabic numerals indicate a precise date listed in a colophon; roman numerals indicate centuries (as judged by paleographers).

Content(s) — briefly describes the Contents of a manuscript. e=Gospels; a=Acts; p=Paul; c=Catholics; r=Apocalypse. The symbol # indicates a defect. If it follows the description of a section (e.g. p#) it indicates that the manuscript is defective in that section; if it precedes the list, it means that the nature of the defect is unknown to me. Thus, ap#c indicates a manuscript

which contains Acts, Paul, and the Catholics, which is defective for part of Paul; #apc indicates a manuscript of those same books which is defective in a way unknown to me. Comm indicates a commentary manuscript; polyglot manuscripts are also noted.

The information here is taken from the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, from NA[27], from a variety of special studies, and from my own researches.

Soden Desc(ription) — this indicated the classification in which von Soden placed the manuscripts. There is no room here for a full discussion, but we may note that H is the Aexandrian text. K is the Byzantine text. The various I groups include a wide variety of manuscripts of mixed types.

The information from this section again comes from the *Kurzgefasste Liste,* supplemented by Wisse and Merk.

Merk Desc(ription) — These are the classification used in Augustinus Merk's *Novum Testamentum Graece* et Latine. It will be observed that, for the most part, they correspond with von Soden's, groups, but in the Gospels Merk has separated the I text into two parts — the D text and the C (Caesarean) groups; elsewhere, C replaces I. This list is also generally useful for Bover's edition, although Bover does not offer group names. A question mark or parenthesized entry in this column indicates that Merk's list of manuscripts does not correspond to his manuscript groupings; the reader is referred to the group lists.

Aland Desc(ription) — Kurt and Barbara Aland undertook to classify "all" minuscules according to quality. In *The Text of the New Testament* (translated by Erroll F. Rhodes, Eerdmans, 1989) they listed their results; see the entry on Categories. A category I manuscript was considered most important for establishing the text (practical translation: a category I manuscript is supposed to be free of Byzantine influence). A category II manuscript is somewhat poorer and more mixed; category III is important "for the history of the text"; category V is Byzantine. In practice, these categories are an assessment of Byzantine influence.

It will be noted that not all manuscripts have been rated. Some (e.g. 1799) were not collated. In most instances, however, it appears to be because the manuscript is very slightly mixed — not purely Byzantine, but not clearly anything else, either. In some cases I have been unable to determine why the Alands did not give a rating.

CPM Desc(ription) (Gospels only) — The classification according to the Claremont Profile Method, detailed in Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (Studies and Documents 44, Eerdmans, 1982).

The Claremont System so far has been applied only to the Gospel of Luke, and only three chapters (1, 10, and 20) have been profiled. Not all manuscripts have been profiled for all

chapters, but it will be evident that a block mixed manuscript may show as many as three text-types.

The CPM system is based on a number of basic groups:

- Group B (the Alexandrian text, although it also includes D; this is because the CPM was designed to distinguish Byzantine groups)
- Group K^r (the dominant late Byzantine text)
- Group K^x (the largest Byzantine group, dominant roughly from the ninth to thirteenth centuries and strong thereafter)
- M Groups
- Λ Groups
- Π Groups (the largest Byzantine subfamily other than K^x and K^r, and in the author's view one of the earliest forms of the Byzantine text)
- Group 1 (i.e. family 1, non-Byzantine)
- Group 13 (family 13, non-Byzantine)
- Group 16
- Group 22a/b
- Group 291
- Group 1167
- Group 1216
- Group 1519

A number of clusters and pairs, as well as many mixed texts, are also cited.

In addition to their classifications, manuscripts may be described as Core or Diverging members of a group. A core member is one that falls very close to the basic profile of the group. (Those which show no deviations from the profile at all may be described as "perfect" members.) A diverging member is one that does not fall close to the core. If a manuscript is marked "with XXXX," it means that Wisse considers these manuscripts to be paired.

Note that Wisse's results are summarized; defects are not noted, partial profiles are treated as complete, and mixture may not be commented on. Full details should be sought from Wisse.

Rich(ards) Desc(ription) (Catholics only) — The classification found in W.L. Richards's *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles.* Richards studied some eighty manuscripts of the Catholics in the Johannine Epistles. His study applied a modified version of the Claremont Profile Method. He found three "text-types" — "Alexandrian" (with three sub-categories), Byzantine (eight sub-categories), and "Mixed" (yes, Richards calls "mixed" a text-type, and has three sub-groupings. Richards also tries to find text-types in 2 and 3 John — books which are simply not long enough to classify).

In general, the lists below show the *dominant* text-type.

Although Richards can be attacked both for his method and the accuracy of his collations, his groups generally stand up (except that the three A groups should not all be considered Alexandrian!). Group A^1 is family 2138; group A^2 is the standard Alexandrian text (א, A, B, C); group A^3 is family 1739.

The following list shows the leading representatives of the various groups:
A^1 — (206), 614, (876), 1611, 1799, 2138, 2412
A^2 — א, A, B, C, Ψ, 6
A^3 — (P^{74}), 5, 323, 623, (642), 1241, 1243, 1739, (1845)

M^1 — 181, 917, 1874, 1898
M^2 — 424** (!), 642, 876, 999, 1827, 2401
M^w — this is not a true group; it consists of manuscripts which go with no other group. It includes 69, 643, 1522, 1845, and portions of other manuscripts.

B^{tr} — 356, 462, 547, 1240, 1311, 1854, TR
B^1 — 319, 330, 479, 483, 635, 1829, 1891
B^2 — 201, 226, 959, 1248, 1876, 1889
B^3 — 97, 177, 223, 1597, 1872, 2423
B^4 — 216, 440, 1022, 1245, 1315, 1610, 1738
B^5 — 489, 920, 927, 1873
B^6 — L, (049), 424*, 794, 1175, 1888, 2143
B^7 — 38, 582, 1319, 1424, 1835

Wacht(el) Desc(ription) (Catholics only) — The classification as given in Klaus Wachtel, *Der Byzantinische Text der Katholischen Briefe*. Wachtel has a two-part classification. The basic groupings are based on distance from the Byzantine text. (As measured based on the 98 test readings for the Catholic Epistles found in Aland et al, *Text und Textwert der grieschischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments.*) Within this classification he sees a number of groups.

Observe that these groups are *not* text-types; Wachtel does not really examine text-types. The Alexandrian and family 1739 texts, for instance, are grouped together, without classification, in

the “40% or more non-Byzantine” category. Wachtel is more interested in small groupings. Note that this does not allow mixed manuscripts to be classified with their text-types (for example, 945 — which might even be a direct descendent of 1739 with some Byzantine corrections — is not classified with 1739).

The basic list of Wachtel’s types is shown below, with the symbol I use to represent it:

- **40+** (at least 40% of readings non-Byzantine): This roughly corresponds to the Alexandrian, family 1739, and family 2138 texts. Unclassified witnesses in this category include P^{72}, P^{74}, א, A, B, C, Ψ, 048, 5, 33, 81, 322, 323, 442, 621, 623, 629, 945, 1175, 1241, 1243, 1735, 1739, 1852, 1881, 2298, 2344, 2464, 2805.
  Subgroups include:
  Hk^{gr}: Named seemingly for the Harklean Syriac. This is family 2138 (Richards’s Group A^{1}). Members include 206, 429, 522, 614, 630, 1292, 1490, 1505, 1611, 1799, 1831, 1890, 2138, 2200, 2412, 2495.
  1067: 436, 1067, 1409, 2541
  1846: 1845, 1846
- **30+** (at least 30% of readings non-Byzantine): Unclassified witnesses in this category include P, 6, 378, 1448, 2374, 2718.
  Subgroups include:
  2652: 2147 2652
  453: 36, 94, 307, 453, 720, 918, 1678, 2197
  61: 61, 326, 1837
  1838: 104, 459, 1838, 1842
  254: 254, 1523, 1524, 1844
- **20+** (at least 20% of readings non-Byzantine): Unclassified witnesses in this category include 93, 321, 398, 431, 665, 1758, 2492.
  Subgroups include:
  808: 218, 642, 808, 1127, 1359, 1563, 1718
  915: 88, 915
  876: 876, 1765, 1832, 2243, 2494
- **10+** (at least 10% of readings non-Byzantine): Unclassified witnesses in this category include 38, 43, 69, 197, 365, 400, 456, 464, 468, 617, 631, 643, 676, 999, 1367, 1390, 1501, 1509, 1609, 1729, 1751, 1827, 1850, 1874, 1893, 1904, 2080, 2180, 2242, 2523, 2544, 2674, 2774.
  Subgroups include
  467: 467, 184
  1297: 1270, 1297, 1595, 1598
  181: 181, 1836, 1875

996: 996, 1661
2186: 1840, 2186
1066: 056, 0142, 1066
312: 312, 1853

- **<10** (Fewer than 10% non-Byzantine readings): K, L, 049, 18, 35, 319, 607, 1862, 1895, 2423

Wachtel also lists the following as belonging to the K^r recension: 18, 201, 386, 394, 432, 1072, 1075, 1100, 1503, 1548, 1619, 1628, 1636, 1725, 1745, 1746, 1768, 1858, 1864, 1865, 1897, 2544, 2587.

Related to K^r, with differences of a single reading, are the following:

- 35, 664, 757, 928, 1249, 1855, 2221
- 604, 1740, 2352
- 1618, 1892

(Thanks to Ulrich Schmid for information relating to Wachtel.)

Comment — this is my attempt to provide the "last word." Usually this is based on a scholarly study or on the consensus of textual critics, but I have sometimes added my own opinions.
In the Catholic Epistles, I have listed the classifications of Amphoux here, as found in Vaganay and Amphoux's *An Introduction to New Testament Testual Criticism.* Amphoux's is probably the most reliable of the classification schemes listed here, but is also the least complete.

IIIA: The Gospels

Table of Papyri of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
P^{45}		III	e#a#		H/C	I Free		Colwell showed that the scribe of this manuscript, or one of its ancestors, freely paraphrased the text.
P^{66}		*c.* 200	John#			I Free		
P^{75}		III	Lk# Jo#			I Strict		Very close to B.

Table of Letter Uncials of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
ℵ/01	δ2	IV	eapcr	H	H	I	B (core)	
A/02	δ4	V	e#ap#cr	$I^{κa}$	Kk	III (V)	$Π^{a}$ (diverging)	Earliest Greek Gospels manuscript to have a substantially Byzantine text. It has some important Alexandrian readings, but these are a small minority.
B/03	δ1	IV	eap#c	H	H	I	B (core)	Very close to P^{75}
C/04	δ3	V	#eapcr	H	H	II	Mix	Mixed Alexandrian and Byzantine
D/05	δ5	V/VI	e#a# Gk/Lat	$I^{α}$	D	IV	B (diverging)	Primary (and only) Greek “Western” witness.
E/07	ε55	VIII	e#	K^{i}	K^{i}	V	K^{x} Cl Ω	
F/09	ε86	IX	e#	K^{i}	K^{i}	V	K^{mix}	
G/011	ε87	IX	e#	K^{i}	K^{i}	V	K^{x}	
H/013	ε88	IX	e#	K^{i}	K^{i}	V	K^{x}	

K/017	ε71	IX	e	$I^{κa}$	K^{k}	V	$Π^{a}$ (core)	
L/019	ε56	VIII	e#	H	H	II	B (core)	Late Alexandrian. Double Markan ending. Some Byzantine readings; main run of text is closer to B than א.
M/021	ε72	IX	e	$I^{φr}$	$C^{Φ}$	V	M27 (diverging)	
N/022	ε19	VI	e#	$I^{π}$	$C^{π}$	V	Mix	Purple uncial; group with O Σ Φ
O/023	ε21	VI	Matt#	$I^{π}$	$C^{π}$	V		Purple uncial; group with N Σ Φ
P/024	ε33	VI	e#	I’	C^{I}	V	Mix	
Q/026	ε4	V	Lk# Jo#	I’	H/Cl	V	Mix	
R/027	ε22	VI	Luke#	I’	C^{I}	V	K^{x}+Mix	
S/028	ε1027	949	e	K^{1}	K^{i}	V	K^{x} Cl Ω	
T/029 (+0113, 0125, 0139)	ε5+ ε50+ ε99+ ε1002	V	Lk# Jo# Gk/Copt	H	H	II		Close to P^{75}/B
U/030	ε90	IX	e	I^{o}	C^{o}	V	K^{mix}+K^{x}; close to 974 1006	
V/031	ε75	IX	e#	K^{1}	K^{i}	V	K^{x} Cl Ω	
W/032	ε014	V	e#	H (LkJo) $I^{α}$ (Mk)	H (MtLkJo) C^{a} (Mk)	III	B+Kx+Mix	Uniquely and heavily block mixed, with Byzantine text in Matthew, “Western” and “Cæsarean” in Mark (with the famous “Freer Logion”), Luke Alexandrian and Byzantine, John primarily Alexandrian with a supplement that has a mixed text.

X/033	A^{3}	X	e# Comm	A^{3}	C^{o}/K	V	Mix (Gr B influence)	Commentary manuscript, mostly Byzantine but with some striking agreements with B
Y/034	ε073	IX	e#	I^{κ}	K^{k}	V	Π171	
Z/035	ε26	VI	Matt#	H	H	III		Close to א
Γ/036	ε70	X	e#	I’	C^{l}	V	K^{x}	From the information in the colophon, probably dates to 979, with 844 as an alternative.
Δ/037	ε76	IX	e# Gk/ Lat	H	H	III	Mix+K^{x}	Largely Alexandrian in Mark, especially in the early chapters; Byzantine elsewhere
Θ/038	ε050	IX	e#	I^{α}	C^{a}	II	Mix	Considered the best Cæsarean witness, but about half Byzantine.
Λ/039	ε77	IX	Lk Jo	I^{r}	K^{r}	V	Λ	Matt and Mark are the minuscule 566.
Ξ/040	A^{1}	VI	Luke# Comm	A^{1}	K	III	K^{mix}+B	Late Alexandrian. Contains a system of divisions found elsewhere only in B.
Π/041	ε73	IX	e#	$I^{\kappa a}$	K^{k}	V	Π^{a} (core)	
Σ/042	ε18	VI	Mt Mk	I^{π}	C^{π}	V		Purple uncial; group with N O Φ
Φ/043	ε17	VI	#Mt Mk	Iπ	C^{π}	V		Purple uncial; group with N O Σ
Ψ/044	δ6	VIII/ IX	e#ap#c	H	H	III	B+Kmix+Mix	Strongly Alexandrian in Mark (has the double ending); mostly Byzantine in Luke; mixed Alexandrian/ Byzantine in John.
Ω/045	ε61	IX	e	K1	K^{i}	V	K^{x} Cl Ω	

Table of Numbered Uncials of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
047	ε95	VIII	e#	I’	C^{l}	V	K^{x}	
070 (+0110, 0124, 0178, 0179, 0180 0190, 0191, 0193, 0202)	ε6+ ε017+ ε78	VI	Lk# Jo# Gk/Copt	H	H	III		
0141	$C^{\iota 13}$	X	John Comm	$C^{\iota 13}$	K	III		
0211	ε051	IX	e		K^{1}	V	K^{x} +K^{mix} +Mix	
0233		VIII	e#			III		
0250		VIII	e#			III		Palimpsest. Text is primarily Byzantine, but with an assortment of early readings of no clear type.

Table of Minuscules 1–300 of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
1^{eap}	δ254	XII	eapc	$I^{\eta a}$	C^{η}	III	1 (core)	
2^{e}	ε1214	XII	e	K^{x}		V	K^{mix}+K^{x}	
5	δ453	XIV	eapc	A^{k}	C^{a}	V?	Mix+K^{mix} +1519	
6	δ356	XIII	eapc	I^{κ}		V	Π^{6}	
7	ε287	XII	e	Iϕb	C^{ϕ}		Cl 7	
13	ε368	XIII	e#	$I^{\iota c}$	C^{ι}	III	13 (core)	

16	ε449	XIV	e Gk/Lat	$I^{\beta b}$	C^{β}		16 (with 1163)	
21	ε286	XII	e#	I^{α}	C^{a}	V	K^{x}	
22	ε288	XII	e#	$I^{\eta b}$	C^{η}		22b (core)	
27	ε1023	X	e#	$I^{\phi r}$	C^{Φ}	V	M27 (core)	
28	ε168	XI	e#	I^{α}	C^{a}	III (Mk) V (rest)	Mix+K^{x}	Considered one of the primary Cæsarean witnesses, but almost purely Byzantine outside Mark.
33	δ48	IX	#eapc	H	H	II	B	Alexandrian with heavy Byzantine (and perhaps minor “Western”) influence. Probably the best minuscule of the gospels other than 892.
60	ε1321	1297	er	K^{x}	(K^{c})	V	Cl 1685	
66	ε519	XIV	e	K^{r}		V	K^{r}	
69	δ505	XV	#eapcr	$I^{\iota b}$	C^{ι}	V (?)	13	
71	ε253	XII	e	$I^{\phi r}$	C^{Φ}		M27 (core)	
83	ε1218	XI	e	K^{r}	C^{l}	V	K^{r}	
115	ε1096	X	e#	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{Φ}		K^{mix}+K^{x}	
118	ε346	XIII	e#	$I^{\eta b}$	C^{η}		1 (core)	
123	ε174	XI	e	K^{x}		V	K^{x} Cl Ω	
124	ε1211	XI	e#	Iιb	C^{ι}		13 (weak)	
131	δ467	XIV	eapc	Iη	C^{η}		1	
138	A^{201}	XII	e# Comm	Ac	K	V	K^{x}	
157	ε207	XII	e	I^{σ}	C^{σ}	III	K^{x}+Mix+B	
158	ε108	XI	e	K^{x}			K^{x}+Π^{a}	
160	ε213	1123	e	$I^{\phi c}$			Mix+K^{x}	
161	ε1005	X	e#	I^{r}			L	
162	ε214	1153	e	I	C^{l}	V	K^{x}+K^{mix}	
174	ε109	1052	e#	Iιb	C^{ι}		L	
179	ε211	X	e#	Iφb	C^{Φ}		Mix+Kx	
180	ε1498	XII	eapcr	K^{x}		V	K^{x} Cl 180	

185	ε410	XIV	e	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{ϕ}	V	Cl 1531	
205	δ501	XV	eapcr +OT	I^{η}		III	1 (with 209)	Descendant or close cousin of 209
209	δ457	XIV	eapcr	$I^{\eta b}$	C^{η}	III	1 (with 205)	
213	ε129	XI	e#	I^{o}	C^{o}		Mix	
229	ε1206	1140	e#	$I^{\kappa c}$	K^{k}		Π^{a}+K^{x}	
230	ε173	1013	e	$I^{\iota c}$	C^{ι}		Λ	
235	ε456	1314	e	Iσ	C^{σ}	V	K^{mix}+Kx	
245	ε1226	1199	e	Iσ	C^{σ}	V	K^{mix}+1167	
249	$N^{\iota 10}$	XIV	John Comm		K			
251	ε192	XII	e	I’	C^{l}		Cl 1229	
262	ε1020	X	e	I^{r}	K^{r}	V	Λ (core)	
265	ε285	XII	e	$I^{\kappa a}$	Kk		Π^{a} (core)	
267	ε1289	XII	e#	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{ϕ}	V	Cl 7	
270	ε291	XII	e	$I^{\kappa b}$	Kk	V	Π^{b}+Π^{a}	
273	ε370	XIII	e#	I’	C^{l}		K^{mix}+K^{x}	
280	ε294	XII	e	$I^{\kappa c}$	K^{k}	V	Π^{a} (core)	
291	ε377	XIII	e	I^{σ}	C^{σ}	V	291	

Table of Minuscules 301–600 of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
317	$N^{\iota 31}$	XII	John Comm		K			
343	ε120	XI	e	K^{x}		V	Cl 343+K^{mix}	
346	ε226	XII	e#	$I^{\iota c}$	C^{ι}	III	13 (core)	
348	ε121	1022	e	$I^{\beta a}$	C^{β}		1216 (core)	
349	ε413	1322	e	$I^{\phi a}$	C^{ϕ}		M349 (with 2388)	
372	ε600	XVI	e#	I^{a}	C^{a}		Mix (“strange text”)	
397	$C^{\iota 10}$	X/XI	John Comm		K			

399	ε94	IX/X	e	I^{α} (Matt) K^{1} (MkLc Jo)	C^{a} (Matt) K^{i} (MkLk Jo)	V	Mix+K^{x}	
423	$N^{\mu 60}$, $N^{\iota 60}$	1556	Mt Jo Comm		K			
430	$N^{\iota 11}$	XI	Jo# Comm		K			
440	δ60	XII	eapc	I’	C^{I}		K^{x}+K^{mix}	
443	ε270	XII	e	I^{o}	C^{o}	V	M159	
461	ε92	835	e	K^{1}	K^{i}	V	K^{x} Cl Ω	
472	ε1386	XIII	e#	I’	C^{I}		Mix+K^{mix}	
473	ε1390	XIII	e	$I^{\kappa c}$	K^{k}	V	Π^{473}	
475	ε138	XI	e#	K^{x}		V	K^{x}+Cl 475	
477	ε350	XIII	e	$I^{\beta a}$	C^{β}	V	1216 (with 2174)	
478	ε1082	X	e	K^{ak}		V	K^{x}	
480	δ462	1366	eapc	K^{r}	K	V	K^{r} (perfect)	
482	ε329	1285	e	$I^{\kappa c}$	K^{k}	V	K^{x}+Π^{a}	
485	ε247	XII	e#	I’	C^{I}	V	K^{x}	
489	δ459	1316	#eapc	$I^{\kappa a}$	K^{k}		Π^{a} (with 1219)	
495	ε243	XII	e	I’	C^{I}		K^{mix}	
517	ε167	XI/XII	#eapcr	$I^{\phi a}$	C^{Φ}		Cl1675 (core)	
544	ε337	XIII	e	I^{α}	C^{a}		Π^{a}+K^{mix}+K^{x}	
545	ε511	1430	e	Ir	K^{r}		Cl 585 (core)	
565	ε93	IX	e#	Iα	C^{a}	III	B+K^{x}	Considered one of the primary Caesarean witnesses. Very close to Θ in Mark.
577	ε454	1346	e	K^{x}		V	K^{mix}	

579	ε376	XIII	e#	H	H	II (Mk, Lk only)	B	Strongly Alexandrian in Mark-John; about as good as 33 or 892. Perhaps closer to א than B. Matthew is much more Byzantine, though it has a few early readings.
597	ε340	XIII	e	K^{x}		V	291	

Table of Minuscules 601–900 of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
655	ε177	XI/XII	e	K^{1}	K^{i}	V	$K^{mix}+K^{x}$	
659	ε1216	XII	e	$I^{\Phi b}$	C^{Φ}			
660	ε178	XI/XII	e#	I’	C^{l}	V	22a (** to K^{r})	
661	ε179	XI	e	K^{1}	K^{i}			
669	ε1025	X	e#	K^{x}		V	K^{x}	
692	ε1284	XII	MtMkLk	$I^{\Phi r}$	C^{Φ} (Mark)	V	M27	
700	ε133	XI	e	I^{α}	C^{a}	III	Mix+B +K^{x}	Considered one of the primary Cæsarean witnesses.
713	ε351	XII	e#	I^{σ}	C^{σ}		Mix+K^{mix}	
716	ε448	XIV	e	I’	C^{l}		C^{l} 343+Cl 686	
726	ε384	XIII	e	$I^{\kappa b}$	K^{k}		Π^{b}	
743	$N^{\iota 50}$	XIV	#ecr? Comm					
788	ε1033	XI	e	$I^{\iota b}$	C^{ι}	III	13 (core)	
821	$C^{\iota 60}$	XVI	John Comm		K			

826	ε218	XII	e	$I^{\iota c}$	C^{i}	III	13 (perfect)	By most accounts, the best and central witness of family 13.
827	ε309	XIII	e#	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{Φ} (Mark)		Cl 827	
828	ε219	XII	e	$I^{\iota c}$	C^{i}	III	13	
850	$K^{\iota 20}$	XII	John# Comm		H			
869	$C^{\iota 21}$	XII	John# Comm		K			
872	ε203	XII	e#	$I^{\eta b}$	C^{η}		K^{x}	
892	ε1016	IX	e#	H	H	II	B (core)	Overall, perhaps the most Alexandrian of the gospel minuscules. Portions of John, from a later hand, are mostly Byzantine.

Table of Minuscules 901–1200 of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Contents	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
903	ε4002	1381	e	I^{Φ}?			Mix	
945	δ362	XI	eapc	$I^{\phi c}$	C^{Φ}	V	K^{mix}+K^{x}	
954	ε1454	XV	e	$I^{\phi a}$	C^{Φ}		Cl 1675	
983	ε3017	XII	e	$I^{\iota a}$	C^{ι}	III	13	
990	ε1260	XIV	e	$I^{\phi c}$	C^{Φ}			
994	A^{227}/ $C^{\iota 33}$	X/XI	#MtJo Comm		K	V		
998	ε1385	XII	e#	I’	C^{ι}	V	K^{x} Cl 180	
1005	ε1263	XIV	e	I^{η}			22a	
1006	ε1156	XI	er	K^{1}		V	K^{mix} (with 974; also U)	

1009	ε1265	XIII	e	I^{κ}			Mix+Kmix (with 472)	
1010	ε1266	XII	e#	$I^{\phi c}$	C^{Φ}	V	K^{mix}+K^{x} Cl 160	
1012	ε1132	XI	e	I^{σ}	C^{σ}		Cl 1012	
1038	ε1493	XIV	e	I’	C^{I}			
1047	ε1354	XIII	e#	I’	C^{I}		M609	
1071	ε1279	XII	e	I^{o}	C^{o}	III	Mix	
1077	ε1139	X	e	K^{1}		V	K^{x} Cl Ω	
1079	ε1045	X	e	I^{κ}			Π^{a} (core)	
1080	A^{312}	IX	e Comm	A^{b}		V	K^{x} Cl Ω	
1082	ε3015	XIV	e	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{Φ}		K^{x}+K^{r}	
1093	ε1443	1302	e	I’	C^{I}		Mix	
1170	ε541	XI	e#	I’	C^{I}		M27 (with 569)	
1187	ε1083	XI	e	I^{r}	K^{r}	V	L	
1188	ε1114	XI/XII	e	$I^{\phi a}$	C^{Φ}	V	K^{mix}+Kx	
1192	ε1115	XI	e	$I^{\eta b}$			22b	
1194	ε1094	XI	e	$I^{\phi r}$	C^{Φ}		M10	
1195	ε1116	1123	e	K^{x}			M1195	
1200	ε1250	XII	e#	$I^{\kappa b}$	K^{k}	V	Π^{b}	

Table of Minuscules 1201–1500 of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Contents	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
1203	ε1042	X	e	K^{x}		V	K^{x}	
1207	ε1098	XI	e	$I^{\phi c}$	C^{Φ} (LkJo)	V	Π473	
1210	ε1198	XI	e	$I^{\eta b}$			22b	
1215	ε1315	XIII	e	K^{ak}		V	Mix+K^{x} +K^{mix}	
1216	ε1043	XI	e	$I^{\beta b}$	C^{β}		1216 (core)	
1220		X	e#			V	M609	
1223	ε1093	X	e	$I^{\phi c}$	C^{Φ}	V	Π1441+Π268	
1229	ε1317	XIII	e#	I’	C^{I}		Cl 1229	

1230	A225	1124	e Comm				Mix	
1241	δ371	XII	#eapc	H	(H)	III	B	Probably the most Alexandrian minuscule of Luke. It is somewhat less good on John, and weaker still in Matthew and Mark.
1242	δ469	XIII	eapc	I’	C^{l} (John)	V	K^{mix}+1167	
1243	δ198	XI	eapc	I^{β}		III	1216 (with 1579)	
1247	δ556	XV	eapc	K^{x}		V	K^{r} (weak)	
1253	$\Theta^{\varepsilon 64}$	XV	e# Comm				Mix	
1278	ε277	XII	e	I^{η}			22a	
1279	ε1178	XI	e	$I^{\beta a}$	C^{β}		1216	
1292	δ395	XIII	eapc	I^{κ}		V	Π^{b}+Kx	
1293	ε190	XI	e#	$I^{\phi c}$	C^{Φ}		K^{mix}+K^{x}	
1295	ε96	IX	e#	I’	C^{l}		K^{x} Cl Ω	
1313	A^{115}	XI	e Comm	A^{c}		V	Π^{a}	
1319	δ180	XII	#eapc	I^{κ}		V	Π^{b}	
1321	ε1110	XI	e	A^{k}	C^{o}		1519	
1338	ε1243	XII	e#	K^{x}			K^{x} Cl 281	
1342	ε1311	XIII/ XIV	e#	(I)	C^{a}	II (Mk)	Mix+B+K^{x}	
1344	ε1244	XII	e#	K^{x}			K^{x}+K^{mix}	
1346	ε1089	X/XI	e	$I^{\kappa a}$	K^{k}		Π^{a}	
1347	ε1038	X	e#	$I^{\phi r}$		V	K^{mix}+Kx	
1351	ε1040	X	e#	K^{x}		V	K^{x} Cl 2592	
1352	δ396	?	eapc(r)	K^{x}		V	K^{x}	1352a contains eapc; 1352b contains r
1354	δ470	XIV	eapc	$I^{\kappa c}$	K^{k}	V	Π^{a}+K^{x}	
1355	ε1246	XII	e	I’	C^{l}	V	Π^{a}	
1365	ε381	XII	e	I’	C^{l}		22a	
1375	ε1225	XII	e	$I^{\kappa b}$	K^{k}	V	Π^{b}	
1391	ε1413	XIII	e	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{Φ}		K^{x}	
1392	A^{229}	X	e Comm	A^{c}		V	K^{x}+Π^{a}	

1396	ε1416	XIV	e	I’	C^{I}		M1326	
1402	ε1333	XII	e	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{Φ}		M1402	
1424	δ30	IX/X	eapcr+ Hermas (Comm)	$I^{\phi a}$	C^{Φ}	III (Mk)	Cl 1675 (diverging)	
1443	ε1138	1047	e	$I^{\phi r}$			Mix+K^{mix} +K^{x} (with 1282)	
1452	ε1274	992?	e	K^{x}		V	K^{x} (with 568)	
1458	ε1142	X	e	K^{x}			M27 (core)	

Table of Minuscules 1501–1800 of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Contents	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
1505	δ165	XII	eapc	K^{x}		V	K^{mix}+K^{x} (with 2495)	
1506	$\Theta^{\varepsilon 402}$	1320	e#p# Comm			V		
1510	ε2024	XI	e#	I^{κ}			K^{mix}+Π278	
1515	ε1442	XIII	e#	I’	C^{I}		K^{mix}+Π171	
1542a/b	ε1337	XII	e#	I^{α}	C^{a}	III (Mk) V (Lk)	Mix+K^{x}	
1546	ε1339	1263?	e	I^{κ}			Π^{a}	
1555	ε1341	XIII	e	I^{r}	K^{r}		L	
1573	δ398	XII/ XIII	eapc	I^{r}	K^{r}	V	Mix+Λ	
1574	ε551	XIV	e	I^{o}	C^{o}		Mix	
1579	ε1349	XI	e	$I^{\beta b}$	C^{β}		1216 (with 1243)	
1582	ε183	949	e	$I^{\eta a}$	C^{η}	III	1	Along with 1 itself, one of the basic witnesses of family 1. It was copied by the same scribe as 1739.

1588	ε1435	XIV	e	$I^{\beta b}$	C^{β}		16	
1604	ε1353	XIII	e	I’	C^{ι}	V	Mix+K^{mix} (with 2546)	
1606	ε1441	XIII	e	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{Φ}		K^{x} Cl 187	
1630	ε1472	1314	e	K^{r}			M349	
1654	ε1468	1326	e#	I^{α}	C^{a}		Cl 7	
1675	ε1444	XIV	e#	$I^{\phi b}$	C^{Φ}		Cl 1675 (core)	
1685	ε3048	1292	er	$I^{\phi b}$			Cl 1685	
1689	ε1054	1200	e	$I^{\iota a}$	C^{ι}			
1697	ε2068	XIII	e	K^{x}			K^{mix}+K^{x} +Mix	
1709	ε1053	X	e	K^{x}				

Table of Minuscules 1801–2100 of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Contents	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
1820	Kι50	XV	John Comm		H			
2096	ε2080	XII	#MtMkLk			V	Cl 1012	

Table of Minuscules 2101 and up of the Gospels

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Contents	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	CPM Desc	Comment
2145	ε1222	1145	e	I^{o}	C^{o}		M1195+K^{x}	
2148	$\Theta^{\varepsilon 400}$	1337	e Comm				Cl 2148	
2174	ε393	XIV	e	I^{β}			1216 (with 477)	
2191	δ250	XII	eapc	$I^{\phi b}$		V	K^{x}+K^{mix}	
2193	ε1131	X	e	$I^{\eta a}$	C^{η} (MkLk Jo)	III		
2322		XII/XIII	e#				K^{r}(perfect)	
2372		XIII	e#				22a	
2399		XIV	e#				K^{r} Cl 1059	

2427		XIV?	Mark			I		Very close to B. Most Alexandrian minuscule now known. It is, however, probably a forgery.
2430		XI	e#		C^{l} (Mark)	V	Mix +Π171+K^{mix}	
2487		XI	e#				C^{l} 1229	
2542		XIII	#MtMkLk			III	Mix+1	
2613		XI	e				M106	
2643		1289	er				Mix (with 792)	
2757		XII/XIII	e				Mix+K^{mix}+K^{x}	
2766		XIII	e				K^{mix}+Cl 827	

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Table of Papyri and Uncials of the Catholic Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Rich Desc	Wacht Desc	Comment
P^{72}		III/IV	1&2P/ Jude			I Normal/ Free		40+	Very close to B. Generally not close to other Alexandrian texts. Rather free in Jude.
P^{74}		VII	a#c#			I	A^{3}	40+	Alexandrian, but fragmentary nature makes it hard to determine subgroup.
א (01)	δ2	IV	eapcr	H	H	I	A^{2}	40+	Alexandrian, but somewhat removed from the main thrust of the group.

A (02)	δ4	V	e#ap#cr	H	H	I	A^2	40+	Earliest and best member of the mainstream of the Alexandrian text. Close to 33; also to 81, 436, Ψ, Bohairic Coptic; etc.
B (03)	δ1	IV	eap#c	H	H	I	A^2	40+	Close to P^{72}, but very distinct from the rest of the Alexandrian text. P^{72}/B may form a distinct text-type.
C (04)	δ3	V	#eapcr	H	H	II	A^2	40+	Same text-type as 1739. Not part of the actual family 1739, but much closer to this text than to the Alexandrian text. May be family 1739 with Alexandrian mixture. (Amphoux: Caesarean/family 1739.)
K (018)	$A^{\pi p1}$ (I1)	IX	p#c Comm	K	K	V		<10	Byzantine.
L (020)	α5	IX	a#p#c	K	K	V	B^6	<10	Byzantine.
P (025)	α3	IX	a#p#c#r	H	H	III		30+	Mixed, but more Byzantine than anything else.

Ψ (044)	δ6	IX?	e#ap#c	H	H	II	A^{2}	40+	Mostly Alexandrian, of the A/33/81/436 group. Possibly some mixture with the B text.
048	α1	V	a#p#c#		H	II		40+	
049	α2	IX	ap#c	K	C/H	V	B^{6}	<10	Byzantine. May have a slightly earlier form of the text than K or L.
056	O^{7}	X	apc Comm		K	V		10+/ 1066	Byzantine.
0142	O^{6}	X	apc Comm		H	V		10+/ 1066	Byzantine.

Table of Minuscules 1–500 of the Catholic Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Rich Desc	Wacht Desc	Comment
1^{eap}	δ254	XII	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V			
5	δ453	XIV	eapc	I^{a2}	C^{a}	III	A^{3}	40+	Probably close to 623.
6	δ356	XIII	eapc	H	H	III	A^{2}	30+	Family 1739 (rather weak), with affinities to 424**.
33	δ48	IX	#eapc	H	H	I		40+	Along with A, the head of the main Alexandrian group (81, 436, Ψ, bo, etc.) A and 33 form a pair — not sisters, but closely linked.
36	$A^{\pi p20}$	XII	ac	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III		30+/ 453	
38	δ355	XIII	#eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}		B^{7}	10+	
42	α107	XI	#apcr	K	K				
69	δ505	XV	#eapcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	Mw	10+	
81	α162	1044	a#pc	H	H	II		40+	Alexandrian — a slightly mixed witness of the A/ 33/436 type.

88	α200	XII	apcr	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III		20+/ 915	Mostly Byzantine, with some earlier readings. Contains 1 John 5:7–8 (in the margin, in a late hand)
104	α103	1087	apcr	H	H	III?		30+/ 1838	
181	α101 (α1578	X	apcr	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III	Mw	10+/ 181	
206	α365	XIII	#apc	I^{b1}	C^{b}	III	A1/ B/B	40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Family 2138 (except in 2 & 3 John, which are from another hand). Appears to belong with the 630 subgroup.
209	δ457 (α1581)	XIV	eapcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V			
216	α469	1358	#apc	I^{b2}	C^{b}		B^{4}		
218	δ300	XIII	#eapcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III		20+/ 808	
226	δ156	XII	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	B^{2}		
241	δ507	XI	eapcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}				
242	δ206	XII	eapcr	I^{b1}	C^{b}				
255	α174	XIV	apc	I^{c2}	C^{a}				
256	α216	XI	#apcr Gk/arm	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V			
307	($A^{\pi\rho11}$) (A^{217})	X	ac Comm	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III		30+/ 453	
321	α254	XII	#apc	K	C^{a}			20+	
322	α550	XV	apc			II		40+	Later and slightly corrupted sister of 323

323	α157	XII	#apc	I^{b2}	H	II	A^{3}	40+	(Amphoux: Family 1739). Mixed Byzantine and family 1739. Mostly Byzantine in James; Byzantine influence declines in 1 Peter, and is almost gone in 2 Peter-Jude, where 323 is almost a sister of 1739.
326	α257	X	#apc	H	H	III		30+/ 61	
330	δ259	XII	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	B^{1}		
337	α205	XII	#apcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V			
378	α258	XII	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}	III		30+	
383	α353	XIII	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}				
384	α355	XIII	apc	K		V			
398	α189	X	#apc	K	K	III		20+	
424**	O12	XI	apcr	H	H	III	424*: B^{6}/ M^{w} • 424^{c}: M^{2}/ Mw		424 is a Byzantine manuscript corrected toward family 1739. The corrections are especially close to 6.
429	α398 (α1471)	XIV	apcr	I^{b1}	C^{b}	III		40+/ Hkgr	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Family 2138, probably of the 630 group.
431	δ268	XII	eapc	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III		20+	
436	α172	X	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III		40+/ 1067	Alexandrian, of the A/ 33/81 group. Some Byzantine readings.
440	δ260	XII	eapc	I^{b2}	C^{b}		B^{4}		
451	α178	XI	apc	K		V			
453	$A^{\pi p40}$	XIV	ac	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III		30+/ 453	
460	α397	XIII	#apc Gk/Lat/ arab	I^{a3}	C^{a}				

467	α502	XV	apcr	I^{a2}	C^{a}	V?		10+/ 467	
489	δ459	1316	#eapc	I^{a2}	C^{a}		B^{5}		

Table of Minuscules 501–1000 of the Catholic Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Rich Desc	Wacht Desc	Comment
522	δ602	1515/ 1516	eapcr	I^{b1}	C^{b}	III		40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Family 2138, probably of the 630 group.
547	δ157	XI	eapc	I^{b1}	C^{a}	V	B^{tr}		
610	$A^{\pi p21}$	XII	#ac	I^{a1}	C^{a}	V			
614	α364	XIII	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}	III	A^{1}	40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Family 2138. Later sister (probably technically a niece) of 2412. The two form one of the major subgroups of family 2138.
623	α173	1037	#apc Comm	I^{a2}	C^{a}	III	A^{3}	40+	Probably close to 5.
629	α460	XIV	apc Gk/ Lat	K		III		40+	Mixed text; largely Byzantine, but with a very high number of unique readings. Possibly “Western”? Influenced by the Latin; includes part of 1 John 5:7–8
630	α461	XIV	a#pc	I^{b}		III		40+/ Hk^{gr}	Family 2138. Heads a subgroup which also contains 1799 2200 plus probably 206, 429, 522.
642	α552	XIV	#apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III	M^{2}/ A^{3}	20+/ 808	
794	δ454	XIV	#eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	B^{6}		
808	δ203	XII	eapr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V		20+/ 808	

876	α356	XII	apc	I^{c2}	(C^{c})		M^{2}/ M^{w}/ A^{1}	20+/ 876	(Amphoux: weak Family 2138).
913	α470	XIV	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}				
915	α382	XIII	apc	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III		20+/ 915	
917	α264	XII	apc	I^{a1}	C^{a}	V	M^{1}/ M^{w}/B		
919	α113	XI	apcr	I^{a}	C^{a}	V			
920	α55	X	apcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	B^{5}		
927	δ251	1133	eapc	I^{a2}	C^{a}		B^{5}		
945	δ362	XI	eapc	($I^{\Phi c}$)	(C^{Φ})	III		40+	(Amphoux: Family 1739). Family 1739. Very close to 1739 itself, except for a number of Byzantine readings. Quite possibly (since both are at Athos) a descendent of 1739 itself with one or two intermediate copies.

Table of Minuscules 1001–1500 of the Catholic Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Rich Desc	Wacht Desc	Comment
1067	α481	XIV	a#p#c			II		40+/ 1067	
1108	α370	XIII	#apc	I^{c1}	C^{c}				(Amphoux: Family 2138).
1175	α74	XI	ap#c	H	H	I	B^{6}	40+	Heavily Byzantine in the Johannine Epistles, although some good readings survive in the earlier letters.

1241	δ371	XII	e#apc	H	K	I	A^{3}	40+	(Amphoux: Family 1739). Like C, a member of the 1739 text-type although not of family 1739 itself. Very valuable although probably a rather poor copy of its exemplar.
1243	δ198	XI	eapc	K		I	A^{3}	40+	(Amphoux: Family 1739). Probably family 1739, perhaps to be grouped with 1241.
1245	α158	XII	apc	I^{c1}	C^{c}		B^{4}		
1292	δ395	XIII	eapc			II		40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138).
1311	α170	1090	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}		B^{tr}		
1319	δ180	XII	#eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	B^{7}		
1409		XIV	#eapc			II		40+/ 1067	

Table of Minuscules 1501–2000

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Rich Desc	Wacht Desc	Comment
1505	δ165	XII	eapc	(K)		III		40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Family 2138. Forms a group with 2495 (a later, poorer version of the group text).
1518	α551	XIV	apc	I^{c1}	C^{c}				(Amphoux: Family 2138). Lost, but probably family 1611. May have resurfaced as 1896.
1522	α464	XIV	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}		M^{w}/B/ M^{w}		Lost
1525	α361	XIII	#apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}				

1611	α208	X	#apcr	I^{c1}	C^{c}	III	A^{1}	40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Family 2138. Groups with 2138 itself, although the text is not quite as good.
1738	α164	XI	#apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	B^{4}		
1739	α78	X	apc	(H)	H	I	A^{3}	40+	Primary witness to a text-type (the other leading witnesses being C and 1241). Within the type it forms a family with 323, 945, 1881, 2298, etc.
1758	α396	XIII	#apc	I^{b1}	C^{b}			20+	(Amphoux: Family 2138).
1765	α486	XIV	apc	I^{c2}	C^{b}			20+/ 876	(Amphoux: weak Family 2138).
1799	ε610?!	XII/ XIII	a#pc					40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Family 2138, of the 630 subgroup.
1827	α367	1295	#apc	I^{a2}	C^{a}		M^{2}/B	10+	
1829	α1100	XI	#ac	I^{a1}	C^{a}	V	B^{1}		
1831	α472	XIV	#apc	I^{b1}	C^{b}			40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138).
1835	α56	XI	ac	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	B^{7}		
1836	α65	X	1J2J3J Jude p	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III		10+/ 181	
1837	α192	XI	#apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}			30+/ 61	
1838	α175	XI	#apc	I^{a2}	C^{a}	III?		30+/ 1838	
1845	α64	X	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III	M^{w}/A^{3}	40+/ 1846	
1846	α151	XI	#apc			III		40+/ 1846	
1852	α114	XIII	#apcr	(H+I^{c1})	C^{c}	II		40+	(Amphoux: weak Family 2138).
1873	α252	XII	apc	I^{a2}	C^{a}		B^{5}		
1874	α7	X	apc	I^{a1}	C^{a}	V	M^{1}/ M^{w}/B	10+	
1877	α455	XIV	apc			V			

1881	α651	XIV	1–2P 1–3Jo Jude p			II		40+	Family 1739, with perhaps some mixture with the 1241 type of text.
1891	α62	X	apc	I^{b}	C^{b}	V	B^{1}		(Amphoux: weak Family 2138).
1898	α70	X	apc	I^{a1}	C^{a}		M1/ Mw		

Table of Minuscules 2001 and over

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Rich Desc	Wacht Desc	Comment
2127	δ202	XII	eapc	K		V			
2138	α116	1072	apcr	I^{c1}	C^{c}	III	A^{1}	40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Leading witness of family 2138. Forms its own subgroup with 1611.
2143	α184	XII	apc	I^{a1}	C^{a}		B6/ Mw		
2147	δ299	XI/ XII	eapc	I^{c2}	C^{c}	III		30+/ 2652	(Amphoux: weak Family 2138).
2298	α171	XII	apc	I^{b2}	(H)	II		40+	(Amphoux: Family 1739). Family 1739.
2412		XII	#apc			III	A^{1}	40+/ Hk^{gr}	Family 2138. Forms a subgroup with 614 (the latter being a niece or other near relative of 2412).
2464		IX	a#p#c#			II		40+	
2492		XIV	eapc			III?		20+	(Amphoux: Family 1739). Largely Byzantine, with elements from other text-types. Despite Amphoux, it is not a true family 1739 text.
2495		XV	#eapcr			II?		40+/ Hk^{gr}	(Amphoux: Family 2138). Family 2138. A later representative of the group headed by 1505.

IIID: The Pauline Epistles

Table of Papyri and Uncials of the Pauline Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Comment
P^{13}	α1034	III/IV	Heb#	H	H	I Free	Generally goes with P46 B sa.
P^{46}		II/III	p#		H-C	I Free	Along with B, head of a very early text-type. Somewhat wild, especially in Romans. Zuntz called this type “proto-Alexandrian,” and included in in P46 B 1739 sa bo; in my opinion, the Bohairic goes with א A C 33 while 1739 heads its own text-type.
א (01)	δ2	IV	eapcr	H	H	I	Earliest and purest manuscript of the true Alexandrian text. Closest relative is 33.
A (02)	δ4	V	e#ap#cr	H	H	I	Largely Alexandrian, of the early type, with a few mixed readings.
B (03)	δ1	IV	eap#c	H	H	I	Along with P^{46} and sa, the head of the earliest known text-type.
C (04)	δ3	V	e#a#p#c #r#	H	H	II	Early Alexandrian text. Fairly pure example of the type; much less mixture than in the gospels.
D (06)	α1026	VI	p# Gk/Lat	I^{a1}	C^{a}	II (D^{c} III)	Earliest “Western” witness. Two copies (D^{abs1} and D^{abs2}) known. The facing Latin text is not parallel, and is close to the Old Latin b. Not an ancestor of F G; D has more major divergences but fewer minor divergences from the Alexandrian text.

F (010)	α1029	IX	p# Gk/Lat	I^{a1}	C^{a}	II	“Western” text. Sister or cousin of G. The facing Latin text is not fully parallel; it contains a mix of vulgate and Old Latin readings with perhaps some assimilation to the Greek (or vice versa!). Beautifully but badly copied.
G (012)	α1028	IX	p# Gk/Lat	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III	“Western” text. Sister or cousin of F, but generally the more accurate of the pair. The interlinear Latin closely follows the Greek. The text has many minor departures from the Alexandrian text, but fewer major shifts than D.
H (015)	α1022	VI	p#	H	H	III	Alexandrian, of a late cast, with many Byzantine readings. Said to have been corrected from a Pamphilian ms., but most corrections are Byzantine.
I (016)	α1041	V	p#	H	H	II	Very pure and early Alexandrian; close to א.
K (018)	I^{1} ($A^{\pi\rho1}$)	IX	p#c Comm		K	V	Byzantine. Pair with 0151.
L (020)	α5	IX	a#p#c	K	K	V	Byzantine.
P (025)	α3	IX	a#p#c#r#	H	H	III	Largely Byzantine, with some late Alexandrian readings
Ψ (044)	δ6	IX?	e#ap#c	H	H	III	Almost purely Byzantine, with some late Alexandrian readings (rather similar to P) in the later epistles.
048	α1	V	a#p#c#		H	II	Apparently mostly Alexandrian but with many free readings.
049 (S)	α2	IX	ap#c		(C^{k})	V	Byzantine.
056	O^{7}	X	apc Comm		(K)	V	Byzantine; pair with 0142.
075	$O^{\pi3}$	X	p# Comm			III	Mostly Byzantine with some late Alexandrian readings.

0121 (0121a, M)	α1031	X	1–2C#	H	H	III	Family 1739 with some Byzantine infusion. Zuntz dates to century XII.
0121b (M)	α1031	X?	Heb#	H	H	III	Now considered part of 0243 (which see).
0142	O^{6}	X	apc Comm		(H)	V	Byzantine; pair with 056
0150	X^{2}	IX	p# Comm			III	Mostly Byzantine with some late Alexandrian readings.
0151	X^{21}	IX	p# Comm			V	Byzantine; pair with K/018.
0243 (+0121b)		X	1C# 2C (Heb#)			II?	Very pure family 1739 text, especially in Corinthians. Probably a near cousin of 1739. See the entry on family 1739.
0278		IX	p#				Late Alexandrian with a strong Byzantine overlay.
0285 (+081)		VI	p#	(H[I])	(H)		Late Alexandrian with assorted mixed readings

Table of Minuscules 1–500 of the Pauline Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Comment
1^{eap}	δ254	XII	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
2	α253	XII	apc	I^{b1}	C^{b}	V	Now officially renumbered 2815
5	δ453	XIV	eapc	I^{a2}	C^{a}	III	
6	δ356	XIII	eapc	H	H	III	Base text is family 1739, close to 424**. Heavy overlay of late Byzantine readings.
33	δ48	IX	e#a#p#c#	H	H	I	Primarily Byzantine in Romans, which comes from a later hand. The text in Romans may be related to 2344. The remaining books are purely Alexandrian, close to א. All pages of Paul are intact, but there is some damage from damp.

35	δ309	XI	eapcr	I^{b2}	C^{b}		
38	δ355	XIII	#eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}		
43	α270	XII	eapc	Ib	C^{b}		
69	δ505	XV	e#a#pc#r#	I^{a3}	C	III	Mostly Byzantine, with some late Alexandrian readings. Group with 462 2344.
81	α162	1044	a#pc	H	H	II	Good Alexandrian witness. Transitional between early and late forms.
88	α200	XII	apcr	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III	Mostly Byzantine with some late Alexandrian (family 2127) readings. Also occasional wild (“Western”?) readings.
104	α103	1087	apcr	H	H	III	Late Alexandrian with a heavy Byantine overlay. Some readings reminiscent of family 1611.
177	α106	XI	apcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
181	α101	X	apcr	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III	Primarily Byzantine with hints of something else (mostly in Corinthians). This earlier substrate appears akin to 1877.
203	α203	1111	#apcr	I^{c2}	C^{a}	V	
206	α365	XIII	#apc	I^{b1}	C^{b}	V	Almost purely Byzantine; probably groups with 429.
216	α469	1358	#apc	I^{b2}	C^{b}		
218	δ300	XIII	#eapcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III	
221	α69	X	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}	V	
223	α186	XIV	ap#c	K^{c}		V	Slightly impure example of von Soden’s K^{c} group.
226	δ156	XII	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
241	δ507	XI	eapcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}		
242	δ206	XII	eapcr	I^{b1}	C^{b}		
255	α174	XIV	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}		
256	α216	XI	#apcr Gk/arm	I^{a3}	C^{a}	II	Family 2127, with particularly strong links to the Armenian.
257	α466	XIV	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}		
263	δ372	XIII	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III	Family 2127 (a rather weak member)

319	α256	XII	#apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}?	V	
321	α254	XII	#apc	Ia	C^{a}		
323	α157	XII	apc	I^{b2}	(Cb)	III	
326	α257	X	ap#c	H	H	III	Primarily Byzantine with some late Alexandrian readings.
330	δ259	XII	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III	Family 330. Forms a pair with 451 in all books except Hebrews, where 330 becomes Byzantine. More distantly kin to 2492.
336	α500	XV	apcr	I^{b}	C^{b}		
337	α205	XII	#apcr	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
365	δ367	XII	eap#c	K		III	Family 2127. Particularly close to 2127 itself, of which it might almost be a descendent with Byzantine mixture.
378	α258	XII	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}	V	
383	α353	XIII	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}		
385	α 506	1407	#apcr	I^{c2}	(C^{c})	V	
424**	O^{12}	XI	apcr	H	H	III	The corrections clearly belong to family 1739 (in fact, they seem to be the purest text of this type). They are particularly close to 6. 424* is purely Byzantine.
429	α398	XIV	apcr	I^{b1}	C^{b}	V	Apparently almost purely Byzantine; group with 206.
436	α172	X	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III	Late Alexandrian with Byzantine mixture; perhaps closest to 1962.
440	δ260	XII	eapc	I^{b2}	C^{b}		
441	O^{18}	XIII	a#Ro1C# Comm			III	Contains Acts Romans, and most of 1 Corinthians. Bound with 442. Late Alexandrian and Byzantine.
442	O18	XII/ XIII	1C#-He c Comm			II	Contains part of 1 Cor, the rest of Paul, and the Catholics. Bound with 441. A good late Alexandrian text.

451	α178	XI	apc	K		III	Family 330. 451 is almost a sister of 330, except that it retains its quality in Hebrews, where 330 is Byzantine. 2492 is a more distant relative. See the entry on 330.
459	α104	1092	apcr	H?		III	Late Alexandrian with much Byzantine corruption. Akin to family 2127.
460	α397	XIII	#apc Gk/ Lat/ arab	I^{a3}	C^{a}		
462	α359	XI/ XII	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}		Mostly Byzantine with some late Alexandrian readings. Group with 69 2344.
467	α502	XV	apcr	I^{a2}	C^{a}	III	
489	δ459	1316	#eapc	I^{a2}	C^{a}		
491	δ152	XI	#eapc	I^{b2}	(C^{b})	V	

Table of Minuscules 501–1000 of the Pauline Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Comment
506	δ101	XI	#eapcr	I^{c2}	C^{c}	V	
522	δ602	1515/ 1516	eapcr	I^{b1}	C^{b}	V	
547	δ157	XI	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
614	α364	XIII	apc#	I^{c2}	C^{c}	III?	Byzantine. Pair with 2412; group with 876.
623	α173	1037	#apc Comm	I^{a2}	C^{a}	III	Mostly Byzantine with a handful of early readings
629	α460	XIV	apc Gk/Lat	K		III	About 75% Byzantine, but the only minuscule with significant “Western” readings. These seem to derive from the Latin; most agree with the vulgate or the Old Latin a.
630	α461	XIV	a#pc	I^{b}		III	Weak family 1739 in Romans & Corinthians; gradually turns pure Byzantine in the later epistles. Pair with 2200.

635	α161	XI	apc	I^{b1}	C^{b}		
642	α552	XIV	#apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
794	δ454	XIV	#eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
823	δ368	XIII	#eapc	I^{b2}	C^{b}		
876	α356	XII	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}		Byzantine; possibly group with 614 and 2412.
913	α470	XIV	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}		
915	α382	XIII	apc	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III	
917	α264	XII	apc	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III	
919	α113	XI	apcr	Ia	C^{a}	V	
920	α55	X	apcr	Ib?	C^{a}	V	
927	δ251	1133	eapc	I^{a2}	C^{a}		
941	δ369	XIII	eapc	I^{b1}	C^{b}		
999	δ353	XIII	eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	

Table of Minuscules 1001–1500 of the Pauline Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Comment
1022	α480	XIV	apc	Kx			Byzantine in Romans-Thessalonians; good family 1611 text in Pastorals and Hebrews
1099	α368	XIV	apc	Ib	C^{b}	V	
1108	α370	XIII	#apc	I^{c1}	C^{c}		
1149	δ370	XIII	eapc	I^{b2}	C^{b}	V	
1175	α74	XI	ap#c	H	H	I	Good late Alexandrian text, except in Romans and (probably) Thessalonians, where it is Byzantine.
1241	δ371	XII	e#a#pc	H?	K?	III	Text from first hand is Byzantine. The sundry supplements (1C 2:10f., 2C 13:3f., Gal, Eph. 2:15, Phil., Col., Heb. 11:3f.) are mixed late Alexandrian and Byzantine.
1245	α158	XII	apc	I^{c1}	C^{c}		
1311	α170	1090	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}		

1319	δ180	XII	#eapc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	III	Family 2127. The family is often called after 1319, although 2127 is a better witness to the type.

Table of Minuscules 1501–2000 of the Pauline Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Comment
1505	δ165	XII	eapc	K^{x}		III	Family 1611. Pair with 2495 (with 1505 the better of the two). Colophon falsely dates to 1084.
1506	$\Theta^{\varepsilon 402}$	1320	eRo#1C Comm			II	Excellent early Alexandrian text, close to א. Noteworthy for omitting Romans chapter 16.
1518	α551	XIV	apc	I^{c1}	C^{c}		Lost, but probably family 1611. May have resurfaced as 1896.
1573	δ398	XII/ XIII	#eapc	(I^{r})	(K^{r})	III	Family 2127
1610	α468	1364	apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}		
1611	α208	X?	apcr	I^{c1}	C^{c}	III	Best surviving witness of family 1611 in Paul.
1738	α164	XI	#apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
1739	α78	X	apc	I^{b2}? (lists as H)	D? (lists as H)	I	Core member of family 1739, preserving about 90% of the family text. Sister or nearly of 0243. Marginal commentary from assorted sources (paralleled in 1908). In Paul, most of the marginalia are from Origen (in Acts and the Catholics they are from other sources). Colophon claims Romans was copied from Origen's commentary and the rest from an Origenic manuscript, but there is no evident change in text-type.
1758	α396	XIII	#apc	I^{b1}	C^{b}		

1799	ε610?!	XII/ XIII	a#pc	($I^{\Phi r}$)			Primarily Byzantine, with occasional block mixes of weak late Alexandrian and family 1739 texts. Edited text; paragraph divisions marked by the insertion of αδελφοι or similar heading, probably based on the lectionary (lectionary readings are marked in the margin).
1827	α367	1295	#apc	I^{a2}	C^{a}		
1831	α472	XIV	#apc	I^{b1}	C^{b}		
1835	α56	X	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	V	
1836	α65	X	pc#	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III	
1837	α192	XI	#apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}		
1838	α175	XI	#apc	I^{a2}	C^{a}	III	
1845	α64	X	apc	I^{a3}	C^{a}	(III)	
1852	α114	XIII	#apcr	H (Ro) I^{c1}?	H(Ro) C^{c}	III	Late Alexandrian mixed with Byzantine in Romans. Elsewhere mostly Byzantine.
1867	α154	XII	#apc	I^{c2}	C^{c}		
1872	α209	XII	apcr	I^{b2}	C^{b}	V	
1873	α252	XII	apc	I^{a2}	C^{a}		
1877	α455	XIV	apc			III	Mostly Byzantine, with some sections of something else. This other text is probably the same as that underlying the non-Byzantine portions of 181.
1881	α651	XIV	pc#			II	Family 1739 with some Byzantine corruptions. Best complete family text after 1739.
1891	α62	X	apc	Ib	C^{b}	V	
1898	α70	X	apc	I^{a1}	C^{a}		
1908	$O^{\pi 103}$	XI	p Comm		H	III	Commentary (in Romans) parallels that in 1739, but the text is poorer. Outside Romans, text is rather Byzantine.
1912	α1066	X	p#	I^{a1}	C^{a}	III	
1960	α1431	1366	p#				Badly mutilated text of Paul seems to belong with von Soden's K^{r} text.

1962	X[10]	XI/ XII	p# Comm			II	Fairly high-quality late Alexandrian text, loosely related to family 2127; some links to 436
1984	Θ[π43]	XIV	p# Comm				Mostly Byzantine, with some special readings shared with 1985.
1985	Θ[π55]	1561	p# Comm				Mostly Byzantine, with some special readings shared with 1984.

Table of Minuscules 2001 and over of the Pauline Epistles

Gregory Number	Soden Symbol	Date	Content	Soden Desc	Merk Desc	Aland Desc	Comment
2005	α1436	XIV	ap#	I[c1]	C[c]	III	Probably family 1611, although not yet properly studied.
2127	δ202	XII	eap#c	I[a3]	C[a]	II	Best member of family 2127, a late Alexandrian group containing also 256 263 365 1319 1573 etc.
2138	α116	1072	#apcr	I[c1]	C[c]	III	Head of the family 1611 group in Acts and the Catholics, but much attenuated in Paul.
2143	α184	XII	apc	I[a2]	C[a]		
2147	δ299	XI/ XII	#eapc	I[c2]	C[c]	V	
2200	δ414	XIV	eapcr			III	Weak family 1739 in Romans & Corinthians; mostly Byzantine in the later epistles. Pair with 630.
2298	α171	XII	apc	I[b2]	C[b]	V	
2344		XI	#a#p#c#r			III	Mostly Byzantine with some late Alexandrian readings. Group with 69 462. 33[supp] (Romans) may also go with this text.
2412		XII	#apc			III?	Almost purely Byzantine. Pair with 614; group with 876.

2464		IX	ap#c			II	Late Alexandrian with some Byzantine mixture. Few dramatic readings; the Alands should probably have rated it category III, not II. Byzantine in Romans.
2492		XIV	eapc			III	Arguably the best text of family 330, although somewhat distant from the pair 330 451. See the entry on 330.
2495		XV	#eapcr			III?	Family 1611. A late and somewhat degraded cousin of 1505.

Appendix IV: The Versions of the New Testament

Introduction

The New Testament was written in Greek. This was certainly the best language for it to be written in; it was flexible and widely understood.

But not universally understood. In the west, there were many who spoke only Latin. In the east, some spoke only the Syriac/Aramaic dialects. In Egypt the native language was Coptic. And beyond the borders of the Roman Empire there were peoples who spoke even stranger languages — Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Gothic, Slavonic.

In some areas it was the habit to read the scriptures in Greek whether people understood it or not. But eventually someone had the idea of translating the scriptures into local dialects. We now call these translations "versions." This was more of an innovation than we realize today; translations of ancient literature were rare. The Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Bible was one of the very first. Despite the lack of translations in antiquity, it is effectively certain that first Latin versions were in existence by the late second century, and that by the fourth there were also versions in Syriac and several of the Coptic dialects. Versions in Armenian and Georgian followed, and eventually many other languages.

The role of the versions in textual criticism has been much debated. Since they are not in the original language, some people discount them because there are variants they simply cannot convey. But others note, correctly, that these versions convey texts from a very early date. In many instances the text-types they represent survive very poorly or not at all in Greek.

It is true that the versions often have suffered corruption of their own in the centuries since their translation. But such variants usually are of a nature peculiar to the version, and so can be gotten around. When properly used, the versions are one of the best and leading tools of textual criticism.

This essay does not attempt to fully spell out the history and limitations of the versions. These points will briefly be touched on, but the emphasis is on the textual nature of the versions. Those who wish to learn more about the history of the versions are advised to consult a reference such as Bruce M. Metzger's T*he Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977).

In the list which follows, the versions are listed in alphabetical order.

An additional note: Of all the articles in this Encyclopedia, apart from those which touch on science and theology. this has been among the most controversial. I don't mean that people disagree with the results particularly; that happens everywhere. But this one seems to make

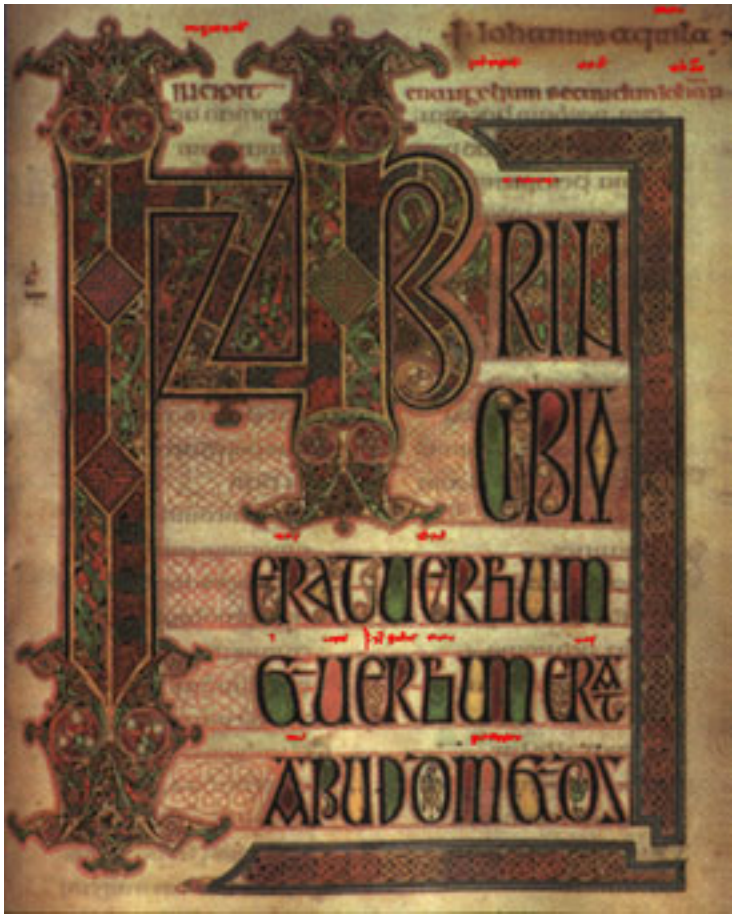
people most upset. Please note that I am not setting out to belittle any particular version, and except in textual matters, I am not expert on these versions. I will stand by the statements on the textual affinities of the more important versions (Latin, Syriac, Coptic; to a lesser extent, the Armenian, Georgian, and Gothic) insofar as they are correctly incorporated into the critical apparatus. For the history and such, I am dependent upon others. If you disagree with the information here, I will try to incorporate suggestions, but there is only so much I can do to make completely contradictory claims fit together…

Anglo-Saxon

A name used for several translations, made independently and of very different types, used in Britain mostly before the Norman Conquest and of interest more to historians than textual scholars. But since they are important for the understanding of early English literature (they give us, among other things, important vocabulary references), it seems worthwhile to at least mention them here, while understanding that what limited text-critical value they have is mostly for Vulgate criticism.

Although Roman Britain was Christian, the Anglo-Saxon invasions of the late fifth century effectively wiped out Roman Christianity. And it would be centuries before Christianity completely took control of the island, because the German invaders immediately split the island into dozens of small states, of which seven survived to become the “Seven Kingdoms of Britain”: Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, Essex, Sussex, Kent, and East Anglia. To make matters worse, all these kingdoms had slightly different dialects.

It was in 563 that Saint Columba founded the religious center on Iona, bringing Celtic Christianity back to northern Britain. In 596 Pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine to Canterbury to return southern Britain to Christ. The two Christian sects were formally reconciled at the Synod of Whitby in 664. This did not make Britain Christian (and, ironically, it did not bring Ireland into line with Catholic Christianity; that island, now known for its Catholicism, was brought back into line with the Catholic church by the Anglo-Norman invaders who arrived starting in the twelfth century during the reign of Henry II), but the way was at last clear.



The Lindisfarne Gospels (Wordsworth's Y — Latin vulgate text with interlinear glosses in the Northumbrian dialect (shown in red highlight). The Latin is from the seventh century; the interlinear is from the tenth. The decorated page containing John 1:1 is shown.

The earliest attempts at Anglo-Saxon versions probably date from this early period of conflict with paganism, but they have not survived. Nor has the translation of John made by the Venerable Bede. Alfred the Great worked at a translation, but it seems never to have been completed. All that is known to have existed is a portion of the psalms, including a detailed (though often fanciful) commentary said to have been by Alfred himself. (In this connection it may be worth noting that Asser, Alfred's biographer, at several points quotes the Bible in Old Latin rather than Vulgate forms.)

Our earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon versions date from probably the tenth century. Several of these are continuous text versions; the most famous of these is probably the Hatton Gospels, now in the Bodleian; this beautifully-written manuscript is thought to be from the eleventh century. The most common Old English translation, the so-called West Saxon version, is said to exist in half a dozen copies. Other Old English renderings are interlinear glosses to Latin manuscripts. The interlinears are in several dialects; see the notes on the Lindisfarne Gospels

and Rushworth Gospels. The earliest glosses are earlier than the surviving versions; we see Anglo-Saxon glosses in an eighth century British psalter. But, in that case, only a subset of the words are glossed.

In many ways the Anglo-Saxon was better suited to literal Bible translation than is modern English, since Anglo-Saxon is an inflected language with greater freedom of word order than modern English. Since, however, all Anglo-Saxon translations are taken from the Latin (unless Bede made some reference to the Greek), they are not generally cited for New Testament textual criticism. This is proper — though they perhaps deserve more attention for Vulgate criticism than they have received; it should be recalled that the early English copies of the Vulgate were of very high value, so the translations could well derive from valuable originals.

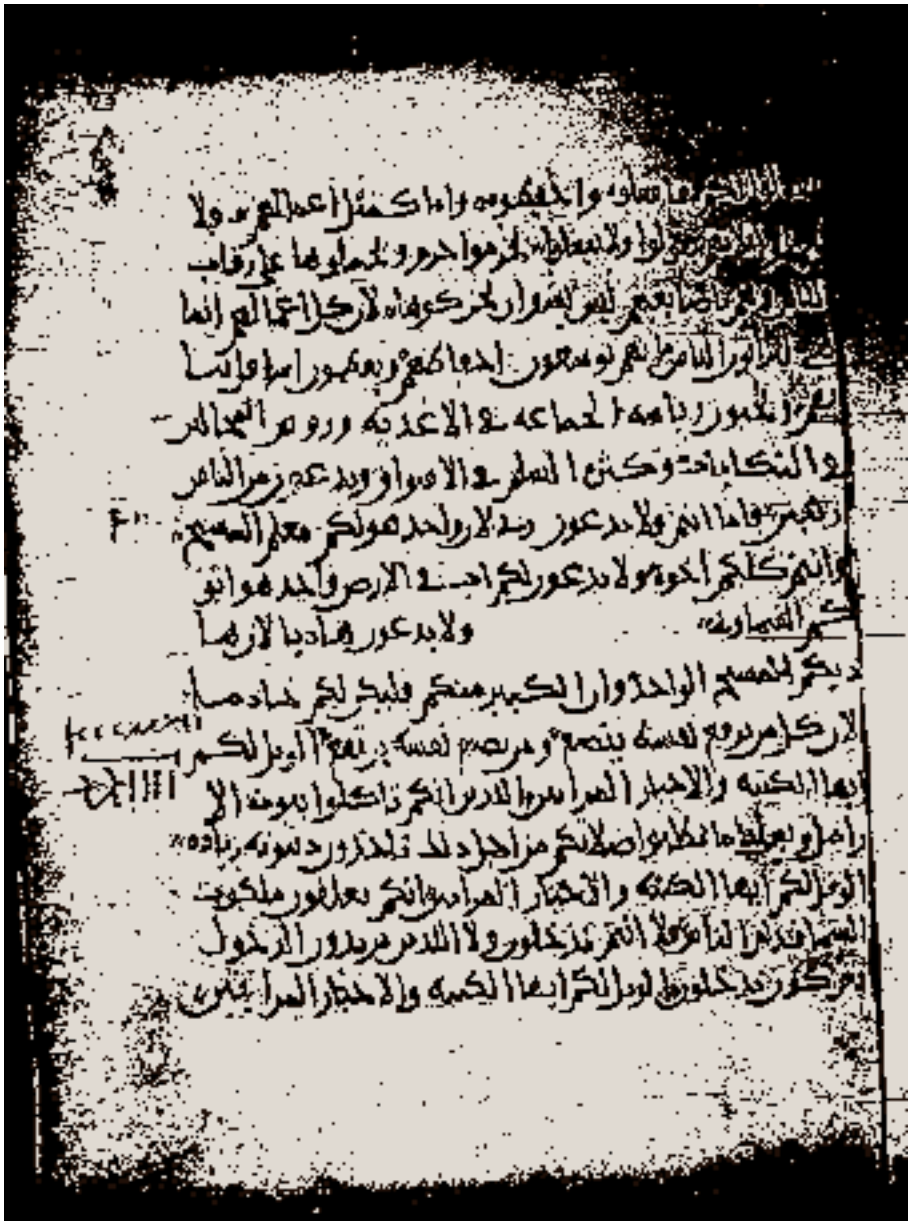
We should note that the term "Anglo-Saxon" is now frowned upon by linguists, who much prefer the term "Old English." I have yet to see this term applied to the early English translations. The name "Anglo-Saxon" seems to be used in the same sense that "Ethiopic" is used for a version that is in a language not properly called "Ethiopic": It's a geographic/historical description.

It should be remembered that Old English as a literary language effectively died with the Norman Conquest of 1066; Norman French became the language of commerce and law. Old English works, including Bibles, ceased to be copied.

Three centuries later, English again became the general language of England, and it once again became a literary language. But it had changed utterly, transformed from Old English into Middle English, with a vocabulary much influenced by French and a grammar dramatically simplified. Ordinary people of Chaucer's day could no more understand Old English than they could Greek. When John Wycliff and his followers set out to produce English vernacular Bibles, they seem to have made no reference at all to the Anglo-Saxon versions. They simply went back to the Vulgate and translated it again. (To their credit, they do seem to have tried to compare multiple Vulgate manuscripts. But there is no evidence that the manuscripts they used had any value.)

Arabic

Arabic translations of the New Testament are numerous. They are also very diverse. They are believed to have been made from, among others, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic exemplars. Other sources may be possible.



Folio 1 recto of Sinai Arabic 71 (Xth century), Matthew 23:3–15. Thanks to Jean Valentin.

Although there are hints in the records of Arabic versions made before the Islamic conquests, the earliest manuscripts seem to date from the ninth century. (It has been argued forcefully that Mohammed did not have access to an Arabic translation of the New Testament, since he seems to have had only hints of its content, perhaps tainted by Docetism. This strikes me as likely — the Quran contains a number of statements which do not accord well with the New Testament — but the secondary conclusion that no Arabic translation existed in his time does not follow.) The oldest dated manuscript of the version (Sinai arab. 151) comes from 867 C.E. The translations probably are not more than a century or two older.

Several of the translations are reported to be very free. In any case, Arabic is a Semitic language (which, like Hebrew, has a consonantal alphabet, leaving room for interpretation of vowels) and frequently cannot transmit the more subtle nuances of Greek grammar. In addition, written Arabic was largely frozen by the Quran, while the spoken language continued to evolve and develop regional differences. This makes the Arabic versions somewhat less vernacular than other translations. This would probably tend to preserve the original readings, but may result in some rather peculiar variants.

The texts of the Arabic versions have not, to this point, been adequately studied. Some seem to be purely or primarily Byzantine, but at least some are reported to contain "Cæsarean" readings. Others are said to be Alexandrian. Still others, with something of an "Old Syriac" cast, may be "Western."

Several late manuscripts preserve an Arabic Diatessaron. The text exists in two forms, but both seem to have been influenced by the Peshitta. They are generally regarded as having little value for Diatessaric studies.

It will be obvious that the Arabic versions are overdue for a careful study and classification.

Armenian

The Armenian translation of the Bible has been called "The Queen of the Versions."

The title is deserved. The Armenian is unique in that its rendering of the New Testament is clear, accurate, and literal — and at the same time stylisticly excellent. It also has an interesting underlying text.

The origin of the Armenian version is mysterious. We have some historical documents, but these may raise more questions than they solve.

The most recent summary on the subject, that of Joseph M. Alexanian, states that the initial Armenian translation (Arm 1) was made from the Old Syriac in 406–414 C.E. This was followed by a revised translation (Arm 2) made from the Greek after the Council of Ephesus in 431. He suggests that further revisions followed.

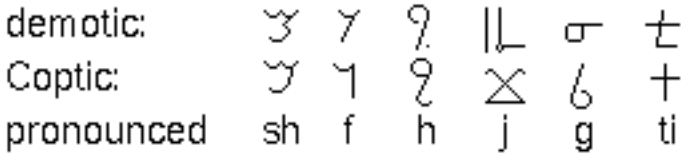
In assessing Alexanian's claims, one should keep in mind that there are no Armenian manuscripts of this era, and the patristic citations, while abundant, have not been properly studied or catalogued.

Armenia is strongly linked with Syrian Christianity. The country turned officially Christian before Constantine, in an era when the only Christian states were a few Syriac principalities such as Edessa. One would therefore expect the earliest Armenian versions to show strong signs of Syriac influence.

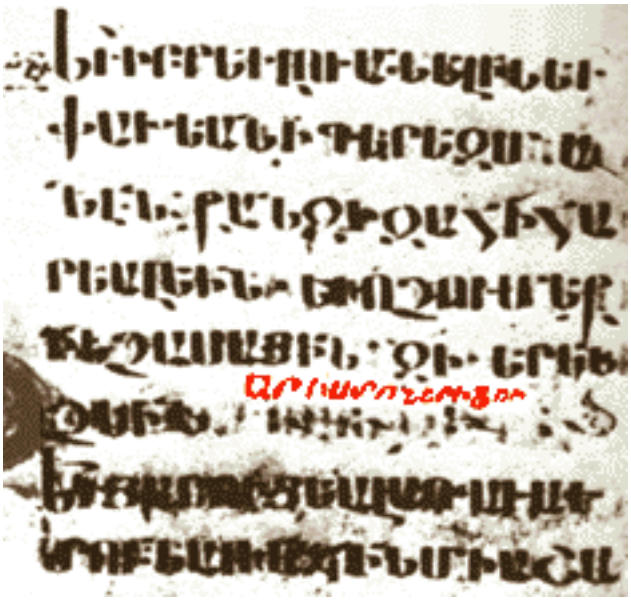
The signs of Syriac influence exist (among them, manuscripts with 3 Corinthians and without Philemon) — but so do signs of Greek influence. In addition, the text of the Armenian matches neither the extant Old Syriac nor the Peshitta. It appears to be much more closely linked with the “Cæsarean” text. In fact, the Armenian is arguably the best witness to that text.

The history of the Armenian version is closely tied in with the history of the written Armenian language. After perhaps an unsuccessful attempt by a cleric named Daniel, the Armenian alphabet is reported to have been created by Mesrop, the friend and co-worker of the Armenian church leader Sahak. The year is reported to have been 406, and the impetus for the invention is said to have been the need for a way to record the Armenian Bible. Said translation was finished in the dozen or so years after Mesrop began his work.

Despite Alexanian, the basis of the version remains in dispute. Good scholars have argued both for Syriac and for Greek. There are passages where the wording seems to argue for a Syriac original — but others that argue equally forcibly for a Greek base.



The six additional Coptic letters, showing the demotic letters from which they are derived. Adopted from W. V. Davies, "Egyptian Hieroglyphs" (p. 98 in *Reading the Past: Ancient Writings from Cuneiform to the Alphabet;* no overall author listed)



A portion of one column of the famous Armenian MS. Matenadaran 2374 (formerly Etchmiadzin 229), dated 989 C.E. Often called the Ējmiacin Gospels. Mark 16:8–9 are shown. The famous reference to the presbyter Arist(i)on is highlighted in red.

At least three explanations are possible for this. One is that the Armenian was translated from the Greek, but that the translator was intimately familiar with a Syriac rendering. An alternate proposal is that the Armenian was translated in several stages. The earliest stage was probably a translation from one or another Old Syriac versions, or perhaps from the Syriac Diatessaron. This was then revised toward the Greek, perhaps from a “Cæsarean” witness. Further revisions may have increased the number of Byzantine readings. Finally, there may

have been two separate translations (Conybeare suggests that Mesrop translated from the Greek and Sahak from the Syriac) which were eventually combined.

The Armenian "Majority Text" has been credited to Nerses of Lambron, who revised the Apocalypse, and perhaps the entire version, on the basis of the Greek in the twelfth century. This late text, however, has little value; it is noticeably more Byzantine than the early text. It is noteworthy that the longer ending of Mark does not become common in Armenian manuscripts until the thirteenth century. Fortunately, the earliest Armenian manuscripts are much older than this; a number date from the ninth century. The oldest dated manuscript comes from 887 C.E. (One manuscript claims a date of 602 C.E., but this is believed to be a forgery.)

There are a few places where the Armenian renders the Greek rather freely (usually to bring out the sense more clearly); these have been compared to the Targums, and might possibly be evidence of Syriac influence.

The link between the Armenian and the "Cæsarean" text was noticed early in the history of that type; Streeter commented on it, and even Blake (who thought the Armenian to be predominantly Byzantine) believed that it derived from a "Cæsarean" form. The existence of the "Cæsarean" text is now considered questionable, but there is no doubt that the Armenian testifies to a text which is far removed from the Byzantine, and that it contains large numbers of Alexandrian readings as well as quite a number associated with the "Western" witnesses. The earliest witnesses generally either omit "Mark 16:9–20" or have some sort of indication that it is doubtful (the manuscript shown here credits it to the presbyter Arist(i)on, though this remark is possibly from a later hand). "John 7:53–8:11" is also absent from most early copies.

In the Acts and Epistles, the Armenian continues to display a text which is not Byzantine but not purely Alexandrian either. Yet — in Paul at least — it is not "Western." Nor does it agree with family 1739, nor with H, both of which have been labelled (probably falsely) "Cæsarean." If the Armenian has any affinity in Paul at all, it is with family 2127 — a late Alexandrian group with some degree of mixture with other types. This is not really surprising, since one of the leading witnesses to the family is 256, a Greek/Armenian diglot (in fact, the Armenian text of 256 is one of the earliest witnesses to the Armenian Epistles).

Lyonnet felt that the Armenian text of the Catholic Epistles fell close to Vaticanus. In the Apocalypse, Conybeare saw an affinity to the Latin (in fact, he argued that it had been translated from the Latin and then revised — as many as five times! — from the Greek. This is probably needlessly complex, but the Latin ties are interesting. Jean Valentin offers the speculation that the Latin influence comes from the Crusades, when the Armenians and the Franks were in frequent contact and alliance.)

The primary edition of the Armenian, that of Zohrab, is based mostly on relatively recent manuscripts and is not really a critical edition (although some variant readings are found in the

margin, their support is not listed). Until a better edition of the Armenian New Testament becomes available — an urgent need, given the quality of the translation — the text of the version must be used with caution.

Coptic

The language of Egypt endured for at least 3500 years before the Islamic conquest swept it aside in favour of Arabic. During that time it naturally underwent significant evolution.

There was at one time much debate over the origin of the Egyptian language; was it Semitic or not? It seemed to have Semitic influence, but not enough to really be part of the family. This seems now to have been solved; Joseph H. Greenburg in the 1960s proposed to group most of the languages of northern Africa and the Middle East in one great "Afroasiatic" superfamily. Egyptian and the Semitiic languages were two of the families within this greater group. Thus Egyptian is related to the Semitic languages, but at a rather large distance.

Coptic is the final stage of the evolution of Egyptian (the words "Copt" and "Coptic" are much-distorted versions of the name "Aigypt[os]"). Although there is no clear linguistic divide between Late Egyptian and Coptic, there is something of a literary one: Coptic is Egyptian written in an alphabet based on the Greek. It is widely stated that the Coptic alphabet (consisting of the twenty-four Greek letters plus seven letters — give or take a few — adopted from the Demotic) was developed because the old Egyptian Demotic alphabet was too strongly associated with paganism. This is dubious; the earliest surviving documents in the Coptic alphabet appear to have been magical texts, which is hardly what we would expect from an orthography developed to combat paganism!

It is at least reasonable to suppose that the Coptic alphabet was adopted because it was an *alphabet* — the hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic styles of Egyptian are all syllabic systems with ideographic elements, making them very hard to learn. And both hieratic and demotic have other problems: Hieratic is difficult to write, and demotic, while much easier to copy, is difficult to read. And neither represents vowels accurately. Some scribe, wanting a true alphabetic script, took over the Greek alphabet, adding a few demotic symbols to supply additional sounds.

Coptic finally settled down to use the 24 Greek letters plus six or seven demotic symbols. It was some time before this standard was achieved, however; early texts often use more than these few extra signs. This clearly reveals a period of experimentation.

Coptic is not a unified language; many dialects (Akhmimic, Bohairic, Fayyumic, Middle Egyptian, Sahidic) are known. The fragmentation of Coptic is probably the result of the policies of Egypt's rulers: The Romans imposed harsh controls on travel in and out of, and presumably within, Egypt; before them, the Ptolemies has rigidly regimented their subjects' lives and travels. After a few hundred years of that, it is hardly surprising that the Egyptian language fragmented into regional forms.

New Testament translations have been found in all five of the dialects listed; in several instances there seem to have been multiple translations. The two most important dialects, however, are clearly Sahidic (the language of Upper Egypt) and Bohairic (used in the Lower Egyptian Delta). Where the other versions exist only in a handful of manuscripts, the Sahidic endures in dozens and the Bohairic in hundreds. The Bohairic remains the official version of the Coptic church to this day, although the language is essentially extinct in ordinary life.

The history of the Coptic versions has been separated into four stages by Wisse (modifying Kasser). For convenience, these stages are listed below, although I am not sure of their validity.

1. **The Pre-Classical Stage,** 250–350 C.E. First attempts at translation, which had little influence on the later versions.
2. **The Classical Sahidic and Fayyumic Stage,** 350–450 C.E. Preparation of versions for use by those who had no Greek. The Sahidic becomes the dominant version. Other versions, notably the Fayyumic, circulate but are not widespread.
3. **The Final Sahidic and Fayyumic Stage**, 450–1000 C.E. The Arab conquest reduces the role and power of the Coptic church. The Sahidic begins to decline.
4. **The Bohairic Stag**e, after 800 C.E. The Bohairic version becomes standardized and gradually achieves dominance within the Coptic church.

A more detailed study of the various versions follows.

The Sahidic Coptic

The Sahidic is probably the earliest of the translations, and also has the greatest textual value. It came into existence no later than the third century, since a copy of 1 Peter exists in a manuscript from about the end of that century. Unlike the Bohairic version, there is little

evidence of progressive revision. The manuscripts do not always agree, but they do not show the sort of process seen in the Bohairic Version.

Like all the Coptic versions, the Sahidic has an Egyptian sort of text. In the Gospels it is clearly Alexandrian, although it is sometimes considered to have "Western" variants, especially in John. (There are, in fact, occasional "Western" readings in the manuscripts, but no pattern of Western influence. Most of the so-called "Western" variants also have Alexandrian support.) As between B and א, the Sahidic is clearly closer to the former — and if anything even closer to P^{75}. It is also close to T (a close ally of P^{75}/B) — as indeed one would expect, since T is a Greek/Sahidic diglot.

In Acts, the Sahidic is again regarded as basically Alexandrian, though with some minor readings associated with the "Western" text. In the "Apostolic Decree" (Acts 15:19f., etc.) it conflates the Alexandrian and "Western" forms. (One should note, however, the existence of the codex known as Berlin P. 15926. Although its language is said to be Sahidic, its text differs very strongly from the common Sahidic version, and preserves a number of striking "Western" variants found also in the Middle Egyptian text G67.)

In Paul the situation is slightly different. Here again at first glance the Sahidic might seem Alexandrian with a "Western" tinge. On examination, however, it proves to be very strongly associated with B, and also somewhat associated with B's ally P^{46}. I have argued elsewhere that P^{46}/B form their own text-type in Paul. The Sahidic clearly goes with this type, although perhaps with some influence from the "mainstream" Alexandrian text.

In the Catholics, the Sahidic seems to have a rather generic Alexandrian text, being about equidistant from all the other witnesses. It is noteworthy that its more unusual readings are often shared with B.

The Bohairic Coptic

The Bohairic has perhaps the most complicated textual history of any of the Coptic versions. The oldest known manuscript, Papyrus Bodmer III, contains a text of the Gospel of John copied in the fourth (or perhaps fifth) century. This version is quite different from the later Coptic versions, however; the underlying text is distinct, the translation is different — and even the form of the language is not quite the same as in the later Bohairic version. For this reason it has become common to refer to this early Bohairic version as the "**proto-Bohairi**c" (*pbo*).From the same era comes a fragment of Philippians which may be a Sahidic text partly conformed to the idiom of Bohairic.

Other than these two minor manuscripts, our Bohairic texts all date from the ninth century or later. It is suspected that the common Bohairic translation was made in the seventh or eighth century.

It is quite possible that this version was revised, however; there are a number of places where the Bohairic manuscripts split into two groups. Where this happens, it is fairly common to find the older texts having a reading typical of the earlier Alexandrian witnesses while the more recent manuscripts often display a reading characteristic of more recent Alexandrian documents or of the Byzantine text. One can only suspect that these late readings were introduced by a systematic revision.

As already hinted, the text of the Bohairic Coptic is Alexandrian. Within its text-type, however, it tends to go with א rather than B. This is most notable in Paul (where, of course, א and B are most distinct). Zuntz thought that the Bohairic was a "proto-Alexandrian" witness (i.e. that it belonged with P^{46} B sa), but in fact it is one of א's closest allies here — despite hints of Sahidic influence, which are found in the other sections of the New Testament as well. One might theorize that the Bohairic was translated from the Greek (based on a manuscript with a late Alexandrian text), but with at least some Sahidic fragments used as cribs.

The Lesser Coptic Versions

The Akhmimic (Achmimic). Possibly the most fragmentary of all the versions. Fragments preserve portions of Matthew 9, Luke 12–13, 17–18, Gal. 5–6, James 5. All of these seem to be from the fourth or perhaps fifth centuries. Given their small size, very little is known of the text of the Akhmimic. Aland cites it under the symbol *ac*.

Related to the Akhmimic, and regarded as falling between it and the Middle Egyptian, is the **Sub-Akhmimic**. This exists primarily in a manuscript of John, containing portions of John 2:12–20:20 and believed to date from the fourth century. It seems to be Alexandrian, and is cited under the symbol ac^2 or ach^2.

The Fayyumic. Spelled Fayumic by some. Many manuscripts exist for the Gospels, and over a dozen for Paul, but almost all are fragmentary. Manuscripts of Acts and the Catholic Epistles are rare; the Apocalypse seems to be entirely lost (if, indeed, it was ever translated). Manuscripts date from about the fifth to the ninth centuries. There is also a fragment of John, from perhaps the early fourth century, which Kahle called Middle Egyptian but Husselman called Fayyumic. This mixed text is now designated the "**Middle Egyptian Fayyumic"** (*mf*) by Aland. (The Fayyumic is not cited in NA^{27}; the abbreviation *fay* is used in UBS^4.)

Given the fragmentary state of the Fayyumic, its text has not been given much attention. In Acts it is reported to be dependent on the Bohairic, and hence to be Alexandrian. Kahle found that an early manuscript which contained both the long and short endings of Mark.

The **Middle Egyptian**. The Middle Egyptian Coptic is represented primarily by three manuscripts — one of Matthew (complete; fourth/fifth century), one of Acts (1:1–15:3; fourth century), and one of Paul (54 leaves of about 150 in the original; fifth century). The Acts

manuscript, commonly cited as cop^{G67}, is perhaps the most notable, as it agrees frequently with the "Western" witnesses, including some of the more extravagant variants of the type. The Middle Egyptian is cited by Aland under the symbol *mae*; UBS^4 uses *meg*.

Ethiopic

Although the origins of many of the versions are obscure, few are as obscure as those of the Ethiopic. The legend that Christianity was carried to the land south of Egypt by the eunuch of Acts 8:26f. can be easily dismissed. So can accounts that one of the apostles worked there. Even if one or more of these stories were true, they would not explain the existence of the Ethiopic version — for the good and simple reason that the New Testament hadn't even been written at the time of the Ethiopian's conversion in Acts.

Even the name of the version is questionable; the correct name for the official language of Ethiopia is Amharic, and the manuscripts of the "Ethiopic" version are sometimes said to be in an old form of this language. (There are actually printed Bibles in Ethiopia which put an "old Ethiopic" text in parallel with a modern Amharic version.)

Supposedly Ethiopic, the language of the Ethiopic New Testament, had ceased to be spoken by the tenth century C.E. but continued as a written language until around 1900 — rather as Akkadian continued to be used as a diplomatic language in the Middle East long after it ceased to be used in ordinary life. It is said to be a Semitic language, perhaps from Arabia. The modern Tigrinya language is said to be descended from Ethiopic. The confusion may arise because Amharic is also a Semitic language, so it is clearly related to, but perhaps not derived from, Ethiopic. And Amharic is written using the Ethiopic syllabary.

A legend told by Rufinus has it that Christianity reached Ethiopia to stay in the fourth century. Although this is beyond verification, there are indications that Christianity did indeed reach the country at that time.

Unlike many of the languages into which the Bible was translated, Ethiopia already had developed writing at the time Christianity reached the country (the alphabet resembles the Semitic in that it uses letters for consonants and lesser symbols for vowels; however, the letter forms diverge widely from the Phoenician, and the language reads from left to right. It has been theorized that the Ethiopic alphabet is actually derived from the Old Hebrew alphabet, abandoned by the Jews themselves in the post-Exilic period. The modern "Hebrew" alphabet is actually Aramaic. Ethiopic, however, added vowel symbols at a very early date — not as extra letters but as tags attached to letters — in effect, a syllabary. This is further evidence of Semitic origin — and, probably, of the absence of Greek influence).

Because written Ethiopic predates the New Testament, we cannot date the version based on the dates of the earliest written documents. Nor are the dates of the earliest manuscripts much

help, since all Ethiopic manuscripts are of the eleventh century or later and the vast majority are of the fourteenth century or later. Nor did printing immediately affect the version; manuscripts continued to be copied into the seventeenth century and even beyond. Perhaps the most common theory is that the version dates from about the fifth century, when Christianity probably became widespread in Ethiopia, though some have proposed dates as late as the seventh century. Indeed, Kenyon mentions a hypothesis that at least some manuscripts are a late translation from the Bohairic, though this seems to command very little support.

It is not clear what language formed the translation base for the Ethiopic version, although Greek and Coptic are the leading candidates (the Apocalypse, in particular, contains a number of transliterations from Greek). It is possible that both were used in different books. Syriac and Arabic have also been mentioned (the version bears significant orthographic similarities to those languages), and revisions based on the latter cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, Ethiopic is not Indo-European, so many of the noteworthy features of Greek (e.g. noun declensions, word order, and many verb forms) cannot be rendered. Hints of Syriac or Arabic influence on the version may simply be because Ethiopic is closer to those languages. The problem is not simplified by the fact that the language is not well-known to scholars and the version has not been properly edited. In addition, it appears likely that different translators worked on different books (since the style ranges from the free to the stiltedly literal); it is possible that different base texts were used. It is worth noting that the Ethiopic Bible includes several works not normally considered canonical in both the Old and New Testaments.

Based on the available information, it would appear that the Ethiopic has an Alexandrian text — but an uncontrolled text, with very primitive Alexandrian readings alternating with primarily Byzantine readings and some variants that are simply wild. Zuurmond calls it “Early Byzantine” in the Gospels, and also notes an “extreme tendency toward harmonizations.” Hoskier noted that Eth had a number of unusual agreements with P^{46} in Paul, but undertook no detailed study. It may be that the Ethiopic is based on the sort of free text that seems to have prevailed in Egypt in the early years of Christianity: Basically similar to the Alexandrian text, with a number of very primitive readings (the latter often rather rough), but with some wild readings, others characteristic of the later text, and a number of readings that resulted simply from scribal inattentiveness. The lack of a detailed study prevents us from saying more.

Georgian

Although we know little about the origins of most early New Testament translation, if any version is most notable for our ignorance about its origin, it is the Georgian. The language is difficult and not widely know (it is neither Indo-European nor Semitic; the alphabet, known as Mkhedruli, is used only for this language. Georgian is the only language of the Kartvelian

group to have a written form), the country small, and the history of the translation is obscure. Whatever its origins, however, the version is of great textual significance.

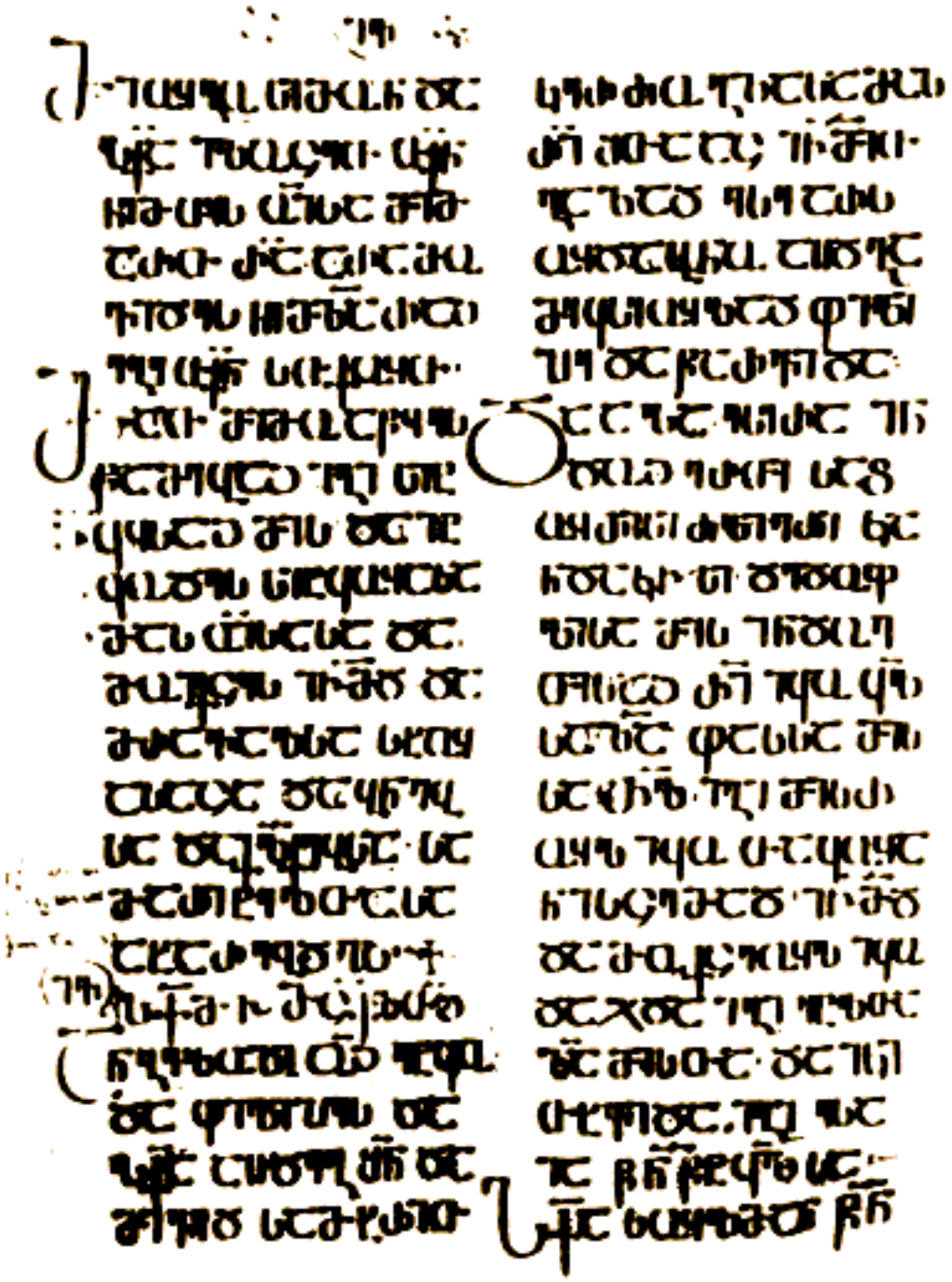
Please note that many programs have no facilities even for transliterated Georgian; I've done my best with the technical terms, but you really need to visit a specialized site to see the correct forms of the letters.

Legend has it that the evangelist of the Georgians, a woman named Nino, came to Georgia as a slave during the reign of the Roman Emperor Constantine. Another legend has it that the Georgian alphabet was invented by Saint Mesrop some time after he had created the written form of Armenian.

Both of these legends may be questioned — the former on historical grounds, the latter on the basis of its simple improbability. It is by no means certain that the Georgian alphabet was invented to receive a Biblical translation (if it had been, why is it so different from other alphabets?); the Georgian alphabet may well be older than the fifth century.

Given our ignorance of the history of Christianity in Georgia, we can only speculate about the history of the version. The latest possible date would appear to be the sixth century, since our earliest manuscripts (the "ḫan-met'i fragments") are dated linguistically to that era, or perhaps even to the fifth century. The most likely date for the version is therefore the fifth century. This is supported by an account of the life of St. Shushanik, dated to the fifth century and containing many allusions to the Biblical text.

By its nature it is difficult for Georgian to express many features of Greek syntax. This makes it difficult to determine the linguistic source of the version. (Nor does it help that the language itself has evolved; the translation started in Old Georgian, but New Georgian came into existence from the twelfth century, and later manuscripts will have been influenced by the new dialect.) Greek, Armenian, and Syriac have all been proposed — in some instances even by the same scholar! It seems clear that the version was at some time in its history revised toward the Greek — but since manuscripts of the unrevised text are at once rather few and divergent, we probably cannot reach a certain conclusion regarding the source at this time. The current opinion seems to be that, except in the Apocalypse (clearly taken from the Greek), the base text — what we might call the "Old Georgian," and now found primarily in geo[1] and some of the fragments — was Armenian, and that it was progressively modified by comparison with the Greek text.



Sinai Georgian 31, dated 877, folio 54 verso, Acts 8:24–29. Thanks to Jean Valentin

The earliest Georgian manuscripts are the already alluded to ḫan-met'i fragments of the sixth and seventh centuries, followed by the hae-met'i fragments of the next century. (The names derive from linguistic features of the Georgian which were falling into disuetitude.) These

fragments are, unfortunately, so slight that (with the exception listed below) they are of little use in reconstructing the text (some 45 manuscripts contain, between them, fragments of the Gospels, Romans, and Galatians only). Recently a new ḫan-met'i palimpsest was discovered and published, containing large portions of the Gospels, but the details of its text are not yet known; it appears broadly to go with the Adysh manuscript (geo^{1}).

With the ninth century, fortunately, we begin to possess fuller manuscripts, of good textual quality, from which we may attempt to reconstruct the "Old Georgian" text. Many of these manuscripts, happily, are dated.

The earliest substantially complete Georgian text is the Adysh manuscript, a copy of the Gospels dating from 897 C.E. It appears to have the most primitive of all Georgian translations, and is commonly designated geo^{1}.

From the next century come the Opiza Gospels (913), the Džruč Gospels (936), the Parḫal Gospels (973), the Tbet' Gospels (995), the Athos Praxapostolos (between 959 and 969), and the Kranim Apocalypse (978), as well as assorted not-so-well-known texts. Several of these manuscripts combine to represent a second stage of the Georgian version, designated geo^{2}. When cited separately, the Opiza gospels are geo^{A}, the Tbet' gospels are geo^{B}. (The Parḫal Gospels are sometimes cited as geo^{C,} but this is not as common.)

Starting in the tenth century, the Georgian version was revised, most notably by Saint Euthymius of Athos (died 1028). Unfortunately, the resulting version, while perhaps improved in form and literary merit, is less interesting textually; the changes are generally in conformity with the Byzantine text.

The text of the Georgian version, in the Gospels, is clearly "Cæsarean" (assuming, of course, that text-type exists). Indeed, the Georgian appears to be, along with the Armenian, the purest surviving monument of that text-type. Both geo^{1} and geo^{2} preserve many readings of the type, though not always the same readings. Blake thought that geo^{1} affiliated with Θ 565 700 and geo^{2} with families 1 and 13.

In Acts, Birdsall links the Old Georgian to the later forms of the Alexandrian text found in minuscules such as 81 and 1175. In Paul, he notes a connection with P^{46}, although this exists in scattered readings rather than as an overall affinity. In the Apocalypse, the text is that of the Andreas commentary.

Gothic

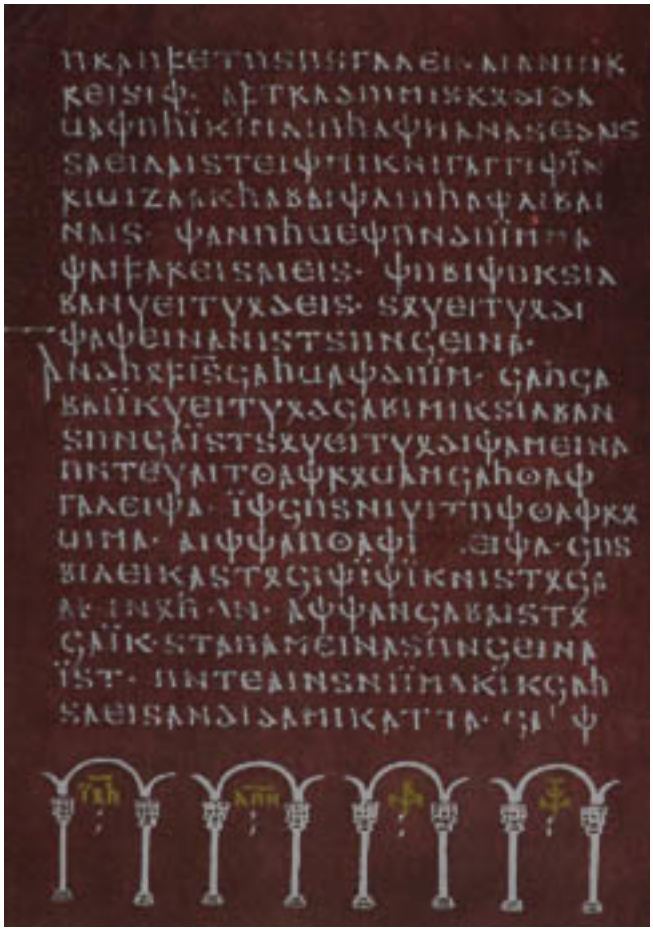
Of all the versions regularly cited in critical apparatus, the Gothic is probably the least known. This is not because it is ignored. It is because it has almost ceased to exist.

The Gothic New Testament was apparently entirely the work of Ulfilas (Wulfilas), the Apostle to the Goths. Appointed Bishop to the Goths around 341, he spent the next forty years evangelizing and making the gospel available to his people. In the process he created the Gothic alphabet. The picture shows that it was based on Greek and Latin models, but also included some symbols from the Gothic runic alphabets.

The Gothic version includes both Old and New Testaments. The tradition is that Ulfilas translated it all, from the Greek, reportedly excepting the book of Kings, because it was too militant for his flock. This seems to be based on legends perpetuated by Auxentius and Socrates, however; Wright declares that the part about Ulfilas not translating "the four books of Kings" (i.e. 1 Samuel–2 Kings) because they are too warlike makes no sense; Joshua and Judges are even more warlike. Wright's suggestion, following Bradley, is that Ulfilas translated the books in the order he felt most important, and that Kings was last on his list. In any case, some of the Old Testament books seem to be translated in a style distinct from the New Testament, so there were likely multiple translators.

This may not matter much, especially for our purposes, since only fragments of the New Testament survive. (At that, they are the almost only literary remains of Gothic, a language which is long since dead.)

The gospels are preserved primarily in the Codex Argenteus of the sixth century. (A curious manuscript in many ways; it has been conjectured, e.g., that the letters, rather than being written with a pen, were engraved or perhaps painted.) Even this manuscript has lost nearly half its pages (177 survive, out of about 330 in the original), but enough have survived to tell us that the books are in the "Western" order (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), and that the manuscript included Mark 16:9–20 but omitted John 7:53–8:11. The image of the manuscript below demonstrates this; the page contains John 7:52, 8:12–17.



Other than the Argenteus, all that has come to light of the gospels are a small portion of Matthew (parts of chapters 25–27) from a palimpsest and a few fragmentary verses of the Luke on a Gothic/Latin leaf destroyed during the Second World War. There is also a scrap of a commentary on John, from which Wright managed to produce a text of most of John 12, all of 14–15, and 17. Among the interesting readings in those chapters, Wright credits it with reading "Judas son of Simon Iscariot" in 12:4. He includes 12:8 (omitted by D). It has the longer reading with "you know the way" in 14:4.

According to Metzger, nothing has survived of the Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse. Of Paul there are several manuscripts, all fragmentary and all palimpsest. The only book for which we can assemble a complete text is 2 Corinthians (though the fragments of Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 1 and 2 Timothy are very substantial), and Hebrews is entirely lacking. (It has been speculated that Ulfilas, for theological or other reasons, did not translate Hebrews, but Vincent Broman informs me that Gothic Hebrews has been quoted in a commentary.) Broman also tells me that the Old Testament is almost all lost, though there is a fragment of Nehemiah large enough to indicate a Lucianic ancestor. We have a few other

scraps as well, e.g. of Ezra. These are from a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at the Vatican.

Ulfilas's version is considered literal (critics have called it "severely" literal, preserving Greek word order whether it fits Gothic or not). It is very careful in translation, striving to always use the same Gothic word for each Greek word. Even so, Gothic is a Germanic language, and so cannot distinguish many variations in the Greek (e.g. of verb tense; some word order variations are also impermissible). It is also possible, though by no means certain, that Ulfilas (who was an Arian preaching to Arians) allowed some slight theological bias to creep into his translation.

In the Gospels, the basic run of the text is very strongly Byzantine, although von Soden was not able to determine what subgroup it belongs with. Burkitt found a number of readings which the Gothic shared with the Old Latin f (10), though scholars are not agreed on the significance of this. Some believe that the Old Latin influenced the Gothic; others believe the influence went the other way. Our best hint may come from Paul. Here the Gothic is again Byzantine, but less so, and it has a number of striking agreements with the "Western" witnesses. It has been theorized that Ulfilas worked with a Byzantine Greek text, but also made reference to an Old Latin version. Presumably this version was either more "Western" in the Epistles, or (perhaps more likely) Ulfilas made more reference to it there.

It is much to be regretted that the Gothic has not been better preserved. While the Gospels text is not particularly useful, a complete copy of the Epistles might prove most informative. And it is, along with the Peshitta, one of the earliest Byzantine witnesses; it might provide interesting insights into the Byzantine text.

The handful of survivals are also of keen interest to linguists, as the Gothic is the earliest known member of the Germanic family of languages, predating the earliest Old English texts by a couple of centuries; it is also of significance as the only attested East Germanic language (the Germanic group is thought to have three families: The West Germanic, which includes all languages now called "German," plus English, Dutch, Frisian, and Yiddish; the North Germanic, which gave rise to Icelandic, Faroese, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian, which are still mostly mutually intelligible and amount to hardly more than a single source; and the East Germanic, which consists solely of Gothic). Thus the Gothic is very important in reconstructing proto-Germanic — and, indeed, Indo-European.

Personally, I am surprised there aren't more Gothic scholars among textual critics. Based on the samples in Joseph Wright's *Grammar of the Gothic Language* (which contains a complete copy of Mark in Gothic, with a Greek parallel of several chapters, plus 2 Timothy and some other selections), Gothic appears quite easy for a modern English speaker to learn, especially one who has some Greek.

The alphabet is a modified Greek alphabet with a runic sort of look; the table below approximates it in unicode:

Gothic	𐌰	𐌱	𐌲	𐌳	𐌴	𐌵	𐌶	𐌷	𐌸	𐌹	𐌺	𐌻	𐌼	𐌽	𐌾	𐌿	𐍀	𐍁	𐍂	𐍃	𐍄	𐍅	𐍆	𐍇	𐍈
phonetic	a	b	g	d	e	q	z	h	þ	i	k	l	m	n	j	u	p	r	s	t	w	f	χ	hʊ	o

To demonstrate the point about the ease of understanding Gothic, once you can read the text, consider, e.g., the first two verses of Mark in phonetic form:

(1) Anastōdeins aíwaggēljōns Iēsuis Xristáus sunáus guþs. (2) Swē gamēliþs ist in Ēsaïsin praúfētáu: sái, ik insandja aggilu mainana faúra þus, saei gamanweiþ wig þeinana faúra þus.

Latin

Bonifatius Fischer's Vetus Latina Institute, now more than a half a century old, has done tremendous work on both the Old Latin and Vulgate translations of the Bible. Their publications have made a vast amount of data available. But, ironically, they have not produced a good general introduction to the Latin versions. What follows cannot substitute for that, especially since I do not have access to all the VLI publications. But it attempts to give a general overview.

Of all the versions, none has as complicated a history as the Latin. There are many reasons for this, the foremost being its widespread use. The Latin Vulgate was, for millennia, the Bible of the western church, and after the fall of Constantinople it was the preeminent Bible of Christendom. There are at least eight thousand Latin Bible manuscripts known — or at least two thousand more Latin than Greek manuscripts.

The first reference to what appears to be a Latin version dates from 180 C.E. In the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs,* one of the men on trial admits to having writings of Paul in his possession. Given the background, it is presumed that these were in a Latin version.

But *which* Latin version? That is indeed the problem — for, in the period before the Vulgate, there were dozens, perhaps hundreds. Jerome, in his preface to the Vulgate gospels, commented that there were "as many [translations] as there are manuscripts" ("Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus. Tot enim exemplaria pene quot codices" is the text as found in Codex Amiatinus). Augustine complained that anyone who had the slightest hint of Greek and Latin might undertake a translation, and that the versions were countless ("Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas"; "Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretrari"). They seem to have been right; of our dozens of non-Vulgate Latin manuscripts, no two seem to represent exactly the same translation.

An Old Latin manuscript, Codex Sarzensis (j), on purple parchment, much damaged by the gold ink used to write it. Shown in exaggerated color

The Old Latin

Modern scholars have christened these pre-Vulgate translations, which generally originated in the second through fourth centuries, the “Old Latin.” (These versions are sometimes called the “Itala,” but this term is quite properly going out of use. It arose from a statement of Augustine’s that the Itala was the best of the Latin versions — but we no longer know what this statement means or which version(s) it refers to.)

The Old Latin gospels generally, although by no means universally, have the books in the “Western” order (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark) — an order found also in D and W but otherwise very rare among Greek manuscripts.

The Old Latins translations are traditionally broken up into three classes, the African, the European, and the Italian. Even these terms can be misleading, however, as there is no clear dividing line between the European and the Italian; the Italian generally refers to European texts of a more polished type — and in any case these are *groups* of translations, not individual translations.

The oldest of the types is probably the African; at least, its renderings are the crudest, and Africa was the part of the Roman Empire which had the smallest Greek population and so had the greatest difficulty with a Greek Bible. In the first century, Greek was as common in Rome as was Latin; it was not until several centuries later (as the Empire became more and more divided and Greek-speaking slaves became rarer) that Italy and the west felt the need for a Latin version. Eventually the demand became so great that Pope Damasus authorized the Vulgate.

Traditionally the Old Latin witnesses were designated by a single Roman letter (e.g. a, b, e, k). As Roman letters ran out, longer names (aur) or superscripts (g^1) came into use. The Beuron Latin Institute has now officially numbered the Old Latin witnesses (of which about ninety are now known), but the old letter designations are still generally used to prevent confusion with the Greek minuscules.

The tables below show, section by section, the Old Latin witnesses available to the modern scholar. In general only those witnesses found in the NA^{27} or UBS^4 editions are listed, although a handful of others (often Old Latin/Vulgate mixes) have been cataloged. Observant users will observe that this list omits some "Old Latin" witnesses cited in UBS^4. Examples include ar c dem in Acts. The reason is that these are actually Vulgate witnesses with occasional Old Latin readings; they will be discussed under the Vulgate.

In the lists below, I offer a summary of the information on each version (the common symbol used for it, its Beuron number, its date, its common name, and its contents), followed by a more detailed description.

Old Latin Witnesses — Gospels

Symbol	Beuron #	Date	Name	Contents
a	3	IV	Vercellensis	e#

	Seems to be an early form of the European Latin. Closest to b ff^2, but perhaps with some slightly older readings. Deluxe manuscript (silver and gold ink on purple parchment), reputed to have been written by Saint Eusebius, Bishop pf Vercelli (martyred 370/1). It has been so venerated as a relic that certain passages have been rendered unreadable by worshippers' kisses. Contains Mark 16:9–20, but on interpolated leaves; C.H. Turner believes the original did not contain these verses. Text is regarded as similar to n in the Synoptic Gospels.			
a^2	16	V	Curiensis	Lk 11#, 13#
	cf. n, o (both also #16)			
aur	15	VII	Aureus	e#
	Primarily Vulgate but with many Old Latin readings. Hopkins-James thinks that the text he calls the "Celtic Gospels" consists of an Old Latin base corrected toward the Vulgate. If so, Aureus probably represents a step along the way. Incidentally, combining references from several sources, it appears that this is the oldest surviving parchment manuscript with a separate title page (there seem to have been no others until shortly before the invention of printing). Textually, this manuscript is only moderately interesting (except, perhaps, for students of the Bible in the British Isles), but it is unfortunate that there is no modern full-color edition; it must be seen to be believed (for a good photo, see Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* Phaedon, 1997, pp. 26–27; a not-quite-so-good photo is in Michelle P. Brown, *In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000,* pp. 186–187). To say that it is written in gold is almost an understatement. There are other manuscripts with writing in gold ink, but in Aureus, the letters on the decorated pages are done with gold leaf. These are enclosed in elaborate scrolls and swirls with obvious Celtic influence. The quality of the paintings is also high. Many pages, including the beginning sheets, are on purple parchment. The volume is very large — original size estimated at 400x600 millimeters, or 16x24 inches. It must have been one of the most expensive gospel books ever written. It certainly had a complicated history! It was probably written in the British Isles — perhaps even at Canterbury. The date was probaby in the eighth century. In the ninth century, it was captured during a raid by the Vikings. A long marginal note in Old English says that it was ransomed by Earl Alfred of Kent and his wife Werburgh and presented to Canterbury some time in the late ninth century. (It begins [doing the best I can to reproduce the script via unicode] "In nomine dṅi nṙi iḣv xṙi, Ic Aelfred aldormon 7rēburɡ minɡƀfera beɡƀtan ðaɩ́ bƀc" i.e. *In nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, [ond] Wērburgh min gefēra thas bēc…)* It somehow managed to migrate from there to Spain, where it was bought in 1690 and taken to Scandinavia by Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeldt; it is now in Stockholm.			

b	4	V	Veronensis	e#
	Purple codex with silver and some gold ink. Originally contained 418 leaves; 393 remain, some of which have decayed to the point of illegibility. Said to have a text quite close to that found in Novatian, it is widely regarded as one of the very best European witnesses; almost all other witnesses of the type agree with b more than with each other. A few passages have been conformed to the Vulgate, in writing so like the original that the alterations were not noticed for many centuries.			
β	26	VII	Carinthianus	Lk 1–2#
c	6	XII/XIII	Colbertinus	e(apcr)
	Late and vulgate influenced, but apparently with some African readings (although European readings dominate; it is much closer to b ff^2 than to k). The pre-vulgate readings are most common in Mark and Luke. The rest of the NT, which comes from another source, is Vulgate with scattered Old Latin readings.			
d	5	V/ VI	Bezae	e#a#c#
	Latin side of Codex Bezae, and almost as controversial as the Greek. It is probably based on an independent Latin version, since D and d disagree at some few points. However, they agree the vast majority of the time, even in places where they have no other Latin support. It is effectively certain that the two texts have been modified to agree more closely. The great question is, *which* has been modified, and to what extent? There is no universally accepted answer.			
δ	27	IX	Sangallensis	e#
	Latin interlinear of Δ, with no real value of its own.			
e	2	V	Palatinus	e#
	After k, the most important witness to the African Latin. (Unfortunately, the two overlap only very slightly, so it is hard to compare their texts.) Purple codex. The text is said to be close to W in the early chapters of Mark where W is “Western.”			
f	10	VI	Brixianus	e#
	Purple codex, and surprisingly well-preserved. The writing is said to have been originally done in ink and silvered over; possibly this helped to keep the silver from tarnishing too badly. The letters B and V are frequently interchanged; we also see some interchange of O and V (U), and of T and D. The text seems to fall somewhere between the (European) Old Latin and the vulgate, and it has been conjectured that it was the sort of manuscript Jerome made his revision from. However, it has links to the Gothic (it has been conjectured that it was taken from the Latin side of a Gothic-Latin diglot), which make this less likely. It is distinctly more Byzantine and less “Western” than the average Old Latin. It is considered to be an Italian text. It has an interesting comment, in the preface, that readers should follow the sense of the text and not the exact wording, as if the scribe expected to make errors.			

ff^{1}	9	VIII	Corbiensis	Mt
	Vulgate with some Old Latin readings.			
ff^{2}	8	V	Corbiensis	e#
	European Latin, probably the best text of the type after b.			
g^{1}	7	VIII/IX	Sangermanensis	Mt(NT)
	Old Latin in Matthew; rest is Vulgate (see Vulgate G)			
h	12	V	Claromontanus	Mt#(e)
	Old Latin in Matthew; rest is Vulgate.			
i	17	V/VI	Vindobonensis	Mk#Lk#
	Purple codex.			
j	22	VI	Sarzanensis	(Lk#)Jo#
	Purple codex. Text is described as “peculiar and valuable.”			
k	1	IV/ V	Bobiensis	Mt#Mk#
	Best codex of the African Latin, unfortunately only about half complete even for the books it contains (it now consist of portions of Matt. 1:1–15:36 plus Mark 8:8–end). Noteworthy for containing only the short ending of Mark (without the long ending); it is the only known manuscript to have this form. Written in a good hand by a careless scribe — quite possibly a non-Christian. The text seems to resemble Cyprian.			
l	11	VIII	Rehdigeranus	e#
	”Mixed text.”			
λ	-	VIII/ IX		Lk 16–17#
μ	35	VIII?	Mull	e

	Although Nestle/Aland uses μ for the Codex Monacensis (see below), the letter is more often used for the Book of Mulling (or Moling), Trinity College (Dublin) A.1.15 (codex 60). This is named after the scribe who copied the Gospel of John (and perhaps the rest of the book), whose name was Mulling. This may well be the saint who founded the monastery where it was copied. The text is vulgate-like but with many Old Latin readings; presumably it is the result of comparison between a Vulgate and Old Latin witness, although it is not clear which was the primary text. Hopkins-James thinks it similar to Codex Lichfeldensis (L of the vulgate). It is in a small format, for portable use rather than reading in services. The handwriting is Irish, similar to Dublinensis (a^{Paul}, $D^{vulgate)}$, and it is illustrated in an Irish style. The codex has been mutilated — there were presumably originally four portraits of the Evangelists, but only three survive, and they have been cut out and grouped together at the end. In addition, the text is much damaged by damp, and large parts are now illegible. Scrivener/Miller, p. 78, says that it is quite similar to the Mac Durnan Gospels. When cited for the vulgate, it often goes under the symbol "mull," and is sometimes called Codex Mull. The binding contained a few scraps of another gospel codex, which does not seem to have been particularly interesting.			
μ	-	V	Monacensis	Mt 9–10#
	The symbol μ is used in Nestle/Aland for this fragment of Matthew, although many other editors use it for the Codex Mull (described above)			
n	16	V	Sangallensis	Mt#Mk#Jo#
	Cf. a^2, o (both also #16)			
o	16	VII	Sangallensis	Mk#
	Mark 16:14–20. Cf. a^2, n (both also #16).			
p	20	VIII	Sangallensis	Jo 11#
π	18	VII	Stuttgartensis	Mt#Lk#Jo#
ϕ	-	V		
q	13	VI/VII	Monacensis	e#
	Considered to have an Italian text, though perhaps with a slightly different textual base than others of that type. Written in a clumsy hand by a scribe named Valerianus.			
r^1	14	late VI or VII	Usserianus	e#
	Trinity College, Dublin, MN. A.4.15. Although named after Archbishop Ussher (Usserianus I), it is unlikely he ever owned it. Gospels in the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. The script is Irish (one of the earliest examples of Latin in an Irish hand), but very minimally illustrated; it has been suggested that the Irish style of illustration had not yet developed. In addition to the lacunae, the remaining leaves are much discoloured and damaged.			

ρ	24	VII/VIII	Ambrosianus	Jo 13#
s	21	VI/VII	Ambrosianus	Lk 17–21#
t	19	V/VI	Bernensia	Mk 1–3#
v	25	VII	Vindobonensis	Jo 19–20#

Old Latin Witnesses — Acts

Symbol	Beuron #	Date	Name	Contents
d	5	V/VI	Bezae	e#a#c#
	Latin side of Bezae (D). See comments in the section on the Gospels.			
e	50	VI	Laudianus	a#
	Latin side of Laudianus (E). The base text is considered to be European, but there is also assimilation to the parallel Greek.			
g	Symbol used in some editions for gig.			
gig	51	XIII	Gigas	(e)a(pc)r
	An immense codex containing the Bible and a number of other works. Its text in Acts is reminiscent of that of Lucifer of Cagliari, but experts cannot agree whether it belongs with the African or European Latin.			
h	55	V	Floriacensis	a#c#r#
	Fleury palimpsest. The translation is loose and the copy careless, but the text is very close to that used by Cyprian (African).			
l	67	VII	Legionensis	a#c#
	Palimpsest; text is vulgate with some sections of Old Latin readings (Acts 8:27–11:13, 15:6–12, 26–38). Said to be close to the Liber Comicus (t)			
(m)	-	IV?	(Speculum)	eapcr
	See Speculum under Fathers			
p	54	XII	Perpinianus	a
	Old Latin in 1:1–13:6, 28:16–end. The text is said to be similar to the fourth century writer Gregory of Elvira, and is thought to have been written in northern Spain or southern France.			
ph	63	XII		a
	Acts with “other material.”			
r	57	VII/VIII	Schlettstadtensis	a#
	Lectionary			
ro	62	X	Rodensis	(e)a(pcr)
	Vulgate text with Old Latin readings in both text and margin in Acts.			
s	53	VI	Bobiensis	a#
	Palimpsest			
sa	60	XIII	Boverianus	a#: Acts 1:15-26
sin	74	X		a#r#
t		VII+	Liber Comicus	a#p#c#r# (Lectionary)
w	58	XIV/XV	Wernigerodensis	(e)a(p)c(r)
	Vulgate with Old Latin readings in Acts & Catholics.			

Old Latin Witnesses — Paul

Note: Scholars generally do not distinguish between African, European, and Italian texts in Paul (although I have seen r called both African and Italian). The reason seems to be that we have no unequivocally African texts.

Symbol	Beuron #	Date	Name	Contents
a	61	IX	Dublinensis (Book of Armagh)	(ea)p#(c)r
	Dublin, Trinity College MS. 52. Perhaps the most important (although not the most famous) manuscript in that library. General run of the text is vulgate text with many Old Latin readings, but Paul (vac. 1 Cor. 14:36–39) and the Apocalypse are Old Latin with some Vulgate influence. It includes the Epistle to the Laodiceans. See D of the Vulgate for full information on the history and style of this noteworthy manuscript.			
b	89	VIII/IX		p
	Close to d, and possibly the best Latin witness available in Paul. Most other "Western" witnesses are closer to b d than to each other.			
comp	109			p
d	75	VI	Claromontanus	p#
	Latin side of D. Unlike most bilinguals, the Latin and the Greek do not appear to have been conformed to each other; d seems to fall closest to b.			
f	78	IX	Augiensis	p#
	Latin side of F. Mixed Vulgate and Old Latin (Hebrews is purely Vulgate), possibly with some assimilation to the Greek text.			
g	77	IX	Boernianus	p#
	Latin interlinear of G. Rarely departs from the Greek text except where it offers alternate renderings.			
gue	79	VI	Guelferbytanus	Rom#
	Palimpsest, from the same manuscript as Pe Q. Contains Rom. 11:33–12:5, 12:17–13:1, 14:9–20. Merk's w.			
(m)	-	IV?	(Speculum)	eapcr
	See Speculum under Fathers. Not to be confused with m/mon (below)			
m	86	X		p#
	The appendix of NA[27] lists this as mon (the latter symbol is used in UBS), but cites it in the text as m. Not to be confused with the Codex Speculum, often cited as m. The text is said to be similar to that of Ambrose; it is noteworthy for placing the doxology of Romans after chapter 14 (so also gue; neither ms. exists for Romans 16).			
mon	Symbol used for m in UBS[4].			

μ	82	IX	Monacensis	Heb 7:8–26, 10:23–39
p	80	VII	Heidelbergensia	Rom 5–6#
r	64	VI, VII	Frisingensia	p#
	Assorted small fragments, sometimes denoted r^1, r^2, r^3. They do not come from the same manuscript, but seem to have similar texts. They have a much more Alexandrian cast than the other Old Latins, and are said to agree with Augustine. Same as q/r of the Catholics.			
ρ	88	X		2Co#
s	87	VIII		p# (Lectionary fragments)
t		VII+	Liber Comicus	a#p#c#r# (Lectionary)
v	81	VIII/IX	Veronensis	Heb#
w	Symbol used in some editions for gue.			
z	65	VIII	Harleianus	(Heb#)
	Vulgate Bible (same codex as Z/harl); only Heb. 10:1–end is Old Latin.			

Old Latin Witnesses — Catholics

Symbol	Beuron #	Date	Name	Contents
d	5	V/VI	Bezae	e#a#c#
	Latin side of D (Bezae). Greek does not exist for the Catholics, and of the Latin we have only 3 John 11–15.			
ff		IX	Corbeiensis	James
	Souter describes it having “some readings unique (almost freakish) in their character… ” Overall, it seems to have a mixed text, not affiliated with anything in particular.			
h	55	V	Floriacensis	a#c#r#
	Fleury palimpsest. Contains 1 Pet. 4:17–2 Pet 2:7, 1 John 1:8–3:20. The translation is loose and the copy careless, but the text is very close to that used by Cyprian (African).			
l	67	VII	Legionensis	a#c#
	Palimpsest; small sections exist of all books of the Catholics except Jude. Said to be close to the Liber Comicus (t)			
(m)	-	IV?	(Speculum)	eapcr
	See Speculum under Fathers			
q	Symbol used for r in UBS^{4}.			
	Same as r of Paul. Denoted q in UBS^{4}.			
s	53	VI	Bobiensis	c#
	Palimpsest. Old Latin in 1 Pet. 1:1–18, 2:4–10			
t		VII+	Liber Comicus	a#p#c#r# (Lectionary)
w	32	VI	Guelferbitanus	c#
	Palimpsest lectionary, Vulgate with sections in Old Latin.			
z	65	VIII	Harleianus	(c#)
	Vulgate Bible (same codex as Z/harl); only 1 Pet. 2:9–4:15, 1 John 1:1–3:15 are Old Latin.			

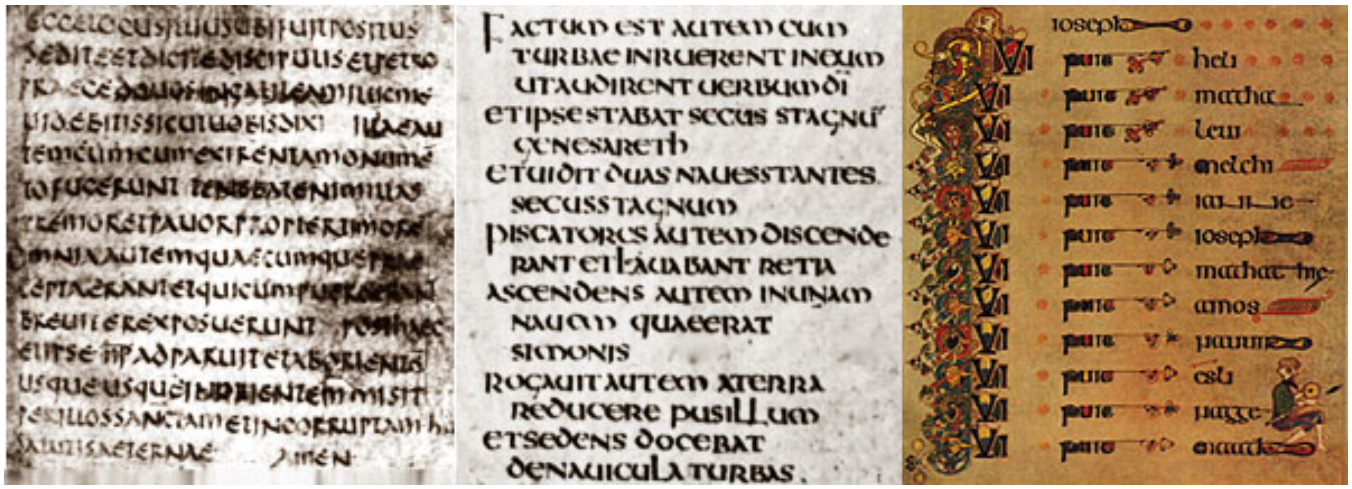
Old Latin Witnesses — Revelation

Symbol	Beuron #	Date	Name	Contents
a	61	IX	Dublinensis (Book of Armagh)	(ea)p#(c)r
	Vulgate text with many Old Latin readings; Paul and the Apocalypse are Old Latin with some Vulgate influence. See D of the Vulgate.			
g	Symbol used in some editions for gig.			
gig	51	XIII	Gigas	(e)a(pc)r
	An immense codex containing the Bible and a number of other works. Its text in the Apocalypse is Old Latin but seems to be a late form of the European type, approaching the Vulgate.			
h	55	V	Floriacensis	a#c#r#
	Fleury palimpsest. The translation is loose and the copy careless, but the text is very close to that used by Cyprian (African).			
sin	74	X		a#r#: Rev. 20:11–21:7.
t		VII+	Liber Comicus	a#p#c#r# (Lectionary)

When discussing the Old Latin, of course, the great question regards the so-called “Western” text. The standard witnesses to this type are the great bilingual uncials (D/05 D/06 F/010 G/012; E/07 is bilingual but is not particularly “Western” and 629 has some “Western” readings but its Latin side is Vulgate). That there is kinship between the Latins and the “Western” witnesses is undeniable — but it is also noteworthy that many of the most extravagant readings of Codex Bezae (e.g. its use of Matthew’s genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3:23f.; its insertion of Mark 1:45f. after Luke 5:14) have *no Latin support except d.* Even the “Western Non-interpolations” at the end of Luke rarely command more than a bare majority of the Old Latins (usually a b e r^1; occasionally ff^2; rarely aur c f q).

It is the author’s opinion that the Old Latins, not Codex Bezae, should be treated as the basis of the “Western” text, as they are more numerous and show fewer signs of editorial action. But this discussion properly belongs in the article on Text-Types.

Some Latin witnesses



Three Latin versions. Left: The final page of k (Codex Bobiensis), showing the "shorter ending" of Mark. Middle: Portion of one column of Codex Amiatinus (A or am). Shown are Luke 5:1–3. Right: The famous and fabulously decorated Book of Kells (Wordsworth's Q). The lower portion of the page is shown, with the beginning of Luke's genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3:23–26).

The Vulgate

As the tables above show, the number of Old Latin translations was very large. And the quality was very low. What is more, they were a diverse lot not just in terms of translation style but also of implied Greek text and meaning; it must have been hard to preach when one didn't even know what the week's scripture said!

It was in 382 that Pope Damasus (366–384) called upon Jerome (Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus) to remedy the situation. Jerome was the greatest scholar of his generation, and the Pope asked him to make an official Latin version — both to remedy the poor quality of the existing translations and to give one standard reference for future copies. Damasus also called upon Jerome to use the best possible Greek texts — even while giving him the contradictory command to stay as close to the existing versions as possible.

Jerome agreed to take on the project, somewhat reluctantly, but he never truly finished his work. By about 384, he had prepared a revision of the Gospels, which simultaneously improved their Latin and reduced the number of "Western" readings. But if he ever worked on the rest of the New Testament, his revisions were very hasty. The Vulgate of the Acts and Epistles is not far from the Old Latin. Jerome had become fascinated with Hebrew, and spent the rest of his translational life working on the Latin Old Testament.

Even so, the Vulgate eventually became the official Bible of the Catholic Church — and, despite numerous errors in the process of transmission, it remained recognizably Jerome's work. Although many greeted the new version with horror, its clear superiority eventually swept the Old Latins from the field.

Vulgate criticism is a field in itself, and — considering that it was for long the *official* version of the Catholic church — a very large one. Sadly, the official promulgation of the Sixtine Vulgate in 1590 (soon replaced by the Clementine Vulgate of 1592) meant that attempts to reconstruct the original form of the version were hampered; there is still a great deal which must be done to use the version to full advantage. Even the recent Neo Vulgate, officially adopted by the Catholic Church in 1979 and revised in 1986, cannot really be considered progress in this regard. It is not a critical edition of Jerome's original. Rather, it bears much the same relation to Jerome's translation that the New Revised Standard bears to the King James Bible: It is based on Jerome's language, but stylistically improved and brought closer to the United Bible Societies Greek text. For a textual critic, it has no value at all. (At least in the New Testament. In the Old, of course, there is no standard Hebrew or Greek text to work from, so it could be argued that the Neo Vulgate implies a reconstruction of that text. True — but reconstructing the Hebrew or Greek would be much more useful than a Latin translation!) It is understandable why the Catholic Church produced the thing — an ultra-hierarchical church needs a standard Bible, and given their history, it had to be in Latin — but to call it a "vulgate" is simply deceptive.

Scholars cannot even agree on the text-type of the original Vulgate. In the gospels, some have called it Alexandrian and some Byzantine. In fact it has readings of both types, as well as a number of "Western" readings which are probably holdovers from the Old Latin. The strongest single strand, however, seems to be Byzantine; in 870 test passages, I found it to agree with the Byzantine manuscripts 60–70% of the time and with א and B only about 45% of the time.

The situation is somewhat clearer in the Epistles; the Byzantine element is reduced and the "Western" is increased. Still, it should be noted that the Vulgate Epistles are much more Alexandrian than most of the Old Latin versions of the same books.

In the Apocalypse the Vulgate preserves a very good text, closer to A and C than to any of the other groups.

These comments apply, of course, to the *old* forms of the Vulgate, as found, e.g., in the Wordsworth-White edition. The later forms, such as the Clementine Vulgate, were somewhat more Byzantine, and have more readings which do not occur in any Greek manuscripts.

With that firmly in mind, let us turn to the various types of Vulgate text which evolved over the centuries. As with the Greek manuscripts, the various parts of Christendom developed their own "local" text.

The best “local” text is considered to be the Italian type, as represented e.g. by am and ful. This text also endured for a long time in England (indeed, Wordsworth and White call this group “Northumbrian”). It has formed the basis for most recent Vulgate revisions.

Believed to be as old as the Italian, but less reputable, is the Spanish text-type, represented by cav and tol. Jerome himself is said to have supervised the work of the first Spanish scribes to copy the Vulgate (398), but by the time of our earliest manuscripts the type had developed many peculiarities (some of them perhaps under the influence of the Priscillians, who for instance produced the “three heavenly witnesses” text of 1 John 5:7–8).

The Irish text is marked by beautiful manuscripts (the Book of Kells and the Lichfield Gospels, both beautiful illuminated manuscripts, are of this type, and even unilliminated manuscripts such as the Rushworth Gospels and the Book of Armagh are beautiful examples of calligraphy). Sadly, these manuscripts are often marred by conflations and inversions of word order. Some of the manuscripts are thought to have been corrected from the Greek — though the number of Greek scholars in the Celtic church must have been few indeed. Lemuel J. Hopkins-James, editor of *The Celtic Gospels* (essentially a critical edition of codex Lichfeldensis) offers another theory: that this sort of text (which he calls “Celtic” rather than Irish) is descended not from a pure Vulgate manuscript but from an Old Latin source corrected against a Vulgate. (It should be noted, however, that Hopkins-James tries to use statistical comparisons to support this result, and the best word I can think of for his method is “ludicrous.”)

The “French” text has been described as a mixture of Spanish and Irish readings. The text of Gaul (France) has been called “unquestionably” the worst of the local texts. Still, the “Paris” version of the French text was historic in several ways: Stephen Langton’s division into chapters, which still largely endures, was based on the Paris text, and the very first printed book, the Gutenberg Bible (for which see the article on Books and Bookmaking), has a Paris text.

The wide variety of Vulgate readings in Charlemagne’s time caused that monarch to order Alcuin to attempt to create a uniform version (the exact date is unknown, but he was working on it in 800). Unfortunately, Alcuin had no critical sense, and the result was not a particularly good text. Still, his revision was issued in the form of many beautiful codices.

Another scholar who tried to improve the Vulgate was Theodulf, who also undertook his task near the beginning of the ninth century. Some have accused Theodulf of contaminating the French Vulgate with Spanish readings, but it appears that Theodulf really was a better scholar than Alcuin, and produced a better edition than Alcuin’s which also included information about the sources of variant readings. Unfortunately, such a revision is hard to copy, and it seems to have degraded and disappeared quickly (though manuscripts such as theo, which are effectively contemporary with the edition, preserve it fairly well).

It does not appear to be associated with any particular name, but there seems to have been a serious attempt, around the beginning of the thirteenth century, to prepare a true Vulgate *edition* for use in France. This involved putting the books in a single volume, in a standardized order, and attaching Jerome's prologues to his translations. Textually, the work doesn't seem to have had any value, but it shaped later editions (indeed, Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* Phaedon, 1997, p. 120, says that so many good Bibles were produced in the thirteenth century that few more were made in the fourtheenth and fifteenth).

Other revisions were undertaken over the years, but they really accomplished little; even if someone took notice of the revisors' efforts, the results were not particularly good. When it finally came time to produce an official Vulgate (which the Council of Trent declared an urgent need), the number of texts in circulation was high, but few were of any quality. The result was that the "official" Vulgate editions (the Sixtine of 1590, and its replacement the Clementine of 1592) were very bad. Although good manuscripts such as Amiatinus were consulted, they made little impression on the editors. The Clementine edition shows an amazing ability to combine all the faults of the earlier texts. Unfortunately, it was to be nearly three centuries before John Wordsworth undertook a truly critical edition of the Vulgate, and another century after that before the Catholic Church finally accepted the need for revised texts.

Despite all that has been said, the Vulgate remains an important version for criticism, and both its "true" text and the variants can help us understand the history of the text. We need merely keep in mind the personalities of our witnesses. The table below is intended to help with that task as much as possible.

Note that there is no official list — let alone set of symbols — for Vulgate manuscripts. Single letters are used by Merk, Weber, and Wordsworth/White; the symbols such as am and ful are typical of editions of the Greek text such as Tischendorf. If a manuscript is cited by one of these editions but not others, I have used a superscript to indicate the edition — e.g. D^{We} means that the symbol D is used by Weber for durmachensis, but not by Wordsworth/White. The quoted comments are primarily from Scrivener; the textual descriptions from Metzger, Hopkins-James, and others.

The superscript symbols are as follows:
HJ = Lemuel Hopkins-James, *The Celtic Gospels* (Gospels only)
Me = Merk
We = Weber (Stuttgart)
WW = Wordsworth/White
If no superscript is shown, then all sources use this abbreviation (e.g. A refers to Amiatinus in all of the four editions).

As with the Old Latins, a manuscript description in the Vulgate catalog below has two parts. The first line shows its one-letter symbol, its longer abbreviated name, its full codex name, its date, and its contents, then comes a detailed description on another line.

Catalog of Vulgate Manuscripts

Letter	Symbol	Name	Date	Contents
A	am	Amiatinus	c. 700	OT+NT
	Firenze, Laurentian Library, Amiatino I. 1029 leaves (so Scrivener/Miller, p. 71, and Metzer, p. 336; I read elsewhere a source that claimed it had 1209 leaves) of a large folio. Considered to be the best Vulgate manuscript in existence. Written in *cola et commata,* with two columns per page, in a beautiful calligraphic hand. Believed to be the oldest surviving complete Bible in Latin (or, perhaps, any language). Its history appears to be very interesting. The manuscript is currently in the Laurentian Library in Florence, but that is not where it originated, nor is that where it was intended to end up. The dedicatory page claims it is from "Petrus Langobardorum" — but Peter's name was clearly written over an erasure. The original text claims it was sent by Ceolfrith the Angle — that is, Ceolfrith of what is now England. Although almost certainly derived from an Italian original (in fact, it contains a drawing showing a scribe with nine volumes; it has been speculated that this is a copy of artwork showing the nine volume Bible of Cassiodorus which was used to produce the exemplar of Amiatinus), it was written in England, one of a set of several high-quality Bibles produced at the time. It is believed one was for the monastery of Wearmouth, another for the nearby Jarrow monastery, and one for the Pope. The volume for the Pope was Amiatinus, which was suppoed to be carried to Rome by Ceolfrid, who left England in 716. But he died on the road, and the Bible never arrived. Over the years, several leaves have turned up which appear, from their date, text, and style, to be from the sister volumes. They are, however, mere fragments, and don't seem to get much attention. However, the Wearmouth-Jarrow exemplar, or its close relatives seems to have been the source for several other manuscripts in addition to Amiatinus. The two other survivors of this type are the Lindisfarne Gospels (Y/lind/Lindisfarnensis) and the Stonyhurst Gospels (St. Cuthbert's Codex, S/ston/Stoneyhurstensis). Codex Fuldensis is also sometimes said to be of this type, although I know of no direct evidence of this. Supposedly the Cassiodoran edition was corrected based on a manuscript which had belonged to one Eugipius, who lived probably in the sixth century near Naples; it was said to have originally been obtained from Jerome himself. This seems unlikely, but the type really does seem very pure and probably was not too far removed from Jerome's original.			
—	and	St. Andrew	?	e
	Formerly at St. Andrew's monastery at Avignon, but lost by Scrivener's time.			

	ar	*see under D*		
B^{HJ,Me}	bigot	Bigotianus	VIII/IX	e#
	”Probably written in France, but both the text and the calligraphy show traces of Irish influence” (Scrivener/Miller, p. 80).			
B^{Me}/Φ$^{B\ We}$	bam	Bambergensis	IX	(e)apc
	Bamberg, MS. Bibl. 1 (A.I.5). “One of the finest examples of the Alcuinian recension, and a typical specimen of the second period of Caroline writing and ornamentation” (Scrivener/Miller, p. 70). It is said to have been written in Tours. Wordworth-White and Weber cite it only for Acts, Paul, and the Catholic Epistles.			
Be^{Me}/ ⊕^{WW,HJ}		Beneventanus	VIII/IX	e
	Said to have been written at Beneventum, but now in the British Library, Additional MS. 5463. “[W]ritten in a fine revived uncial hand” (Scrivener/Miller, p. 77) in *cola et commata*. Berger describes the text as having the sort of mix of Spanish and Irish readings which underlie the French text.			
	bodl	*see under O*		
C	cav	Cavensis	IX	OT+NT
	Della Badis archive (Cava), MS. 1(14). Along with tol, the leading representative of the Spanish text. Among the earliest witnesses for the three witnesses in 1 John 5:7–8, which it possesses in modified form. The scribe, named Danila, wrote it with a Visigothic hand. It is thought to come from Castile or Leon. Apart from the value of its text, it is an extraordinarily beautiful book. The ordinary run of the text is in a very compact hand, mostly in brown but with a significant amount of vermillion. Books begin and end with calligraphic illustrations and illuminated letters in four or more colors. There are three purple and two blue pages — one of the latter being Jerome’s prologue to the New Testament, which is written in a cruciform format with white and red inks mixed, in an uncial hand. (Danila was able to write in at least three styles of script.) It is an extraordinary product; most Spanish manuscripts of the period have illuminations which I can only call ugly.			
c^{Me}	colb	Colbertinus	XII	(e)apcr
	Same as the Old Latin c of the Gospels. Often cited as Old Latin outside the Gospels, but the text is vulgate in the remaining books. The two sections are separately bound and in different hands (with the gospels sometimes thought to be slightly earlier). The Vulgate portion of the text is considered to be French.			
	cantab	*see under X*		
D^{WW,HJ,Me}	ar or dubl	Dublinensis (Book of Armagh)	VIII/ IX	ea(p)c(r)

	Dublin, Trinity College MS. 52. Paul and Revelation are Old Latin (#61, cited as a or ar). Famous Irish codex — the only (nearly) complete New Testament regarded as being from an Irish source. Also unusual in that we know a good deal about the scribe: It was written by one Ferdomnach. The dating is somewhat uncertain. We know from the *Annals of Ulster* that Ferdomnach died in 845/6, after a long career. The book is not itself dated, but there are hints (somewhat confusing) in the colophon. Ferdomnach is said to have worked under the direction of abbott Torbach of Armagh, who held that post from 807–808 — but we also see a reference to Ferdomnach as "the heir of Patrick," i.e. Abbot or Bishop of Armagh, which post he held from 812–813. Thus various scholars have dated the work to 807 or to 812. If we must choose between the two dates, I would incline to 807, since the higher title might have been inserted later. But it is at least possible that the book took four or so years to complete; it is a major production, consisting not just of the New Testament but an introductory section, in Latin and Gaelic, of documents regarding Saint Patrick, followed by the New Testament, and then a life of Saint Martin of Tours. Brian Boru, the most famous early King of Ireland (died 1014), would later add his name to it. The hand is a small cursive and has been described as "beautiful," though to me it looks rather crabbed. Like most Irish manuscripts, it is handsomely illustrated with figures of animals and the like incorporated into the initial letters, though the only separate drawings are of the four creatures which represent the evangelists. As it currently stands, it consists of 442 pages, mostly in two columns. The Vulgate portions (understandably) are said to have an Irish text. The Gospels are said to show signs of correction from Family 13. It includes the Epistle to the Laodiceans. Lacks Matthew chapters 14–19 (as well as a portion of 1 Corinthians in the Old Latin section).			
D^{We}	durmach or dur	Durmachensis	VI/VII	e

	Book of Durrow. From the Monastery at Durrow, but now at Trinity College, Dublin (MS. A.4.5(57)). Illuminated manuscript, although the illuminations use only a limited gamut of colors. The writing is called semi-uncial. It has been speculated that this it was made in the early days of Celtic illumination, before the style was fully developed. (Although some of it may be just the lack of ability of the illuminator; the symbols of the four evangelists have some resemblance to Pictish artwork but almost none to human, eagle, etc.) Colophon asks for prayers for the scribe Columba, and seems to say the volume was written in twelve days (although this may refer only to a single book). Some have thought that the scribe Columba is Saint Columba, who founded Durrow among other places, but of course the scribe might be another Columba, or (more likely) the colophon was copied from the exemplar. The text is reportedly close to Amiatinus, although there is dispute about where the manuscript originated; some argue for Ireland based on the fact that it is there now; some for Northumbria based on the text; some argue for Iona or somewhere else in Scotland based on the reference to Columba in the colophon. Hopkins-James, p. xlv, makes the curious comment that “It reads like a MS. which was Vulgate from the beginning” even though he says that it has a significant number of Old Latin readings. The pictures in this book are an odd mix; the image of Matthew is said to have Anglo-Saxon and Syriac elements, the Markan lion is Germannic and Pictish; the calf symbolizing Luke is again Pictish. The images are not very clear, though they are surrounded by the beautiful swirls and figures of Celtic art. It came to be treated as a relic (because of the association with Columba?); according to Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* Phaedon, 1997, p. 40, as late as the seventeenth century, it was dipped in water (or, perhaps, had water poured over it) so that the water could be used to treat sick cattle. This obviously didn’t do the manuscript any good; the early leaves in particular have been damaged by damp.			
Δ^{ww}	dunelm	Dunelmensis	VII/VIII	e#
	Durham, Cathedral Library A.ii.16. Said, probably falsely, to have been written by Bede; it may have come from the Jarrow monastery. According to Scrivener/Miller, p. 78, the text is related to Amiatinus — but Wordsworth, oddly, cited it only for John.			
—	deer		VIII/IX	e#

	The Book of Deer. Now at Cambridge (University Library I.i.6.32), but thought to have come from the monastery of Deer in Aberdeenshire, making it probably the oldest Scottish Bible. Some would date it to the eighth century. Said to contain many “old and peculiar” readings. The first three gospels are much damaged; according to Scrivener/Miller, all that remains is Matthew 1:1–7:23, Mark 1:1–5.36, Luke 1:1–12; John is complete.			
—	dem or demid	Demidovianus	XII/XIII?	OT+NT
	Lost; our knowledge is based on Matthei’s collation (which included only the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation). Appears to have been Vulgate with many Old Latin readings in the Acts and Epistles. Scrivener/Miller, p. 74, suggest it was copied from a much earlier exemplar.			
E[WW,HJ,Me]	mm	Egertonensis	VIII/IX	e#
	British Library, Egerton 609. Despite having been discovered in France (in Marmontier, near Tours), the text is considered Irish. Hopkins-James includes it in his Celtic Gospels group, although even by his figures it is a rather weak member. Many mutilations, especially in Mark.			
—	em	St. Emmeram’s	870	e
	Munich, Bavarian state libaray, Cim. 14000 (55). “[W]ritten in golden uncials on fine white vellum, a good deal of purple being employed in the earlier pages; there are splendid illuminations before each gospel” (Scrivener/Miller, p. 82). Sometimes called the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram because of the gold writing. Said to have belonged to Charles the Bald. There is another Munich manuscript which was copied from this at the order of the Emperor Henry II.			
Ep[Me] or ⊞[WW,HJ]	ept	Epternacensis	VIII/IX	e

	When it was first cataloged, it was in Echternach (Luxembourg), but now in Paris (National Library MS lat. 9389). A colophon associates it with Saint Willibrord (or, perhaps, with a manuscript he owned). The basic run of the text is said by some to be Irish, but with corrections reported to be of another type (perhaps of the Amiatinus type). The hand, however, is clearly British or Irish (it is generally believed that this manuscript comes from somewhere in the British Isles), and it has illustrations in the Celtic style (though not very elaborate compared to, say, the Lindisfarne Gospels. There is a curious stylization to the artwork — e.g. the portrait of Matthew is assembled from a series of ovoids). The same scribe probably wrote the Durham Gospels (not included in this catalog). The illustrations are thought to be related to those in the Book of Durrow. Further investigation is probably warranted. The colophon claims a date of 558 C.E., but all agree that it must be at least two centuries later. Willibord, we should note, went to Frisia in 690 and founded Echternach around 698; he died in 739. It is of note that he came from Northumbria, and likely brought manuscripts of the Northumbrian type with him.			
—	erl	Erlangen		e
F	fu, ful or fuld	Fuldensis	546	eapcr
	Fulda, MS. Bonifatianus I. Considered, after Amiatinus, the best Vulgate manuscript. Copied for and corrected by Victor of Capua. Italian text. The Gospels are in the form of a harmony (probably based on an Old Latin original, and with scattered Old Latin readings). Includes the Epistle to the Laodiceans following Colossians. It has sometimes been claimed that it is based on the same Eugipius type as Amiatinus, but I know of no proof of this.			
	for	*see under J*		
—	foss	St. Maur des Fossés	IX	e
	Paris, MS. Lat 11,959.			
Φ	*Symbol used collectively by Weber for Alcuin's recension. For individual manuscripts such as* Φ^{B} *see the end of this list.*			
G^{We} g^{1}+ $G^{WW,HJ,Me}$	(sanger)	Sangermanensis (San Germanensis)	IX	OT#+NT
	Paris, National Library MS. Latin 11553. Originally in two volumes, with the first volume (containing much of the Old Testament) now lost. Old Latin in Matthew (where it is usually designated g^{1}), elsewhere the text is probably French text but with some Old Latin elements. Order of sections is eacrp.			
—	gat		VII-IX	e

	Paris, Nouvelles acquisitions lat. 1587. Said to come from Saint Gatian of Tours. Said to resemble Egertonensis (E) in text, and to have many Old Latin readings. There are many variant readings in the text, usually vulgate and old Latin, written between the lines.			
—	gig	Gigas Holmiensis	XIII	e(a)pc(r)
	Same as gig of the Old Latin. Rarely cited as a Vulgate witness, as the Vulgate text is late.			
	gue lect	*see gue among the Old Latin witnesses in Paul*		
H[WW,HJ,Me]	hub	Hubertianus	IX/X	OT+NT#
	British Library, Additional MS. 24142. Originally from the Monastery of St. Hubert in the Low Countries. Original text may have been Italian (close to Amiatinus); it has been corrected (often by erasure) toward Theodulf's revision. Three columns per page. The text breaks off at 1 Pet. 4:3. The hand is said to "strongly resembl[e]" that of Θ — Scrivener/Miller goes so far as to say that H has been "throughout assimilated to" Θ. Although quite elaborate, the volume is rather severe — the only illustrations are in the Eusebian canon tables. These show hints of Islamic influence.			
He[Me]	her	Herefordensis	e#	VIII/IX
	Illuminated manuscript, although now so worn by age that it is very difficult to read — recently, an artist was commissioned to make a duplicate of the artwork. It has been suggested that the manuscript was written in Wales or the Welsh Marches of England. Hopkins-James considers the text Celtic, and uses it to fill out his Celtic text where Lichfeldensis fails. This in his view makes it an Old Latin text heavily corrected toward the Vulgate. Merk — the only edition to claim to cite it — cites it only for Luke.			
	harl	*see under Z*		
I[WW,Me]	ing	Ingolstadiensis	VII	e#
	From Ingolstadt; later at in the Royal Library at Munich. Badly mutilated, especially in Matthew (only 22:39–24:19, 25:14–end remain of that book).			
I[We]			VIII/IX	acr
	Rome, Villicelliana B.25II. Probably of Italian origin.			
J[WW,Me]	for	Foro-Juliensis	VI/VII	e#
	Matthew, Luke, and John are from Cividale; Mark is divided between Venice and Prague. Italian text. A legend, obviously false, has it that the portion of this manuscript at Prague was part of the original the Gospel of Mark! Distributed across several libraries. The Markan portion is often illegible, and the final chapters of John are fragmentary. Portions of Mark (at Prague) cited by Tischendorf as prag.			
J[Me]	juv	Juvenianus	VIII/IX	acr

(𝔓)		hamilton(ensis)	VIII	e
	Gold letters on purple parchment. The symbol derives from the fact that it was in the J. P. Morgan library. It is said (almost certainly falsely) to have been written by Wilfrid of York (died 709)).			
K[WW,HJ,Me] Φ[G We]	kar	Karolinus/ Grandivallensis	IX	OT+NT
	British Library, Additional MS. 10546. Property of the Library since 1836. Alcuin's revision. Called "Charlemagne's Bible." Probably written in Tours in the early ninth century.			
K[We]	—	—	IX	p
	Karlsruhe, Aug. CLXXXV			
L[Me]		Lichfeldensis	VII/VIII	MtMkLk#
	Lichfield, in the Chapter Library. Formerly designated Landavensis because it was kept by the altar of St. Teilo in Llandaff, Wales. Illuminated manuscript with an Irish text. (The writing is describes as "Irish half-uncial.") Contains Matt. 1:1–Luke 3:9. Legend attributes it to St. Chad, but this is unlikely since he died in 672, probably before the manuscript was completed. Based on the photos I've seen, it is no longer especially legible, the larger uncials being filled with garish red paint while the rest has (I think) faded. In its original state, however, it must have been comparable to the Lindisfarne Gospels in beauty; there is much similarity in the style of the illustrations. It has been suggested that the creators of this manuscript must have seen the Lindisfarne manuscript and attempted to imitate it. I have seen estimates dating it to the early or late eighth century. Possibly it was written in Wales; it was certainly there by the late ninth century. Sometimes called St. Teilo's gospels because a marginal note says that one Gellu son of Arihtuid had exchanged it for his best horse and then offered it to Teilo's altar in Wales. It apparently was taken to Litchfield in the tenth century, resulting in the link to St. Chad, the patron of the town. The manuscript, as far as extant, is the basis for the Latin text published by Lemuel J. Hopkins-James in *The Celtic Gospels: Their Story and Their Text*, but this book is depressingly difficult to use and is rather absurd methodologically.			
L[Me]			VIII	p
	Written in a Lombard hand.			
L[Me]		Lemovicensis	IX	c
	"Mixed" text, containing a part of 1 John 5:7.			
L[We]			VII/VIII	c
	Paris, National Library Latin 9427. Lectionary.			
Λ[We]			960	(e)apcr

	Codex Legionensis, in the San Isidro library in Leon. Also contains portions of the OT. Sections are in the order epcar. Weber does not cite the gospels. Sometimes called “Codex Gothicus.”			
—	lam		X	e#
	The Mac Durnan Gospels, so-called because they were the property of, and perhaps written by or for, Maelbrigid Mac Durnan, the Bishop of Armagh, who died in 927. The text and ornamentation are Irish. It is now in the Lambeth Palace library. The writing is very small and full of contractions, making it difficult to read. There seems to be some confusion about its history, since Hopkins-James, p. xlix, says that it was given by the English King Athelstan to the city of Canterbury. Athelstan, however, reigned 924–940, and had little contact with Ireland; there is hardly time for the MS. to pass from Armagh to Athelstan to Canterbury, and in any case, the story of Athelstan’s gift is also told of a gospel book in Caroline minuscules (British Library Reg. I.A.xviii). I wonder if the Athelstan mentioned in the Mac Durnan Gospels might not be a bishop of that name. It is noteworthy that Scrivener/Miller, p. 78, doesn’t even mention this claim. It may be just the quality of the photographs, or perhaps shrinkage of the parchment, but the artwork in the Mac Durnan book seems to have been rather improperly ruled. It frankly looks rather sloppy.			
—	lux	Luxeuil	IX	(e)
	Paris, Nouvelles acquisitions lat. 2196. Not a continuous-text manuscript but a lectionary.			
M	med	Mediolanensis	VI	e#
	Milan, Ambrosian library C.39. Italian text, considered by Wordsworth & White to rank with Amiatinus and Fuldensis. Assorted lacunae (Matt. 1:1–6, 1:25–3:12, 23:25–25:41; Mark 6:10–8:12) and a few small supplements (Mark 14:35–48; John 19:12–23). Has “interesting lectionary notes in the margins,” according to Scrivener/Miller, p. 84. They also note the curiosity that the section numbers are marked in Greek uncials!			
M^{Me}		Monacensis	IX	acr
	”Good text, but rather mixed, especially in the Acts, where there are strange conjunctions of good and bad readings.” Written in “large rough Caroline minuscules.”			
M^{Me}		Monacensis	VIII	p
	mac-regol	*see under R*		
	mart	*see under MT (𝔐)*		
	mm	*see under E*		
𝔐^{WW,HJ} or Ma^{Me}	mt or mart	Martini-Turonensis	VIII/IX	e

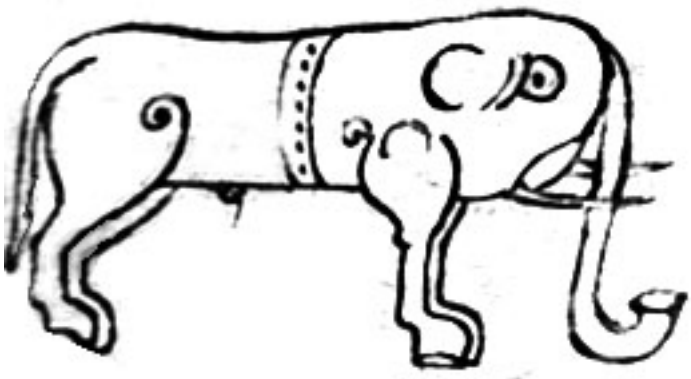
	Tours, Public Library 22. Formerly at Saint Martin. “[G]old letters, interesting text” (Scrivener/Miller, p. 81).			
(μ)	mull	Book of Mulling	VII/VIII	e
	Book of Mulling. See under μ of the Old Latin gospels.			
N[We]			V	e#
	Palimpsest, believed to have been written in Italy. Now distributed among multiple libraries. Text is regarded as very valuable.			
O[HJ,Me]	bodl or ox/oxon	Bodleianus or Oxoniensis	VII	e#
	Oxford, Bodleian MS. 857 (Auct. D.2.14). Called the “Gospels of St. Augustine,” because legend has it that this was given by Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury. (It was in St. Augustine’s library at Canterbury, but this proves very little.) “British” (i.e. Italian?) text. Written in a firm hand, two columns per page, with paragraphs but no breaks between words; a later scribe (?) seems to have added slashes between words, perhaps to indicate a division into sense lines. The red ink used in the Eusebian tables and such is often very faded. It has lost Matthew 1:1–4:13 and John 21:16–end. Neumes were added to Luke’s genealogy of Jesus, probably in the eleventh century.			
O[Me]		Seldenianus	VII/VIII	a#
	Described as “most valuable.” Lacks Acts 14:26–15:32. Written in a beautiful hand, with spaces between words and sentences, and hanging paragraphs; it appears that there must have been an earlier edition which already possessed these features. The book itself is less attractive; the parchment is often quite poor. Two scribes were involved in writing the book, and it appears they wrote simultaneously rather than sequentially, because the first scribe left a blank page at the end of his half; this was later filled by two prayers. The book was at Canterbury from the twelfth century until at least the time of Henry VIII. John Seldon bequeathed it to the Bodleian upon his death in 1654. There is an odd scratching, EADB, written by the text of Acts 11:5–6; it has been speculated that this is a reference to St. Eadburh of Thanet (died 751), and that the book therefore comes from Thanet, but the evidence is not sufficient to prove or disprove this.			
O[WW?]		Bodleianus	IX	p#
	”Irish hand.” Colossians follows Thessalonians. Hebrews breaks off at 11:34. Has been heavily corrected by three different hands. The text of the first hand may have been Old Latin (designated x).			
P[WW,HJ,Me]	pe or per	Perusinus	VI	Luke#
	In Perugia. Luke 1:1–12:7, mutilated. Purple manuscript.			
P[We]			VI/VII	e

	Split, Croatia. No catalog number. Text is probably Italian.			
—	petroc		IX/X	e
	Gospels of St. Petroc, or Bodmin Gospels. Now in the British Library (Add. MS. 9381). The text seems to be of a French type (perhaps with readings derived from Alcuin), although it has been in the British Isles since the early tenth century (it was then in the monastery of Petrockstowe/Bodmin). Textually it seems to have no great interest (except in showing French influence in the Cornwall Peninsula even before the Norman Conquest). Of interest is the fact that it contains records of the manumission of slaves. The large majority of the slaves have Cornish names, which makes these marginalia the first clear records of what would become the Cornish language. They are not, of course, sufficient to compile a Cornish grammar, but they are important for the history of that extinct-but-revived language.			
	prag	*see under J*		
$Q^{WW,HJ,Me}$		Kenanensis	VII/VIII	e
	Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College MS. a.1.6 (58)). Generally considered to be most beautiful illuminated manuscript in existence; there is at least some colour on all but two of its surviving 680 pages (out of an original 700). It has been speculated that it was started at Iona and taken to Kells in 807 for completion and/or safekeeping from the Vikings. There is a likely reference to it in the Annals of Ulster for 1007, which refers to it (or some volume) being stolen and recovered after being stripped of gold. Irish text, said by Metzger to have “a peculiar fondness for conflate readings.” (An extreme example comes in Matt. 21:31, where, when asked which of the sons did the will of the father, some vulgate texts say “the first,” others, “the last”; Kells reads “the first and the last”!)			
$R^{WW,HJ,Me}$	mac-regol	Rushworthianus	VIII/IX	e#

	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. C.2.19 (S.C.3946). Rushworth Gospels (so called for the seventeenth century owner who donated it to the Bodleian Library), or the Gospels of Mac Regol, written by a scribe named Mac Regol. Mac Regol also claimed to have illustrated the book, which is rather unusual — scribes usually just copied the books. There is much confusion about this Mac Regol. A man named Macriagoil nepos Magleni was bishop of Birr, and died in 800 (according to Hopkins/James, p. xlvii) or 821 (so most other sources). It is widely believed that this MacRegol was the scribe, although it cannot be proved — and Hopkins-James doubts it; it sounds as if he thinks Mac Regol the bishop was the grandson of Mac Regol the Scribe (or vice versa). If the two Mac Regols are the same, then this is one of the last of the great Irish codices. The manuscript has an interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss (Matthew in Mercian, Mark-John in Northumbrian; they are listed as the work of scribes named Farman of Harewood and Owun). The *Cambridge History of English Literature* declares that Farman and Owun worked in the second half of the tenth century and suggests that Farman may have been in charge of the task, with Owun his assistant. The two translations have significantly different styles in addition to being in different dialects; Farman's is more of a translation, being independently understandable, while Owun's is a word-for-word gloss that cannot really stand on its own. It is not clear whether the glosses are derived from an extant external translation or were made up by the scribes. Skeat declared the main text to be close to the Lindisfarne Gospels, but Hopkins-James disagrees strongly and says it has a Celtic (Irish) text (agreeing in part with Bentley, who thought it might be from the same scribe as Lichfeldensis). The illustrations certainly appear to be Irish, but that doesn't mean much unless we accept that scribe and illustrator are the same. And it is unusually large for an Irish book. Plus, if it's Irish, how did it end up in England and glossed in Anglo-Saxon? If it had originated in Ireland and been carried over by the Anglo-Norman conquerors, the glosses would presumably have been in Middle English, not Old English. So it seems more likely that it is in fact Northumbrian. Reported to show many alterations in word order. It lacks Luke 4:29–8:38, 10:19–39, 15:16–16:26.			
R^{Me}		de Rosas	X	NT
	At Paris. Cited by Merk only for Acts, although it contains the whole New Testament.			
R		Reginensis or Reginae Sueciae	VII/VIII	p
	Vatican, Apostolic library, Regin. lat. 9. Italian text — one of the best in Paul. Possibly from the Ravenna area.			

R^{We}			VII/VIII	c
	Verona, Capitolare Library X(8)			
—	reg		VIII?	e#
	Paris, MS. Lat 11,955. 54 leaves of Matthew and Mark, containing less than half of the latter and about three fourths of the former (it lacks Matthew 1:1–6:2, 26:42–27:49, Mark 1:1–9:47, 11:13–12:23). Gold uncials, purple parchment. Many old readings.			
S^{WW} or St^{Me}	ston	Stonyhurstensis	VII	John
	Supposedly found in the coffin of Saint Cuthbert. “A minute but exquisitely written uncial MS. with a text closely resembling A[miatinus]” (Scrivener/Miller, p. 79). For more details, see the notes on the Lindisfarne Gospels. It still has its original binding, which is listed as the oldest extant decorated bookbinding (consisting of the sorts of loops and swirls often found in the illustrations of Celtic codices).			
S^{We} or $\Sigma^{WW,HJ}$	san	Sangallensis	V	e#
	Mostly at St. Gall (MS. 1395), with scattered leaves elsewhere. Oldest surviving manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels; only about half the leaves have been recovered from manuscript bindings. Italian text, of “remarkable” value.			
S		Sangallensis	VIII	ar
	St. Gall, Stifstbibl. 2. According to Scrivener/Miller, it is Vulgate but with Old Latin readings. Written by a monk named Winithar. Contains extra-biblical matters as well as the Bible text; Scrivener/Miller consider it merely a collection of extracts. Cited by WW and Merk only for Acts; Weber cites it in the Apocalypse also.			
S^{We}			late VIII	p
	St. Gall, MS. 70.			
—	san		VI	e#
	Matt. 6:21–John 17–18, sometimes fragmentary. The scribe claims to have compiled it from two Latin manuscripts with occasional reference to the Greek.			
—	san		VI	p#
	Palimpsest (lower text Latin martyrology). Contains Eph. 6:2–1 Tim. 2:5			
$T^{WW,HJ,Me}$	tol	Toletanus	VIII	OT+NT
	Along with cav, the leading representative of the Spanish text. Again like cav, it is among the earliest witnesses for “1 John 5:7–8,” which it possesses in modified form. Written in a Visigothic hand, it was not new when it was given to the see of Seville in 988.			
$\Theta^{WW,HJ}$ or Th^{Me}	theod	Theodulfianus	IX	OT+NT

	Paris, MS, Latin 8380. Theodulf's revision, possibly prepared under the supervision of Theodulf himself. The Gospels and Psalms are on purple parchment.			
—	taur	Taurinensis	VII?	e
	At Turin			
—	theo or theotisc	Theotisca	VIII	e#
	Matthew 8:33–end, mutilated. Old German text on facing pages.			
(U)		Ultrarajectina	VI	Mt#Jo#
	Matt. 1:1–3:4 and John 1:1–21, bound with a Psalter and written in an "Anglian hand" resembling Amiatinus.			
U^{WW}			VII/VIII	e#
	Wordsworth's U consists of a handful of leaves from the Utrecht Psalter, containing Matthew 1:1–3:4, John 1:1–21. Scrivener/Miller, p. 83, dates them VII/VIII.			
U^{Me}		Claromontanus	VI	e#
	Merk usually uses Wordsworth sigla, but for U he lists this manuscript which is not the same.			
$U^{WW,Me}$		Ulmensis	IX	apcr
	"Caroline minuscule" hand. Includes Laodiceans. Now in the British Museum. Generally cited only for the Acts and Epistles.			
$V^{WW,HJ,Me}$ or $\Phi^{V\ We}$	val	Vallicellanus	IX	OT+NT
	Vallicellian Library, Rome, MS. B.vi. Alcuin's revision, written in Caroline minuscules. Considered the best example of this type.			
[Φ^{C}]	(viv)		IX	OT+NT

	Paris, National Library MS. Latin 1 (previously 35612). Sometimes called the Vivian Bible. A very famous manuscript, although not often cited. The text is of Alcuin's recension, and it is neither the earliest nor the best of that type, so it has little critical value. It was given to Emperor Charles the Bald (grandson of Charlemagne) by Vivian, Abbot of St. Martin (Tours), and was kept in Metz for many centuries before being taken to Paris. It is elaborately illustrated, showing e.g. Jerome distributing copies of the Vulgate. Some of the illustrations are quite fanciful — e.g. the odd creature shown below is its rendering of an elephant! 			
$W^{WW,HJ,Me}$		Willelmi	1254	OT+NT
	British Library Reg. I.B.xii. Called William of Hales's Bible. Written by William of Hales for Thomas de la Wile. Cited by Wordsworth as typical of the late mediaeval text. The 1254 date is from Scrivener; Hopkins-James says 1294; Merk says 1245.			
$W^{iWW,Me}$		Wirceburgensis	VIII/IX	p
$X^{WW,HJ,Me}$	cantab	Cantabrigiensis	VII	e
	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 286. Said to have been corrected toward a text such as Amiatinus (Scrivener/Miller, p. 78). Like O, with which it "offers striking parallels in script-style, layout, and textual readings" ([Michelle P. Brown, editor], *In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000*, p. 290), legend has it that Gregory the Great sent it to Augustine of Canterbury. In the case of this particular manuscript, this makes some sense (although the seventh century date cited by most scholars is rather late). The manuscript has illustrations (not very good ones) — but they are all collected together on certain pages, almost like a comic. It appears that the book is designed to allow a preacher to point to the scenes one at a time and explain the context of each one — something far more typical of an evangelist than of a parish priest preaching to his flock, let alone a monk studying the Biblical text. To this day, Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury take their oaths of office on this book.			
$Y^{WW,HJ,Me}$	lind	Lindisfarnensis	VIII	e

	Illuminated manuscript with interlinear Anglo-Saxon gloss (old Northumbrian dialect). Second only to the Book of Kells in the quality of its illuminations (some would esteem it higher, since it uses less garish colors). Italian text, very close to Amiatinus (A, am). It is likely that the exemplar was borrowed from the great monasteries of Wearmouth-Jarrow, the probable site of Amiatinus as well, and the place where the Venerable Bede spent most of his life. Lindisfarne is only about 40 miles/65 km. from Wearmouth-Jarrow, and contacts between the two centers seem to have been frequent. The Stonyhurst Gospels (St. Cuthbert's Codex, S/ston/ Stoneyhurstensis) is the third known member of this family. Written primarily with two columns per page, though the initial pages of each gospel, which are highly decorated, are singles columns with enlarged letters. The portions of the parchment which can be identified appear to be calfskin. There are 258 leaves (516 pages), in gatherings of eight. There are no lacunae. Moderns used to interlinears in which the English text is printed below the Greek or Latin may be interested to learn that, in this case, the gloss was written above the Latin text. This seems the standard at the time; the Vespasian Psalter, another Latin Bible with Old English gloss, also had the English above the Latin. For such an early manuscript, we have an unusual amount of information about it, though some of this is based on tradition and may not be entirely reliable. The interlinear glosses were supplied by a monk named Aldred, who tells us that it was written by Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne (fl. 698–721 C.E.) in honour of St. Cuthbert (died 687). Another Bishop of Lindisfarne, Ethelwald, apparently bound it, and the cover was ornamented in silver by the anchorite Billfrith. Aldred himself contributed notes to at least two other surviving manuscripts, neither Biblical; one is Bede's commentary on Psalms (Bodleian Library Bodley 819), the other a liturgical miscellany known as the Durham Ritual (Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19). The date of the manuscript depends significantly on whether Eadfrith actually wrote it, or merely directed its writing. If the latter, then it probably dates from the period when he was bishop, i.e. after 698. But Janet Backhouse, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (Phaidon, 1981), thinks it was written before Cuthbert's tomb was opened in 698 at the order of Bishop Eadbert (died May 698), which would make Eadfrith, not yet bishop, the actual scribe — this based apparently on the statement of the twelfth century writer Symeon of Durham. As possible support for this statement, we observe that the entire book seems to have been executed (and even the art drawn) by the same scribe, which would be unlikely if it were a major project planned by a bishop.

In either case, since Paulinus, the apostle to Northumbria, first came to the north in 625, this means it was copied less than a century after Christianity arrived in the area. Northumbria had not officially accepted Roman (as opposed to Celtic) Christianity until the Synod of Whitby in 664, so the manuscript was written in living memory of the adoption of Catholicism in the area.

The manuscript certainly seems to have had an adventurous career. The Danish invasions of England caused Lindisfarne to be evacuated in the late ninth century; the manuscript (and the remains of Cuthbert) were taken away. At one point, supposedly, the manuscript fell into the sea — but was recovered almost unharmed. (This is just barely possible, since manuscripts of this period were often enclosed in very strong cases, but I still find it hard to believe. That *some* manuscript fell into the sea and was recovered seems likely, but the story that it was *this* manuscript did not arise until a couple of centuries later.)

It was while the manuscript was at Chester-le-Street in Durham that Aldred added the Anglo-Saxon gloss. This probably was copied from an earlier manuscript, not his own work, since parts appear to be in Northumbrian dialect and parts in Mercian.

Although the manuscript was unquestionably made in Britain (both the decorations and the link with St. Cuthbert prove that), it is almost certain that the exemplar, or one of its very recent ancestors, came from Italy, as there is a list of Festivals in the volume which appears to be associated with the church of Naples (Backhouse, p. 17). Also, the illustrations of the Evangelists have classic Italian features but with modifications — e.g. their feet display the thongs of sandals, but no soles; clearly the illustrator was not used to sandals. The Eusebian tables also show the typically Italian device of arches, but with Celtic illuminations (Backhouse, p. 44). It is claimed that the illustration preceding the Gospel of Matthew is based on the same model as an illustration of Ezra in the Amiatinus (Backhouse, p. 47).

One curious note about the manuscript is that several of the illustrations appear unfinished — some parts not fully painted in, e.g. Since this happened more than once, it appears that it is deliberate. No one knows why; it has been hypothesized that the artist, in a show of humility, did not wish to produce a perfect work (Backhouse, p. 55).

The manuscript is important for more than its Latin text. As an interlinear, it is helpful for the study of the Old English language. The earliest Anglo-Saxon dictionary, made by Nowell in 1567, made regular reference to it.

	Although not formally venerated as a relic, few manuscripts have had so much influence on churches. The church at Chester-le-Street has a series of stained glass windows commemmorating its making, and the church at Holy Island has a carpet based on patterns in the manuscript; eighteen women were involved in sewing that carpet.			
Z	harl	Harleianus	VI/VII	e
	British Museum, Harley 1775. Italian text, “in [a] small but very beautiful uncial hand, and with an extremely valuable text” (Scrivener/Miller, p. 76). It is written in sense lines, often quite short, so that there is relatively little text on each page. It has a rather checkered history. It is thought to have been written in Italy. It is believed to have been in France by the ninth century, and once belonging to Cardinal Mazarin. It was stolen from Paris by Jean Aymon and then ended up in the Harleian library. The text has a handful of Old Latin readings.			
$Z^{WW,Me}$	harl	Harleianus	VIII	pcr#
	”Written in a French hand, but showing traces of Irish influence in its initials and ornamentation; the text is much mixed with Old Latin readings; it has been corrected throughout, and the first hand so carefully erased in places as to be quite illegible.” The base text is late Vulgate, but there are many early readings. The Old Latin portions are designated z. Rev. 14:16–end have been lost.			
Θ	*(see after T above)*			
Λ	*(see after L above)*			
Σ	*(see after S above)*			
$Φ^{B}$	*see under B*			
$Φ^{E\ We}$			VIII/IX	p#
	Paris, National Library 8847. Alcuin’s text. Probably written in Tours. Contains only Philippians–2 Timothy.			
$Φ^{G}$	*see under K*			
$Φ^{T\ We}$			VIII/IX	eapcr
	St. Gall, MS. 78. Alcuin’s text. Probably written in Tours.			
$Φ^{V}$	*see under V*			

The following tables facilitate conversion between Wordsworth-White and Tischendorf symbols.

Tischendorf to WW

Tischendorf	WW		Tischendorf	WW		Tischendorf	WW
am	A		fuld	F		prag	J
and	—		gat	—		reg	—
bodl	O		gue	—		san^{e}	—
cav	C		harl	Z_2		san^{ap}	—
demid	—		ing	I		taur	—
em	—		lux	—		theotisc	—
erl	—		mm	E		tol	T
for	J		mt	𝔐			
foss	—		pe	P			

WW to Tischendorf

WW	Tischendorf		WW	Tischendorf		WW	Tischendorf
A	am		K	—		R_2	—
B	—		L	—		S	—
B_2	—		L_2	—		S_2	—
𝔅	—		L_3	—		T	tol
C	cav		M	—		Θ	—
D	—		M_2	—		U	—
Δ	—		𝔐	mt		U_2	—
E	mm		O	bodl		V	—
𝔈	—		O_2	—		W	—
F	fuld		O_3	—		X	—
G	—		P	pe		Y	—
H	—		Q	—		Z	harl
I	ing		R	—		Z_2	—
J	for+prag						

Old Church Slavonic

Some versions of the New Testament are all but lost. (The Gothic is an example.) Others, such as the Armenian, have survived very well. But few other than the Latin Vulgate have achieved canonical status in their own right. The Old Church Slavonic is an exception.

In the case of the Vulgate, the canonization is perhaps understandable; it is fairly old as versions go, and it was prepared by the greatest scholar of its generation.

The case of the Slavonic version is somewhat different from the Latin. It is much newer than the Vulgate, and its translators, while venerated, were not the tremendous scholars that Jerome was. This has meant that the Old Church Slavonic, although it is *the* Bible to most Slavic Orthodox churches, has received little critical attention — though rather more attention from linguists, since Old Church Slavonic (or Common Slavonic) is the earliest Slavic language with any literary remains.

The history of Christianity among the Slavs is uncertain. One report claims that the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius made an attempt to evangelize the Slavs around the beginning of the seventh century. This account, however, is so littered with contradictions that it cannot be treated as history.

More solid are the accounts of a ninth century mission led by the brothers Methodius and Constantine. Around 860 the two were sent among the Slavs. (There are reports that they found Christians there, and that they were possessed of a partial Bible translation, but we are simply unable to determine the truth, or the details, of this.) In 863 the two went to Moravia and began teaching the locals. From there on the story becomes complicated (if it wasn't before), with local and church politics playing a large role. Leaving aside these details, we are told that Constantine (who eventually took the name Cyril) devised a Slavic alphabet and prepared the Slavic translation.

Here again we run into trouble, because there are *two* Old Slavonic alphabets, the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic. The Glagolitic is a geometric alphabet, made up of circles and squares and other simple shapes and not evidently related to any other form of writing. The Cyrillic is clearly derived from Greek letter forms.

A late text of the Slavonic version: The Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander, Tsar of Bulgaria 1331–1371, British Library Add. 39627, commissioned 1355. A copy of the Bulgarian recension. Shown is folio 88, the beginning of the Gospel of Mark

Despite its name, most experts feel that the Cyrillic alphabet is not the work of Cyril/Constantine (some have credited it to Kliment, a pupil of Constantine and Methodius who worked in Bulgaria). Had the Cyrillic been older, it is hard to see how the Glagolitic could have arisen. The oldest manuscripts of the Old Church Slavonic, which appear to date from the tenth century, are usually Glagolitic, but the Cyrillic appears not long afterward. Even these early manuscripts show signs of dialectial variations (many of which later became separate languages), so they are probably somewhat removed from the original translation. These also developed minor textual differences, so that we might speak of Bohemian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Russian, and Serbian "recensions" of the Slavonic.

The Old Church Slavonic was translated primarily for liturgical use, so it should not be surprising that lectionary manuscripts are common, and that manuscripts of the Apocalypse (which is not used in the lectionary) are rare.

Research on the Slavonic text has been limited, both because of the difficulty of the language (Old Church Slavonic is, of course, Indo-European, but of the Slavic branch of the family, which is not well known to Western scholars) and because of the lateness of the translation. Slavonic generally renders Greek well (except in matters of verb tense and specific vocabulary), but the text seems to be late. Its Byzantine cast is clear, although there do appear to be some early readings. Vajs considers the basic text in the Gospels to belong with Family Π, but with significant "Western" influence.

In Paul, the text is again largely Byzantine, though with some interesting and unusual readings. These do not appear to align with any known text-type.

One can only hope that the future will bring more information to light about this widely revered but little-studied version.

Incidentally, I am told that the OCS versions you can buy in many eastern countries are not really the same as the original translation, although the change is linguistic rather than textual. Stephen Reynolds, who works with the version regularly, gave me a discussion of its linguistic history which I am transcribing into HTML as best I can:

Even educated Orthodox Slavs often think that the Slavonic in use today is the same as that of Cyril and Methodius and their earlier epigones, but it ain't.

Probably the most obvious difference is that the two iers, or as the Old Believers say ier' and ior, functioned as syllable-forming vowels in Common Slavic and hence in Old Slavonic. Associated with the transition from Common Slavic to the several different Slavic languages, the fall of the iers had major consequences everywhere. To take the best-known example, in Russian the iers of stressed syllables were assimilated to _e_ and _o_ respectively, while in unstressed syllables they lost their function as vowels entirely, serving as the "hard sign" and "soft sign" only — that is, they indicated whether the preceding consonant was palatalized or

not. The syllable count of a large percentage of words was reduced, and in Russian the result was the emergence of a symmetrical phonological system based on that distinction.

The fall of the iers affected Slavonic as well as the vernaculars, with the complication of khomoniia, a phenomenon that linguists have needlessly complicated because they are unfamiliar with the neumation of many liturgical manuscripts. Since these manuscripts had neumes over syllables the vowels of which were iers, they had to be sung as syllables. The only way to do this, once the original iers had vanished from the phonological system, was to treat them all as stressed, that is, to read all front iers as _e_ and all back iers as _o_. It took some time to revise the chant to fit the new, reduced syllable count, and khomoniia was the only way to deal with it until the revision was complete.

Other changes in the vernacular also were reflected in Slavonic, although of course not all (or Slavonic would have ceased to exist as a distinct language). Patriarch Euthymius of Bulgaria (ca 1325–1402) established standard rules for Church Slavonic after the fall of the iers, but on the Euthymian basis national recensions developed, so the Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian, and Ruthenian CS differed somewhat from one another. An updated standard was devised by Meletius Smotryts'kyi (c. 1577–1633), and this was adopted for the Nikonian revision of the liturgical books in Russia. These books were printed in large numbers. The south Slavs had an early printery at Cetinje in Montenegro, but it was too small to supply the volume of books necessary for the entire region, which was mostly still dependent on manuscripts. Consequently when the printed books from Russia became easily and fairly cheaply available, they were adopted and the former national recensions were replaced by the Nikonian text.

The cumulative effect is that the Slavonic currently in use differs quite a bit from that of the early sources for the Slavonic Bible.

Syriac

Most versions of the New Testament exist in several recensions. Sometimes these recensions can be very different textually. But usually each successive recension is a revision of those which have gone before — generally intended to bring the version into closer conformity with the Greek original and the Byzantine Text.

Not so with the Syriac version. Here there was at least one "fresh start," and possibly as many as three. (This is not to say that the newer versions were not influenced by the older; merely that they were not actual revisions of the older.)

The Diatessaron

The history of the Syriac versions probably begins with the Diatessaron, the gospel harmony which Tatian compiled (in Greek or Syriac) in the second half of the second century.

Although the Diatessaron was compiled by an editor who had been in Rome (Tatian was expelled from that city in 172), and although it existed more or less from the start in both Greek and Syriac, it was only in the Syriac church that it is believed to have been regarded as "official." Perhaps it was that Tatian's heretical attitudes fit better with the mood of the church there.

The problems of the Diatessaron are deep and complex; they cannot be dealt with here. No Syriac manuscripts of the version survive, and we have no more than a small fragment of the Greek (in the Dura parchment 0212, a gospel harmony thought by some to be Diatessaric, though the most recent editors think otherwise). But the mass of quotations in Ephraem and others, as well as the number of Diatessaric harmonies in other languages, show its depth of influence.

Eventually, however, the Syriac church felt compelled to set the Diatessaron aside. We have reports of bishops ordering churches to replace their copies of Tatian's document with copies of the Four Gospels. The effectiveness of their efforts is shown by the absence of Diatessaric manuscripts in Syriac. The change was not immediate (writers continued to use the Diatessaron for some centuries), but was eventually complete.

We note incidentally that the Diatessaron, and its suppression, has much to tell us about what can happen to a text. Certain scholars, especially Byzantine prioritists, make a great deal of noise about "normal" transmission — transmission without interference by external factors. Which is all well and good, but there is no reason to believe that transmission is "normal." If it were, we would have many manuscripts of the Diatessaron, because it would have continued to be copied. Instead, we have no substantial copies of the Diatessaron. Its transmission was *not* "normal" — and, given the great range of historical accidents that can happen, the onus is on those who which to claim that transmission *is* "normal."

The Old Syriac

Competing against the Diatessaron was the Old Syriac. This version (or more correctly, this *series* of versions) is of uncertain date (some have placed it as early as the second century, others as late as the fourth), and may even be earlier than the Diatessaron, but it was initially far less successful.

The opening of the Sinaitic Syriac declares that it contains *Evangelion de-Mepharreshe Mattai.* There is some uncertainty about the meaning of "*de-Mepharreshe*," but it is thought to mean something like "the separate" or "the individual" — i.e. the Gospel of Matthew alone, not part of a harmony.

The Old Syriac survives in only two manuscripts: The Sinaitic Syriac palimpsest of the late fourth century and the Curetonian Syriac of the late fifth century.

The Sinaitic Syriac (*sin* or sy^{s}), which first came to light in the 1890s, is in many ways the more interesting of the two. Despite the difficulty of reading the text (which was overwritten in the eight century), it is the more complete of the two manuscripts (142 of 166 leaves survive; including Matt. 1:1–6:10, 7:3–12:4, 12:6–25, 12:29–16:15, 18:11–20:24, 21:20–25:15, 25:17–20, 25:25–26, 25:32–28:7, Mark 1:12–44, 2:21–4:17, 5:1–26, 6:5–16:8 (without either the long or the short ending), Luke 1:36–5:28, 6:12–24:52, John 1:25–47, 2:16–4:37, 5:6–25, 5:46–18:31, 19:40–end). Its text is often regarded as more primitive than the Curetonian, with rougher renderings. The text is usually considered "Western," although it is considerably less wild than the text of D.

The Curetonian Syriac (*cur* or sy^{c}) shows most of the peculiarities of the Sinaitic, but perhaps to a lesser degree. Recovered in 1842 and published over the next several decades, it contains about half the Gospels (in the order Matthew, Mark, John, Luke). Specifically, it contains Matt. 1:1–8:22, 10:32–23:25; Mark 16:17–20; John 1:1–42, 3:6–7:37, 14:10–29 (mutilated); Luke 2:48–3:16, 7:33–15:21, 17:24–24:44.

It has been supposed that the Curetonian version is a revision of the Sinaitic translation, probably in the direction of the developing Byzantine text. The Sinaitic, for instance, omits Mark 16:9–20, while the Curetonian contains the verses (16:17–20 being the only parts of Mark to survive in the Curetonian). This should not be considered absolutely certain, however (just as we should not be entirely sure of the relative dates or relationships of the translations). The Sinaitic seems to have stronger affinities to the Alexandrian text, and could conceivably be a revision of the Curetonian text (presumably more Antiochene in the geographical sense, and perhaps with more "Tatianisms") toward the text of Egypt.

The Old Syriac is often regarded as "Western." Certainly the text is quite distinct from the Alexandrian text, and it has many of the hallmarks of the "Western" text — e.g. paraphrases (in Matt. 1:16, for instance, the Sinaitic has the rather amazing reading ".... Jacob fathered Joseph; Joseph, to whom Mary the virgin was engaged, fathered Jesus who is called the Christ") and free insertions and deletions. Certain of these are shared with D and the Old Latins, but many are not — for instance, of the seven "Western Non-Interpolations" in Luke 24, the Old Syriac agrees with D it in 24:40, 52 (*cur* is defective for 52). However, the manuscripts disagree with D etc. in 24:3, 6, 12, 36, 51 (*cur* is defective for 51) and have a peculiar omission of their own in 24:32.

And we cannot avoid the fact that the two manuscripts — especially *sin* — have a number of clear agreements with the Alexandrian text. Notable among these is the omission, already alluded to, of Mark 16:9–20 in *sin*. Both *sin* and *cur* join B X f^{13} in omitting Matt. 16:2–3. Both join א* B Θ 33 579 892* in omitting Matt. 17:21. *Sin* omits Matt. 18:21 along with B L* Θ f^{1} f^{13} 33 892*.

Finally, we might note several agreements with the so-called “Cæsarean” witnesses. An obvious example is Matt. 27:16–17, where *sin* (hiat *cur*) reads “Jesus Barabbas” with Θ f^{1}700* arm geo^{2}.

The Old Syriac also has a large store of unique readings, some of which may come from local tradition. Thus in Matt. 10:3 *sin* (hiat *cur*) lists neither Thaddeus nor Lebbaeus as the apostle, but “Judas of James.” In Luke 23:12, *sin* omits the story of the reconciliation of Pilate and Herod Antipas.

These examples could easily be multiplied. While a handful of examples cannot prove the text-type of the Old Syriac, it is clear that it is not identical to that of D. Some have suggested that the Old Syriac deserves it own text-type (perhaps reasonable, but it would be nice to see a Greek example first…). Streeter’s geographical theory place it between the “Cæsarean” and “Western” texts. Others still view the type as “Western,” though most would place it in a different subgroup from D.

There are no manuscripts of the Old Syriac outside the gospels. The version certainly existed, but it can only be reconstructed from quotations and commentaries. Based on the materials available, the Old Syriac epistles (which may well be older than the Gospels, since the Diatessaron served as “the gospel” for so long) have a textual complexion similar to the gospels. Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, based primarily on the quotations of Ephraem, believe that the Old Syriac of Acts is very close to the African Latin -- closer than the Old Syriac of the Gospels is to the “Western” witnesses of that corpus.

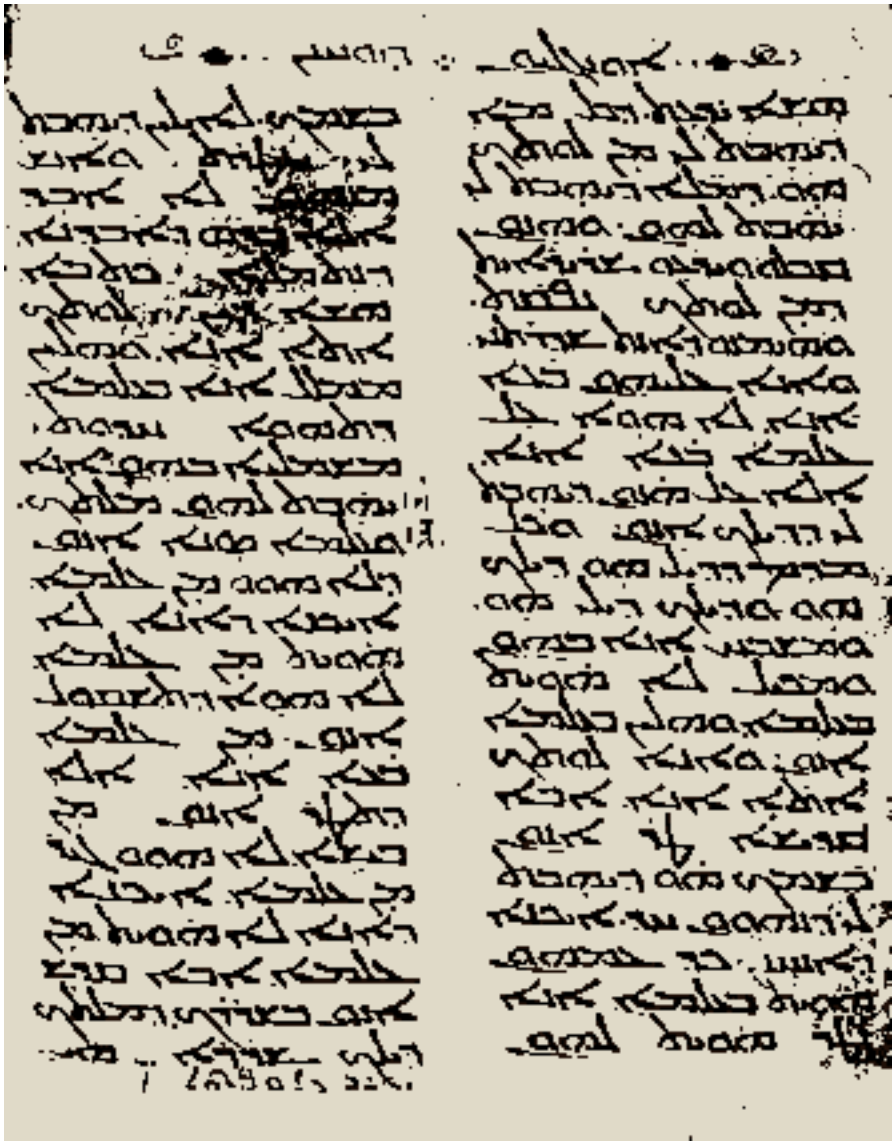
The Peshitta

The Peshitta is the oldest Syriac version to survive in its entirety. On that there is general agreement. That is about all that can be stated with certainty. Even the name is sometimes spelled “Peshitto”; this is based on the Jacobite pronunciation.

The date of the Peshitta is perhaps somewhat open to doubt. This question, as we shall see, is of some significance for the history of the text.

The Peshitta contains Old and New Testaments, with the Old Testament generally regarded as older, although there is much dispute about just how old. The New Testament (which will be what we discuss henceforth) can absolutely be dated to the fourth century or earlier. This is implied by the oldest manuscripts (since several are believed to date from the fifth century). Burkitt also points out that it is used by all branches of the Syriac church (which were well and truly sundered by the fifth century — eventually they even came to develop different versions of the script, so that one can tell by the writing style which Syriac church used a particular manuscript). This implies (though it does not quite prove) that the version was in use before the date of the schism.

It is widely stated that the Peshitta was sponsored (perhaps even translated) by Rabbula, who became Bishop of Edessa in 411 and held the post until 435. This idea is most associated with F. C. Burkitt, and is based on a statement in an early biography of Rabbula. But this hypothesis has been largely demolished by the work of Vööbus, and is now rarely met with. All indications are that the version is earlier than this.



Folio 154 verso of Sinai Syriac 2 (Peshitta translation, V/VI century), John 17:7–17. Thanks to Jean Valentin

But if the latest possible date for the version is the late fourth century, what is the earliest? A very early date was once assumed; in the nineteenth century, many scholars would have dated it to the second century. In the twentieth century, this view has largely been abandoned — not

because of any specific evidence, but simply because the earliest Syriac authors (Ephraem in particular) do not quote the Peshitta. We note in addition that the translation includes James, which was not strongly canonical in the second century. Also, it is generally thought that the Peshitta is dependent on the Old Syriac, which obviously makes it later than the earliest Syriac versions — though, since the dates of those are disputed, it again fails to prove much. All in all, it's a combination of guesswork and an argument from silence (i.e. it's flatly not proof), but in the absence of anything better, the fourth century date seems to have swept the field.

Whatever its date, the Peshitta is well preserved. Manuscripts from the sixth century are common, meaning that we have substantial early witnesses. Moreover, the manuscripts are considered to agree very closely; with the exception of Vööbus, most scholars believe that we have the version in very nearly the exact form in which it left the translators' hands. (It should be noted, however, that many Peshitta manuscripts, including some of the very oldest, have not been properly examined.)

The style of the Peshitta differs noticeably from the Old Syriac. It is more fluent and more natural than the other Syriac versions. Most scholars therefore believe that it was a substantially new translation rather than a revision. There are readings which remind us of the older Syriac versions, but these may be simple reminiscences rather than actual cases of dependency.

The text of the Peshitta is somewhat mixed. Various studies, mostly in the gospels, have attempted to tie it to all three text-types, but on the whole the Gospels text appears distinctly Byzantine (which is why the date of the Peshitta is so important. Whatever its date, it is the earliest Byzantine witness — but if it is of the second century, that witness is of much greater significance than if it is of the fourth). This is not to say that the Peshitta is purely Byzantine, or shows the peculiarities of the Textus Receptus. It does not. It omits John 7:53–8:11, for instance. But it includes Matt. 16:2–3, Mark 16:9–20, Luke 22:43–44, 23:34, etc. (most of which are omitted by the Old Syriac). Such non-Byzantine readings as it includes are probably survivals of an older Greek exemplar which has been heavily corrected toward the Byzantine standard.

In the rest of the New Testament the situation is rather different. While the Byzantine text remains the strongest single element, in Acts and Paul the Peshitta includes significant elements of other types. In my estimation, these constitute about 30–40% of the whole. These readings do not, however, seem to belong to any particular text-type; they are neither overwhelmingly "Western" nor Alexandrian. I would guess that the text of the Peshitta here retains hints of the same sort of text we find in the Old Syriac, with some Byzantine overlay. It does not agree with the later (Harklean) Syriac version.

The Peshitta does not contain the Apocalypse, and among the Catholic Epistles it has only James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. Little has been done on its text in the Catholics, except to establish that it is not purely Byzantine. Here again, kinship with the Harklean is slight.

The Philoxenian

The Philoxenian is perhaps the most mysterious of the Syriac versions, because what survives of it is so slight. The only thing we can positively identify as the Philoxenian are certain translations of the books not found in the Peshitta: 2 Peter, 2 John, 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. Such short fragments are not enough to tell us much textually.

Historically, the data are equally confusing, because it is difficult on the face of it to tell the Philoxenian from the Harklean. The Philoxenian, we are told, was made in 507–508C.E. at the instigation of Philoxenus of Mabbûg. It was probably prepared by Polycarp, chorepiscopos of Mabbûg, and was designed as a revision of the Peshitta and intended to render the Greek more precisely as well as supplying the missing five books (and, perhaps, John 7:53–8:11).

Given the uncertainty about this version, there is very little else to be said about it. In the Epistles and the Apocalypse, it is clearly not purely Byzantine — but the work done on identifying its text beyond that is so out-of-date that it is best ignored.

There is one other perhaps-significant footnote: Philoxenus of Mabbûg (bishop from 485 to 519) was an active Monophysite who took a significant part in the Christological controversies of his age, being associated with Severus of Antioch. Whether his heretical views affected the nature of the Philoxenian translation is unknown (at least to me), but students should doubtless be aware of the possibility.

The Harklean

Of the history of the Harklean version we know little except that it was intended to be a scholarly revision of the Philoxenian. It was undertaken by the Syriac scholar Thomas of Harkel (later Bishop of Mabbûg), and completed in 616.

Given the poor state of preservation of the Philoxenian version, it is hard to be sure to what extent the Harklean is a revision and to what extent it is a new translation. On the basis of the books preserved in both, however, it would appear that the Harklean is substantially new. Whereas the Philoxenian strives for good Syriac style, the Harklean is possibly the most literal translation ever attempted in any language. Even prepositions and particles are translated with wooden consistency, and word order precisely (often slavishly) retained, whether the result is good Syriac or not. The Harklean is completely unsuitable for public use. On the other hand, it is eminently suitable for text-critical work.

Perhaps even more interesting than the Harklean's very literal text is the fact that it is a critical edition. Throughout the New Testament, Thomas used several manuscripts (at least two and perhaps three in all areas), and regularly noted their differences. In the text we find many readings enclosed in obeli, and in the margin we find variant readings in both Greek and Syriac.

This immensely complicated apparatus is one of the chief problems of the Harklean. It was difficult for scribes to copy, and so copies are often imperfect. Before we can reconstruct Thomas's exemplars, we must reconstruct his text, and even that is a major task. Fortunately we have a fair number of manuscripts from the eighth century, and a handful from earlier, so at least we have good materials for reconstructing the version (though critical editions are only now starting to appear).

Even so, we can reach some clear conclusions by studying the Harklean text. In the Gospels, it would seem that all the manuscripts consulted were Byzantine. At least, it has almost all of the longer Byzantine readings (Matt. 16:2–3, Mark 9:44, 46, Luke 22:43–44, 23:34, as well as the full form of the Lord's Prayer in chapter 11, and it has all of the "Western Non-Interpolations" in Luke 24). We do find the shorter ending of Mark in the margin (the long ending in the text); John 5:4 is in asterisks, and the best manuscripts omit John 7:53–8:11.

In the Acts and Epistles, the Harklean is much more interesting; here the manuscripts consulted in preparing the version came from several different families.

In Acts, the Harklean margin was long considered an ally of the "Western" text. It now appears more likely that the Harklean was derived from a Byzantine manuscript and a manuscript of family 2138. Some of the wilder marginal readings may come from a true "Western" source, but most of them are probably of the 2138–type.

This affiliation with family 2138 continues in Paul and the Catholics. In Paul, the Harklean is clearly affiliated with 1505 1611 2495; in the Catholics it goes with the large family 614 630 1505 1611 1799 2138 2412 2495 etc. Of course, it is dependent on a Byzantine source also.

With this information, we are at last in a position to begin reconstructing the translation method of the Thomas of Harkel. Based on the data in the Catholic Epistles, it appears to me that Thomas wanted to preserve the full text of *both* his exemplars. So, wherever they were variants, he noted them. If the variant was an addition/omission, he put the longer reading in the text but enclosed it in obeli. Where the variants involved substitution, one went in the text and one in the margin. There appears to be no pattern as to which one went in the text; Byzantine and family 2138 readings are found in both text and margin. Presumably there was a critical principle involved, but it was not evident to me.

Little research seems to have been done, to date, on the Harklean version of the Apocalypse.

With the Harklean version, the history of the Bible in Edessene Syriac/Aramaic comes to a close. The Arab Conquest seriously weakened the Christian church, and the demand for new translations probably declined. It also led to an evolution of the Aramaic language. With the call for new renderings so muted, the Peshitta and the Harklean were able to hold the field until modern times. Other Syriac versions exist, but they are in different dialects and completely unrelated. The one verified version in the alternate Palestinian dialect is known, logically enough, as

The Palestinian Version

If the other Syriac versions are like a tree growing out of each other, the Palestinian Syriac (also known as the Jerusalem Syriac or the Christian-Palestinian-Aramaic) may be regarded as from another forest entirely. Dialect, text, and history are all entirely different — and generally less well-known.

The other Syriac versions are written in the dialect of Edessa, which is properly called Syriac. The Palestinian Syriac is written in a similar script, but the language is that of Palestine (it would be better if it were simply called Aramaic rather than Syriac).

The history of the Palestinian Syriac is largely unknown. No account of its origin has survived. All that can be said with certainty is that the earliest manuscripts appear to date from the sixth century. Most scholars would assign it a date in the fifth or sixth centuries.

The Palestinian Syriac survives primarily in lectionaries. The most important manuscripts of the version are three substantial lectionaries — one in the Vatican and dated to 1030C.E. and two at Sinai and dated to 1104 and 1118 C.E. (Ironically, by this time Palestinian Aramaic was evolving into more modern forms, and the copyists had some difficulty with the language.) In addition, there are fragments of the Gospels, Acts, James, 2 Peter, and most of Paul in continuous text manuscripts.

The Palestinian Syriac was clearly made from the Greek. The basis of the version has been the subject of debate. It is clearly not Byzantine, but neither does it appear purely Alexandrian nor “Western.” Many have seen it as “Cæsarean,” and this seems reasonable on the face of it. More we can hardly say at this time.

The “Karkaphensian” Version

This version will occasionally be referred to in the older manuals. It is not, however, an actual version. Its name was given before the version was properly known, based on a comment of Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, who listed a “Karkaphensian” Syriac version.

The version that passes by this name is not, however, a continuous translation. Rather, it is a collection of passages calling for some sort of scholarly annotation. Sometimes it explains odd words; sometimes it demonstrates the correct orthography of an unusual word. It has therefore been compared to a Syriac "Massorah" such as accompanies the Massoretic Text of the Hebrew Old Testament.

This apparatus seems to exist in two forms — one Nestorian, one Jacobite. Almost all of the handful of copies are Jacobite, and date from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. Since it is based on the other Syriac versions (especially the Peshitta), it has no proper place in a critical apparatus.

Udi (Alban, Alvan)

This language is of no real interest to the textual critic, since the Udi version no longer exists, but it has some historical significance.

Udi (commonly known as Alban, or more correctly Alvan) is an East Caucasian language, sometimes (rather confusingly) called Caucasian Albanian. It is not Indo-European, but is considered part of the Nakh-Caucasian family, which also includes such tongues as Avar, Chechen, Lezgian, Tabassaran, Lak, and Dargwa. There are only a few thousand speakers left today, most of whom speak at least one other language; it has no literature except perhaps some oral poetry, and that likely to fade soon. Most of the remaining speakers live in Azerbaijan. But Azerbaijan, in the first millenium of the Christian Era, was known as the Kingdom of Alba/Albania. This nation is reported to have been Christianized. Indeed, it is reported that Mesrop, who worked on the Armenian Version, also created an Alban alphabet and an Alban translation.

No traces of this version survive; indeed, no ancient Alban literature is known. We have a few isolated samples of the alphabet on ostraca, just enough to show what it looks like. It cannot even be proved that modern Udi is descended from ancient Alban. But if an Alban New Testament should emerge, it would be among the earliest versions still surviving.

Other Early Versions

Although the list above includes every version considered to be of value for textual critics (and some, like the Slavonic, which are really pretty worthless), there were other translations created before the era of printing. The list below very briefly describes a few of them.

- Catalan. Presumably from the Vulgate, though there may have been Provençal influence.
- Czech. I assume made from the Vulgate, though I have no proof of this.

- German. At least one version reportedly was made from the Provençal around the fourteenth century (and printed very early, though of course Luther's version soon swept it away); it is thought it was translated in Bohemia. This version would thus be at best a tertiary version and, in the Psalms and a few other places, might even be at fourth hand (Hebrew to Greek to Latin to Provençal to German)! It had lots of company; supposedly there were 14 different editions of the Bible in German printed prior to Luther, though some of these no doubt used the same translation. (By comparison, there were no full English editions printed prior to Luther,)
- Nubian. Although it seems clear that the region between what is now Egypt and Ethiopia was Christianized, and that there was a Bible in the language of the region, it survives only in the tiniest of fragments — too little, on the face of it, to be of any textual use or even to give us an idea of its affinities.
- Persian. Although Christianity reached Persia at a very early stage, the surviving manuscripts of the Persian version all contain only the Gospels. There were probably translations into Middle Persian, but these have been lost; what we have are more recent translations into early Modern Persian (Farsi), and seem to have been made from Nestorian sources. There are two printed editions, both old. The earlier edition is found in Walton's London Polyglot. This translation, based on a fourteenth century manuscript, is believed to be based on the Peshitta Syriac but is quite free. Around 1750, another Persian edition was made by Abraham Wheelocke, probably also from a fourteenth century manuscript, but this is seemingly a different version with a Greek base. Neither translation has attracted much critical attention (though Tischendorf cited both); the Lakes mentioned a suggestion that the version was "Cæsarean," but of course *everything* but the Textus Receptus was called "Cæsarean" in those days.
- Sogdian. The church of Sogdiana seems to have been Nestorian, and their Bible translated from Peshitta Syriac. We have only fragments of the version (mainly from fragmentary lectionaries). The manuscripts seem to date from the ninth century and later, though the version itself is clearly earlier. The *Shepherd* of Hermas was definitely translated into Sogdian, though it is not clear whether it was considered canonical. The Sogdian language was very widespread in the first millenium of the Christian era, being the *lingua franca* of the trading regions around Samarkand. The language was Indo-European, related to Persian, but was written in four different alphabets (depending primarily on the religion of the writer), with different scripts for Hindus, Buddhists (who developed a native Sogdian alphabet), Manicheans, and Christians. Christians used a Syriac/Aramaic script for Sogdian. At least as far as we know. Given our limited knowledge of the version, I wouldn't be surprised if there were versions in other scripts as well.

- Provençal. There seem to be two versions of this. Made from the Vulgate, probably around the thirteenth century.

Appendix V: The Church Fathers and Patristic Citations

Introduction

The text of the New Testament, it is said, is attested by a three-fold cord: the Manuscripts, the Versions, and the Fathers (often called Patristic Evidence).

Of the three, the Fathers (as we call citations of the New Testament in the writings of various ancient authors) are perhaps the most problematic. Although it has been said, not too inaccurately, that we could reconstruct the entire New Testament from the surviving quotations, the task would be much more difficult than taking it from manuscripts. The Fathers' texts are often loosely cited, and they are not well-organized.

Still, the Fathers are vital for reconstructing the history of the text, for only they can give us information about where and when a reading circulated. Properly used, they can also provide important support for readings otherwise poorly attested. A proper appreciation of their value is thus an important requirement for textual criticism.

The number of authors who have left some sort of literary remains is probably beyond counting. Even if we omit most of them — which we should; there isn't much critical value in a comment in an Easter table by an unknown monk, or in a brief citation of the Vulgate in a twelfth century Book of Hours — there are still hundreds who have appeared in one or another critical edition. For reasons of space, this page is devoted primarily to the Fathers cited in the editions of Nestle-Aland and Merk. Readers who wish to learn about more obscure Fathers, or to learn more about the Fathers cited here, are strongly urged to consult a Patrology.

The Fathers are one of the areas of textual criticism about which I know the least. This article is incomplete. As it stands now it comes from a limited list of sources and has not been checked. It is advised that the reader not place great reliance on this information without confirming it elsewhere. It should also be remembered that information about the Fathers is perhaps subject to more disagreement than any other area in textual criticism. You can't expect everyone to agree on everything!

List of Fathers Cited in NA^{27} or Merk

The list below gives the names of every Father reported to be cited in the editions of Nestle-Aland^{27} and Merk. The first line of each entry lists the name of each Father, his date, the language in which he wrote (not always the language in which the writings are preserved), and the abbreviations used by Nestle and Merk. This is followed by a brief biography. For more important fathers I have also tried to give information about the text-type(s) found in their writings.

For a fuller list of fathers (but usually with shorter biographies) and a list of references one is referred to the Aland/Aland volume *The Text of the New Testament* or to a Patrology.

The most convenient English translation of many of the Fathers are to be found in the series *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* and its followers, major portions of which are available online at various sites — but it should be noted that these translations are often rather rough, that many are based on non-critical texts, and that a number lack scriptural indices. In addition, the on-line versions were scanned from the printed texts, and in many instances have not been proofread and contain significant errors. The student would probably be better advised to seek more modern translations.

Note: The table of fathers in Merk is extremely inaccurate. Some fathers (e.g. Beatus) are cited under symbols different from those listed in the table. Other fathers cited in the text (e.g. Bede) are simply omitted from Merk's list. There are also instances where I have not been able to identify the father Merk is citing. I have done my best to silently correct his errors (meaning that this table is a better reference for his edition than is the edition itself!), but I have often had to simply trust what his introduction says. (Sorry!)

For those who wish to check my sources, I am slowly adding them at the end of each item, enclosed in square brackets. A list of the sources consulted is found at the end of the document.

Acacius of Caesarea. d. 366. Greek. Nestle: Acac.
Bishop of Cæsarea following Eusebius. [AA]

Adamantius. IV. Greek. Nestle: Ad. Merk: Ad.
"Adamantius" was an author who wrote under one of Origen's alternate names, although his opinions are often in conflict with Origen. The work *De recta in deum fide* survives in Greek and in Rufinus's Latin translation. The Greek is clearly from after 325 (probably from the 330s), which has led some to believe that the Latin is actually an earlier form. But this now seems unlikely. [US, AA]

Agathangelus. V. Armenian. Merk: Ag.
Agathangelus is one of the earliest Armenian authors. He claimed to be the secretary of the king Tiridates III (reigned c. 284–314) and is the author of an "Armenian History" covering the period 230–235, leading up to the conversion of Armenia by St. Gregory the Illuminator. Aganthanelus's writings include a long section called "The Teaching of St Gregory," containing allusions to the works of the Church Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. Many of his scriptural quotations seem to be related to the Diatessaron. [JV, BMM1]

Ambrose. d. c.397. Latin. Nestle: Ambr. Merk: Amb.
Born probably in the second quarter of the fourth century (339?) in Trier, and given a classical and legal education, he was assigned to a government post in the region of Milan around 370.

In 373/374 he was baptised and made bishop (by popular demand and apparently against his will — it is said a child cried out "Bishop Ambrose," and the crowd took up the call). In that role he was responsible for baptising Augustine of Hippo; he also exercised significant influence on several Emperors (among other things, he forced Theodosius the Great to perform penance for a massacre, and was an ambassador between emperors in the interregnum preceding Theodosius's reign). His major work on the New Testament was a commentary on Luke, and he also wrote treatises such as *De Fide ad Gratianum* (to the new Emperor Gratian) and *De Spiritu Sancto* (381). He also may have had some influence on the liturgy, and has even been credited with the Athanasian Creed. For all this, Ambrose is perhaps most significant for the respect in which he was held (his writings are generally not very profound or original; *De Spiritu Sancto*, for instance, owes a great deal to Basil the Great. This caused several writers to have their works appear under his name — including Ambrosiaster, whose commentary on Paul is far more important textually than any of Ambrose's works. Ambrose himself is thought to have worked with Greek originals at times; his Old Latin quotations are thought to resemble those of ff^{2}, while in Paul his text is close to Ambrosiaster's. Paulinus write his biography. [20CE, AA, AS, HC, PDAH]

Pseudo-Ambrose. Latin. Nestle: Ps Ambr.

Ambrosiaster. fl. 366–384. Latin. Nestle: Ambst. Merk: Ambst.
Name given to an author of the time of Pope Damasus (366–384 C.E.) whose writings were credited to Ambrose (also sometimes to Hilary and Augustine). (The name "Ambrosiaster" was proposed by Erasmus, who demonstrated that Ambrose was not the author of the works.) It is thought that he was a high civil official, and very strongly Roman, with a disdain for Greek learning. Ambrosiaster's most important work is a Latin commentary on the Pauline Epistles (excluding Hebrews), unusual for its lack of allegorical interpretations. It is probably the single most important source of Latin patristic quotations. The larger part of the Epistles is cited. He clearly worked from an Old Latin text, but it is very primitive (Souter thought it close to the prototype for the Vulgate, but this is not borne out by the citations in Nestle-Aland). Of all the "Western" witnesses to Paul, this one seems to have the most peculiar agreements with P^{46} and B. Agreements between P^{46}, B, D, G, and Ambrosiaster can therefore be regarded as very ancient if not always original. In the Apocalypse, Souter compares his text to Primasius and gigas.
A second work by Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti,* does not contain as many quotations and is less important textually (though its opinions on Christianity and the monarchy had great influence). [20CE, AA, AS, RBW]

Ammonius. III. Greek. Merk: Amm (also Ammon?)
The name "Ammonius" is the source of great confusion. The more important Ammonius is Ammonius, Bishop of Thmuis (in lower Egypt) around the time of Origen. He seemingly created the Ammonian Sections as an adjunct to his gospel harmony (built around Matthew).

This was the system that Eusebius elaborated and improved in his canons.
Ammonius of Thmuis is often called "Ammonius of Alexandria" — e.g. by Merk. This is not a good name, however, as there was another (though much less important) Ammonius of Alexandria in the fifth/sixth century.
Neither author has left us much. The earlier Ammonius survives mostly through the works of Eusebius, the later only in quotations in catenae.

Andreas of Cæsarea. VI. Greek. Nestle: (𝔐ᴬ). Merk: (An)
Archbishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea. Dated anywhere between *c.* 520 and *c.* 600. Most noteworthy work is a commentary on the Apocalypse (the earliest known to survive) that became so popular that copies of it form a major fraction of the surviving tradition, being almost as common as the "strictly Byzantine" manuscripts. 1ʳ, from which Erasmus prepared the Textus Receptus, is an Andreas manuscript, and certain of the marginal readings of the commentary wound up in the text. Andreas's commentary is also responsible for the 72 divisions into which the Apocalypse is divided. [AA, FHAS]

Aphraates. IV. Syriac. Merk: Af.
In Syriac, Afrahat. A resident of Persia (known as the "Persian Sage") who wrote in Syriac. After Ephraem, the most important Syriac Father; his writings are among those used to reconstruct the Old Syriac of Paul. His basic text of the gospels is the Diatessaron, though he perhaps also used the Old Syriac. Born probably in the second half of the third century, his great works (the *Demonstrationes)* date from 336/7 and 344, and are considered the oldest extant writings in Syriac. His date of death is listed by Merk as 367, but the evidence is incomplete. His works have sometimes been falsely attributed to Jacob Nisibenus. [AA, AS, CH, EW]

Apostolic Constitutions/Canons. IV/V. Greek. Merk: Can Ap.
A collection of liturgical instructions from the late fourth century, sometimes credited to the Pseudo-Ignatius and possibly compiled in Antioch. To this is appended the Apostolic Canons, pertaining mostly to the ordination of the clergy. The two books are believed to be roughly contemporary. The whole is thought to be dependent on Hippolytus's *Apostolic Tradition* [20CE, AA, CH]

Apringius Pacensis. VI. Latin. Nestle: Apr. Merk: Ap.
Bishop of Pace (modern Beja, Portugal). His commentary on the Apocalypse probably dates from shortly after 551.

Aristides. fl. c. 140. Greek. Merk: Arist.
Author of an Apology addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius (or possibly his predecessor Hadrian; so Eusebius; it should be noted, however, that Hadrianus was one of Pius's alternate names). It exists in an almost-complete Syriac version and Greek and Armenian fragments.

The Greek text is preserved almost complete, though probably in a slightly condensed form, as part of the romance of *Barlaam and Joasaph*. [AA, Eus, FKBA]

Arnobius the Younger. V. Latin. Nestle: Arn.
Called "the Younger" because there was an earlier Arnobius (who reportedly taught Lactantius and wrote a defense of Christianity, *Libri vii adversus gentes,* during Diocletian's persecution). The younger Arnobius probably was born in North Africa but fled to Rome to escape the Vandals. In Rome, some time around 455, he compiled a set of scholia on the Gospels.

Athanasius of Alexandria. d. 373. Greek. Nestle: Ath. Merk: Ath.
The great defender of orthodoxy in the age of Arianism. As a young man of about 26, he attended the Council of Nicea, and espoused its principles for nearly fifty years. Later chosen Bishop of Alexandria (from 328, succeeding the equally orthodox Bishop Alexander), he was driven into exile five times (the first time from 335–346, and not on doctrinal but practical grounds; thereafter usually for opposing Arianism). Despite being exiled by both monarch and church, he always managed to return. His works consist mostly of treatises against the Arians (many of these from the period after 350, when Arianism seemed to be threatening to destroy orthodoxy); the most important of these was probably *On (the) Incarnation.* He also penned some apologetic works and a handful of other writings such as the *Life on Antony* (Athanasius was friends with the saintly monk, and helped encourage monasticism in Egypt). He also, having spent many years in exile in the West, introduced a handful of Western practices into the Egyptian church, and seems to have tried to introduce a more natural, personal worship. Despite his time in the west, his text is generally regarded as Alexandrian (though not as pure as it might be). His text is not as useful as might be expected, however; he does not provide enough material.
Athanasius is often credited with fixing the canon of the New Testament in one of his festal letters, but it should be noted that the church had already nearly settled on its official list of books before he was even born, and that extra-canonical books continued to be copied in Bibles for some decades after his death. His name is also attached to the Athanasian Creed, but in fact this is a Latin work which does not seem to have any connection with Athanasius. [AA, AS, HC, PDAH, RBW]

Athenagoras. fl. c. 175. Greek. Nestle: Athen.
A (self-described?) "Christian Philosopher." Little is known of his life. During the period when Marcus Aurelius and Commodus were co-Emperors (i.e. 177–180) he wrote an important *Apology* for Christianity. Unlike some authors of the period, he appealed for understanding and harmony. His other known work is *On the Resurrection.* [AA, HC]

Augustine of Hippo. b. 354; d. 430. Latin. Nestle: Aug. Merk: Aug.
Born 354 in Thagaste in Numidia (North Africa), the son of a pagan father and a Christian mother (Monica). He had early Christian training, but initially rejected the faith. He became a

Manichean before finally turning Christian (under the influence of Ambrose). In his early years he taught rhetoric (moving to Rome for this reason in 382, then to Milan in 384), then underwent a conversion experience around 385. He tried to return to seclusion in Africa, but was made priest, then coadjutator bishop of Hippo in 395, and soon after became sole holder of the episcopal title. He died in 430 as the Vandals besieged Hippo. His theology was extremely predestinarian and rigid (he was Calvin's primary inspiration), but his voluminous works were widely treasured. His many quotations are in Latin (though he was aware of the importance of the Greek), and he is responsible for the famous remark about the "Itala" being the best of the Latin versions. His text does not seem to indicate *which* Latin type this is, however; while his Latin text is pre-vulgate, it is clearly not the African Latin of Cyprian, and does not seem to be purely "European" either. (In Paul, his text is considered to be close to r of the Old Latin — but r is quite distinct from the other Latin witnesses. Souter lists his text in the Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Apocalypse as close to h.) Theologically, his two most important works are the *City of God* and the largely autobiographical *Confessions*. [20CE, AA, AS, HC, PDAH]

Pseudo-Augustine (=Quodvultdeus?). Latin. Merk: Ps.Aug

Barsalibi (Dionysus bar Salibi). d. 1171. Syriac. Merk: Bars
A member of the Jacobite Syriac church, he was bishop first of Mabbûg and then Amida. He wrote commentaries on the Gospels and some works on theology. His text is essentially that of the Peshitta, and so has little influence on our text.

Basil of Ancyra. IV. Greek. Nestle: BasA.
Bishop of Ancyra from about 335. In an era when Arianism was becoming ever more powerful and ever more radical, he held relatively close to the Nicene position, trying to keep the Emperor Constantius from adopting the Arian position of Valens of Mursa during the 350s. Although by 360 it appeared that Constantius was committed to Arianism, Basil's followers eventually joined forces with Athanasius to maintain Nicene orthodoxy. Basil himself died around 374. [AA, HC]

Basil the Great of Cæsarea. d. 379. Greek. Nestle: Bas. Merk: Bas
One of the great "Cappadocian Fathers," he was the brother of Gregory of Nyssa. Born of a well-to-do family around 330, he studied in several cities before becoming a hermit (358?) and did much to reform and organize the eastern monastic rules. In the 360s he became a presbyter, then in 370 Bishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea. Along with his brother and his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, he was one of the great defenders of Nicene orthodoxy in the mid to late fourth century, particularly after the death of Athanasius. He was probably around fifty when he died on the first day of 379, and although he felt frustrated by the schisms which remained in the church (the Principate was still promoting heterodox causes, and Rome had rejected his claims), his work was important to the reunification of orthodoxy which soon

followed. He also made some changes in church order, and worked to keep the ascetic movement under episcopal control. He has been called the "true founder of communal.... monasticism." His book *On the Holy Spirit* was one of the great writings of Nicene Christianity. He also wrote letters which illuminate the problems of a bishop in those troubles times. Debate continues about the authenticity of some of his minor works. Von Soden considers his text to align with the Purple Uncials; if true, this would make it almost but not quite purely Byzantine. [20CE, AA, AS, HC, PDAH]

Basilides. II. (Greek). Nestle: Basil.
Basilidies, a Gnostic, has left no direct literary remains (although Origen credits a gospel to him). What little we know comes from Clement of Alexandria (who preserved some quotations), Irenæus, Origen, the *Acta Archelai,* and the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus (the latter perhaps based on forged documents). The sources are extremely inconsistent, and different editors have preferred different interpretations. Irenæus and Clement describe a complex divine scheme (including, e.g., 365 different heavens!) similar to that of Valentinus. The universe has degenerated from its lofty origins. The "Hippolytan" view is of ascent rather than descent, and involves fewer divine beings. The *Acta Archelai* implies something like Persian dualism. [20CE]

Beatus of Liébana. VIII. Latin. Nestle: Bea. Merk: Be
A Spanish abbot, died probably 798, noteworthy primarily for his popular commentary on the Apocalypse.

Venerable **Bede**. d. 735. Latin. Nestle: Beda. Merk: Beda
Born in about 672/3 in Northumbria (Britain), he wrote a wide variety of works, including the famous history of the English church. He also translated portions of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon (though no part of these translations survive), and is said to have just finished the translation of John when he died (May 735 or possibly 736). Less important are works such as the *Lives of the Abbots,* which have little textual value though they tell us something about Bede himself (living as he did in monasteries from the age of seven) and the English church. His exceptional scholarship and piety are shown by the fact that he was made a deacon by the future Saint John of Beverly while still a youth (this is significant as 25 was the normal minimum age). He became a priest at thirty, and spent the rest of his life in scholarship. For textual purposes, Bede's most important works are commentaries on the Gospels, Acts (for which he used the Codex Laudianus, E), and Apocalypse. His works generally testify to the quality of Vulgate manuscripts used in eighth century Britain, as his text (except, of course, where he consulted E) stands very close to the Codex Amiatinus. He was eventually canonized by Pope Leo XIII, more than 1200 years after his death (and by which time Britain was Protestant). [20CE, AS, BMM2, LSP]

John **Cassian**. d. c. 435. Latin. Nestle: Cn.
Born in the third quarter of the fourth century, probably in Rumania, he became a monk (first in Bethlehem, then in Egypt). Made a deacon by Chrysostom around the turn of the century, he was in Rome around 405 and in 415 founded a monastery in Marsailles. His writings struck something of a balance between those of Augustine (whose doctrine of predestination more or less denied the human power to do anything) and Pelagius (who could be interpreted as denying the need for God's grace).

Cassiodorus. VI. Latin. Nestle: Cass. Merk: Cass
Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus was born late in the fifth century (possibly 478?) in Calabria. He was probably still in his early twenties when he became secretary to Theodoric the Great around 507. Despite eventually being made a patrician, around 540 he withdrew to a monastery of his own founding, where he did much to preserve the surviving remnants of Latin literature. Much of his time in the monastery was devoted to theological writings; he also collected a large library which he described in the *Institutiones Diuinarum et Sæcularium Lectionum*, which at some points discusses textual questions. He and his pupils also rewrote the (anonymous) Pelagian commentary on Paul (this was once accidentally credited to Primasius). Cassiodorus may also have been a translator; at least, he preserved in Latin translation some of the writings of Clement of Alexandria (and probably other Greek writers). He lived to a great age and probably died around 580 (CM says 573). The text of his commentary on Romans is said to closely resemble Codex Amiatinus of the vulgate; his pupils, however, used texts with Old Latin readings — as did Cassiodorus himself in certain of his other writings. [AA, AS, CM, R&W]

John **Chrysostom**. d. 407. Greek. Nestle: Chr. Merk: Xρ
Called "golden-mouthed." Born in Antioch to a well-to-do family around 345, John chose a monastic career around 375 (having previously studied rhetoric under Libanius). His fine speaking brought him to high favour (although he tried to avoid clerical promotion). He was a pupil of Diodorus of Tarsus, but unlike hi mentor, his orthodoxy was unquestioned. Appointed Patriarch of Constantinople against his will in 398, he quickly found himself in conflict with the Empress Eudoxia (wife of Arcadius, the first Eastern Roman emperor after the final split between the two halves of the Empire); he apparently regarded her lifestyle as too luxurious, and was in any case anti-feminist. After several years of argument and reconciliation, court politics resulted in his deposition and exile (403–404). A final brief reconciliation ended in 404, and Chrysostom died in 407 while still in exile.
It should not be assumed that he was entirely innocent in these disputes; John Julius Norwich, in *Byzantium: The Early Centuries* (Knopf, 1996), pp. 129–131, writes, "This saintly but insufferable prelate, by his scorching castigations of the Empress and her way of life, had made himself dangerously unpopular at court; and in 403 his long and impassioned debate with Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, gave Eudoxia the excuse for which she had been

waiting: Chrysostom was deposed and exiled to Bithynia. But however many enemies he may have had in high places, he enjoyed considerable support among the people; riots broke out.... That night, moreover, there was an earthquake — which so frightened the superstitious Empress.... that the exiled prelate was recalled and reinstalled. [But Chrysostom soon after was referring to Eudoxia as Herodias.] On 24 June the recalcitrant bishop was exiled for the second time; once again disaster overtook Constantinope.... Pope Innocent I.... summoned a synod of Latin bishops… [which] called on Arcadius to restore Chrysostom to his see.... Meanwhile Honorius [the Eastern Emperor] had addressed a stern letter to his brother, deploring the various disturbances which his mishandling of the affair had brought upon the capital.... To this letter a deeply offended Arcadius sent no reply.... At last, in 406, a delegation was sent jointly by Honorius and Innocent to Constantinople… [O]nce again Arcadius made his attitude plain enough. The envoys were not even permitted to enter the city. Instead, they were clapped into a Thracian prison.... Thus, when St. John Chrysostom died in a remote region of Pontus — probably as a result of ill-treatement by his guards — in September 407, he left the Roman Empire profoundly split." In fact, the two halves would never reunite, except briefly when Justinian conquered the west.

Most of Chrysostom's surviving works (of which there are very many) are sermons (many of them spurious; many writers tried to add luster to their works by attributing them to the great orator). His text is generally regarded as Byzantine, and is one of the earliest examples of the type, but — like most early witnesses to the Byzantine text — he often departs from the developed Byzantine text of later centuries, possibly in the direction of the "Western" text. [20CE, AA, AS, MG, PDAH]

Clement of Alexandria. d. c. 215. Greek. Nestle: Cl. Merk: Cl

Titus Flavius Clemens was born in the mid-Second century, probably of pagan Athenian parents. In the latter part of that century, after years of travel and study under a variety of masters, he met Pantænus, the head of the Catechetical School. Clement became an instructor around 190, and eventually became the school's leader. He left Alexandria around 202/203 as a result of the persecution under Severus, and died a few years later (after 211 but before 217) in Asia Minor.

Clement was apparently a prolific writer; Eusebius lists ten books he wrote (the *Miscellanies* (*Stromateis*), the *Outlines*, the *Address to the Greeks*, the *Pædagogus*, and a series of shorter works). A few other works are mentioned by other writers. Of these, we have most of the *Miscellanies* (apparently never completed; Clement himself called it "not a careful literary composition" and "notes stored up for my old age"), the *Address*, and the *Pædagogus*. The latter two were designed to introduce non-Christians to the faith; the former is a collection of philosophical reflections and notes.

The text of Clement is diverse; it has readings of all known text-types. Presumably he gathered all these different forms in his wide travels and wide studies (W. Bauer thought he was at one point a Gnostic, perhaps a Valentinian, but it seems more likely that he simply lived in a

mystical climate). A few of the problems with Clement's text may result from his own rather casual style of quotation. He is thus better used as an indication of how old readings are than as an indication of where they originated.
Clement of Alexandria should not be confused with Clement of Rome, who wrote 1 Clement and had assorted later works attributed to him. [20CE, AA, AS, Eus, PDAH]

Clement of Rome. *c*. 95. Greek. Merk: Cl^{r}
The name "Clement" is often associated with the oldest known non-canonical Christian writing, which we call 1 Clement. This anonymous letter was written from Rome to Corinth (then experiencing strong internal dissent) around 95 C.E., and was for a time held in such high esteem as to be considered canonical. As such it is found in the Codex Alexandrinus.
1 Clement was held to be the work of Clement, the third bishop of Rome (following Linus and Anencletus, and omitting Peter and Paul). This Clement was held, in turn, to be the Clement of Phil. 4:3 (so Eusebius, *H.E.* iii.15, following Origen. Others suggested the Roman nobleman Titus Flavius Clemens, executed by the Emperor Domitian in 95 on apparent suspicion of Christianity. All of this is, at best, speculation. Eusebius tells us that Clement was Bishop of Rome from the twelfth year of Domitian (about 93) to the third year of Trajan (100/101), crediting him with nine years of service.
The importance of 1 Clement lies not so much in its quotations (few of which are important for textual criticism; they are usually allusions at best) as for what it tells us about the canon. It appears to refer to a collection of Paul's letters, and it alludes to both Hebrews (which is in fact a major influence on the letter) and 1 Peter, showing that both were in circulation by its time. Interestingly, 1 Clement shows no particular knowledge of any of the Gospels.
Such was the popularity of 1 Clement that a number of later documents, including 2 Clement and the Clementine Homilies, were credited to him. But there can be no doubt that they came from other hands. [AA, Eus, MS]

Pseudo-Clementine Homilies. IV?. Greek. Nestle: Clhom. Merk: Clh

II Clement. II. Greek. Nestle: 2Cl. See Clement of Rome.

Cyprian. d. 258. Latin. Nestle: Cyp. Merk: Cyp (seemingly occasionally mis-cited as Cy)
Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus was born near the beginning of the third century, probably in Carthage. He was well-educated, with a legal background (it has been speculated that this influenced his immense respect for Tertullian), and taught rhetoric in the 240s. He became a Christian rather late in life, and was not baptised until 246. Soon after (248/9), by popular demand, he became Bishop of Carthage. He fled Carthage during the Decian persecution of 249, and was subjected to condemnation as a result. He nonetheless returned to his bishopric in 251. In the following years the Roman church split into factions under Cornelius (who was willing to forgive those who lapsed during the persecution) and Novatian (who was not). Cyprian argued strongly in favor of Cornelius, and his arguments helped swing Catholic

orthodoxy toward Cornelius.
When the Valerian persecution arose in 258, Cyprian decided not to flee again. He saw to it that he was arrested in Carthage, and was executed soon after.
Cyprian's surviving works consist of a large number of letters and ten or so treatises on church-related subjects. These include *On Exhortation to Martyrdom, On the Lapsed*, and *On the Unity of the Church*. The last is perhaps his most important work; unfortunately, two forms of certain key passages are in circulation.
Cyprian derived many of his ideas from Tertullian, whom he called "the Master." His text is, not surprisingly, the African Old Latin, and is considered to be very similar to k of the Gospels and h of the epistles.
Several pseudonymous works, such as *de Montibus Sina et Sion* and the *Ad Novatianum,* eventually circulated under Cyprian's name. Perhaps the most important was de Rebaptismate, which led Eusebius to believe that Cyprian called for rebaptising those who fell into heresy, though in fact he held the opposite position. [20CE, AA, AS, Eus]

Cyril of Alexandria. d. 444. Greek. Nestle: Cyr. Merk: Cy
Born in the third century of a well-known Alexandrian family, he became Patriarch of Alexandria in 412. His opinions are rather diffuse; much of his thought seems to come from Platonic philosophy, and his arguments are often rather vague, poorly supported, and illogical. Thus he cannot be regarded as a great Christian thinker, though he accomplished much for the church. Although most of his writings are exegetical, he played a vigorous role in the controversies with the Monophysites. He should perhaps be credited with finally vanquishing Apollinarianism. Nestorius accused him of making Jesus imperfectly human, but Cyril, a passionate debater, managed to out-maneuver and out-argue Nestorius at every turn (both Cyril and Nestorius were temporarily deposed in 431, but Cyril's deposition, while passed by a small group of bishops, was confirmed by the authorities simply to keep the peace. He was soon restored, while Nestorius's punishment proved permanent). Cyril died in 444, and was later canonized.
The text of Cyril, as might be expected, is Alexandrian, although an assortment of alien (including Byzantine) readings are found in it. [20CE, AA, HC]

Cyril of Jerusalem. d. 386. Greek. Nestle: CyrJ. Merk: Cyi.
Born in Jerusalem in the first quarter of the fourth century. He probably was not much past twenty when he became a deacon in 325. In 345 he became a presbyter, and finally Bishop of Jerusalem from about 349. Repeatedly forced into exile, he died in 386/7. His surviving writings include a set of 24 *Catechetical Lectures* for converts preparing for baptism.
According to Roderic L. Mullen, Cyril's text is mixed and varies from book to book but generally goes with the late Alexandrian witnesses (with some Byzantine influence). In Mark it appears to approach the "Cæsarean" witnesses. [VB, AA]

Cyrillonas. IV/V. Merk: Cyr.

Didache. II?. Greek. Nestle: Didache.
Also called *The Teachings of the Twelve Apostles*, and as such largely incorporated into the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Didascalia Apostolorum.* A short pamphlet concerning the Way of Life and the Way of Death, with other material on forms of worship, surviving in a Greek manuscript from the year 1056, plus fragments, as well as in Georgian and fragments in other languages. Very conservative and legalistic (and possibly based on a Jewish original), it seems to derive most of its Christian material from Matthew. Its date is usually given as early second century (based on the fact that the Letter of Barnabas appears to quote it). However, the possibility should not be excluded that both the *Didache* and Barnabas derive their material from a common source, probably a Jewish document on "The Two Ways" (so Goodspeed). Similarly, it is possible that the material shared with the *Apostolic Constitutions* comes from a lost common source. On this basis some would regard the Didache as a later compilation of early writings. Dates as late as the fifth century have been mentioned. We should note, though, that it is mentioned by Eusebius and used (perhaps even treated as scripture) by Clement of Alexandria; this argues strongly for an earlier date. Still, dates as late as 180 or so are quite possible (some have thought that Chapter 16 describes the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, which began in 177; of course, Chapter 16 coud be a later addition).
Some have thought to connect the Didache with Montanism, but the evidence is relatively slight. Textually, the primary importance of the Didache is in connection with the Lord's Prayer, for it cites that writing in its full form, including the Doxology (οτι σου εστιν... αιωνας). This is usually taken to mean that the longer form of the Prayer was circulating in copies of Matthew's gospel no later than the early second century — though the possibility should not be discounted that the Byzantine copies of Matthew derived the doxology from the *Didache*, or that both received it from some third source. [20CE, AA, FKBA, GG, MS]

Didascalia Apostolorum (Teachings of the Apostles). III. Greek. Merk: Didasc. Apostol.
This name is sometimes used for the *Didache*, but Merk seems to be referring to the third century instruction manual which the Alands call the *Didascalia*. Although only fragments survive in Greek, we have a complete Syriac and a partial Latin version.

Didymus (the Blind) of Alexandria. d. 398. Greek. Nestle: Did. Merk: Did.
Didymus the Blind was born around 313. Despite his handicap (acquired probably as the result of childhood disease), he became director of the Catechetical School of Alexandria during the time of Athanasius, and retained the post for some decades. Ehrman believes that he worked primarily as an individual instructor rather than a lecturer, but in any case his prodigious memory helped to re-establish the school's reputation after a period of uninspired leadership. He died very near the end of the fourth century. His literary output consists primarily of commentaries on various Biblical books (both OT and NT), though his theological works were important in the controversies of his day. The exact extent of his writings is unclear; the authorship of several works is in dispute. Many of his writings were lost until 1941, when a

large collection of writings was found at Toura in Egypt. This included several commentaries of Didymus's, along with other works which seem to have been transcribed from his lectures.
Didymus's text of the Gospels seems to be a form of the Alexandrian tradition (Ehrman notes that he lived at about the time the great uncials Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were produced), but with the sort of mixed readings one often associated with the later witnesses to the tradition. In the latter chapters of John, this mixed element seems to become dominant. In the Catholics his text appears to be Alexandrian but with occasional links to the 1739 type. [AA, BE, RBW]

Diodorus of Tarsus. IV. Greek. Merk: Diod.
Born in Antioch, where he directed a monastery, he became Bishop of Tarsus in 378. He wrote commentaries on much of the New Testament. He was also active in the Christological controversies of his age, arguing that Jesus became fully human when he was born and distinguishing between the Son of God and the Son of Mary (but without considering them distinct). As a result, Cyril of Alexandria. later portrayed him as a Nestorian — but Diodorus, who was dead by 394, was long since past such controversies.

Dionysius of Alexandria. d. 264/5. Greek. Nestle: (Dion). Merk: Dion.
Dionysus of Alexandria was born around the turn of the third century, and came to Christianity from paganism and Gnosticism. He studied under Origen, and became director of the Catechetical School when Origen's successor Heraclas became bishop. Dionysus succeeded to the episcopate following Heraclas's death in 247. From that time on he went in and out of exile as a result of various persecutions. (He took a certain amount of glee in pointing out that, during the Decian persecution, he simply stayed at home while the authorities searched everywhere but there.) Finally he died in 264/5 during the famines that followed the revolt of the Roman governor of Egypt.
Dionysus was a prolific writer, and he contributed heavily to the fight against the heresies of Paul of Samosata, Nepos, and Sabellius, as well as weighing in on the topic of rebaptism of heretics and the lapsed. Of this corpus, however, only a few letters have survived, supplemented by some fragments and quotations from Eusebius and others. We know, however, that he did a careful analysis which proved that the author of the Apocalypse was not the author of the Gospel and Letters of John. [AA, Eus]

Pseudo Dionysus. V/VI. Greek. Nestle: (PsDion).
I believe this refers to the author who wrote under the name "Dionysus the Areopagite" — although the Pseudo Dionysus is not listed in the Nestle-Aland list of Fathers, so we cannot be certain. This author wrote between 475 and 550, but since his works were regarded as early, they were used during the Christological controversies of the seventh century to support the theory that God and Christ, whatever their distinctions, had one "*energeia.*"

Dionysus the Areopagite see the Pseudo Dionysus above.

Ephraem. d. 373. Syriac. Merk: Ef.
Born in Nisibis in 306, he became a deacon and fled to Edessa after that city was taken by the Persians. He was the leading light of the school there, and produced a wide variety of writings — including a commentary on the Diatessaron which is our leading source for that book. Although the larger share of his works are preserved in Armenian, Ephraem is our leading source of information about the Old Syriac outside the Gospels. He died in 373.
On a less distinguished note, the upper writing of C consists of treatises by Ephraem. Sadly, these are among his less important writings.

Epiphanius of Constantia. d. 403. Greek. Nestle: Epiph. Merk: Ep.
Born in Judea *c.* 315, he later founded a monastery and became bishop of Salamis (Constantia) in Cyprus. He died in 403. The author of various works, of which his volume on *Heresies* is perhaps the most important. He also wrote *De mensuris et ponderibus,* a Bbiblical "encyclopedia" now extant primarily in Syriac, and *Ancoratus*, on trinitarian doctrine. His text is considered to be early Byzantine, but is marred by his frequent paraphrases and extremely loose citations. [AA, CH, SS]

Epistula Apostolorum. *c*. 140? Greek. Merk: Ep Apost.
This curious work is the subject of much speculation, as the Greek original is lost and the primary translations (Coptic and Latin) are fragmentary. The fullest text is Ethiopic.
Even if we had a more reliable text of the work, it is clearly not the product of a particularly knowledgeable author. Although he gives a summary of Jesus's life and teachings, as well as a warning against gnosticism, the list of apostles is truly curious. To achieve a total of eleven apostles, the author includes not only Nathanael but also Cephas, who is distinguished from Peter.

Eugenius of Cathage. fl. 484. Merk: Eug.

Eusebius of Cæsarea. d. c.340. Greek. Nestle: Eus. Merk: Eus.
Born probably around 263, in Palestine, he studied under Pamphilius, and became Bishop of Cæsarea about the time Constantine the Great became ruler of the whole Empire (i.e. *c.* 312/313). He was a friend and close advisor of Constantine, even though his theology had an Arian tinge. His most important literary accomplishments were probably his *Church History* (he has been called the father of Christian History, although Hegesippus was probably the first true church historian) and the canons which bear his name. But he also wrote the *Preparation for the Gospel,* assorted commentaries, and a number of lesser works, many of them lost. In addition, Eusebius offered the creed which the Council of Nicea used as the basis for its doctrinal statement. He died around 340. His text has been called "Cæsarean," and certainly has the mixed character associated with that type, but it does not seem to preserve any type in a pure form. (His text is harder than most to analyse because he rarely provides long quotations.) Von Soden thought it a leading representative of the I text; Streeter places his text

between the “Western” and Cæsarean texts. It should be noted, however (as Lake pointed out), that Eusebius used a number of manuscripts, and not infrequently can be found on both sides of a reading (the obvious example being Mark 16:9–20). Nor should his text be considered identical to that of Origen, even during Origen’s “Cæsarean” period. [20CE, 4G, AA, AS, Eus, GZ, HC, PDAH]

Euthalius. IV. Greek. Merk: Euth.
Almost nothing is known of his life; we do not, for instance, know what role (if any) he had in the church. Nor are his dates firm; the edition which bears his name has been dated from the fourth to the seventh (!) century, though the fourth century is most likely (this seems the earliest possible date, as he is dependent on Eusebius); he is reported as an Alexandrian deacon (so the prologue in 2004) and (later?) Bishop of Sulci (Ευθαλιου επισκοπος Σουλκης; so the prologue in 181). We also know that he was a grammarian, and that he created a poetic edition of the Apostolos. Euthalius/Evagrius is also credited with a list of helps for the reader, including prologues, information about cross-references, chapter headings (which also serve as useful section divisions), and other material (see under Euthalian Apparatus).
Manuscripts written in Euthalius’s sense-lines are very rare (Scrivener believes they were too expensive in vellum). The apparatus, however, is common.
Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the Euthalian edition. Zuntz, regarding it as a “Cæsarean” continuation of the Alexandrian tradition, sees it in von Soden’s grouping 88 181 917 1834 1836 1912, plus H and the upper writing of P. That is, Zuntz equates it to Soden’s I^{a1} less the bilingual uncials D F G. He regards Euthalius as formulating the late texts of Cæsarea, but does *not* regard it as truly “Cæsarean.” (Note that this is not a list of manuscripts with Euthalian material; we find all or part of his marginalia also in manuscripts such as 1 82 421 1162 1175 1244 1424 1874 1880 1888 1891 1894 1895 1898.) It has been theorized, with little evidence, that the 69 chapter divisions used by Vaticanus in Acts are derived, with modifications, from Euthalius. It has also been theorized that the reason for the confusion about names and such is that the Euthalian apparatus is actually composite — a first draft made in the early-to-mid fourth century, a revision toward the end of that century (either of these might have been by “Evagrius”), and a final revision/publication by the seventh century Bishop Euthalius of Sulci. [20CE, AA, BMM2, FHAS, JF, GZ]

Evagrius see Euthalius.

Filastrius. d. *c.* 390. Merk: Fil.

Firmicus Maternus. IV. Latin. Nestle: Firmicus.
Julius Firmicus Maternus was born in Sicily and pursued a career as a rhetor. After turning to Christianity (from a career as an astrologer), he wrote to the Emperor (Julian) to argue against paganism. He must therefore have died after Julian’s accession in 361, but we have no details. His work is called *On the Error of Profane Religions*. [MG]

Fulgentius of Ruspe. V/VI. Latin. Nestle: Fulg. Merk: Fulg
Born in Telepte, Africa around 467, he came of a senatorial family and served for a time as a procurator. He then retired to a monastery. He was bishop of Ruspe from about 507 (though he spent 508–515 and 517–523 in exile). Much of his work is directed against "semi-Pelagianism." He died some time around 530. His text of the Catholic Epistles is reportedly similar to that of the Old Latin q (Codex Monacensis, Beuron #64; Nestle's r). [AA, AS, CH]

Gennadius I of Constantinope. d. 471. Greek. Merk: Genn
Patriarch of Constantinople 458–471. His surviving works consist only of fragments of commentaries on the Pauline Epistles.

Gospel of the Ebionites. II?. Merk: Ev. Eb
Also called "The Gospel of the Twelve," and sometimes erroneously labelled "The Gospel of the Hebrews." Now lost except for a few citations in Epiphanius. It appears to be a sort of harmonized gospel based primarily on the Matthew (in whose mouth portions of it are placed; the rest is credited to the Apostles generally), with some modifications to suit the views of the Ebionites. Epiphanius considers it to be a "Hebrew" work, but from its contents it seems likely that the original was Greek. [GG, CG]

Gospel of the Hebrews. I/II?. Merk: Ev. Hebr
Although Jerome claims to have translated this from the Hebrew, the *Gospel of the Hebrews* as we have it is clearly a Greek work, written possibly in Egypt (where some small fragments believed to be part of it have been found). It is mentioned frequently — and often with respect — by early writers, but has survived only in fragments. It is quite possible that our surviving fragments (quoted by various writers in several languages) actually come from multiple documents. It appears to have been a narrative gospel, with Matthew the largest contributing element and Luke second. Given the confusion about just what document this is, we really cannot say much more about it. [GG, CG]

Gospel of the Nazoreans. I/II?. Merk: Ev. Naz
This is another book often referred to as the "The Gospel of the Hebrews." This one at least appears to have been composed in Aramaic, probably based primarily on the Gospel of Matthew. It seems to have been referred to by Hegesippus, dating it before 180. It survives primarily in quotations from Jerome, with a handful from Eusebius and perhaps one from Origen. [CG]

Gregory of Nazianzus. IV. Greek. Merk: Na
Born around 329/330, his father was Bishop of Nazianzus. In 362 he became a priest. He never actually became Bishop of Nazianzus himself. Rather, he was chosen Bishop of the small town of Sasima at the instigation of his friend Basil the Great. This was part of Basil's attempt to place as many orthodox bishops as possible in an area that had slipped from Basil's control. Gregory was reluctant — and, indeed, the move backfired when Gregory was

transferred to Constantinople in 379/380. Bishops at this time were not supposed to change jurisdictions, and the transfer was used as an argument against Gregory. Tired of the controversy, he retired in 381 and turned to writing an autobiography. Despite the controversy,, he was of immense service to the church in a troubled time. Along with Basil of Cæsarea and Gregory of Nyssa, he was one of the three great "Cappadocian Fathers" who helped save orthodoxy against Arianism. He died around 390/1. Of his writings we have a series of orations plus some letters and poems. Von Soden considers his text to align with the Purple Uncials. [AA, AS, HC, PDAH]

Gregory of Nyssa. d. 394. Greek. Nestle: GrNy. Merk: Ny

The younger brother of Basil the Great of Cæsarea, and an equally staunch defender of orthodoxy. He was appointed bishop of Nyssa by his brother in 371 (he was only about 35 at the time). Later he was moved to Sebaste in Roman Armenia. As well as producing assorted exegetical works, he argued strongly for Nicene orthodoxy against Arianism, doing much of his best work after Basil's death. Gregory died in 394. Von Soden considers his text to align with the Purple Uncials. [AA, AS, HC, PDAH]

Hegesippus. II. Greek. Merk: Heg

Very little is known of this author, although Eusebius believed he was Jewish (since he knew Aramaic and/or Hebrew; also, he listed no fewer than seven Jewish sects) and that he "belonged to the first generation after the Apostles." Having travelled widely, he wrote a book of *Memoirs* containing much church history. This was probably completed during the papacy of Eleutherus (174–189), since Eusebius reports that Hegesippus lived in Rome from the time of Pope Anicetus to that of Eleutherus.
Hegesippus's book is now lost, but significant portions are quoted by Eusebius and we find fragments in other authors such as Epiphanius (though not cited by name). [20CE, AA, Eus, CH]

Heracleon. fl. 160. Greek. Merk: Her
A Valentinian Gnostic, he wrote a commentary on John (said to have been used by Origen despite its source). He also seems to have been used by various fathers as a reference for the *Preaching of Peter.*

Hesychius of Jerusalem. V. Greek. Nestle: Hes.
Not to be confused with the author credited with an edition of the Septuagint. A monk who became a presbyter in Jerusalem some time around 410–415, he wrote extensive commentaries (which, however, survive only in fragments). He seems to have been alive as late as 451.

Hilarius Arelatus. fl. 440. Merk: Hila

Hilary of Poitiers. d. 367. Latin. Nestle: Hil. Merk: Hil
Born in the first quarter of the fourth century to a pagan family (perhaps *c.* 315), he turned Christian and was appointed bishop of his home city of Poitiers around 350. He was exiled to Asia Minor for a time, but continued to fight Arianism in Gaul. His major work is a commentary on Matthew; he is also credited with *De Trinitate Libri XII*, a commentary on the Psalms, and some shorter works. Souter compares his text in the gospels with the Old Latin r (Nestle's r^{1}). His scattered quotes from Paul are interesting; while often "Western," they seem to show the same sort of intermittent affinity with P^{46} and B that we also find in Ambrosiaster. (This is not to say that the two have the same text, but the influences seem to be similar.) [AA, AS, CH, CM]

Hippolytus. d. 235/6. Greek. Nestle: Hipp. Merk: Hipp
A student of Irenæus, Hippolytus was probably born around 170 and spent much of his early life in Rome (Origen was among those who heard him speak). In the early third century he openly voiced his disgust with the laxity of the Bishops of the time. This led to a schism in the Roman church in 217, with Hippolytus appointed Pope in opposition to the official candidate Calixtus. He continued to oppose the various Popes until 235, when both Hippolytus and his rival Pontianus were sent to the mines during the Persecution of Maximin. He probably died there, although there is a chance that he lived to return to Rome in 236. In any case, he was buried in 236. His death healed the schism in Rome.
A statue of Hippolytus lists his literary works and shows that he was a prolific writer. Relatively little of this survives, however; we have portions of his *Refutations of All Heresies* in Greek (though some have thought this to be from another author, perhaps named Josephus (not the Jewish historian); Photius credits Hippolytus's *On the Universe* to Josephus), and various other works such as the *Apostolic Tradition* in translation. Curiously for a Western author, most of his works are preserved in Eastern languages (Georgian, Armenian, Old Church Slavonic). Eusebius, though familiar with a number of these works, did not know his history, for he describes him as "a prelate like Beryllus, though his see is unknown." His text is described as "Western" (though this is based largely on translations), and Souter thought he might have consulted the Diatessaron. [20CE, AA, AS, Eus, HC]

Irenæus. late II. Greek. Nestle: Ir. Merk: Iρ/Ir
One of the most important early Fathers, known almost entirely for one work, the *Adversus Hæreses,* "Against Heresies." This work describes a number of heretical movements of which we would otherwise have no knowledge, and so provides important historical and textual information about the early church.
Born in the early-to-mid second century, probably near Smyrna, Irenæus studied under Polycarp, then moved to Lyons, where he was bishop from 177/178. His great work was written around 185 (at least, the third book lists popes up to the reign of Pope Eleutherus — i.e. 174–189). He probably died late in the second century, although CM offers the date ?202. Gregory of Tours (who wrote in the sixth century) reports that he succeeded the martyred

bishop Photinus, converted "the whole city" of Lyons to Christianity, and was then martyred himself (the first of many local martyrs; *History of the Franks* I.29). All of this would inspire more confidence if it had more confirmation, e.g. in evidence that Lyons actually did turn Christian.

Sadly for posterity, the Greek original of the *Adversus Haereses* has perished almost completely. All that endures, apart from fragments (one on a potsherd!) and quotations in authors such as Epiphanius, is a Latin translation, probably from the fourth or perhaps the third century (in Africa?), plus some material in Syriac. (Souter argues, based on the fact that one quotation follows the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint, that the Latin translation must be from the fourth century; however, we now know that Lucianic readings sometimes precede Lucian.) While the translation seems to preserve the outline of Irenæus's text fairly well, one may suspect the scriptural quotations of assimilation to the Old Latin (the Greek text, insofar as we have it, often disagrees with the Latin).

The Latin text of the *Adversus Hæreses* gives its quotations in a distinctly "Western" form, perhaps most closely resembling the European Latin. Irenæus is one of the chief supports for the belief in the antiquity of the "Western" text.

One other work of Irenæus's survives, the *Apostolic Preaching,* preserved in Armenian. Comparison with the *Adversus Hæreses* seems to show two different sorts of text, heightening the suspicion that at least one book has been assimilated to the current local version. Eusebius also quotes from a variety of writings, and mentions letters such as *To Blastus, on Schism* and *To Florinus, on Sole Sovereignty, or God is not the Author of Evil*. [20CE, AA, AS, Eus, PDAH]

Jerome (Hieronymus). d. 420. Latin. Nestle: Hier. Merk: Hier

Born in Dalmatia sometime around 350 (347?; others have offered dates as early as 331), Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymous soon showed immense potential as a scholar. He lived for a while in Jerusalem, then was summoned by Pope Damasus in 382 to revise the Latin versions. The result, of course, was the Vulgate. He completed his revision of the Gospels in 383/4, but seems to have largely abandoned the work on the New Testament to devote his energies to the Hebrew Old Testament. He died in 419/20. In addition to his translations (which include patristic works as well as the Vulgate), he left a number of letters and assorted commentaries plus biographies of "Famous Men."

The text of Jerome is something of a puzzle. The Vulgate gospels have an obviously mixed text, with many Alexandrian readings, a few "Western" variants (presumably left over from the Old Latin), and a very strong Byzantine overlay. In the Epistles — where Jerome's work seems to have been cursory — the text again has Alexandrian readings, this time with more "Western" elements but hardly any Byzantine overlay. The text of the Apocalypse stands fairly close to A and C.

Interestingly, the text used by Jerome in his commentaries often differs from that in the Vulgate. (Compare Souter: "In Luke he certainly used the [Old Latin] a type. In the Acts there

are signs he used a type related to gig and p.... but this was not the type he used as the basis of the Vulgate.") Some of these readings (e.g. the short reading in Eph. 5:31) seem to belong to obscure traditions related to Family 1739 and the African Latin. Taken as a group, they do not appear to belong with any particular text-type. [AA, AS, BMM1, PDAH, RBW]

John of Damascus. VII/VIII. Greek. Merk: Dam
Born in Damascus after the Islamic conquest (probably around 650; certainly not much earlier, as his father was still working for the government in 685). His father served as a treasury official in the Islamic government. (It was common for Christians to hold such posts.) For a time John also served the government, but some time around 695–707 he entered a Jerusalem monastery. Later he became a priest, and turned to writing. His major work for our purposes is a commentary on Paul (which, however, is largely based on Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Cyril of Alexandria.). He also wrote concerning the heresies of his time, such as iconoclasm, and about Islam. CM gives his dates as 675–745[20CE, AA, CM]

Julius Cassanius. II. Nestle: Jul.

Justin Martyr. d. *c.* 165. Greek. Nestle: Ju. Merk: Iust
Born early in the second century in Palestine, but of a pagan family, he later turned Christian and apologist. He wrote extensively to justify Christianity to pagans (he directed writings to the Emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, as well as producing the famous *Dialogue with Trypho),* and is one of the earliest Christian writers whose works survive in large quantities. He alludes to scripture regularly, but rarely with precision; it is rarely possible (especially in the synoptic gospels) to tell what his actual text was, or even which book he is quoting, as he is so given to paraphrase (it is believed he used the Gospel of Matthew most frequently). He was martyred in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. (Tatian, who knew Justin, reports that this was at the instigation of the cynic philosopher Crescens, who considered Justin to be showing him up.) [AA, AS, CH, Eus]

Juvencus. IV. Latin. Merk: Juv
Gaius Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus was an upper-class Roman citizen of Spain. A presbyter but perhaps not a priest, he compiled a harmony of the gospels in Latin hexameters around 330 — little of which, however, has survived.

Lactantius. d. after 317. Latin. Nestle: Lact.
Lucius Caecilius Firmanius Lactantius was born late in the first half of the third century. Born a pagan, he seems to have been a published author before he turned Christian. He himself tells us that the Emperor Diocletian called him to Nicomedia to be a teacher. Whether he was a Christian at that time is unknown, but he must have converted by 303, as Diocletian's persecution forced him to limit his activities to writing. In 317 the Emperor Constantine called him to tutor his son Crispus. The date of his death is unknown.
Lactantius wrote over a dozen books, about half of which survive in whole or in part. His most

important extant works are the massive *Divine Institutes* (of which we also have an epitome) and the vicious little treatise *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* (sometimes denied to Lactantius, but on rather weak grounds).

Lazarus Pharpensis (Lazar Pàrpetsi). V/VI. Armenian. Merk: Laz
Author of an "History of Armenia" covering the years 385–485. [JV]

Liber Graduum. IV/V. Syriac. Merk: LG
A set of writings on monasticism and asceticism. The date is uncertain and has been placed as late as the fifth century. The fact that it uses the Diatessaron, however, argues for a somewhat earlier date.

Lucifer of Calaris. d. *c.* 371. Latin. Nestle: Lcf. Merk: Lcf
Originally Bishop of Cagliari/Calaris (in Sardinia), he was exiled in 355 following the Synod of Milan. He turned to polemic writings, and died around 371. His text supplies many interesting Old Latin readings, often of the most radical character. Souter compares it to a in John, to gigas in Acts, and to d in Paul. [AA, AS]

Marcion. II. Greek. Nestle: Mcion. Merk: Mn
In some ways the most important of the Fathers, since his editorial work on Luke and the Pauline Epistles may have given an important impetus to the formation of the New Testament canon.
Marcion was born in the late first century in Sinope (on the Black Sea in Pontus). The son of a bishop, and himself apparently a successful businessman, he went to Rome at around 138, but was expelled from the church there in 144. He went on to form a rival church. His death date is unknown.
Without going into detail about Marcion's theology, we should note that he separated the Gods of the Old and New Testaments. This may have led him to downplay the Old Testament allusions from his New Testament (which consisted only of Luke and the ten Pauline Epistles to churches); it is often claimed that he removed these referemces. However, in 1 Corinthians we have evidence that he retained at least nine of eleven Old Testament citations.
Marcion's writings and his Bible text have not survived; we know them only from citations by authors such as Tertullian and Epiphanius. This, combined with the fact that Marcion rewrote the documents he studied, makes it difficult to recover his underlying text. (Nor are we helped by the fact that our best evidence about him comes from Tertullian, who was quite capable of rewriting his sources). But all evidence seems to indicate that his text was highly interesting and very early (e.g. it clearly omitted the reference to Ephesus in Eph. 1:1). Readings associated with him seem to have been transmitted in the "Western," P^{46}/B, and 1739 texts; they are rarer in the Alexandrian text. (Compare Souter, who writes — based on what we should note is incomplete evidence — that "We find him in company with the Latin witnesses, especially the European Old-Latin MSS., but not infrequently also with the Old Syriac. He is

never on the side of the great Greek uncials against both these versions.") Despite the uncertainties, if Marcion can be reliably determined to support a reading, and if it has good support from other, less partisan witnesses, we may consider that reading to be very ancient and significant. [US, RBW, AA, AS, GG, etc.]

Marcus Eremita. IV/V. Greek. Nestle: Marc.
A prolific author whose works have largely been lost, he was for a time in charge of a monastery in Ancyra. He later retired and became a hermit. He died some time after 430.

Marcus/Marcosians. II. Nestle: Mar.

Marius Victorinus. IV. Latin. Nestle: MVict.
Gaius Marius Victorinus moved from Africa to Rome in the fourth century. He became famous as a teacher of rhetoric, but, having turned Christian, he gave up the subject in 362 in response to a law of Julian the Apostate. His primary work was a commentary on the Pauline Epistles.

Maximus of Turin. IV/V. Latin. Merk: Max
The earlier of two Bishops of Turin with the name Maximus. His literary output consists of nearly a hundred sermons. Of his life we know only that Gennadius reports that he died between 408 and 423.

Melitius of Antioch. d. 381. Greek. Merk: Mel
Originally Bishop of Sebaste, later translated to Antioch. Like so many in this period, he was sent into exile on several occasions. He died in 381 during the Council of Constantinople.

Methodius of Olympus. III. Greek. Nestle: Meth. Merk: Meth
A very shadowy figure, believed to have been the bishop of Lycian Olympus (though even this is uncertain). He may have been martyred in 311. He was evidently a prolific writer, and though we have only fragments in Greek, much of his work survives in Slavonic and other eastern languages.

de Montibus Sina et Sion. III. Merk: SiSi
One of the various works falsely attributed to Cyprian. [20CE]

Naasseni (Naassene Gnostics). II. Merk: Naass
A group of Gnostics known primarily from mentions by Hippolytus. They are believed to have been active during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Their theology is typical Gnostic, replete with odd dieties, flute players, and the like. They have been equated with the Ophites, but the evidence is at best thin.

Nicetas of Remesiana. IV/V. Latin. Nestle: Nic. Merk: Nic (also Niceta?)
Nicetas was bishop of Remesiana (in what was then Dalmatia and is now Serbia). He died

some time after 414. What little we know of him comes mostly from the writings of his friend Paulinus of Nola.

Nilus of Ancyra. V. Greek. Nestle: Nil.
Director of a monastery in Ancyra in Asia. He died some time around 430.

Novatian. III. Latin. Nestle: Nov. Merk: Nov
Very little is known of this author's life; we know neither the date of his birth nor that of his death. He probably was not born a Christian, as we are told that he received baptism on his sickbed. Other than this we know nothing of him till the time of Decius's persecution, when we find him writing a letter to Cyprian on behalf of the Roman congregation.
Novatian's career reached its somewhat dubious height in 251, when the Roman church split over the question of whether to re-admit those who had lapsed from the faith during the persecution. When Cornelius was elected Bishop of Rome by those willing to forgive lapses, the stricter party elected Novatian as a rival Pope. Thus, although entirely orthodox, he became one of the first schismatics of the western church.
Little else can be said of further career. That he at some point left Rome seems likely. The fifth century historian Socrates says that he died in 257 during the persecution of Valerian, but there is some evidence that he was alive in 258.
Since Novatian was a schismatic, his name brought no lustre to his writings. Yet their intelligence gave them value. We are thus in the peculiar situation of having several works of Novatian preserved under the names of other authors. *On the Trinity,* for instance, was credited to Tertullian. Other works are credited to Cyprian. Had it not been for a list of Novatian's writings preserved by Jerome, we might never have known that *On the Trinity* and *On Jewish Foods* are by Novatian. As it is, there are several books Harnack considers to be by Novatian that we simply cannot be sure of. Souter considers his text to be similar to the Old Latin a in John, and close to d of Paul. [AA, AS, HC, GG]

Oecumenius. VI. Greek. Merk: Oec
Sometimes listed (falsely) as a bishop of Tricca and as of the tenth century. He wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse. (The commentaries on the Acts, Catholic Epistles, and Paul which circulated under his name are listed by the Alands pseudepigraphal, though Von Soden did not so distinguish.) Trained in philosophy and known as a rhetor, Oecumenius was apparently also a monophysite, as he wrote in support of the known monophysite Severus of Antioch. [AA, CH]

Opus Imperfectum in Matthew. IV/V. Merk: OI

Opera Graeca. Merk: Eφ

Ophites. Nestle: Ophites.
A Gnostic sect, also called the "Sethians" (after Seth, the son of Adam and Eve from whom

they claimed descent). Much of what we know about them comes from Origen in *Contra Celsum* (Celsus had described the elaborate "Ophite Diagram" which he considered an orthodox Christian artifact, and Origen of course counterattacked.) They had the usual complex Gnostic theology of aeons and divinities, with three orders of the universe. They have been equated with the Naasseni, though the evidence is at best weak. [20CE]

Optatus of Mileve. IV. Latin. Merk: Opt
Of uncertain date, except that Augustine mentions him as dead in the year 400. As Bishop of Mileve (in Numidia), he wrote to combat Donatism, and his writings (in six or more volumes) are one of the chief sources concerning that schism. [AA, CH]

Origen d. 254. Greek. Nestle: Or (Or^{s} refers to the commentary on John 2:12–25 not by Origen). Merk: Ωρ/Or
Born of a Christian family in 184/5, his father Leonidas died in the persecution in the tenth year of Severus (202; Eusebius tells us that Origen wanted to be martyred at the same time but was prevented by his mother, who hid all his clothing to keep him from going out). Even at this early age the formidably able Origen was already able to support his mother and siblings by teaching rhetoric. About a year later Bishop Demetrius appointed him to direct the Alexandrian Catechetical School, succeeding Clement of Alexandria. Soon after this, if Eusebius is to be believed, he neutered himself to fulfill Jesus's comment about those who made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven *(Ecc. Hist.* vi.8; the story of Origen occupies a large portion of this book of Eusebius's history.
Origen left Alexandria during Caracalla's 215 persecution, and spent a few years in Cæsarea before Demetrius called him back to Egypt and chastised him for preaching without being ordained. In 230/1 he was ordained a presbyter while on a journey. Demetrius felt that Origen was flouting his authority and managed to have Origen barred from teaching in Alexandria. He left Alexandria for Cæsarea, where he spent the rest of his life. He suffered during the Decian persecution, and this may have hastened his death, which took place in the reign of Decius (so Eusebius) or soon after (so most moderns).
Although Origen's views were later to be condemned (he believed, e.g., in the pre-existence of souls), his scholarship during his lifetime was unquestioned. He had trouble with the church hierarchy, but this seems to have been due to jealousy rather than doctrinal reasons.
Origen was fortunate enough to have a wealthy patron, Ambrose (not the father of that name, but an Alexandrian whom Origen had converted to his way of thinking), who allowed him to devote his life to writing and scholarship. (Epiphanius reports that his writings totalled six thousand volumes — i.e. presumably scrolls — although Rufinus, probably correctly, calls this absurd. Jerome gives a list describing 177 volumes on the Old Testament and 114 on the New. Fewer than 10% of these survive in Greek, and the Latin tradition is only slightly fuller.)
Whatever the exact number, it is safe to say that the catalog of Origen's works is immense. Unlike the majority of early Christians, he took the trouble to learn at least some Hebrew, and

so was able to comment on the Hebrew Bible and even compile his massive six-column "Hexapla" edition of the Old Testament (comprising the Hebrew text, the Hebrew transcribed in Greek, and the four translations of Aquila, Symmachus, LXX, and Theodotion) — a work which alone was larger than most scholars' lifetime output. He also wrote massive commentaries on large parts of the Bible — often several times the size of the original volume (e.g. his *Commentary on Matthew* contained 21 books, that on John 32, and those on Romans and Galatians 15 each). Alongside this were several apologetic and theological works, although little of this has survived except the work *Against Celsus* (arguably the best Christian apology ever written, compiled in answer to arguably the ablest assault on the faith). In addition, about 575 of his homilies were transcribed (though, again, only a handful survive in Greek and fewer than half even in Latin). The sheer volume of his writings worked against him; it was almost impossible for any library to contain them all, and even Eusebius complained about the fragmentary state of many of Origen's works.

The text of Origen is a complex riddle. Part of the problem is the spotty survival of his works. As noted, a large fraction of his output exists only in Latin (much of it translated by Rufinus, who often rewrote what he translated). These sections have at times been accomodated to the various Latin versions. Even the portions preserved in Greek are often conformed to the Byzantine text, so that the lemmata of Origen's commentaries are only to be trusted where they are supported by his exposition.

Aside from these difficulties, Origen seems to have used several sorts of texts. In Alexandria, he apparently used a very early Alexandrian text (by no means identical to the later text of Sinaiticus etc., especially in Paul, although it is closer to Vaticanus and the papyri). Once he moved to Cæsarea, he apparently took to using local, presumably "Cæsarean," manuscripts for some books — but by no means all.

In the Gospels, Origen is considered the key witness to the "Cæsarean" text. Indeed, only Origen preserves it in anything like a pure form — and even that only in part of his writings, since so many of Origen's works use Alexandrian texts. For example, Streeter claims that the text of Mark Origen used in his *Commentary on John* is Alexandrian in books 1–5 (written while Origen was in Alexandria) and Cæsarean in the remainder (written in Cæsarea. For all the flaws — and they are many — in Streeter's methodology, this conclusion seems reasonable). On the other hand, Origen seems to have used Alexandrian manuscripts of John (closer to Vaticanus than Sinaiticus) for the entire *Commentary* — and probably to the end of his life. Streeter also believes Origen used a Cæsarean text of Matthew for his *Commentary on Matthew.* Outside the Gospels, Origen falls closest to Family 1739, although (as Zuntz noted) his text is by no means identical to the 1739 text (or to Eusebius, who is also said to have a "Cæsarean" text). Instead Origen seems to fall somewhere between P^{46}/B and 1739, though noticeably closer to the latter. [4G, AA, Eus, GG, GZ, PDAH, RBW]

Orosius. IV/V. Latin. Nestle: Oros.
Paulus Orosius was born in what is now Portugal (Braga) in the fourth century. By 414 he was a priest visiting Augustine in Hippo, and in 415 he met Jerome in Bethlehem. Returning to Africa, he wrote a history which extends through the year 417. Charles E. Chapman describes this history as "of a pronouncedly anti-pagan, pro-Christian character." Nothing is known of his life after it was finished.

Pacian of Barcelona. IV. Latin. Merk: Pac
Bishop of Barcelona, respected by Jerome. He died around 380–390.

Pelagius. d. after 418. Latin. Nestle: Pel. Merk: Pel
Heretic, with a theology considered to place too much stress on human action and too little on God's grace. Born in the mid to late third century in Britain, he moved to Rome (perhaps around 400) but left in 410 to escape the sack of the city. He spent the following years North Africa, where he became a frequent target of Augustine's pen. Later he moved to Palestine. He was excommunicated in 417/418. He probably died in the course of the 420s. His most significant work for our purposes is a commentary on Paul *(c.* 409) which includes many important Old Latin quotations. [AA, AS, CE, HC, PDAH]

Polycarp of Smyrna. d. 156 (167?). Greek. Nestle: Polyc. Merk: Pol
Bishop of Smyrna. Born in the third quarter of the first century, he learned directly from apostles and others who knew Jesus. He in turn tutored Irenæus. He was martyred in 155 or 156 (so many moderns) or 167 or 168 (so, e.g., Eusebius, who dates the event to the reign of Marcus Aurelius) or perhaps even later (one manuscript states that Irenæus had a vision of his death while in Rome — i.e. 177 — but if this were true, it would seem likely that Irenæus would have mentioned it). He is said to have been in his eighties, and certainly he must have been very old. Only fragments of his writings (notably a letter to the Philippians, though this is now believed to be composite, with the final two chapters coming perhaps from the time of Ignatius and the rest being later) have been preserved, but he was held in such high respect that it is likely that he influenced other writers — notably, of course, Irenæus. We have a description of his martyrdom; while it lacks the extravagance of some such stories, it still seems somewhat exaggerated. [20CE, AA, Eus]

Primasius. VI. Latin. Nestle: Prim. Merk: Pr
The bishop of Hadrumentum in Africa, his major work is a commentary on the Apocalypse (based in part on that of Victorinus). He died after 552, probably in the 560s. His text is said to resemble the Old Latin h. (Note: References to a commentary on Paul by Primasius are the result of a modern error; the commentary actually comes from the school of Cassiodorus.) [AA, AS]

Priscillian. d. 385/6. Latin. Nestle: Prisc. Merk: Prisc
Born in a well-to-do Spanish family, he became Bishop of Avila in 380. He was, however, heretical on his doctrine of the Trinity (which he did not believe in). In 385 he was tried for his heresy and/or for magic, and executed — the first execution carried out by the church, and one that roused strong protests even from certain of Priscillian's opponents. (It was a troubled time in the late empire, the emperor Magnus Maximus was trying to establish himself, and may have been trying to prove his orthodoxy when he allowed Priscillian to be executed.) Priscillian's primary writing is the *Canones in epistulas Paulinas*, which naturally includes many Old Latin readings (Souter equates his text with that of Speculum in the Catholic Epistles, and considers it close to Gigas in Acts) — but Priscillian is doubtless most noteworthy for originating the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" in 1 John 5:7–8. [AA, AS, HC, MG]

Prosper of Aquitaine. V. Latin. Nestle: Prosp.
Prosper Tiro was a monk and lay theologian from near modern Marsailles. He corresponded with Augustine and supported his rigid doctrines during the period from 428 to 435 when they were most strongly under attack. Although he had received only lukewarm support from Pope Celestine, from 440 he served in the court of Pope Leo I. He died some time after 455. Previously thought to have written *De promissionibus*, now attributed to Quodvultdeus.

Ptolemy the Gnostic. before 180. (Greek). Nestle: Ptol. Merk: Ptol.
A Valentinian, known from the writings of Irenæus (who cites his commentary on the prologue to John) and Epiphanius (who preserves his *Letter to Flora)*. He taught that Christ had a soul and a "psychic" body, and that God is one, not two. This made him sort of a moderate by Gnostic standards.

Quodvultdeus. d. c. 453. Latin. Nestle: Qu.
Born probably in the late fourth century, and became Bishop of Carthage in 437. He was banished by Geiserich the Vandal in 439, and died some years later. Believed to be the author of certain works once attributed to Augustine. His most important work, however (if it is truly his), is *De promissionibus et praedictionibus dei*, a study of prophecies about Christ and the Church.

de Rebaptismate (Pseudo-Cyprian). III. Latin. Merk: Rebapt.
A sort of proto-Donatist tract, claiming to be by Cyprian (and sometimes included in his works) but in fact opposed to his doctrines on how to treat those who left the church during persecutions.

Rufinus. d. 410. Latin. Merk: Ruf.
Tyrannius Rufinus was born probably shortly before 350 of a Christian family at Aquileia. He spent time there as a monk, but also travelled to Egypt (where he lived for six years) and Jerusalem before returning to Italy in 397. He died in Messina in 410. Although he wrote some works of his own (on the Apostle's Creed; also on church history and biography), his primary

role was as a translator (e.g. of Origen), but he often adapted what he translated, conforming scriptures to the Latin versions and adding commentary of his own. Thus one must always be careful, in using one of Rufinus's translations, to distinguish the original author from the translator.

Sedulius. V. Latin. (Merk: Sed)
Author of a biblical epic called the "Paschale Carmen" (sometimes used for instruction), as well hymns such as the well-known "A solis ortus cardine." Not to be confused with the Irish priest Sedulius Scottus, also known for poetry, who wrote commentaries on Matthew and Paul. [CS]

Serapion of Thmuis. IV. Greek. Merk: Sar.
After a time as head of a monastery, he became Bishop of Thmuis (in lower Egypt) in 339. He is responsible for the *Euchologion*, a collection of liturgical prayers. He died around 360.

Severian of Gabala. IV/V. Greek. Merk: Sev.
Bishop of Gabala (in Syria). He wrote a commentary on the Pauline Epistles which is now lost but which is quoted in various catenæ. He died some time after 408.

de Singularitate. III. Merk: Sing.

Socrates. V. Greek. Merk: Socr.
Although a layman, his importance is as a church historian (his work is considered the sequel to Eusebius). He was born in Constantinople probably around 380, and died around 439/40.

Speculum (Pseudo-Augustine). V?. Latin. Nestle: Spec. Merk: (cited as Old Latin m).
A collection of statements and precepts drawn from the Old Latin Bible (both Old and New Testaments). It has been attributed to Augustine, but this is not likely. Aland dates it *c.* 427. Except in editions associated with the Alands, it is usually cited as m of the Old Latin. In Paul at least, the text seems to be generally more primitive than the European Latin of the bilingual uncials. In the Catholics, it has many links with the text of Priscillian.

Tatian. II. Greek/Syriac. Merk: Ta.
The problems of Tatian and his *Diatessaron* simply cannot be covered here; they belong in their own article (some additional information can be found in the article on the Diatessaron on the Syriac Version). In any case, Tatian is not truly a Father; if he wrote works about orthodox Christianity, they have not survived. Even his magnum opus has effectively disappeared in the original language (we can say this confidently even though we do not know what language it was!).
Tatian, a resident of Syria or Assyria, was born at an unknown date in the first half of the second century. In the middle years of the century he moved to Rome (where he knew, among others, Justin Martyr) and became a member of the Christian community. Around 167, however, he left the Roman church; most scholars think this was for doctrinal reasons — and probably not entirely voluntary. Tatian has been regarded as the founder of the Encratites; in

any event, he encouraged chastity and various other forms of self-discipline not accepted by the Orthodox. Jerome, for instance, describes him as "Tatian, who maintaining the imaginary flesh of Christ, pronounces all sexual connection impure, [and] who was also the very violent heresiarch of the Encratites" *(Commentary on Galatians;* English translation from the Nicene Fathers series).

From Rome, Tatian returned to Syria, where he gathered followers, wrote, and at some point assembled his great work, the *Diatessaron*.

Tatian seems to have been the first to attempt something which has since become very popular: He created a harmony of the Gospels. (It is generally believed that he used only the canonical four, but the lack of knowledge about his text has led some to speculate that he used the *Gospel of the Hebrews* or some other work in addition.) It is not certain whether the original language was Greek or Syriac; whichever it was, the author soon turned it into the other.

That Tatian's work was very skilled can hardly be denied. But it was not *the* gospel, and it came from an apparent heretic. Most parts of the church refused to use it.

Not so the Syriac Christians. Perhaps lacking a Bible of their own, they adopted the *Diatessaron* and clung to it for probably two centuries before the organized church managed to substitute the regular gospels.

Despite this widespread popularity, the Diatessaron has been very poorly preserved. No certain fragments of the Syriac version are known, and of the Greek we have only the single uncial fragment 0212, from Dura. Our primary knowledge comes from the Armenian version of Ephraem's commentary. Many other sources are quoted as having "Diassetaric" texts — but the student should always be careful lest a gospel harmony be mistaken for the gospel harmony. Some of these harmonies (particularly the more recent versions from Western countries) are probably independent.

The influence Tatian had on the orthodox New Testament is uncertain. Von Soden thought him responsible for many harmonistic readings (and this shows in the form of a massive number of alleged readings of Tatian in his and Merk's apparatus) — but the simple fact is that most scribes could make up harmonizations on their own. Therefore attributing variants to Tatian is a hazardous business. Even citing his support for a particular reading is rather doubtful; the student should be very careful to check just *which* edition contains a particular reading. One should also be very careful to make sure that the reading belongs to the gospel under consideration…

Tatian wrote various other works; the most useful of these (at least in the opinion of Eusebius) was *The Greeks Answered,* from which we have assorted fragments. [Eus]

Tertullian. II/III. Latin. Nestle: Tert. Merk: Tert.

Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus was born shortly after the middle of the second century to a pagan family in Carthage (his father was a Roman centurion). Early in life he practiced law in Rome, returning to his native city as a Christian shortly before the turn of the third century. His wit and sprightly tongue made him a gifted controversialist, and he wrote extensively

against the various enemies of the church. But — like many converts — the staid life of the official church was not sufficient for him. He wanted a return to prophecy. After some years of trying and failing to restore the spiritual nature of the Catholic church, he became a Montanist (c. 207. Jerome reports on this explicitly: "Remaining a presbyter of the church until.... middle age, ... Tertullian was, by the envy and false treatment of the Roman clergy, driven to embrace the opinions of Montanus, which he has mentioned.... under the title "The New Prophecy"). This in turn apparently wore thin for him, and in his last years he seems to have tried to form an independent congregation. Last heard from around 220, he probably died shortly thereafter.
No list of Tertullian's works is extant, but historians have identified at least 43 titles. Of these, all or part of 31 survive. Some of these, however, date from after he left the Catholic church. Even so, Cyprian called him "the Master," and made it a policy to read from his works every day.
Tertullian's text is somewhat problematic, as he wrote in Latin but apparently used primarily Greek texts which he translated himself. (So, at least, some moderns; Sanday and Souter thought he used both Greek and Latin texts, but primarily the latter, perhaps of a type similar to the Old Latin b.) His text is therefore unique. It contains its fair share of "Western" readings, but also some characteristic of other types, and some that stand alone (though these occasionally seem to have corrupt descendants in other text-types). The extent to which these are truly readings that he knew (as opposed to paraphrases that sprang from his fertile pen) is hard to determine. In using his quotations from other authors, such as Marcion, it is always important to remember that Tertullian was willing to paraphrase, or even put words in his sources' mouths. Robert M. Grant notes, "He touched almost nothing which he did not exaggerate." [20CE, AA, AS, Eus, HC, GG]

Theodore of Mopsuestia. d. 428. Greek. Merk: Thd.
Born in Antioch around the middle of the fourth century, he studied rhetoric and literature before devoting his attention entirely to Biblical studies. He became Bishop of Mopsuestia in 392. He wrote a number of commentaries and other works, but only a small fraction of these have survived, sometimes in catenae. The reason for this is not hard to find: He was later declared a heretic. Although no doubts were cast on him during his life, Nestorius had studied under him, and the teacher was tarred by the brush applied to the student. (Theodore may have been a heretic, but the problem was perhaps simply one of language.) Soon after his death in 428, we find Marius Mercator calling him the father of Pelagianism (431). In 435, Hesychius of Jerusalem and Cyril of Alexandria levelled charges. The Emperor quashed the suggestion at the time, but Theodore continued to attract condemnation. His writings were formally cast out at the Council of Constantinople in 553. [20CE, AA]

Theodoret of Cyrrhus. V. Greek. Nestle: Thret. Merk: Thdt.
Born late in the fourth century in Antioch, he became a monk and was reluctantly consecrated Bishop of Cyrrhus in 423 (he probably wasn't much past thirty). Relatively soft on Nestorianism

(he tried to avoid condemning Nestorius at the Council of Chalcedon in 451), he was the first vigorous opponent of Eutychianism. As a result, he was deposed without a hearing at the "Robber Council" of 449 — only to be restored at Chalcedon in 451. In addition to writings on these subjects (which have probably been supplemented by pseudonymous works) he wrote a commentary on the Pauline Epistles and on large portions of the Old Testament. He died around 466, although controversies continued to swirl about him for many decades.

Theodotus. II. Greek. Merk: Thdot.
From the information in Merk it is not clear if this is Theodotus the Gnostic, a Valentinian, or Theodotus/Theodorus of Byzantium, a developer of dynamic Monarchianism (who was excommunicated by Victor of Rome in 198).

Theophilus of Alexandria. d. 412. Greek. Nestle: Theoph.
Successor of Athanasius as Bishop of Alexandria, and like Athanasius, an opponent of heresy. His work was more political than theological, however. Cyril of Alexandria was his nephew. His citations are too few to really characterize his text, although it would seem likely that it is Alexandrian. [20CE]

Theophilus of Antioch. II. Greek. Merk: Theoph (also Thph?)
Born in Mesopotamia, Eusebius lists him as the sixth Bishop of Antioch "from the Apostles." His only surviving work is the three-volume set *To Autolycus* which describes the rudiments of Christianity. (Of the surviving manuscripts, one is a copy of the other; another manuscript, examined by Gesner, in now lost.) Eusebius describes him as fighting heresy (in part by authoring a work *The Heresy of Hermogenes Answered)* and writing instructional manuals. His theology was somewhat limited, however, and tinged by gnostic elements. It placed relatively little stress on Jesus. [20CE, AA, Eus]

Titus of Bostra. IV. Greek. Nestle: Tit. Merk: Tit
Author of a commentary in the form of sermons on Luke. It survives only partly in quotations and catenae. He also wrote a work against the Manichaeans; this exists primarily in Syriac. Little is known of his life save that he was Bishop of Bostra and died before 378.

Tyconius. IV. Latin. Nestle: Tyc. Merk: Ty (also Tyc?)
A member of the Donatists (the party that opposed letting those who lapsed from the faith during persecutions back into the church on easy terms). He died some time after 390. He wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse that survives primarily in quotations by Beatus of Liébana, and a study of Donatism, *Bellum Intestinum.* In addition, we have a Book of Rules. His text is Old Latin. [AA, CH]

Valentinians. II. Merk: Val
A Gnostic group founded by Valentinus in the second century. Valentinus spent time in Rome *(c.* 135–160), but the center of the cult was in Egypt. Valentinus and his followers (such as

Ptolemaeus, Heracleon, and Theodotus) created a system which began with “Depth” and “Silence” and involved thirty aeons of which Wisdom was the youngest and the mother of Jesus. (Trust me, I’m not making this up, just expressing it in very short form.) Details vary, but the heresy was strong enough to have provoked reactions from Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. (Of course, the accuracy of those authors’ discussions of the sect is questionable.) Much of their system is now known from the writings at Nag Hammadi.

contra Varimadum arianum. IV/V. Latin. Merk: Var
An anti-Arian work probably to be dated in the period 445–480. The compiler is unknown; Vigilius of Thapsus and Idacius Clarus of Ossonuba have been mentioned.

Victor of Vita. fl. 486. Latin. Merk: VictV
Bishop of Vita in Africa. His known work is the *Historia persecutionis Africanæ provincia.*

Victorinus of Pettau. d. 304. Latin. Nestle: Vic. Merk: Vict
Victorinus was an inhabitant of Poetovio, Pannonia (now known as Pettau, Styria). Little is known of his early life, but he is known to have died in Diocletian’s persecution. He wrote commentaries on many books — mostly in the Old Testament; in the New, he seems to have written only on Matthew and the Apocalypse. It is the last-named which has survived; it is also one of the sources used by Primasius and Beatus of Liébana, and a modified version was propagated by Jerome. Victorinus’s Latin style is curious; several scholars think his native language was Greek.

Vigilius of Thapsus. V. Latin. Nestle: Vig. Merk: Vig
Bishop of Thapsus in Africa; died after 484. He wrote to combat various heresies. He has been mentioned as a possible author of the *contra Varimadum arianum*. Several other works have also been attributed to him by the “Pseudo Vigilius.”

de vocatione omnium gentium. V. Merk: Voc

Zeno of Verona. IV. Latin. Merk: Zeno
A Mauretanian, Bishop of Verona from 362 to 371/2.

Where Fathers are Cited in NA^{27} and Merk

The table below is intended as a rough indicator of which Fathers are most widely quoted in the current Nestle text. (I say “rough” because there are a handful of fathers — e.g. Lactantius and Vigilius — that NA27 claims to cite, but I have been unable to locate the citations.)

The column headings are Mt=Matthew; Mk=Mark; Lk=Luke; Jn=John;, Acts=Acts; Rom=Romans; Cor=1&2 Corinthians; G-Th=Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1&2 Thessalonians; Past=1&2Timothy, Titus, Philemon; Heb=Hebrews; Cath=all 7 Catholic epistles; Apc=Apocalypse

Citations from each author in various sections of NA[27]

Author	Date	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Acts	Rom	Cor	G-Th	Past	Heb	Cath	Apc
Acac	d. 366	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ad	IV	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ambr	d. 397	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	9	-	8	14	8
Ps Ambr		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ambst	IV	-	-	-	-	-	83	190	166	52	-	2	-
Apr	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Arn	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ath	d. 373	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	2	2	-
Athen	II/III	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aug	d. 430	-	1	1	2	10	-	-	25	-	7	50	5
Basil	II	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bas	d. 379	2	13	5	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
BasA	IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
Bea	VIII	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	83
Beda	d. 735	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Cass	VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	18	-
Chr	d. 407	6	1	-	4	3	1	-	6	1	-	2	-
Cl	II/III	30	10	46	38	13	52	93	105	19	22	72	-
Cl^{hom}		1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2Cl	II	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cn	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Cyp	d. 258	24	5	7	3	14	7	26	19	7	-	13	28
Cyr	d. 444	23	-	13	7	16	1	-	-	-	5	30	-
CyrJ	d. 386	3	-	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Didache	II?	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Did	d. 398	12	1	13	18	4	4	19	8	5	1	20	1
Dion	III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ps Dion		-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Epiph	d. 403	8	7	27	36	-	3	40	8	8	4	-	-
Eus	IV	81	24	35	11	31	8	20	12	2	12	2	-
Firmicus	IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Fulg	VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1
GrNy	d. 394	1	-	2	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Hes	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Hier	IV/V	8	2	1	1	1	3	2	32	2	5	40	-

Hil	d. 367	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	12	-	1	2	-
Hipp	d. 235	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	14
Ir	II	70	10	50	30	112	34	53	55	3	-	11	43
Ju	II	8	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jul	II	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Lact	IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lcf	IV	3	-	1	2	45	3	7	13	9	6	17	-
Mcion	II	-	-	83	-	-	6	12	30	-	-	-	-
Marc	V	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Mar	II	6	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meth	III	-	-	2	-	-	10	8	4	-	-	2	1
MVict	IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	-	-	-	-
Nic	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Nil	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Nov	III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Ophites	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Or	d. 254	102	54	61	91	14	30	41	39	6	7	37	19
Or^{sup}		-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oros	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Pel	IV/V	-	-	-	-	-	5	34	11	2	-	5	-
Polyc	d. 156	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prim	VI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	123
Prisc	d. 385	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Prosp	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ptol	II	2	1	3	2	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-
Qu	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Spec	V?	-	-	-	-	5	20	21	28	9	-	30	5
Tert	II/III	6	-	1	7	5	9	43	30	8	-	8	5
Thret	V	1	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
Theoph	d. 412	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tit	IV	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tyc	IV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	36
Vic	d. 304	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Vig	V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The table below gives equivalent data for Merk. Unless marked L, figures are for the Greek apparatus. Note that some writers are cited in both the Greek and Latin apparatuses.

Citations from each author in various sections of Merk

Author	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Acts	Rom	Cor	G-Th	Past	Heb	Cath	Apc
Addai	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ad	-	-	15	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
adNov	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5L	4L
Af	9	1	13	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ag	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Amb	4	1	12 8L	9 5L	8 14L	9 32L	19 82L	12 48L	5 6L	7 7L	5 13L	6 4L
Ps. Amb.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Ambst	-	-	-	-	6 6L	53 131L	126 221L	162 263L	71 135L	-	1 3L	1L
Amm	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ap	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
Arist	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ath	4	-	4	12	8	8	13	6	3	10	5	-
Aug	7	1 1L	21 2L	19 65L	50 45L	26 117L	53 170L	32 129L	8 50L	2 6L	36 64L	9 13L
Ps. Aug	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27L
Barn	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bars	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bas	12	2	21	9	7	11	31	12	8	3	2	-
Be	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49 2L
Beda	-	-	-	-	4 16L	-	-	1L	-	-	2L	-
Can Ap	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Cass	-	-	-	-	2 2L	-	14L	2 1L	-	-	2	3
Cl	42	3	24	12	7	24	34	34	8	9	19	-
Clh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 7L	-
Clr	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Ps.Cl.	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Xρ	74	1	12	79	27	40	67	53	11	22	4	-
Cy	9	1	13	12	10	23	25	28	4	15	17	-
Cyi	6	-	2	6	-	6	7	3	6	6	-	-
Cyp	15	7	13 3L	13 7L	9 9L	12 12L	22 32L	16 22L	4 14L	-	14 11L	24 105L
Cyr	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

Did	2	-	4	18	7	10	19	13	4	3	9	-
Didasc. Apostol	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Diod	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dion	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Ef	30	7	14	26	82	100	163	124	44	46	-	-
Eφ	6	-	6	-	-	8	4	10	1	2	21	1
Ep	4	-	12	17	8	4	17	3	3	1	3	-
Ep Apost	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Euch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-
Eug	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-
Eus	73	16	44	49	12	8	25	26	4	13	2	-
Euth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
Ev. Eb	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ev. Hebr	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ev. Naz	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Faustin(us)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-	-
Faust(us)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-	1L	-	-	-
Fil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-
Firm	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Fulg	-	-	-	-	1L	-	-	1L	-	-	6 17L	2L
Gelas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-
Genn	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
Heg	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Her	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hier	4 22L	3	2 1L	2 2L	4 34L	9 48L	19 107L	22 89L	2 34L	3	10 5L	3
Ps. Hier	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hil	18 2L	-	5 2L	16 2L	7 6L	8 25L	24 38L	21 25L	4 8L	1	3 2L	5 2L
Hila	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31 161L	-
Hipp	13	-	4	7	-	3	7	4	-	-	-	46
Ps. Ignat.	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ir	112	7	54	29 2L	70 40L	23 20L	49 20L	41 13L	5	-	9 1L	39 6L
Isod	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iul	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-	-	-	-	-

Iust	20	1	8	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Juv	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Laz	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lcf	5 1L	-	2	4 1L	51 47L	1 9L	4 10L	21 29L	8 23L	3 1L	22 23L	-
Leo	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LG	4	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Max	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 1L	-
Maximin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-
Mel	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Meth	1	1	4	-	-	8	9	4	-	-	-	-
Mn	1	-	91	-	-	35	95	106	-	-	-	-
MVict	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Na	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Naass	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nic	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nov	2	-	-	6	-	2 1L	1 4L	4 1L	2 1L	-	-	-
Ny	-	-	1	2	-	-	8	4	1	1	-	-
Oec	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
OI	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Opt	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Or	154	37	82	100	19	102 18L	121 35L	67 14L	19 9L	22	17	5 1L
Oros	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-
Pac	-	-	-	-	2L	1L	1 7L	2L	1L	-	-	-
Paul	-	-	-	-	-	-	2L	-	-	-	-	-
Paulin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-	-	-	-
Pel	-	-	-	-	-	20 79L	30 50L	29 185L	27 132L	-	1L	-
Pol	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Pr	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	120 377L
Prisc	-	-	-	-	3 1L	1L	5 18L	1 3L	1L	-	1 4L	5 4L
Ptol	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

Rebapt	-	-	-	-	5 1L	1	1L	-	-	-	1 2L	-
Ruf	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-	-
Sar	1	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Sed	-	-	-	-	-	1 5L	2 34L	24L	1 4L	4L	-	-
Sev	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sing	-	-	-	-	-	2L	1 7L	4L	1 5L	-	-	-
SiSi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Socr	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ta	488	270	578	547	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tert	23	5	16	39 8L	14 10L	25 22L	95 51L	46 34L	6 3L	1 1L	15 6L	5
Thd	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Thdot	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thdt	-	-	1	3	7	24	24	13	10	13	1	-
Thdtion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Theoph	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tit	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ty	-	1L	-	-	1L	2L	-	1L	-	-	-	68 270L
Val	-	-	1	5	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Var	2L	6L	-	-	7L	7L	2 21L	1 24L	3L	-	3 5L	-
Vict	-	1	1	7	1 1L	3	3L	60 92L	1L	1L	-	20 24L
VictV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Vig	-	-	3	-	5L	2	10L	10L	2L	-	2L	-
Voc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-
Zeno	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1L	-	1L	-

How to Use Patristic Testimony

The first problem in dealing with the Fathers is order: Except for a few commentaries, the Fathers don't quote the New Testament chapter by chapter and verse by verse. Instead, they cite passages as they are useful in whatever argument they are making. So we must endeavor

to sort out their citations into an orderly whole. This is not really a problem with their texts, but it means that significant effort must be undertaken to use their witness.

The second problem is one of accuracy of citation. Most fathers did not refer to manuscripts when they quoted scripture. They just used the wording they remembered. And they did not always remember accurately. Even if they *did* recall the passage with precision, they might omit or paraphase part of it for effect.

And, finally, there is the problem of transmission. We no more have the original manuscript of Irenaeus or Tertullian than we have the original autographs of the New Testament itself. Often the textual transmission of the Father's writings has been troubled. Before we can rely on their testimony, we must subject it to textual criticism itself.

Why, then, do we bother with such difficulτ sources of information? Because the Fathers, unlike manuscripts or versions, can be so precisely located. In most instances, we know with fair precision both *where* and *when* a particular author wrote. Thus, a judicious use of their testimony can allow us to localize particular readings and text-types.

In addition, many of the Fathers are early, and their texts predate all but our earliest continuous-text witnesses. They thus give us insight into a period where the history of the text would otherwise be completely dark. The earliest Greek witnesses to the "Western" text, for instance, date from the fifth century and after. The earliest Latin witnesses come from about the fourth. But in the quotations of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and others, we have fragments of "Western" texts going as far back as the second century.

Taking all this into account, we can establish the following rules for using the evidence of the Fathers:

1. A reading should not be accepted on patristic evidence alone, but the testimony of a Father gives valuable dated support to readings found in particular Greek manuscripts.
2. Arguments from silence should not be accepted in the Fathers (unless the Father is writing a continuous commentary). If a Father omits part of a quotation, it may simply be that the reading does not suit this purpose. (Note: This rule is not accepted by a small group headed by Boismard, who occasionally accept short readings based on patristic evidence alone.)
3. If a Father, particularly in the lemma of a commentary, has a Byzantine reading, the context must be checked carefully to be sure that copyists have not conformed the reading to the Byzantine text.
4. If the writings of a Father exist only or primarily in translation, care must be taken to ensure the translation has not been conformed to the prevailing text in that language (the Latin texts of Origen and Irenaeus, for instance, both seem to have been influenced

by Old Latin manuscripts, yielding a much more "Western" text). One should also be sure that the translations are correct translations (Rufinus, e.g., was quite capable of paraphrasing or even rewriting what he was translating).

It is hard to imagine a summation of both the strengths and weaknesses of patristic evidence more succinct than Ehrman's: "Patristic sources provide primary evidence for the history of the text but only secondary evidence for the original text itself" (*Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels*, p. 5).

Sources of Information

Thanks to all the folks who came forward with information for this article, including Ulrich Schmid, Jean Valentin, Christopher Eyton, and Vincent Broman.

Abbreviations used to indicate sources include:

- 20CE = *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*
- 4G = B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins*
- AA = Kurt Aland & Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*
- AS = Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*
- BE = Bart Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels*
- BMM1 = Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*
- BMM2 = Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*
- CG = *The Complete Gospels* (Scholars Version, edited by Robert J. Miller)
- CE = Christopher Eyton
- CH = C. E. Hammond, *Outlines of Textual Criticism Applied to the New Testament*
- CM = Carey A. Moore, *The Anchor Bible: Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah* — The Additions (Appendix II is a list of patristic writers with dates)
- CS = Carl Springer
- Eus = Eusebius (Ecclesiastical History and other works; translations are generally from the English version of G. A. Williamson)
- EW = Ernst Würthwein (translated by Errol F. Rhodes), T*he Text of the Old Testament*
- FHAS = F. H. A. Scrivener (4th Edition revised by Edward Miller), *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*

- FKBA = Sir Frederic Kenyon, *The Bible and Archaeology*
- GG = Edgar J. Goodspeed (Revised by Robert M. Grant), *A History of Early Christian Literature*
- GZ = G. Zuntz, T*he Text of the Epistles*
- HC = Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church*
- JF = Jack Finegan, *Encountering New Testament Manuscripts*
- JV = Jean Valentin
- LSP = Leo Sherley-Price, [Introduction to the translation of Bede's] *A History of the English Church and People*
- MG = Michael Grant (various historical writings)
- MS = Maxwell Staniforth, [Introductions to the translations of] *Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers*
- PDAH = Graham Speake, Editor, *The Penguin Dictionary of Ancient History*
- RBW = Robert B. Waltz
- R&W = L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars*
- SS = Sipilä Seppo
- US = Ulrich Schmid
- VB = Vincent Broman

Note: The larger portion of this work was completed before I started listing sources, and I am still reconstructing the materials. So for any given entry, many sources may have been consulted which are not listed.

Appendix VI: The Lectionary

Introduction

The lectionary evidence is like the weather: Everybody complains about it, but nobody does anything about it.

Of all the branches of the New Testament evidence (papyri, uncials, minuscules, lectionaries; versions; Fathers), the lectionaries are the least studied, least known, least used. Until the twenty-seventh edition, the Nestle text did not cite a single lectionary consistently. (NA^{27} does, it is true, cite four lectionaries as constant witnesses -- but does not offer any information about their text, nor contain a list of the lections included). Tischendorf cited lectionaries only exceptionally, and Von Soden did not cite them at all. The United Bible Societies editions include lectionary evidence -- but without an assessment of the text-types of these lectionaries, as well as data about their contents, this is of minimal use.

The lectionaries are, of course, the service books of the church, containing the appointed readings ("lections") for each day of the church year. As such, they were extremely important to individual churches (a church would want but could live without a continuous-text manuscript for study purposes, but it simply *had* to have a lectionary for reading during services). The number of lectionaries now known is somewhat less than the number of continuous-text manuscripts (about 2300 lectionaries, as compared to some 3200 continuous-text manuscripts of all types), but this may be due simply to the fact that they were well-used but no longer prized once printed editions became available.

Contents of Lectionaries

Unlike continuous-text manuscripts, lectionaries are not divided according to their writing style in the catalogs. Both uncials and minuscules are known. Uncial script continued to be used for lectionaries after it had become extinct for continuous-text manuscripts; we have uncial lectionaries of the twelfth century. (Compare this to the Jewish practice of synagogue scrolls without vowel points. While the practices are obviously unrelated, they may show the same sort of traditionalist feelings.)

The descriptions of lectionaries are rather more complex than for continuous-text manuscripts. This is due to the more involved set of information contained. An ordinary lectionary would contain two parts: A Synaxarion (containing the day-by-day readings for the liturgical year, beginning with Easter; this resembles the form of most modern lectionaries) and a Menologion (containing the readings for particular dates and events, and based on the fixed calendar). The lections in the synaxarion were relatively fixed; those in the menologion could vary significantly based on local customs and saints (since many of the lections were for particular saints' days).

In addition, a lectionary could contain readings from the (Old Testament) prophets, or the Gospels, or the Apostle (Acts, Paul, Catholic Epistles), or various combinations of the same. (The Apocalypse was not read in the churches.) Finally, it could include the lessons for every day of the year, or only those for Saturday or Sunday.

At least, the above is the way the common textual criticism manuals describe the matter (see, e.g., Aland and Aland, p. 166 in the second English edition, or, less specifically, Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible,* p. 44. Scrivener, pp. 75-77, uses the terms to refer not to the readings themselves but to the tables of readings in the manuscripts). Steve Puluka, however, informs me that this is not the proper terminology of the Byzantine church: "The Menologion is a service book containing the hymns for the saints, the Tropar and Kondak, for each day in the fixed cycle. Menaion is the texts for vespers and matins for each day of the year. These are books of hymn texts, not scripture. But most of these hymns contain many allusions to scripture. And will contain Psalm verses for use as Prokiemenon (introductions to readings), Alleluia verses (introduction to Gospels) and communion hymns. The Triodion is the corresponding book for the Great Fast that moves in dates from year to year. The Pentacostarion then covers the period from Pascha to Pentacost." Thus care must be taken, in reading a particular work, to know exactly how it is using the terms. The section below was based on the Aland definitions; I hope it doesn't affect things too badly.

Prior to Gregory's rearrangement of the manuscripts, it was customary to divide lectionaries into "Evangelistaries," or lectionaries of the gospels, and "Apostolos," with the Acts and Epistles. The former of these were denoted with a superscript ^{evl}, the latter with a superscript of ^{apl}. The problem with this is that the same lectionary could have two different symbols -- so, for example, 6^{evl} referred to the same manuscript as 1^{apl}.

Gregory's solution to this was to combine the two lectionary lists into one, with each lectionary denoted by a script letter L (ℓ) and a superscript number. As with the minuscules, Gregory preserved the numbers of the evangelistaries as best he could, so 1^{evl} became ℓ^{1}, while $6^{evl}=1^{apl}$ became ℓ^{6}.

This obviously means that a rather complex nomenclature had to be devised to explain the contents of a lectionary. The (rather illogical) symbols used by Aland in the Kurzgefasste Liste include the following:

- ℓ = Gospel lectionary with complete set of lessons (Saturday, Sunday, and weekday)
- ℓ^{a} = Lectionary of the Acts and Epistles
- ℓ^{+a} = Lectionary including lections of both the Gospels and the Acts & Epistles

- ℓ e = Gospel Lectionary with weekday lections only
- ℓ sk = Gospel lectionary with Saturday and Sunday only
- ℓ esk = Gospel lectionary with full lections for the period Easter-Pentecost but Saturday/Sunday lections only for the rest of the year
- ℓ sel = Lectionary with lections for selected days only
- A prefixed U- indicates that the lectionary is in uncial script.
- The symbol † indicates a damaged witness. **Note**: The *Kurzgefasste Liste* is not an adequate reference for damaged lectionaries (e.g. both ℓ 1 and ℓ 2 are listed by Scrivener as *mut*, but neither is so described in the Liste).
- The symbol "Lit" indicates a liturgical book, most often a *Euchology* or Book of Offices. Such books usually contain only a small number of lessons, though often drawn from both Acts and Epistles. The Alands (*The Text of the New Testament,* p. 163) have argued that these would better be excluded from the lectionary list -- but they are evidence, and need to be catalogued somewhere.
- The symbol "PsO" indicates a Psalter with the Biblical Odes. Such manuscripts normally contain only two New Testament passages (the Magnificat and Benedictus), and obviously are of little use for New Testament criticism.

The complexity of the above is such that this page adopts a simplified system for denoting lectionary contents. We will use e to designate a gospel lectionary, with s indicating one containing Saturday and Sunday lections and w indicating weekday lections. If the w is followed by an asterisk (*), it means the weekday lections are included only during Eastertide. (OK, this may seem just as complicated as the other way, but it saved a lot of HTML code.) Lectionaries of the Praxapostolos are denoted a. "sel" indicates selected lections. Minuscule lectionaries are listed in lower case; uncials in UPPER CASE. To say that another way, an “e” indicates a gospel lectionary, and “a” is an Acts and Epistles lectionary. Weekday lections are “w,” while “s” indicated Saturday and Sunday; a full lectionary has both. Lower case is for minuscules, UPPER CASE for uncials.

The following table shows the equivalences between the Aland system and that adopted here.

Nestle Symbol	Symbol used here		Nestle Symbol	Symbol used here
ℓ	e(sw)		U-ℓ	E(SW)
ℓ ^{a}	a		U-ℓ ^{a}	A
ℓ $^{+a}$	e(sw)a		U-ℓ $^{+a}$	E(SW)A
ℓ e	e(w)		U-ℓ e	E(W)
ℓ sk	e(s)		U-ℓ sk	E(S)
ℓ esk	e(sw*)		U-ℓ sk	E(SW*)
ℓ sel	sel		U-ℓ sel	SEL
ℓ ^{a}e	e(w)a		U-ℓ ^{a}a	E(W)A
ℓ ^{a}sel	a*		U-ℓ ^{a}sel	A*
Symbols used in Nestle and here				
Lit	Lit		†	†
PsO	PsO			

Lectionaries Cited in Critical Editions

The following table includes the first few lectionaries from the *Kurzgefasste Liste,* plus the lectionaries cited in the Nestle and UBS editions. Note that little information has been published about even these relatively-well-known lectionaries. Many lectionaries have neumes; this is noted as far as known to me.

Lectionary	Contents	Date	Meaning and Description
ℓ 1	SEL	X	Uncial lectionary, selected readings, tenth century
ℓ 2	E(SW)	X	Uncial Gospel lectionary (all lessons). Tenth century. Neumed.
ℓ 3	E(SW*)	XI	Uncial gospel lectionary, complete lessons for Eastertide, Saturday and Sunday lections for the rest of the year. Illuminated and neumed.
ℓ 4	e(sw*)	XI	Gospel lectionary, complete lessons for Eastertide, Saturday and Sunday lections for the rest of the year. Neumed.
ℓ 5	E(SW*)†	X	Fragmentary uncial gospel lectionary, complete lessons for Eastertide, Saturday and Sunday lections for the rest of the year. Neumed.

ℓ 10	sel	XIII	Lections from Matthew and Luke only (and not all of those). Thirteenth century (Scrivener says eleventh). Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 12	e(sw)†	XIII	Mulilated. Neumed. Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 32	e(sw*)	XI	"Carelessly written, but with important readings" (Scrivener). Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 44	e(s)a†	XII	Twelfth century (Scrivener says fifteenth). Mutilated, with later supplements.
ℓ 59	a	XII	Tischendorf/Scrivener 13^{apl}. Scrivener reports that it is "important; once belonged to the Iveron monastery; renovated by Joakim, a monk, A.D. 1525."
ℓ 60	e(sw*)a	1021	"[It] contains many valuable readings (akin to those of Codd. ADE), but numerous errors. Written by Helias, a priest and monk, 'in castro de Colonia,' for use of the French monastery of St. Denys" (Scrivener).
ℓ 68	e(w)†	XII	Dated to the twelfth century by Gregory and Aland, eleventh by Scrivener. Damaged at beginning and end.
ℓ 69	e(w)†	XII	Dated XI by Scrivener. Considered by the IGNTP to have the standard lectionary text.
ℓ 70	e(w)†	XII	Dated XI by Scrivener, who reports that it was "brought from the East in 1669." Certain of the initial and terminal leaves are paper, implying that they are a supplement. Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 76	e(w)	XII	Mutilated. Neumed. Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 80	e(w)	XII	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 127	E(SW*)†	IX	Uncial lectionary, damaged at beginning and end. Red ink. Neumed. Contains a fourteenth century supplement, and has been worked on by two later correctors.
ℓ 147	A	XII	Uncial lectionary, dated to the eleventh century by Scrivener. Formerly 25^{apl}. Scrivener reports that it is "ill written, with a Latin version over some portions of the text."

ℓ 150	E(W)	995	Uncial lectionary, dated May 27, 995. Red ink, neumes, and ornaments, written by a priest named Constantine. "It is a most splendid specimen of the uncial class of Evangelistaria, and its text presents many instructive variations. At the end are several lessons for special occasions, which are not often met with" (Scrivener). Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text. Sample plate in Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography* (plate 51).
ℓ 156	e(w)a	X	Dated XIII by Scrivener. Formerly 33^{apl}. (Note that the *Liste* describes it as containing Gospel lections, but neither Scrivener not UBS^4 concur.) Neumed, with red ink.
ℓ 165	e(w)a†	XI	Dated XIII by Scrivener, and listed as 57^{apl} (Gregory's 60^{apl}); apparently the Gospel lections were not known at that time. Scrivener says it is "neatly written, with many letters gilded, *mut*. at beginning and end" [the initial defect now having been supplemented by 129 leaves].
ℓ 170	e(w)a†	XIV	Dated XII/XIII by Scrivener (for whom it is 65^{apl}; Gregory's 68^{apl}). Defective for lections κε-λ of Paul. Formerly B.C. III.24
ℓ 184	e(w)	1319	Scrivener's 259^{evl} or y^{scr} is "remarkable for its wide departures from the received text, and for that reason often cited by Tischendorf and Alford...." Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.

ℓ 185	e(w)†	XI	This manuscript has been listed by various catalog numbers — in *Liste1* and NA[26] it is Cambridge, Christ's College DD.I.6, but in NA[27] it is GG.1.6. Scrivener lists this as equivalent to his 222[evl] = z[scr] -- though the latter manuscript is cataloged as F.I.8, and there are other discrepancies. However, I have checked the description in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalog of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Christ's College* [N. B. by "Western" James refers to their origin, not their text-type]. He gives the catalog number as F.1.8. I would regard this as definitive; F.1.8 is the only lectionary in James's catalog — and the description he gives (vellum, 11¾"x8½", double columns) matches that in the *Liste*. Interestingly, the *Liste* says it has 218 pages, but James, who examined it minutely, lists 219 pages. He describes it as "Cent. xi [agreeing with the *Liste*], fairly well written: the writing sometimes hangs from the ruled lines but very frequently stands between them. Ornaments in blue and red and green and red, rather coarse." There are between 26 and 32 lines per column. Two quires are missing: after quire 2 and after quire 14. James says that Scrivener collated it in 1854 (its readings are found in his book on Codex Augiensis under the siglum Z). Westcott & Hort gave it the number 59. A colophon says that the manuscript was sold in the year 1261 C.E., and Scrivener affirms that this is not contemporary with the manuscript. There was an older inscription which James could read only in part. Columns 1-81 give lessons from John, 81-206 have lessons from Matthew, 206-303 come from Matthew and Mark, 303-440 are from Luke, 440-663 come from all the Gospels. Beginning in column 663, a new hand takes over, giving four lessons from the Prophets and four from the Epistles. (These, according to Scrivener, were Old Gregory 53[apl], although the *Liste* says 53[apl] was unassigned.) Lessons in calendar order, commencing in September, begin in column 714. The book ends with column 871. Of 222[evl], Scrivener says it is ornamented, and "is much fuller than most Lectionaries, and contains many minute variations [citing as an example its omission of υιου βαραχιου in Matt. 23:35, agreeing with the first hand of Sinaiticus] and interesting readings."

ℓ 211	e(w)	XII	Scrivener's 218^{evl}, and dated XI by that scholar. Palimpsest, with upper writing dated XIV by Scrivener. Ornamented, but Scrivener reports that it is "ill written. The first leaf contains the history of St. Varus and six martyrs." Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 249	EA (SEL)	IX	Described in the Liste as defective, but NA^{27} describes it as containing selected lessons following the Jerusalem order (i.e. it does not follow the standard order listed under the Synaxarion). Scrivener (for whom it is 191^{evl}, 178^{apl}) describes it as follows: "ill written, but with a remarkable text; the date being tolerable fixed by Arabic material decidedly more modern, written 401 and 425 of the Hegira (i.e. about A.D. 1011 and 1035) respecting the birth and baptism of the two Holy infants. There are but ten lessons from St. Matthew, and nineteen from other parts of the New Testament, enumerated by Tischendorf in 'Notitia. Cod. Sinaitici,' p. 54."
ℓ 253	e(s)	1020	The data at left is from the *Liste*; Scrivener reads the colophon as 1022 (and dated from Salernum), and lists the manuscript as "*mut*. throughout." Tischendorf's 6^{pe}. Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 292	E(W)†	IX	Uncial palimpsest, with upper writing from the Psalms. Dated by Scrivener to VIII or IX, with neumes and red ink. Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 299	e(w)†	XIII	This is the lectionary which was written over Ξ/040. Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 303	e(w)	XII	Sample plate in Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*
ℓ 309	(Luke)	X	Described by Scrivener as an uncial but by the *Liste* as a minuscule; presumably it is in a semi-uncial hand. Ornaments, neumes, red ink. Scrivener says of its contents, "Σαββατοκυριακαι from the eleventh Sunday in St. Luke (14:20) to the Sunday of the Publican (xviii.14)."
ℓ 313	e(w)†	XIV	
ℓ 333	e(w)†	XIII	Neumed, with red ink. Scrivener reports, "bought of a dealer at Constantinople, cruelly mutilated (eighty-four leaves being missing), but once very fine. Collated by Rev. W. F. Rose, who found it much to resemble Evst. 259 (y^{scr})" [= ℓ 184]. Considered by the IGNTP to have the standard lectionary text.

ℓ 374	e(sw)	1070	Scrivener dates the script XIII/XIV (!).
ℓ 381	e(w)	XI	Dated X by Scrivener, XII by Gregory; the *Liste* splits the difference. With pictures; Scrivener calls it a "magnificent specimen."
ℓ 384	e(w)	XII	Neumed.
ℓ 387	e(w)	XI	Dated XIV by Scrivener. Neumed.
ℓ 422	e(w)a	XIV	Scrivener reports,"[mutilated] at beg. and end, and in other places. Michael of Damascus was the diorthote, or possessor."
ℓ 490	e(sw) Lit	IX	Dated IX or X by Scrivener, who describes it as "Euchology. Contains only a few Lections."
ℓ 514	E(W)	IX	Uncial lectionary, red ink, neumed. Reported by Scrivener to be mutilated.
ℓ 524	e(sw*)†	XII	"[Mutilated] at beginning and end." Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 547	e(sw*)†	XIII	This is the (relatively) famous Ferrar Lectionary, which follows the Byzantine order but has a text derived from the Ferrar Group (f[13]). Considered by the IGNTP (for obvious reasons) to have a diverging text.
ℓ 563	E(SW*)	VIII	Uncial lectionary, originally from Constantinople
ℓ 590	e(w)a†	XI	Scrivener's 270[apl], which he dates XIV and lists as "[mutilated] at beginning and end." Gregory's 94[apl]
ℓ 591	e(w)a†	XI	Scrivener's 272[apl], which he dates XIV-XV and lists as "[mutilated] at beginning and end." Gregory's 95[apl]
ℓ 592	e(w)a†	1576	Scrivener's 209[apl], which he lists as "[mutilated] at beginning." Gregory's 96[apl]
ℓ 593	e(w)a	XV	Dated XVII (!) by Scrivener, for whom it is 271[apl]; Gregory's 98[apl]
ℓ 596	a*	1146	Gregory's 101[apl]; Scrivener's 216[apl]
ℓ 597	e(sw*)a	X	Scrivener's 83[apl], which he lists as mutilated; Gregory 103[apl].
ℓ 598	e(w)a	XI	Scrivener's 84[apl] (Gregory 104[apl]), which he lists as having red ink and neumes, and as being "a most beautiful codex."
ℓ 599	e(sw*)a†	XI	Scrivener's 85[apl]; Gregory 105[apl].
ℓ 603	e(w)a	XI	Neumed, with red ink. Gregory's 109[apl]; Scrivener's 89[apl]
ℓ 617	e(w)a	XI	Dated XI or XII bt Scrivener, for whom it is 98[apl] (Gregory's 124[apl]). Neumed, with red ink.

ℓ 672	E(SW*)	IX	Uncial lectionary.
ℓ 673	e(w)†	XII	
ℓ 680	ea	XIII	Gregory's 229^{apl}
ℓ 751	e(w)a?	XI	Gregory's 239^{apl}
ℓ 770	e(sw)	X	
ℓ 773	e(sw)	XI	
ℓ 809	e(w)a	XII	Sample plate in Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*
ℓ 813	e(w)	X	
ℓ 844	SEL†	IX	Uncial lectionary, selected readings (Jerusalem form).
ℓ 846	EA SEL	VIII/IX	Uncial lectionary, selected readings (Jerusalem form)
ℓ 847	E(SW*)	967	Uncial lectionary.
ℓ 858	e(sw*)†	XII	
ℓ 859	e(sw*)†	XI	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 866	e(sw*)	1174	
ℓ 883	a	XI	Gregory/Scrivener 154^{apl}
ℓ 884	a	XIII	Gregory/Scrivener 155^{apl}
ℓ 890	e(s)	1420	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 895	a	XIII	Gregory/Scrivener 156^{apl}
ℓ 921	e(w)a	XII	Gregory/Scrivener 157^{apl}
ℓ 923	(frag)	?	This single surviving page was bound with the eleventh century minuscule 42, which has been lost for years. The lectionary leaf contained Matt. 17:16-23, 1 Cor. 9:2-12.
ℓ 950	e(sw)	1289/90	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 961	E(SW)†	XII	Uncial lectionary, Greek-Coptic diglot. Contains portions of Mark 9, Luke 7, 8, 15, 19, 22, 24, John 4. Merk cites this fragment as including the shorter ending of Mark; it appears, however, that he should have been citing ℓ 1602 (also Greco-Coptic, and it includes the passage, which ℓ 961 does not).
ℓ 963	(e)	XI	Formerly 0100. Single leaf in a Coptic codex.

ℓ 965	(e)	IX	Greek/Coptic diglot, formerly 0114. Single leaf containing portions of John.
ℓ 1016	e(sw*)	XII	94 leaves in Jerusalem, 8 in St. Petersburg. Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1021	e(sw*)†	XII	
ℓ 1074	e(sw*)†	1290	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1127	e(w)	XII	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1153(a)	e(w)a	XIV	Following this codex is a single leaf of an uncial lectionary of the tenth century. This was formerly designated as ℓ 1153b, resulting in the primary codex being designated for a time as ℓ 1153a
ℓ 1154	a†	XII	
ℓ 1156	a†	XIV	
ℓ 1159	e(w)a	1331	
ℓ 1178	e(w)a	XI	
ℓ 1223	e(w)†	XIII	
ℓ 1231	e(sw*)	X	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1298	e(sw*)a	XI	
ℓ 1356	A	X	Uncial lectionary
ℓ 1364	a†	XII	
ℓ 1365	a	XII	
ℓ 1439	a†	XII	
ℓ 1441	a	XIII	
ℓ 1443	a	1053	
ℓ 1552	e(w)	985	
ℓ 1566	see ℓ 1602		
ℓ 1575	A	IX	Uncial lectionary, partial (readings from Acts and 1 Peter). Greek-Coptic diglot. Includes the former 0129 and 0203. The Alands describe the text as being "of remarkably good quality" -- in context meaning probably that the text is Alexandrian.
ℓ 1579	e(w)†	XIV	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.

ℓ 1590	a	XIII	
ℓ 1596			This lectionary is cited by Merk, and dated V -- but the number has been de-assigned in the *Kurzgefasste Liste!*
ℓ 1599	E(SW*)†	IX	Uncial lectionary. Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1602	E(SW*)†	VIII	Uncial lectionary, Greek-Sahidic diglot. Includes the former ℓ 1566. Described by Hedley as Alexandrian in Matthew and Mark, although the text-type changes in Luke and John.
ℓ 1610	(e)	XV	Saturday and Sunday lections from Luke.
ℓ 1627	e(sw*)†	XI	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1634	e(sw*)	XII	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1642	e(w)†	XIII	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1663	e(sw*)†	XIV	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1761	e(sw)	XV	Considered by the IGNTP to have a diverging text.
ℓ 1780	e(w)	XII	
ℓ 1977	e(sw*)a	XII	Possibly two combined manuscripts, perhaps from different hands; the first 151 folios contain the Gospel readings, the remaining 159 have the Apostle. Sunday lessons only.
ℓ 2211	E(SW)	995/6	Uncial lectionary, Greek Arabic diglot. Selected lessons following the Jerusalem order.

For the Apostoliki Diakonia edition (ℓ AD), see the section on the Lectionary Text.

Lectionary Incipits

By their nature, lectionaries take readings out of context. Without some sort of introduction to a passage, a congregation would not easily understand what the lection referred to. Thus arose the practice of including "incipits" (from Latin *incipere*, to begin) -- brief phrases to introduce a passage. It was probably not long before these incipits began to be included in the lectionary itself.

It is commonly stated that there are six lectionary incipits. This is somewhat oversimplified. The correct statement is that the large majority of lections *in the gospels* use one of the following six incipits:

- I. τω καιρω εκεινω
- II. ειπεν ο κυριος τοις εαυτου μαθηταις
- III. ειπεν ο κυριος προς εληλυθοτας προς αυτον Ιουαιους
- IV. ειπεν ο κυριος προς τους πεπιστευκοτας αυτω Ιουαιους
- V. ειπεν ο κυριος
- VI. ειπεν ο κυριος την παρβολην ταυτην

However, other incipits will occur. The purpose of the numbered incipits is not to note all possible introductions to a passage but to simplify collation. When collating a lectionary, instead of citing the incipits in full, one needs simply to note the incipit number (e.g. Inc I, Inc II).

It will be evident that these incipits are not appropriate for the epistles. The usual incipit in these books is αδελφοι, while we find τεκνον Τιμοθεε and τεκνον Τιτε in the relevant epistles.

The Synaxarion

The Synaxarion is the movable calendar of the church. The year begins with Easter, and its length varies (up to a maximum of 57 weeks). Since the calendar is variable, it includes primarily the festivals which occur in the seasonal (quasi-lunar) calendar -- e.g. Easter and Pentecost. Festivals which occurred on fixed dates, such as most Saints' Days, were included in the Menologion.

Menologia varied significantly, depending on the particular saints and festival commemorated in a diocese. The Synaxarion of the Byzantine church, however, was almost completely fixed, and is found in the large majority of lectionaries with only minor variants.

The following tables, listing the readings for the various parts of the year, are adapted from Scrivener & Miller, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,* pp. 81-85. Where Scrivener shows variants, these are separated by slashes /. It should be noted that this is not a comprehensive or critical edition of the Synaxarion; eleven manuscripts were consulted (the correctors of D^{ea}, and the lectionaries ℓ^{150}, ℓ^{170}, ℓ^{181}, ℓ^{183}, ℓ^{184}, ℓ^{185}, ℓ^{186}, ℓ^{228}, ℓ^{304}, ℓ^{315}), but they were casually selected and often defective (e.g. only one contains the complete weekday lessons for the Apostolos, and that one -- ℓ^{170} -- is damaged.)

The first part of the lectionary begins at Easter and extends through the season of Pentecost. The lessons for this season are shown below. It should be recalled that the first day of the Byzantine week was Saturday, so that in the latter part of the year the Saturday lections for a week were read before the Sunday lections.

Week	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Easter τη αγια και μεγαλη κυριακη του πασχα	Jo 1:1-17 Ac 1:1-8	Jo 1:18-28 Ac 1:12-26	Lk 24:12-35 Ac 2:14-21	Jo 1:35-52 Ac 2:38-43	Jo 3:1-15 Ac 3:1-8	Jo 2:12-22 Ac 2:12-26	Jo 3:22-33 Ac 3:11-16
1st Sunday after Easter αντιπασχα	Jo 20:19-31 Ac 5:12-20	Jo 2:1-11 Ac 3:19-26	Jo 3:16-21 Ac 4:1-10	Jo 5:17-24 Ac 4:13-22	Jo 5:24-30 Ac 4:23-31	Jo 5:30-6:2 Ac 5:1-11	Jo 6:14-27 Ac 5:21-32
2nd Sunday after Easter κυριακη γ	Mk 15:43-16:8 Ac 6:1-7	Jo 4:46-54 Ac 6:8-7:60	Jo 6:27-33 Ac 8:5-17	Jo 6:48-54/ 6:35-39 Ac 8:18-25/ 8:40-9:19	Jo 6:40-44 Ac 8:26-39	Jo 6:35-39/ 6:48-54 Ac 8:40-9:19/8:18-25	Jo 15:17-16:1 Ac 9:19-31
3rd Sunday after Easter κυριακη δ	Jo 5:1-15 Ac 9:32-42	Jo 6:56-69 Ac 10:1-16	Jo 7:1-13 Ac 10:21-33	Jo 7:14-30 Ac 14:6-18	Jo 8:12-20 Ac 10:34-43	Jo 8:21-30 Ac 10:44-11:10	Jo 8:31-42 Ac 12:1-11
4th Sunday after Easter κυριακη ε	Jo 4:5-42 Ac 11:19-30	Jo 8:42-51 Ac 12:12-17	Jo 8:51-59 Ac 12:25-13:12	Jo 6:5-14 Ac 13:13-24	Jo 9:39-10:9 Ac 14:20-27/ 14:20-15:4	Jo 10:17-28 Ac 15:5-12	Jo 10:27-38 Ac 15:35-41
5th Sunday after Easter κυριακη ς	Jo 9:1-38 Ac 16:16-34	Jo 9:47-54 Ac 17:1-9	Jo 12:19-36 Ac 17:19-27	Jo 12:36-47 Ac 18:22-28	Ascension Mk 16:9-20, Lk 24:36-53 Ac 1:1-12	Jo 14:1-10/ 11/12 Ac 19:1-8	Jo 14:10-21/ Jo 14:10-18, 21 Ac 20:7-12
6th Sunday after Easter κυριακη ζ	Jo 17:1-13 Ac 20:16-38	Jo 14:27-15:7 Ac 21:8-14	Jo 16:2-13 Ac 21:26-32	Jo 16:15-23 Ac 23:1-11	Jo 16:23-33 Ac 25:13-19	Jo 17:18-26 Ac 27:1-28:1	Jo 21:14-25 Ac 28:1-31
Pentecost κυριακη της πεντεκοστης	Jo 20:19-23, 7:37-52+8:12 Ac 2:1-11						
Week after Pentecost τη επαυριον τες πεντεκοστης		Mt 18:10-20 Eph 5:8-19	Mt 4:25-5:11	Mt 5:20-30	Mt 5:31-41	Mt 7:9-18	Mt 5:42-48 Rom 1:7-12

2nd week after Pentcost κυριακη α των αγιων παντων	Mt 10:32-33, 37-38 Mt 19:37-40 He 11:33-12:2	Mt 6:31-34 Mt 7:9-14 Ro 2:1-6	Mt 7:15-21 Ro 2:13, 17-27	Mt 7:11-23 Ro 2:28-3:4	Mt 8:23-27 Ro 3:4-9	Mt 9:14-17 Ro 3:9-18	Mt 7:1-8 Ro 3:19-26
3rd week after Pentcost κυριακη β	Mt 4:18-23 Ro 2:10-16	Mt 9:36-10:8 Ro 4:4-18	Mt 10:9-15 Ro 4:8-12	Mt 10:16-22 Ro 4:13-17	Mt 10:23-31 Ro 4:18-25	Mt 10:32-36, 11:1 Ro 5:12-14	Mt 7:24-8:4 Ro 3:23-4:3
4th week after Pentecost κυριακη γ	Mt 6:22-23 Ro 5:1-10	Mt 11:2-15 Ro 5:15-17	Mt 11:16-20 Ro 5:17-21	Mt 11:20-26 Ro 7:1	Mt 11:27-30	Mt 12:1-8	Mt 8:14-23/8:14-18, 23 Ro 6:11-17
5th week after Pentecost κυριακη δ	Mt 8:5-13 Ro 6:18-23	Mt 12:9-13 Ro 7:19-8:3	Mt 12:14-16, 22-30 Ro 8:2-9	Mt 12:38-45 Ro 8:8-14	Mt 12:46-13:3 Ro 8:22-27	Mt 13:3-12 Ro 9:6-13	Mt 9:9-13 Ro 8:14-21
6th week after Pentecost κυριακη ε	Mt 8:28-9:1 Ro 10:1-10	Mt 13:10-23 Ro 9:13-19	Mt 13:24-30 Ro 9:17-28	Mt 13:31-36 Ro 9:29-33	Mt 13:36-43 Ro 9:33, 10:12-17	Mt 13:44-54 Ro 10:15-11:2	Mt 9:18-26 Ro 9:1-5
7th week after Pentecost κυριακη ς	Mt 9:1-8 Ro 12:6-14	Mt 13:54-58 Ro 11:2-6	Mt 14:1-13 Ro 11:7-12	Mt 14:35-15:11 Ro 11:13-20	Mt 15:12-21 Ro 11:19-24	Mt 15:29-31 Ro 11:25-28	Mt 10:37-11:1 Ro 12:1-3
8th week after Pentecost κυριακη ζ	Mt 9:27-35 Ro 15:1-7	Mt 16:1-6 Ro 11:29-36	Mt 16:6-12 Ro 12:14-21	Mt 16:20-24 Ro 14:10-18	Mt 16:24-28 Ro 15:8-12	Mt 17:10-18 Ro 15:13-16	Mt 12:30-37 Ro 13:1-10
9th week after Pentecost κυριακη η	Mt 14:14-22 1C 1:10-18	Mt 18:1-11 Ro 15:17-25	Mt 18:18-20/22 Mt 19:1-2, 13-15 Ro 15:26-29	Mt 20:1-16 Ro 16:17-20	Mt 20:17-28 1C 2:10-15	Mt 21:12-14, 17-20 1C 2:16-3:10	Mt 15:32-39 To 14:6-9
10th week after Pentecost κυριακη θ	Mt 14:22-34 1C 3:9-17	Mt 21:18-22 1C 3:18-23	Mt 21:23-27 1C 4:5-8	Mt 21:28-32 1C 5:9-13	Mt 21:43-46 1C 6:1-6	Mt 22:23-33 1C 6:7-11	Mt 17:24-18:1 Ro 15:30-33
11th week after Pentecost κυριακη ι	Mt 17:14-23 1C 4:9-16	Mt 23:13-22 1C 6:20-7:7	Mt 23:23-28 1C 7:7-15	Mt 23:29-39	Mt 24:12/13/14/15-28	Mt 24:27-35/33, 42-51 1C 7:35?	Mt 19:3-12 1C 9:2-12
12th week after Pentecost κυριακη ια	Mt 18:23-35 1C 9:2-12	Mk 1:9-15 1C 7:37-8:3	Mk 1:16-22 1C 8:4-7	Mk 1:23-28 1C 9:13-18	Mk 1:29-35 1C 10:2-10	Mk 2:18-22 1C 10:10-15	Mt 20:29-34 1C 1:26-29
13th week after Pentecost κυριακη ιβ	Mt 19:16-26 1C 15:1-11	Mk 3:6-12 1C 10:14-23	Mk 3:13-21 1C 10:31-11:3	Mk 3:20-27 1C 11:4-12	Mk 3:28-35 1C 11:13-23	Mk 4:1-9 1C 11:31-12:6	Mt 22:15-22 1C 2:6-9
14th week after Pentecost κυριακη ιγ	Mt 21:33-42 1C 16:13-24	Mk 4:10-23 1C 12:12-18	Mk 4:24-34 1C 12:18-26	Mk 4:35-41 1C 13:8-14:1	Mk 5:1-17/20 1C 14:1-12	Mk 5:22-23, 5:35-61 1C 14:12-20	Mt 23:1-12 1C 4:1-5

15th week after Pentecost κυριακη ιδ	Mt 22:2-14 2C 1:21-2:4	Mk 5:24-34 1C 14:26-33	Mk 6:1-7 1C 14:33-40	Mk 6:7-13 1C 15:12-20	Mk 6:30-45 1C 15:29-34	Mk 6:45-53 1C 15:34-40	Mt 24:1-13/24:1-9, 13 1C 4:7-5:5
16th week after Pentecost κυριακη ιε	Mk 6:54/56-7:8 1C 16:3-13	Mk 7:5-16 2C 1:1-7	Mk 7:14-24 2C 1:12-20	Mk 7:24-30 2C 2:4-15	Mk 8:1-10 2C 2:15-3:3	Mt 24:34-37, 42-44 1C 10:23-28	
17th week after Pentecost κυριακη ις	Mt 25:14-30/29 2C 6:1-10	(2C 3:4-12)	(2C 4:1-6)	(2C 4:11-18)	(2C 5:10-15)	(2C 5:15-21)	
18th week after Pentecost κυριακη ιζ	Mt 15:1-13						Mt 25:1-13

After the new year (which may occur as many as eighteen weeks after Pentecost, depending on the date of Easter), the Gospel and Apostle lections take different forms, with the Apostle lections following a regular weekly pattern generally tied to the fixed calendar, while the Gospels (which also tends to offer a fuller set of lections) are variable. We therefore separate the calendars.

Readings from the Gospel

Week #	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1st week		Lk 3:19-22	Lk 3:23-4:1	Lk 4:1-15	Lk 4:16-22	Lk 4:22-30	Lk 4:31-36
2nd Week / κυριακη α	Lk 5:1-11	Lk 4:38-44	Lk 5:12-16	Lk 5:33-39	Lk 6:12-16/19	Lk 6:17-23	Lk 5:17-26
3rd Week / κυριακη β	Lk 5:31-36	Lk 5:24-30	Lk 5:37-45	Lk 6:46-7:1	Lk 7:17-30	Lk 7:31-35	Lk 5:27-32
4th Week / κυριακη γ	Lk 7:11-16	Lk 7:36-50	Lk 8:1-3	Lk 8:22-25	Lk 9:7-11	Lk 9:12-18	Lk 6:1-10
5th Week / κυριακη δ	Lk 8:5-8, 9-15	Lk 9:18-22	Lk 9:23-27	Lk 9:43-50	Lk 9:49-56	Lk 5:1-15	Lk 7:1-10
6th Week / κυριακη ε	Lk 16:19-31	Lk 10:22-24	Lk 11:1-10	Lk 11:9-13	Lk 11:14-23	Lk 11:23-26	Lk 8:16-21
7th Week / κυριακη ς	Lk 8:26/27-35, 38-39	Lk 11:29-33	Lk 11:34-41	Lk 11:42-46	Lk 11:47-12:1	Lk 12:2-12	Lk 9:1-6
8th Week / κυριακη ζ	Lk 8:41-56	Lk 12:13-15, 22-31	Lk 12:42-48	Lk 12:48-59	Lk 13:1-9	Lk 13:31-35	Lk 9:37-43
9th Week / κυριακη η	Lk 10:25-37	Lk 14:12-51	Lk 14:25-35	Lk 15:1-10	Lk 16:1-9	Lk 16:15-18, 17:1-4	Lk 9:57-62
10th Week / κυριακη θ	Lk 12:16-21	Lk 17:20-25	Lk 17:26-37, 18:18	Lk 18:15-17, 26-30	Lk 18:31-34	Lk 19:12-28	Lk 10:19-21
11th Week / κυριακη ι	Lk 13:10-17	Lk 19:37-44	Lk 19:45-48	Lk 20:1-8	Lk 20:9-18	Lk 20:19-26	Lk 12:32-40
12th Week / κυριακη ια	Lk 14:16-24	Lk 20:27-44	Lk 21:12-19	Lk 21:5-8, 10-11, 20-24	Lk 21:28-33	Lk 21:37-22:8	Lk 13:19-29
13th Week / κυριακη ιβ	Lk 17:12-19	Mk 8:11-21	Mk 8:22-26	Mk 8:30-34	Mk 9:10-16	Mk 9:33-41	Lk 14:1-11
14th Week / κυριακη ιγ	Lk 18:18-27	Mk 9:42-10:1	Mk 10:2-11	Mk 10:11-16	Mk 10:17-27	Mk 10:24-32	Lk 16:10-15
15th Week / κυριακη ιδ	Lk 17:35-43	Mk 10:46-52	Mk 11:11-23	Mk 11:22-26	Mk 11:27-33	Mk 12:1-12	Lk 17:3-10
16th Week / κυριακη ιε	Lk 19:1-10	Mk 12:13-17	Mk 12:18-27	Mk 12:28-34	Mk 12:38-44	Mk 13:1-9	Lk 18:1-8
17th Week / κυριακη ις	Lk 18:9-14 (2Ti 3:10-15)	Mk 13:9-13	Mk 13:14-23	Mk 13:24-31	Mk 13:31-14:2	Mk 14:3-9	Lk 20:46-21:4

Readings from the Apostle

Week #	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
κυριακη ις	2C 6:1-10	(2C 3:4-12)	(2C 4:1-6)	(2C 4:11-18)	(2C 5:10-15)	(2C 5:15-21)	
κυριακη ιζ	2C 6:16-8:1	(2C 6:11-16)	(2C 7:1-11)	(2C 7:10-16)	(2C 8:7-11)	(2C 8:10-21)	1C 14:20-25
κυριακη ιη	2C 9:6-11	(2C 8:20-9:1)	(2C 9:1-5)	(2C 9:12-10:5)	(2C 10:4-12)	(2C 10:13-18)	1C 15:39-45
κυριακη ιθ	2C 11:31-12:9	(2C 11:5-9)	(2C 11:10-18)	(2C 12:10-14)	(2C 12:14-19)	(2C 12:19-13:1)	1C 15:58-16:3
κυριακη κ	Ga 1:11-19	(2C 13:2-7)	(2C 13:7-11)	(Ga 1:18-2:5)	(Ga 2:6-16)	(Ga 2:20-3:7)	2C 1:8-11
κυριακη κα	Ga 2:16-20	(Ga 3:15-22)	(Ga 3:28-4:5)	(Ga 4:9-14)	(Ga 4:13-26)	(Ga 4:28-5:5)	2C 3:12-18
κυριακη κβ	Ga 6:11-18	(Ga 5:4-14)	(Ga 5:14-21)	(Ga 6:2-10)	(Ep 1:9-17)	(Ep 1:16-23)	2C 5:1-10/4
κυριακη κγ	Ep 2:4-10	(Ep 2:18-3:5)	(Ep 3:5-12)	(Ep 3:13-21)	(Ep 4:12-16)	(Ep 4:17-25)	2C 8:1-5
κυριακη κδ	Ep 2:14-22	(Ep 5:18-26)	(Ep 5:25-31)	(Ep 5:28-6:6)	(Ep 6:7-11)	(Ep 6:17-21)	2C 11:1-6
κυριακη κε	Ep 4:1-7						Ga 1:3-10
κυριακη κς	Ep 5:8-19						Ga 3:8-12
κυριακη κζ	Ep 6:10-17						Ga 5:22-6:2
κυριακη κη	2C 2:14-3:3						Co 1:9-18
κυριακη κθ	Co 3:4-11						Ep 2:11-13
κυριακη λ	Co 3:12-16	(1Th 1:6-10)	(1Th 1:9-2:4)	(1Th 2:4-8)	(1Th 2:9-14)	(1Th 2:14-20)	Ep 5:1-8
κυριακη λα	2Ti 1:3-9	(1Th 3:1-8)	(1Th 3:6-11)	(1Th 3:11-4:6)	(1Th 4:7-11)	(1Th 4:17-5:5)	Co 1:2-6
κυριακη λβ	1Ti 6:11-16	(1Th 5:4-11)	(1Th 5:11-15)	(1Th 5:15-23)	(2Th 1:1-5)	(2Th 1:11-2:5)	Co 2:8-12
κυριακη λγ	2Ti 1:3-9	(2Th 2:13-3:5)	(2Th 3:3-9)	(2Th 3:10-18)	(1Ti 1:1-8)	(1Ti 1:8-14)	1Ti 2:1-7
κυριακη λδ	2Ti 3:10-15	(1Ti 2:5-15)	(1Ti 3:1-13)	(1Ti 4:4-9)	(1Ti 4:14-5:10)	(1Ti 5:17-6:2)	1Ti 3:13-4:5
κυριακη λε	2Ti 2:1-10	(1Ti 6:2-11)	(1Ti 6:17-21)	(2Ti 1:8-14)	(2Ti 1:14-2:2)	(2Ti 2:22-26)	1Ti 4:9-15
κυριακη λς							2Ti 2:11-13

As the Passion period approaches, the calendars again unite.

Week	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Of the Canaanites κυριακη ιζ	Mt 15:21-28						
σαββατω προ της αποκρεω/ of the Prodigal							Lk 15:1-10
κυριακη προ της αποκρεω/ of the Prodigal; Week of the Carnival	Lk 15:11-32 1Th 5:14-23/ 1C 6:12-20	Mk 11:1-11 2Ti 3:1-10	Mk 14:10-42 2Ti 3:14-4:5	Mk 14:43-15:1 1Ti 4:9-18	Mk 15:1-15 Ti 1:5-12	Mk 15:20, 22, 25, 33-41 Ti 1:15-2:10	Lk 21:8-9, 25-27, 33-36 1C 6:12-20/ 2Ti 2:11-19
κυριακη της αποκρεω/ of the cheese-eater	Mt 25:31-46 1C 8:8-9:2/ 1C 6:12-20	Lk 19:29-40, 22:7-8, 39 He 4:1-13	Lk 22:39-23:1 Heb 5:12-6:8	--	Lk 23:1-22, 44-56	--	Mt 6:1-13 Ro 14:19-23, "16:25-27"
κυριακη της τυροφαγου	Mt 6:14-21, Ro 13:11-14:4						
Παννυχις της αγιας νηστειας (Lenten Vigil)	Mt 7:7-11						

Lent/Των νηστειων

σαββατω α	Mk 2:23-3:5	He 1:1-12
Κυιακη α	Jo 1:44-52	He 11:24-40
σαββατω β	Mk 1:35-44	He 3:12-14
Κυιακη β	Mk 2:1-12	He 1:10-2:3
σαββατω γ	Mk 2:14-17	He 10:32-37
Κυιακη γ	Mk 8:34-9:1	He 4:14-5:6
σαββατω δ	Mk 7:31-37	He 6:9-12
Κυιακη δ	Mk 9:17-17-31	He 6:13-20
σαββατω ε	Mk 8:27-31	He 9:24-28
Κυιακη ε	Mk 10:32-45	He 9:11-14
σαββατω ς (of Lazarus)	Jo 11:1-45	He 12:28-13:8
Κυιακη ς των Βαιων	Mt 21:1-11, 15-17, (Mk 10:46-11:11), Jo 12:1-18, Pp 4:4-9	

Holy Week

Monday	Mt 21:18-43, Mt 24:3-35
Tuesday	Mt 22:15-24:2, Mt 24:36-26:2
Wednesday	Jo 11:47-53/56, 12:17/19-47/50
Thursday	Lk 22:1-36/39, Mt 26:1-20
ευαγγελιον του νιπτηρος	Jo 13:3-10
μετα το νιψασθαι	Jo 13:12-17, Mt 26:21-39, Lk 22:43-44, Mt 26:40-27:2, 1C 11:23-32

Ευαγγελια των αγιων παθων Ιησου Χριστου/Twelve Gospels of the Passions: Jo 13:31-18:1, Jo 18:1-28, Mt 26:57-75, Jo 18:28-19:16, Mt 27:3-32, Mk 15:16-32, Mt 27:33-54, Lk 23:32-49, Jo 19:25-37, Mk 15:43-47, Jo 19:38-42, Mt 27:62-66

Ευαγγελια των ωρων της αγιας παραμονης/Good Friday Vigil: First Hour: Mt 27:1-56; Third Hour: Mk 15:1-41; Sixth Hour: Lk 22:66-23:49; Ninth Hour: Jo 19:16/23-37 (18:28-19:37)

τη αγια παρασκευη εις την λειτουργιαν: Mt 27:1-38, Lk 23:39-43, Mt 27:39-54, Jo 19:31-37, Mt 27:55-61, 1C 1:18-2:1

τω αγιω και μεγαλω σαββατω (Easter Even): Mt 27:62-66, 1C 5:6-8 (Ga 3:13, 14); Mt 27:1-20, Ro 6:3-11 (Mt 28:1-20, Ro 6:3-11)

Ευαγγελια αναστασιμα εωθινα (readings for Matins on the eleven Sundays beginning with All Saints Day. Found in some but not all lectionaries): Mt 28:16-20, Mk 16:1-8, Mk 16:9-20, Lk 24:1-12, Lk 24:12-35, Lk 24:36-53, Jo 20:1-11, Jo 20:11-18, Jo 20:19-31, Jo 21:1-14, Jo 21:15-25

The Menologion

The Synaxarion was the basic calendar of the church, as it covered the liturgical year (from Easter to Easter). But not all festivals fit into the quasi-lunar form of the Synaxarion. For holidays with fixed dates, the readings were contained in the Menologion, containing lessons from the fixed calendar.

The Menologion began at the beginning of the Civil Year (September 1), and contained a year's worth of readings for certain fixed holidays (which might occur on any day of the week, as opposed to the festivals in the Synaxarion which always occur on the same day -- e.g. Easter is always Sunday).

The Synaxarion was identical in all parts of the Byzantine church. Not so the Menologion! Certain fixed holidays, including festivals such as Christmas and the holy days of the apostles, were (almost) always present, but every diocese would add its own list of saints days and special celebrations. For this reason it is not practical to include a full catalog of the readings in the Menologion. The most important festivals include:

- October 6, Thomas: John 20:19-31, 1 Cor. 4:9-16
- October 9, James of Alphæus: Matt. 10:1-7, 14, 15
- October 18, Luke: Luke 10:16-21, Col. 4:5-9, 14, 18
- October 23, James ο αδελφοθεος: Mark 6:1-7, James 1:1-12
- November 14, Philip: John 1:44-55, Acts 8:26-39
- November 16, Matthew: Matt. 9:9-13, 1 Cor. 4:9-16
- November 30, Andrew: John 1:35-52, 1 Cor. 4:9-16
- December 24, Christmas Eve: Luke 2:1-10, Heb. 1:1-12, (1 Pet. 2:10)
- December 25, Chrismas: Matt. 1:18-25, Matt. 2:1-12, Gal. 4:4-7
- January 6, Epiphany: Mark 1:9-11, Matt. 3:13-17, Titus 2:11-14, (Titus 3:4-7)
- March 25, Annunciation: Luke 1:24-38, Heb. 2:11-18
- April 25, Mark: Mark 6:7-13, Col. 4:5, 10, 11, 18
- April 30, James son of Zebedee: Matt. 10:1-7, 14, 15
- May 26, Jude the Apostle: John 14:21-24
- June 11, Bartholomew and Barnabas: Mark 6:7-13, Acts 11:19-30

- June 29, Peter and Paul: John 21:15-25, Matt. 16:13-19, 2 Cor. 11:21-12:9
- June 30, The Twelve: Matt. 10:1-8
- August 6, Transfiguration: Luke 9:29-36/Mark 9:2-9, Matt. 17:1-9, 2 Pet. 1:10-19
- August 20, Thaddæus: Matt. 10:16-22, 1 Cor. 4:9-16

It is not unusual to find the same passage used in both Synaxarion and Menologion. In this case, we often find a reference in the Menologion directing the reader to the passage in the synaxarion.

History of the Lectionary

If the history of the New Testament text is relatively poorly known, our knowledge of the history of the lectionary text is even less. There are several reasons for this. One is that the Fathers have very little to say about the history of the lectionary. Several, beginning with Chrysostom, refer to the lessons for a particular day. Some scholars have argued on this basis that the lectionary system must be early; Gregory thought that the Saturday and Sunday lections, at least, were fixed in the second century, and Metzger argued for the fourth century. (Gregory's basis is that the lectionary included Saturday lessons from an early date, implying that it comes from a time when Saturday was still the Sabbath. This is very reasonable -- though it should be noted that this is merely an argument for the existence of a lectionary, not for the present lectionary and not for a lectionary text.) We might note, though, that even by Chrysostom's time, we cannot always make the lection and date correspond to that in the late lectionaries. There is thus no certain reason to believe Chrysostom used the late Byzantine lectionary. Indeed, Chrysostom himself is widely celebrated (November 13), as is Athanasius (May 2). This clearly proves that the final form of the lectionary -- or at least the Menologion -- is from after their time.

The other reason for our ignorance is our lack of early evidence. The earliest surviving lectionary (ℓ^{1604}) is from the fourth century, but fragmentary; indeed, prior to the eighth century, only ten lectionaries are known (so Kurt & Barbara Aland, T*he Text of the New Testament,* p. 81); the list includes ℓ^{1604} [IV -- Greek/Sahidic fragment], ℓ^{1043} [V -- fragments of Mark 6, Luke 2], ℓ^{1276} [VI -- Palimpsest, frags of Matt. 10, John 20], ℓ^{1347} [VI -- Psalter; has Magnificat and Benedictus], ℓ^{1354} [VI -- Greek/Hebrew fragment, Mark 3], ℓ^{355} [VII -- portions of Luke], ℓ^{1348} [VII -- Psalter; has Magnificat and Benedictus], ℓ^{1353} [VII -- Greek/Coptic diglot, now re-listed as ℓ^{143} and ℓ^{962}+0276], and ℓ^{1637} [VII -- Palimpsest]); by contrast, we have 248 continuous-text manuscripts from this period. In addition, these early lectionaries rarely if ever follow the standard order of the late Byzantine lectionaries (Aland &

Aland, p. 167); note that not one of these manuscripts is a true Byzantine lectionary. Vaganay/Amphoux (*The Text of the New Testament,* p. 24 -- also lists the papyri P^{3}, P^{4}, and P^{44} as lectionaries, but even if true, they are too fragmentary to tell us much).

It therefore seems likely that the final form of the Byzantine lectionary system (including weekday lections and the Menologion) is relatively late. Junack, e.g., argues for a date no earlier than the seventh century. We have some slight evidence to support this from the continuous-text manuscripts, which do not begin to include lectionary markings (αρχη and τελος) until about the eight century. This does not mean that there were no lectionaries prior to this time -- but it does imply that the *official* lectionary did not reach its final form until relatively late.

The Lectionary Text

Copying a lectionary from a continuous text is difficult. One is forced to constantly skip around in the document. This does not mean that lectionaries are never copied by taking selections from a continuous text manuscript; the existence of the Ferrar Lectionary (ℓ^{547}), which has a text associated with f^{13}, demonstrates this point. But it is reasonable to assume that the large majority of lectionaries were copied from other lectionaries, and only occasionally compared with continuous-text manuscripts.

This being the case, it would seem likely that there would be a "lectionary text" -- a type which evolved in the lectionaries, in a manner analogous to the evolution of a type in the versions. Like a versional text, the lectionary text would start from some particular text-type (as the Latin versions are regarded as deriving from the "Western" type), then evolve in their own way, relatively separate from the tradition of continuous-text manuscripts.

Given the possibly late date of the lectionary system (see the History of the Lectionary), and the fact that it is the Byzantine system, the most likely text-type is of course the Byzantine. But even if this proves true, there is still the question of which strand of the Byzantine text.

Thus far we are carried by theory. At this point we must turn to the manuscripts themselves and examine the data.

One of the first to undertake such an examination was E. C. Colwell in "Is There a Lectionary Text of the Gospels?" (*HTR* XXV, 1932; now available in a slightly updated version under the title "Method in the Study of Gospel Lectionaries" as Chapter 6 in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament)*. Colwell studied twenty-six lections, from all four gospels and using both the Synaxarion and Menologion, in as many as 56 manuscripts. Colwell discovered that there were lections in which the majority of lectionaries were extremely close to the Textus Receptus, but also lections where they were clearly distinct. In addition, in all the lections there was a clear Majority Text. Recent studies, such as those by Branton,

Redus, and Metzger, have supported this conclusion. The United Bible Societies' edition implicitly recognizes this by citing the symbol *Lect* for the majority text of the lectionaries.

Colwell's results did not, however, fix the text-type of the Lectionary text (as he was the first to admit). The number of passages similar to the Textus Receptus hint at strong Byzantine influence, but do not make it certain. Subsequent studies indicated that the lectionary text was a mix of Byzantine and "Cæsarean" readings -- but as all of this was based on the inadequate methodology of divergences from the Textus Receptus, it is perfectly possible that the alleged "Cæsarean" readings were in fact Byzantine, and perhaps some of the purported Byzantine readings may have been something else.

In Paul, if the UBS^{4} apparatus is to be trusted, the Lectionary text is strongly Byzantine. Excluding variants in punctuation and accents, the UBS^{4} text cites *Lect* 373 times. In all but five of these instances, *Lect* agrees with either *Byz* or, in the few instances where the Byzantine text is divided, with *Byz*^{pt} (the exceptions being 2 Cor. 2:17, which does not belong on the list as *Byz* is incorrectly cited; Phil. 3:12, 13; Col. 2:13, Heb. 13:21c). In addition, there are eighteen places where Lect is divided; in every case (save one where both Lect and Byz are divided), at least part of the tradition goes with Byz. For comparison, the Byzantine uncial K agrees with Byz in 300 of 324 readings in this set, and the equally Byzantine L agrees with Byz in 339 of 366. Thus *Lect* is actually a better Byzantine witness than these noteworthy Byzantine uncials. It appears, in fact, that *Lect* is the earliest purely Byzantine witness known (if it can be considered as a witness).

We should also mention the published lectionary text of the Greek church, the Apostoliki Diakonia edition (cited in UBS4 as ℓ^{AD}). This appears to bear much the same sort of relation to the Majority lectionary text that the Textus Receptus has to the Majority Text: It is clearly a witness to the Majority type, but with many minor deviations which render it an imperfect witness.

Appendix VII: Critical Apparatus and Critical Editions

A Critical Apparatus, Comparing the Various Editions: Colossians

To give a real feeling for the various editions, here is a comparison of their texts and apparatus for the book of Colossians. In what follows, the *text* is made by taking the majority reading of the texts of UBS, Merk, and Hodges & Farstad. Where the three disagree (e.g. 2:1 εωρακαν), the middle reading is used. Each verse is followed by a critical apparatus. *Every variant cited in one of our editions* will be noted (though I have in some instances rearranged the variants to allow a unified presentation, and I haven't noted ν movable e.g. in Col. 2:1, nor have I noted variants in accents and breathings; e.g. Tischendorf has one on 2:10 και εστε). Note that this does *not* mean that every variant known to me is cited; in Colossians 2:1 alone, checking only twelve minuscules, I found three variants not cited here! (Several of these are spelling errors.) Also, I have not included accents, breathings, punctuation, etc. in the text which follows; those are modern interpretations, and including them would increase the apparatus significantly (as well as being nearly impossible to represent accurately in some publication formats). The list below is a list of variants cited in one or more *apparatus.*

The first item in each variant is the lemma text. This is followed by a list of the critical apparatus which include the *variant.* If an edition is shown in brackets (e.g. **(M)**), it means that that editor notes *part* of the variant; if Bover is noted in [brackets] (i.e. **[B]**), it means he cites editors only for that reading, without listing manuscript support. The different readings then follow, with supporting editors and manuscripts.

We note incidentally that this list reveals the falsehood of the implicit claim in NA[27] that its appendix III lists *all* variants between the major critical editions; even if we ignore orthographic variants (e.g. Col. 1:13, ερ(ρ)υσατο), observe e.g. Col. 3:17 (αν/εαν), 3:25 (κομισεται/κομιειται), 4:9 (γνωρισουσιν/γνωριουσιν).

Verse divisions follow that of the Nestle-Aland text (see, e.g., 1:21/22).

The list of editions cited is as follows:
AP = Auf *Papyrus* (cited for apparatus only; text=UBS)
B = Bover
HF = Hodges & Farstad
M = Merk
N13 = Nestle edition 13 (effectively identical in text to all Nestle editions from N13 to N25; I actually took the text from N15)
N27 = Nestle/Aland edition 27 (cited for apparatus only; text=UBS)
NEB = Tasker (cited for text only; it has too few variants to note)

So = Souter
T = Tischendorf
U3 = United Bible Societies *third* edition (cited for apparatus only; text=UBS)
U4 = United Bible Societies *fourth* edition (cited for apparatus only; text=UBS)
UBS = United Bible Societies text collectively (=UBS3, UBS4, NA26, NA27, AP)
V = Vogels
VS = Von Soden (NOTE: The only variants cited from Von Soden are those on the same *page* — the ones you see at a causal glance)
WH = Westcott & Hort (cited for text only)
For the Latin editions, those cited are:

M^{lat} = The Latin side of Merk

N^{lat} = The Latin side of the Greek/Latin Nestle diglot (twenty-first edition)

vgst = the Stuttgart vulgate
vg^{ww} = the Wordsworth-White editio *minor*
Note: The Latin editions are cited only partially. Variants with no obvious significance for the Greek are *not* covered.

Places where the editions disagree on the readings of the manuscripts have been noted only intermittently. Where **AP** and **T** disagree as to the readings of B (as in, e.g., Col. 4:13, 16; **AP** cites B* versus B^{2}, while Tischendorf cites B with no correction), I have followed **AP** on the grounds of better access. Similarly, I have generally trusted **AP** over the first publication of P^{46}. Where **N27** disagrees with the Von Soden apparatus (as found in **B** or **M**), I've generally followed Nestle, but have noted the differences when I've spotted them (I did not always check). But I've tried to note places where **AP**, **T**, and **N27** disagree, just to give a feeling for the problems of compiling a critical apparatus. (No doubt this one has errors of its own, and probably more than my sources, since I don't know anyone who can proofread Greek!) For an extreme example of this, see Colossians 1:12, which features five instances of the editions disagreeing on the readings of a particular manuscript.

Correctors are noted using the system found in the latest Nestle editions (e.g. D^{c} is the D^{c} of **N27**, which refers generally to the D^{e} of **T**).

One special note on the manuscripts: **N27**, and even **AP**, cite P^{61} relatively frequently in, e.g., Colossians 1. But P^{61} is very fragmentary, and a large fraction of these citations are based solely on space calculations. I simply don't trust them, and cite P^{61} only when there is enough text to contain at least part of the reading.

The Apparatus: Colossians

Colossians 1:1 — παυλος αποστολος χριστου ιησου δια θεληματος θεου και τιμοθεος ο αδελφος

χριστου ιησου : cited in AP HF M T V VS; M^{lat} (N^{lat}) vg^{st} (vg^{ww})

- ιησου χριστου — D I K 049 056 075 0142 0151 6 104 223 326 436 462 876 1960 2344 2412 cav dem harl hub tol ulm willelmi arm eth; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A^{vid} B F G L P Ψ 0150 33 81 330 1175 1739 a d f am ful karl leg reg sangall sanger theo val; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:2 — τοις εν κολοσσαις αγιοις και πιστοις αδελφοις εν χριστω χαρις υμιν και ειρηνη απο θεου πατρος ημων

τοις εν: cited in **AP**

- τοις — 0150
- *txt* — א A B D F G 1739 *pm*

κολοσσαις: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- κολασσαις — I K P Ψ 056 075 0151 6 33 69 81 104 223 326 (330 κολασσαεις) 436 462 614 629 630 876 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 1960 2344 2412 pesh hark bo *pm;* editions of **HF**
- *defective here but spell κολασσαις in superscription or elsewhere* — P^{46} A
- *txt* — א B (D κολοσσαεις) F G L 049 0142 0150 365 (1175 κολοσσααις) 2464 d f vg sa arm; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

αγιοις και πιστοις αδελφοις: cited in **AP T**

- αδελφοις αγιοις και πιστοις — P pesh
- *txt* — $P^{46–vid}$ *pm*

χριστω: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- χριστοω ιησου — A D* F G 33 104 442 629 d f vg (pesh) sa^{mss} bo^{mss}; editions of **(Lachmann)**
- *txt* — א B D^{2} K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 81 330 365 436 462 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 2344 2464 *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

πατρος ημων: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS; M^{lat} (N^{lat}) vgst (vg^{ww})**

- πατρος ημων και κυριου ιησου χριστου — א A C F G I (P 0150 (dem) tol hark** πατρος ημων και ιησου χριστου του κυριου ημων) (056 0142 *omit* ημων) 075 6 88 104 223 256 365 436 462 630 876 (1241^{supp} 2492 πατρος υμων και…) 1319 1960 1962 2127 2344 2412 2464 (b) f cav colb (leg et christo iesu domino *nostro)* (bo) arm^{mss} geo^{2} (Ambrosiaster^{apud} **U3**) Jerome; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — B D K L Ψ 049 0151 33 81 103 181 326 330 451 460 1175 1505 1739 1852 1881 1984 1985 a d m(*^{apud} **U4**) am div ful harl(marg ^{apud} **U3**) karl marian reg sangall sanger pesh sa arm^{mss} geo^{1} slav (Ambrosiaster^{apud} **NA27**); editions of **B M N13 NEB So T V UBS VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:3 — ευχαριστουμεν τω θεω και πατρι του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου παντοτε περι υμων προσευχομενοι

ευχαριστουμεν: cited in **AP T**

- ευχαριστω — C^{2} arm^{mss}?
- ευχαριστωμεν — 330
- *txt* — א A B C* D F G 1739 *rell*

θεω και πατρι: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V; M^{lat}**

- θεω πατρι — B C* 1739; editions of **N13 NEB So T UBS WH**
- θεω τω πατρι — D* F G 2005; editions of **(Weiss)**
- *deo patri,* i.e. θεω πατρι *vel* θεω τω πατρι — b d m colb harl^{c}? pesh? hark? sa bo *al*
- *txt* — א A C^{2} D^{c}(=D^{1} ^{apud} **NA27** $^{etc.}$, D^{2} ^{apud} **U4** $^{etc.}$) I K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 6 33 81 88 (102 θεω και τω πατρι) 104 181 223 256 326 330 365 436 451 462 629 630 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1881 1962 2127 2344 2412 2464 2492 a f am dem ful tol arm geo; editions of **B HF M V VS**

του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου: cited in **M**[lat]

- *omit* — d bam colb harl[c] gran val
- *txt* — D F G am cav ful hub theo *pm*

χριστου: cited in **AP B M N13 N27 T V**

- *omit* — B 1739 1881; editions of **(Weiss)**
- *txt* — א A C D F G *rell;* editions of **B HF M (N13 in []) NEB So T UBS V VS (WH in [])**

περι: cited in **AP B M N13 N27 T VS**

- υπερ — B D* F G 075 33 69 326 436 442 462 1908 2344[c] *al;* editions of **WH**[marg]
- *txt* — א A C D[2] K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 81 104 223 330 365 630 876 1175 1241[supp] 1505 1739 1881 1960 2412 2344* 2464 *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**[txt]

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:4 — ακουσαντες την πιστιν υμων εν χριστω ιησου και την αγαπην ην εχετε εις παντας τους αγιους

ακουσαντες: cited in **T**

- ακουαντες — 33 *pc*
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

εν χριστω: cited in **AP M T**

- εν κυριου — P[61–vid] א* A
- *txt* — א[2] B C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 (075 69 104 326 330 436 442 462 1908 2344[c] *al* την εν χριστω) 0142 0150 0151 33 81 104 256 1175 1319 1739 *rell*

ην εχετε: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T (V) VS**

- την — D^2 K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0151 6 223 630 876 1739 1881 1960 2344* 2412; editions of **HF**
- *omit* — B
- *txt* — ($P^{61–vid}$ .... χετε) א A C D* F G P 075 0150 (33 ην εχητε) 81 104 256 326 330 365 436 462 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1908 2127 2344^{c} 2464 a b d f m vg hark sa bo arm^{mss}; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS (WH in [])**

παντας τους αγιους: cited in **AP**

- παντας τους αγιου — D*
- *txt* — D^2 F G (a d ful reg sangall omnes *sanctos;* am cav karl leg sanger sanctos omnes) *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:5 — δια την ελπιδα την αποκειμενην υμιν εν τοις ουρανοις ην προηκουσατε εν τω λογω της αληθεισς του ευαγγελιου

τοις ουρανοις: cited in **AP**

- ουρανοις — 0150
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

υμιν: cited in **M^{lat} N^{lat}**

- ημιν — 876
- *omit* — ful
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 am cav hub theo tol val *pm*

προηκουσατε: cited in **M VS**

- ηκουσατε — 919 vg? sa? Marcion
- *txt* — $P^{61–vid}$ א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:6 — του παροντος εις υμας καθως και εν παντι τω κοσμω εστιν καρποφορουμενον και αυχανομενον καθως και εν υμιν αφ ης ημετας ηκουσατε και ερεγνωτε την χαριν του θεου εν αληθεια

εν παντι: cited in **AP T**

- παντι — K 0151
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

εστιν: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- και εστιν — D^{2} F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0151 6 181 206 223 462 630 1505 1960 2344 2464^{c} d f m vg Ambrosiaster; editions of **(HF** *al* και εστι)
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D* P 0150 33 81 104 326 330 365 436 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1912 2464* bo arm; editions of **B M N13 NEB (So** *al* εστι) **T UBS V VS WH**

και αυξανομενον: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- *omit* — D^{1} K 049 056 0142 0151 6 323 614 629 630 876 1022 2344* 2412 *pm;* editions of **HF^{marg}**
- *txt* — P^{46} P$^{61–vid}$ א A B C D* F G L P Ψ 075 0150 33 81 104 223 256 330 365 436 462 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739 1881 1960 2127 2344^{c} 2464 d f vg bo (pesh? hark? arm? Ephraem αυξανομενον και καρποφορουμενον) Ambrosiaster *pm;* editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

εν υμιν: cited in **(AP) (T)**

- υμιν — (D*$^{vid\ apud}$ **T**) (D* illeg.^{apud} **AP**)
- *txt* — P^{46} D^{1} d *rell*

ης: cited in **AP T**

- *omit* — F G
- *txt* — P^{46} P$^{61–vid}$ D *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:7 — καθος εμαθετε απο επαφρα του αγαπητου συνδουλου ημων ος εστιν πιστος υπερ υμων διακονος του χριστου

καθως: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T VS**

- καθως και — D^2 K L Ψ (049 kai kaqws) 056 075 0142 0151 104 223 365 630 876 1175 1505 1739 1881 1960 2412 hark; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D* F G P 0150 33 81 629 1241^{supp} 1906 2464 a b d f m am dem ful tol bo goth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

εμαθετε: cited in **AP T**

- μαθεται — F G
- *txt* — P^{46} (א εμαθατε!) D (462 εμαθεται) *pm*

απο: cited in **T**

- παρα — 33 241 436
- *txt* — P^{46} $P^{61–vid}$ א A A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

συνδουλου ημων: cited in **AP; M^{lat}**

- συνδολου ημων — P^{46*}
- συνδυλους ημων — F
- και συνδουλου ημων — 223
- *txt* — P^{46c} א A B C D G (Ψ συνδουλου υμων) (harl theo και συνδουλου ημων) *pm*

ος: cited in **AP**

- ο — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

υπερ υμων: cited in **AP B M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS**

- υπερ ημων — P46 א* A B D* F G 3 5 (6apud **B, (M)**) 206* 322 326* 436 623 1505 2344c 2401 m(*apud **U3**) Ambrosiastercomm; editions of **B M NEBtxt Sotxt VS WHtxt**
- *txt* — א2 C D1 K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 (6apud **U4**) 33 81 104 223 256 326c 330 451 462 629 630 876 1175 1241supp 1319 1739 1881 1960 1962 2127 2344* 2412 2464 2492 a b d f vg pesh hark sa bo arm goth eth; editions of **HF N13 NEBmarg Somarg T UBS V WHmarg**

του χριστου: cited in **AP T; Mlat**

- χριστου — K 0151 3 209*
- χριστου ιησου — f vg goth
- *txt* — P46 D F G a *pm* (2344 omit διακονος… 8 ημιν την υμων)

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:8 — ο και δηλωσας ημιν την υμων αγαπην εν πνευματι

ο και: cited in **AP**

- και — 0142
- *txt* — P46 056 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:9 — δια τουτο και ημεις αφ ης ημερας εκουσαμεν ου παυομεθα υπερ υμων προσευχομενοι και αιτουμενοι ινα πληρωθητε την επιγνωσιν θεληματος αυτου εν παση σοφια και συνεσει πμευματικη

και ημεις: cited in **AP**

- ημεις — 049
- *txt* — P46 *pm*

και αιτουμενοι: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- *omit* — B K 0151 122* *pc*
- *txt* — P^{46} א A C D F G L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 6 33 81 104 223 256 330 365 436 462 630 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739 1881 1960 2127 2412 (2344^{c} προσευχομενος και αιτουμενοι) 2464 d f am dem ful tol *pm*

την επιγνωσιν: cited in **AP M T**

- τη επιγνωσει — D^{1} (I^{apud} **M**) 69 436 440 462 2344^{c}
- *txt* — P^{46} $D^{*,2}$ F G *rell?* (ad. Lat. cf. T, **M^{lat}**)

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:10 — περιπατησαι αξιως του κυριου εις πασαν αρεσκειαν εν παντι εργω αγατω καρποφορουντες και αυξανομενοι τη επιγνωσει του θεου

περιπατησαι: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- περιπατησαι υμας — $א^{2}$ D^{2} K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 (0150 περιπατησαι ημας) 0151 104 223 330 365 436 630 876 1505 1960 2344* 2412 arm; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א* A B C D* F G 6 33 69 81 326 462 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1906* 2344^{c} 2464; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

του κυριου: cited in **AP M T**

- του θεου — 075 81 1908 (d^{apud} **M**) (f^{apud} **T**) vg pesh (Ambrosiaster)
- *txt* — P^{46} $P^{61–vid}$ *pm*

αρεσκειαν: cited in **AP T VS**

- αρεσκιαν — א A C D F G P; editions of **T V VS WH**
- *txt* — P^{46} B K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 223 330 436 462 876 1739 1960 2344 2412; editions of **B HF M N13(!) NEB So UBS**

τη επιγνωσει: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T (V) VS; M^{lat} N^{lat} vgst**

- εν τη επιγνωσει — א^{2} Ψ 075 6 104 330 1175 1505 1908 a b d f m cav dem ful karl leg reg sangall sanger (tol^{apud} **M^{lat}**)
- εις τη επιγνωσει — D^{2} K L 049 056 0142 0150 0151 223 436 462 630 876 1960 2344 2412; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א* A B C D* F G I P 33 81 365 442 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1912 2464 am (tol^{apud} **T**) arm; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:11 — εν παση δυναμει δυναμουμενοι κατα το κρατος της δοξης αυτου εις πασαν υπομονη και μακροθυμιαν μετα χαρας

δυναμει δυναμουμενοι: cited in **AP**

- δυναμει και δυναμουμενοι — 049
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

της δοξης: cited in **T; (M^{lat})**

- της ισχυος — 33
- *claritatis* — am cav ful hub theo tol val
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ P$^{61–vid}$ א A B C D F G 1739 (d g leg^{c} Ambrosiaster *gloriae) pm*

εις πασαν: cited in **AP**

- εις πας πασαν — D*
- *txt* — P^{46} D^{2} F G *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:12 — ευχαριστουντες τω πατρι τω ικανωσαντι ημας εις την μεριδα του κληρου των αγιων εν τω φωτι

ευχαριστουντες: cited in **AP N27**

- και ευχαριστουντες — $P^{46–vid}$ 1175 Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — א A B C(^{3} 321 326 436^{marg} ευχαριστουμε[ν]) D F G *pm*

ευχαρ. τω: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- ευχαρ. αμα τω — P^{46} B
- *txt* — א A C D F G K L P 33 1739 *rell*

τω πατρι: cited in **AP (B) HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 (V) VS; M^{lat} N^{lat} (vg^{st}) vg^{ww}**

- τω θεω πατρι — א (F G θεω τω πατρι) 69 (365^{apud} **N27**) f cav colb ful tol val pesh sa^{ms} bo^{ms} (arm^{apud} **U4**) Speculum; editions of **WH^{marg}**
- τω θεω και πατρι — C^{3} 075 0150 6 81^{c} 88 104 223 256 263 326 (365^{apud} **U4**) 436 459 462 614 629 1319 1573 1739^{marg} 1877 2127 2200^{c} 2412 (2495 τω πατρι και θεω) a dem harl* hub theo hark** slav; editions of **HF^{marg}**
- τω πατρι του χριστου — 330 451 2492
- *omit* — (1881^{apud} **U3, U4**)
- *txt* — P^{46} A B C* D K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 33 81* 181 424 630 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739* 1852 (1881^{apud} **NA27**) 1912 1960 1962 2200* 2344 2464 b d m am karl sanger sa^{mss} bo^{mss} (arm^{apud} **U3, U4**) geo goth Ambrosiaster; editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH^{txt}**

ικανωσαντι: cited in **AP (B) M N13 N27 So T U4 V VS**

- καλεσαντι — D*($^{,2\ apud}$ **U4**) F G 33 436 1175 (a^{apud} **N27, M**) b d f m sa arm goth Ambrosiaster Speculum
- καλεσαντι και ικανωσαντι — B (2344 ικανωσαντι και καλεσαντι) (a^{apud} **U4**); editions of (Lachmann) **(Weiss)**
- *txt* — $P^{46–vid}$ א A C D($^{2\ apud}$ **N27, T**$^{,\ 1\ apud}$ **U4**) I K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 81 104 256 263 365 424 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1573 1739 1881 1912 1962 2127 2464 vg pesh hark pal bo ; editions of **B HF N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

ημας: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 VS; (M^{lat}) N^{lat} vgst vg^{ww}**

- υμας — א B 69 104 256 263 365 436 459 629 1175 1319 1573 1739 1881 1906 1984 1985 2127 2344^{c} 2492* am cav sangall tol hark^{marg} sa arm goth eth slav Ambrosiaster; editions of **N13 NEB So^{marg} T UBS V VS WH^{txt}**
- *txt* — A C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 33 81^{vid} 223 326 330 424 436 451 462 630 876 1241^{supp} 1505 1960 1962 2344* 2421 2464 2492^{c} a b d f m colb dem ful hub karl leg reg sanger val pesh hark^{txt} bo geo eth; editions of **B HF M So^{txt} WH^{marg}**

των αγιων: cited in **AP**

- *omit* — 0150
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ P$^{61–vid}$ *pm*

εν τω φωτι: cited in **AP T**

- τω φωτι — C*
- *txt* — א A B C^{2} D F G *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:13 — ος ερρυσατο ημας εκ της εξουσιας του σκοτους και μετεστησεν εις την βασιλειαν του υιου της αγαπης αυτου

ερρυσατο: cited in **AP T**

- ερυσατο — B* F G(* eurusato) P 0150 2344^{c}; editions of **M T V WH**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B^{c} C D K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0151 223 330 436 462 876 1739 1960 2344* 2412 *pm;* editions of **B HF N13(!) NEB So UBS VS**

ημας: cited in **AP T; N^{lat} vgst vg^{ww}**

- υμας — P 056 0142 104 314 876 1906 am cav *pc*
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G K L Ψ 049 075 0150 0151 223 330 436 462 1739 1960 2344 2412 ful hub karl leg reg sangall sanger val *al*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:14 — εν ω εχομεν την απολυτρωσιν την αφησιν των αμαρτιων

εχομεν: cited in **AP B M N13 N27 So T V**

- εσχομεν — B 635? sa bo; editions of **WH**^{marg}
- εχςμεν — 1022*
- *txt* — א (A *illeg.)* C D F G 1739 *rell;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**^{txt}

την απολυτρωσιν: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 So T U4 VS; M**^{lat} **N**^{lat} **vg**st **vg**^{ww}

- την απολυτρωσιν δια του αιματος αυτου — 206 223 330 383 424 614 630 876 1505 1518 1912 1960 2005 2200 2344* 2412 2464 dem leg hark arm slav *al;* editions of **HF**^{marg}
- *txt* — א A B C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 1041 0150 0151 6 33 81 104 256 263 365 436 459 462 630 1022 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1573 1739 1852 1881 1962 2127 2344* (a bam harl* wir και την απολυτωσιν) b (d omit την απολυτρωσιν) f m am (cav) ful harl^{c} (hub) karl (reg) sangall sanger tol pesh pal sa bo geo eth *pm;* editions of **B HF**^{txt} **M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**

την αφησιν: cited in **AP T**

- *omit* — D*
- *txt* — א A B C D^{2} F G 1739 (f και την αφησιν) *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:15 — ος εστιν εικων του θεου του αορατου πρωτοτοκος πασης εκτισται

ος: cited in **AP T**

- o — F G
- *txt* — א A B C D 1739 f *rell*

εικων: cited in **AP**

- *omit* — 056* 0142*
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

πρωτοτοκος πασης εκτισται… [16] …. τα παντα: cited in **M T VS**

- *omit* — Marcion[apud Tertullian] (et [apud] **M, VS**, sed. cf. v. 16!)
- *txt* — P[46] א A B C D F G 1739 *rell*

πρωτοτοκος: cited in **AP**

- πρωτοκος — F
- *txt* — א A B C D G 1739 *pm*

κτισεως: cited in **AP**

- της κτισεως — 0151 2412
- *txt* — א A B C D F G K 1739 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:16 — οτι εν αυτω εκτισθη τα παντα τα εν τοις ουρανοις και τα επι της γης τα ορατα και τα αορατα ειτε θρονοι ειτε κυριοτητος ειτε αρχαι ειτε εξουσιαι τα παντα δι αυτου και εις αυτον εκτισται

τα παντα: cited in **AP T**

- παντα — K 0151 442 463
- *txt* — P[46] *rell*

τα εν τοις ουρανοις: cited in **AP B HF (M) N13 (N27) T VS**

- εν τοις ουρανοις — P[46] א* B D* F G Ψ 6 33 69 1739; editions of **B N13 NEB So T UBS WH**
- τα τε εν τοις ουρανοις — C
- *txt* — א[2] A D[2] K L P 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 81 104 223 330 365 436 462 630 876 1175 1241[supp] 1881? 1960 2344([c] *omit* τοις) 2412 2464 arm goth; editions of **HF M V VS**

και τα επι της γης: cited in **AP B HF (M) N13 (N27) T VS**

- και επι της γης — P^{46} א* B Ψ 6 33 1739 1881?; editions of **B N13 NEB So T UBS WH**
- *txt* — P^{46} א^{2} A C D F G K L P 049 056 0142 0150 0151 81 104 223 330 365 436 462 630 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1960 2344 2412 2464; editions of **HF M V VS**

τα ορατα και τα αορατα: cited in **T**

- τα αορατα και τα ορατα — 69
- τα ορατα και αορατα — 1739
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G *pm*

εξουσιαι τα παντα: cited in **AP N27**

- εξουσιαι οτι παντα — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *rell*

δι αυτου και εις αυτον: cited in **T**

- εις αυτον και δι αυτου — 69
- δι αυτω και εις αυτον — 2344^{c}
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

εκτισται: cited in **AP T**

- εκτισαι — C
- κεκτεισται — F G
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B D 33 1739 *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:17 — και αυτος εστιν προ παντων και τα παντα εν αυτω συνεστηκεν

v. 17: cited in **AP**

- *omit* — (F^{apud} **AP**)
- *txt* — P^{46} D (F^{apud} **T**) G *pm*

τα παντα: cited in **AP M T**

- παντα — D (F[apud] **T**) G 33* arm
- *txt* — P[46] א A B C 1739 *pm*

εν αυτω: cited in **AP M T**

- αυτω — P[46] (F[apud] **T**) G Origen?
- *txt* — א A B C D 1739 f? *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:18 — και αυτος εστιν η κεφαλη του σωματος της εκκλησιας οσ εστιν αρχη πρωτοτοκος εκ των νεκρων ινα γενηται εν πασιν

η κεφαλη: cited in **AP T**

- κεφαλη — 075 0150 0151 33 1908 arm?
- *txt* — P[46] א A B C D 223 330 436 462 876 1739 1960 2344 2412 *pm*

ος εστιν: cited in **AP T**

- ο εστιν — P[46] F G 69
- *txt* — א A B C D 1739 f *pm;*

αρχη: cited in **AP (B) M (N13) (N27) T (VS)**

- η αρχη — P[46] B 075 0278 6 (81[apud] **B, M**) 104 424[c] (1175[apud] **N27**) 1739 1881 1908 *pc;* editions of (**WH [η] αρχη)**
- απαρχη — 056 0142 33 181 442 *pc*
- *txt* — א A C D F G K L P Ψ 049 0150 0151 (81[apud] **N27**) 223 876 (1175[apud] **B, M**) 1960 2412 *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS**

εκ των νεκρων: cited in **AP M N27 T**

των νεκρων — P[46] א* Irenaeus[lat-pt]
txt — א[2] A B C D F G (330 ek nekrwn) 1739 *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:19 — οτι εν αυτω ευδοκησεν παν ο πληρωμα κατοικησαι

οτι εν αυτω: cited in **AP**

- οτι ο εν αυτω — 056* 0142
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

ευδοκησεν: cited in **AP T VS**

- ηυδοκησεν — A D P 0150 0278 462 2344^{c}
- εδοκησεν — (א*^{apud} **AP**)
- *txt* — P^{46} (א^{apud} **T**, א$^{2\ apud}$ **AP**) B C F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0151 223 330 436 876 1739 1960 2344* 2412 *pm*

πληρωμα: cited in **AP M; M^{lat} N^{lat}**

- πληρωμα της θεοτητος — 075 330 a f am bam harl* hub oxon wir arm Ambrosiaster *pc*
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 223 436 462 876 1739 1960 2344 2412 cav ful tol *pm*

κατοικησαι: cited in **M^{lat} N^{lat}**

- add *corporaliter* — (ful inhabitare *corporaliter,* mon tol habitare *corporalier)* Pelagius
- *txt* — P^{46} D F G (a f am bam hub oxon reg *habitare,* d cav theo val *inhabitare) pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:20 — και δι αυτου αποκαταλλαξαι τα παντα εις αυτον ειρηνοποιησας δια του αιματος του σταυρου αυτου δι αυτου ειτα τα επι της γης ειτε τα εν τοις ουρανοις

αποκαταλλαξαι: cited in **AP T**

- καταλλαξαι — 049 2344^{c}
- αποκαταλλαξη — A
- *txt* — P^{46} א B C D F G 1739 *pm*

αυτου δι αυτου: cited in **AP (B) (HF) (M) (N13) (N27) T (U3) (U4) (V) VS**

- δι αυτου — P^{46} Ψ
- αυτου — B D* F G I L 075 (0151 omit του σταυρου αυτου δι αυτου) 0278 81 104 436 442 1739 1906* 1908 d f vg arm; editions of **HF^{marg}**
- *txt* — א A C D^{1} K L P 049 056 0150 0278 33 223 330 462 876 1960 2344 2412 pesh hark bo; editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T V VS (UBS WH autou [di autou])**

της γης: cited in **AP M T**

- γης — P^{46} B 056 0142 2344^{c}
- *txt* — א A C D F G K L P Ψ 049 075 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 330 436 462 1175 1739 2344* *pm*

εν τοις ουρανοις: cited in **AP HF T VS**

- εν ουρανοις — 0142
- επι τοις ουρανοις — (K^{apud} **AP**) L 049 0151 1022 1960 2401 2423; editions of **HF^{txt}**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G (K^{apud} **T**) P Ψ 056 075 0150 0278 33 223 330 436 462 876 1739 2344; editions of **B HF^{marg} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

γης.... ουρανοις: cited in **M^{lat} N^{lat} vg^{st}**

- ουρανοις.... γης — f ful orl oxon reg (sangall) wir
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B D F G a d am cav (leg) sanger *pm*

✦✦✦

Colossians 1:21 — κσι υμας ποτε οντας απηλλοτριωμενους και εχθρους τη διανοια εν τοις εργοις τοις πονηροις

απηλλοτριωμενους: cited in **AP**

- απηλλοτριωμενος — 0278
- απηλλωτριωμενους — 330 2344^{c}
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

εχθρους: cited in **AP T**

- εκθρους — F G
- εχρους — 0278
- *txt* — P^{46} D *rell*

τη διανοια: cited in **AP M T V**

- της διανοιας — D* (F G f της διανοιας υμων) (P της διανοια!) (a d wir της διανοιας αυτου?) ful harl* mon Irenaeus Hilary Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — P^{46} D^{2} am cav hub theo tol val *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:22 — νυνι δε αποκατηλλαχεν εν τω σωματι της σαρκος αυτου δια του θανατου παρασηταει υμας αγιους και αμωμους και ανεγκλητους κατενωπιον αυτου

νυνι: cited in **AP T**

- νυν — P^{46} D* F G
- *txt* — א A B C D^{2} 1739 *rell*

αποκατηλλαχεν: cited in **AP B (M) N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V**

- αποκατηλλαγητε — B; editions of **So**^{marg} **WH**^{marg}
- αποκαταλλαγητε — P^{46}
- αποκατηλλαγηται — 33
- απηλλαχεν — 104 459
- αποκαταλλαγεντες — D* F G b d goth Ambrosiaster Irenaeus^{lat} Speculum
- *txt* — א A C D^{2} K L (P^{apud} **AP** Ψ^{apud} **AP** 0278 81^{apud} **U3** 330 451 2127^{apud} **U3** 2492 απεκατηλλαξεν) 048? 049 056 0142 0150 0151 6 256 365 436 462 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2344 2464 a f m am dem ful tol pesh hark arm geo eth slav *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So**^{txt} **T UBS V VS WH**^{txt}

εν τω σωματι: cited in **AP**

- τω σωματι — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B D F G 1739 *pm*

της σαρκος αυτου: cited in **AP (M) T V**

- της σαρκος — F G
- αυτου — Marcion (apud Tertullian)
- *txt* — P^{46} D *pm*

θανατου: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- θανατου αυτου — א A P 056 0142 81 88 206 223 326 (330 θανατου εαυτου) 429 614 630 876 1241^{supp} 1518 1799 1912 1960 2412 2464 a pesh hark** arm Irenaeus^{lat} Speculum; editions of **HF^{marg} VS**
- *txt* — P^{46-vid} B C D F G I^{vid} K L P Ψ 049 075 0150 0151 0278 33 104 223 365 436 462 876 1175 1505 1739 1881 1960 2344 2412 b d f vg goth Tertullian; editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T UBS V WH**

παραστηται: cited in **AP T**

- παραστητας — Ψ
- *exhibete* — d g Speculum?
- *txt* — P^{46} D F G *pm*

ανεγκλητους: cited in **AP**

- ανεκλητους — F G
- *txt* — (P^{46} α.... κλητους) א A B C D 1739 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:23 — ει γε επιμενετε τη πιστει τεθεμελιωμενοι και εδραιοι και μη μετακινουμενοι απο της ελπιδος του ευαγγελιου ιυ ηκουσατε του κηρυχθεντος εν παση κτισει τη υπο τον ουρανον ου εγενομην εγω Παυλος διακονος

ει γε: cited in **AP**

- ει γε και — 056 0142
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

και μη: cited in **AP M N27 T**

- μη — P^{46-vid} 33 489
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *rell*

ου ηκουσατε: cited in **AP T**

- *omit* — K
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 0151 1739 *rell*

εν παση κτισει: cited in **AP HF M N27 T**

- εν παση τη κτισει — $א^2$ D^2 K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 81 104 365 630 1505 1739 1881 2464; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — (P^{46} εν παση κ…) א* A B C D* F G 33 69 326 614 1175 1241^{supp} arm; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

υπο τον ουρανον: cited in **AP T**

- υπ ουρανον — F G 4* 429
- *txt* — א A B C D 1739 *pm*

διακονος: cited in **AP M T**

- κηρυξ και αποστολος — א* P m
- διακονος και αποστολος — 81 eth
- κηρυξ και αποστολος και διακονος — A $hark^{marg}$ sa^{ms}
- *txt* — $א^2$ B C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 1739 d f am dem ful tol pesh $hark^{txt}$ bo arm *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:24 — νυν χαιρω εν τοις παθημασιν υπερ υμων και ανταναπληρω τα υστερηματα των θλιψεων του χριστου εν τη σαρκι μου υπερ του στωματος αυτου ο εστιν η εκκλησια

νυν: cited in **AP M T**

- ος νυν — D* F G d f Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — א A B C D^{c} F G 1739 (1799 adelfoi nun) *pm*

παθημασιν: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T VS**

- παθημασιν μου — א^{2} 075 81 223 323 (326^{apud} **N27**) 330 629 1241^{supp} 1505 1912 1960 2005 2344* 2464 t hark sa arm eth Chrysostom *al;* editions of **HF^{marg}**
- *txt* — א* A B C D F G 33 81 104 (326^{apud} **M**) 365 436 462 630 876 1022 1175 1739 (1799 θαυμασιν) 1881 2344^{c} 2412 a b d f am dem ful tol *pm;* editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

υπερ υμων: cited in **AP M T**

- υμων — א* L 69*
- *txt* — א^{1} A B C D F G K P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 1175 1739 *pm*

ανταναπληρω: cited in **AP T**

- ανταναπληρων — P^{46}
- αναπληρω — F G 049 181 209* 327
- *txt* — א A B C D K L P Ψ 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 1739 *pm*

εν τη σαρκι: cited in **AP T**

- εν σαρκι — F G
- εν τω σωματι — Ψ
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ א A B C D 1739 *pm*

υπερ του στωματος αυτου: cited in **AP T**

- *omit* — Ψ
- υπερ του στωματος — D*
- *txt* — א A B C F G 1739 d f vg *pm*

ο εστιν: cited in **AP T VS**

- ος εστιν — C D* K Ψ 049 0150 0151 330 1022
- *txt* — א A B D[1] F G L P 056 075 0142 0278 33 81 104 223 436 462 876 1175 1739 1799 1960 2344 2412 *pm*

η εκκλησια: cited in **AP T**

- εκκλησια — D* 460 876
- *txt* — א A B C D[2] F G 1739 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:25 — ης εγενομην εγς διακονος κατα την οικονομιαν του θεου την δοθεισαν μοι εις υμας πληρωσαι τον λογον του θεου

εγω διακονος: cited in **AP M T VS; M[lat] N[lat]**

- εγω Παυλος διακονος — א* A P 33 104 241 330 1912 arm
- *omit* — 075
- *txt* — א[2] B C D F G K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 81 104 223 436 462 876 1175 1739 1799 1960 2127 2344 2412 d f am cav dem (ful mon διακονος εγω) hub theo tol val pesh hark *pm*

λογον του θεου: cited in **AP**

- λογον του θεου τουτ εστιν εις τα εθνη — 075
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:26 — το μυστεριον το αποκεκρυμμενον απο των αιωνων και απο των γενεων νυν δε εφανερωθη τοις αγιοις αυτου

νυν δε: cited in **AP HF (M) T VS**

- ο νυν — H 075 0278 69? (330apud Davies) 436 1175 (1906? ο νυνι) 1908 hark** arm
- *txt* — א B C F G P Ψ 048 33 (330apud **M**) 1739 (A D K L 049 056 0142 0150 0151 223 462 876 1799 1960 2344 2412 *pm* **HF** νυνι δε)

εφανερωθη: cited in **AP (M) T**

- φανερωθεν — D*
- εφανερωθεν — D²
- εγνωρισθη — 2005 hark**
- *txt* — א A B C F G 33 1739 *pm*

αγιοις: cited in **AP M T V**

- αποστολοις — F G
- *txt* — א A B C D 33 1739 d f vg *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:27 — ος ηθελησεν ο θεος γνωρισαι τι το πλοθτος της δοξης το μυστεριου τουτου εν τοις εθνεσιν ος εστιν χριστος εν υμιν η ελπις της δοξης

γνωρισαι: cited in **AP**

- γνωναι — Ψ
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

τι το πλουτος: cited in **AP HF M T (V) VS**

- τις το πλουτος — א C P Ψ 075 0150 81 104 223 436 1960; editions of **HFmarg**
- το πλουτος — F G
- τον πλουτον — D*
- *txt* — P46 A B D¹ H K L 049 056 0142 0151 0278 33 330 462 (876 τι το πλατος!) 1022 1175 1739 1799 2412; editions of **B HF txt M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

της δοχης: cited in **AP N27**

- *omit* — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 33 1739 *pm*

τουτου: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- του θεου — D* F G (b d f Ambrosiaster mysterii *dei?)*
- *txt* — P^{46-vid} א(* Clement? του) A B C D^{2} 33 1739 (arm αυτου?) (a mysterii *huius?;* am dem ful tol sacramenti *huius) rell*

ος εστιν: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- ο εστιν — P^{46} A B F G P 6 33 424^{c} 1739 1881 1908 a b d f vg; editions of **NEB (So** ο εστι) **UBS WH**^{txt}
- *txt* — א C D H I K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 81 104 223 330 365 436 462 630 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1799 2127 2344 2412 2464; editions of **B HF M N13 T V VS WH**^{marg}

ελπις της δοξης: cited in **AP**

- ελπις δοξης — 048
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:28 — ον ημεις καταγγελλομεν νουθετουντες παντα ανθρωπον και διδασκοντες παντα ανθρωπον εν παση σοφια ινα παραστησωμεν παντα ανθρωπον τελειον εν χριστω

ον ημεις: cited in **AP**

- εν ημεις — Ψ
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

καταγγελλομεν: cited in **AP**

- καταγγελουντες — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B C (D κατανγελλομεν) F G (330 2344^{c} καταγγελομεν) 1739 *pm*

νουθετουντες παντα ανθρωπον: cited in **AP**

- νουθετουντες — Ψ
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

και διδασκοντες παντα ανθρωπον: cited in **AP HF (M) N13 N27 T (V) VS**

- και διδασκοντες — D* F G 0142 0278 33 326 330 614 629 d f ful leg mon reg tol (pesh) eth Ambrosiaster *al;* editions of **HF^{marg}**
- *omit* — L 81 424^{c} 442 460 1241^{supp} 1505 1908 2344^{c} Clement? *al*
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D^{2} K P Ψ 049 056 075 0150 0151 223 104 365 436 462 630 876 1175 1739 1799 1881 1960 2412 2464 am cav hub theo val *pm;* editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

σοφια: cited in **AP M T V**

- σοφια πνευματικε — F G d f
- *txt* — P^{46} D *pm* (436* 1799 omit εν παση σοφια ινα παραστησςμεν παντα ανθρωπον)

παραστησωμεν: cited in **T**

- παραστησομεν — (P^{apud} **T**) 69
- *txt* — P^{46} (P^{apud} **AP**) *pm*

παντα ανθρωπον τελειον: cited in **M^{lat} N^{lat} vg^{st}**

- τελειον — d f ful reg sangall tol Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — P^{46} D F G a am cav hub leg sanger theo val *pm*

χριστω: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- χριστω ιησου — א^{2} D^{2} H K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 104 223 330 365 436 462 630 876 1175 1505 1799 2344 2412 f am dem ful tol sa goth arm eth; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א* A B C D* F G 33 81 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1960 2464 b d m* Clement Ambrosiaster; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 1:29 — εις ο και κοπιω αγωνιζομενος κατα την ενεργειαν αυτου την ενεργουμενην εν εμοι εν δυναμει

εις ο: cited in **AP T**

- εν ο — F G d? f?
- *txt* — P^{46} D (330 eis on) *pm*

δυναμει: cited in **AP**

- δυναμει θεου — H^{c}
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:1 — θελω γαρ υμας ειδεναι ηλικον αγωνα εχω υπερ υμων και των εν λαοδικεια και οσοι ουχ εωρακαν το προσωπον μου εν σαρκι

γαρ: cited in **AP M T VS**

- δε — H 075 69 88 436 462 1319 1908 2344^{2} 2401
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D H K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0278 33 223 330 1739 *pm*

ειδεναι: cited in **AP**

- ειδενα — A
- + fratres — a (1799 *add* αδελφοι *pro* θελω); [cited in **M^{lat}**]
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

εχω: cited in **AP**

- εχωμεν — 0150
- omit — 1799
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

υπερ: cited in **AP HF N13 N27 T VS**

- περι — $D^{*,2}$ F G K L 049 056 0142 0151 0208 330 2344; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D^{1} H P Ψ 075 0150 0278 33 81 104 365 436 442 630 1175 1505 1739 1881 1912 2464; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

λαοδικ(ε)ια: cited in **AP T VS**

- λαιδικια — א A B^{*} C D^{*} F G H K L P 075 0142 0208 0278; editions of **T V WH**
- Laudiciae (for Laodiciae) — (a) am* harl*; [cited in **M**^{lat}]
- *txt* — P^{46} B^{2} D^{2} Ψ 049 056 0150 0151; editions of **B HF M N13(!) NEB So UBS VS**

λαοδικειαlaodikeia **sine add.**: cited in **M N13 N27 T V**

- add και των εν ιεραπολει (cf. 4:13) — 88 104 330 424 442 463 syr^{h**}
- *txt* — P^{46} 0151 *rell*

οσοι: cited in **AP**

- οσουosou — K*
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

εωρακαν: cited in **AP [B] (HF) (M) T (VS)**

- εορακαν — א* C P 048^{vid} 0208; editions of **B N13 NEB T UBS V WH**
- εωρακασιν — D^{1} L Ψ 059 056 075 0142 editions of (**HF So** εωρακασι) **VS**
- εορακασιν — $א^{2}$ D^{2} H K 0151 0278 1022*;
- *txt* — (P^{46} eorakan mou) A B D* 0150 1739; editions of **M**

εν σαρκι: cited in **AP T V**

- *omit* — א*
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:2 — ινα παρακληθωσιν αι καρδιαι αυτων συμβιβασθεντες εν αγαπη και εις παν πλουτος της πληροφοριας της συνεσεως εις επιγνωσιν του μυστηριου του θεου χριστου

συμβιβασθεντες: cited in **AP (HF) (M) (N13) (N27) T (V) (VS)**

- συμβιβασθεντων — א^{2} D^{2} K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278; editions of **HF**
- συνμβιβασθεντες — P^{46-vid} C D; editions of **WH**
- συμβιβασθωσιν — 1881
- *txt* — א^{*,c} A B H P 6 33 424^{c} 462 1739 1906 1912; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS**

και: cited in **AP N13 N27 T**

- omit — D* d e pesh Hilary Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

παν πλουτος: cited in **AP (B) HF M N13 N27 So T VS**

- παν του πλουτος — A C 33 81 424^{c}
- παντα πλουτον — א^{2} D^{1} H^{vid} K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278; editions of **HF**
- παντα τον πλουτον — D*
- *txt* — P^{46} א* B 0208^{vid} 6 1241^{supp} 1739; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

του θεου χριστου: cited in **AP (B) (HF) M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS; M^{lat} N^{lat} vgst (vg^{ww})**

- του θεου και πατρος και του χριστου — D^{2} K L 049 056 0142 0151 104 223 330 sy^{h**}; editions of **HF V**
- του θεου — D^{1} H P 6 69 424^{c} 436* 462 1881 1912 2344^{2} 2464 sa^{ms}
- του χριστου — 81 1241^{supp} b?
- χριστου — 1739 b?
- του θεου ο εστιν χριστος — D* a d e Augustine^{pt}
- του θεου του εν χριστω — 33 arm^{zoh} Ambrosiaster
- του θεου πατρος χριστου — א* 048
- του θεου πατρος του χριστου — A C 4 1175; editions of **VS**
- του θεου πατρος και χριστου — 0150
- (του) θεου πατρος και χριστου ιησου — vg^{cl}
- (του) θεου πατρος και κυριου χριστου ιησου — (dem) hub theo Speculum
- (του) θεου πατρος και κυριου ημων και ιησου χριστου — leg
- (του) θεου πατρος χριστου ιησου — f am ful karl reg sangall sanger
- (του) θεου χριστου ιησου πατρος και κυριου — cav
- του θεου πατρος και του χριστου — 075 0208 0278 442 459 1908
- του θεου και πατρος του χριστου — א^{2} Ψ 256 263 365 945 1319 1505 1962 2127
- *txt* — P^{46} B Hilary; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS (WH** marks primitive error)

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:3 — εν ω εισιν παντες οι θησαυροι της σοφιας και γνωσεως αποκρυπτοι

θησουροι: cited in **AP**

- θησαυροι και — 049
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

γνωσεως: cited in **AP HF N13 N27 T VS**

- της γνωσεως — א^{2} A D^{2} (H της επιγνωσεως) K L P 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 223 330; editions of **HF**
- omit και γνωσεως — reg Ambrose [cited in **M^{lat} vgst**]
- *txt* — (P^{46} kai l .... sews) א* B C D* Ψ 075 0208 33 103 1175 1739 1881 1908 1912 2464; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:4 — τουτο δε λεγω ινα μηδεις υμας παραλογιζηται εν πιθανολογια

δε: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- omit — P^{46} א* A^{*vid} B H 81 1241^{supp} 1611 m Ambrosiaster Augustine; editions of **B N13 NEB So T UBS WH**
- γαρ — 330
- *txt* — $א^{2}$ A^{c} C D K L P Ψ 048 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0208 0278 33 223 1739 1881 a b d f vg; editions of **HF M V VS**

μηδεις: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- μη τις — $א^{2}$ K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 104 223 2344*; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — א* A B C D H P 048 0208 33 69 81 326 330 365 436 462 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1906 1912 2344^{2} 2464; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

υμας: cited in **AP T**

- ημας — P^{46} C 049
- *txt* — א A B D F G 1739 *pm*

- **παραλογιζηται**: cited in **AP T**

- παραλογισηται — P^{46} C^{2} (C* illegible) H P 0278 33
- παραλογιζεται — 436
- *txt* — א A B D F G 1739 *pm*

πιθανολογια: cited in **T**

- πειθανολογια — D^{1} L 330 431
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B D* F G 1739 *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH** (ad lat cf. **M^{lat} T**)

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:5 — ει γαρ και τη σαρκι απειμι αλλα τω πνευματι συν υμιν ειμι χαιρων και πλεπων υμων την ταξιν και το στερεωμα της εις χριστον πιστεως υμων

αλλα: cited in **AP T**

- αλλα γε — D* D^{abs1*}
- *txt* P^{46} *rell*

χαιρων: cited in **AP**

- χαιρω ουν — 075
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

και το στερεωμα: cited in **T; M^{lat}**

- *un in* [=et id **T^{conj}**] quod deest necessitabus fidei *vestrae* — d e
- *et* ^{supp}*lens id quod deest utilitati fidei vetrae in Christo* — hub tol? Ambrosiaster Augustine Pelagius (with many variations)
- *txt* — (P^{46} […]ι το στερεωμα) א A B C D F G 1739 *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:6 — ως ουν παραλαβετε τον χριστον ιησουν τον κυριον εν αυτω περιπατειτε

τον χριστον ιησουν τον κυριον: cited in **AP T; M^{lat} N^{lat} (vg^{st})**

- τον κυριον ιησουν χριστον — D 330 (d)
- *iesum christum dominum,* i.e. (τον) ιησουν χριστον (τον) κυριον — (am^{apud} **N^{lat}?**) ful sangall
- τον κυριον ιησουν — 33
- χριστον ιησουν τον κυριον ημων — 0208^{vid}
- ιησουν χρισον τον κυριον ημων — a (am^{apud} **M^{lat}, $vg^{st\text{-}vid}$**) cav col theo tol *al*
- *txt* — א A B C F G 1739 f hub *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:7 — ερριζωμενοι και εποικοδομουμενοι εν αυτω και βεβαιουμενοι εν τη πιστει καθως εδεδαχθητε περισσευοντες εν ευχαριστια

εν αυτω: cited in **AP T**

- *omit* — א*
- *txt* — (P$^{46–vid}$ εν…) א^{2} A B C D F G 1739 *rell*

εν τη πιστει: cited in **AP (B) HF M N13 N27 So T U4 VS**

- τη πιστει — B D* H 075 0208 33 81 103 256 263 326 365 442 1241^{supp} 1319* 2127 1908 a b d f m* am ful vg^{cl}; editions of **B N13 NEB So T UBS WH**
- εν πιστει — A C I Ψ 0150 181 (424$^{c\ apud}$ **T**) 1912 2464
- εν αυτω εν τη πιστει — 048? sa bo
- εν πιστει *vel* εν τη πιστει (P$^{46–vid}$ εν…) m^{c} dem tol arm *al*
- *txt* — א D^{2} K L P 049 056 0142 0151 0278 6 104 223 (330 omit εν αυτω και βεβαιουμενοι) (424$^{c\ apud}$ **U4**) 1175 1319^{c} 1739 1881 1962; editions of **HF M (V** [εν] τη πιστει) **VS**

καθως: cited in **AP T**

- καθως και — D* 0278 122 464 d f vg
- *txt* — א A B D^{2} F G 1739 *rell*

εν ευχαριστια: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS; M^{lat} N^{lat} vgst (vg^{ww})**

- εν αυτη εν ευχαριστια — (א^{2} D* (b) d f bam dem gran harl sangall val hark^{mg} εν αθτω εν ευχαριστια) B D^{2} H^{c} K L 049 056 0142 0151 0278 6 104 223 256 330 365 424^{c}? 1319 2127 (2495 omit εν^{2}) (a) m pesh hark bo arm geo^{2}; editions of **HF So^{marg} VS (WH** [εν αυτη] εν ευχαριστια)
- εν αυτη — P Ψ 048^{vid}
- *txt* — א* A C H* I^{vid} 075 0150 0208 33 69 81 263 442 (462 ευχαριστεια) 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1906 1908 1962 2464 am cav ful hub reg sanger tol bo eth geo^{1} slav; editions of **B M N13 NEB So^{txt} T UBS V**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:8 — βλεπετε μη τις υμας εσται ο συλαγωγων δια τηω φιλοσοφιας και κενης απατηω κατα την παραδοσιν των ανθρωπων κατα τα στοιχεια του κοσμου και ου κατα χριστου

υμας εσται: cited in **AP B N13 N27 T VS**

- εσται υμας — א A D 81 1881; editions of **WH**[margin]
- *txt* — B C K L P 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 104 365 1175 1241[supp] 1739 2464; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

και κενης: cited in **M**

- ως κενης — Marcion?
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 33 1739 *rell*

συλαγωγων: cited in **AP**

- συλαγων — א* D
- *txt* — א[2] A B C F G 1739 *pm* (συλλαγωγων 330 462 876 2344[c] 2412)

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:9 — οτι εν αυτω κατοικει παν το πληρωμα της θεοτητος σωματικος

κατοικει: cited in **M**[lat] **N**[lat]

- οικει? *(habitat)* — a d f ful* harl mon Ambrosiaster Cyprian
- *txt* — *(inhabitat)* P[46–vid] *rell*

σωματικος: cited in **T V**

- *omit* — Valentinians[apud Irenaeus] Cyprian
- *txt* — P[46] *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:10 — και εστε εν αυτω πεπληρωμενοι ος εστιν η κεφαλη πασης αρχης και εξουσιας

ος: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- ο — P^{46} B D F G 1908*; editions of **(Lachmann)**
- *txt* — א A C K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0208 0278 33 81 104 365 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 2464 f vg; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

η κεφαλη: cited in **AP T**

- κεφαλη — D* F G
- *txt* — (P^{46} η κεφλη) *rell*

αρχης και εξουσιας: cited in **AP M T V**

- της αρχης εκκλησιας — א*
- εκκλησιας — D*
- της αρχης και εξουσιας — D^{1}
- *txt* — P^{46} $א^{c}$ A B C F G 33 1739 *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:11 — εν ω και περιετμηθητε περιτομη αχειροποιητω εν τη απεκδυσαι του σωματος της σαρκος εν τη περιτομη του χριστου

και περιετμηθητε: cited in **AP T**

- περιετμηθητε — F G 2423* g (arm add per *fidem)*
- *txt* — P^{46} (D και περιετνηθητε) (1022 και περιετμιθητε) *rell*

απεκδυσαι: cited in **AP T**

- απεgδυσαι — B*
- *txt* — P^{46} B^{c} *rell*

σωματος της σαρκος εν: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- σωματος των αμαρτιων της σαρκος εν — א² D¹ K L Ψ 049 056 075 (0142 omit της σαρκος εν) 0150 0151 (0278 σωματος της σαρκος των αμαρτιων εν) (b) syr goth; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P⁴⁶ א* A B C D* F G P 6 33 81 365 442 462 629 1175 1241ˢᵘᵖᵖ 1739 1881 1912 2344ᶜ 2464 (al .... carnis sed *in,* i.e. σαρκος αλλ εν? a cavᵃᵖᵘᵈ **Mˡᵃᵗ, ⁿᵒⁿ vgˢᵗ** tol) d f am ful val sa bo; editions o**f B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:12 — συνταφηντης αυτω εν τω βαπτισματι εν ω και συνηγερθητε δια της πιστεως της ενεργειας του θεου του εγειραντος αυτον εκ νεκρων

εν τω: cited in **AP**

- *omit* — 0142
- *txt* — P⁴⁶ 056 *rell*

βαπτισματι: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T U3 V VS**

- βαπτισμω — P⁴⁶ א² B D* F G 075 0150 0278 6 365 424ᶜ 1739 1881 1908 1912 2127; editions of **UBS**
- *txt* — א* A C D² K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0151 33 81 104 326 330 451 629 630 1241ˢᵘᵖᵖ 1505 1962 2492; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS WH**

συνηγερθητε: cited in **AP T**

- συνηγερθωμεν — C
- *txt* — P⁴⁶ א A B D F G 33 1739*rell*

του θεου: cited in **AP**

- απο του θεου — 330
- *omit* — 0142
- *txt* — P⁴⁶ 056 *rell*

εκ νεκρων: cited in **AP B HF N13 N27 T VS**

- εκ των νεκρων — B D F G 0278 6 33 323 326 629 1022 1960 2344*; editions of **HF^{txt} So**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A C K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 69 81 104 223 330 365 424^{c} 436 442 462 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1799 1881 1908 2344^{2} 2412 2464; editions of B **HF^{marg} M N13 NEB UBS T V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:13 — και υμας νεκρους οντας εν τοις παραπτωμασιν και τη ακροβυστια της σαρκος υμων συνεζωοποιησεν υμας συν αυτω χαρισαμενος ημιν παντα τα παταπτωματα

και υμας: cited in **T**

- και ημας — (1 και ημων) 102 322 323 2344^{c}
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

νεκρους οντας: cited in **AP; M^{lat} N^{lat}**

- οντας νεκρους — 0150 0278 (ful) (mon)
- *txt* — P^{46} D F G am cav hub theo tol val *pm*

εν: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T VS**

- *omit* — א* B L Ψ 075 0150 0278 33 69 81 256 365 436 442 462 1175 1241^{supp} 1316 1881 1906* 1908 1960 2127 2464 b; editions of **HF^{marg} M N13 NEB So T V WH**
- *txt* — P^{46} א^{1} A C D F G K P 048 049 056 0142 0151 223 326 330 630 876 1505 1739 2344* a d f; editions of **B HF^{txt} (UBS in []) VS**

και τη ακροβυστια: cited in **AP N13 N27 T**

- και εν τη ακροβυστια — D* F G d
- *txt* — P^{46} D^{2} f vg *rell*

συνεζωοποιησεν: cited in **AP T; M^{lat}**

- εζωοποιησεν — D* F G a Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — (P^{46} συνεζω[.]ποιησεν) f vg *rell* (**Stephanus** *al* συνεζωποιησεν)

υμας^{2}: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T U3 U4 V VS**

- ημας — P^{46} B 056 0142 33 69 323 1022 1799 2401 2423
- *omit* — א^{2} D F G P Ψ 0208 075 0278 104 256 263 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1912 1962 2127 2464^{vid} a b d f vg arm; editions of **HF^{marg} WH^{marg}**
- *txt* — א* A C K L 049 0150 0151 6 81 223 326 876 1739 1881 1960 2412; editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH^{txt}**

συν αυτω: cited in **AP M T**

- εν αυτω — P^{46} 075 69 81 104 330 436 442 460 1908
- αυτω — 0278 1912
- *txt* — א A C B D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 0150 0142 0151 0208 1739 *rell*

ημιν: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T U4 V**

- υμιν — א^{2} K* L P 6 323 326 330 2423 f vg eth *al;* editions of **(Elzevir)**
- *txt* — (P^{46} *al* hmein) a b d m *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

παντα τα παραπτωματα: cited in **AP M T**

- τα παταπτωματα παντα — P$^{46–vid}$
- παντα τα παραπτωματα ημων — D* 0208 d bo (330 eth υμων)
- *txt* — א A B *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:14 — εξαλαιψας το καθ ημων χειρογραγον τοις δογμασιν ο ην υνεναντιον ημιν και αυτο ηρκεν εκ του μεσου προσηλωσας αυτο τω σταυρω

καθ: cited in **AP T**

- κατ — D*
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

τοις δογμασιν: cited in **(N13) (N27) T**

- συν τοις δογμασιν — 33
- των αμαρτιων — Hipparchus?
- *omit* — 1881 (*conjecture* Schmiedel)
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

ημιν: cited in **AP T**

- υμιν — P 69* 104
- ημων — א*
- *txt* — (P^{46} η…) *rell*

ηρκεν: cited in **AP M T VS**

- ηρεν — D* F G 2 206 223 383 429 876 1518 1799 2005; editions of **HF^{marg}**
- ηρκται — P
- *txt* — (P^{46} *al* ηρκε) א A B C D^{2} K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 81 330 436 462 1175 1739 (2344^{2} και ηρκεν); editions of B **HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

του μεσου: cited in **AP T**

- του μερους — 0142
- μεσου — A
- *txt* — P^{46} א B C D F G 046 1739 *rell*

αυτο τω σταυρω: cited in **AP**

- αυτω τω σταυρω — 0150 330* 462 876 2344^{2} 2401
- *txt* — (P^{46} auto t[.] staurw) *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:15 — απεκδθσαμενος τας αρχας και τας εξουσιας και εδειγματισεν εν παρρησια, θριαμβευσας αυτους εν αυτω

τας αρχας και: cited in **AP M T (V)**

- την σαρκα — F G Hilary Novatian
- την σαρκα τας αρχας και — a g wirc goth?
- *txt* — P^{46} D *rell*

εξουσιας: cited in **AP B N13 N27 T**

- εξουσιας και — P^{46} B
- *txt* — א A C D F G 33 1739 *rell*

θριαμβευσας: cited in **AP T**

- θριανβευσας — D*
- *txt* — P^{46} D^{2} *rell*

εν αυτω: cited in **AP T**

- εν εαυτω — G
- *txt* — P^{46} D F *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:16 — μη ουν τις υμας κρινετω εν βρωσει η εν ποσει η εν μερει εορτης η νουμηνιας η σαββατων

ουν τις: cited in **AP T**

- τις ουν — 056 0142 0278 69 436 462 2344^{2}
- ουν τι — C
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B D F G K L049 33 1739 *pm*

η εν ποσει: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T V VS**

- και εν ποσει — P^{46} B 1739 1881 b bo; editions of **B N13 UBS VS WH^{txt}**
- *txt* — א A C D F G I K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 365 (876 1799 η ποσει) 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 2464 hark arm goth; editions of **HF M NEB So T V WH^{marg}**

νουμηνιας: cited in **AP (B) M T VS**

- νεομηνιας — B (F G νεομηνια) 81 330 2005 2344^{2} *pc;* editions of **B N13 NEB UBS WH**
- *txt* — א A C D(* νουμηνια) I K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 436 462 1739; editions of **HF M So T V VS**

σαββατων: cited in **AP M T VS**

- σαββατω — F G 69 462 2344^{2}
- σαββατου — D*
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:17 — α εστιν σκια των μελλοντων το δε σωμα του χριστου

α εστιν: cited in **AP B M N13 N27 T V VS**

- ο εστιν — B F G 614? b d goth Ambrosiaster Marcion? Speculum; editions of **WH^{marg}**
- ω εστιν — 2412
- *txt* — P^{46} א A C D I K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 2464 f vg; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH^{txt}**

τω δε σωμα… [18] .... των αγγελων: cited in **AP M**

- omit — I
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G 33 1739 *pm*

του χριστου: cited in **AP HF T VS**

- χριστου — P^{46} א^{2} D F G K L 049 056 075 0142 0151 0278 223 330 436 462 876 1022 1739 1799 1960 2344^{2} 2412; editions of **HF^{txt}**
- *txt* — א* A B C P Ψ 0150 33 69 2344*; editions of **B HF^{marg} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

το δε σωμα του χριστου: cited in **T**

- (see Tischendorf for the reading of Chrysostom and the interpretation it involves)
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell?*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:18 — μηδεις υμας καταβραβευετω θελων εν ταπεινοφροσυνη και θρησκεια των αγγελων α εωρακεν εμβατεθων εικη φθσιουμενος υπο του νοος της σαρκος αυτου

υμας: cited in **AP**

- *omit* — 075
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

καταβραβευετω: cited in **T**

- καταβραβευτω — F G
- *txt* — א *pm* A B C D 1739 (ad lat cf. Tischendorf)

θελων: cited in **T**

- θαλλων (θελλων?) — 69
- *txt* — א *pm* A B C D F G 1739 (**WH** mark primitive error)

εν: cited in AP N13 N27 So **T**

- εν τη — 330
- *omit* — א*
- *txt* — P^{46} א^{1} *rell*

θρησκεια: cited in **T**

- θρησκια — C D F G P 2401*; editions of **T**
- *txt* — א A B K L 223 876 1739 2412 *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So UBS V VS WH**

αγγελων: cited in **AP M T**

- μελλοντων αγγελων — א*
- *txt* — $P^{46–vid}$ $א^{1}$ *rell*

α: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS; M^{lat}**

- α μη — $א^{2}$ C D^{1} (F G α ουκ) (K α μητε) L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 (81 μη) 104 256 326 330 365 436 451 629 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1881 1962 2127 2464 2492 2495 a f m am cav dem ful hub theo tol val pesh hark goth arm slav; editions of **So^{marg} HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א* A B D* I 6 33 424^{c} 1739 b d sa bo eth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So^{txt} T UBS V VS WH**

εωρακεν: cited in **AP T**

- εορακεν — א B* C D I K P 0150 0151 0278 1022*; editions of **B N13 NEB T UBS V WH**
- *txt* — P^{46} A B^{2} F G L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 223 330 436 462 876 1739 2412 *pm;* editions of **HF M So VS**

εμβατευων: cited in **AP T**

- ενβατευων — D* F G 0278 (69 ενμβατευων)
- *txt* — (P^{46} εμβαδ.υ…) א A B C 1739 *rell*

εμβατευων εικη: cited in **So**

- εικη εμβατευων και — Origen
- *txt* — (P^{46} εμβαδ.υ…) (330 εμβατευων εικει) *pm*

φυσιουμενος: cited in **AP T**

- φυσιουμενοι — D*
- *txt* — (P^{46} .... ουμενος) *rell*

υπο: cited in **AP**

- απο — 049
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

αυτου: cited in **AP T**

- αυτων — א*
- *txt* — א^{1} A B C D F G 1739 (330 omits της σαρκος) *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:19 — και ου κρατων την κεφαλην εξ ου παν το σωμα δια των αφων και συνδεσμων επιχορηγουμενον και συμβιβαζομενον αυξει την αυξησιν του θεου

ου: cited in **AP**

- ο — 0150*
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

κεφαλην: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- κηφαλην χριστον — D* 1505 2005 (b) d hark arm Novatian
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

σωμα: cited in **AP**

- σωμα σωμα (!) — C*
- *txt* — א A B *pm*

αφων: cited in **AP**

- αφιων — F
- *txt* — P^{46} D G *rell*

συμβιβαζομενον: cited in **AP T**

- συνβιβαζομενον — A B* C D F G; editions of **WH**
- βοβαζομενον — 0278
- *txt* — א B^{2} K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 223 330 436 462 876 1739 2344 2412; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS**

αυξει την αυξησιν του θεου: cited in **M^{lat}**

- *crescit in sanctum in Domino,* i.e. αυξει εις ναον αγιον εν κυριω (Eph. 2:21) — cav tol (hub theo)
- αυξεισιν του θεου — 436*
- *txt* — א A B D F G am ful *pm*

αυξησιν: cited in **AP T**

- αυξη — א* 056 0142 69
- *txt* — א^{1} A B *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:20 — ει απεθανετε συν χριστω απο των στοιχειων του κοσμου τι ως ζωντεω εν κοσμω δογματιζεσθε

απεθανετε: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T VS; (M^{lat}) N^{lat} vgst (vg^{ww})**

- ουν απεθανετε — א^{2} 056 0142 0278^{c} 6 206 256 326 365 429 (462 απεθανεται) 614 629 630 1319 1505 2127 2344 a m dem Ambrosiaster Speculum; editions of **HF^{marg}** (א* αποθανετε ουν; **HF^{marg}** απεθανετε ουν)
- *txt* — א^{1} A B D F G K L P Ψ 049 0150 0151 0278* 33 81 104 330 436 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 2464 b d f am cav ful leg sangall sanger tol val bo goth arm eth; editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So UBS T V VS WH**

συν χριστω: cited in **HF T**

- συν τω χριστω — 223; editions of **HF**[marg]
- *txt* — א A B C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 876 1739 2412 *pm;* editions of **B HF**[txt] **M N13 NEB So T USB V VS WH**

τι ως: cited in **AP M T**

- δια τι παλιν ως — D (F G τι παλιν ως) arm
- *txt* — א A B C 33 1739 *rell*

εν κοσμω: cited in **AP T; M**[lat] **N**[lat]

- εν τω κοσμω — F G (a d ful mon Ambrosiaster? in hoc *mundo)*
- *txt* — א A B D (am cav hub theo tol val in *mundo) rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:21 — μη αψη μηδε γευση μηδε θιγης

μηδε γευση μηδε θιγης: cited in **AP HF T (V) (VS)**

- μηδε θιγης — K 0151
- μη γευση μη θιγης — 51 223 234 429 431 442 460 1799 2412; editions of **HF**[marg]
- *txt* — א A B C D F G L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0278 33 104 (330 .... θηγεις…) (462 .... θηγης…) 876 1022 1739 2344(^{2} .... θηγης…); editions of **B HF**[txt] **M N13 NEB So T USB V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:22 — α εστιν παντα εις φθοραν τη σποχρησει κατα τα ενταλματα και διδασκαλιαω των ανθρωπων

εις φθοραν τη σποχρησει: cited in **(M) T**

- (ad Latin cf. Tischendorf)
- *txt* — א A B *rell*

τη αποχρησει: cited in **AP**

- της αποχρησεως — 0150
- *txt* — א A B *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 2:23 — ατινα εστιν λογον μεν εχοντα σιφιας εν εθελοθρησκια και ταπεινοφροσυνη και αφειδια σωματος ουκ εν τιμη τινι προς πλησμονην της σαρκος

εθελοθρησκ(ε)ια: cited in **AP**

- θρησκια — D^{1-vid} F G
- θελοενθρησκεια — P^{46}
- θελοθρησκεια — 1960
- *txt* — א (A illegible) B C $D^{*,2}$ *rell*

(εθελοθρησκ)ια: cited in **T**

- (εθελοθρησκ)εια — (P^{46}) B D^{2} K L; editions of **HF So**
- *txt* — א C D* F G P; editions of **B M N13 NEB T UBS V VS WH**

και[1]: cited in **So T**

- *omit* — Clement
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

ταπεινοφροσυνη: cited in **AP M N27 T U3 U4 V; M^{lat}**

- ταπεινοφροσυνη του νοος — F G a b d f m (vg^{apud} **T**!) ($vg^{mss\ apud}$ **U4**) bo Hilary Ambrosiaster Augustine Speculum
- *txt* — P^{46} D (vg^{apud} **M N27 U3 M^{lat} vg^{st}** etc.) *rell*

και[2]: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V**

- *omit* — P[46] B 1739 b m pal bo? Hilary Ambrosiaster Speculum
- *txt* — א A C D F G H K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 33 81 104 256 330 365 436 451 629 630 1175 1241[supp] 1319 1881 1963 2127 2464[vid] 2492 pesh hark sa arm geo slav; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS (UBS WH in []; WH mark primitive error)**

αφειδια: cited in **T**

- αφειδεια — B[c] P 2423; editions of **(Lachmann)**
- *txt* — (P[46] αφιδεια) א (A illegible) B* C D E F G L 223 876 1799 1960 2412; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS (WH** mark a primitive error)

τινι: cited in **So**

- add et *non* = και ου? — gigas
- *txt* — P[46] *rell* (**WH** mark a primitive error)

πλησμονην: cited in **So; M[lat]**

- add et *diligentiam* — (a) Ambrose Ambrosiaster Pelagius
- *txt* — P[46] *rell* (**WH** mark a primitive error)

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:1 — ει ουν συνηγερθητε το χριστω τα ανω ζητειτε ου ο χριστος εστιν εν δεξια του θεου καθημενος

τω χριστω: cited in **AP T**

- εν χριστω — א*
- *txt* — P[46] א[1] *rell*

τα ανω.... καθημενος: cited in **AP M**

- *omit* — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B *pm*

ου: cited in **AP T**

- που — F G
- *txt* — D *rell*

ο χριστος εστιν: cited in **AP (M); (M^{lat} N^{lat} vg^{st} vg^{ww})**

- εστιν ο χριστος — H 0278 69 462 2344^{2}
- ο χριστος — (א* ο θεος but corrected by the original scribe) 241 314 876
- *txt* — $א^{1}$ A B *rell* (am cav karl leg ubi *christus,* a bam ful gran hub sangall val cum *christo)*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:2 — τα ανω φρονειτε μη τα επι της γης

τα ανω: cited in **AP T**

- α ανω — F G vg?
- *txt* — P^{46} D *rell*

μη τα: cited in **AP**

- μεγα (!) — F
- *txt* — P^{46} D G *pm*

της γης: cited in **AP T**

- γης — 049 2 429 876 1799 1908 2412 *pc*
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:3 — απεθανετε γαρ και η ζωη υμων κεκρυπται συν τω χριστω εν τω θεω

συν τω χριστω: cited in **AP T**

- συν χριστω — D K*?
- *txt* — P46 א A B C F G Kc L 049 (056 0142 εν τω χριστω) 0151 *rell*

εν τω θεω: cited in **AP HF M T VS**

- εν θεω — K L 049 5 326 330 623 1022 2344c; editions of **HFmarg**
- *txt* — P46 א A B C D F G (056 0142 συν τω θεω) 075 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 436 462 1739 2344; editions of **B HFtxt M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:4 — οταν ο χριστοω φανερωθη η ζωη ημων τοτε και υμεις συν αυτω φανερωθησεσθη εν δοξη

οταν: cited in **AP**

- αδελφοι οταν — Hc 1799 (ex. lect?)
- οταν ουν — 330
- *txt* — P46 H* *pm*

φανερωθη: cited in **AP T**

- φανερωθη και — F G
- *txt* — P46 D f *rell*

η ζωη ημων: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 VS**

- η ζωη υμων — P46 א (A illegible) C D* F G P Ψ 075 33 81 88 104 256 (263 εν σαρκι υμων) 442 462 945 1319 1881 1908 1912 a b d f m vg pal bo goth arm eth; editions of **B Somarg T UBS WHmarg**
- *txt* — B(* μων *(sic.))* D1 H K L 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 330 451 1175 1241supp 1505 1739 1962 2464 2492 pesh hark sa geo slav; editions of **HF M N13 NEB Sotxt V VS WHtxt**

συν αυτω: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- *omit* — A 218 1881 2401 2464 Gregory-Nyssa
- *txt* — P^{46} א B C D F G (Ψ φανερωθησεσθη εν δοξη σων αυτω) 33 1739 *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:5 — νεκρωσατε ουν τα μελη τα επι της γης πορνειαν ακαθαρσιαν παθος επιθμμιαν κακην και την πλεονεξιαν ητις εστιν ειδωλολατρια

ουν: cited in **N^{lat} vgst**

- *omit* — am
- *txt* — P^{46} D F G bam cav ful gran karl leg sangall sanger val *pm*

μελη: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- μελη υμων — א^{c} A C^{3} D F G H K L P 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 1881 d f vg bo arm goth eth; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א* B C* Ψ 33 81 424^{c} 945* 1912 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 2464 m*; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

πορνειαν: cited in **T**

- πορνιαν — א A D* F G H P *al*
- *txt* — B C D^{c} K L *al*

ακαθαρσιαν: cited in **AP T**

και ακαρθσιαν kai akaqarsian — D*
txt — P^{46} D^{2} F G *rell*
παθος επιθυμιαν κακην και την πλεονεξιαν: cited in AP (M) (N13) (N27) T **(V)**

omit κακην — P^{46}
παθοω ασελγειαν επιθυμιαν κακην και την πλεονεξιαν — 330
πλεονεξιαν παθος επιθυμιαν — F G (for fathers cf. Tischendorf)
txt — א A B D f *rell*

ειδωλολατρια: cited in (**AP) T**

- ιδωλατριαidwlatria — F G
- *txt* — P^{46} (א A B* D^{c} K L P 330 436 1022 2344 2412 *al* **B HF So T V VS** ειδωλολατρεια) (C ιδωλολατρια) D* H 223 462 876 1739 1799 1960 *pm;* editions of **M N13 NEB UBS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:6 — δι α ερχεται η οργη του θεου επι τους υιους της απειθρειας

δι α: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T**

- δι ο — (C* δια o^{apud} **AP**, δι o^{apud} **T**) D* F G d; editions of **(Alford)**
- δια ταυτα γαρ — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B C^{c} D^{2} f vg *rell;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**

η οργη: cited in **AP T**

- οργη — C* F G
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C^{c} D *rell* **(Lachmann [η] οργη)**

επι τους υιους της απειθ(ε)ιας: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U4 V VS**

- *omit* — P^{46} B b d pal sa eth^{mss} Ambrosiaster Cyprian; editions of **N13 NEB So^{marg} T WH**
- *txt* — א A C D(*? — words seem to have been added as an afterthought) F G H I K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 33 81 104 256 326 436 451 629 630 1175 (1241^{supp}) 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 2464 2492 a f m vg pesh hark bo arm geo slav; editions of **B HF M So^{txt} (UBS in []) V VS**

απειθρειας: cited in **T**

- απειθριας — C D F G
- *omit* (cf. supra) — [P^{46} editions of **N13 NEB T WH]**
- *txt* — א A H K L P 223 330 436 (462 απηθειαε) 876 1022 1739 1799 2344 2412; editions of **B HF M So UBS V VS**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:7 — εν οις και υμεις περιπατησατε ποτε οτε εζητε εν τουτοις

υμεις: cited in **AP**

- ημεις — 075
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

ποτε οτε: cited in **AP T**

- οτε — P 056 0142 314 1799
- *txt* — P$^{46\text{–vid}}$ *rell*

τουτοις: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T VS**

- αυτοις — D^{2} (F αυτους) G K L 048 049 056 0142 0150 0151 223 436 462 630 876 1739 1881 2412; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D* H I P Ψ 075 0278 33 81 330 365 442 1175 (1241^{supp} τουτω) 1505 1908 1912 2464; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:8 — νυνι δε αποθεσθε και υμεις τα παντα οργην θυμον κακιαν βλασφημιαν αισχολογιαν εκ του στοματος υμων

και υμεις: cited in **AP M T V**

- υμεις — 1799
- *omit* — א* sa
- *txt* — P^{46} א^{1} *pm*

τα παντα: cited in **AP T**

- κατα παντα — F G f
- παντα — H (110 απαντα) 330 442
- *txt* — P^{46} D d *rell*

υμων: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V; M^{lat} N^{lat}**

- υμων μη εκπορευεσθω (or similar) — F G a b f g bam (ful$^{c\ apud}$ **M^{lat}, N^{lat}**) mon ulm sa bo goth eth Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — P^{46} D d am cav dem (ful^{apud} **T**$^{?}$) hub theo tol *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:9 — μη ψευδεσθε εις αλληλους απεκδυσαμενοι τον παλαιον ανθρωπον συν ταις πραξεσιν αυτου

απεκδυσαμενοι: cited in **AP T**

- αποδυσαμενοι — P
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ *rell*

αυτου: cited in **M T**

- αυτου και ταις επιθυμιαις — hark**
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ (Origen) *pm*

τον παλαιον ανθρωπον συν ταις πραξεσιν αυτου [10] **και ενδυσαμενοι**: cited in **AP**

- *omit* — 0142
- *txt* — P^{46} 056 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:10 — και ενδυσαμενοι τον νεον τον ανακαινουμενον εις επιγνωσιν κατ εικονα του κτισαντος αυτον

ενδυσαμενοι: cited in **AP T**

- επιδυσαμενοι — א*
- ενδυσαμεθα — 2344^{2}
- *txt* — א^{2} A B *rell*

νεον: cited in **AP**

- νεον ανθρωπον — 0278
- νεον τον νεον — 1960
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

επιγνωσιν: cited in **M^{lat}**

- επιγνωσιν θεου — a^{c} d Augustine Speculum
- *txt* — P^{46} D F G vg *pm*

εικονα: cited in **AP T**

- εικονα αυτου — F G d f vg Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — (P^{46-vid} — lacuna after εικονα but no space for the word) D *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:11 — οπου ουκ ενι ελλην και ιουδαιος περιτομε και ακροβυστια βαρβαρος σκυθης δουλος ελευθερος αλλα τα παντα και εν πασιν χριστος

ενι: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V; M^{lat} N^{lat} (vg^{ww})**

- ενι αρσεν και θελυ — D* F G 629 (d f dem vg^{sixt} Augustine masculus et *feminina)* Hilary (a Ambrose Pelagius masculus et feminina iudeaeus et *graecus)*
- *txt* — P^{46-vid} D^{2} am ful tol *rell*

βαρβαρος: cited in **AP T**

- βαρβαρος και — D* F G d f vg goth Ambrosiaster
- *omit* — 2401
- *txt* — א A B *pm*

ελλην και ιουδαιος: cited in T

- ιοθδαιος και ελλην — 33 arm
- *txt* — (P^{46-vid} ελλην και …) א *pm*

δουλος: cited in **AP N13 N27 T**

- δουλος και — A D* F G 181 442 629 d f vg pesh bo eth goth Hilary; editions of **(Lachmann doulos [kai])**
- *txt* — א B D² K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 1739 sa arm *rell;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**

τα παντα: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T VS**

- παντα — א* A C 33 81 209* 436 1241^{supp} 1799 2344² Clement; editions of **N13 NEB (T in text) WH**
- παντα *vel* τα παντα sed *omit* και — am (cited in **vgst**, "*sed omnia er (!) in omnibus Christus" (sic.))*
- *txt* — א² B D F G K L (P τα παν) Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 104 223 365 630 876 1175 1505 1739 1881 2127 2344* 2464; editions of **B HF M So (T in margin) (UBS V VS [τα] παντα)**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:12 — ενδυσασθη ουν ως εκλεκτοι του θεου αγιοι και ηγαπημενοι σπλαγχνα οικτιρμου χρηστοτητα ταπεινοφροσθνην πραυτητα μακροθυμιαν

ουν: cited in **AP T**

- *omit* — L
- *txt* — א A B (leg ergo *uos,* am bam cav ful gran sanger sangall val vos *ergo) rell*

ωσ: cited in **AP T**

- ωσει — D* F G
- *txt* — א A B *rell*

του θεου: cited in **AP N13 N27 T**

- θεου — A D* F G 876 1505 1881; editions of **(Lachmann)**
- *txt* — א B D² K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 223 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1799 2464; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

αγιοι και: cited in **AP B M N13 N27 So T V VS**

- αγιοι — B 6 33 1319 1739 sa; editions of **WH**[marg]
- *txt* — א A D F G (122 και αγιοι) *rell;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**[txt]

σπλαγχνα: cited in **T**

- σαπλανχνα — D* F G
- *txt* — א A B F G K L P *pm*

οικτιρμου: cited in **AP HF M T VS**

- οικτιρμων — K 075 5 38 223 326 1022 1518 1611 2344* 2412 *al;* editions of **HF**[marg]
- και οικτιρμου — D* arm (D^1 goth *omit* και)
- και οικτιρμων — 330
- *txt* — א A B F G L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 436 462 876 1739 1799 1960 2344^c; editions of **B HF**[txt] **M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

πραυτητα: cited in **AP (B) HF T VS**

- πραοτητα — D F G K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 223 330 462 876 1022 1739 1799 1960 2344; editions of **HF So**
- *txt* — א A B C P 048 0150 0278 33 436; editions of **B M N13 NEB T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:13 — ανεχομενοι αλληλων και χαριζομενοι εαθτοις εαν τις προς τινα εχη μομφην καθως και ο κυριος εχαρισατο υμιν ουτως και υμεις

αλληλων: cited in **AP**

- αλληλων αλληλων — C*
- *txt* — א A B *pm*

και χαριζομενοι: cited in **T**

- χαριζομενοι — 33 arm
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

εαυτοις: cited in **AP**

- εαυτους — F 0151
- αυτοις — 075
- *txt* — א A B D G K *pm*

εχη: cited in **AP T**

- εχει — F G L P 0150 0278 33 462 2401* 2344^{c} 2412 *al*
- *txt* — א A B D K 049 056 0142 0151 *pm*

μομφην: cited in **AP N13 N27 T (V)**

- μεμψιν — D*
- μεμφην — D^{2}
- μορφεν — 049*
- οργην — F G
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B f *rell*

ο κυριος: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS**

- ο χριστος — א^{2} C D^{1} K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 81 88 104 256 326 330 365 436 451 629 630 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 2492 2464 a m pesh hark sa bo goth eth; editions of **HF So^{marg} T V VS WH^{marg}**
- ο θεος — א* (33 arm ο θεος εν χριστω)
- *txt* — P^{46} A B D* (F *omit* ο) G 1175 b d f vg geo^{1}; editions of **B M N13 NEB So^{txt} UBS WH^{txt}**

υμιν: cited in **AP HF T VS**

- ημιν — (א$^{c\ apud}$ **T**) C^{2vid} D* K (P ημας) 0151 (33) 181 223 1799 2412 *al;* editions of **HF^{marg}**
- *txt* — א* A B C* D^{2} F G L 049 056 075 0142 0150 876 1739 1960 *pm;* editions of **B HF^{txt} M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

υμεις: cited in AP M **T**

- υμεις ποιειτε — D* F G d (pesh) sa goth eth
- *txt* — P^{46} f *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:14 — επι πασιν δε τουτοις την αγαπην ο εστιν συνδεσμος της τελειοτητος

ο ετσιν: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- ος εστιν — א* D* 81
- ητις εστιν — א^{2} D^{1} K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 104 223 330 436 462 630 876 1175 1505 2344 2464 b g; editions of **HF VS**
- *txt* — A B C F G P 048 33 256 263 365 1241^{supp} 1319* 1739 1881 2127; editions of **B M NEB N13 So T V UBS WH**

τελειοτητος: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T**

- ενοτητος — D* F G d Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:15 — και η ειρηνην του χριστου βραβευετς εν ταις καρδιαις υμων, εις ην και εκληθητε εν ενι σωματι και ευχαριστοι γινεσθη

η ειρηνην: cited in **AP T**

- ειρηνη — F G 90 1908* 2344^{c}
- *txt* — P^{46} D *rell*

χριστου: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS; vgst**

- θεου — א^{2} C^{2} D^{2} K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 33 104 223 330 436 462 630 876 1799 1881 2344 2412 sanger goth Ambrosiaster; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — א* A B C* D* F G P 69 81 365 629 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1908 2464 a b d f am bam cav ful gran karl leg sangall val pesh hark sa bo arm eth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

ενι σωματι: cited in **AP B M N13 N27 T**

σωματι — P^{46} B 6 424^{c} 1739 sa
txt — א (Ψ σωματι ενι) *rell;* editions of **B M HF N13 NEB So T UBS V VS (WH [eni] swmati)**

γινεσθη: cited in **AP T**

- γινεσθαι (i.e. γενεσθε?) — D*
- *txt* — (P^{46} γεινεσθε) D^{2} F G (462 γινεσθαι) *rell*

✦✦✦

Colossians 3:16 — ο λογος του χριστου ενοικειτω εν υμιν πλουσιως εν παση σοφια διδασκοντες και νουθετοθντες εαυτους ψαλμοις υμνοις ωδαις πνεθματικαις εν χαριτι αδοντες εν ταις καρδιαις υμων τω θεω

χριστου: cited in **AP B M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 (V) VS**

- κυριου — א* I 1175 2127 bo Clement; editions of **So**^{marg} **WH**^{marg}
- θεου — A C* 0150 33 104 263 323 330 436 451 945 1241^{supp} 1962 1984 1985 eth Augustine *al;* editions of **So**^{marg}
- *txt* — P^{46} א^{2} B C^{2} D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0151 6 81 181 256 326 365 462 629 630 1319 1505 1739 1881 2344 2464 2492 a d f m am dem ful (pesh) hark sa bo^{ms} arm geo goth slav Ambrosiaster *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So**^{txt} **T UBS V VS WH**^{txt}

ενοικειτω: cited in **AP**

- οικειτω — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B D F G 1739 *pm*

σοφια: cited in **T**

- add et prudentia *spirituali* goth (cf. **T**)
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

εαυτους: cited in **T**

- αυτους — 33
- *txt* — (P^{46} ε.... τους) א A B *pm*

ψαλμοις: cited in **AP HF (M) (N13) N27 (So) T (VS)**

- ψαλμοις και — C^{2} D^{1} K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 33 81 104 223 365 630 876 1881 2464 1799 2412 dem sa bo arm eth; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C* D* F G 442 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 d f am ful tol goth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

υμνοις: cited in AP HF (M) (N13) N27 (So) T (VS); **M^{lat} N^{lat} vg^{st} vg^{ww}**

- υμνοις και — A^{vid} C^{3} D^{1} I K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 81 104 223 365 630 876 1799 2412 2464 a ful^{marg} sa bo arm et; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א B C* D* F G 33 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 d f am bam cav dem ful* gran hub leg sangall sanger theo tol val goth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

πνευματικαις: cited in **AP So**

- πνευματικοις — P^{46} F
- *txt* — א A B D G 1739 *pm*

εν χαριτι: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T VS**

- εν τη χαριτι — P^{46} $א^{2}$ B D* F G Ψ 6 424^{c} 1319 1505 1611 1739 2138; editions of B N13 NEB T (UBS εν [τη] χαριτι) **WH^{marg}**
- *omit* — C^{3} 049 326 462 1022* 2344^{c}
- *txt* — א* A (C* εν χαρι) D^{2} K L 056 075 0142 0150 0151 33 81 104 223 330 365 (429 1799 2412 εν ευχαριστια) 436 630 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1799 1881 2344* 2412 2464; editions of **HF M So V VS WH^{txt}**

ταις καρδιαις: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 So T VS**

- τη καρδια — D^{2} I K L 049 056 0142 0150 0151 223 462 630 876 1799 2344* 2412; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C* D* F G Ψ 075 6 33 81 104 326 330 436 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 2344^{c} 2464 a b d f vg pesh hark sa bo arm goth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

θεω: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS**

- κυριω — ($P^{46\text{–vid apud ed.}}$ *pr.*) C^2 D^2 K L Ψ* 049 056 0142 0150 0151 104 181 223 326 330 (436 αδοντες τω θεω εν ταις καρδιαις υμων τω κυριω !) 451 629 630 876 1241^{supp} 1799 2412 2492 2495 a colb dem (gig) geo^2 goth slav; editions of **HF NEB^{marg}**
- *txt* — ($P^{46\text{–vid apud}}$ **AP**) א A B C* D* F G $Ψ^c$ 075 6 33 81 365 424^c 442 (256 263 1175 1319 1962 2127 αδοντες τω θεω εν ταις καρδιαις υμων) 1505 1739 1881 1908 2464 b d f m am ful tol pesh hark sa arm geo^1; editions of **B M N13 NEB^{txt} So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:17 — και παν ο τι εαν ποιητε εν λογω η εν εργω παντα εν ονοματι κυριου ιησου ευχαριστουντες τω θεω πατρι δι αυτου

και: cited in **AP M T**

- *omit* — D* F G 2 429 d f vg goth Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — P^{46} (1799 και αδελφοι) *rell*

εαν: cited in **AP [B] HF T**

- αν — א A C D I^{vid} K Ψ 056 075 0142 0150 0151 223 330 436 462 876 1739 1799 1960 2412; editions of **B HF So T VS**
- *txt* — P^{46} B F G L 049 1022; editions of **M N13 NEB UBS V WH**

ποιητε: cited in **AP T**

- ποιειτε — K^c L 0142 0150 0151 330 2344^c
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G K* 049 056 075 223 436 462 876 1022 1739 1799 1960 2412 *pm*

κυριου ιησου: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T (VS); M^{lat} N^{lat} vgst (vg^{ww})**

- ιησου χριστου — A C D* F G; editions of **(Lachmann)**
- κυριου ιησου χριστου — א* (א^{2} 429 442 του κυριου ιησου χριστου) 365 1175 (a dem oxon sa^{mss}? bo? eth? κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου) (b) (bam^{apud} **vgst**) ful gran harl hub mon sangall theo val (pesh)
- κυριου — L Jerome
- *txt* — P^{46} B D^{2} K (Ψ 104 330 1241^{supp} 1799 του κυριου ιησου) 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 33 69 81 630 1505 1739 1881 2464 f m am (bam^{apud} **M^{lat}**) cav karl leg tol ulm arm goth hark sa^{mss} Clement Ambrosiaster; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

θεω: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T U3 U4 V VS**

- θεω και — D F G K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 33 104 256 (326 patri kai qew) 330 436 451 629 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1881 1962 2127 2464 2492 d f am colb dem ful harl tol hark arm geo slav; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ א A B C 81 442 1739 1985 a b m pesh sa bo goth eth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

δι αυτου: cited in **AP**

- δι αυτου υποτασσομενοι αλληλοις εν φοβω χριστου — 075
- *txt* — P^{46} (1175 1881 *omit* di) *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:18 — αι γυναικες υποτασσεσθε τοις ανδρασιν ως ανηκεν εν κυριω

αι γυναικες: cited in **AP T**

- γυναικες — F G arm?
- *txt* — P^{46} D *rell*

ανδρασιν: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS; M^{lat}**

- ανδρασιν υμων — D* F G 075 1827 a d f ulm wirc pesh hark** bo arm eth goth
- ιδιοις ανδρασιν — L 056 0142 6 223 330 365 436 462 614 630 876 1175 1881 1799 1960 2344 2412 2464 *pm;* editions of **HF^{txt}**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D^{2} K 049 0150 0151 33 81 104 1022 1241^{supp} 1739 2401 2423 am cav ful hub theo tol val *pm;* editions of B **HF^{marg} N13 NEB M So T UBS V VS WH**

εν κυριου: cited in **AP T**

- εν τω κυριω — F G
- *txt* — P^{46} D *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:19 — οι ανδρες αγαπατε τας γυναικας και μη πικραινεσυη προς αυτας

οι ανδρες: cited in **AP T**

- ω ανδρες — G
- ο ανδρες — F
- *txt* — P^{46} D *rell*

γυναικας: cited in **AP M (N13) N27 T (V); M^{lat} vgst**

- γυναικας υμων — C^{2} D* F G 330 a b d f m^{c} am (bam^{apud} **M^{lat}**) theo tol ulm (val^{apud} **M^{lat}**) pesh hark** Ambrosiaster; editions of **(Lachmann)**
- εαυτων γυναικας — א^{2} 075 88 (1175 εαυτων γυναικας)
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ א* A B C D^{2} K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 (bam^{apud} **vgst**) cav colb ful gran hub harl** leg oxon (val^{apud} **vgst**) wirc 33 81 104 365 436 462 630 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 2344 2464 *rell;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**

πικραινεσθη: cited in **AP M T**

- παραπικραινεσθη — C^{2} K 056 0150 4^{c} 88 101 122 181 623 794 1149 2401
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C* D F G L P Ψ 049 075 0142 0151 33 223 330 436 (462 pikrainesqai) 876 1739 1799 1960 (2344^{c} phkrainesqe) 2412 *rell*

αυτας: cited in **AP**

- αυταις — P^{46}
- *txt* — א A B *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:20 — τα τεκνα υπακουετε τοις γονευσιν κατα παντα τουτο γαρ ευαρεστον εστιν εν κυριω

τοις γονευσιν κατα παντα: cited in **M**^{lat}

- (τοις) γονευσιν υμων (parentibus *vestris)* — a
- *txt* — P^{46} d f vg *pm*

ευαρεστον εστιν: cited in **AP HF T VS**

- εστιν ευαρεστον — F G K L 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0198^{vid} 223 330 436 876 1022 1799 1960 2344* 2412; editions of **HF**
- ευαρεστον — (Ψ* ευαρεστου) $Ψ^{c}$ 181 464*
- *txt* — $P^{46–vid}$ א A B C D 048 075 33 69 (462 ευαρεστων εστιν) 1739 1908 1912 2344^{c} d f vg; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**

εν κυριω: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T VS**

- tw kuriw — 0198 81 206 323 326 330 629 630 876 945 1022 1241^{supp} 1799 1960 2344* 2412 bo eth Clement *al;* editions of **HF**^{marg}
- κυριω — 1912?
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 33 104 223 365 (436) (462) 1175 1505 1739 1881 2344^{c} 2464 b d f am dem ful tol hark arm goth *pm;* editions of **B HF**^{txt} **M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:21 — οι πατερες μη ερεθιζετε τα τεκνα υμων ινα μη αθυμωσιν

οι πατερες *(patres):* cited in **M^{lat}**

- *parentes* — a f harl oxon wirc
- *txt* — P^{46} D F G d am cav ful hub theo tol val *pm*

ερεθιζετε: cited in **AP M N13 N27 So T U4 VS; M^{lat} N^{lat}**

- παροργιζετε — (א ^{apud} **AP M N27 T**) A C D* F G L 075 0198 0278 33 69 81 88 104 181 206 256 263 326 330 365 436 623 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 (1573) 1912 1962 2127 2138 d ful harl* mon oxon theo hark^{marg} arm geo Ambrosiaster *al;* editions of **(Lachmann)**
- *txt* — (P^{46} ερεθ…) (א ^{apud} **U4**) B D^{1} K Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 6 223 424 (462) 630 876 1739 1799 1881 2344$^{(c)}$ 2412 a b f m am cav hub tol ulm val wirc hark^{txt} eth slav Clement *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:22 — οι δουλοι υπακουετε κατα παντα τοις κατα σαρκα κυριοις μη εν οφθαλμοδουλιας ως ανθρωπαρεσκοι αλλ εν απλοτητι καρδιας φοβουμενοι τον κυριον

κατα παντα: cited in **AP M N27 T**

- *omit* — P^{46} 075 0278 3 38* 81 103 218 336 421 436 442 642 1241^{supp} 1908 sa arm
- *txt* — א A B C D F G K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 33 104 365 630 1175 1505 1739 1881 2464 vg *pm*

κατα σαρκα κυριοις: cited in **AP T**

- κυριος κατα σαρκα kuriois kata sarka — F G d f vg
- *txt* — P^{46} D (330 κατα σαρ κυριοις !) *rell*

μη εν: cited in **AP T**

- μη ως εν — C*
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B *rell*

οφθαλμοδουλιαις: cited in **AP B HF N13 N27 T VS**

- οφθαλμοδουλια — ($P^{46–vid}$ A B *al* οφθαλμοδουλεια) D (F G 330 436 οφθαλμονδουλεια) 075 69 81 104 365 436 442 1241^{supp} 1319 1908 1912 2127 sa bo *al;* editions of **UBS WH^{marg}**
- *txt* — א C (K L 223 462 876 1799 1960 2344 2412 *al* **HF So VS** οφθαλμοδουλειαις) Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 33^{vid} 630 1175 1505 1739 1881 2464 hark *pm;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS WH^{txt}**

ανθρωπαρεσκοι: cited in **AP (T)**

- ανδροπωπαρεσκοι — F
- *txt* — P^{46} D G (69 ανθρωποπαρεσκοι) *pm*

αλλ: cited in **AP T**

- αλλα — B 048; editions of **(Tregelles)**
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**

κυριον: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS; (M^{lat} N^{lat} vgst vg^{ww})**

- θεον — P^{46} א^{2} D^{2} K 049 056 0142 0150 0151 6 104 206 223 436 462 630 876 1022 ($1739^{apud\ Lake}$) 1799 1960 2344 2412 d dem (tol^{apud} **T**) bo goth *pm;* editions of **HF**
- *txt* — א* A B C D* F G L Ψ 048 075 0278 33 81 263 330 365 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 (1739^{apud} **M, N27**) 1881 2464 a b f m f am bam cav ful gran harl karl leg sangall sanger (tol^{apud} **M$^{lat?}$**) val pesh hark sa bo arm *al;* editions of **B M N13 NEB So T V UBS VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:23 — ο εαν ποιητε εκ ψυχης εργαζεσθε ως τω κυριω και ουκ ανθρωποις

ο: cited in **AP HF (M) N13 N27 T V VS**

- παν ο — א^{2} 075 0278
- και παν ο — 056 0142 103 104 326 424^{c} 442 1908 pesh
- παν ο τι — Ψ 1505 2401
- και παν ο τι — D^{1} K L 049 0150 0151 223 630 876 1022 1799 1960 2412; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — P^{46} א* A B C D*^{,2} F G 33 81 365 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 2464 d f vg bo arm goth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

εαν: cited in **AP T**

- αν — P^{46} D F G Ψ 330 462 1739 2344^{c}
- *txt* — א A B C K L 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 223 436 876 1022 1799 1960 2412 *pm*

ποιητε: cited in **AP T**

- ποιειτε — L 075 2344^{c}
- *txt* — (P^{46} ποιη…) K 049 056 0142 0151 *rell*

κυριω: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- κυριω δουλευοντες — A 075 88 330 440 491 823 Clement
- *txt* — P^{46} א B C D F G 33 *rell*

και ουκ: cited in **AP M N27 T**

- ουκ — P^{46} B 177? 1739 sa? Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — א A C D F G K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 *rell*

ανθρωποις: cited in **M**

- ως ανθρωποις — pesh arm
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

✦✦✦

Colossians 3:24 — ειδοτες οτι απο κυριου απολημψεσθε την ανταποδοσιν της κληρονομιας τω κυριω χριστω δουλευετε

κυριου: cited in **M**

- θεου — 1611 2005 hark**
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

απολημψεσθε: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T VS**

- λημψεσθε — P^{46} א^{2} A C^{2} (K L Ψ 056 075 0142 0150 0151 330 1739 1799 1960 2344 2412 *pm* ληψεσθε) 0278 81 104 365 (462 ληψεσθαι) 630 1241^{supp} 1881 2464; editions of **HF^{txt} VS**
- *txt* — א* B* (B^{2} D^{2} 049 *al* απολημψεσθε) C^{*vid} (D* απολημψεθε) D^{1} F G 33 (223 απολψεσθαι) 326 436 629 876 1022 1175; editions of B **HF^{marg} M N13 NEB So T UBS V WH**

κληρονομιας: cited in **AP T**

- κληρονομιας υμων — C^{2} 075 0278 69 104 436 442 462 1906^{marg} 1908 2344 arm
- *txt* — $P^{46–vid}$ א A B C* *pm*

τω κυριω χριστω: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 T (V) VS**

- του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου — F G (a d? m* bo^{mss}? Ambrosiaster του κυριου χριστου) f
- τω γαρ κυριω χριστω — D^{1} K L 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 (69 102 242 330 1799 2401 τω γαρ κυριω) 104 630 arm goth; editions of **HF VS**
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D* 0278 33 81 88 365 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1908 1912 2464; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T V UBS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 3:25 — ο γαρ αδικων κομισεται ο ηδικησεν και ουκ εστιν προσωπολεμψια

ο γαρ: cited in **AP HF M T V VS**

- ο δε — D^2 K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 223 326 436 462 876 1022 1799 1960 2344 2412 pesh; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — א A B C D* F G 048 33 104 330 442 1739 1906 1912 d f vg bo goth; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

κομισεται: cited in **AP HF M T VS**

- κομιειται — א* A C D* I^{vid} 056 075 0142 33 223 436 462 876 1022 1739 1799 1960 2412; editions of **HF So T**
- κομιζεται — F G
- *txt* — $א^2$ B D^c K L Ψ 049 0150 0151 0278 3 69 93 103 181 209* 322 323 326 (330 κομισεται) 460 462 (2344 κομισετε); editions of **B M N13 NEB UBS V VS WH**

προσωπολεμψια: cited in AP M N13 N27 T V; **M^{lat} N^{lat} vg^{st} vg^{ww}**

- προσωπολεμψια παρα τω θεω — F G I 629 a f bam dem ful gran harl hub leg sangall theo tol ulm val bo? arm goth Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — א A B C D* 0278 (462 πρωσοποληψια) d am cav karl sanger *rell* (sed προσωπολεψια B^2 D^2 K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 223 330 436 462 1739 *pm* **HF**)

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:1 — οι κυριοι το δικαιον και την ισοτητα τοις δουλοις παρεχεσθε ειδοτες οτι και υμεις εχετε κυριον εν ουρανω

οι κυριοι: cited in **AP T**

- ς κυριοι — F G
- *txt* — א A B C D 33 1739 *rell*

την ισοτητα: cited in **AP**

- τησ ισοτητα — 0278
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 *pm*

παρεχεσθε: cited in **AP HF M T VS**

- παρεχετε — C 42 51 88 102 177 206 216 223 234 257 337 429 431 635 1738 1799 *al;* editions of **HF**^{marg}
- *txt* — א A B D F G K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 330 436 (462 παρεχεσθαι) 876 1022 1175 1739 1960 2344 2412 *pm;* editions of **B HF**^{txt} **M N13 NEB So T V VS UBS WH**

εχετε: cited in **AP**

- εχε — C*
- *txt* — א A B D F G 1739 *pm*

ουρανω: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS; M**^{lat} **N**^{lat}

- ουρανοις — א^{2} D F G K L Ψ 049 056 065 0142 0150 0151 6 (330 add και προσωπολημψια ουκ εστιν εν αυτω) 365 436 630 1175 1505 2344 2464 d f ful* mon hark bo^{mss} arm Ambrosiaster; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — א* A B C I 0278 33 69 81 104 218 326 442 462 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 am bam cav dem ful^{c} harl hub theo tol val sa bo^{mss}; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:2 — τη προσευχη προσκαρτερειτε γρηγορουντες εν αυτη εν ευχαριστια

τη προσευχη: cited in **AP T**

- η προσευχη — F G
- *txt* — א A B C D (1799 adelfoi th proseuch) *rell*

προσκαρτερειτε: cited in **AP M N27 T**

- προσκαρτερουντες — I 33 69 1241^{supp} 1881 harl* oxon^{c} Origen^{lat}
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 81 (462 προσκαρτερητε) 1739 am cav ful hub tol theo val *rell*

εν αυτη: cited in **AP M T V; M**^{lat} **N**^{lat} **vg**st

- *omit* — א* ful* mon tol
- *txt* — א^{1} A B C D F G am cav hub theo val *rell*

εν ευχαριστια: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V; (vgst)**

- *omit* — D* d Ambrosiaster Cyprian?
- *txt* — א A B C D^{2} F G (462 2344 *al* εν ευχαριστεια) (cav kar sangall *omit* en) *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:3 — προσεθχομενοι αμα και περι ημων ινα ο θεος ανοιξη ημιν θυραν του λογου λαλησαι το μυστεριον του χριστου δι ο και δεδεμαι

αμα: cited in **AP**

- ινα — א*
- *txt* — א^{2} A B *pm*

ανοιξη: cited in **AP T**

- ανοιξει — C*$^{vid\ apud}$ **AP** L 0278 462
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C^{2} D F G K Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 *pm*

του λογου: cited in **AP T**

- λογου — D* F G
- *omit* — 1911*
- *txt* — P^{46} D^{2} *rell*

λαλησαι: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- εν παρρησια λαλησαι — A
- *txt* — P^{46} א B C D F G 33 1739 *rell*

χριστου: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T U4 V**

- θεου — B* L 4 57 431 614 1319 2344 sa^{mss} eth; editions of **(Weiss)**
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ א A B^{c} C D F G K Ψ 048 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 33 81 104 256 263 330 365 436 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1962 2127 a b d f m am dem ful harl tol pesh hark sa^{mss} bo arm geo slav *rell;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

δι ο: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- δι ον — B F G (1912 di ou); editions of **(Lachmann)**
- *txt* — P^{46-vid}? א A C D K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 (223 1739 2412 *al* διο') d f vg goth *rell;* editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

δεδεμαι: cited in **M**

- δεομαι — 81 88 257 876 919
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G 33 (330 δεδεμε) 1739 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:4 — ινα φανερωσω αυτο ως δει με λαλησαι

ινα: cited in **AP T**

- ινα και — $D^{*,c}$
- *txt* — א A B C D^{1} F G 330 436 1739 d f *pm*

αυτο: cited in **AP (cf. M^{lat})**

- αυτω — D* 0151 1022 2344
- *txt* — (P^{46} .υτο) א A B C D^{1} F G K L 330 436 1739 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:5 — εν σοφια περιπατειτε προς τους εξω τον καιρον εξαγοραζομενοι

σοφια: cited in **T V**

- παση σοφια — 69
- *txt* — א A B C D F G K L 330 436 462 1739 *pm*

εξαγοραζομενοι: cited in **M**

- εξαγοραζομενοι οτι αι ημεραι πονηεραι εισιν — (330 αγοραζομενοι) 440?
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G K L 436 462 1739 (2344 αγοραζομενοι) *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:6 — ο λογος υμων παντοτε εν χαριτι αλατι ηρτυμενος ειδεναι πως δει υμας ενι εκαστω αποκρινεσθαι

υμων: cited in **AP T**

- ημων — D*
- υμων η — 0278 330
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D^2 F G K L Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 33 223 436 462 1739 1799 2412 d f *pm*

πως δει υμας: cited in **AP T**

- υμας πως δει — 049 3 209 436 2401
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G K L Ψ 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 223 330 462 1799 1960 2344 2412 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:7 — τα κατ εμε παντα γνωρισει υμιν τυχικος ο αγαπετος αδελφοω και πιστος διακονος και συνδουλος εν κθριω

τα: cited in **AP M T**

- τα δε — א* 0150 pesh arm Ephraem
- *txt* — P^{46} $א^2$ A B C D F G (330 th) 1739 *rell*

κατ εμε: cited in **AP T**

- καθ εμε — D*
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D^2 F G 1739 *rell*

και συνδουλος: cited in **AP T V**

- *omit* — א*
- *txt* — P46 א2 A B C D F G (Ψ και δουλος) 1739 *rell*

κυριω: cited in **AP**

- χριστω — 056 0142
- *txt* — P46 א A B C D F G K L Ψ 049 1739 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:8 — ον επεμψα προς υμας εις αυτο τουτο ινα γνωτς τα περι ημων και παρακαλεση τας καρδιας υμων

επεμψα: cited in **AP T**

- επενψα — D*
- *txt* — P46 א A B C D2 F G 1739 *rell*

γνωτε: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS; Mlat (Nlat)**

- γνω — P46 א2 C D1 K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 6 104 326 436 451? 629 630 1505 1739 1881 2464 2495 f am cav dem ful(*) harl hub theo tol val pesh hark samss bo geo slav goth Ambrosiaster; editions of **HF VS**
- *txt* — א* A B D*,c F G P 048 075 0278 33 69 81 88 256 263 322 323 330vid 365 398 462 1175 1241supp 1319 1908 1912 1962 2127 2344 a b d m gran wir arm; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V WH**

ημων: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS; Mlat**

- υμων — P46 א*,c C D1 K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 6 104 326 330 436 451 629 630 1241supp 1505 1739 1881 2464 2495 f am cav dem ful(*) harl hub theo tol val pesh hark samss bo geo slav goth Ambrosiaster; editions of **HF VS**
- *txt* — א2 A B D*,c F G P 048 075 0278 33 69 81 88 256 263 322 323 330 365 398 451 462 1175 1319 1908 1912 1962 2127 2344 a b d m arm; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V WH**

παρακαλεση: cited in **AP T**

- παρακαλεσαι — D* 0278
- παρακαλεσει — L P 075 0151 2401* 2344
- *omit* και παρακαλεση τας καρδιας υμων — 056 0142
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D^{2} F G K Ψ 049 0150 223 1739 1799 1960 2412 *pm*

✦✦✦

Colossians 4:9 — συν ονησιμω τω πιστω και αγαπητω αδελφω ος εστιν εξ υμων παντα υμιν γνωρισουσιν τα ωδε

πιστω και αγαπητω: cited in **AP T V**

- αγαπητω και πιστω — D F G 056 0142 1925 d f goth
- πιστω αγαπητω — 1022
- *omit* — 69
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

εστιν εξ υμων: cited in **AP (T); M^{lat} N^{lat} vg^{st} vg^{ww}**

- εξ εστιν υμων — 056^{*vid} 0142
- εξ υμων εστιν — vg^{cl}
- εστιν εξ ημων — $א^{2}$
- *txt* — P^{46} $א^{*,2c\text{-}vid}$ A B C D F G d f am bam cav ful harl leg reg sangall sanger tol val *rell*

παντα: cited in **AP T; (N^{lat} vg^{ww})**

- οι παντα — D* dem goth
- *txt* — P^{46} D^{2} F G d f am ful harl tol *pm*

γνωρισουσιν: cited in **AP [B] HF M T VS**

- γνωριυσιν — א* A C $D^{2\ apud}$ **T** K L 048^{vid} 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 33 223 330 436 462 876 1960 1739 1799 2344 2412; editions of **HF So T V VS**
- γνωρισωσιν — D* 0278
- γνωριζουσι — 69
- *txt* — P^{46} $א^{2}$ B C $D^{2\ apud}$ **AP** F G P Ψ 81 88 1611; editions of **B M N13 NEB UBS WH**

ωδε: cited in **AP M N13 N27 T V**

- ωδε πραττομενα — F G a b d f m vg Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — P^{46} D *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:10 — ασπαζεται υμας αρισταρχος ο συναιχμαλωτος μου και μαρκος ο ανεψιος βαρβαβα περι ου ελαβετε εντολας εαν ελθη προς υμας δεξασθε αυτον

μου: cited in **AP**

- μοι — 0151*
- *txt* — P^{46} K *pm*

εντολας: cited in **M**

- επιστολας — hark^{marg}
- *txt* — P^{46} א B C D F G 33 1611 1739 *pm*

δεξασθε: cited in **AP M T**

- δεξασθαι — (A^{apud} **AP**) D* F G 048 0150 33 181 256 462 1175 1319 1611 1739 2005 2127 2344 Ambrosiaster (N. B.: D, 462, etc. regularly confuse the endings -θε and -θαι)
- *txt* — (P^{46} δε.... θε) א (A^{apud} **M, T**) B C D^2 K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0151 81 104 223 330 436 876 1799 1960 2412 d? f? *rell*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:11 — κσι ιησους ο λεγομενος ιουστος οι οντες εκ περιτομης ουτοι μονοι σθνεργοι εις την βασιλειαν του θεου οιτινες εγενηθησαν μοι παρηγορια

και ιησους: cited in **AP T**

- και ο ιησους — D* (et $D^{c\ apud}$ **AP**)
- *txt* — P^{46} D^2 F G *pm*

συνεργοι: cited in **AP M T V; M^{lat} N^{lat} vgst vg^{ww}**

- συνεργοι μου εισιν — D* F G (P am cav ful^{c} hub leg reg sanger ulm εισιν συνεργοι) (330 συνεργοι εισιν) 1898 (a d f bam dem ful* gran sangall theo val εισιν συνεργοι μου) (arm συνεργοι μου?)
- *txt* — P$^{46–vid}$ *rell*

μοι: cited in **AP**

- εμοι — P^{46} 1739
- *txt* — א A B C D F G *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:12 — ασπαζεται υμας επαφρας ο εξ υμων δουλος χριστου ιησου παντοτε αγωνιζομενος υπερ υμων εν ταις προσευχαις ινα σταθητε τελειοι και πεπληροφορημενοι εν παντι θεληματι του θεου

χριστου ιησου: cited in **AP HF M N27 T U4 V VS**

- χριστου — P^{46} D F G K Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 (104^{apud} **N27**) 223 256 630 876 1319 1505 1739 1799 1881 1960 2127 2412 b d f pesh hark goth geo^{2} eth Ambrosiaster; editions of **HF NEB**
- *txt* — א A B C I L (P (436^{apud} **Davies, T**) 442 462 1241^{supp} 1962 pal sa arm *pc* ιησου χριστου) 0278 33 69 81 103 (104^{apud} **M, T, U4**) 326 330 365 (436^{apud} **U4**) 629 1175 1912 2344 2464 a m am dem ful harl tol bo arm geo^{1} slav; editions of **B M N13 So T (UBS χριστου [ιησου]) V VS WH**

υπερ υμων: cited in **AP T**

- υπερ ημων — א* 2344
- περι υμων — D* F G
- *txt* — (P^{46} υπερ υμ…) א^{2} A B C D^{2} 1739 *rell*

σταθητε: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T V VS; M^{lat}**

- στητε — א^{2} A C D F G K L P Ψ 049 075 0150 0150 0151 33 104 223 630 876 1175 1505 1739 1960 2412; editions of **HF So V**
- ητε — I 056 0142 122 327 452 462 464^{c} 1518 2401 2423 2464 a m oxon hark^{marg} Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — א* B 38 81 218 365 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 1906 1912 am cav ful hub theo tol val; editions of B **M N13 NEB T UBS (VS στ[αυ]ητε) WH**

τελειοι και: cited in **AP**

- τελειοι — Ψ 0278
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

πεπληροφορομενοι: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T VS**

- πεπληρωμενοι — P^{46} D^{2} K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 223 326 630 876 1175 1505 1799 1960 2412 pesh hark^{txt}; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — א A B C D*^{,c} F G 33 81 104 330 365 424^{c} 1241^{supp} 1739 (1881 πεπληρημενοι) 1912 1952 2464 hark^{marg}; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

εν παντι: cited in **AP T**

- παντι — P
- *txt* — P^{46} *rell*

θεληματι: cited in **AP**

- πληρωματι — 0278
- *txt* — P^{46} *pm*

του θεου: cited in **AP T V**

- θεουqeou — P 075 0151 1739 1908 *pc*
- του χριστου — D* d
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D^{2} F G K L Ψ 049 056 0150 0278 33 223 330 436 462 876 1799 1960 2344 2412 *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:13 — μαρτυρω γαρ αυτω οτι εχει πολυν πονον υπερ υμων και των εν λαοδικεια και των εν ιεραπολει marturw gar autw oti ecei polun ponon uper umwn kai twn en laodikeia kai twn en ierapolei

γαρ: cited in **M**[lat]

- *omit* — a cav
- *txt* — א A B C D F G d f am ful hub theo tol val *pm*

εχει: cited in **AP**

- εχη — 0151
- *txt* — א A B C D F G K *pm*

πολυν πονον: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T V VS**

- πολυν κοπον — D* F G 629
- πολυν ποθεν — (104 263 ποθεν πολυν) 442 1912
- πολθν αγωνα — 6 424[c] 1739 1881
- πολυν ζηλον — D[1] 075 (33[apud] **N13, T**) 1906 1908
- ζηλον πολυν — K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 (33[apud] **M, N27?**) 223 326 330 462 876 1799 1960 2344 2412; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — א A B C P 0278 81 (365 πονον πολυν) 436 1175 1241 2464; editions of **B M N13 NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

λαοδικεια: cited in **AP T**

- λαοδικια — א A B* C D* F G P 056 075 0142 0150 0278 330; editions of **T V VS WH**
- *txt* — B[2] D[2] K L Ψ 049 0151 223 436 462 876 (1739 λαοδικεια αδελφων) 1799 1960 2344 2412; editions of **B HF M N13 NEB So UBS**

και των εν ιεραπολει: cited in **M**[lat]

- omit — 330
- add *omnes* — a Pelagius?
- *txt* — א A B C D F G (436 omit en) 1739 (1799 και τον εν ιεραπολει) d f vg *pm* (**WH** ιερα πολει)

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:14 — ασπαζεται υμας λουκας ο ιατρος ο αγαπητος και δεμας

ο αγαπητος: cited in **M N13 N27 T V**

- *omit* — 33 642 1898 pal
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 (2401 omit ο ιατρος) *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:15 — ασπασασθε τους εν λαιδικεια αδελφους και νθμφαν και την κατ οικον αυτου εκκλησιαν

ασπασασθε: cited in **AP T**

- ασπαζεται — G*
- ασπαζεσται — F G^{c}
- *txt* — א A B C D (462 ασπασασθαι) 1739 *pm*

λαιδικεια: cited in **AP T VS**

- λαιδικια — ($P^{61–vid}$ .... δικια) א A B* C D* F G K P 075 0150 0278 330; editions of **T WH V VS**
- *txt* — B^{c} D^{c} L Ψ 049 056 0142 0151 223 436 462 876 1799 1960 2344 2412; editions of **B HF M N13(!) NEB So UBS**

νυμφαν και την κατ οικον αυτου εκκλησιαν: cited in **AP B HF M N13 N27 So T U3 U4 V VS**

- νθμφαν και την κατ οικον αυτης εκκλησιαν — B 0278 6 424[c] 1739 1877 1881 hark[txt] pal[ms] sa; editions of **N13 NEB[txt] So[marg] UBS WH**
- νθμφαν και την κατ οικον αυτων εκκλησιαν — א A C P 075 5 33 81 88 104 110 256 263 326 442 1175 1319 1906 1908 1912 1962 2127 2298 2464 2492 pal[ms] bo? slav; editions of **So[txt] T**
- *txt* — D (F G νθμφαν και οι την κατ οικον αυτου εκκλησιαν) K L Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 181 223 (330* 451 νυμφας) 365 436 462 614 629 630 876 (1241[supp] omit και) 1505 1799 1852 1960 2344 2412 pesh hark[marg] goth; editions of **B HF M NEB[marg] V VS**

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:16 — και οταν αναγωσθη παρ υμιν η επιστολη, ποιησατε ινα και εν τη λαοδικεων εκκλησια αναγνωσθη, και την εκ λαοδικειας ινα και υμεις αναγνωτε

επιστολη: cited in **AP M T; M[lat] vg[st] (vg[ww])**

- η επιστολη αυτη — 0278 3 4 69 209 241 256 323 436 442 462 1319 1845 2127 (dem sangall) bo?
- omit — B
- *txt* — א A C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 0142 0150 0151 (460 η αποστολη!) am bam cav ful gran leg reg sanger tol val *pm*

και εν: cited in **M[lat] vg[st]**

- και — oxon reg tol
- *txt* — א A B C D F G 1739 a d f am bam cav ful gran hub leg sanger theo val *pm*

τη λαοδικεων: cited in **AP HF M T**

- τη λαοδικαιων — א A C D* L P 056 075 0142 330 436 1799; editions of **HF[marg] VS**
- των λαοδικαιων — F G
- λαοδικαιων — 0278
- *txt* — B D[2] K Ψ 049 0150 0151 223 462 876 1739 1960 2344; editions of **B HF[txt] M N13 NEB So T UBS V WH**

εκ λαιοδικειας: cited in (**AP** “εν λαοδικειας”!) **M T**

- εκ λαοδικαιας — C
- εκ λαοδικιας — א A B* D* P 075 0150 0151* 0278; editions of **T V VS WH**
- εν λαοδικιας — F G
- *txt* — B^{2} D^{2} K L Ψ 048^{vid} 049 056 0142 0151^{c} 1739; editions of **B HF M N13(!) NEB So UBS**

ινα και: cited in **AP (M) T**

- και ινα — F G
- ινα — D* 1 103 440 d Ambrosiaster
- *txt* — א A B C D^{2} *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:17 — και επιατε αρχιππω βλεπε την διακονιαν ην παρελαβες εν κυριω ινα υατην πλυροις

αρχιππω: cited in **T**

- τω αρχιππω — 33 223 876 2401
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 436 462 1739 1799 1960 2344 2412 *pm*

βλεπε: cited in **AP M T V**

- βλεπεται — F G 33 1739*^{vid} (2344 βλεπετε)
- *txt* — P^{46} א A B C D K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 81 104 223 436 462 876 1175 1739^{c} 1799 1960 2344 2412 d f *pm*

✦ ✦ ✦

Colossians 4:18 — ο ασπασμος τη εμη χειρι παυλου μνημονεθετε μου των δεσμων η χαρις μεθ υμων

η χαρις: cited in **AP T; (M[lat]) N[lat] vg[st] (vg[ww])**

- χαρις — F G
- *add domini nostri (v.l. domini nostri Iesu Christi* ful, domini *iesu* bam gran sanger val[apud] **vg[st]**) a bam ful harl mon[c] oxon wir
- *txt* — P[46–vid] D (d f am cav hub karl (reg add *dei)* sanger theo tol val[apud] **M[lat]** caris *vel* h caris) *pm*

υμων: cited in **AP HF M N13 N27 T U3 U4 V VS**

- υμων αμην — א[2] D K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 88 104 181 223 256 263 326 330 365 (424[apud] **U4**) 436 451 462 629 630 876 1175 (1241[supp] ημων αμην) 1319 1505 1739[c] 1799 1912 1960 1962 2127 2344 2412 2464 2492 a b d (f[apud] **N13, N27, M, T**) m am colb dem ful tol pesh hark bo[mss] (arm[apud] **M, U4**) goth; editions of **HF**
- *txt* — א* A B C F G 048 6 33 81 (424[c apud] **T**) 1739*[vid] 1881 (f[apud] **U3, U4**) sa bo[mss] (arm[apud] **U3**[, ed. zoh apud] **T**) Ambrosiaster; editions of **B M NEB So T UBS V VS WH**

Analysis of the Text of Colossians

Based on the above, we can analyse the various critical editions cited.

To begin with, we find a total of **407** variants cited in these four chapters. That is, obviously, 102 variants per chapter, or 4.3 variants per verse. Of these 407, 14 are Latin-only, leaving **393** variants, or 4.1 per verse, which are cited in one or another Greek critical apparatus.

Breaking these down by edition (recalling that we list only “on the page” variants in Von Soden), we find that:
350/393 (89%) are cited in **AP**
312/393 (79%) are cited in **T**
167/393 (42%) are cited in **M**
121/393 (31%) are cited in **N27**
110/393 (28%) are cited in **N13**
101/393 (26%) are cited in **VS**
94/393 (24%) are cited in **V**
86/393 (22%) are cited in **HF**
46/393 (12%) are cited in **B**
36/393 (9%) are cited in **So**
29/393 (7%) are cited in **U4**
22/393 (6%) are cited in **U3**

Most of these variants, however, find themselves without support from *any* edition, either in text or margin. Taking all the above editions (plus occasional odd readings from Lachmann, Weiss, Tregelles, etc.), we find that there are **110** variants where the various editions disagree or at least show doubt (by placing a variant in the margin). Of these more interesting variants,

we find that:
110/110 (100%) are cited in **T**
109/110 (99%) are cited in **AP**
93/110 (85%) are cited in **M**
87/110 (79%) are cited in **VS**
86/110 (78%) are cited in **N27**
83/110 (75%) are cited in **N13**
79/110 (72%) are cited in **HF**
58/110 (53%) are cited in **V**
43/110 (39%) are cited in **B**
30/110 (27%) are cited in **So**
26/110 (24%) are cited in **U4**
20/110 (18%) are cited in **U3**

I note with interest the fact that Tischendorf heads this list, citing *every* variant between the editions. This means that the discoveries of the twentieth century (including P^{46}, the full publication of B, the other papyri and uncials, 1739, etc.) *have not caused the adoption of a single variant unknown to Tischendorf.* There are a handful of counter-examples to this rule in other New Testament books — but basically we're still using the variants known in the nineteenth century.

Another way of analyzing the apparatus is to examine the "uniqueness" of each variant. That is, taking each variant cited in the various editions, we'll see how many of our twelve apparatus support it. The table below shows the particular critical apparatus, the total number of variants it cites, and the count of how many other apparatus contain it. For example, the first line is for **AP**. It has 350 total variants. It is the only apparatus to contain 63 of them. Another 105 are found in only two apparatus, i.e. in **AP** and one other (usually Tischendorf). 60 readings are found in three or four apparatus. 82 readings are found in between five and eight apparatus. And 37 are found in nine or more of our twelve apparatus.

Apparatus	Tot Vars	Only app.	2 app.	3–4 app.	5–8 app	9+ app.
AP	350	63	108	60	82	37
B	46	0	0	0	16	30
HF	86	0	1	6	47	32
M	167	6	7	43	74	37
N13	110	0	0	5	68	37
N27	121	0	3	10	71	37
So	36	3	1	0	5	27
T	312	24	105	62	84	37
U3	22	0	0	0	1	21
U4	29	0	0	0	5	24
V	94	0	2	14	48	30
VS	101	0	1	14	53	33

Overall, there are 37 readings found in nine or more apparatus, 84 found in 5–8 apparatus, 62 found in 3–4 apparatus, 114 found in two apparatus, and 96 found in only one apparatus. Thus we note with astonishment that *every variant found in three or more apparatus is found in Tischendorf.* Even in the twenty-first century, though AP has more variants, Tischendorf does a better job of covering the variants of importance to critics.

What about the nature of the editors' texts? We can measure this in several ways. For example, let's look at how close each text is to the consensus of the other editions. We have 110 variants where the editions split, and eleven editions (counting all the UBS-based texts as one edition). That means that, if any edition agreed with all the others at any point, it would have 1100 agreements. The following list shows how often each of the editions agrees with the other 10, with the editions closest to the consensus shown first.

N13 agrees with the other 10 editions 923 times
B agrees with the other 10 editions 918 times
NEB agrees with the other 10 editions 915 times
M agrees with the other 10 editions 903 times
UBS agrees with the other 10 editions 900 times
WH agrees with the other 10 editions 899 times
So agrees with the other 10 editions 896 times
V agrees with the other 10 editions 896 times
T agrees with the other 10 editions 890 times
VS agrees with the other 10 editions 838 times
HF agrees with the other 10 editions 550 times

It will presumably be evident that there isn't much to choose between the various editions, except for Hodges and Farstad and Von Soden. By this measure, at least, all agree roughly

80% of the time. But this, we should note, is *not* the only measure of consensus. We can also measure how often each edition agrees with the majority of others.

That gives us *this* table:

Edition	Edition is Singular	1 supporter	2 supporters	3–5 supporters	6–8 supporters	8 supporters
B	0	0	1	10	24	75
HF	31	9	3	16	7	44
M	1	0	0	15	20	74
N13	0	0	0	10	25	75
NEB	0	1	0	11	23	75
So	0	3	2	10	20	75
T	1	1	2	13	19	74
UBS	2	0	1	10	24	73
V	0	1	1	16	17	75
VS	3	5	1	17	11	73
WH	1	0	1	14	20	74

The unique nature of the Hodges and Farstad edition (in this sample) will be obvious. The next most “interesting” edition is probably Von Soden. The *least* interesting edition is the Old Nestle, followed probably by Bover. These two come closest to the consensus of recent editors. (Whether that is good or bad of course is open to question.)

We can also engage in one other form of analysis: Agreement with various manuscripts and text-types. We’ll compare our various editions with five manuscripts (P^{46}, א, B, D, and 1739) and four significant editions (**HF, UBS, VS, WH**). (Think of **HF** as representing a Byzantine witness. It’s more representative of the type than any given manuscript.)

Edition	Agreements With								
	P^{46}	א	B	D	1739	HF	UBS	VS	WH
B	52	84	80	62	77	55	102	88	95
HF	29	48	32	45	67	—	49	66	46
M	45	81	75	57	74	60	91	91	92
N13	51	82	85	54	78	50	103	83	102
NEB	53	82	85	56	78	50	101	81	102
So	48	84	77	62	82	61	93	84	92
T	46	89	77	60	76	51	93	84	86
UBS	55	79	86	59	81	49	—	82	97
V	40	85	73	59	77	62	89	94	92
VS	45	85	66	57	78	66	82	—	85
WH	51	82	89	54	74	46	97	85	—

We should note that P^{46} exists for only 72 of our 110 readings. B and D are extant for all 110; א and 1739 each have one indeterminate reading.

Some conclusions are probably obvious from this data — e.g. the dependence of **N13** on **WH** and the dependence of **NEB** on **N13** and its successors. Other conclusions are left as an exercise for the reader.

Appendix VIII: Biographies of Textual Critics

Note: This section includes biographies only of critics who worked after the invention of printing. Editors such as Alcuin who worked during the manuscript era will be covered in the appropriate place in the history of their editions. Also, this list includes only dead critics, on the principle that living critics might still do something to enhance (or, indeed, damage) their reputations. Please note that this section is very incomplete, especially for recent critics.

Kurt Aland

1915–1994. Born in Berlin, and died in Münster/Westphalia. Perhaps the preeminent critic of the Twentieth Century; certainly one would be hard-pressed to name a critic with a greater list of achievements. It is harder to see whether Aland actually affected the practice of textual criticism.

Aland's publications are too numerous to list; we can only mention the works most accessible to students. Aland managed the apparatus of the Nestle-Aland editions starting with the twenty-first edition, and created the new and much more comprehensive format used for the twenty-sixth edition. He also produced the *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, which is now the most comprehensive Gospel synopsis in existence. He maintained the list of manuscripts after the death of Von Dobschütz and Eltester, and eventually released the *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments.* With his second wife Barbara, he wrote one of the standard introductions to New Testament textual criticism. He established the "Thousand Readings in a Thousand Minuscules" project which eventually resulted in the volumes of Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments.

Perhaps even more notable, Aland founded the Institute for New Testament Textual Research in Münster. This is the only college in the world devoted solely to NT textual studies. (Though one might wish it cast a slightly wider net, examining other textual traditions as well.)

Finally, Aland was one of the five editors responsible for the United Bible Societies text, the most widely-used New Testament text of the present period.

For all this, it is surprising to note how little influence Aland had on textual theory. Eldon Epp wrote two articles on "the Twentieth Century Interlude in Textual Criticism," and while Aland answered by pointing out a great deal of activity, very much of it work he himself had inspired or guided, he was unable to answer Epp's point that there had been no real methodological progress. Despite Aland, our textual theory is remains a matter of groping — of "Reasoned Eclecticism" (in which every textual critic does what is right in his own eyes) and arguments about the "Cæsareasn" text. This is a time during which everyone uses the UBS text though no one entirely accepts it.

Aland described his own theory as the "local-genealogical method." As described, this would seem to be an application of the rule "that reading is best which best explains the others": Aland creates a stemma of the readings in a particular variant, trying to determine which one is the source of all the others. In practice, however, Aland clearly preferred a strongly Alexandrian text. This means that his description must be modified: He constructed a genealogy *under the influence of the knowledge of text-types and the history of the text.* Now this, in theory, is probably the most correct method possible. But it only works if the history of the text is accurately known. Aland did not study this matter in any detail — he acknowledged only the Alexandrian and Byzantine texts, and had a Hort-like dislike of the Byzantine text. With these restrictions on his method, it's hardly surprising that few textual critics have adopted it.

Johann Albrecht Bengel

1687–1752. Born in Winnenden, Württemberg, Germany, and later Abbot of Alpirsach in that principality. His 1734 edition has been called the first Protestant attempt "to treat the exegesis of the New Testament critically" — a reference primarily to his *Gnomon* (1742), but also to his New Testament. What the latter actually was was a minimally revised edition of the Textus Receptus which had critically chosen readings in the margin. In practice, therefore, Bengel's importance rests not on his text, nor on his collations, which Scrivener notes are rather poor, but on the introduction to his text, his marginalia, and the articles which explained them. Beginning in 1725, Bengel discussed textual families (distinguishing the Asiatic text, which is our Byzantine text, and the African text, which is everything else). He also outlined critical principles, including the highly significant "prefer the harder reading." These modern principles caused Bengel to propose more changes to the Textus Receptus than any other edition before Lachmann's. (Bengel was the first to note how probable variants were, ranging from α for a certain reading on down to ε.) This, unfortunately, led to charges the the editor was perverting the scriptures (not for the last time!).

Richard Bentley

1662–1742. Classical and New Testament critic, and a master of many fields (portions of his correspondence with Sir Isaac Newton are preserved). His father died when he was thirteen, and his maternal grandfather sent him to Oxford. He earned his B.A. in 1680. Soon after, he became tutor to the son of the future Bishop of Worcester, and was able to browse the father's notable library, which allowed him to study many of the subjects previously closed to him. In the 1690s he served as one of William III's chaplains and also was keeper of the Royal Libraries. Appointed Master of Trinity College (Cambridge) in 1699/1700, he had already been interested in textual criticism (both sacred and secular) for some years. In the secular field, he edited Horace and Terence, discovered that Homer had used the digamma (F), exposed the *Epistles of Phaleris* as forgeries, and generally improved the tools available to practitioners in

the field — although he also ignited controversies which twice caused him to be removed from his duties at Trinity; he was accused (with justice) of despotism and arrogance. In 1720 he published a prospectus for a New Testament edition, including the final chapter of the Apocalypse as a sample, which included an outline of critical principles. In this he argued that a text based on early manuscripts would differ from the Textus Receptus in two thousand instances, and similarly from the Clementine Vulgate in two thousand instances. In fact Bentley did little with the manuscripts available to him; his critical apparatus was disorganized and the notes and collations he left are no better. (His personal life was much the same; he was constantly involved in scholarly and personal controversies; he was an intriguer and seemingly misappropriated university funds. He was lampooned in Pope's *Dunciad* — happily for Bentley, in book IV, which was not published until after Bentley's death. Swift also disliked and condemned him, although most of the criticisms are unfair. The simple truth is, Bentley was a bad administrator but a fine scholar.) Still, he recognized that the Textus Receptus would need significant alteration to agree with the best manuscripts; he is thus a forerunner of Lachmann. Bentley's critical rules, too, were radical; some still have significance today. Sadly, Bentley never completed his edition; he involved himself in many projects, and perhaps did not originally realize the amount of work needed to prepare an edition; in any case, his New Testament finally languished, and the money raised to pay for it had to be returned to the subscribers after his death.

John William Burgon

1813–1888. British conservative critic and Dean of Chichester. An intemperate defender of the Byzantine text and the Textus Receptus, remembered primarily for such polemic works as *The Revision Revised* and *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark*. Although most of the manuals speak only of the the uncompromising tone and reactionary zeal of his writings, Burgon was in fact an enterprising and careful student of manuscripts; his work in this area deserves to be remembered.

Burgon also earned a very minor measure of fame for his poetry, in particular the poem "Petra," which includes the famous lines
Match me such marvel save in Eastern clime,
A rose-red city half as old as Time.

(A line usually read as metaphorical, but Burgon was the type to believe in the literal truth of Genesis. So, to him, the world was 6000 years old and Petra about half that age.)

This should not be interpreted as a defence of Burgon's opinions. After all, in addition to his views in textual matters, this is the man who wrote, "Inferior to us God made you [women], and inferior to the end of time you will remain." The less said about his other views, the better.

A(lbert) C. Clark

Classical and New Testament scholar. LIke many textual "freethinkers," Clark came to NT criticism from work on classical texts — in this case, the orations of Cicero, on which he became the world's greatest authority. When he turned to the New Testament, he turned to the text of Acts, and tried diligently to stand criticism on his head. He noted, correctly, individual manuscripts tend to lose rather than gain text. He generalized this to mean that the canons of criticism *lectio brevior praeferenda* is false. This position is defensible, and to some extent the answers to Clark talked past his points. But when Clark attempted to reconstruct the text of Acts based on these principles, he perhaps went too far, developing a general preference for the "Western" text regardless of other criteria. Few of Clark's results have been accepted, even though there are probably useful cautions in his writings.

Desiderius Erasmus

1469?–1536. Humanist; editor of the first published Greek New Testament. The (obviously illegitimate) son of a priest, Erasmus had a clerical education and became a monk, but later was granted a release from his vows. Very much a humourist, works such as *In Praise of Folly* poked fun at the problems in the church. Still, Erasmus was not a Protestant, and did not rebel against the Catholic Church as Luther did.

It is unfortunate for him that copyright did not exist in his time; *In Praise of Folly* is said to have gone through 39 editions in his lifetime, and it is said that in some years he authored more than one-tenth of all books sold. Had he earned royalties, he would have been rich. As it was, he eventually left England (e.g.) because he couldn't make a living.

Erasmus is, of course, the editor of the Textus Receptus, as well as the author of assorted religious and secular writings. His critical skills are often held in contempt — and it is certainly true that the Textus Receptus is a poor monument indeed, with a text mostly Byzantine but with enough peculiar readings to make it a bad representative of the type. The early editions also contained a number of typographical errors that was simply astonishing. Still, Erasmus did about as well as could have been expected in his time; all the materials known to him (except the Vulgate and 1^{eap}) were Byzantine. Erasmus did exercise a certain amount of critical judgement, and — odd as it sounds — where he departs from the Byzantine text, it is more often than not in the direction of the early manuscripts.

Robert Estienne (Stephanus)

1503–1559. French (later Genevan) publisher. Stephanus was not a textual critic as such, but his several editions of the Greek New Testament offered noteworthy innovations. His most important work was his third edition (1550). Textually it is just another Textus Receptus, but in

the margin it includes the readings of over a dozen manuscripts plus the Complutensian Polyglot — symbolized by Greek numbers; the manuscripts are believed to have included the uncials D^{ea}, L^{e} and the minuscules 4^{e}, 5, 6, 7e, 8 (probably), 9 (possibly), 38 (possibly), 82, 120, 398, 2298; also certain seemingly lost manuscripts, e.g. Tischendorf's $8^{a}/10^{p}$, 3^{r}. The citations were neither complete nor particularly accurate, but they were at least specific; the manuscripts are cited individually. His fourth edition of 1551, published after he went to Geneva and became a Protestant, is also noteworthy, as it pioneered our modern system of verses.

Like most names associated with the Textus Receptus, such as Froben and Desiderius Erasmus, the Stephanus family tends to be held in low esteem today. This is unfair. Henri Estienne, who founded the business, became a printer when he married Guyonne Viart, the widow of a printer named Jean Higman. McMurtrie, p. 328, notes that he actually counted one of John Calvin's theological teachers among his editors. Henri died in 1520, and his widow went on to marry Simon de Colines (talk about inspiring a lot of printers!). Henri's second son Robert is "the" Estienne/Stephanus. So determined was he to set a high standard for scholarship that he and his wife (herself an excellent classical scholar) actually used Latin as the language of their home. Stephanus's importance was not confined to publishing a Greek Bible. He published many scholarly works, including a Vulgate edition and multiple editions of the Hebrew Bible. He also produced the noteworthy *Thesaurus linguae latinae* (first of several editions in 1531), plus Latin/French dictionaries. The publishing house's Greek, Latin, and Hebrew dictionaries would quickly became standard. Supposedly he actually offered rewards to anyone who could find errors in his proof sheets (which he hung outside his shop to let people examine them; McMurtrie, p. 330).

They also produced beautifully-typeset books. Unlike the cramped, unreadable editions of Froben, a Stephanus book in Latin was incredibly handsome, often using type based on the designs of the gifted Claude Garamond. Looking at samples of their works, it is hard to tell them from modern printing except the for the use of the old form of s (ſ, the one that looks like an f). Indeed, their beautiful ligatures and initial caps are something modern printers might want to think about reviving — the books really are works of art. Too bad their Greek works used the hideous sorts of fonts that the Aldine press had pioneered (for more on this, see again the article on Books and Bookmaking).

For much of his life, Stephanus had the patronage of François I of France; his migration to Geneva (1550) was a side effect of that monarch's death in 1547. François I, incidentally, collected all of Stephanus's Greek works; from this would eventually grow the first copyright library.

Although Robert was the most noteworthy member of the Estienne family, his brothers and the members of the next generation were of some note (though they had little influence on textual

criticism). Robert's older brother François was a bookseller, though not a very important publisher; he died in 1553. Charles *(c.* 1504–1564), the youngest brother, was a famous in his day for his scholarship and teaching; he published a noteworthy edition of Cicero in 1555, as well as assembling ancient materials on subjects such as medicine and agriculture. He took over Robert's printing office in 1555, but went bankrupt in 1561 and ended his life in prison.

Robert's son Henri (Henri II, 1528–1598) continued his father's business in Geneva, and though his productions did not gain the fame of his father's, he produced an important Greek dictionary and various works of classical authors. He too ended up in trouble with the authorities and left Geneva in 1578, apparently never settling down after that (McMurtrie, p. 332). Another son, Robert (II) took over the printing office of Charles and died in 1571, though the firm was nearly bankrupt by then. A third son, François (1537–1582), was also a printer, in both Geneva and Paris; apparently he and his descendents kept the Stephanus imprint alive into the seventeenth century.

Arthur L. Farstad

1935–1998. American conservative critic and Majority Text advocate. Editor, with Zane C. Hodges, of *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text.* One-time president of the Majority Text Society. Active in the translation of the New King James Version.

John Fell

1625–1686. Classical and New Testament critic. Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, (Anglican) Bishop of Oxford, and one of the most important figures in the history of the Oxford University Press. Fell acquired better type and equipment for the press, internalized the financing (bearing some of the responsibility himself), and set up a regular schedule for the publication of classical authors. He was also vital in re-establishing Oxford after the Restoration of 1660; the Civil War and the strict rules of the Cromwell era had thrown the University (which had been a key center for the deposed Charles I) into chaos. He was also a notable scholar, having earned his M.A. at the age of 18. He supposedly preached his sermons in blank verse.

Fell's contributions to New Testament criticism are not as great, but still notable; he edited an edition of Cyprian, and also published a New Testament in 1675. This volume did not have a noteworthy text (differing only very slightly from the Elzevir 1633 edition of the Textus Receptus), but it has, for the time, an unusually full apparatus (though most of the materials cited were available elsewhere). It also had an introduction discussing the practice of textual criticism.

Somewhat later, Fell encouraged the work of John Mill, though Fell's death meant that Mill had to find other support for the publication of his work. Thus it is truly sad that Fell should be best

remembered for Thomas Brown(e)'s doggerel adaption of Martial which begins "I do not love (thee/you), Doctor Fell."

Supposedly this incident arose when Brown's college was about to expel him. Fell declared that he would allow Brown to stay if he could translate, off the top of his head, Martial's lines
Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare;
Hoc tantum possum dicere, None amo te.
Brown came up with his quip in response — but, amazingly, was not expelled, and even wrote a non-insulting epitath for Fell.

Caspar René Gregory

1846–1915†. American/German student of manuscripts. His first great accomplishment was his preparation of the prolegomena to Tischendorf's eighth edition (1884–1894). In 1908 he published his great catalog of manuscripts, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments,* providing for the first time a comprehensive and (usually) orderly arrangement of the materials known to critics. Like his predecessor Tischendorf, Gregory sought out and made available large numbers of manuscripts, though he did not edit an edition. As a critic Gregory was not particularly original; he generally accepted the theories of Westcott and Hort. Although of American ancestry, he adopted Germany as his homeland, and volunteered on the German side in World War I. He was accepted despite his age, and killed in battle in 1915.

Bernard Pyne Grenfell

1870–1926. As an Oxford student, he had been planning to study economics when the publication of the newly-found copy of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* turned him to papyriology. He was chosen in 1895 to work with David George Hogarth on an exploration of the Fayum. Hogarth soon left to pursue excavations in Mesopotamia instead, and Grenfell was joined by a young friend, Arthur Surridge Hunt (died 1934). The two worked together for most of the next thirty years, with most of the interruptions being forced (e.g. Hunt served in the First World War, and Grenfell was often ill in his later years). They were not really Bible scholars, being interested in *everything* they turned up, but their many discoveries, including the famous Oxyrhynchus Papyri, had a great deal of effect on Biblical criticism.

Johann Jakob Griesbach

1745–1812. German critic, who exercised great influence in many Biblical disciplines. He studied at Tübingen, Halle (where he studied under J. Semler), and Leipzig, becoming a professor at Jena in 1775. He is considered responsible for synoptic studies, first using the term "synoptic" in his *Commentarius Criticus* in 1811.

But if Griesbach's influence on synoptic studies was great, his influence on textual criticism is perhaps even more fundamental. Although it was Semler who introduced Griesbach to the theory of text-types, Griesbach is largely responsible for the modern view of types. It was Griesbach who popularized the names Alexandrian, Byzantine, and Western. He also paid particular attention to matters not previously studied in depth — e.g. patristic quotations and the Armenian version.

Griesbach published a list of fifteen critical canons, which he exercised with much greater skill than most of those who followed him (e.g. while he accepted the rule that we should prefer the shorter reading, he hedged it around with many useful warnings — not just those about scribal errors, author's style, and nonsense readings, but also warning of the dangers of omission of non-essential words such as prepositions). It is probably fair to say that while most modern critics accept most of Griesbach's rules, they do not apply them with nearly as much skill. (The standard example of Griesbach's skill is that he deduced the Vaticanus text of the Lord's Prayer in Luke 11:2–4 working only from the handful of minuscules and uncials known to him.)

Griesbach published several editions of the New Testament text (1775–1777, 1796–1806, 1803–1807). Textually, these did not differ greatly from the Textus Receptus, because Griesbach made it a policy only to print readings already printed by some other editor — but his extensive margin noted many other good readings, and (more to the point) he used a system to note where these readings were as good as or better than those in the text. This was a fundamental forerunner of the {A}, {B}, {C}, {D} notations found in the United Bible Societies Editions. It is safe to say that all more recent critical editions have been influenced by the work of Griesbach.

J(ames) Rendel Harris

1852–1941. British critic and paleographer. Born in Plymouth, England, he was a life-long Quaker. A graduate of Cambridge, he taught at several universities before becoming curator of manuscripts at the John Rylands library (1918–1925). He never produced an edition, but authored some useful general works (e.g. *New Testament Autographs*, 1882) and many journal articles; he also collated such important manuscripts as 892.

Fenton John Anthony Hort

1828–1892. British critic and professor at Cambridge. Arguably the greatest textual critic of his age. Best known for the New Testament edition which he edited with Brooke Foss Westcott. What made this edition so important, however, was not its text (though it has been the model for all editions since) but its *Introduction [and] Appendix,* which was entirely the work of Hort. In it, Hort outlined his theory of text-types (which was adapted from Griesbach and his predecessors). In the process, Hort is considered to have destroyed all claims that the

Byzantine Majority text is early. This is perhaps the most important effect of Hort's work; nearly every Greek text edited since his time has been "Hortian." (For discussion of his arguments, see the article on the Byzantine Priority position.)

Hort was also a member of the committee which prepared the English Revised Version, and most of that edition's departures from the Byzantine Text were made on the advice of Hort. (The committee's policy was reportedly to hear the arguments of Hort and Scrivener and then vote on which reading to adopt.)

A(lfred) E(dward) Housman

1859–1936. British poet and critic, best known to the public for his poetry. (Only two books of his poetry — *A Shropshire Lad,* 1896, and *Last Poems,* 1922 — appeared in his lifetime, but among recent poets they are second only to Kipling in their folk/popular sense and second to none in their straightforward lyricism; this is probably the source of his popularity.) Housman was, however, a textual critic of note, publishing an edition of Marcus Manilius (1903–1930) and various essays which are at once highly influential and, for the most part, readable. It is perhaps characteristic of Housman (believed by many to have been a repressed homosexual and certainly a recluse) that he chose to work on Manilius, an obscure author (of a five-volume poetic work, "Astronomica") whose works held little personal appeal to him.

Housman never engaged in New Testament criticism; his beliefs would probably have caused him to avoid it even had he been invited to do so. (He seems to have been homosexual, and the Anglican position on sexuality at the time was not something with which he could agree.) His essays on criticism are, however, widely quoted, both for their common sense and their (sometimes sarcastic) cleverness. Despite his brilliance, one must resist the temptation to hold him in too high an esteem; his warnings against over-reliance on particular critical principles are valid, but his warnings, e.g., against the cult of the "best manuscript" should not cause us to esteem all manuscripts equally. In addition, he was perfectly willing to resort to personal insult in scholarly argument (e.g. he wrote of Elias Stroeber, who published an edition of Manilius, that "[his] mind, though that is no name to call it by, was one which turned as unswervingly to the false.... as the needle to the pole," and wrote of his edition that it "saw the light in.... Strasbourg, a city still famous for its geese.") It is also worth remembering that Housman's work on Manilius involved a degree of conjectural emendation which most New Testament critics would consider unacceptable.

Karl Lachmann

1793–1851. German philologist and critic. Trained in classical studies, Lachmann enunciated the principle that agreement in error implies identity of origin. Lachmann used this principle to

create a stemma for the manuscripts of Lucretius; his resulting edition is considered a landmark of classical textual criticism.

From Lucretius, Lachmann turned his attention to the New Testament, publishing the first edition of the NT to be completely free of the influence of the Textus Receptus (1831; second edition 1842–1850). This was, obviously, a great milestone in the history of the New Testament text, and arguably the most important single event in New Testament textual criticism. It should be noted, however, that Lachmann's edition was far from perfect. He undertook to publish "the" text of the fourth century — an entity which demonstrably never existed, and in any case it is not the original text. Nor did Lachmann use his critical methods on the New Testament manuscripts; he simply took a handful of early witnesses and adopted the reading of the majority. The resultant text was certainly better than the Textus Receptus, but it was neither consistent nor particularly close to modern editions.

The *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* sums up Lachmann's six textual criteria as follows:

- Nothing is better attested than that in which all authorities agree.
- The agreement has less weight if part of the authorities are silent or in any way defective.
- The evidence for a reading, when it is that of witnesses of different regions, is greater than that of witnesses of some particular place, differing either from negligence or from set purpose.
- The testimonies are to be regarded as doubtfully balanced when witnesses from widely separated regions stand opposed to others equally wide apart.
- Readings are uncertain which occur habitually in different forms in different regions.
- Readings are of weak authority which are not universally attested in the same region.

It will be observed that these are canons of external evidence, to a large extent anticipating Streeter's theory of local texts. They go far to explain the peculiarities of Lachmann's edition.

In addition to his works on classical and biblical texts, Lachmann did a great deal of work on early German writings. In some instances, his edition remains the standard critical text. (This fact seems not to get much attention in the annals of textual criticism.)

Agnes Smith Lewis (and Margaret Dunlop Gibson)

fl. 1900. Scottish twin sisters who lost their mother before they were a year old, both women were widowed soon after marriage, and spent the rest of their lives hunting manuscripts and other scholarly prizes. Their most important find was surely the Sinai Old Syriac palimpsest,

which they discovered in 1892. But they also brought back to England a number of Hebrew documents from the Cairo Geniza — among them the first fragment of the Hebrew version of Ben Sirach, which was identified by Solomon Schechter (later famous for his work on the Damascus Document, which also first surfaced in the Geniza).

Carlo M. Martini

1927–2012. Italian Cardinal, and one of the strongest liberal voices in the Roman Catholic church around the beginning of the twenty-first century. Generally known more for his political positions (he vigorously called on the Catholic church to modernize its institutions), he was one of the five editors of the United Bible Societies text.

Bruce M. Metzger

1913–2007. American scholar, who graduated with a Bachelor's from Lebanon Valley college in 1935, then added a theology degree from Princeton Seminary in 1938. Ordained into the Presbyterian Church in 1939, he earned his doctorate in classics from Princeton in 1942. His most remembered contribution will probably be his part on the five-man committee which prepared the United Bible Societies text. In addition to his work in editing the text, he prepared the supplementary volume.

Beginning students may well also encounter his introduction to textual criticism or his book on the New Testament versions. He also published a large number of books not related to textual criticism.

He was not, in most regards, a pioneer; his textual views were very largely "Hortian." But his activity and longevity did much to make textual criticism accessible to a slightly broader public.

Eberhard Nestle

1851–1913. German scholar, father of Erwin Nestle. He published an influential handbook of criticism, as well as a number of scholarly articles. But he is primarily remembered for his edition of the New Testament text — this despite the fact that he can hardly be said to have "edited" an edition. His work was entirely mechanical (comparing the editions of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf, and a third, originally that of Weymouth, later that of Weiss); today, it could have been edited by a computer. (For details, see the article on the The Nestle Text.) But this accomplishment, trivial as it seems on its face, was to have important results: As Gregory observed, the British and Foreign Bible Society was somehow convinced to adopt the Nestle text in place of the Textus Receptus. This would have a fundamental effect on translations into many modern languages, and also make make texts based on ancient manuscripts more respectable.

Erwin Nestle

1883–1972. German scholar, son of Eberhard Nestle. Noteworthy primarily for taking and updating his father's "Nestle Edition." Erwin Nestle deserves the credit for supplying the Nestle text with a full critical apparatus (beginning with the thirteenth edition); although the witnesses cited have been increased in the more recent Nestle-Aland editions, the variants noted are still almost without exception those listed by Erwin Nestle.

F(rederick) H(enry) A(mbrose) Scrivener

1813–1891. British writer and manuscript editor. A contemporary of scholars such as Westcott and Hort, Scrivener did not share their views. Usually portrayed as a supported of the Majority Text, Scrivener's opinions (as revealed by his great work *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,* fourth edition revised by Edward Miller, 1894) are in fact much more nuanced. As opposed to scholars such as Burgon who always preferred the Majority Text, Scrivener revered the older manuscripts and generally would not accept a reading which did not have early support. Still, all things being equal, he preferred the Majority reading. As a member of the committee which prepared the English Revised Version, Scrivener was the chief spokesman for the Byzantine text, and the normal policy was for readings to be decided by the committee after Scrivener and Hort stated the case for each.

Scrivener never compiled a text, but he was, after Tischendorf, perhaps the greatest publisher of manuscripts of any age. Since Tischendorf did not see fit to update Scholz's manuscript catalog, Scrivener numbered new manuscripts as he became aware of them. This system conflicted with the "old Gregory" numbering, and has been abandoned since the publication of the "new Gregory" system — but is still occasionally met with in publication such as Hoskier's collation of 700 (Scrivener's 604) and the same author's apparatus of the Apocalypse.

Johann Salomo Semler

1725–1791. German critic and rationalist. Semler did not publish an edition (though he produced an edition of Wettstein's Prolegomena, with some additional material, in 1764), and he did not set forth new principles. His work was more theoretical, as he was a student of text-types. Starting with the "African" and "Asian" groups of Bengel, Semler offered three text-types, "Eastern" (the Byzantine text, which he associated — as have many since — with Lucian), "Western" (as found primarily in the Latin versions), and "Alexandrian" (as found in Origen and the Coptic and Ethiopic versions). Thus Semler is the original source of the Griesbach/Hort theory of "Western," "Alexandrian," and "Byzantine" types. It was Semler who brought the word "recensions" into the context of New Testament criticism (unfortunately bringing a new, non-classical meaning to the word; in classical criticism, a recension is the result of deliberate critical work).

Since Semler's text-critical work was so significant, it is sad to have to note that he could be fooled in other fields. According to John Buckinghm, *Chasing the Molecule,* he was persuaded to purchase an alchemical product called *Luftsalz*, or atmospheric salt. The claim was that this material, if kept warm and moist, spontaneously generated gold. Initial tests seemed to validate this claim: The vessels containing the glop (it apparently was a mix of sodium sulphate, magnesium sulphate, and urine) yielded small amounts of gold every few days. But eventually the vessels started yielding pinchbeck (an alloy of copper and zinc which resembled gold). It seems Semler's servant had been putting gold in the flasks to keep the old professor happy, and eventually his wife had decided to save some cash. Semler apparently never figured out the fake on his own.

Constantine von Tischendorf

1815–1874. In full, Lobegott Friedrich Constantin von Tischendorf. A full biography is simply impossible in the space I'm willing to grant (and I don't have the materials anyway). Although called a German, nearly all his active work was done before Germany was united; he spent his entire career at the University of Leipzig, though of course he spent much of his professional life travelling to places such as Mount Sinai. He was born in the town of Lengenfeld in what was then Saxony, the son of a physician. A top-ranked student at the Plauten Gymnasium, he was early exposed to Greek and Latin (though the way they taught it caused Tishchendorf to pronounce Greek with a sort of Hochdeutsch accent which later caused him some trouble with Easterners whose pronunciation differed significantly). His fascination — inspired by an article by Lachmann, though the two had very bad relations once Tischendorf stared publishing — was with manuscripts; they were the reason for his globetrotting expeditions, and most of his time at home was devoted to publishing his finds. Immediately upon graduating from Leipzig University, while teaching at a Leipzig school under the direction of his future father-in-law, he started work on his first New Testament edition. His work was successful enough to earn him an appointment at Leipzig University. He also became engaged at this time — but that didn't stop him from making his first major expedition; in 1840, he set out for Paris. This first expedition lasted five years, and had as its chief result his edition of Codex Ephraemi — his first great achievement. It was some three years later that he set out for the east, eventually visiting many monasteries in Egypt. Near the end of the trip, he ended up at Mount Sinai, where he made his most famous discovery, the Codex Sinaiticus. We should not forget, though, that he found dozens of other manuscripts, publishing most of the uncials. He also provided the best information on Codex Vaticanus available to that time. (It should be added that his relations with the Papacy were fine; Pope Gregory XVI even made him a knight of the order of the North Star. He was denied access *only* to B, and that seems to have been entirely the fault of Cardinal Mai.)

Tischendorf published editions of many different ancient works, such at the LXX (four editions, 1850–1869) and the Vulgate, but these frankly were of little interest. (Some were of such slight value that even Gregory, who admired Tischendorf and continued his work, though Tischendorf should not have put his name on them.) His major work consisted of his eight editions of the New Testament (the first published in 1840) — though in fact the first seven of these were not really critical editions, any more than were his LXX and vulgate texts; rather, they were collections of manuscript data. And Gregory describes the fourth as the first with a significant apparatus and text. The seventh (1859) had a worse text though a fuller apparatus. Thus it was not until his eighth edition (1865–1872) that Tischendorf finally put his lifetime of experience to work. It is sad to note that it was not really a particularly insightful edition, being based on no theory of the text and with biases toward certain manuscripts. (For details, see the relevant entry in the article on Critical Editions.) By the time it was completed (or, rather, completed except for the prologue, which was vitally necessary and which he did not manage to produce), Tischendorf was rather a sick man; he suffered a stroke in 1873 and died at the end of 1874, leaving almost no useful papers behind, leaving it to Gregory to create the introduction as best he could.

Samuel Prideaux Tregelles

1813–1875. British scholar and editor. Almost entirely self-taught, Tregelles was the British Tischendorf. He did not discover as many manuscripts, and he published only one edition, but he too spent much of his life gathering data; he and Tischendorf not infrequently compared collations. At the end of his life, Tregelles prepared his single edition of the text, based exclusively on the oldest manuscripts. The resultant text is generally similar to Tischendorf's, but — due to its more limited critical apparatus — does not receive much attention today. This is rather unfortunate; having worked over his text to some extent, I would have to say that he was a most sensitive and intelligent critic; one wishes he could have worked with all the materials now known. But he had no real access to Vaticanus, and Sinaiticus was Tischendorf's find, and manuscripts such as 1739 and the Koridethi Codex and the papyri were still unknown; Tregelles had few materials at his disposal. In this sense it might honestly be said that Tregelles's greatest contribution lay in encouraging the work of Westcott and Hort.

Hermann Freiherr von Soden

1852–1914.

Brooke Foss Westcott

1825–1901. One of the great scholars of nineteenth century England. He studied both mathematics and classics at Trinity College, Cambridge (though, curiously, his mathematical

training does not seem to have influenced his textual studies at all, or at least he did not manage to convey them to his colleague Fenton John Anthony Hort, who uses statistics very poorly in his introduction to the Westcott & Hort edition). Westcott became a fellow of Trinity in 1849, was ordained in 1851, and became an assistant master at Harrow in 1852. He reportedly was not a good classroom teacher (and this is reflected to some extent in his voluminous writings, which — though intelligent and insightful — are not particularly enjoyable reading). In 1870 he became Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and set out to reform the teaching methods and qualifications for a theology degree. Canon of Westminster from 1883, he became Bishop of Durham in 1890, and in that role was instrumental in dealing with the labour problems of the Durham coal miners — so much so that even the Methodists among them attended his sermons. He was an active minister all his life, preaching his last sermon at the Durham Miner's Gala just a week before his death.

Despite his extraordinary accomplishments, however, Westcott is remembered in textual circles for at most two things: his part in the preparation of the English Revised Version, and (first and foremost) his collaboration with Hort to produce their New Testament. The theory behind this edition, it is generally agreed, was Hort's, and it was Hort who explained it in the Introduction, but Westcott was not a passive collaborator, as is shown by the various readings where the two scholars disagreed. What Westcott might have accomplished as a textual scholar without his multi-decade collaboration with Hort can hardly be determined at this time.

There is a recent biography: Graham A. Patrick, *The Miner's Bishop: Brooke Foss Westcott,* first edition published by OSL in 2002, second edition by Epworth Press 2004. Patrick says that his work is not a critical biography, but it is the only serious study to date. There was, to be sure, a volume *Life and Letters of Brooke Fosse Westcott* published in 1903 by Westcott's son — but if you've ever read one of those Victorian life-and-letters volumes, they aren't really biographies, just anthologies.

Johann Jakob Wettstein

1693–1754. A major collector of variants. According to Weiss, he wanted to publish an edition based only on early manuscripts, but was forced to print the Textus Receptus instead because his printer refused to publish a critically edited text. Still, his collection of variants was used by many after him, and he collated a few materials since lost (such as some now lost portions of F^e).

Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros

1437–1517. Spanish Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo. The driving force behind the Complutensian Polyglot, though he was not directly involved in editing the work and did not live

to see it published (the work was complete at the time of his death, but Papal authorization was not forthcoming for another three years).

It may seem ironic to produce such a long entry about a man who had so little to do with actual textual criticism, but probably no man involved in critical activity had more secular influence (and I include even the Popes who commissioned the official printed editions of the Vulgate). And, to understand Ximenes requires us to know about his secular activities. He was a great patron of learning (he founded the university of Alcala), and early in his career, before his promotion, was confessor to Queen Isabella of Castille (so p. 205 of Charles E. Chapman, *A History of Spain*, Macmillan, 1918; I use the 1965 Free Press edition). After her death, he helped rule Castile, and he was long an advisor to King Ferdinand of Aragon. But he also persecuted heretics, and his determination and that of the Inquisition effectively snuffed out the revival of learning he has encouraged. (You'd think that a man who had himself spent six years in prison because of a cleric's accusations would have had better sense.) He also ruined the settlement between the Christians and Moors of conquered Granada. The phrase "wise fool" might have been invented for him.

Those looking to find him in secular histories probably should not look under Ximénes, even though this seems to be the standard name in New Testament textbooks. Of the histories I am using, the oldest (Chapman) files him under "Ximenes," but Rhea Marsh Smith, *Spain: A Modern History,* University of Michigan Press, 1965) gives his name as Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, indexed under Cisneros. This is also the usage of J. H. Elliot, I*mperial Spain: 1469–1716* (Penguin, 1963; I use the 1990 edition).

In the long run, Ximenes probably did Spain much harm due to his intolerance: "The Catholic Kings made their triumphal entry into Granada in January 1492.... but they did not respect their promise of tolerance and humanity to the Moors. In 1499 the [new Christian] bishop succumbed to the influence of.... Cisneros.... who demanded a more aggressive policy in the conversion of the Moors… [T]he zeal of the archbishop caused him to try to extirpate both the writings and the 'paganism' of the Moors. The Inquisition was extended to Granada and many Moslems, under harsh compulsion, were superficially converted to Christianity" (Smith, p. 108). Elliot, p. 52, says of his behavior, "The principal advocate of a more forceful policy was Archbishop Cisneros of Toledo, who came to Granada with Ferdinand and Isabella in 1499. With the blinding unawareness of the zealot, he.... launched out on a policy of forcible conversion and mass baptism. His activities soon yielded predictable result: The Moors became nominal Christians in their thousands, and in November 1499, an ill-considered rising broke out.... The aftermath of the edict was to be unsatisfactory to the Christians and barely tolerable to the Moors. Convinced that the agreements of 1491–2 had been perfidiously broken, they clung with all the fervour of resentment to their traditional rites and customs." Ximenes, according to Chapman, p. 205, used the rebellion as an excuse to completely set aside the treaty promising toleration; the Moslems ended up either leaving Spain or converting.

It was long before these nominally Christian “Moriscos” became true Spanish citizens. Yet he would go on to extend the Inquisition to Africa and the Americas, though in a less extreme form (Chapman, p. 223).

Ximenes in fact became head of the Inquisition in Castile in 1507 (Smith, p. 125). The result was a major revolt and the expulsion of the Moors in 1502. The Jews had also been expelled around this time. Those two acts certainly left Spain culturally much weaker, and probably contributed to the decline in its vitality over the next several centuries.

Ximenes also seems to have tried for a land grab in North Africa without properly considering the consequences (Smith, p. 118; Elliot, p. 53). The Spanish managed to maintain a few footholds, but not enough to exert any actual control over the African Moslems; it could be argued that this particular act encouraged the establishment of the Barbary States. A second attempt to gain control of Algiers in 1516 was no more successful (Smith, p. 139).

The University of Alcala (Complutum) was Ximenes’s other major contribution to learning; he founded it in 1508. Smith, p. 129, says that it was endowed with 22 professorships in ancient languages, rhetoric, and philosophy. Elliot, p. 105, says that “Cisneros, if not himself strictly a humanist, at least grasped the urgent need to harness the new humanistic studies to the service of religion.” But the older schools of Castile and Aragon apparently opposed the new curriculum; Spanish intellectual contributions to the counter-reformation would be relatively slight. And Ximenes did nothing to bring education to the Spanish population as a whole, which remained highly ignorant; even the educated classes often preferred to go abroad for education (Smith, p. 129).

Ximenes also set out to reform the Spanish clergy; many who had lived in luxury ended up leaving their monasteries — some even choosing to turn Muslim rather than submit to his rules (Chapman, pp. 216–217). As with so much that he did, this was surely a mixed blessing: The clergy was purer, and less of a drain on the rest of society — but it was probably also stupider, since the most intelligent clerics were also the less ascetic ones.

Ximenes’s contributions to Spanish politics extended beyond the religious sphere (to the extent that anything in Spanish politics extended beyond the religious sphere). The children of Ferdinand and Isabella were a son, Juan, who died in 1497 without issue, and several daughters, Catherine (the first wife of Henry VIII of England), Juana, and Isabella. When Isabella the mother died in 1504, Juana was heir to the throne of Castile — but her grip on reality was slight; she came to be called “Juana La Loca,” or “ Joanna the Mad.” (In recent years, some scholars have questioned whether she was really insane; possibly she was shoved aside to avoid having a second ruling queen in Castile. But it doesn’t really matter whether she was of sound mind or not; what matters is, she was treated as incapable of handling Castile’s affairs.) There was a scramble to take control of the reins of Castile, which ended giving power to Juana’s husband Philip (of the Habsburg dynasty) — but he himself

died in 1506 (though he and Juana had already had four children, including the future ruler of half of Europe, Charles V, and his brother Ferdinand, who founded what became the line of Austrian Habsburgs). A regency council was formed, headed by Ximenes, though it fairly soon gave most of the power to Ferdinand (Elliott, p. 139. Chapman, p. 208, says that this was what gave Ximenes the freedom to engage in his North African escapades). When Ferdinand of Aragon himself died, Ximenes again became temporary regent of Castile until Charles V could take charge (Elliott, p. 142; Smith, p. 138 notes that Ferdinand did not properly have the right to name Ximenes regent, but no one really argued).

When Charles V finally came to Spain to take charge, Ximenes offered to meet with him and give him advice. Charles in his reply told him to retire to his diocese (Chapman, p. 209). It hardly mattered; Ximenes reputedly died the day the letter reached him, possibly without learning its contents (Elliott, p. 144). Charles had already employed many of Ferdinand's former officials, to Ximenes's distress, since he considered them corrupt (Elliott, p. 143). But Ximenes was probably too unpopular to be allowed a voice; his rule had been considered quite high-handed.

Chapman, p. 227, calles Ximenes "by far the most important" Spaniard of his time other than the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and Isabella. Ximenes's actions did succeed in keeping Spain Catholic; the Protestant Reformation had less influence there than in any other country in western Europe (Elliott, p.212). Whether it was worth the cost was another question.s

It should be remembered that though Ximenes commissioned the Complutensian Polyglot, he did not edit it. The only editor we tend to hear about today is Stunica (Diego Lopez de Zuniga), who had the controversy with Erasmus about 1 John 5:7–8. Several of the other scholars involved were, however, at least as noteworthy (and less insistent on being boneheadedly wrong). Smith, p. 131, says that Antonio de Nebrija "had an encyclopedic knowledge of the Scriptures, linguistics, and science and translated a number of the classic authors." Hernán Nuñez de Toledo (died 1553) is described as a "famous Greek scholar." Thus Ximenes did bring in some strong minds, though one suspects they were also quite conventional religiously.

Appendix IX: Highly Uncertain Variants

Introduction

The title of this section is perhaps misleading. This is not a comprehensive list of uncertain variants; it isn't even a list of variants over which scholars have shown the most hesitation (e.g. it excludes 1 Cor. 13:3, perhaps the most-discussed short variant in the canon). It isn't a list of readings where I disagree with UBS or with the editorial consensus. What this section *is* is a comprehensive list of variants where the various editions diverge most notably. I've taken the seven primary "modern editions" (Bover, Merk, Tischendorf, UBS, Vogels, von Soden, Westcott and Hort) and listed all instances where three of these (including the Hort margin) disagree against four. For completeness, I have included the readings of many other editions, as well as a brief summary of the manuscript support for each reading, but neither the readings of these editions nor the manuscripts influence the variants listed.

Note that this list does *not* include readings where five or more editions stand against UBS (e.g. Matt. 12:10); even though these might be considered highly doubtful readings, since UBS is the newest and most respected edition, they do not meet the four-versus-three criterion. These readings are summarized in Part 3: Clear Minority Readings.

When I started this list, I thought the four-versus-three rule would work well. I should note that it isn't quite so simple — for example, if a reading is found in [brackets] in five editions, is it more or less certain than one found in five editions without brackets and omitted in the other two? In such cases, I've done my best to pick the "truly" uncertain readings — but be it noted that I think this crutch of bracketed readings should be dropped. In general, if all editors include a word, I have not noted the variant, no matter how many use brackets (e.g. Matt. 20:10, where three editors bracket το; this is a complex variant, but all editors use the same text, so I do not note it).

In addition, some variants I consider meaningless have been omitted from the main list. Some, such as the various spellings of David (Δαυειδ, Δαβιδ, etc.) I have omitted entirely. Others I have relegated to the section on orthographic variants.

For the most part, I have relied upon the lists of variants between editions found in NA[27] and Bover, though I have consulted the editions where these disagree (Bover made a rather high number of errors concerning Merk, if it matters; some of these may be due to the fact that Merk revised his text).

In the list which follows, () around the name of one of the English translations (NEB, RV) indicates that this is the text printed by the editor of the retroverted text, but may not have been the reading in the translators' minds (this is of course somewhat conjectural; I have not

checked the English versions to see if their rendering is literal); [] indicates a reading in brackets in the editor's Greek text. (Note: if the variant is an add/omit, the brackets apply only to the words to be included/excluded, no matter how long the lemma.)

The editions cited (* means an edition cited consistently):

- *Bover
- Clark (for Acts)
- Gr(iesbach)
- *HF = Hodges & Farstad
- HG = Huck/Greeven
- *Lach(mann)
- *Merk
- *NEB = New English Bible (Tasker)
- *RV = Revised Version (Souter)
- *Soden = von Soden
- *Tisch(endorf eighth edition)
- *Treg(elles)
- *UBS = United Bible Societies (editions 3/4)
- *Vogels
- *Weiss
- *WH = Westcott & Hort

Note that some of these editions (Hodges & Farstad, Lachmann, NEB, RV, Tregelles, Weiss) are not consulted in deciding which variants to include.

A reading marked with ** means a variant not noted in NA^{27}.

The citation of Hodges & Farstad had been somewhat complicated, since they have different apparatus in different sections of the New Testament. In Matthew-Jude, their margin has been cited only where there is a reading in the primary apparatus — the one showing Byzantine variants (and readings where they list the TR as going against the entire Majority tradition are omitted). In the Apocalypse, however, they merge the apparatus. In this case, a reading is cited as HF^{marg} if — and only if — they show some M subgroup supporting a variant. Where

they show *part* of a subgroup supporting a variant, I have, shown my uncertainty by marking HF^{marg}?, indicating that I'm not sure whether the really consider the majority text divided at this point.

A secondary use for this list may be as a way to see the tendencies of the various editions, since the list includes only the "difficult" readings. In compiling the list, the pro-Byzantine tendency of Vogels has been obvious, at least in the Gospels (where the Vulgate is mostly Byzantine) as have been the somewhat "Sturzian" — and rather erratic — tendencies of von Soden and Greeven. The New English Bible tends toward Westcott and Hort but with a distinct bias toward "Western" readings. Tischendorf tends toward א, especially when supported by D. Tregelles doesn't have any particular bias — but considering that he worked before א and B were available, his work is especially well-done. Or so it seems to me. Here is your chance to draw your own conclusions.

Sources: Not all of the editions cited are available directly to me. Some have necessarily been taken from secondary sources. The following list shows the sources checked. Items in **Bold** have been directly checked. Variants have been found by comparison of Bover and Appendix III of NA^{27}

- **Bover**
- Clark: Bover
- Gr: Scrivener's collation as found in *The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament.*
- **HF**
- **HG**
- Lach: Scrivener's collation as found in *The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament.*
- **Merk** (checked only where Bover and NA^{27} disagree on its reading)
- **NEB**
- **RV**
- Soden: NA^{27}/Bover
- Tisch: NA^{27}/Bover
- Treg: Scrivener's collation as found in T*he Interlinear Greek-English New Testament.*
- **UBS**
- Vogels: NA^{27}/Bover

- Weiss: Bover and/or NA[25]
- **WH** (checked only where Bover and NA[27] disagree on its reading)

Matthew

Matthew 1:5

- Βοες εκ της Ραχαβ Βοες P^{1} א B; **HG Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- Βοος εκ της Ραχαβ Βοος C D^{luke} 33; **Lach Treg**
- Βοαζ εκ της Ραχαβ Βοαζ; **(NEB)**
- Βοοζ εκ της Ραχαβ Βοοζ E K L (W) 1 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Matthew 1:15

- Ματθαν, Ματθαν א B^{c} C E K L W Π 1 28 565 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk RV Soden UBS Vogels**
- Μαθθαν, Μαθθαν B* Θ; **HG Lach NEB Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Matthew 1:20

- παραλαβειν Μαριαν B L 1 1241; **HG Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{text}**
- παραλαβειν Μαριαμ א C D E K W Z Θ 33 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Matthew 1:24

- ο Ιωσηφ B C D L W 1 33 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- Ιωσηφ א K Z Γ Δ Π Σ 13 28 157 565 1241; **HG Soden Tisch**

Matthew 2:22

- του πατρος αυτου Ηρωδου א B C* W; **Lach Merk NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- Ηρωδου του πατρος αυτου C^{c} D L 0250 1 28 33 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG RV Soden Vogels**

Matthew 3:2

- και λεγων C D E K L N W 1 13 33 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG [Merk] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- λεγων א B q sa? bo?; **Lach NEB RV Soden Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 3:14

- Ιωαννης διεκωλυεν P^{96} $א^{1}$ C D^{supp} K L W 1 13 33 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Merk NEB RV [Soden] UBS Vogels**
- διεκωλυεν א* B sa; **Lach Tisch [Treg] Weiss WH**

Matthew 3:16

- το πνευμα του θεου C D^{supp} E K L W 1 13 565 892 1241 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- πνευμα θεου א B bo?; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 3:16C

- και ερχομενον $א^{2}$ C D E K L W 1 13 33 565 892 1241 *Byz* f l mediol val; **Bover HF Merk RV [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- ερχομενον א* B a b f am cav harl; **HG Lach NEB Soden Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 4:13

- Ναζαρα $א^{1}$ B* Z 33 k mae; **HG Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- Ναζαρετ B^{2} L Γ 565 700 892 1241 1424 *pm* aur; **Gr HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**
- Ναζαρεθ א* D E K W Θ 1 13 579 *pm* vg sa? bo?; **Bover (NEB)**
- Ναζαραθ C P Δ; **Lach**

Matthew 4:18-19

- γαρ αλιεις [19]... αλιεις ανθρωπων $א^{c}$ B^{c} D E K W Π 1 13 28 565; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Vogels UBS**
- γαρ αλεεις [19]... αλεεις ανθρωπων B* C; **Merk HG (NEB) Tisch**[apud Bover] **Weiss WH**
- γαρ αλεεις [19]... αλιεις ανθρωπων א*
- γαρ αλιεις [19]... αληεις ανθρωπων L

Matthew 4:23

- εν ολη τη Γαλιλαια B (k) cur sa mae; **NEB RV^{marg} Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ο Ιησους εν ολη τη Γαλιλαια C* sin pesh hark bo; **Bover HG (Treg** [ο Ιησουσ]**)**
- ο Ιησους ολην την Γαλιλαιαν א^{1} D 1 33 892 1424 1582 vg; **Merk Soden Vogels**
- ολην την Γαλιλαιαν ο Ιησους E (K) W Π 13 28 565 *Byz*; **HF**
- ο Ιησους ολη τη Γαλιλαια; **Lach**
- εν ολη τη Γαλιλαια ο Ιησους C^{3}; **RV^{txt}**
- ο Ιησους εν τη Γαλιλαια א*

Matthew 5:9

- οτι αυτοι υιοι B E K W Θ Π 1 28 33 565 892 *Byz* f k am val sin cur hark; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk NEB RV [Soden] [Treg] UBS [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- οτι υιοι א C D 13 a b ff^{1} cav harl mediol pesh; **HG Tisch**

Matthew 5:39

- δεξιαν σιαγονα σου B; **Bover Lach Merk Treg (UBS WH [**σου**]) Weiss**
- δεξιαν σου σιαγονα E K L Δ Θ Π 13 565 579 700 1424 *pm;* **HF^{txt} HG (RV) Soden Vogels**
- δεξιαν σιαγονα א 1 33 892 1241 *pm* a f; **HF^{marg} NEB Tisch**
- σιαγονα σου D k sin cur

Matthew 6:15

- ανθρωποις א D 1 892* 1582* a ff^{1} vg pesh mae; **HG Merk NEB Soden Tisch UBS Weiss**
- ανθρωποις τα παραπτωματα αυτων B E G K L W Θ Π 13 33 28 565 *Byz* (b) f q cur hark sa; **Bover HF Lach RV Treg [Vogels] [WH]**

Matthew 6:25

- φαγητε η τι πιητε B W Φ (13) 33 157 c f g^{1} h m q mae bo arm; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Treg [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- φαγητε א 1 892 1582 a b ff^{1} k l vg cur; **HG Tisch**
- φαγητε και τι πιητε E G K (L) Θ(*) Π (28) 565 *Byz*; **HF Soden Vogels**

Matthew 6:33

- βασιλειαν του θεου και την δικαιοσυνην E G K L W (Θ) Π 1 13 33 565 892 1241 *Byz* a b f ff^{1} vg; **Bover HF HG (Merk UBS [του θεου]) NEB Soden Treg Vogels**
- βασιλειαν και την δικαιοσυνην א (k) l sa bo; **RV Tisch WH**
- δικαιοσυνην και την βασιλειαν B; **Lach Weiss**

Matthew 7:6

- καταπατησουσιν B C L N W X Θ Σ 13 33 157; **Bover HG Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- καταπατησωσιν א E G K Π 1 28 565 892 1241 *Byz*; **HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

Matthew 7:14

- τι στενη $א^{2}$ (B^{2} τι δε) C E G K L W (Θ) Π 1($^{c\ apud\ Swanson}$) 13 28 565 892 1241 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} HG Lach Merk RV^{marg} Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- οτι στενη א* N^{c} X 1(*$^{apud\ Swanson}$, $^{c\ apud\ Greeven}$) 157 1071 700^{c} sa^{mss} bo mae; **Bover HF^{marg} NEB RV^{txt} Tisch WH**
- οτι δε στενη B* sa^{mss}; **Weiss**
- και στενη 209

Matthew 7:18A

- πονηρους ποιειν $א^{apud\ NA27}$ C L W Z Θ 0250 1 13 28 33 565 892 1241 *Byz* it vg; **Bover HF HG Lach RV Treg UBS Vogels**
- πονηρους ενεγκειν B Or^{pt}; **Merk NEB Soden Tisch WH**

Matthew 7:18B

- καλους ποιειν א¹ B C K L W Z Θ 0250 1 13 28 33 565 892 1241 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG Lach RV Treg UBS Vogels WH**
- καλους ενεγκειν א* Or^{pt}; **Merk NEB Soden Tisch Weiss**

Matthew 8:8

- και αποκριθεις א¹ C E K L W Θ Π 1 13 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden UBS Vogels**
- αποκριθεις δε א* B 33 372 sa?; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Matthew 8:13

- υπαγε ως א B W Φ 0250 0281 a b k sin cur; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- υπαγε και ως C E K L Θ Π 0233 1 13 33 565 892 *Byz*; **HF HG [Merk] Soden [Treg] Vogels**

Matthew 8:18

- οχλον B sa^{mss}; **Lach Merk NEB UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- οχλους א* 1 22 bo; **Soden**
- πολλους οχλους א² C E G K L Θ Π 13 33 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG RV Tisch Treg Vogels (WH^{marg} [πολλουσ] οχλουσ)**
- πολυν οχλον 1424
- οχλον πολυν W c g¹

Matthew 8:21

- των μαθητων αυτου (C) E G K L W Θ Π 0250 1 13 565 892 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF [UBS] Vogels**
- των μαθητων א B 33 k sa; **HG Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Matthew 8:23

- εις το πλοιον א*,² E G K L W Θ Π *Byz*; **HF [Merk] (NEB) Tisch [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss**
- εις πλοιον א¹ B C 1 13 33 565 892; **Bover HG Lach RV Soden Treg WH**

Matthew 8:25

- προσελθοντες ηγειραν א B 33^{vid} 892 a c ff^{1} k am cav dur harl; **Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- προσελθοντες οι μαθηται ηγειραν C(*? W (Θ) 1 1424 b g^{1} mae **HF^{marg}** οι μαθηται αυτου) E K (L) Π 13 565 *Byz*; **Bover Gr HF^{txt} HG [Lach] Soden Vogels**

Matthew 9:2

- αφιενται א B (D αφιονται) f vg; **HG Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αφεωνται C E G K (L) W Θ(*) Π 1 13 33 *Byz* a b c g^{1} h q; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Matthew 9:4

- και ιδων א C D L (N Σ ιδων δε) W 13 33 892 1241 *Byz* it vg sin bo; **RV^{marg} Soden Tisch UBS Vogels WH^{marg}**
- και ειδως B M (Θ ειδως δε) Π 1 157 565 700 1424 pesh hark sa mae; **Bover HG Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**

Matthew 9:5

- αφιενται א(* D αφιονται) B vg; **HG Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αφεωνται (C) E G K L (W) Θ Π 1 13 33 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Matthew 9:14

- νηστευομεν πολλα א^{2} C D E G K L W Θ Π 1 13 33 565 892 *Byz* k mae bo; **Bover HF HG [Merk] RV^{txt} Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels WH^{marg}**
- νηστευομεν πυκνα א^{1}
- νηστευομεν א* B 0281 71 1194; **Lach NEB RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss WH^{txt}**

Matthew 9:18

- αρχων εις ελθων (א² C* D N W Θ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΙΣΕΛΘΩΝ) (E 1 700 αρχων εισελθων) (33 565 892 *Byz* d f αρχων εις ελθων); **Bover Gr HF^{txt} HG (RV) Tisch Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- αρχων εις προσελθων א¹ B a b c ff¹ vg; **Lach Merk (NEB) Vogels Weiss (WH^{txt} αρχων [εισ] προσελθων)**
- αρχων τις προσελθων C^{c}? (F) G L* U 13 1006 g¹; **Soden**
- αρχων προσελθων א* L$^{c\ apud\ Swanson}$ 69 157
- αρχων τις ελθων Γ (h) k; **HF^{marg}**
- αρχων ελθων (Δ$^{apud\ Greeven}$); **HF^{marg}**

Matthew 9:27A

- ηκολουθησαν αυτω א C L W Θ 0250 1 13 33 565 892 *Byz* a b f ff¹ *Byz*; **Bover HF [Merk] RV [Soden] Tisch [Treg] Vogels [UBS] WH^{marg}**
- ηκολουθησαν B D 892 (k); **Lach NEB Weiss WH^{txt}**

Matthew 9:27B

- υιος Δαυιδ (v.l. Δαυειδ, etc.) B G W Y Π 565 (700 ο υιος Δαυιδ) 1006; **Lach HF^{txt} Merk NEB Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- υιε Δαυιδ א C D E F K L Γ Δ Θ 0250 1 579 892* 1424; **Bover HF^{marg} RV Soden WH^{txt}**
- κυριε υιε Δαυιδ N 13 892^{c}

Matthew 10:32

- εν τοις ουρανοις B C K V X Σ Φ Ω 13 565 892; **Lach Merk (NEB) [Treg] [UBS] Weiss WH**
- εν ουρανοις P$^{19\text{-}vid}$ א D E F G L W Y Θ Π 1 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 10:33

- εν τοις ουρανοις B V X Ω 13 892 1424; **Lach Merk (NEB) [Treg] [UBS] Weiss WH**
- εν ουρανοις P^{19} א C D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 1 565 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 11:8

- βασιλεων (v.l. βασιλειων) εισιν א² C D E F G K L W Y Z Θ Π 1 13 28 33 565 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (RV) [Soden] Treg UBS Vogels**
- βασιλεων א* B; **(NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 11:21

- βηθσαιδα C (D) (L) 1; **HF^{txt} Lach (NEB) Soden Treg UBS**
- βηθσαιδαν (א βεδσαιδαν) B E F G K U W Y Δ Θ Λ Π 13 28 565; **Bover Gr HF^{marg} HG Merk (RV) Tisch [Vogels] Weiss WH**

Matthew 11:23

- αδου καταβηση B D W 372 OL vg sin cur sa arm; **Lach Merk RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αδου καταβιβασθηση א C E F G K L Y Θ Π 1 13 28 33 565 *Byz* pesh hark mae bo; **Bover HF HG NEB RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 12:4A

- εφαγον א B 481; **Lach NEB RV^{marg} Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- εφαγεν P^{70} C D E G K L W Y Θ Π 1 13 33 565 892(* ελαβεν) *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Merk RV^{txt} Soden Treg Vogels**

Matthew 12:4B

- ο ουκ εξον P^{70} B D W 13 22 aur ff^{2}* k q pesh arm; **Bover HG Lach NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ους ουκ εξον א C E G K L Θ 0233 1 (33 οισ...) 565 892 *Byz* vg hark sa bo; **HF Merk RV Soden Vogels**

Matthew 12:15

- οχλοι πολλοι C D E G K L N(* *omit* πολλοι) W Θ Π* (X 0233 1194 πολλοι οχλοι) 0281 1 13 28 33 565 892 *Byz* f h (q) pesh hark bo **HF [Merk] [Soden] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- πολλοι א B Π^{c} 372 a b c ff^{1} k g^{1} vg; **Bover HG Lach NEB RV Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 12:18

- εις ον ευδοκησεν א¹ C^vid E G K L W Y Θ Π 0106 0233 (13 εις ο) 28 565 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden UBS Vogels Weiss**
- ον ευδοκησεν א* B 892 ff¹; **Lach Merk Tisch WH**
- εν ω ευδοκησεν D 1 33 1424; **NEB Treg**

Matthew 12:35

- αγαθα B D E K W Y Θ Π 13 565 *Byz*; **Bover Lach HF^txt HG Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^txt**
- τα αγαθα א C G L N U Δ Σ Φ 1 33 157 1424; **HF^marg Soden Tisch WH^marg**

Matthew 12:36

- λαλησουσιν א B; **(NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εαν λαλησωσιν E G K (L αν λαλησωσιν) W Y Π 0250 1 13 28 565 700^c *Byz*; **HF HG Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**
- εαν λαλησουσιν C Θ 33 700*; **Bover**
- λαλουσιν D
- λαλησωσιν; **Lach?**

Matthew 12:47

- i*nclude verse (with variations)* א¹ C D E F G K W Y Z Θ Π 1 13 28 33 565 892 *Byz* a b vg pesh hark bo; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk NEB RV^txt [Tisch] Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH^marg**
- *omit v. 47* א* B L Γ ff¹ k sin cur sa; **RV^marg Soden WH^txt**

Matthew 13:1

- της οικιας B Θ 1 13 1424; **Bover HG Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH^txt**
- εκ της οικιας א Z 33 892 c f h l q vg; **Lach Tisch WH^marg**
- απο της οικιας C E F G K L W Y Π 28 565 *Byz*; **HF (Merk [απο] της οικιασ) (RV) Vogels**
- *omit* D a b e k g¹ ff¹ ff² sin; **NEB**

Matthew 13:4

- καταφαγεν B Θ 13 1424; **Bover Merk (NEB) Soden UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και καταφαγεν א C D E F G K L W Y Z Π 1 33 565 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach (RV) Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Matthew 13:7

- επνιξαν א D Θ Φ 13 565; **Bover HG Soden Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- απεπνιξαν B C E F G K L W Y Z Π 1 28 33 892 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Matthew 13:11

- ειπεν αυτοις B E F G K D L W Y Θ Π 1 13 28 33 565 *Byz* a b c f vg; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ειπεν א C Z 892 ff^{1} k bo?; **(NEB) Soden Tisch WH^{txt}**

Matthew 13:22

- αιωνος א* B D a ff^{2} g^{1} h k; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αιωνος τουτου א^{1} C E G K L W Y (Θ) Π 1 13 33 565 892 *Byz* b c f vg; **HF HG [Merk] Soden Vogels**

Matthew 13:57

- πατριδι B D Θ 0281 33 700 1424 a k; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ιδια πατριδι א Z 13 892; **Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**
- πατριδι αυτου E G K L W Y Π 0106 1 28 565 *Byz*; **HF (RV)**
- ιδια πατριδι αυτου C

Matthew 14:3

- εδησεν αυτον א^{2} C D E G K L W Y Z Θ Π 0106 1 13 33 565 892 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- εδησεν א* B 700 ff^{1} q; **(NEB) RV Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 14:4

- ο Ιωαννης αυτω B Z; **Lach Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- Ιωαννης αυτω א^{2}; **Tisch**
- αυτω Ιωαννης D
- ο Ιωαννης 28 565
- Ιωαννης א*
- αυτω ο Ιωαννης C E G K L W Y Θ Π 0106 1 13 700 892 *Byz*; **Bover HG (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**

Matthew 14:9

- λυπηθεις ο βασιλευς δια B D Θ 1 13 700 1424 a; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ελυπηθη ο βασιλευς δια δε א C E G K L(* b ff^{1} ff^{2} g^{1} h omit δε) W Y Z^{vid} Π 0106 33^{vid} 28 565 892 *Byz* vg sy sa bo; **HF HG Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Matthew 14:10

- τον Ιωαννην א^{2} C D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 106^{vid} 13 33 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- Ιωαννην א* (B) Z 1 28; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Matthew 14:12

- εθαψαν αυτον א* B 106 a ff^{1}; **NEB RV Tisch Treg (UBS εθαψαν αυτο[ν]) Weiss WH**
- εθαψαν αυτο א^{1} C D E F G K (L Y 28 εθαψαν αυτω) W Θ Π 1 13 565 700 892 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk Soden Vogels**

Matthew 14:15

- απολυσον B D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 067 0106 13 28 33 565 700 *Byz* mae; **HF HG Lach (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- απολυσον ουν א C Z 1 892 1241 hark^{marg}; **Bover [Merk] Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Matthew 14:22

- το πλοιον א C D E F G K L W Y Π 13 28 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- πλοιον B Σ 1 33 565 700 892 arm?; **Bover HG Soden Treg WH^{txt}**

Matthew 14:24

- σταδιους πολλους απο της γης απειχεν B 13 sa; **Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- μεσον της θαλασσης ην א C E F G (K) L W Y Π 073 0106 1 33 565 (1424 ff^{1} ην μεσον της θαλασσησ) *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**
- απειχεν απο της γης σταδιους ικανους Θ cur pesh
- σταδιους της γης απειχεν ικανους 700
- ην εις μεσον της θαλασσης D

Matthew 14:26

- οι δε μαθηται ιδοντες αυτον א^{1} B D 13 mae; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- ιδοντες δε αυτον א* Θ 700 a b e ff^{1} g^{1} h q sa; **Tisch**
- και ιδοντες αυτον 073 1 1241 1424 c l vg
- και ιδοντες αυτον οι μαθηται C E F G K L W Y Π 0106 28 33 565 892 *Byz* hark; **HF HG RV Soden Treg Vogels**

Matthew 14:27

- ελαλησεν ο Ιησους αυτοις א^{1} B; **Merk (UBS WH ελαλησεν [ο Ιησουσ] αυτοισ) Weiss**
- ελαλησεν αυτοις ο Ιησους C E F G K L W Y Θ Π 0106 1 13 28 33 565 700 *Byz* f q hark; **HF HG Bover (RV) Soden Vogels**
- ελαλησεν αυτοις א* D 073 892 1010 ff^{1} cur sa bo; **NEB Tisch**

Matthew 14:29

- ο Πετρος C E F G K L W Y Θ Π 073 0106 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden [UBS]**
- Πετρος א B D; **HG Merk Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 14:30

- ισχυρον εφοβηθη B^{1} C E F G K D L (W) Y Θ Π 0106 1 13 565 799 892 *Byz* it vg; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk NEB RV^{marg} Treg Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- εφοβηθη א B* 073 33 sa bo; **RV^{txt} Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 15:2

- χειρας αυτων C D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 13 33 565 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- χειρας א B Δ 073 1 579 700 892 1424 f g^{1}; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 15:4

- θεος ειπεν א^{1} B D Θ 073 1 13 579 700 892 vg sin cur pesh sa bo mae; **Bover Lach Merk NEB (RV ειπε) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- θεος ενετειλατο λεγων א^{c,2} C E F G K L W Y Π 0106 33 *Byz* f hark; **HF HG Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 15:6

- τον λογον του θεου א^{1} B D Θ 579 700 892 a b e ff^{1} ff^{2} sin cur pesh sa bo; **Bover HG Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- τον νομον του θεου א^{*,2} C 073 13; **RV^{marg} Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**
- την εντολην του θεου E F G K L W Y Π 0106 1 33 565 *Byz* vg; **HF Vogels**

Matthew 15:14

- τυφλοι εισιν οδηγοι τυφλων א^{1} L Z Θ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1424 vg; **Bover HG Lach Merk NEB^{marg} Soden Treg (UBS [τυφλων]) Vogels Weiss**
- οδηγοι εισιν τυφλοι τυφλων C E F G W Y Π 0106 565 *Byz* q; **HF (RV εισι) Tisch (WH^{marg} [τυφλων])**
- τυφλοι εισιν οδηγοι B D 0237; **NEB^{txt} WH^{txt}**
- οδηγοι εισιν τυφλων K sin cur
- οδηγοι εισιν τυφλοι א^{*,2}

Matthew 15:15

- παραβολην ταυτην C D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 0106 0281 (13) 33 565 *Byz* it mae; **Bover HF HG [Merk] Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- παραβολην א B 1 579 700 892 sa bo; **Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Matthew 15:22A

- εξελθουσα εκραζεν א^{2} B D O Θ Σ 1 700 892; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- εξελθουσα εκραξεν א* Z 0281 13 579 1241; **Tisch WH^{marg}**
- εξελθουσα εκραυγασεν C E(*) G K (L) W Y Π 0106 565 *Byz*; **HF (RV** εκραυγασε**) Soden Vogels Weiss**
- εξελθουσα εκραυγαζεν M

Matthew 15:22B

- υιος Δαυιδ B D W Θ 565 700 945; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- υιε Δαυιδ א C E G K L Y Z 0106 Π 1 13 892 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

Matthew 15:23

- ηρωτουν א B C D; **HG Lach Merk Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ηρωτων E(*) G K L W Y Θ Π 1 13 33 565 *Byz*; **Bover HF (NEB) (RV) Soden Vogels**
- ηρωτησαν 0106 1424

Matthew 15:30

- χωλους τυφλους κυλλους κωφους א a b ff^{2} sin; **UBS**
- χωλους κυλλους τυφλους κωφους B 0281 1355 mae; **Merk Vogels**$^{\text{apud Bover}}$ **Weiss WH**
- χωλους τυφλους κωφους κυλλους (E) G P Y Γ Θ 1 13 700 *pm* f cur pesh; **Bover HF HG Lach NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg**
- χωλους κωφους τυφλους κυλλους C K Π 565 *pm*
- κωφους χωλους τυφλους κυλλους L O W Δ Σ l q hark; **Vogels**$^{\text{apud NA27}}$
- κωφους τυφλους χωλους κυλλους 33 892 1241
- τυφλους κωφους χωλους κυλλους 579
- κωφους τυφλους κυλλους χωλους 1424
- χωλους τυφλους κυλλους D

Matthew 15:31

- ωστε τον οχλον א C D O U Δ Θ Φ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1010 1241 1424; **Bover HG NEB RV Soden Tisch UBS WH**^{txt}
- εστε τους οχλους B E F G K L W Y Π 565 *Byz* vg cur pesh hark mae; **HF Lach Merk Treg Vogels Weiss WH**^{marg}

Matthew 15:38

- ησαν C D E F G K L W Y Π 1 565 *Byz* sin cur pesh; **Bover HF HG Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**^{txt}
- ησαν ως B Θ 13 33 892; **[Merk] Soden WH**^{marg}
- ησαν ωσει (א) 579 1241

Matthew 16:2b-3

- οψιας γενουμενησ... δυνασθε C D E F G (K) L W Θ Π 33 565 700 892 *Byz* ol vg pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk NEB**^{marg} **RV**^{txt} **[Soden] [Tisch] Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss [[WH]]**
- *omit* א B V X Y Γ 047 13 157 579 sin cur sa mae; **NEB**^{txt} **RV**^{marg}

Matthew 16:8

- αρτους ουκ εχετε א B (D) Θ 13 579 700 892 1241 vg; **Bover Lach RV UBS Weiss WH**
- αρτους ουκ ελαβετε C E F G K L W Y Π 1 13 33 565 *Byz* f sa; **HF HG Merk Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Matthew 16:12

- ζυμης των αρτων (א^{2}) B L (1) 892 1241 (1424) vg; **Bover HG Lach Merk RV Soden Treg UBS Weiss (WH [των αρτων])**
- ζυμης του αρτου C E F G K W Y Π 28 700 *Byz* c f q pesh hark; **Vogels**
- ζυμης των Φαρισαιων και Σαδδουκαιων א* (33) 579 ff^{1} cur; **Tisch**
- ζυμης D Θ 13 565 a b ff^{2} sin

Matthew 16:19

- δωσω σοι א B* C^{2} 1 mae; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- και δωσω σοι B^{2} C*,^{3} E F G K (L) W Y Π 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach (Merk [και]) Soden Treg Vogels**
- δωσω δε σοι Θ 0281 (33) 1424
- σοι δωσω D ff^{1}

Matthew 17:8

- μη αυτον Ιησουν (א) B* Θ 700; **Bover HG (Merk [αυ]τον) (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- μη τον Ιησουν B^{2} C (D μη μονον τον Ιησουν) E F G K L Y Π 1 13 28 33 565 892 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- μη Ιησουν W

Matthew 17:9

- νεκρων εγερθη B D; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- νεκρων αναστη א C E F G K L (W) Y Z Θ Π 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Merk (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

Matthew 17:10

- μαθηται א L W Z Θ 1 33 700 892 1424 vg sa; **HG Lach (NEB) Soden Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- μαθηται αυτου B C D E F G K Y Π 13 28 565 *Byz* f ff^{2} q mae; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Vogels Weiss**

Matthew 17:21

- *omit v. 21* א* B Θ 0281 33 579 892* e ff^{1} sin cur sa; **HG NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Soden Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- [21] τουτο... νηστεια א^{2} C D E F G K L W Y Π 1 13 565 700 *Byz* vg pesh hark mae; **Bover HF Lach [Merk] NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} [Treg] Vogels**

Matthew 17:24

- τα διδραχμα א^{2} B C E F G K L (W sa το διδραχμα) Y Θ Π 0281 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF HG Lach (NEB) (RV) Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels WH**
- διδραχμα א* D bo mae; **Merk Tisch Weiss**

Matthew 17:25

- και ελθοντα א^{1} B 1 892 1582; **Bover HG Merk (NEB) Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και εισελθοντα א*,^{2} (D και εισελθοντι) 579; **Lach Tisch WH^{marg}**
- και οτε εισηλθεν E F G K L W(* και οτε εισηλθεν ο Ιησους) Y Π 28 565 700 892 1342 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} (RV) Vogels**
- και εισελθοντων Θ 13 (33)
- και οτε ελθον C
- και οτε εισηλθον **HF^{marg}**

Matthew 18:12A (cf. 18:12B)

- ουχι αφησει B (D αφιησιν) L Θ 13 892; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ουχι αφεις א E F G K W Y Π 078 1 28 33 565 579 700 *Byz* q; **HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 18:12B (cf. 18:12A)

- και πορευθεις B (D και πορευομενοι) L Θ 13 579 892; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πορευθεις א E F G K W Y Π 078 1 28 33 565 700 *Byz* q; **HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 18:15

- αμαρτηση εις σε D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 078 078 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz* ol vg pesh hark mae; **Bover HF HG Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- αμαρτηση א B 0281 1 579 sa; **Lach NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 18:16

- μετα σου ετι ενα η δυο E F G D W Y 078 565 700 1424 *pm;* **HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- μετα σεαυτου ετι ενα η δυο א K (L) M N Θ Π Σ 1 13 28 33 157 892 *pm;* **Bover HG Soden Tisch**
- ετι ενα η δυο μετα σου P$^{44\text{-}vid}$ B 0281; **Lach WH^{marg}**

Matthew 18:19

- παλιν αμην B E F G K Y P 058 078 13 28 33 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} HG Merk Treg [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- παλιν א D L Γ 1 579 892 vg pesh; **HF^{marg} NEB RV Soden Tisch**
- αμην (Θ) 565; **Lach?**
- παλιν δε N W Δ hark

Matthew 18:21

- εις εμε ο αδελφους μου א D E F G K (L omit μου) W Y Π 0281^{vid} 1 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz* ol vg; **HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ο αδελφους μου εις εμε B Θ 13 1241; **Bover Soden Vogels Weiss**

Matthew 18:24

- αυτω εις οφειλετης א^{2} D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz* ol vg; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Treg UBS Vogels**
- εις αυτω οφειλετης א* B; **(NEB) Soden Tisch$^{apud\ NA27}$ Weiss WH**

Matthew 18:25

- οσα εχει B Θ 1 124 arm; **Bover Lach (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- οσα ειχεν א D E F G K L W Y Π 0281 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **(HF (RV)** ειχε**) HG Merk Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 18:26

- λεγων B D Θ 700 vg sin cur; **Bover HG Lach NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- λεγων κυριε א E F G K L W Y Π 058 0281 1 13 28 33 565 892 *Byz*; **HF Merk RV [Soden] Vogels**

Matthew 18:30

- αποδω א B C L 892; **Lach NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ου αποδω D E F G K W Y Θ Π 1 13 28 33 565 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Merk RV Soden Vogels**

Matthew 18:34

- οφειλομενον א^{1} B D (Θ) 13 700 1424 ol vg sin cur sa bo; **Bover Lach NEB RV Treg UBS WH**
- οφειλομενον αυτω א^{*,2} C E F G K Y (L) (W) Π 1 28 33 565 892 *Byz* pesh hark; **HF HG Merk Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss**

Matthew 19:3

- εξεστιν ανθρωπω א^{2} C D E F G Y W Θ Π 087 1 13 33 565 892 (1424^{c} εξεστιν ανδρι) *Byz* ol vg; **HF Merk NEB Treg UBS Vogels**
- εξεστιν א* B L Γ 579 (700) 1424*; **Bover HG Lach RV Soden Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 19:7

- απολυσαι αυτην B C E F G K W Y Π 078 087 13 28 33 565 892 *Byz* (b) (c) f (ff^{2}) q pesh hark mae; **HF HG Merk NEB (RV) Soden [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- απολυσαι א D L Z Θ 1 22 579 700 vg; **Bover Lach Tisch Treg WH^{txt}**

Matthew 19:9

- omit και ο απολελυμενην... μοιχεται א C^3 D L S 1241 sin cur sa; **NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- add και ο απολελυμενην... μοιχεται *(vel sim.)* (P^{25}) (B) (C^*) E F G K W Y Z Θ Π 078 1 13 28 33 566 700 892 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk NEB^{marg}RV^{txt} Soden [Treg] Vogels; WH^{marg}**

Matthew 19:21A

- τοις πτωχοις B D Θ; **Bover Lach Merk RV Treg [UBS] [WH]**
- πτωχοις א C E F G K L W Y Z 0281 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG (NEB) Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss**

Matthew 19:21B

- εν ουρανοις B C D Γ e g^1 sa mae; **Bover (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εν ουρανω א E F G K L W Y Z Θ 0281 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz* vg; **HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 19:24A

- δια τρυπηματος -- N. B. the appendix in NA^{27} is *wrong* about this variant; it is not strongly disputed; the only major text to read δια τρηματος is **WH^{txt}**

Matthew 19:24B

- εισελθειν εις την βασιλειαν του θεου B D Θ 579 700 pesh sa; **Bover NEB UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- εις την βασιλειαν του θεου א L 0281 565 892; **HG Merk Soden WH^{txt}**
- εις την βασιλειαν των ουρανων Z 1 33 157 ff^1 sin cur; **Tisch**
- εισελθειν εις την βασιλειαν των ουρανων **Lach (Treg [εισελθειν])!**
- εις την βασιλειαν του θεου εισελθειν C E F G K W Y 13 28 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF (RV) Vogels**

Matthew 19:29

- οικιας η αδελφους η αδελφας η πατερα η μητερα η τεκνα η αγρους B (D οικειας et omit η πατερα) E(*)[apud Swanson] a n (sin); **Bover Lach RV[txt] UBS Weiss WH[txt]**
- οικιας η αδελφους η αδελφας η πατερα η μητερα η γυναικα η τεκνα η αγρους C[3] F G (K Y Θ 565 οικιαν....) (W οικειασ) 13 28 (33) 565 892 *Byz* vg (cur) pesh hark;**HF[txt] (HF[marg] οικιαν....) HG Merk RV[marg] Vogels**
- αδελφους η αδελφας η πατερα η μητερα η γυναικα η τεκνα η αγρους η οικιας א[2] C* L W 579 892 bo; **Soden**
- αδελφους η αδελφας η πατερα η μητερα η γυναικα η τεκνα η αγρους א*
- αδελφους η αδελφας η γονεις η πατερα η μητερα η τεκνα η αγρους η οικιας 1 1582
- αδελφους η αδελφας η πατερα η μητερα η τεκνα η αγρους η οικιασ; **NEB Tisch Treg WH[marg]**

Matthew 20:17

- δωδεκα μαθητας B C E F G K W Y Π 085 28* 33 565 700 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF HG Lach RV Soden [UBS] Vogels [WH]**
- δωδεκα μαθητας αυτου 13 28[c] 892[c] 1424 pesh
- δωδεκα א D L Θ 1 788 892 sin cur bo arm; **Merk NEB Tisch Treg Weiss**

Matthew 20:18

- αυτον θανατω C D E F G K L W Y Z Θ Π 085 1 13 (28) 33 565 (700 αυτον θανατοσ) 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels [WH]**
- αυτον εις θανατον א; **(NEB) Merk Tisch Weiss**
- αυτον B eth?

Matthew 20:21

- δεξιων σου C D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 085 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz* ol vg sy; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- δεξιων א* B; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 20:23

- και εξ ευωνυμων א C D E G W Y Z Π 085 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz* am cav; **Bover HF HG Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- η εξ ευωνυμων B L Θ$^{apud\ NA27}$ 1 33 1424 a b c e f ff^{2} h n (gran val) sa mae; **Merk Soden Weiss WH^{marg}**

Matthew 20:30

- υιος Δανιδ B G K W Y Z Γ Δ Π 28 pm; **Bover HF HG Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- υιε Δαυιδ P^{45} א C D E L N Θ 085 0281 1 33 565 579 1241 1424 pm c e h n mae bo; **Lach Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**

Matthew 20:31

- υιος Δανιδ B E G K W Y Z Θ Π 1 28 13 565 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- υιε Δαυιδ א(* υιου) C D L N 085 0281 33 579 892 1241 1424; **Lach Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**

Matthew 21:1

- εις το ορος B (C$^{apud\ NA27}$ και εισ...) 33 a b c e ff^{1} ff^{2} h n q r^{1}; **Bover HG Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- προς το ορος א D E G K L W Y Θ Π 1 13 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**

Matthew 21:2

- ευθεως B C D E F G K W Y Θ Π 1 13 28 565; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss**
- ευθυς א L; **Merk (NEB) Tisch WH**
- *omit* 482 (cur) bo

Matthew 21:6

- καθως συνεταξεν B C D 33 700; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- καθως προσεταξεν א E F G K L W Y Z Θ Π 1 13 28 565 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 21:12

- ιερον א B L Θ 0281^{vid} 13 33 700 892 945 1010 1424 b sa bo; **Merk Lach NEB RV^{marg} Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ιερον του θεου C D E F G K W Y Π 1 28 565 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 21:18

- πρωι א* B D Θ; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πρωιας א^{2} C E F G K L W Y Π 1 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Matthew 21:19

- μηκετι א C D E F G K W Y Θ Π 1 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- ου μηκετι B L O; **Lach (NEB) Merk Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 21:25

- εν εαυτοις B L Z 33 157 892; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- παρ εαυτοις א C D E F G K W Y Θ Π 0102 1 13 28 565 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**

Matthew 21:28

- και προσελθων א^{2} B C D F G K W Y Θ Π 0102 0293 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- προσελθων א* L Z e ff^{1} (sin) (cur) sa bo; **HG Merk (NEB) Tisch WH^{txt}**

Matthew 21:29 (cf. 21:30B, 31)

- ου θελω υστερον δε μεταμεληθεις απηλθεν א^{2} C E F G K L W Y (Z) Π 1 28 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (Lach [δε]) NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels**
- ου θελω υστερον μεταμεληθεις απηλθεν א*; **Tisch**
- εγω κυριε και ουκ απηλθεν B; **Weiss WH**
- υπαγω και ουκ απηηλθεν Θ (13 υπαγω κυριε και ουκ απηηλθεν) 700; **Merk Soden**
- ου θελω υστερον δε μεταμεληθεις απηλθεν εις τον αμπελωνα D(*)

Matthew 21:30A

- τω ετερω ειπεν א* D E F G K W Y Θ Π 13 565 pm; **Gr HF^{txt} Tisch UBS Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$**
- τω δευτερω ειπεν א^{2} B C^{2} L Z 1 28 33 700 892 1424 pm mae; **Bover HF^{marg} HG Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg Weiss WH**

Matthew 21:30B (cf. 21:29, 31)

- εγω κυριε και ουκ απηλθεν א C (D εγω κυριε υπαγω και ουκ απηλθεν) E F G K L W Y Π 1 28 565 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach RV Tisch Treg UBS Vogels**
- ου θελω υστερον μεταμεληθεις απηλθεν B; **Weiss WH**
- ου θελω υστερον δε μεταμεληθεις απηλθεν Θ 13 700; **Merk NEB Soden**

Matthew 21:31 (cf. 21:29, 30B)

- ο πρωτος א C E F G K L W Y Θ Π 1 28 33 565 892 *Byz* f q; **Bover HF HG RV Tisch UBS Vogels**
- ο εσχατος (D αισχατοσ) Θ 13 700 a b arm; **Merk Soden**
- ο υστερος B; **Lach NEB Treg Weiss WH**

Matthew 21:44

- inc. v. 44: και ο πεσων... λικμησει αυτον א B C E F G K L W Y Z Θ Π 0102 1 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz* cur pesh hark sa bo; **Bover HF [Lach] NEB^{marg} Merk RV^{txt}[Soden] Treg UBS [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- *omit v. 44* D 33 b w ff^{1} ff^{2} r^{1} sin; **HG NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch**

Matthew 22:10

- επλησθη ο γαμος B^{1} (C επλησθη ο αγαμοσ) D E F G K W Y Θ Π 085 0161^{vid} 1 13 33 565 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach RV Treg UBS Vogels**
- επλησθη ο νυμφων א B* L 0102 892; **HG Merk NEB Soden Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 22:20

- και λεγει αυτοις א B E F G K W Y Π 0102 1 28 565 800 *Byz* hark; **HF HG Merk RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- και λεγει αυτοις ο Ιησους L Z Θ Φ 0281 13 33 157 892; **Bover Lach NEB Tisch WH^{marg}**
- λεγει αυτοις ο Ιησους D sin cur mae
- ο δε λεγει αυτοις C

Matthew 22:30

- αγγελοι B D (Θ 1 οι αγγελοι) 22 700 cur; **Bover Lach NEB RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αγγελοι θεου א L Σ 13 28 33 157 892 1241 1424 **HG Merk Soden Tisch**
- αγγελοι του θεου E F G K Y W Π 0102 0161 565 700 *Byz*; **HF RV^{marg} Vogels**

Matthew 22:32

- εστιν ο θεος B L Δ 1 33; **Bover Lach (NEB) (RV) Treg (UBS WH [ο] θεοσ]) Weiss**
- εστιν θεος א D W 28 1424*; **HG Tisch**
- εστιν ο θεος θεος E F G K Y (Θ 13 εστιν δε ο θεος θεοσ) Π 0102 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG (Merk εστιν ο θεος [θεοσ]) Soden Vogels**

Matthew 22:39

- δευτερα δε א^{2} D E F G K L W Z Θ Π 0102 0107 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz* it vg hark; **HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- δευτερα א* B 157; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 22:43

- καλει αυτον κυριον B(* καλει αυτον αυτον κυριον) D (Θ καλει αυτον κυριον αυτον) 0107^{vid} 0281 33 a b vg; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- καλει κυριον αυτον א L Z 892; **Tisch WH^{marg}**
- κυριον αυτον καλει E F G K Y W Π 0102 (0161) 1 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz* e q hark; **HF (RV) Soden Vogels**

Matthew 22:44

- ειπεν κυριος א B D Z; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπεν ο κυριος E F G K L W Y Θ Π 0102 0107 0161 0281 1 13[apud NA27] 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Merk (RV) [Soden] Vogels**

Matthew 23:4

- βαρεα και δυσβαστακτα B D(* βαρεα και αδυσβαστακτα) E F G K W Y Θ 0102 0107 13 28 33 565 *Byz* vg hark sa; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV[txt] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH[marg]**
- βαρεα (א μεγαλα βαρεα) L 1 (700 δυσβαστακτα) 892 sin cur pesh bo; **HG NEB RV[marg] Soden Tisch WH[txt]**

Matthew 23:21

- κατουκουντι א B H S Θ Φ Ω 1 13 28 1424 pm; **HF[marg] HG Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH[txt]**
- κατοικησαντι C D E F G K L W Y Z Γ Δ Π 0102 (33 οικησαντι) 565 579 700 892 1241 pm; **Bover Gr HF[txt] Soden Treg Vogels WH[marg]**

Matthew 23:23

- ταυτα δε εδει B C K L M O W Y Δ Π Σ Φ 0102 33 157 565 892 pm a d h; **Gr Lach Merk RV Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH**
- ταυτα εδει א D E F G Γ Θ 1 13 28 579 700 1241 1424 pm vg bo; **Bover HF HG (NEB) Soden Tisch**

Matthew 23:26

- ποτηριου D Θ 1 700 a e ff[2] r[1] sin; **Bover HG Merk NEB Tisch UBS Weiss**
- ποτηριου και της παροψιδος א B C E F G K L W Y Π 0102 0281 13 33 565 892 *Byz* vg pesh hark sa bo; **HF Lach RV [Soden] Treg Vogels [WH]**

Matthew 23:36

- ταυτα παντα א C D L M S Θ Φ 13 28 565 579 1241 1424 pm; **HF[marg] (NEB) (RV) Tisch UBS Vogels WH[txt]**
- παντα ταυτα B E F G K W Y Γ Δ Π 0102 1 33 700 892 pm d; **Bover HF[txt] HG Lach Merk Soden Treg Weiss WH[marg]**

Matthew 24:16

- εις τα ορη B D Δ Θ 094 1 28 700 892 1424 pm; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- επι τα ορη א E F G K L W Y Z Γ Π 13 33 565 579 pm; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**

Matthew 24:24

- ωστε πλανησαι B E F G K W Y Π 0271^{vid} 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz* c f ff^{1} h; **HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ωστε πλανασθαι L Z Θ 1 33 157; **Bover Soden Treg WH^{txt}**
- ωστε πλανηθηναι א D; **Tisch**

Matthew 24:30

- εν ουρανω א B L Θ 700; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εν τω ουρανω E F G K W Y Π 1 13 28 33 565 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**
- του εν ουρανοις D

Matthew 24:31A

- σαλπιγγος א L W X^{comm} Δ Θ 1 700 892* 1424 sin mae bo; **Bover HG NEB RV^{marg} Tisch UBS WH^{txt}**
- σαλπιγγος φωνης B E G K Y Π 13 28 33 565 *Byz* sa; **HF Lach Merk RV^{txt} Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- σαλπιγγος και φωνης D 1241 vg

Matthew 24:31B

- εως των ακρων B Θ 1 13 33 700 892; **Bover HG Soden Treg [UBS] [WH]**
- εως ακρων א D E F G K L W Y Π 28 565 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Vogels Weiss**

Matthew 24:33

- παντα ταυτα B E F G L M S V X Y Δ (Θ παν ταυτα) Π Ω 22 565 700 pm e q hark; **HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) UBS Weiss WH**
- ταυτα παντα א D H K U V W Γ Σ Φ 0281 1 13 28 33 700 892 1241 1424 pm vg; **Bover HF^{txt} HG Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Matthew 24:36

- ουδε ο υιος א*,2 B D Θ Φ 13 28 e arm geo^{1}; **Bover HG Lach NEB RV^{txt} Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- *omit* א^{1} E F G K L W Y Π 1 33 565 700 892 *Byz* g^{1} l am; **HF Merk RV^{marg} Soden Treg Vogels**

Matthew 24:38

- γαμιζοντες א (D γαμειζοντεσ) 33; **Bover (NEB) Tisch UBS WH**
- εκγαμιζοντες E F G K L Y Θ Π 067 1 28 565 700 *Byz*; **HF HG Merk (RV) Treg Soden Vogels**
- γαμισκοντες B; **Lach Weiss**
- εκγαμιστονητες W 1424
- εγγαμισκοντες Σ 13 892 1241

Matthew 24:40

- δυο εσονται א^{2} D E F G K L W Y Θ Π 067 1 13 28 33 565 700 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- εσονται δυο א* B 892 aur h l r^{1}; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 25:1

- λαμπαδας εαυτων B D L Θ 124; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- λαμπαδας αυτων א C E G K W Y Π 057 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**
- λαμπαδας 0249

Matthew 25:3

- λαμπαδας αυτων B C E G K D W Y (Z 1 **Gr HF^{marg} (RV)** λαμπαδας εαυτων) Π 0249 13 28 565 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) [Soden] Treg UBS [Vogels] [WH]**
- λαμπαδας א L Θ 700; **HG NEB Tisch Weiss**

Matthew 25:4

- λαμπαδων εαυτων א B 0249^{c}; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- λαμπαδων αυτων D E(* *h.t.)* F G K L W Y (Θ αυτου) Π 0249* 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Merk(RV) Soden Treg Vogels**
- λαμπαδων C Z^{vid} 1424

Matthew 25:6

- απαντησιν αυτου A (C συναντησιν αυτω) D E F G K L W Y (Θ υπαντησον αυτου) Π 0249 1 13 565 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk NEB RV (Soden UBS [αυτου]) Treg Vogels**
- απαντησιν א B (Z υπαντησιν) Σ 700; **Bover Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 25:16

- και εκερδησεν א^{2} A* B C D L Θ Σ 1 33 69 157 826 892 1010 1424 vg pesh hark^{marg} sa; **Bover Lach Merk NEB Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και εποιησεν א* A^{c} E F G K W Y Π 13 28 565 700 *Byz* q hark^{txt}; **HF HG RV Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 25:17A

- ωσαυτως א* C* L Θ aur b am cav; **HG NEB Soden Tisch UBS WH^{txt}**
- ωσαυτως και א^{2} (A h r ^{1} ωσαυτως δε και) B C^{3} D E F G K W Y Π 1 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz* ful sanger; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Matthew 25:17B

- εκερδησεν א B C* L 33 892 1010 1424 vg pesh sa bo; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εκερδησεν και αυτος A C^{3} (D και αυτος εκερδησεν) E F G K W Y Θ Π 1 13 28 565 700 *Byz* h hark; **HF HG Merk Soden Vogels**

Matthew 25:22

- προσελθων δε א² A C D E F G K L W Y Θ Π (1 παρελθων δε) 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz* vg hark mae bo; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- προσελθων א* B 1573 sa; **(NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 25:39

- ασθενουντα B D Θ 0281 124; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ασθενη א A E F G K L W Y Π 067 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Matthew 25:41

- οι κατηραμενοι A D E F G K W Y Θ Π 067[vid] 1 13 (28) 565 700 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk [Soden] Treg [UBS] [Vogels]**
- κατηραμενοι א B L 0128 0281 33 1355; **(NEB) RV Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 26:20

- δωδεκα P[37-vid] P[45-vid] B D E F G K Y Γ 1 13 28 565 579 700 pm; **Bover HF RV[marg] Treg UBS Vogels Weiss**
- δωδεκα μαθητων א A L W Δ Θ Π (0281 cav ful val pesh δωδεκα μαθητων αυτου) 33 892 1241 1424 pm am; **HG Lach [Merk] NEB RV[txt] Soden Tisch [WH]**

Matthew 26:22

- εις εκαστος א B C L Z 0281 33 892; **Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- εις εκαστος αυτων P[45-vid] D M Θ 13 157 sin pesh hark[marg]; **Bover HG (Merk Soden εις εκαστος [αυτων])**
- εκαστος αυτων A E F G K W Y Δ Π Σ 074 1 28 565 700 1241 *Byz* hark[txt]; **HF**
- *omit* P[64-vid] 1424

Matthew 26:39

- προελθων P[37] B M Π Σ[c] Φ Ω 22 892 1424[c] vg sin pesh sa bo; **Bover HF[txt] HG Lach Merk NEB RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH[txt]**
- προσελθων P[53] א A C D L Θ 067 1 13 28 33 565 700 *Byz* hark; **HF[txt] Soden Tisch Treg WH[marg]**

Matthew 26:45

- το λοιπον P^{37} א A D E F G K Y Θ Π 1 13 28 565 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- λοιπον B C L W 892 1241; **Merk (NEB) Weiss WH**

Matthew 26:53A

- πλειω א* B D; **Bover Lach Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πλειους $א^2$ A C E F G K L W (Θ) 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Merk NEB (RV) Soden Vogels**
- πλειον 1424

Matthew 26:53B

- δωδεκα א B D L Θ 700 b? d?; **Bover HG Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- η δωδεκα A C E F G K W Y Π 1 13 28 33 565 892 *Byz*; **HF [Lach] Merk NEB (RV) [Soden] Vogels**

Matthew 26:58

- απο μακροθεν A B D G K N W Y Γ Θ 13 565 579 700 1241 1424 pm; **Bover HG HF Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss [WH]**
- μακροθεν א C E F L Δ 1 28 33 892 pm; **Soden Tisch**

Matthew 26:61

- οικοδομησαι B Θ 1 69 700* 788 983; **HG Merk NEB Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτον οικοδομησαι א C L 33 892; **Bover Soden Tisch Vogels**
- οικοδομησαι αυτον A D E F G K W Y Π 28 565 700^{c} *Byz* vg; **HF (RV) Treg**

Matthew 26:65

- βλασφημιαν א B D L Z 700 a c ff^{1} g^{1} h l am ful sa bo; **Bover HG NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- βλασφημιαν αυτου A C E F G K W Y (Θ) Π 0281 1 13 28 33 565 892 *Byz* b f ff^{2} q pesh hark (mae); **HF [Lach] [Merk] Soden Vogels**

Matthew 26:71

- εξελθοντα δε א B L Z 33 892 (a n); **Merk NEB Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- εξελθοντα δε αυτον A C (D vg εξελθοντος δε αυτου) E F G K W Y Θ Π 0281 1 13 565 700 *Byz* b r^{1}; **Bover HF HG (Lach Soden** εξελθοντα δε **[**αυτον**]) RV Tisch**

Matthew 27:2

- Πιλατω א (B Πειλατω) L Σ 0281 33 sin pesh sa bo; **Merk NEB RV (Tisch WH** Πειλατω**) Treg UBS Weiss**
- Ποντιω Πιλατω A C E F G K W Y (Θ Πειλατω) Π 0250 1 13 565 700 892 *Byz* ol vg; **Bover HF HG Lach [Soden] Vogels**[apud N27]

Matthew 27:3

- εστρεψεν א* B L 0231[vid] 544; **(NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- απεστρεψεν א[1] A C W Θ 0281 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk Soden Vogels**

Matthew 27:24

- αιματος τουτου B D Θ a b ff^{2} r^{1}; **Bover HG NEB RV**[marg] **Tisch UBS Weiss WH**[txt]
- αιματος του δικαιου τουτου א (A Δ Φ aur f h αιματος τουτου του δικαιου) E F G K L W Y Π 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF (Lach** αιματος τουτου **[**του δικαιου**]) Merk RV**[txt] **Soden (Treg** αιματος **[**του δικαιου**]** τουτου**) Vogels WH**[marg]
- αιματος του δικαιου 1010

Matthew 27:29A

- ενεπαιξαν א B (D) L Γ 33 892; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ενεπαιζον (A) E F G K W Y Θ Π 0250 1 13 565 700 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**

Matthew 27:29B

- βασιλευ B D Y Δ Θ Π Φ 0250 0281 1; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**[txt]
- ο βασιλευς א A E F G K L W 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels WH**[marg]

Matthew 27:35

- βαλλοντες B E F G K L W 13 700 892* *Byz*; **HF^{txt} HG Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- βαλοντες א A D Θ Π* 0281 1 565 892^{c} bo; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Tisch WH^{marg}**

Matthew 27:40

- και καταβηθι א* A D a b c h r^{1} (sin) pesh; **Bover (NEB) Lach Tisch Weiss [UBS]**
- καταβηθι א^{2} B E F G K L W Y Θ Π 0250 1 13 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz* vg hark; **HF HG Merk (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH**

Matthew 27:42

- πιστευσομεν B D E G K S U V Y Π 1 700 892 pm sangall; **HF HG Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels UBS Weiss WH**
- πιστευσωμεν א F L W Γ Δ Θ Ω 33 69 124 157 346 565 579 1424 pm ful?; **Bover Soden Tisch**
- πιστευομεν A 1241 am cav; **Lach**

Matthew 27:51

- απ ανωθεν εως κατω εις δυο B C* 33 sa^{mss} bo; **Bover Merk (NEB) Soden Treg UBS Weiss (WH [απ] ανωθεν εως κατω εις δυο)**
- ανωθεν εως κατω εις δυο L sa^{mss}; **Tisch**
- εις δυο απο ανωθεν εως κατω A C^{3} E F G K W (Y **HG** etc. απ) Π 1 13 28 565 700 89s *Byz* pesh hark mae; **HF HG Lach (RV) Vogels**
- απ ανω εως κατω 1424
- εις δυο ανωθεν εως κατω א Θ
- ευς δυο μερη απο ανωθεν εως κατω D OL vg

Matthew 27:54

- γενομενα א A C L W Θ 1 13 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF RV Soden UBS Vogels**
- γινομενα B (D) S 33 157; **Bover HG Merk NEB Lach Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Matthew 27:56

- Ιωσηφ (א) D* L W Θ 157 vg sin hark^{marg} mae bo; **Bover NEB Tisch UBS WH^{txt}**
- Ιωση A B C 1 13 33 565 700 892 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- Ιωσητος D^{c}

Matthew 27:57

- εμαθητευθη א C D Θ Σ 1 33 700 892; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- εμαθητευσεν A B E F G K L W Y Π 13 28 565 *Byz*; **Bover (HF RV** εμαθητευσε**) HG Merk Soden Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Matthew 27:59

- εν σινδονι B D Θ sangall sanger bo; **Bover (NEB) Treg [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- σινδονι א A C E F G K L W Y Π 1 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz* g^{1} am cav mae; **HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Matthew 27:65

- εφη B E F G H K L M^{c} Γ Θ 13 33 157 700 1241 pm vg sin pesh sa mae; **Bover Gr HF^{marg} HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εφη δε א A C D W Y Δ Π 1 28 565 579 892 1424 pm hark**; **HF^{txt} Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

Matthew 28:14

- πεισομεν αυτον A C D E F G K L W Y Π 0148 0234 1 13 28 565 700 892 *Byz* vg; **HF Lach Merk [Soden] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- πεισομεν א B Θ 33 e; **Bover HG NEB RV Tisch Weiss WH**

Matthew 28:15

- σημερον ημερας B D L Θ 569 vg; **Bover Lach NEB Treg [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- σημερον א A E F G K W Y Π 0148^{vid} 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 *Byz* e ff^{2}; **HF HG Merk RV Soden Tisch Vogels**

Mark

Mark 1:1

- χριστου υιου θεου א¹ B D L W 2427; **Lach NEB^{txt} Treg (UBS [υιου θεου]) Weiss WH^{marg}**
- χριστου υιου του θεου A E F G^{supp} H K Γ Δ Σ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1010 1071 (1241 υιου του κυριου) 1342 1506 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk RV^{txt} (Soden [του]) Vogels**
- χηριστου א* Θ 28(* omits χηριστου); **HG NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Tisch WH^{txt}**

Mark 1:2

- ιδου αποστελλω B D Θ 28* 565 2427 am cav dur harl med val; **Bover Lach NEB Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ιδου εγω αποστελλω א A E F H K Γ Δ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF HG Merk (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Mark 1:4

- ο βαπτιζων εν τη ερημω και א L Δ 983 1342; **RV Tisch (Treg [και]) (UBS [ο]) Vogels**
- ο βαπτιζων εν τη ερημω B 33 (892) 2427; **Bover NEB Weiss WH**
- βαπτιζων εν τη ερημω και A E F G H K P^{vid} W Γ Σ 1 13 565 579 892 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* f hark; **HF HG Lach Merk Soden**
- εν τη ερημω βαπτιζων και D Θ 28 700 a aur b c d ff¹ l q r¹t pesh

Mark 1:15

- και λεγων οτι A B K L W Δ Θ 1 13 28$^{apud\ NA27}$ 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 2417 *pm* l r² vg pesh hark bo; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) (Soden [και]) Treg (UBS WH [και λεγων]) Vogels Weiss**
- λεγων οτι א¹ D E F G H S U V Γ Σ Ω 047 074 0133 945 1006 1071 *pm;* **HG**
- οτι א* c sin; **NEB Tisch**

Mark 1:21

- εισελθων εις την συναγωγην εδιδασκεν A B W 1 579 1241 1424 2427 *Byz* t hark; **(HF RV** εδιδασκε**) Merk (NEB) (Treg [**εισελθων**]) UBS Vogel Weiss WH**^{txt}
- εδιδασκεν εις την συναγωγην א(* εδιδαξεν) L 28 565 (sin) geo^{1}; **Bover HG Soden Tisch WH**^{marg}
- εισελθων εις την συναγωγην εδιδασκεν αυτους D Θ 700 1342 vg (hark *αυτουσ*)
- εδιδασκεν εν τοις σαββασιν εις την συναγωγην C
- εισελθων εδιδασκεν εις την συναγωγην 33
- εδιδασκεν εις την συναγωγην αυτους 892
- εις την συναγωγην αυτων εδιδασκεν Γ

Mark 1:24A

- λεγων א* B D W Θ 28* 157 565 2427 2542 ol vg sin pesh sa bo; **Bover HG Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- λεγων εα א^{2} A C E F G H K L Γ Δ 1 33 579 700 1241 1324 *Byz*; **HF [Merk] [Soden] Vogels**

Mark 1:24B

- οιδα A B C D E F G H K Γ Θ 1 28 33 565 579 700 1241 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**^{txt}
- οιδαμεν א L Δ 892 bo arm; **Soden Tisch WH**^{marg}

Mark 1:25

- Ιησους λεγων א^{2} A^{c} B C D E F G H K Γ Δ Θ 1 28 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach NEB RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- Ιησους א* A*; **Merk Tisch**
- Ιησους και ειπεν W b c e

Mark 1:27

- προς εαυτους A C D E F H K (W) Γ Δ Θ 1 28[apud NA27] 33 565[apud NA27] 579 700 1241 1342 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels WH[marg]**
- αυτους א B 2427 b e ff[2] q; **NEB Tisch Weiss WH[txt]**
- προς αυτους G L S Φ 892; **Bover**
- προς αλληλους 1194

Mark 1:32

- οτε εδυ א A C K L W Δ Θ 1 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 *Byz*; **HF HG RV Soden Tisch UBS Vogels**
- οτε εδυσεν B D 28 1424 2427; **Bover Lach Merk NEB Treg Weiss WH**

Mark 1:37

- και ευρον αυτον και λεγουσιν א B L 892 892 2427 e; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και ευροντες αυτον λεγουσιν A C E F G K Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 565 579 700 1241 (1342) *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk Soden Vogels**
- λεγοντες W b c
- και οτε ευρον αυτον λεγουσιν D

Mark 1:40

- και γονυπετων και λεγων א[2] L Θ 1 565 579 892 1241 1424 2542 e f l; **NEB (Soden γονυπετων [και]) (UBS [και γονυπετων])**
- και γονυπετων λεγων א*; **Bover HG Merk Tisch (WH [και γονυπετων])**
- και γονυπετων αυτον και λεγων A C E F K Δ Θ Σ 0130 0233 33[vid] 157 700 (1010 1071 αυτω) 1342 *Byz*; **HF RV[txt] (Treg [και γονυπετων αυτον]) Vogels**
- και λεγων D G W Γ a aur b c d ff[2] r[1]; **Lach RV[marg]**
- λεγων B 2427
- και γονυπετων αυτον λεγων **Weiss?**

Mark 1:45

- φανερως εις πολιν εισελθειν A B K Γ Δ Θ 0130 1 579 700 1241 1342 *Byz* a b f am cav hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εις πολιν φανερως εισελθειν א C L 28 33 565 892 1071 2542; **Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**
- φανερως εισελθειν εις πολιν D ff^{2}

Mark 2:1

- εν οικω εστιν P^{88} א B D L W Θ Σ 33 892 1071 1342 2427; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- εις οικον εστιν A C E G K Γ Δ 0130 1 13 28 565 579 700 *Byz*; **(HF RV** εστι**) HG Merk Soden Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Mark 2:9

- και αρον τον κραββατον σου P^{88} א (A B* *al* HF^{marg} κραβαττον) K Θ Π Σ 28 565 892 1071 M 1241 2427 *pm* a am cav dubl val; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch (Treg WH [**και**]) UBS**
- και αρον σου τον κραββατον E F G H Γ Δ 0130 1006 2542 *pm;* **HF^{txt} (HF^{marg}** κραβαττον**) HG (RV) Soden Vogels**
- αρον τον κραββατον σου C (D) L 1 (33 αρον σου τον κραββατον) 579 700^{c} 1424 f l q; **Weiss**
- *omit* W 13 b c e

Mark 2:10

- αφιεναι αμαρτιας επι της γης B Θ Π 157 2427; **Bover Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- επι της γης αφιεναι αμαρτιας P^{88} א C D H L M Δ Σ 0130 33 205 209 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 2542 *pm* f ff^{2} l vg pesh bo; **HF^{marg} Lach (RV) Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**
- αφιεναι επι της γης αμαρτιας A E F G K Γ 1 13 28 565 1006 *pm* hark; **HF^{txt} HG Soden Vogels**
- αφιεναι αμαρτιας W b q

Mark 2:16A

- οτι εσθιει B L 33 565 (579) 2427 b d (ff^{2}) r^{1}; **Lach Merk NEB RV UBS Weiss WH**
- οτι ησθιεν P^{88} א D 892 c; **Bover HG Soden Tisch Treg**
- αυτον εσθιοντα (A εσθιοντα αυτον) C E F G H K Γ Δ 0130^{vid} 1 13 28 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a f q; **HF Vogels**
- οτι εσθιον (sic.) Θ
- *omit* ιδοντεσ... τελωνων W e

Mark 2:16B

- οτι μετα των τελωνων B C^{vid} L 33 1342 1424 2427 2542; **Bover (HG ο τι) NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- τι οτι μετα των τελωνων A E F G H K Γ Δ 1 13 28 565 579 700 892 1241 *Byz* hark; **HF Lach Merk Soden Vogels**
- δια τι μετα των τελωνων א D W ol vg sa geo
- τι μετα των τελωνων Θ

Mark 2:16C

- αμαρτωλων εσθιει B D W (Θ εσθιετε) 2427 a b e ff^{2} r^{1}; **Bover NEB RV^{marg} UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- αμαρτωλων εσθιει και πινει P^{88} A E F (G Σ 565 700 1241 1424 arm geo εσθιετε και πινετε) H K Γ 1 13 28 33 157 828 892 1010 *Byz* c q pesh hark; **HF HG (Lach [**και πινει**]) Merk RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- αμαρτωλων εσθιει ο διδασκαλος υμων א 1342 aur
- αμαρτωλων εσθιει και πιναι ο διδασκαλος υμων (C (579) l ο διδασκαλος υμων εσθιει και πιναι) L Δ 1071 1243 f bo

Mark 2:17

- οτι ου χρειαν P^{88} B Δ Θ 565 1071 2427; **Bover HG Merk (NEB) Soden [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- ου χρειαν א A C D E F G H K L Γ W 113 28 33 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg pesh hark; **HF Lach (RV) Tisch Treg Vogels**

Mark 2:26

- ει μη τους ιερεις א B 072 892 (2427); **NEB Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ει μη τοις ιερευσιν A C D E G H (L ει μη τοις ιερεισ) W (Θ) 1 565 700 1424 *Byz*; **Bover (HF RV** ιερουσι**) HG Lach Merk Soden Treg Vogels**
- ει μη τοις ιερευσιν μονοις Δ (13 ει μη μονοις τοις ιερευσιν) 33
- ει μη τοις αρχιερευσιν (Φ ει μη τοις αρχιερευσιν μονοισ) 28 579 1241

Mark 3:2

- ει τοις σαββασιν A B E K L W Γ Δ 072 1 13 28 33 565 579 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **(HF** σαββασι**) HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ει εν τοις σαββασιν א C D M S Θ 047 346 1241 2542; **Bover [Soden] Tisch**

Mark 3:3

- την ξηραν χειρα εχοντι א C* Δ Θ; **HG Tisch UBS Vogels**
- την χειρα εχοντι ξηραν B (L την χειρα εχον ξηραν) (28) 565 892 2427 (2542) a; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg Weiss WH**
- εξηραμμενην εχοντι την χειρα A E G H K Γ 0213 1 13 579 1241 *Byz*; **HF Soden**
- την ξηραν εχοντι χειρα 33^{vid}
- εχοντι την χειρα ξηραν W
- εχοντι χειρα την ξηραν C^{3}
- εχοντι την χειρα εξηραμμενην D
- την χειρα εχοντι εξηραμμενην 28 2542

Mark 3:4

- αγαθον ποιησαι א W; **Merk NEB Tisch UBS Weiss**
- αγαθοποιησαι A B E G H K L Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 565 579 892 1241 1342 1424 2427 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach RV Soden Treg Vogels WH**
- τι αγαθον ποιησαι D b e

Mark 3:5

- την χειρα B E Γ 1006 1342 2427 *pm;* **HF^{marg} HG Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- την χειρα σου א A C D G H K L P W Δ Θ 1 (13 346 828 σου την χειρα) 28 565 579 700 892 1241 (1424 σου την χειρα) 1506 2542 *pm* ol vg pesh hark; **Bover HF^{txt}Lach RV [Soden] [Treg] WH^{txt}**

Mark 3:11

- και εκραζον λεγοντες א D P W Γ 1 28 69 205 579; **Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- και εκραζον λεγοντα B C E G H L Δ Θ 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 2427 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{marg} (HF^{txt} RV εκραζε) HG Lach Merk (NEB) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Mark 3:20

- ο οχλος א^{1} A B D L^{c} Δ Θ^{c} 544 565 892 1006 1241 2427 2542; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) RV [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- οχλος א* C E F G H K L* W Γ Θ* 1 13 28 33 579 700 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Tisch**

Mark 3:26

- ανεστη εφ εαυτον και εμερισθη B L 892^{txt} 1342 2427; **Merk RV UBS Weiss WH**
- ανεστη εφ εαυτον και μεμερισται A C^{2} E F G H K Γ Θ 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 (1241 και ου μεμερισται) 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Soden Treg Vogels**
- ανεστη εφ εαυτον εμερισθη και א* C*^{vid} Δ; **NEB Tisch**
- ανεστη εφ εαυτον μεμερισται και; **Bover**
- εφ εαυτον εμερισθη W sin
- ανεστη εφ εαυτον και εμερισθη και א^{1}
- 2^{6} και εαν ο σατανας σαταναν εκβαλλει μεμερισθαι D$^{(2)}$

Mark 3:32

- αδελφοι σου και αι αδελφαι σου A D E F H Γ 700 1010 1243 *pm* a b c d f ff^{2} q hark^{marg}; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Tisch Treg [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss**
- αδελφοι σου א B C G K L W Δ Θ Π Σ Φ 1 13 28 33 157 565 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 1505 2542 aur e l r^{1} am cav sin pesh hark^{txt} sa bo arm eth geo; **Merk NEB RV WH**

Mark 3:35

- ος γαρ αν א A C D E F G H K L Δ Θ 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a c d f q vg pesh hark sa; **Bover HF HG Merk RV Soden [Treg] [UBS] Vogels WH^{txt}**
- ος αν B 2427 b e; **Lach NEB Tisch Weiss WH^{marg}**
- και ος αν W

Mark 4:8

- εν τριακοντα και εν εξηκνοτα και εν εκατον A C^{2} D E F G H K Θ Σ 1 13 33 157 565 579 892 1010 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* OL vg pesh hark arm; **(Bover HF HG Lach Vogels UBS ... ...)**
- εις... εν... εν B L; **(Merk (NEB) Weiss WH^{txt} εισ... ...)**
- εις... εις... εις א C*^{vid} Δ 28 700; **Soden RV Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**
- εις... εις... *omit* 2427
- το εν... το εν... το εν W
- εις... *omit... εν* 1071

Mark 4:15

- εσπαρμενον εις αυτους B W 1 13 28 2427 2542 geo; **Bover HG (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εσπαρμενον εν αυτους א C L Δ 579 892 c hark^{marg}; **Merk Soden Tisch Vogels**
- εσπαρμενον εν ταις καρδιαις αυτων (A l eth ...απο της καρδιας αυτων) D E F G H K Θ Σ 33 157 565 700 1010 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a aur d f ff^{2} i vg sin pesh hark^{txt} arm slav; **HF Lach**

Mark 4:16

- και ουτοι εισιν D W Θ 1 13 28 565 579 700 1006 2542 sin pesh sa; **UBS**
- και ουτοι ομοιως εισιν א C L Δ 33 892 1241 1342; **Soden Tisch**
- και ουτοι εισιν ομοιως A B E F G H K 1424 2427 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Mark 4:21

- αυτοις א A C D E F G H K W Δ Θ 1 33 565 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg; **HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- αυτοις οτι B L 892 2427; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**
- αυτοις ιδετε 13 28

Mark 4:22

- εστιν B D H K M U W Y Θ Π* 1 13 28 565 579 700 2427 2542 *pm* b e ff^{2} g^{1} i q sa bo; **Bover (HF^{marg} εστι) Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- εστιν τι א A C E F G L Δ 33 892 1241 1424 *pm* vg sin pesh hark; **(HF^{txt} RV εστι) HG [Lach] Merk NEB Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Mark 4:24

- μετρηθησεται υμιν και προστεθησεται υμιν א B C L Δ 700 892 2427 c aur ff^{2} g^{1} i r^{1} am cav theo tol; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- μετρηθησεται υμιν και προστεθησεται υμιν τοις ακουουσιν A E F H K (Θ Σ) 0107 0167 1 13 (28) (33) 157 1010 1071 (1241) 1342 1424 *Byz* q sin pesh hark geo;**HF^{txt} (HF^{marg} αντιμετρηθησεται υμιν και προστεθησεται υμιν τοις ακουουσιν) HG Merk Soden Vogels**
- μετρηθησεται υμιν D (G) W 565 579 b d e l dubl sanger

Mark 4:28(A)

- χορτον ειτα σταυχυν ειτα (א^{1} ειτα...ειτεν) A B^{2} C D E F G H K W Θ 0107 0167 1 13 28 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 2427 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- χορτον ειτεν σταυχυν ειτεν (א* *omits* σταυχυν ειτεν) B* L Δ; **HG Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**
- χορτον επειτα σταυχυν ειτα 565

Mark 4:38

- και αυτος ην א B C L Δ 579 892 1071 1342 2427; **Merk (NEB) RV UBS Weiss WH**
- και ην αυτος A D E F G H K W Θ 1 13 28 33 565 700 1241 1424 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Mark 4:40

- δειλοι εστε ουπω א B D L Δ Θ 565 (579 (1424) δειλοι εστε ολιγοπιστοι ουπω) 700 892* 1342 2427 a aur b c d ff^{2} i l vg sa bo; **Bover HG Lach RV Treg UBS WH**
- δειλοι εστε ουτως πως ουκ A C E F G H K Σ 0167 33 157 1010 1071 1241 *Byz* (f) (pesh) hark; **HF Merk Tisch Vogels Weiss**
- δειλοι εστε ουτως ουπω **(NEB) Soden**
- δειλοι εστε ουτως W (e) (q)
- ουτως δειλοι εστε ουπω P$^{45\text{-vid}}$ 1 13 28(* ουτως δειλοι ουπω) 205 (892^{c} δειλοι εστε ουτως ουπω) 2542 arm geo^{1}

Mark 5:6

- προσεκυνησεν αυτω א D E F G H K W Θ 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Vogels**
- προσεκυνησεν αυτον A B C L Δ 047 892 1071 1241 1342 2427; **Bover HG Merk Soden Weiss WH**

Mark 5:10

- αυτα αποστειλη B C Δ (Θ αποστειλη αυτα); **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτους αποστειλη (A 1 579 1006 1241 αποστειλη αυτουσ) D E F G H 13 28 565 700 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**
- αυτον αποστειλη א (K Π W 892 αποστειλη αυτον) L 1342 2427 vg pesh bo

Mark 5:25

- γυνη א A B C L W Δ 1 33 209 892 1342 2427 2542 vg geo^{B}; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- γυνη τις D E F G H K Θ 0132 13 28 565 579 700 1241 1424 *Byz* a f sin pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Soden Vogels**

Mark 5:26

- τα παρ αυτης παντα A B E F G H L 0132 13 33 579 2427 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- τα παρ εαυτης παντα א C K Δ Π 1071 1241; **Bover HG (RV) Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**
- τα εαυτης παντα D W Θ 1 (28) 209 565 700 1424 2542

Mark 5:27

- περι του Ιησου א^{c} C^{2} D E F G H K L W Θ 0132^{vid} 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- τα περι του Ιησου א* B C* Δ 1546 2427; **HG [Merk] NEB RV Tisch Weiss WH**

Mark 5:33

- γεγονεν αυτη א B C D L 544 892 1342 1675 2427 pal; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- γεγονεν επ αυτη A E (F εν αυτη) G H K W Θ 0132 1 28 33 579 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG [Lach] Soden Vogels**
- γεγονεν επ αυτην Φ 13 565 1241 1604

Mark 5:34

- θυγατηρ B D W 0133 28 2427; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- θυγατερ א A C$^{2\text{-}vid}$(* *illegible)* E F G H K L Δ Θ 0132 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**
- *omit* 579

Mark 5:40

- παιδιον א B D L Δ 0153 892 983 1689 2427 a b e ff^{2} i r^{1}; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- παιδιον ανακειμενον A C E F G H K 33 579 1241 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG [Lach] [Merk] Soden Vogels**
- παιδιον κατακειμενον W Θ Σ 1 (13 κατακεκλιμενον) 22 28 205 565 700 1506 2542

Mark 6:2(B)

- και αι δυναμεις τοιαυται δια των χειρων αυτου γινομεναι א* B 33apud NA27,HG 892 1342 2427 bo geo; **Merk RV (Treg *omits* αι) UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- και δυναμεις τοιαυται δια των χειρων αυτου γινονται A C² E F G H (N Σ 1241 αι δυναμεισ) W 1 13 28 565 1071 1424 *Byz* a e (f); **Bover HF HG Lach NEB Soden Tisch**
- ινα και δυναμεις τοιαυται δια των χειρων αυτου γινωνται C* D K (Θ 700) 346 (b) d ff² (i) (q) (r¹ (pesh) hark arm
- και αι δυναμεις αι τοιαυται αι δια των χειρων αυτου γινομεναι א¹ Δ 33vid apud UBS4
- και δυναμεις τοιαυται δια των χειρων αυτου γινομεναι L 579

Mark 6:12

- μετανοωσιν B D L W Θ 2427; **Bover HG Lach NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- μετανοησωσιν א A C E F G H K 1 13 28 33 565 (579) 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **(HF RV μετανοησωσι) Merk Soden Vogels**

Mark 6:14

- και ελεγον B W 2427 a b ff² bigot claromont; **Bover Lach NEBtxt RVmarg UBS Weiss WHtxt**
- και ελεγεν א A C E F G H K L Δ Θ Σ 0269 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c f i l q r¹ am cav harl tol; **HF HG Merk NEBmarg RVtxtSoden Tisch Treg Vogels WHmarg**
- και ελεγοσαν D
- και ειπεν τοις παισιν αυτου Φ

Mark 6:22(B)

- ορχησαμενης ηρεσεν א B C* L Δ 33 1342 2427 c ff²; **Lach Merk (NEB) (RV ηρεσε) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ορχησαμενης και αρεσασης P⁴⁵ A C³ D E F G H K WΘ 1 13 28 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG Soden Vogels**

Mark 6:22(C)

- ειπεν ο βασιλευς C^3 D E F G H K W Θ 1 13 28 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF HG Soden UBS Vogels**
- ο δε βασιλευς ειπεν א (A ειπεν δε ο βασιλευσ) B C^* L Δ 33 1342 2427 sa; **(Lach** ειπεν δε ο βασιλευσ**) Merk (NEB) (RV** ειπε**) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- ειπεν ο ηρωδες P^{45*} (P^{45c} ειπεν ο βασιλευς ηρωδεσ)

Mark 6:23(B)

- οτι εαν *(v.l* ο τι εαν, etc.) P^{45} B Δ 33* 118 124 1241 1342 2427; **UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- οτι ο εαν א A E F G H K L N Γ Θ Σ 13 28 33^c 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1424 *Byz* ol vg arm geo; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) RV (Soden** οτι **[**ο**]) Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- ει τι εαν D

Mark 6:27

- ενεγκαι την κεφαλην א B C Δ 892 1342 2427; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ενεχθηναι την κεφαλην A D E F G H K L W Γ Θ 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Vogels**

Mark 6:33

- πολλοι B D W Θ 1 28 205 700 2427 2542 vg; **Bover Gr HG Lach NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- αυτους πολλοι א A K L M N U Δ Π Σ 33 579 892 1006 1241 1342 1424 *pm* f q bo; **(Merk Soden [**αυτουσ**]) Tisch**
- αυτον πολλοι E F G H Γ 565 1506 *pm;* **HF**
- αυτον 13

Mark 6:37

- δωσομεν P^{45} A B L Δ 2427 2542; **Lach (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- δωσωμεν א D N 13 28 33 565 892 1006 1342 1424; **Bover HG Merk Soden Tisch**
- δωμεν E F G H K W Γ Θ 1 579 700 892 1241 *Byz*; **HF**

Mark 6:41

- μαθηταις αυτου P^{45} A D E F G H K N W Γ Θ Σ 1 13 28 157 565 700 1071 *Byz* a aur b c f ff^2 i l q r^1 vg sin pesh hark geo; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden [UBS]**
- μαθηταις א B L Δ 33 579 892 1241 1424 2427 d bo arm; **Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Mark 6:49

- εδοξαν οτι φαντασμα εστιν א B L Δ 33 579 892 1342; **Merk (NEB) (RV** εστι**) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- εδοξαν φαντασμα ειναι A D E F G H K (W 1 28 205 2452 φαντασμα εδοξαν ειναι) Γ Θ 565 700 1241 1424 2427 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Treg Vogels**

Mark 7:4A

- βαπτισωνται A D E G H K W Γ Θ &Sigma 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg; **Bover HF HG Lach NEB RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- ραντισωνται א B 71 sa geo; **Merk RV^{marg} Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- βαπτιζωνται F L Δ

Mark 7:4B

- χαλκιων και κλινων A D K W Γ Θ 1 13 28^{c} 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* ol vg pesh hark arm geo; **Bover HF HG Lach RV^{marg} [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- χαλκιων P^{45vid} א B L Δ 28* 1342 (sin omits και χαλκιων) bo; **Merk NEB RV^{txt} Tisch WH**

Mark 7:8

- των ανθρωπων P^{45} א B L W Δ 0274 1 205 2427 sa bo arm geo; **Bover HG NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- των ανθρωπων βαπτισμους ξεστων και ποτηριων και αλλα παρομοια τοιαυτα πολλα ποιειτε (A omits αλλα) (D Θ 0131^{vid} 28 565 a b c d ff^2 i q r^1 *add at beginning of verse, with variations)* E (F) G H K Γ Σ 13 33 (157) 579 700 892 1071 1241 (1342 των ανθρωπων βαπτισμους ξεστων και ποτηριων και χαλκιων) 1424 *Byz* aur f l vg (pesh) hark; **HF Lach [Merk] Soden [Treg] Vogels**

Mark 7:16

- *omit verse 16* א B L Δ* 0247 28 1342 2427; **NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- *add verse 16* ει τις εχει ωτα ακουειν ακουετω A D K E F G H W Γ Δ* Θ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 (1071) 1241 1424 *Byz* ol vg sin pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Soden [Treg] Vogels**

Mark 7:24

- τυρου D L W Δ Θ 28 565 a b d ff^{2} i n r^{1} sin pal; **HG NEB RV^{marg} Tisch UBS Weiss**
- τυρου και σιδωνος א A B E F G H K N Γ Σ 1 13 33 157 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 2427 *Byz* aur c f l q vg pesh hark sa bo arm geo; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV^{txt} Soden Treg Vogels [WH]**

Mark 7:35

- και$^{(1)}$ ευθεως P^{45} A E F G H K N W Γ Θ Σ 0131^{c} 1 13 28 157 565 700 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* aur c f l vg sin pesh hark pal arm geo; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- και א B D L Δ 0131* 0274 33 579 892 1342 a b ff^{2} i q (r^{1}) bo; **HG NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Mark 7:37

- τους αλαλους λαλειν A D E F G H K G Q 0131 1 13 565 579 700 1342 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (Soden UBS [τουσ])**
- αλαλους λαλειν א B L Δ 33 892 1241 1424 2427; **(NEB) RV Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- λαλειν W 28 sin

Mark 8:17

- και γνους א^{1} B Δ 892* 2427 aur i bo; **Bover NEB Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- και γνους ο Ιησους א* A C D E F G H K (L) W Φ Θ 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 892^{c} 1241 (1342 γνους δε) 1424 *Byz* vg sin pesh hark; **HF HG Lach Merk RV [Soden] [Treg] Vogels**

Mark 8:19

- πεντακισχιλιους P^{45} A B K L W Γ 13 28 205 700 892 1342 *Byz* k cav tol val pesh hark bo; **HF HG Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- πεντακισχιλιους και א C D M Θ 1 33 565 579 1241 1424 2542 d f am dubl ingold willem sin arm; **Bover [Soden] Tisch**
- πεντακισχιλιους ανθρωπους και Δ l

Mark 8:20A

- οτε τους επτα B L 517 565 1241 1424 harl val; **Bover Merk UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- οτε και τους επτα א Δ (892 2427 c και οτε) am cav tol sa; **HG Tisch WH^{marg}**
- οτε δε τους επτα A D E F G H K W Γ Θ 1 13 28 33 579 *Byz* hark; **HF Lach NEB RV Soden (Treg [δε]) Vogels**
- οτε δε και τους επτα C N f

Mark 8:20B

- ηρατε και λεγουσιν αυτω B C L (Δ 579 892 l *omit* και) 1342 2427 vg; **RV (UBS Vogels [αυτω]) WH**
- ηρατε και λεγουσιν א; **Bover Merk NEB Tisch Weiss**
- ηρατε οι δε ειπον P^{45} A D E F G H K W Γ Θ 1 13 28 33 565 700 1241 *Byz* hark; **HF HG Lach Soden Treg**

Mark 8:23

- ει τι βλεπεις B C D* Δ Θ 565 579 1342 sin sa bo geo^{1}; **Bover HG Merk RV UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ει τι βλεπει א A D^{2} E F G H K L W Γ 1 28 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz* ol vg pesh hark; **HF Lach NEB Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Mark 8:28

- οτι ιωαννην א* B C^{*vid} 1342 2427; **Bover (NEB) (Soden UBS {οτι]) Tisch Vogels Weiss WH**
- ιωαννην $א^{c}$ A D E F G H K L Γ Θ 0143^{vid} 1 28 33 565 700 *Byz* hark; **HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Treg**
- οι μεν ιωαννην C^{2} W Δ 13 579 1241 1424 sin

Mark 8:35

- την ψυχην αυτου ενεκεν P^{45vid} א A B C* L X Δ Σ Φ 0214 1 33 565 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *pm;* **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) UBS Weiss WH**
- την εαυτου ψυχην ενεκεν C^{3} E F G H K W Θ 13 28 700 1006 1506 2427 2542 *pm;* **Gr HF^{txt} HG Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- αυτην ενεκεν D^{1} Γ
- ενεκεν q

Mark 8:37

- δοι ανθρωπος א* 2427^{vid}; **NEB RV Tisch UBS WH**
- δοι ο ανθρωπος B; **Weiss**
- δω ανθρωπος א^{c} L; **Soden**
- δωσει ανθρωπος P^{45} A C D E F G H K W Γ Θ 1 13 28 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk Treg Vogels**
- δωσει ο ανθρωπος sa? bo?
- *omit* Δ

Mark 9:1

- ωδε των εστηκοτων B D* 2427; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- των ωδε εστηκοτων A C D^{1} E F G H K L W Γ Δ Θ 13 28 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Vogels**
- των ωδε εστωτων א 33
- των εστηκοτων ωτε P^{45} 1 872

Mark 9:9

- εκ του ορους B D Ψ 33 2427; **Lach Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- απο του ορους א A C E F G H K L W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 28 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Mark 9:12

- ηλιας μεν א A B C E F G H K Γ Δ Θ 13 33 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) [Treg] UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ηλιας D L W Ψ 1 28 205 565 892 1207 ol vg; **Bover HG Soden Tisch**

Mark 9:14

- ελθοντες προς τους μαθητας ειδον א B L W Δ Ψ 892 1342 2427 k sa arm geo^{1}; **Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ελθων προς τους μαθητας ειδεν A C D E F G H K N Γ Θ Σ 067^{vid} 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* a aur b c d f ff^{2} i l q vg pesh hark bo geo^{2} eth slav;**Bover HF HG Lach Soden Vogels**

Mark 9:25

- οχλος B C D E F G H K Γ Θ 1 1241 1424 2427 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ο οχλος א A L M S W X Δ Π Φ Ψ 13 28 33 565 579 700 892 1006 1071 1342 2542 arm; **Bover HF^{marg} Soden Tisch**

Mark 9:29

- προσευχη א* B 0274 2427 k geo^{1}; **NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- προσευχη και νηστεια P^{45} א^{2} A C D E F G H K L N W Γ Δ Θ Σ Ψ 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a aur b c d f ff^{2} i l q r^{1} vg (sin pesh pal arm νηστεια και προσευχη) sa; **Bover HF HG Lach [Merk] NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Soden Treg Vogels**

Mark 9:38

- και εκωλυομεμ αυτον οτι ουκ ηκολουθει ημιν א B (C? 579 1071 1342 sa bo fay eth εκωλυσαμεν...ακολουθει) (L ακολουθει μεθ υμων) (Ψ 892 ακολουθει) Δ Θ 0274 (2427 ημας) aur f sin pesh (sa bo); **NEB RV UBS Vogels WH**
- ος ουκ ακολουθει ημιν και εκωλυομεν αυτον οτι ουκ ηκολουθει ημιν ; **Merk Tisch Weiss**
- ος ουκ ακολουθει ημιν και εκωλυσαμεν αυτον (D ος ουκ ακολουθει μεθ ημων και εκωλουμεν αυτον) (W 565 ος ουκ ηκολουθει) (1 και εκωλουμεν αυτον) 13 28 700 1241 1424 (a d k μεθ ημων) b c ff^{2} i l q r^{1} vg geo; **Bover HG Soden**
- ος ουκ ακολουθει ημιν και εκωλυσαμεν αυτον οτι ουκ ακολουθει ημιν A E F G H K N Γ Σ 157 1006 1010 1505 1506 *Byz* hark; **HF Lach (Treg** εκωλυομεν ***et*** **[**οτι ουκ ακολουθει ημιν**])**

Mark 9:42

- πιστευουντων εις εμε A B C^{2} E F G H K L N W Γ Θ Σ 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c f l q vg sin pesh hark sa fay arm geo; **Bover HF Lach RV^{txt} Treg (UBS [**εις εμε**]) Vogels**
- πιστευουντων א C*^{vid} Δ b ff^{2} i k; **HG Merk NEB RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Weiss WH**
- πιστιν εχοντων D a

Mark 10:6

- εποιησεν αυτους א B C L Δ 579 1342 2427 c sa bo fay; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss (WH [**αυτους **!])**
- εποιησεν αυτους ο θεος A E F G H K N Γ Θ Σ Ψ 1 13 28 157 565 700 892 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* a aur l q vg sin pesh hark; **HF HG [Lach] Merk Soden Vogels**
- εποιησεν ο θεος D W b f ff^{2} k r^{1} eth

Mark 10:7

- a*dd* και προσκολληθησεται προς την γυναικα αυτου (A C L N Δ Σ 1 205 579 1342 a aur c f r^{1} **Lach** τη γυναικι) D E F G H K Γ Θ 13 28 157 565 700(*) 892^{marg} 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* b d ff^{2} l (q) vg pesh hark sa bo fay arm geo eth slav; **HF HG Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- *omit* א B Ψ 892* 2427 sin; **Bover NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss WH**

Mark 10:13A

- αυτων αψηται א B C L Δ Θ Ψ 579 892 1241 1342 1424 2427 f; **Merk (NEB) UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- απψηται αυτων A D E F G H K W Γ 1 13 28 565 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg**

Mark 10:13B

- μαθηται επετιμησαν αυτοις א B C L Δ Ψ 579 892 1342 2427 c k bo; **Merk NEB RV UBS Weiss WH**
- μαθηται επετιμων τοις προσφερουσιν A D E F G H K N W Γ (Θ 1 13 205 1424φερουσιν) Σ 28 157 565 700 1071 1241 *Byz* a aur b d f ff^{2} l q vg sin pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Mark 10:20

- ο δε εφη αυτω א B Δ Ψ 0274 579 892 1342 2427 sa bo; **(NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ο δε αποκριθεις εφη αυτω C; **(Merk [**αποκριθεισ**]) Soden Treg**
- ο δε αποκριθεις ειπεν αυτω A D E F G H (K Y Π c q *omit* αυτω) W Γ Θ 1 13 28 565 700 1241 1424 *Byz* vg sin pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Vogels**

Mark 10:21A

- τοις πτωχοις א C D Θ Φ 0274 1 28 565 892 1241 1342 2427; **Bover HG Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch [UBS] [WH]**
- πτωχοις A B E F G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 13 579 700 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss**

Mark 10:21B

- ακολουθει μοι א B C D Δ Θ Ψ 0274 157 565 579 892 1071 1342 2427 aur b c d f ff^{2} k l vg geo^{2}; **NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ακολουθει μοι αρας τον σταυρον A E F (G 1 205 2542 αρας τον σταυρον ακολουθει μοι) H K N (W 13 αρας τον σταυρον σου ακολουθει μοι) Γ Σ (28) 700 1241 (1424 ακολουθει μοι αρας τον σταυρον σου) *Byz* (a) q (sin) (pesh) hark (arm) (geo^{1}); **Bover HF HG [Lach] Merk Soden Vogels**

Mark 10:24

- δυσκολον εστιν א B (W) Δ Ψ (c) k sa; **NEB^{txt} (RV^{marg} εστι) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- δυσκολον εστιν τους πεποιθοτας επι χρημασιν A C (D a b d ff^{2} επι τους χρημασιν and reverse verses 24 and 25) (Θ 1 13 28 205 565 2542 επι τους χρημασιν) E F G H K N Γ Σ 0233 157 579 700 892 1071 (1241 δυσκολον οι τα χρηματα εχοντεσ) 1342 1424 2427 *Byz* vg sin pesh hark; **Bover (Gr τοις χρημασιν) (HF RV^{txt} εστι) HG Lach Merk NEB^{marg} [Soden] Treg Vogels**

Mark 10:28

- και ηκολουθηκαμεν σοι B C D W 1216 2427; **Bover HG Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- και ηκολουθησαμεν σοι א A E F G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 565 700 892 1241 1424 1342 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels Weiss**

Mark 10:29

- εφη ο Ιησους (א εφη αυτω ο Ιησουσ) B Δ (579 εφη αυτοις ο Ιησουσ) 892 1093 2427 bo; **(NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- αποκριθεις ο Ιησους ειπεν A W 1006 (C E F G H Θ 1 13 205 565 700 1506 2542 HF^{marg} *pm* vg hark και αποκριθεις ο Ιησους ειπεν) (D αποκριθεις δε ο Ιησουσ) (K 28 1241 1424 *pm* **HF^{txt}** αποκριθεις δε ο Ιησους ειπεν) (Γ αποκριθεις δε ειπεν); **Bover HF^{marg} HG Lach Merk Soden Treg Vogels**
- εφη αυτοις Ψ

Mark 10:36

- τι θελετε με ποιησω א^{1} B Ψ 0233 2427^{c} 2542; **(NEB) Tisch (UBS [με]) Weiss WH^{marg}**
- τι θελετε ποιησω C (W* D τι θελετε ποιησαι) Θ 1 13 205 565 (1241 aur c f ff^{2} l vg arm slav τι θελετε ινα ποιησω) 1424 q; **Bover Lach Treg WH^{txt}**
- τι θελετε με ποιησαι א^{2} L W^{c} 892? 2427*;
- τι θελετε ποιησαι με A E F G H K N Γ Σ 28 157 579 700 1071 *Byz*; **Merk HF HG (RV) Soden Vogels**
- τι ποιησω a b i
- ποιησω D
- *omit* ^{35} ινα ο εαν... ^{27} δος ημιν א*

Mark 10:37

- εις εξ αριστερων B Δ 892^{marg} 2427 b c ff^{2} g^{1} i k q r^{1}; **Bover HG Merk NEB Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εις σου εξ αριστερων L Ψ 892*; **Soden Tisch Vogels**
- εις εξ ευωνυμων σου (א 1241 1342 εις σου εξ ευωνυμων) A C E F G H K Γ 0146 13 28 565 579 700 1241 *Byz*; **HF**
- εις εξ ευωνυμων D W Θ 1 565 1424 1582*; **Lach RV**

Mark 10:52

- και ο Ιησους א^{1} B L Δ Ψ 579 892 1241 1342 1391 1424 2427 q pesh arm; **Merk (NEB) UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ο Ιησους δε א*^{,2} A C D E F G H W Γ Θ 1 13 28 565 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg**

Mark 11:1

- εις βηθφαγη και βηθανιαν (B βηδφαγην) (B^{2} Γ 1 205 1241 1506 *pm* **HF^{txt}** βηθσφαγη) E F G H K (L βηθφαγειν) W 13 28 565 579 892 1424 *Byz* f l q (sin) sa; **HF^{marg}HG Merk NEB RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και εις βηθανιαν D (700 *omits* και); **Bover Lach Tisch WH^{marg}**
- εις βηθφαγη και εις βηθανιαν א C Θ (1342)
- και εις βηθφαγη και βηθανιαν A
- εις βηθφαγη Ψ

Mark 11:2

- εκαθισεν א B C L Δ Θ Ψ 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 2427; **Merk NEB (RV εκαθισε) UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- κεκαθικεν A D E F G H K Γ 1 13 28 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Tisch Treg**
- επικεκαθεικεν λυσατε W

Mark 11:3

- ειπατε B Δ 213 788 2427 a b c ff^{1} k i; **Lach Merk RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπατε οτι א A C D E F G H K L W Γ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF HG (NEB) Soden Vogels**

Mark 11:11

- οψιας ηδη A B D E G H K W Γ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 565 579 700 1241 1424 2427 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- οψε ηδη א C L Δ 892 1093 1342; **Bover HG Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch WH^{txt}**
- οψινης ηδη 565

Mark 11:19

- εξεπορευοντο εξω της πολεως A B K M* (W 28 εξω της πολεως εξεπορευοντο) Δ Π Ψ 0233 124 565 700 872 1071 2427 aur c d r^{1} pesh hark^{marg} geo^{1} (arm) geo^{1};**Lach Merk (NEB) RV^{marg} Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εξεπορευετο εξω της πολεως א C (D εκ της πολεωσ) E G H N Γ Θ Σ (1 205 εξω της πολεως εξεπορευοετο) 13 33 157 579 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a b f ff^{2} i k l q sin hark^{txt} sa bo geo^{2} eth slav; **Bover HF HG RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**
- εξω της πολεως L

Mark 12:9

- τι ουν ποιησει א A C D E F G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 892^{c} 1241 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk RV Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- τι ποιησει B L 892* 1342 2427 k sin geo^{2}; **(NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

Mark 12:17

- ο δε Ιησους ειπεν א B C L Δ Ψ 33 579 892 (1342) 2427 (pesh) sa; **Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και αποκριθεις ο Ιησους ειπεν A E F G H K Γ 1 13 700 1241 *Byz* (vg) (sin) hark; **Bover HF HG Soden Vogels**
- αποκριθεις δε ο Ιησους ειπεν D
- και αποκριθεις ειπεν W 239 515 1606
- αποκριθεις δε ειπεν Θ 565
- και λεγει 1424
- *omit* k $r^{1\text{-var}}$

Mark 12:19

- μη αφη τεκνον א^{1} B L Δ Ψ 579 892 1342 2427 ff^{2} (sin μη αφη σπερμα?); **Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- τεκνον μη αφη W Θ 1 205 700 892 2542 a c k; **Bover Soden**
- τεκνα μη αφη A D E F G H K Γ 28 565 700 1241 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **HF HG Lach Treg Vogels**
- μη αφη τεκνα א* C 33

Mark 12:26

- ο θεος Αβρααμ και ο θεος ισαακ και ο θεος ιακωβ א A C E F G H K L Γ Δ Θ Σ Ψ 1 13 28 33 (157 579 θεος Αβρααμ και ο θεος ισαακ και ο θεος ιακωβ) 565 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (NEB) Tisch [UBS]**
- ο θεος Αβρααμ και θεος ισαακ και θεος ιακωβ B (D W θεος Αβρααμ και θεος ισαακ και θεος ιακωβ) 2427; **Lach Merk RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Mark 12:28

- ιδων οτι καλοως א* C (D και ειδων) L W Θ Σ Φ Ψ 1 13 28 205 565 700 892 1342 2427 2542 ol vg pesh hark; **Bover Lach Tisch Treg UBS**
- ειδως οτι καλως א^{2} A B E F G H K Γ Δ 33 579 1241 1424 *Byz* sa bo; **HF HG Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss WH**

Mark 12:36A

- κυριος τω κυριου μου B D 2427; **Lach Merk Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο κυριος τω κυριου μου א A E F G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ[apud NA27] 087 1 13 28 33 565 579[apud NA27] 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Mark 12:36B

- υποκατω των ποδων B D W 0233 28 1542 2542 sin geo; **Bover HG (NEB) RV[marg] UBS Weiss WH**
- υποποδιον των ποδων א A E F G H K L Γ Δ Θ Σ Ψ 1 13 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 2427 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **HF Lach Merk RV[txt] Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Mark 12:43

- εβαλεν των βαλλοντων א A B D L Δ Θ Σ Ψ 33 565 579 892 1342 1424 2427; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) (RV εβαλε) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- βεβηκεν των βαλλοντων E F G H K W Γ 1 (13 *omits* των βαλλοντων) 28 205 700 1241 *Byz*; **HF HG Soden Tisch Vogels**

Mark 13:7

- δει γενεσθαι א* B W Ψ 2427 pesh; **Bover HG (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- δει γαρ γενεσθαι א[2] A D E F G H K L Γ Δ Θ 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg sin hark; **HG Lach Merk [Soden] [Treg] Vogels**

Mark 13:15A

- ο δε επι א A E G K L W Γ Δ Ω 1 13 28 579 892 1241 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch (Treg UBS [δε]) Vogels WH[marg]**
- ο επι B F H 1342 1424 2427 2542 c sa bo; **Lach Merk (NEB) Weiss WH[txt]**
- και ο επι D Θ 565 700 vg sin pesh

Mark 13:15B

- αραι τι א A D E F G H Γ Δ Θ 1 13 28 565 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Tisch UBS**
- τι αραι B K L Π* Ψ 892 2427; **HG Merk (NEB) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- αραι W 2542

Mark 13:27

- εκλεκτους αυτου א A B C E F G H K Γ Δ Θ 083 13 579 700 1071 1241 1424 2427 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- εκλεκτους D L W Ψ 1 28 205 565 892 1342 a e ff^{2} i k geo^{1}; **Bover HG Soden Tisch Treg**

Mark 13:28

- ηδη ο κλαδος αυτης א A B C D L Θ Π Σ Ψ 13 565 579 892 1071 1342 2427 2542 *pm;* **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτης ηδη ο κλαδος E F G H K Γ 1 28 205 700 1241 *pm;* **HF^{txt} HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**
- αυτης ο κλαδος U W 1424
- αυτης ηδη κλαδος Δ
- ο κλαδος αυτης ηδη Φ

Mark 14:3

- την αλαβαστρον א^{2} B C L Δ Ψ 579 1342 2427; **Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- τον αλαβαστρον א* A D E F H K X Γ Σ 28 565 892 1006 1424 *pm;* **Bover HF^{marg} HG Lach Soden Tisch**
- το αλαβαστρον G M W Θ Φ 1 13 157 205 700 1424 2542 *pm;* **HF^{txt} (RV)**

Mark 14:8

- το σωμα μου א B D L Θ Σ Ψ 565 579 892 1006 1071 1424 2427 k; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- μου το σωμα A C E F G H K W Γ Δ 1 13 28 700 1241 1342 *Byz*; **HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Mark 14:19

- εις μητι εγω א B C L P W Δ Ψ 1342 1506 2427 vg sin pesh hark[txt] sa bo; **Merk NEB (RV μη τι) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εις μητι εγω και αλλος μητι εγω D E F H Γ Θ 1 565 579 700 1241 *Byz* (hark[marg]) *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Vogels**
- εις μητι εγω ειμι ραββι και αλλος μητι εγω A
- εις μητι εγω ειμι και αλλος μητι εγω 13 f
- εις μητι εγω ειμι κυριε και αλλος μητι εγω 28 892 1424

Mark 14:21

- καλον B L W 892 2427 c ff[2] i l q cav dubl harl sangall val; **HG (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- καλον ην א A C D E F H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 565 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a f k am med pesh hark; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk (RV) Soden [Treg] Vogels**

Mark 14:31

- δεη με א[2] A B D[1] L N Σ Ψ 083 1 13 205 579 700 892 1071 1342 1424 1506 2427 2542; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- με δεη C (D* μη δεη) E F G H K Γ Δ Θ 28 565 1241 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**
- με η א*

Mark 14:33

- τον ιακωβον και τον ιωαννην A B K W Π* 13 1071 2427; **Bover (NEB) Soden (UBS [τον]...[τον]) Vogels Weiss WH[txt]**
- ιακωβον και ιωαννην א C D E F G H Γ Θ Ψ 083 0116 28 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk Tisch Treg WH[marg]**
- τον ιακωβον και ιωαννην L 1 2542; **(RV)**

Mark 14:40

- παλιν ελθων ευρων αυτους καθευδοντας א B (D *omits* παλιν) L Ψ 083 892 1342 2427 sin sa bo; **Lach Merk NEB RV UBS Weiss WH**
- υποστρεψας ευρεν αυτους παλιν καθευδοντας A C E F G H K (N υποστρεψας ευρεν αυτους καθευδοντας παλιν) Γ Δ (Θ υποστρεψας παλιν ευρεν αυτους καθευδοντασ) 1 13 28 565 579 700 1241 1424 *Byz* (q) pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Soden Tisch (Treg *omits* παλιν!) Vogels**

Mark 14:51

- και νεανισκος τις א B C L Ψ 892 1342 2427 a arm; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και εις τις νεανισκος A E F G H K W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 28 565 579 700 1241 1424 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF Tisch Vogels**
- νεανισκος δε τις D vg sa

Mark 14:52

- γυμνος εφυγεν א B C (L Ψ 892 aur c k pesh sa bo εφυγεν γυμνοσ) 2427; **Bover NEB (RV εφυγε) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- γυμνος εφυγεν απ αυτων A D E F G H K W Γ (Δ 1071 1342 εφυγεν γυμνος απ αυτω) Θ 1 13 28 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz* (q) vg sin hark; **HF HG [Lach] Merk [Soden] Vogels**

Mark 14:53

- συνερχονται א D L W Δ Θ 13 565 700 892 1342 2542^{supp} ol vg; **Bover Merk NEB Tisch UBS WH^{txt}**
- συνερχονται αυτω A B (C συνερχονται προς αυτον) E G H K Γ Ψ (1 22 1071 1582 συνερχονται αυτου) 28 579 1241 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Mark 14:72

- φωνησαι δις A $C^{2\text{-vid}}$ E G H K L Γ Ψ 0250 1 13 28 33 157 892 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* aur vg sin hark; **HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels UBS**
- δις φωνεσαι B Θ 565 700 1342 2427 k arm; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) Treg Weiss WH**
- φωνησαι א C* W Δ c ff^2 g^1 l q geo
- *omit* οτι πριν αλεκτορα... απαρνηση D a

Mark 15:1

- ποιησαντες οι αρχιερεις A B E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 0250 1 13 28 33 579 700 1241 1424 2427 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG Lach RV Treg UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- ετοιμασαντες οι αρχιερεις א C L 892 1342; **Merk NEB Soden Tisch Weiss WH^{marg}**
- εποιησαν οι αρχιερεις D Θ 047 565 2552^{supp}

Mark 15:8

- καθως εποιει αυτοις א B W Δ Ψ 579 892 1342 1424 2427 sa bo; **Bover HG NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- καθως αει εποιει αυτοις A C^{vid} D E F G H K W Γ 1 13 28 33 1241 *Byz* vg hark; **HF Merk (Soden [αει]) Vogels**
- καθως εθος ην ινα τον βαρραββαν απολυση αυτοις Θ 565 (700 ...εθος ην αυτοις ινα...)

Mark 15:12

- τι ουν θελετε A D E F G H K N^{vid} Γ Θ $Σ^{vid}$ 0250 28 157 565 579 700 1071 1241 (1424 c hark arm το ουν ινα θελετε) *Byz* a aur d ff^2 k l r^1 vg sin pesh; **Bover HF Tisch [UBS]**
- το ουν א B C W Δ Ψ 1 13 33 892 1342 2427 bo geo; **HG Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Mark 15:20

- τα ιματια αυτου B C Δ Ψ 1342 2427 geo[1]; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV UBS Weiss WH**
- τα ιματια τα ιδια A E F G H K Γ 0250 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 1241 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Soden Treg Vogels**
- τα ιδια ιματια αυτου א; **Tisch**
- τα ιδια ιματια Θ 892
- τα ιματια D

Mark 15:22

- μεθερμηνευομενον א C D E F G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 28 565 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch Treg UBS WH[marg]**
- μεθερμηνευομενος A B N Σ 892 2427 k; **Merk Vogels Weiss WH[txt]**

Mark 15:28

- *omit verse 28* א A B C D X Y Ψ 047 71 157 2427 d k sin sa; **HG NEB[txt] RV[txt] Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- *add verse 28* E F G (H) K L Γ Δ Θ 083 0250 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c ff[2] l n r[1] vg pesh hark arm geo; **Bover HF Lach [Merk] NEB[marg] RV[marg] Soden [Treg] [Vogels]**

Mark 15:34

- λεμα σαβαχθανι א[2] C L Δ Ψ (083 λεμα ζαβαχθανι) 892 c l ; **Lach NEB Soden (Tisch** λεμα σαβαχθανει**) UBS**
- λαμα σαβαχθανι Θ 059 1 565 1582 2427 2542[supp]; **Bover HG Merk RV (Treg** λαμα σαβαχθανει**) Vogels Weiss WH**
- λιμα σαβαχθανι E F G H K Γ 13 28 33 579 700 1241 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF[txt] (HF[marg]** λειμα σαβαχθανι**)**
- λεμα σαβακτανι א* 1342
- λιμα σαβακτανι A
- λεμα ζαβαφθανι B
- λιμα ζαφθανι D

Mark 15:35

- τινες των παρεστηκοτων C E F G H K L Γ Δ Ψ 059 1 13 28 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- τινες των παρεστωτω א D U Θ 33 565 1006; **Bover Tisch**
- τινες των εστηκοτων B 2427; **Weiss WH^{marg}**
- τινες των εκει εστηκοτων A eth?

Mark 15:36

- και γεμισας א A C (D Θ 565 700 και πλησασ) E F G K Γ Δ 1 28 33 579 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* am cav; **Bover HF HG Merk (Soden Treg UBS [και]) Tisch Vogels**
- γεμισας B L Ψ 2427 c med sanger arm; **Lach (NEB) RV Weiss WH**

Mark 15:46

- και εθηκεν αυτον א B C^{2} D$^{apud\ NA27}$ L W Θ Σ Ψ 083 1 13 33 205 565 892 1342 1424 2427 2542^{supp}; **Bover Lach RV Treg UBS WH**
- και κατεθηκεν αυτον C* E F G (K κατεθηκαν) Γ 28 579 700 1241 *Byz*; **Merk HF HG (NEB) Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss**
- και καθηκεν αυτον A

Mark 16:1

- η του Ιακωβου א^{2} A B K Δ Π Σ 33 205 209 2427 *al;* **Bover HF^{marg} HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden (Treg UBS WH [του]) Vogels Weiss**
- η Ιακωβου א* C G M S U V W X Γ Θ Ψ 700 1006 1582 2542^{supp} *pm;* **HF^{txt} (NEB) Tisch**
- Ιακωβου E 1 13 28 565 579 892 1241 1342 1424 1506 *pm;*
- του Ιακωβου L
- *omit* διαγενομενου ... και σαλωμη

Mark 16:9-20
Note: since 16:9-20 is not properly part of some editions' texts, we cannot note significant variants. Relatively major variants in the editions include 16:14 add/omit δε*, 16:14 add/omit* εκ νεκρων*, 16:18 add/omit* και εν ταις χερσιν*, 16:19 add/omit* Ιησους

- include 16:9-20 A C D E F G H K (W) Γ Δ Θ Σ (1 205 etc. with marginal notes) 13 28 33 157 565 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 2427 *Byz* aur c d^{supp} ff^{2} l n o q vg cur pesh hark geo^{b} slav; (add shorter and longer endings: L Ψ 083 099 274^{marg} 579 ^{1604} $hark^{marg}$ eth^{mss}) **(Bover after blank line) HF HG Lach Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{txt}[Soden] Treg [[UBS]] Vogels [[WH]]**
- omit 16:9-20 א B (a defective but lacks space) k sin arm^{mss} $geo^{1,A}$; **NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss**

Mark 16:8 + "shorter ending" (Παντα δε τα παρηγγελμενα... σωτηριας)

- include shorter ending k (add shorter and longer endings: L Ψ 083 099 274^{marg} 579 ^{1604} $hark^{marg}$ eth^{mss}); **[Soden] [[UBS]] [[Vogels]] [[WH]]**
- omit shorter ending א A B C D E F G H K W Γ Δ Θ Σ 1 13 28 33 157 565 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 2427 *Byz* aur c d^{supp} ff^{2} l n o q vg pesh geo^{B} slav; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk RV Tisch Treg**

Luke

Luke 1:15

- ενωπιον του κυριου B D K W Γ Δ 565 892 *pm;* **HF^{txt} HG (RV) (Soden Treg UBS [του]) Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ενωπιον κυριου א A C L Ω 1 33 205 544 579 1006 1241 1342 2542 *pm;* **Bover Gr HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Vogels WH^{txt}**
- ενωπιον του θεου Θ Ψ 13 700 1424

Luke 1:21

- εν τω ναω αυτον B L W Ψ 565 579; **HG Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτον εν τω ναω א A C D E G H K Γ Δ Θ 0130 1 13 33 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- αυτον 544 700 1506

Luke 1:25

- κυριος א C D L W 33; **Merk Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- ο κυριος A B K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0130 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241$^{apud\ NA27}$ 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover (RV) HF HG Soden Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Luke 1:36

- συνειληφεν א B L W 157 372 565 892; **Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- συνειληφυια A C D E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 1:63

- ονομα αυτου P^{4} B* (L 579 ονομα αυτω) 565 579 700; **(NEB) Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- το ονομα αυτου א A B^{2} C D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Tisch Vogels**

Luke 1:75

- πασαις ταις ημεραις P^{4vid} B L W 565 579; **HG Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- πασας τας ημερας א A C D E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0130 0177 1 13 33 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Luke 1:76

- ενωπιον κυριου P^{4} א B W 0177; **Merk NEB UBS Weiss WH**
- προ προσωπου κυριου A C D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0130 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* sin pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach RV Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 1:78

- επισκεψεται א* B (L) W Θ 0177 sin pesh sa bo arm geo^{1}; **Bover Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} UBS Weiss WH**
- επεσκψατο א^{2} A C D E F G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0130 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol hark geo^{2}; **HF HG Lach NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 2:2

- αυτη א* B (D) Θ 0177 565 700apud NA27,HG; **HG Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτη η א² A C E F H K L W Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 579 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels**

Luke 2:5

- εμνηστευμενη αυτω א* B* C* D² L W 565; **Lach Merk NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- μεμνηστευμενη αυτω γυναικι C³ E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 33 579 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Soden Vogels**
- εμνηστευμενη αυτω γυναικι A 579; **Bover HG**
- μεμνηστευμενη αυτω א² B² C² D* 0177 1 700; **RV**
- γυναικι αυτου aur b c sin

Luke 2:19

- Μαριαμ א² A E G H K L W Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1342 *Byz* hark; **HF (RV) Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WHmarg**
- Μαρια א* B D Θ 1241 1424 sa; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg WHtxt**

Luke 2:25

- ανθρωπος ην א B W 892 1424 aur b f ff² l vg; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ην ανθρωπος A D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0130 1 13 33 565 579 700 1241 1342 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**
- ανθρωπος 983 1689 Fapud Wetstein

Luke 2:26

- πριν η αν א² (L πριν η αννα!) R X Ψ 33 892; **Merk (NEB) Tisch (UBS WH [η]) Weiss**
- πριν η A D E G H K Γ Δ Π 0130 1 579apud NA27 700 1006* 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Vogels**
- πριν αν B Fapud Wetstein Θ 579apud Bover 1689; **Treg**
- πριν W (13) 118 157 205 2009 1006c 1424
- εως αν א* e sin pesh pal

Luke 2:35

- και σου δε א A D E G H K Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a e pesh hark; **Bover HF HG [Lach] Merk (NEB) (RV) [Soden] Tisch [Treg] [UBS] Vogels Weiss WHmarg**
- και σου B L W Ψ 579 b c d f ff² l q vg sin arm; **WHtxt**

Luke 2:39A

- επεστρεψαν (א* επεστρεψεν) B W 0130 579; **HG (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- υπεστρεψαν א² A D E G H K L N Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**

Luke 2:39B

- εις πολιν א* B D* W 1 131 346 1506 1582; **Bover HG Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εις την πολιν א² A D² E G H K L N Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk (RV) [Soden] Vogels**

Luke 2:40

- σοφια אc B L W Ψ 33 157; **Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- σοφιας א* A D E G H K Γ Δ Θ 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 2:52

- εν τη σοφια και ηλικια א (L ...ηλικια και σοφια); **Merk (NEB) Tisch (UBS [εν τη]) Weiss**
- τη σοφια και ηλικια B W (579 ...ηλικια και σοφια); **WH**
- σοφια και ηλικια A C (D ...ηλικια και σοφια) E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden (Treg ...ηλικια και σοφια) Vogels**

Luke 3:20

- και κατεκλεισεν א^{2} A C E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg sin pesh hark; **(HF κατεκλεισε) Lach [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- κατεκλεισεν א* B D 1506 b e; **Bover HG Merk (NEB) (RV κατεκλεισε) Tisch WH**

Luke 3:29

- μαθθατ B*; **HG (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ματθατ B^{3} G H M S U V Δ Λ; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**
- μαθθαθ **Tisch**
- ματταθ A K Π 33
- ματτθ L
- μαθατ E
- ματταθιου X
- ματτθα 69
- μαθθααθ א*
- for 2:23-31 substitute from Matt. 1:6-16 D
- *omit* verses 23-38 W 579

Luke 3:31

- Ναταμ P^{4} א* B 1582; **HG Merk Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- Ναθαν א² A E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* sin pesh hark bo; **Bover HF Lach NEB (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**
- for 2:23-31 substitute from Matt. 1:6-16 D
- *omit* verses 23-38 W 579

Luke 3:37

- καιναμ $P^{75\text{-vid}}$ א L Θ; **HG Merk Tisch UBS WH**
- καιναν A B (D) E G H K L Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* sin pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach NEB (RV) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss**
- *omit* verses 23-38 W 579

Luke 4:17

- τον τοπον A B D E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) [Soden] Treg UBS Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- τοπον א L W 33 157 1355 2542; **HG Tisch**
- *omit* e

Luke 4:25

- πολλαι A B D E G H K Γ Δ 0102 565 1342 *Byz* vg; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- οτι πολλαι א L W X Θ Λ Ψ Ω 0233 1 13 33 157 205 579 700 892 1241 1424 e f l; **Bover HG Soden Tisch**

Luke 4:40

- απαντες B C Θ 1 157 205 579 700; **Bover HG Merk (NEB) (Soden [α]παντεσ) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- παντες א A D E G H K L N Q W Γ Δ Ψ 0102 13 33 565 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Luke 4:41A

- εξηρχετο A B D E G H K L N W Γ Δ Ψ 13 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εξηρχοντο א C X Θ 1 33 205 1071 1241; **HG Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**

Luke 4:41B

- κραυγαζοντα A D E G H Q U V W Γ Δ Ω^{c} 047 (0102 κραυαζοντα) 13 118 157 700 1006 1342 *pm;* **HF^{marg} HG Lach Merk (NEB) (Soden** κρα**[**υγα**]**ζοντα**) Tisch (UBS**κρ**[**αυγ**]**αζοντα**)) Weiss**
- κραζοντα א(* κραζοντων) B C F K L N Θ Ψ 1 33 565 579 892 1241 1424 1506 *pm;* **Bover HF^{txt} (RV) Treg Vogels WH**

Luke 5:2(A)

- δυο πλοια P^{75} א^{2} C^{3} D E G H K Γ Δ Θ 1 13 565 700 1342 *Byz* vg; **HF Lach (RV) Treg UBS**
- πλοια δυο B W 22 579 892 e; **Merk Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- δυο πλοιαρια A C* L Q Ψ 33 1241 1424 f; **HG (NEB) Tisch WH^{marg}**
- πλοιαρια δυο 4 a; **Bover Soden**
- πλοια א*

Luke 5:3

- εκ του πλοιου εδιδασκεν P^{75} B 1241 1424; **HF Merk (NEB) Soden UBS Weiss WH**
- εν τω πλοιω εδιδασκεν א D e sa; **Tisch**
- εδιδασκεν εκ του πλοιου A C E H K L Q W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 33^{vid} 565 700 892 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Treg Vogels**
- εδιδασκεν απο του πλοιου 1 13

Luke 5:5A

- Σιμων P^{75} (א) B L Δ (Σ) 1424; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο Σιμων A C (D) E H K W Γ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) [Soden] Vogels**

Luke 5:5B

- ειπεν P^{75} א B 700 2542 e bo; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπεν αυτω A C D E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark sa; **Bover HF HG Lach [Soden] Treg Vogels**

Luke 5:12

- ιδων δε א B 124 579 e; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- και ιδων A C D E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 892 1241 1342 (1424 προσελθων κι ιδων) *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Treg Vogels**
- ιδων 700 aur f

Luke 5:13

- λεγων א B C D L W X Θ 13 33 579 892 1241; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπων A E H K Γ Δ Ψ 1 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HG Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 5:28

- ηκολουθει B D L W 69 700 892 1506 a; **Bover HG Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ηκολουθησεν א A C E K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**

Luke 5:34

- ποιησαι νηστευσαι $א^{2}$ B X 28 (579 ποιησαι νηστευσιν) 1241; **HG (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ποιησαι νηστευειν A C E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**
- νηστευειν א* D

Luke 5:39A

- και ουδεις א* A C E F H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0233 1 13 28 33 157 565 1071 1342 1424 *Byz* aur f q vg pesh hark arm; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) [Soden] Tisch Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss (WH^{marg})**
- ουδεις P^{4} P^{75vid} א^{2} B 579 700 892 1241; **(WH^{txt} [all of v. 39 in brackets])**
- *omit* v. 39 D a b c d e ff^{2} l r^{1}

Luke 5:39B

- παλαιον P^{4} P^{75vid} א B C* L W 1 205 579 1241 sa bo; **HG Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss (WH [all of v. 39 in brackets])**
- παλαιον ευθεως A C E F H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 33 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach [Soden] Vogels**
- *omit* v. 39 D a b c d e ff^{2} l r^{1}

Luke 6:1

- εν σαββατω P^{4} א B L W 1 33 69* 157 205 579 1241 2542 b c f^{c} l q r^{1} pesh hark^{marg} sa eth; **Merk NEB RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εν σαββατω δευτεροπρωτω A C D E H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ (13 28 1071 1243 εν σαββατω δευτερω πρωτω) 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* a aur d f* ff^{2} vg hark^{txt} arm (εν σαββατω δευτερω); **Bover HF HG [Lach] RV^{marg} [Soden] Tisch Vogels**
- *sabato mane* e

Luke 6:2

- εξεστιν P^{4} P^{75vid} B R 69 700 788 vg sa arm; **Bover HG Lach (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εξεστιν ποιειν א A C E H K (L) Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* q (pesh) hark; **(HF RV** εξεστι**) Merk Soden Tisch Vogels**
- ιδε τι ποιουσιν οι μαθηται σου τοις σαββασιν ο ουκ εξεστιν *for* τι ποιειτε ο ουκ εξεστιν τοις σαββασιν D

Luke 6:5(A)

- ελεγεν αυτοις P^{4vid} א* B W 1 205 157 579 700 1506 arm; **Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- ελεγεν αυτοις οτι א^{2} A (D *places verse 5 after verse 10)* E H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 33 565 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch [Treg] Vogels**

Luke 6:7A

- αυτον οι γραμματεις P^{4} א B D L W X 13 22 33 157 579 892 1071 1241 1424 1604 pesh hark sa arm; **Bover Merk RV UBS Weiss WH**
- οι γραμματεις A E K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 565 700 1342 *Byz* vg; **HF HG Lach NEB Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 6:7B

- ευρωσιν κατηγορειν P^{4vid} א* B S X Θ Ω 0233 1 22 28 205 1241 1582; **Bover HG NEB (RV** ευρωσι**) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ευρωσιν κατηγοριαν κατ א^{c} K L W 33 565 579 (892) 1342 1424; **Lach Merk Soden Vogels**
- ευρωσιν κατηγοριαν A E Γ Δ 700 *Byz*; **HF**
- κατηγορησωσιν κατηγοριαν (!) 2542
- ευρωσιν κατηγορησωσιν Ψ 472
- ευρωσιν καθηγορησαι D

Luke 6:26

- υμας καλως ειπωσιν P^{75} B (69) e q; **UBS Weiss**
- καλως ειπωσιν υμας א A H L Ψ 33 579 892 1006 1071 1342 (2542 υμιν) ff^{2} g^{1} l r^{1}; **Bover Soden Tisch**
- καλως υμας ειπωσιν (D υμιν) E K Q W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 565 700 1241 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV** ειπωσι**) Treg Vogels WH**

Luke 6:31

- ανθρωποι P^{75vid} B 579 700 1241$^{apud\ NA27}$ (a) aur ff^2 l sin; **HG Merk NEB UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ανθρωποι και υμεις א A D E H K L P W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 33 157 565 892 1071 1342 1424 *Byz* (e ανθρωποι υμεισ) pesh hark geo; **Bover HF [Lach] RV [Soden] Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- ανθρωποι καλα r^1 sin

Luke 6:33

- και γαρ εαν P^{75} א* B; **[Merk] Tisch [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- και εαν א^2 A D E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 33 565 579 700$^{apud\ NA27}$ 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg sin pesh hark sa bo; **Bover HF HG Lach NEB RV Soden Treg Vogels**

Luke 6:36

- καθως και A D E H K Γ Δ Θ 13 33 565 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **HF HG [Lach] Soden [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- καθως א B L W Ψ 1 205 579 1071 c d sin sa bo; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Weiss WH**
- ως 700$^{apud\ HG}$

Luke 6:42

- πως B e ff^2 sin; **HG Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS WH**
- η πως A C D E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* e ff^2 durmach pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach (RV) (Soden Treg [η] πωσ) Vogels Weiss**
- πως δε א 579 892
- και πως am cav sangall tol val

Luke 6:45

- της καρδιας P^{75vid} א B; **(NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- της καρδιας αυτου A C (D αυτου της καρδιασ) E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579$^{apud\ NA27}$ 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (RV) [Soden] Treg Vogels**

Luke 7:11

- οι μαθηται αυτου P^{75} א B D L W 157 579[apud UBS4,SQE13,Bover,HG] 1241 1342 1604 a aur d e f ff^2 l r^1 vg sin pesh pal sa bo arm geo eth slav; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- οι μαθηται αυτου ικανοι A C E F G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ (1 205 μαθηται ικανοι) 13 28 33 565 700 892 1010 1071 1424 *Byz* b c q hark; **HF HG [Lach] Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 7:16

- παντας P^{75} B D E G H K Δ 1 13 565 700 1241 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH[txt]**
- απαντας א A C F L W Γ Θ Ψ 33 579 892 1342 1424 2542; **Bover HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch WH[marg]**

Luke 7:20

- απεστειλεν P^{75vid} א B W 157 1006 1241 1424; **HG Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- απεσταλκεν A D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 7:22A

- τυφλοι P^{75vid} א B L W X Θ 1 13 157 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 2542 bo; **Merk RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- οτι τυφλοι A D E G H K Γ Δ 33 565 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF [Lach] (NEB) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 7:22B

- και κωφοι P^{75} א B D F W Γ Λ 13 579 892 1241 1342 1424; **Merk RV UBS Weiss WH**
- κωφοι A E G H K L Δ Θ Ψ 1 33 565 700 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF HG Lach (NEB) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 7:24-25 (cf. 7:26)

- τι εξηλθατε... (25) αλλα τι εξηλθατε P^{75vid} א A B D L W 13 565 579 1241 1342 1424 2542; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- τι εξεληλυθατε... (25) αλλα τι εξεληλυθατε E G H Γ Δ Θ Ψ *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Soden Tisch Vogels**
- τι εξηλθετε... (25) αλλα τι εξηλθετε 1 892; **(RV)**
- τι εξεληλυθατε... (25) αλλα τι εξηλθατε 33
- τι εξεληλυθατε... (25) αλλα τι εξηλθετε 700

Luke 7:26 (cf. 7:24-25)

- εξηλθατε P^{75} א B D L 13 565 579 1241 1424; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εξεληλυθατε A E G H W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 33 700 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Soden Tisch Vogels**
- εξηλθετε 1 892; **(RV)**

Luke 7:28A

- λεγων υμιν B Ψ 33 700 1241 sin pesh sa bo; **HG (NEB) (RV λεγω) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- λεγων γαρ υμιν A E G H K Γ Δ Θ 1 565 1424 *Byz* f q am cav durmach harl mediol val hark; **Bover (HF λεγω) Lach Merk Soden Vogels**
- αμην λεγων υμιν א L X 157 579 892 1342 2542 arm
- λεγων δε υμιν D W 13 r^{1} sanger

Luke 7:28B

- ιωαννου P^{75} א B L M W X 1 157 579; **Merk NEB RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- προφητης ιωαννου Ψ 700 (892 ιωαννου προφητησ) (1342) sin arm geo; **Bover HG Soden Tisch [Treg]**
- ιωαννου του βαπτιστου K X 33 565 a b c e f ff^{2} l $hark^{marg}$; **Lach**
- προπητης ιωαννου του βαπτιστου A (D d have passage in v. 26) E G H Γ (Δ) Θ 13 28 565 1071 (1424) *Byz* aur f q r^{1} pesh $hark^{txt}$ slav; **HF**
- προφητης 1241

Luke 7:35

- παντων των τεκνων αυτης B W 13 157 579 892 a aur b c e f ff^{2} (l) q vg; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- των τεκνων αυτης παντων A E G H K P Γ Δ 33 565 1010 1071 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG (RV) Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**
- των τεκνων αυτης D L M X Θ Ψ 1 700 1241 1342 2542 d cur arm geo
- παντων των εργων αυτης א*
- των εργων αυτης א^{2}

Luke 7:44

- μοι επι ποδας B e; **HG (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- μοι επι τους ποδας X Ψ 33 579 892$^{apud\ NA27}$ 1241 1342; **Bover Merk (Soden [τουσ]) Vogels**
- μου επι τους ποδας א L (1071 μου επι ποδασ); **Tisch WH^{marg}**
- επι τους ποδας μου A E G H K Γ Δ Θ 079^{c} 1 13 565 700 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach RV**
- επι ποδας μου 079*
- επι ποδας μοι D a ff^{2} q
- υπο ποδας μοι W

Luke 7:46

- ηλειψεν τους ποδας μου A B E G H (L τους ποδας μου ηλειψεν) P S U V Γ Θ Ω 047 33 700 1071 1342 1424 *pm;* **(HF^{marg} ηλειψε) HG Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ηλειψεν μου τους ποδας א K Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 205 565 579 892 1241 1506 2542 *pm;* **Bover (HF^{txt} RV ηλειψε) Soden Tisch Vogels**
- ηλειψεν D W 079 b c e
- ηλειψεν τους ποδας a e ff^{2}

Luke 8:20A

- η μητηρ P^{75} B W Δ; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- οτι η μητηρ א D L Θ 1 33 157 205 579 892 1241 1342; **Bover HG Soden Tisch**
- λεγοντων η μητηρ A E G H K Γ 13 565 700 *Byz* r^{1}; **HF Vogels**
- λεγοντων οτι η μητηρ Ψ 1424 hark

Luke 8:20B

- ιδειν θελοντες σε P^{75} B ; **Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ιδειν σε θελοντες א A E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**
- ζητουντες σε D

Luke 8:26

- γερασηνων P^{75} B D a aur b c d e f ff^{2} l q r^{1} vg $hark^{marg}$; **Bover Lach NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- γεργεσηνων א L X Θ 1 33 157 205 579 700^{txt} 1241 1342 1604 pal arm geo; **HG Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Soden Tisch**
- γαδαρηνων A E F G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 13 28 565 700^{marg} 892 1071 1424 *Byz* sin cur pesh $hark^{txt}$; **HF NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Vogels**

Luke 8:30

- ο ιησους P^{75} א(* *omits* ο ιησουσ) B 1 157 579 1241 1342 2542 pesh sa; **HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους λεγων A C D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 33 565 700 892 1424 *Byz* vg sin cur hark; **Bover HF Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 8:32

- βοσκομενη P^{75} א B D K U Θ Π 13 565 579* 2542 a pesh arm; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- βοσκομενων A C E G H L W Γ Δ Ψ 1 33 579^{c} 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg sin cur hark; **Bover HF HG Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

Luke 8:37

- γερασηνων P^{75} B C* D 0279 579 a aur b c d e f ff^2 l q r^1 vg (sa); **Bover Lach NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- γεργεσηνων א*,2 (C^2 Γ ερασηνων) L P X Θ 1 13 33 157 205 700* 1071 1241 1342 1604 pal (bo) arm geo eth; **HG Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Soden Tisch**
- γαδαρηωνον א^1 A E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 28 565 700^c 1424 *Byz* cur sin pesh hark; **HF NEB^{marg}RV^{marg} Vogels**

Luke 8:40

- εν δε τω P^{75} א^1 B L R 1 33 205 579 700* 1342 2542 sin cur pesh sa; **HG Merk (NEB) RV Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εγενετο δε εν τω א*,2 A C D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0279 13 565 700^c 892 1241 1424 *Byz* ol vg hark; **Bover HF Lach Tisch Vogels**

Luke 8:45

- ο πετρος επιστατα P^{75} B Π 700* sin cur sa geo; **HG Merk RV^{marg} UBS Weiss WH**
- ο πετρος και οι συν αυτω επιστατα א A C*? D L P R U W Θ 1 13 33 157 579 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 (C^3? E G H Δ Ψ 28 565 700^c *Byz* arm **HF** ...μετ αυτω) ol vg pesh hark bo; **Bover (HF) Lach NEB RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 8:48

- θυγατηρ B K L W (Θ); **Bover Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- θυγατερ א A C D E H Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 8:50

- πιστευσον B L ; **HG (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- πιστευε א A C D E H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 (579 πιστευετε) 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden**

Luke 9:2

- ιασθαι τους ασθενεις א A D L Ψ (070) 1 33 157 579 1071 1241 a aur b c d e ff^{2} l q r^{1} vg arm geo; **Bover HG Lach Merk Soden (Treg UBS [**τους ασθενεισ**])**
- ιασθαι B sin cur; **NEB RV^{arg} Tisch WH Weiss**
- ιασθαι τους ασθενουντας C E F H K Γ Δ Θ 13 28 565 700 892 1342 *Byz* (f ιασθαι παντας τους ασθενουντασ); **HF (RV^{txt}) Vogels**
- ασθενεις θεραπευειν 1424

Luke 9:3

- ανα δυο A C^{3} D E H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 157 565 700 892 1071 1424 *Byz* d; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch [Treg] [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- δυο א B C* F L 070 579 1241 1342 a aur b c e f ff^{2} l q r^{1} vg arm geo slav eth; **Soden RV WH**

Luke 9:9

- ηρωδης א A C D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 565 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Vogels**
- ο ηρωδης B L X Ψ 1 13 33 157 579 700 892 1241; **Bover HG (RV) Soden Weiss [WH]**

Luke 9:13A

- υμεις φαγειν א A C D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels WH^{marg}**
- φαγειν υμεις B b l*; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH^{txt}**

Luke 9:13B

- αρτοι πεντε א* B 579; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- πεντε αρτοι א^{c} A D E G H K L (W πεντε αρτων) Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- επτα αρτοι C

Luke 9:14

- κλισιας ωσει א B D L R 070 33 157 579 892 1241 1342 2452 e sa; **Bover HG [Lach] Merk (NEB) RV Soden [Treg] [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss WH**
- κλισιας A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark bo; **HF Tisch**

Luke 9:24

- αν θελη A B D E K L M W Θ Π 28 33 69 157 700 1241; **Bover HG Lach (RV) Soden Treg UBS WH**
- εαν θελη א C Γ 1 13 565 579 892 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) Tisch Vogels Weiss**

Luke 9:28

- και παραλαβων א^{c} A C D E G K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c f q vg sin cur; **Bover HF HG [Lach] Merk (NEB) (RV) [Soden] Tisch Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- παραλαβων P^{45vid} א* B H 28 157 579 a b ff^{2} g^{1} l r^{1} pesh hark sa arm; **WH^{txt}**

Luke 9:39

- και μογις P^{75} א A C D E G H L Γ Δ Ψ 0115 13 33 565 579 892 1241 1342 *Byz* sa bo; **HF HG Lach RV Soden Tisch Treg UBS Vogels**
- και μολις B R W Θ 1 157 205 700 1071 1424; **Bover Merk NEB Weiss WH**

Luke 9:47

- ιησους ειδως א B F K Λ Π 124 700 1424 2542 sa arm geo eth slav; **HG Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ιησους ιδων A C D E G H L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0115 13 28 33 157 565$^{apud\ NA27}$ 579 892 1071 1241 1342 *Byz* ol vg bo; **Bover HF Lach RV Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- ιησους γνους 1 205 1365

Luke 9:49

- ιωαννης P^{45} P^{75} B C*^{vid} D W Y 13 28 579 892 1241; **Bover HG Lach Soden Treg UBS WH**
- ο ιωαννης א A C^{2} E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 33 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Vogels Weiss**

Luke 9:59(B)

- κυριε P^{45} P^{75} א A B^{2} C E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0181 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a aur b c e f l q r^{1} vg cur pesh hark sa bo arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels WH^{marg}**
- *omit* B* D V 180 998 1574 d sin; **HG NEB Tisch Weiss WH^{txt}**

Luke 10:1A

- ετερους P^{75} B L 0181 579 892 1071 1424 r^{1} sin pesh; **Merk (NEB) RV UBS Weiss WH**
- και ετερους א A C D E G K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 1241 1342 *Byz* vg cur hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Tisch [Treg] Vogels**

Luke 10:1B

- εβδομηκοτα δυο P^{75} B D M 0181 1604 a aur b c d e l vg sin cur sa arm geo; **Bover HG [Lach] Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- εβδομηκοτα א A C E G H K L N W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 157 565 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* f q pesh hark eth slav; **HF NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 10:1C

- ανα δυο δυο B K Y Θ Π 13 565 hark; **Bover [UBS] [WH]**
- ανα δυο א A C D E G L W Γ Δ Ψ 0181 1 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss**

Luke 10:6A

- εκει η P^{75} B 0181^{vid}; **Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- η εκει א A C D E G K L W Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* c; **Bover HF (HF^{marg} μεν η εκει) HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- η Θ

Luke 10:6B

- επαναπαησεται P^{75} א* B* 0181 (579 επαναπλησσεται); **HG Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- επαναπαυσεται א^{2} A B^{c} C D E G K L (W επαναπαυσηται) Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Soden Treg Vogels**

Luke 10:11

- υμων εις τους ποδας (P^{45} omits υμων) P^{75} א B D R T 157 1241; **Bover HG Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- υμων εις τους ποδας ημων A C G K L U W X Θ Π Ψ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 2542 (f) sin cur pesh hark; **Merk Soden Vogels**
- υμων E Γ Δ 346 565 788 *Byz* aur vg; **HF**

Luke 10:17

- εβδομηκοντα δυο P^{45vid} P^{75} B D 1604 a aur b c d e l vg sin $hark^{marg}$ sa arm geo; **Bover HG [Lach] Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- εβδομηκοντα א A C E F G K L N W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0115 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* f i q cur pesh $hark^{txt}$ pal eth slav; **HF NEB^{marg} RV^{txt}Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 10:19

- ου μη αδικηση P^{45} P^{75} B C G K Δ Ψ 0115 13 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ου μη αδικησει $א^{c}$ A E H L W Γ Θ 1 33 543 983 1241; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg WH^{txt}**
- αδικησει א* D

Luke 10:21A

- εν τω πνευματι τω αγιω א D L X 33 1241 a b c d e ff^{2} i l r^{1} cur sin sa; **Bover Soden Tisch (UBS [εν])**
- τω πνευματι τω αγιω P^{75} B C K Θ Π 1 579 1071 aur pesh hark arm geo; **HG Lach Merk NEB^{txt}RV Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- εν τω πνευματι P^{45vid} 0115 157 892 2542 q
- τω πνευματι A E G H K N W Γ Δ Ψ 13 28 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz* f slav; **HF NEB^{marg}**

Luke 10:21B

- ευδοκια εγενετο P^{45vid} P^{75} B C* L X Ψ 070 1 33 892 e; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- εγενετο ευδοκια א A C^{3} D K W Γ Δ Θ 0115 13 565 700 1241 1424 *Byz* a f ; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch**

Luke 10:30

- υπολαβων P^{75} א* B C^{*vid} geo; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- υπολαβων δε $א^{2}$ A C^{2} D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Treg Vogels**[apud NA27]

Luke 10:38

- υπεδεξατο αυτον P^{45} P^{75} B sa; **UBS**
- υπεδεξατο αυτον εις τον οικον αυτης A D E F G H K (P εαυτησ) W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 1 13 28 157 565 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a aur b c d e f ff^{2} i q r^{1} vg sin cur pesh hark bo arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden (Treg [**αυτησ**]) Vogels WH**[marg]
- υπεδεξατο αυτον εις την οικιαν P^{3vid} א* C* L 33 579; **Merk (NEB) Tisch WH**[txt]
- υπεδεξατο αυτον εις τον οικον; **Weiss**
- υπεδεξατο αυτον εις την οικιαν αυτης $א^{1}$ C^{2}

Luke 10:41-42

- μεριμνας και θορυβαζη περι πολλα [42] ενος δε εστιν χρεια P^{45} P^{75} C* W $Θ(*)^{,1}$; **Bover Lach Merk NEB**[txt] **RV**[txt] **Tisch Treg UBS Vogels**
- μεριμνας και τορυβαζη περι πολλα [42] ενος δε εστιν χρεια A E F G H K P Γ Δ $Θ^{2}$ Ψ 13 28 157 565^{supp} 700 892 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* vg (cur) pesh hark sa; **HF**
- μεριμνας και θορυβαζη περι πολλα [42] ολιγων δε εστιν χρεια η ενος P^{3} א(* *omits* χρεια) (B χρεια εστιν) C^{2} L 070^{vid} 1 33 (579 μεριμνας και τυρβαζεις περι...) (1342τορυβαζη) hark[marg]; **HG NEB**[marg] **RV**[marg] **Weiss WH**[txt]
- θορυβαζη D a b (c) e ff^{2} i l r^{1}; **RV**[marg] **WH**[marg]
- *omit* a b e ff^{2} i l r^{1} sin
- μεριμνας και θορυβαζη περι πολλα [42] ολιγων δε εστιν χρεια 38 pal arm geo; **Soden**

Luke 10:42(B)

- Μαριαμ P^{3} P^{75} B 1 579 l; **HG Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- Μαρια א A C D E F G K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* hark sa bo; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 11:11(B)

- ιχθυν P^{45} (P^{75} ισχυν) B 440 1241 ff^{2} i l sin sa arm; **HG NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- αρτον μη λιθον επιδωσει αυτω η και ιχθυν A (C 788 *add after* verse 12) (D αυτω επιδωσει) E (F) (G) H W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 1071 1342 1424 *Byz* q cur pesh hark bo;**Bover HF Lach NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Tisch Treg (WH^{marg} [και])**
- αρτον μη λιθον επιδωσει αυτω η ιχθυν א L 28 33 157 700 892 1006 1505 aur b c (d) f r^{1} vg; **Merk Soden Vogels**

Luke 11:12

- επιδωσει P^{45} P^{75} B L 892; **(NEB) UBS WH Weiss**
- μη επιδωσει א A (C) (D) E F G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 33 565 (579) 700 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a^{2} aur f ff^{2} i q vg bo arm geo; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk RV [Soden] Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 11:13

- πατηρ ο εξ ουρανου A B D E F G H K W Γ Δ Θ 1 28 565 700 1010 1241 *Byz* a^{2} d f hark^{txt}; **Bover HF HG Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg (UBS WH [ο]) Vogels Weiss**
- πατηρ εξ ουρανου P^{75} א L X Ψ 33 69 157 892 1071 2542 geo; **Soden**
- πατηρ υμων ο ουρανιος P^{45} 1424 l hark^{marg}
- πατηρ ο ουρανιος 579
- πατηρ υμων ο εξ ουρανου C 205 1006 1342 aur b c ff^{2} q r^{1} sa; **Lach**
- πατηρ ημων ο εξ ουρανου 13
- πατηρ υμων εξ ουρανου 157 1071

Luke 11:14

- δαιμονιον και αυτο ην A^{c} C E F G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 28 565 579 700 1071 1342 1424 *Byz* a^{2} aur b c f ff^{2*} i l q r^{1} vg pesh hark geo; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk NEB Tisch [Treg] [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- δαιμονιον P^{45} P^{75} א A* B L 1 33 157 205 788 892 1241 2542 sin cur sa bo arm; **RV Soden WH**
- *replace verse 14 with* αυτα δε ειποντος αυτου προσερεται αυτω δαιμονιζομενος κωφος και εκβαλοντος αυτου παντες εθαυμαζον D a^{2c} c f

Luke 11:17

- εφ εαυτην διαμερισθεισα P^{75} B E G H K Δ 1 13 565 700 1241 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- διαμερισθεισα εφ εαυτην א A D L 33 892 a^{2}; **Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**
- μερισθεισα εφ εαυτην P^{45} Ψ 1342
- εφ εαυτην μερισθεισα C F W Γ Θ 579 2542

Luke 11:19

- αυτοι υμων κριται εσονται P^{75} B D 579 700 a^{2} (c); **Lach Merk (NEB) UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- αυτοι κριται εσονται υμων א r^{1}; **Tisch**
- αυτοι κριται υμων εσονται A C K L M U W Θ Π Ψ 1 13 33 157 892 1241 1071 1342 2542 *pm* aur vg; **Bover HF^{marg} HG Soden Treg WH^{marg}**
- αυτοι εσονται υμων κριται P^{45} 1604
- κριται υμων αυτοι εσονται E F G H Γ Δ 205 209 565 1006 1424 1506 *pm;* **HF^{txt} (RV)**
- κριται αυτοι υμων εσονται **HF^{marg}**
- αυτοι υμων εσονται κριται N

Luke 11:20

- εγω εκβαλλω P^{75} $א^{1}$ B C (D) L R 13 33 157 579 892 1071 1342 ff^{2} l q r^{1} hark** sa bo; **Merk RV [Treg] [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- εκβαλλω P^{45} א* A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 565 700 1241 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG Lach (NEB) Soden Tisch**

Luke 11:24

- τοτε λεγει P^{75} א² B L X Θ 070 33 157 579 892 1071 1241 1342 b l hark sa bo; **[Lach] Soden [UBS] [Vogels] (WH^{txt} in [ ]; no [ ] in WH^{marg})**
- λεγει P^{45} א* A C D E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 28 565 700 1010 1424 *Byz* a² aur c d f ff² i q r¹ vg sin cur pesh arm geo; **Bover HF HG Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss**

Luke 11:27

- επαρασα τις φωνην γυνη εκ του οχλου P^{75} א B L; **HG Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- επαρασα τις γυνη φωνην εκ του οχλου A C W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Treg Vogels**
- επαρασα τις γυνη εκ του οχλου φωνην K Π 1 579
- γυνη τις επαρασα φωνην εκ του οχλου D e

Luke 11:49

- διωξουσιν P^{75} א B C L M X Θ 1 33 1071 1241 1424 1582; **Merk (NEB) RV UBS Weiss WH**
- εκδιωξουσιν A D E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 13 565 700 892 1342 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Tisch (Treg [εκ]διωξουσιν) Vogels**

Luke 12:1

- ητις εστιν υποκρισις των φαρισαιων P^{75} B L 1241 e sa; **Merk Soden UBS Weiss WH**
- των φαρισαιων ητις εστιν υποκρισις P^{45} א A C D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark bo; **Bover HF HG Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 12:18

- παντα τον σιτον και τα αγαθα μου P^{75c} B L 070 1 579 892 1241 sa bo; **Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- παντα τον σιτον μου και τα αγαθα μου P^{75*} א^{2} 13
- παντα τα γενηματα μου και τα αγαθα μου A K Q W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 33^{vid} 565 700 1424 *Byz* aur f vg (pesh) hark; **Bover Lach HF Tisch Vogels**
- παντα τα γενηματα και τα αγαθα μου 1675; **Soden**
- παντα τα γενηματα μου א* D (sin) (cur); **HG**

Luke 12:25

- επι την ηλικιαν αυτου προσθειναι P^{75} B 579; **Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- προσθειναι επι την ηλικιαν αυτου P^{45} א A D E G H K L Q W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ol vg; **Bover HF^{txt} (HF^{marg}** προσθηναι**) HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Luke 12:28

- αμφιεζει P^{45} P^{75} D L 070 892$^{apud\ NA27}$; **Bover HG Soden Tisch Treg UBS**
- αμφιαζει B; **Lach Merk (NEB) Weiss WH**
- αμφιεννυσιν א A E H K Q W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **(HF (RV)** αμφιεννυσι**) Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$**

Luke 12:39

- ερχεται ουκ αν P^{75} א (D *omits all of v. 39 after* αν) e i sin cur arm; **HG Merk NEB Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ερχεται εργηγορησεν αν και ουκ B E H K L S W Γ Δ Π Ψ Ω 1 13 28 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *pm* vg pesh hark; **Bover (RV) Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**
- ερχεται εργηγορησεν αν και ουκ αν A Q Θ 070 33 2542 *pm;* **HF Lach (Soden [**εργηγορησεν αν και**])**
- ερχεται εργηγορησεν και ουκ א^{1} 157

Luke 12:53

- την θυγατερα και θυγατηρ επι την μητερα P^{45} P^{75} L Θ (070 την θυγατερα και θυγατηρ επι μητερα) 1 157 205 579 700 892 (1241 θυγατρι και θυγατηρ επι την μητερα) 2542; **Bover Lach (Soden [**την**]** θυγατερα**) Treg UBS**
- θυγατερα και θυγατηρ επι την μητερα B D; **HG Merk (NEB) RV Vogels Weiss WH**
- θυγατερα και θυγατηρ επι μητερα א; **Tisch**
- θυγατρι και θυγατηρ επι μητρι A E G H K Γ Δ Θ 13 33 565 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF**
- θυγατρι W

Luke 12:56(A)

- τον καιρον δε τουτον P^{75} B 892; **Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- τον δε καιρον τουτον א A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 1 13 33 565 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- τον καιρον τουτον L
- πλην τον καιρον τουτον P^{45} D 157 c e
- τον δε καιρον 047

Luke 13:5

- μετανοητε P^{75} א^{1} B E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 33 565 892 1342 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Soden UBS Vogels WH^{marg}**
- μετανοησητη א^{*,2} A D L U X Θ 070 0233 1 (13 μετανοησετε) 157 205 579 1241 1424 2542; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**

Luke 13:19

- εις δενδρον P^{75} א B (D a a^{2} b d ff^{2} i l r^{1} *omit* εισ) L 070 (892 ως δενδρον) 1241 2542 e sin cur pal sa arm; **HG NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- εις δενδρον μεγα P^{45} A E F G H K N W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0233 (1 c d q *omit* εισ) 13 28 33 157 565 579 1071 1342 (1424 ως δενδρον μεγα) *Byz* aur vg pesh hark slav;**Bover HF [Lach] Merk Soden [Treg] Vogels**

Luke 13:21

- ενεκρυψεν P^{75} א A D E G H W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 579 700 1241 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Soden (UBS [εν]εκρυψεν) Vogels Weiss**
- εκρυψεν B K L N U Π 047 22 118 157 205 209 892 1071 1342 1424 1506 2542; **HF^{marg} HG Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg WH**

Luke 13:27(A)

- λεγων υμιν P^{75c} B 205 892; **Bover UBS Weiss WH**
- λεγω υμιν P^{75*} A D E G H K L N W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 0233 1 13 28 157 565 579 700 1071 1241 1342 *Byz* d (sin (cur) pal αμην λεγω υμιν) hark arm eth slav; **HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- υμιν א 579 a a^{2} aur b c e f ff^{2} i l q r^{1} vg pesh sa geo
- *omit* 1195

Luke 13:35

- εως ηξει οτε ειπητε D; **Bover HG (Merk Treg UBS [ηξει οτε]) NEB Soden Tisch Weiss**
- εως ειπητε P^{75} B L R 892; **RV WH**
- εως αν ηξει οτε ειπητε A (E G (H εξη οτι) Ψ 565 700 *pm* **HF^{txt}** εξη) N W Γ (Δ) 28 (579 εξει οταν) 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF^{marg} Lach Vogels**
- εως αν ειπητε P^{45} א M N X 13 157 205 209 1010 1071 1582 2542
- απ αρτι εως αν ειπητε Θ 1241
- εως ηξει η ημερα οτε ειπητε a b f cur hark

Luke 14:5

- εν ημερα P^{45} P^{75} א* B 131 205 209 1582* 2542; **HG Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- τη ημερα A (D) K L X Δ Θ Π 13 892 1241 1424; **Bover (Soden [τη]) Treg Vogels**
- εν τη ημερα $א^{2}$ E G H W Γ Ψ 1 565 579 1342 *Byz*; **HF (Lach [εν])**

Luke 14:17

- ετοιμα εστιν B b c ff^{2} i l q; **Bover Merk NEB (RV** εστι**) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ετοιμα εισιν P^{75} א*,^{2} L R Θ 579; **HG Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**
- ετοιμα εστιν παντα (א^{1} ετοιμα εισιν παντα) A (D a e παντα ετοιμα εστιν) E G H K N P W Γ Δ Ψ 0233 1 13 28 157 565 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur d f r^{1}vg geo; **(HF** εστι**) (Lach Treg [**παντα**]) Vogels**

Luke 14:26A

- πατερα εαυτου P^{75} B L Ψ; **(RV) Soden UBS WH**
- πατερα αυτου P^{45} א A D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss**
- πατερα 579 1506 2542 e

Luke 14:26B(C)

- ψυχην εαυτου P^{75} א B (69 788) 579 (1241 ψυχην αυτου); **Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- εαυτου ψυχην P^{45} A D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 15:12

- ο δε διειλεν א^{2} A B L 579 892 1071 1241 bo; **HG Lach Merk (NEB) RV Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και διειλεν א* D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz* OL vg sin cur pesh hark; **Bover HF Tisch Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$**
- διειλεν P^{75}

Luke 15:16(B)

- εκ των κερατιων P^{75} א B D L R 1 13 131 579 1604; **Merk (NEB) (RV!) Soden UBS Weiss WH**
- απο των κερατιων A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Tisch Treg Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$**

Luke 15:17

- περισσευονται P^{75} A B P 1 205 579 1241 1604; **HG Merk (NEB) (RV!) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- περισσευουσιν א D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 33 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 15:20

- πατερα εαυτου P^{75} A B E G W Γ Δ Ψ 1 565 700 892 1582 *pm;* **HF^{marg} Merk (NEB) UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- πατερα αυτου א D H K L N P Q Θ 13 205 209 579 1006 1241 1342 1424 1506 2542 *pm;* **Bover HF^{txt} Lach RV Soden Tisch Treg**

Luke 15:21

- ειπεν δε ο υιος αυτω P^{75} B L 1 157 205 (579 ^{2211} αυτου); **Merk (NEB) Soden UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπεν δε αυτω ο υιος א A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Tisch Treg Vogels**
- ο δε υιος ειπεν αυτω D

Luke 15:29

- πατρι αυτου P^{75} A B D G N P R (Δ αυτω) Λ 13 579 1342 vg sin cur pesh; **Bover Lach RV Treg UBS WH**
- πατρι א E H K L W Γ Θ Ψ 1 33 565 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF HG Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss**

Luke 16:26

- εκειθεν P^{75} א* B D 13; **Bover HG Lach (NEB) RV UBS Weiss WH**
- οι εκειθεν א² A E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* bo; **HF [Merk] Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 16:27

- ερωτω σε ουν A B D 13 69; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ερωτω ουν σε P^{75} א E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**
- ερωτω σε W 579 e f r^{1} bo

Luke 16:29

- Αβρααμ P75 א B L 579 892 1241 2542 d λ sin arm; **Bover HG Merk NEB RV UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτω Αβρααμ A D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz* vg cur sin hark sa; **HF^{marg} (HF^{txt} *omits* δε *before* αυτω) Lach [Soden] Tisch [Treg] [Vogels]**

Luke 17:1

- πλην ουαι δι P^{75} א B D L Ψ 1 13 33 157 205 (579 πλην δε ουαι δι) 892 1241 2542 e sin cur $hark^{marg}$ sa bo; **Bover Lach RV Treg UBS WH**
- ουαι δε δι A E G H K W(* ουδε) Γ Δ Θ 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz* f l vg; **HF HG Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss**

Luke 17:6

- συκαμινω ταυτη A B E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg sin pesh hark sa; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- συκαμινω P^{75} א D L X 579 1071 s cur bo; **HG Soden**

Luke 17:11

- πορευεσθαι P^{75} א B L 579 1342; **(NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- πορευεσθαι αυτον A D E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 800 892 1241 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk HG Soden [Treg] Vogels**

Luke 17:12

- κωμην απηντησαν αυτω A E G H K Γ Δ Ψ (33 ....σαν αυτω) 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF (RV) (Treg UBS [αυτω]) Vogels**
- κωμην υπηντησαν αυτω א N Θ 1 13 157 579 892 1241 2542; **Bover Tisch**
- κωμην απηντησαν P^{75} B; **HG Lach Merk (NEB) Weiss WH^{txt}**
- κωμην υπηντησαν L; **Soden WH^{marg}**
- κωμην οπου ησαν D
- κωμην οπου ησαν αυτω e λ

Luke 17:23

- ιδου εκει η ιδου ωδε P^{75} B$^{apud\ NA27}$ 579; **Bover Merk (Soden Vogels [η]) UBS WH^{txt}**
- ιδου εκει ιδου ωδε L (sin) (cur); **HG NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ιδου ωδε η ιδου εκει A E F G Γ Δ Θ Ψ 157 565 700 828^{c} 892 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* a aur (b f ff^{2} i λ r^{1} s bodl^{c} cav for kar mac-regol mart tol ιδου ωδε και ιδου εκει) c d l egert hark; **HF Lach**
- ιδου εκει και ιδου ωδε א
- ιδου ωδε ιδου εκει D H W* 33 69 983 1342 1505 e q am val
- ιδου ωδε ιδου εκει ο χριστος K W$^{c\ apud\ UBS4}$ 2542
- ιδου ωδε η εκει 13 828* l
- ιδου ωδε η ιδου εκει ο χριστος N 346 1243 hark**
- ιδου ωδε και ιδου εκει ο χριστος M
- ιδου ωδε μη διωξητε η ιδου εκει ο χριστος 1 205

Luke 17:27

- παντας P^{75} B D L Θ 579 892; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- απαντας א A E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 575 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**

Luke 17:29

- παντας B D L Δ 579 892; **Bover HG Lach Merk (NEB) Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- απαντας א A E G H K W Γ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 575 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**

Luke 17:33(B)

- (ε)αν απολεση B D E G H K W Γ Ψ 1 33 69 543 565 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz*; **(Bover HF HG Lach Soden Vogels** εαν**) ((NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Weiss** αν**)**
- (ε)αν απολεσει A L N Γ Δ 13 579 788 983 1342; **(Merk WH** αν**) (Tisch** εαν**)**

Luke 18:11

- σταθεις προς εαυτον ταυτα A E G H K N Q W Γ Δ 28 157 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz* a hark; **HF Lach (NEB^{marg}) UBS WH^{marg}**
- σταθεις ταυτα προς εαυτον P^{75} א^{2} B (L ...προς αυτον) T Θ Ψ 1 205 579 892 1241 aur e vg pal (arm); **Bover HG Merk (NEB^{marg}) (RV) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- σταθεις ταυτα א* (828 1071 eth *omit* ταυτα) ^{751} ^{844}* b c f ff^{2} i l q r^{1} sa ach geo^{1}; **NEB^{txt} Tisch**
- σταθεις προς εαυτον sin
- σταθεις καθ εαυτον ταυτα D d geo^{2}

Luke 18:12

- αποδεκατω א^{2} A D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg UBS**
- αποδεκατευω P^{75} א* B T; **(NEB) Tisch Vogels Weiss WH**

Luke 18:21

- νεοτητος B D l; **Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- νεοτητος μου א A E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 078 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) RV Soden [Treg] Vogels**

Luke 18:22

- εν τοις ουρανοις B D; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg (UBS WH [τουσ]) Weiss**
- εν ουρανοις א A L R 892 1071; **Bover HG Soden Tisch Vogels**
- εν ουρανω E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 69 543 565 579 700 788 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **HF**

Luke 18:30

- απολαβη πολλαπλασιονα א A E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33^{vid} 565 570 700 892 (1006 1241 sin cur απολαβη εκατονταπλασιονα) 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG RV Soden Tisch Treg (UBS [απο]λαβε) Vogels WH^{marg}**
- λαβη πολλαπλασιονα B (D λαβη επταπλασιονα) M 1071 (a λαβη εκατονταπλασιονα) arm; **Lach Merk (NEB) Weiss WH^{txt}**

Luke 19:15

- τι διεπραγματευσαντο א B D L Ψ (157 τι επραγματευσαντο) 579 (1241 τις διεπραγματευσαντο) (2542τι επραγματευσαντο) d e sin cur sa bo fay eth geo slav; **RV Soden Treg UBS WH**
- τις τι διεπραγματευσατο A E F G H K Γ Θ 1 13 28 33 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* a (aur) (b) (c) f (ff^2) i (l) (q) (s) (vg) pesh hark arm; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Vogels Weiss**
- τις πεπραγματευσατω W Δ 0233 828 1006 1071

Luke 19:30

- λεγων υπαγετε א B D L Θ 13 157 892 1241 sa bo; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπων υπαγετε A E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 1 565 579 700 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG (as verse 29 in RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 19:36

- τα ιματια αυτων א D E G H L Γ Δ 1 13 565 579 700 892 (1071 αυτων τα ιματια) 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover Lach (RV) Soden Tisch UBS**
- τα ιματια εαυτων A B K N R U W Θ Π Ψ 124 1582; **HF HG Merk (NEB) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- τα ιματια 1241

Luke 19:38

- ο ερχομενος ο βασιλευς εν ονοματι κυριου B; **Merk UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ο ερχομενος βασιλευς εν ονοματι κυριου א^{2} A E G K N L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 157 565 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur f q geo; **Bover HF HG Lach (NEB) (RV) Treg Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**
- ο βασιλευς εν ονοματι κυριου א*; **Tisch WH^{marg}**
- ο ερχομενος εν ονοματι κυριου ευλογημενος ο βασιλευς D a c d ff^{2} i r^{1} s
- ο ερχομενος εν ονοματι κυριου W Λ (579 repeats x3) 1505 dubl egert rushw

Luke 19:40

- λεγω υμιν B* W Θ 69 788 1006; **Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- λεγω υμιν οτι א A B^{c} D E G H K L Γ Δ Ψ 13 33 656 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Tisch [Treg] Vogels WH^{marg}**
- λεγω υμιν και 1 1582

Luke 19:42

- εγνως εν τη ημερα ταυτη και συ א B L 579 892 slav; **Merk NEB RV Soden UBS Weiss WH**
- εγνως και συ εν τη ημερα ταυτη D Θ 2542 d (e s *omit* και) f q; **Bover HG Treg**
- εγνως συ καιγε εν τη ημερα σου ταυτη E G H N K W Γ Δ 13 700 1342 1424 *Byz* aur vg hark; **(HF** και γε**) Tisch Vogels**
- εγνως συ και γε εν τη ημερα ταυτη A Ψ 1 205 1505 1506; **(Lach ...**συ **[**και γε**]) ε**ν**...)**
- εγνως και γε εν τη ημερα σου ταυτη και συ 1241
- εγνως και συ εν τη ημερα ταυτη ηρωτησας ταυτη 157

Luke 20:42

- κυριος B D; **Lach Merk Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο κυριος א A E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579$^{apud\ NA27}$ 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 20:44A

- κυριον αυτον καλει א D E G H W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Tisch UBS**
- αυτον κυριον καλει A B K L M Q R U Π 33 983 (1241 αυτον καλει κυριον) f; **HG Merk (NEB) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Luke 20:44B

- αυτου υιος A B K M Θ Π 0233 1 205; **HG Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- υιος αυτου א D E G H L W Γ Δ Ψ 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

Luke 20:45

- τοις μαθηταις αυτου א A E G H K L P W (Γ τοις εαυτου μαθηταισ) Δ Θ Ψ 0233 1 13 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1424 *Byz* a aur c e f ff^{2} i q r^{1} vg sin cur pesh hark sa bo geo slav eth; **Bover HF Lach RV Soden (UBS [**αυτου**]) Vogels**
- τοις μαθηταις B D 2542 d l arm; **HG Merk NEB Tisch Treg WH**
- προς αυτους Q

Luke 21:2

- εκει λεπτα δυο א B L Q X Θ Ψ 33 157 579 892 1241 2542 vg; **Bover HG Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εκει δυο λεπτα A (D (a) εκει λεπτα δυο ο εστιν κοδραντεσ) E G H K W 1 13 565 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* e; **HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 21:3

- αυτη η πτωχη πλειον א B (D Q **Lach** αυτη η πτωχη πλειω) L 13 33 157 579 1241 e vg; **Bover (Lach) Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- η πτωχη αυτη πλειον A E G H K (W Ω Ψ **Tisch** η πτωχη αυτη πλειω) Γ Δ 1 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* a s; **HF HG (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 21:4A

- παντες א B D Δ 579 2542; **Lach Merk (NEB) (RV!) UBS Weiss WH**
- απαντες A E G H K L W Γ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 21:4B

- δωρα א B L X 1 205 579 1241 2542 sin cur pal (sa bo) geo; **NEB RV Tisch UBS WH**
- δωρα του θεου A D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0102^{vid} 13 33 157 565 700 892 1071 1342 1424 *Byz* a aur c d e f ff^{2} i l q r^{1} vg pesh hark arm; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk Soden [Treg] Vogels Weiss**

Luke 21:4C

- παντα B D L Q 13 33 579 1241; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) (RV!) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- απαντα א A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF HG Soden Tisch Vogels**

Luke 21:11

- και απ ουρανου σημεια μεγαλα εσται B; **Merk UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και σημεια απ ουρανου μεγαλα εσται A(* *omits* μεγαλα) E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0102 (565 ...μεγαλα εσονται) 700 1342 *Byz* slav; **HF HG (RV) Tisch**
- και σημεια μεγαλα απ ουρανου εσται א L (13 1505 ...ουρανου εσονται) 33 579 892 1071 1241 2542 (arm); **Bover (NEB) Soden Treg WH^{marg}**
- απ ουρανου και σημεια μεγαλα εσται D d e f am geo; **Lach**
- απ ουρανου και σημεια μεγαλα εσται και χειμωνες a c f ff^{2} dubl kenan cur pesh hark^{marg}
- και σημεια απ ουρανου μεγαλα 1424

Luke 21:12

- εις τας συναγωγως א B D 157 sa; **Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εις συναγωγως A E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0102 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach Soden Vogels**

Luke 21:13

- αποβησεται א* B D 579; **(NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- αποβησεται δε א^{2} A K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0102 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz* vg sin cur pesh hark; **Bover HF HG Lach Merk Soden [Treg] Vogels**
- αποβησεται γαρ c ff^{2} i l r^{1}

Luke 21:15

- απαντες B L 579 892 ^{844}; **HG (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- παντες א A D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0102 1 13 33 565 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**
- *omit* a c e f ff^{2}

Luke 21:19

- κτησασθε א D E G H K L W Γ Δ Ψ 1 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* d i; **HF HG Soden Tisch UBS Vogels**
- κτησεσθε A B Θ Ω 13 33 a c e f ff^{2} l r^{1} s vg sa arm arm geo eth slav; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Treg Weiss WH**

Luke 22:16

- οτι ου μη φαγω P^{75vid} א A B H L Θ 579 1241 a sa bo; **Bover NEB^{marg} RV Soden UBS WH**
- οτι ουκεται ου μη φαγω C(* N omit οτι) E G K P W Γ Θ (Ψ omits ου) 0279 13 157 205 565 700 892 1071 1342 1542 1424 *Byz* aur b c e f ff^{2} i q vg arm (geo) eth slav;**HF HG [Lach] Merk NEB^{txt} Tisch [Treg] Vogels Weiss**
- ουκετι μη φαγομαι D

Luke 22:34

- τρις με απαρνηση ειδεναι א B L T Θ 579; **Bover HG Lach (RV!) Soden Treg UBS WH**
- τρις απαρνηση μη ειδεναι με A E G H K W Γ Δ 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **HF Tisch**
- τρις με απαρνηση μη ειδεναι 13 2542; **Merk (NEB) Vogels Weiss**
- τρις με απαρνηση μη ειδεναι με D cur
- τρις απαρνηση με ειδεναι Q Ψ 1 205 1506

Luke 22:44

- και εγενετο ο ιδρως א*,2 Ψ 1 (13 moves verses 43-44 after Matt. 26:39) 205; **Bover HG Merk (NEB^{txt}) Tisch (UBS WH^{txt} verses 43-44 in [[ ]])**
- εγενετω δε ο ιδρως D E G H K L Γ Δ(^{c} has 43-44 in **) Θ 565 700 892(^{c} has 43-44 in **) 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF (Lach Soden verses 43-44 in []) RV^{txt} Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- *omit* ^{43} ωφθη δε αυτω... ^{44}... επι την γην P^{75} א^{1} A B N T W 579 1071* ^{844} f sin sa arm geo; **NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Weiss**

Luke 22:57

- ηρνησατο P^{75} א B D^{2} K L S T X Π Ω 070 1 28 205 579 892 1071 1424 2542 a b c f l sin cur pesh sa bo arm; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ηρνησατο αυτον A D* E G H W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 565 700 1241 1342 *Byz* aur vg hark; **Bover HF HG Soden Tisch**

Luke 22:64

- επηρωτων λεγοντες P^{75} B K L M T X Π 070; **HG (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- επηρωτων αυτον λεγοντες (א) A E G H W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 579 799 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden Vogels**
- ελεγον D pesh

Luke 23:11

- και ο ηρωδης P^{75} א L N T X Ψ (070) 13 579 1243 a d hark^{marg} arm slav; **Bover HG Soden Tisch (UBS [και]) WH^{marg}**
- ο ηρωδης A B D E G H K Γ Δ Θ 1 28 157 205 565 700 892 1010 1071 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ηρωδης W 1241 1292 1505 2542
- *omit* verses 10-12 sin

Luke 23:12

- προς αυτους P^{75} א B L T 1506; **HG Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- προς εαυτους A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**
- *for verse 12 read* οντες δε εν ανδια ο πιλατος και ο ηρωδης εγενοντο φιλοι ιν αυτη τη ημερα D (c)
- *omit* verses 10-12 sin

Luke 23:17

- *omit* verse 17 P^{75} A B K L T Π 070 892^{txt} 1241 a sa; **HG NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Tisch Treg UBS $Weiss^{txt}$ WH**
- *add* verse 17 αναγκην δε ειχεν απολυειν αυτοις κατα εορτην ενα א E F G H (N) W Γ Δ (Θ Ψ αναγκην δε ειχεν κατα εορτην απολυειν αυτοις ενα) 1 13 28 157 205 565 (579) 700 (892^{marg}) 1010 1071 1342 1424 *Byz* aur b c e f ff^{2} i q r^{1} pesh hark arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF [Lach] NEB^{marg} Merk RV^{marg} [Soden] Vogels**
- a*dd* verse 17 *after verse 19* D d sin cur

Luke 23:28

- προς αυτας ο ιησους ειπεν $א^{1}$ A (C 070 1241 ο ιησους προς αυτασ) (D προς αυτας ειπεν ο ιησουσ) E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover Lach (HF RV** ειπε**) $Merk^{(2nd\ ed)}$ Soden (UBS [**ο**]) Vogels Weiss**
- προς αυτας ιησους ειπεν P^{75} $א^{*,2}$ B L; **(NEB) Tisch Treg WH**

Luke 23:32

- κακουργοι δυο P^{75} א B; **Merk UBS Weiss WH**
- δυο κακουργοι A C D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Luke 23:36

- ενεπαιξαν P^{75} א B L 070 1241; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ενεπαιζον A C D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF HG Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**

Luke 23:38

- επιγραφει επ αυτω P^{75} א¹ B L 070 597 1241; **NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- επιγραφει γεγραμμενη επ αυτω γραμμασιν ελληνικος και ρωμαικοις και εβραικοις C^{3} E G H K N W Γ Δ Θ 0250 1 28 (157) 565 (579^{c}) 700 892 1010 1071 1342 1424 *Byz* aur (c) e (f) l r^{1} cav tol (pesh) hark arm geo (eth); **HF HG Vogels**
- επιγραφει επ αυτω γραμμασιν ελληνικος και ρωμαικοις και εβραικοις (unattested?); **Bover Merk Soden**
- επιγραφει επ αυτω γεγραμμενη C* (579* επιγραφει αυτη γεγραμμενη) (a) (sin) (cur)
- επιγραφει επ αυτω γραμμασιν ελληνικος ρωμαικοις εβραικοις א*,²
- επιγραφει επιγεγραμμενη επ αυτω γραμμασιν ελληνικος και ρωμαικοις και εβραικοις A Q (b) q am dubl harl mediol slav; **(Lach** επιγραφει επιγεγραμμενη επ αυτω **[**γραμμασιν ελληνικος και ρωμαικοις και εβραικοις**])**
- επιγραφει επιγεγραμμενη επ αυτω γραμμασιν ελληνικος ρωμαικοις εβραικοις D
- επιγραφει επ αυτω γεγραμμενη γραμμασιν ελληνικος και ρωμαικοις και εβραικοις Ψ 13 33
- επιγραφει επιγεγραμμενη επ αυτω (unattested?); **(Treg [**επιγεγραμμενη**])**

Luke 23:50

- υπαρχων και ανηρ P^{75} א (C ...ο ανηρ) L X 33; **HG (Soden UBS [**και**]) Tisch**
- υπαρχων ανηρ A B E G H K W Δ Θ Ψ 070 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur f vg pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- υπαρχων D Γ

Luke 23:51

- συγκατατεθειμενος P^{75} $A^{apud\ NA27}$ B E G H K W Γ Θ 33 565 700 1241 1342 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss** WH^{txt}
- συγκατατιθεμενος א C D L X $Δ^{apud\ NA27}$ Ψ 070 1 13 157 205 (579 1071 συνκαταθεμενοσ) 892 1424 2542; **HG Soden Tisch** WH^{marg}

Luke 24:12

- include v. 12 ο δε πετρος αναστασ... τα οθονια μονα και... εαυτον θαυμαζων το γεγονος P^{75} א² W sin cur bo (א* *omits* μονα) (A K 69 579 2542 am harl lindisf oxon* τα οθονια κειμενα και) (B 070 αυτον θαυμαζων το γεγονοσ) (L τα οθονια μονα κειμενα... αυτον θαυμαζων το γεγονοσ) (E G H Γ Δ Θ Ψ 079 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c f ff² cav durmach mediol tol val ΗΦ τα οθονια κειμενα μονα); **Bover (HF) [Lach] Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Soden [Treg] UBS [[Vogels]] Weiss^{marg} [[WH]]**
- *omit verse 12* D a b d e l r¹; **NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss^{txt}**

Luke 24:13

- εν αυτη τη ημερα ησαν πορευομενοι P^{75} (א* εν τη αυτη ημερα ησαν δε πορευομενοι) (א² εν τη αυτη ημερα ησαν πορευομενοι) B sin cur pesh; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ησαν πορευομενοι εν αυτη τη ημερα (A ησαν πορευομενοι εν αυτη τη ωρα) (D e? ^{13} ησαν δε δυο πορευομενοι εξ αυτων εν αυτη τη εμερα) E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 079 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF Lach Soden Treg Vogels**

Luke 24:36

- και λεγει αυτοις ειρηνη υμιν P^{75} א A B E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 (28 και ειπεν...) 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* sin cur sa; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} [Soden] Treg UBS [Vogels] Weiss^{marg} [[WH]]**
- και λεγει αυτοις ειρηνη υμιν εγω ειμι μη φοβεισθε G P (W και λεγει αυτοις εγω ειμι μη φοβεισθε ειρηνη υμιν) (579 και λεγει αυτοις ειρηνη υμιν μη φοβεισθε εγω ειμι) 1241 aur c f vg pesh hark arm geo
- *omit* D a b d e l r¹; **NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss^{txt}**

Luke 24:38

- εν τη καρδια υμων P^{75} A*^{vid}? B D sa; **Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εν ταις καρδιαις υμων א A^{c} E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur f vg pesh hark bo; **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels**

Luke 24:40

- include verse 40: και τουτο ειπων εδειξεν αυτους τας χειρας και τους ποδας P^{75} א B L N 1 33 205 579 892 1241 (A K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz* ειπων επεδειξεν) aur c f q vg pesh hark pal sa bo arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} [Soden] [Treg] UBS [[Vogels]] Weiss^{marg} [[WH]]**
- *omit* D a b d e ff^{2} l r^{1} sin cur; **NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss^{txt}**

Luke 24:44

- τοις προφηταις P^{75} B 579; **Merk (NEB) [Treg] UBS Weiss WH**
- προφηταις A D E H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach RV Soden Tisch Vogels**
- εν τοις προφηταις א L

Luke 24:47

- εις αφεσιν P^{75} א B pesh sa bo; **NEB RV^{marg} Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και αφεσιν A C D H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 33 1657 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* OL vg sin hark pal arm geo eth; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV^{txt} Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Luke 24:48

- υμεις μαρτυρες τουτων P^{75} B; **Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- υμεις μαρτυρες εστε τουτων א L (579 υμεις εσται μαρτυρες τουτων); **Soden Merk**
- υμεις δε εστε μαρτυρες τουτων A (C^{2} υμεις δε μαρτυρες εστε τουτων) H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark; **HF Lach Vogels**
- και υμεις δε μαρτυρες τουτων D
- υμεις εστε μαρτυρες τουτων C*; **(NEB!) RV(!) (Treg [εστε])**
- υμεις δε μαρτυρες τουτων **Bover**

Luke 24:49(A)

- και ιδου εγω A B C F H K N Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 28 157 565 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* f q hark arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF Merk NEB RV (UBS [ιδου]) Vogels Weiss WH**
- καγω (P^{75} D και εγω) א L 33 579 a aur b c d e ff^2 l r^1 vg sin pesh sa bo; **Soden Tisch Treg**
- και εγω ιδου W 1 1582

Luke 24:51

- και ανεφερετω εις τον ουρανον P^{75} $א^2$ A B C F H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c f q r^1 vg pesh hark pal sa bo arm geo^2 eth slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} [Soden] Treg UBS [[Vogels]] Weiss^{marg} [[WH]]**
- *omit* א* D a b d e ff^2 l sin geo^1; **NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss^{txt}**

Luke 24:52

- προσκυνησαντες αυτον P^{75} א A B C (F) H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 (700 c am cav harl mediol tol *omit* αυτον) 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur f q bigot eptern oxon rush pesh hark pal sa bo arm geo^1 eth slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} [Soden] Treg UBS [[Vogels]] Weiss^{marg} [[WH]]**
- *omit* D a b d e ff^2 l sin geo^2; **NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss^{txt}**

Luke 24:53

- εν τω ιερω ευλογουντες P^{75} א B C* L sin pal sa bo geo; **Bover NEB RV Soden UBS Weiss WH**
- εν τω ιερω αινουντες και ευλογουντες A(* *omits* εν τω ιερω) C^2 (F) H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c f q vg pesh hark arm eth slav; **HF Lach (Merk Treg [αινουντες και]]) Vogels**
- εν τω ιερω αινουντες D a b d e ff^2 l r^1; **Tisch**

John

John 1:18

- μονογενης θεος P^{66} א* B C* L hark^{marg}; **Merk NEB^{marg} RV$^{marg-vid}$ Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο μονογενης θεος P^{75} א^{1} 33; **NEB^{marg} Vogels**
- ο μονογενης υιος A C^{3} E F G H K (W^{supp} ει μη ο μονογενης θεοσ) X Γ Δ Θ Π Ψ 063 0141 1 13 28 157 565 579 700 892 1010 1071 1079 1241 1342 1424 1505 1546 *Byz* a aur b c e f ff^{2} l vg cur hark pal arm geo^{1}; **Bover HF Lach NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Soden Tisch**

John 1:21

- τι ουν συ ηλιας ει (P^{66} τισ...) P^{75} C* Ψ 33 (e) ff^{2} l; **Treg UBS (WH [συ])**
- τι ουν ηλιας ει συ A C^{3} E F G H K X Γ Δ Θ Π 0234 1 13 28 157 565 579 700 892 1010 1079 1241 1342 1424 1505 1546 *Byz* aur c f q vg hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Vogels**
- τι ουν ηλιας ει א L 0141 a; **Tisch**
- συ τι ουν ηλιας ει B (arm); **Weiss**
- τι ουν συ ηλιας ει W^{supp}
- ηλιας συ ει (b) r^{1} sa bo
- συ τισει ηλιας ει 1071 (geo) eth

John 1:37

- οι δυο μαθηται αυτου λαλουντος P^{55-vid} א B (892 οι δυο μαθηται λαλουντος αυτου) 1071 b; **(NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- αυτου οι δυο μαθηται λαλουντος A C^{3} E GH Γ Δ Θ 1 13 565 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a c e ff^{2} vg hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk Soden Treg Vogels**
- οι δυο αυτου μαθηται λαλουντος P^{66} P^{75} C* L W^{supp} X Ψ 083 33 579; **WH^{marg}**

John 1:46

- ο φιλιππος P^{66c} P^{75vid} B L 33 579 1241 ^{2211}; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg [UBS] Weiss WH**
- φιλιππος P^{66*} א A E G H K W^{supp} Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 1:47

- ο ιησους P^{66} P^{75} א A E G K L W^{supp} Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden UBS Vogels Weiss**
- ιησους B H S Γ Ω 1071 1342; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg WH**

John 2:10

- τον ελασσω P^{66} P^{75} א* B L W^{supp} Ψ 083 0127 157 ^{844} ^{2211} a e ff^2 l; **NEB RV Tisch UBS WH**
- τοτε τον ελασσω $א^2$ A E G H K Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* b c f vg pesh hark; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk Soden [Treg] Vogels Weiss**

John 2:12

- αυτου και οι μαθηται αυτου P^{66c} A E F G H (K W^{supp}) N Γ Δ Θ 0233 1 (13) (28) 33 157 565 700 892 (1010) (1241) 1342 1505 1424 *Byz* f (j) r^1 vg pesh hark pal sa bo geo^2 eth; **Bover HF (Lach UBS [αυτου]) (NEB) Tisch Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$**
- και οι μαθηται αυτου P^{66*} P^{75} B Ψ 0162 1071 c; **Merk RV Soden Treg Weiss WH**
- αυτου א aur b c ff^2 l achm2 arm geo^2
- και οι μαθηται L 0141

John 2:15

- ανετρεψεν P^{66} B W^{supp} X Θ $Π^c$ 0162 1506; **Bover (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ανεστρεψεν P^{75} A E G H K L Γ Δ Ψ 1 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **(HF RV** ανεστρεψε**) Lach Merk Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- κατεστρεψεν P^{59-vid} א 13

John 2:22

- ον ειπεν P^{66} P^{75-vid} א B L 050 083; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ω ειπον A E G H K W^{supp} Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk RV Soden Vogels**

John 2:24

- ιησους ουκ επιστευεν P^{66} $P^{75\text{-vid}}$ B L 050 1241; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους ουκ επιστευεν א A E G H K W^{supp} Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**
- ουκ επιστευεν 083 e f

John 3:16

- τον υιον P^{66} P^{75} א* B W^{supp}; **(NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- τον υιον αυτου P^{63} $א^{c}$ A E G H K L T Γ Δ Θ Ψ 083 086 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a b c e f ff^{2} vg sin pesh hark sa bo; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden [Treg] Vogels**

John 3:31

- ουρανου ερχομενος επανω παντων εστιν $P^{36\text{-vid}}$ P^{66} $א^{2}$ A B E F G H K L W^{supp} Γ Δ Θ Ψ 083 086 0141 13 28 33 157 579^{vid} 700 892 1010 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c f q vg sin pesh hark pal bo; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ουρανου ερχομενος P^{75} א* D 1 205 565 a b e ff^{2} l r^{1} cur sa arm $geo^{(2)}$; **NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch WH^{marg}**

John 4:1

- εγνω ο ιησους א D Θ Λ 086 1 565 1241 vg cur pesh $hark^{txt}$ arm; **Bover HF^{marg} NEB Tisch UBS**
- εγνω ο κυριος P^{66} P^{75} A B C E G H K L W^{supp} Γ Δ Θ Ψ 083 13 33 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* f q sin $hark^{marg}$ sa; **HF^{txt} Lach Merk RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

John 4:16

- λεγει αυτη P^{66} P^{75} B C* 33^{vid} a ach^{2}; **Merk Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- λεγει αυτη ιησους א* A Θ 1 13 ($א^{2}$ C^{2} D E G H K L W^{supp} Γ Δ Ψ 086 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ο ιησουσ) vg (sin) pesh hark; **(Bover HF (NEB) (RV) Soden Vogels** ο ιησουσ**) [Lach] (Treg [**ο ιησουσ**])**

John 4:17

- και ειπεν αυτω P^{66} P^{75} B C E F G H N 086 33 892 1071 1241 1342 *pm* a b ff^2 l r^1 sin cur pesh arm; **Bover [Lach] Merk RV [Soden] UBS [Vogels] [WH]**
- και ειπεν א^2 A D K L W^{supp} Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 579 700 1006 1424 1506 *pm* vg hark ach^2; **HF NEB Tisch Treg Weiss**
- *omit* א*

John 4:51

- οι δουλοι αυτου P^{66} P^{75} A B C E G H K (W^{supp}) Γ Δ Θ 13 33 579 700 1342 1424 *Byz* q pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach RV Treg UBS WH**
- οι δουλοι א D L Ψ 1 205 565 892 1241 vg; **Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss**

John 4:54

- τουτο δε παλιν P^{66} P^{75} B C T W^{supp} 078^{c} 13 (579 τουτο ουν παλιν) 1241 pbo; **Bover Merk Soden Treg [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- τουτο παλιν א A C^2 D E H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 078^{*vid} 1 13 33 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* a b c e f ff^2 vg pesh hark sa; **HF Lach (NEB) RV Tisch**

John 5:1

- εν εορτη P^{66} P^{75} A B D G K N S T U V W^{supp} Γ Θ Ω 13 22 28 565 579 700 1241 1505 1506 *pm;* arm geo **HF^{marg} Lach NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εν η εορτη א C E F H L Δ Ψ 0141 0233^{vid} 1 33 157 892 983 1071 1342 1424 *pm;* **Bover HF^{txt} [Merk] NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} [Soden] Tisch [Vogels]**
- εν εορτη των αζυμων Λ

John 5:2

- βηθζαθα א (L c βηζαθα) 33 l; **RV^{marg} Soden Tisch UBS WH^{txt}**
- βηθεσδα A C E F G H K (N) Γ Δ Θ 078 0141 0233 1 13 28 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1242 1342 1424 *Byz* f q cur pesh hark^{marg} pal arm geo slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Treg Vogels Weiss**
- βηθσαιδα P^{75} B T W^{supp} aur c am cav theo tol hark^{txt} sa bo pbo ach^{2} eth; **RV^{marg} WH^{marg}**
- βελζεθα D (a belzatha) r^{1}
- βηδσαιδα P^{66}(* βηδσαιδαν)
- βησσαιδα Ψ
- betzeta b ff^{2}*

John 5:3(A)

- ξηρων P^{66} P^{75} א A* B C* L T 0141 157 q (cur) sa pbo ach^{2}; **NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg UBS Weiss^{txt} WH**
- ξηρων εκδεχομενων την του υδατος κινησιν A^{c} C^{3} (D a aur b d j (l) ξηρων παραλυτικων εκδεχομενων την του υδατος κινησιν) E F G H K (W^{supp}εκδεχομενοι) Γ Δ Θ Ψ 078 0233 1 13 28 33 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* c e f ff^{2} vg pesh hark pal arm geo slav; **Bover [GR] HF Lach Merk NEB^{marg}RV^{marg} Vogels Weiss^{marg}**

John 5:3(B) (5:4)

- *omit verse 4* P^{66} P^{75} א B C* D T W^{supp} 047^{c} 0141 33 157 d f l q armach durmach harl* sangall cur sa pbo ach^{2} arm geo; **NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg UBS Weiss^{txt} WH**
- a*dd verse 4, with variants as shown:*
αγγελος γαρ (L δε) (A K L Δ 0233 13 am ful sanger val **Bover** [**Lach Vogels**] *add* κυριου) (1241 *adds* του θεου) κατα καιρον (a b ff^{2} *omit)* κατεβαινεν (A K Ψ 579 1241 r^{1} ελουετο) εν τη κολυμβηθρα (a b ff^{2} *omit)* και εταρασσε (C^{3} H 078 1006 c r^{1} εταρασσετο) το υδωρ ο ουν πρωτος (mediol *omits)* εμβας μετα την ταραχην ψου υδατος *(omit* μετα...υδατος a b ff^{2}) υγιης εγινετω ω (A L 0233 οιω) Δ ηποτε (K Δ αν; A Δ ηποτε ουν) κατειχετο νοσημνατι (A) (C^{3}) E F G (H) (K) (L) Γ (Δ) Θ (Π 047 in **) (Ψ) 1 (13) 565 (579) 700 892 (1241) 1342 1424 *Byz* (a) (b) (ff^{2}) (am) (cav) (ful) (hub) (mediol) (sanger) (val) pesh hark**; **(Bover) [Gr] HF (Lach) Merk NEB^{marg} (Vogels) Weiss^{marg}**

John 5:11

- ο δε απεκριθη P^{66} א C* G K L N W^{supp} Δ Θ Λ Π 053 0233 13 579 892 1071 1241; **Bover NEB Soden UBS**
- απεκριθη C^{3} D E H Γ Ψ 1 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz* vg ach^{2}; **HF Tisch Vogels**
- ος δε απεκριθη P^{75} A B; **Lach Merk RV Treg Weiss WH**

John 5:12

- ηρωτησαν αυτον P^{66} א B D a e ff^{2} l r^{1} cur pesh arm; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ηρωτησαν ουν αυτον A^{c} C E G H K L Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c vg hark; **HF (Lach Soden Treg [ουν]) Merk Vogels**
- ηρωτησαν ουν P^{75}
- *omit verse 12* A* W Γ 1582 b sin

John 5:15

- ανηγγειλεν τοις ιουδαιοις P^{66} P^{75} A B E G H Γ Θ Ψ 1 565 579 700 892 1342 *Byz* f; **Bover (HF RV** ανηγγειλε**) Lach Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss** WH^{marg}
- ειπεν τοις ιουδαιοις א C L a e j q sin cur pesh bo; **Merk (NEB) Tisch** WH^{txt}
- απηγγειλεν τοις ιουδαιοις D K Δ 13 33 1241 1424

John 5:17

- ιησους απεκρινατο P^{66} A D E F G H K L N Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0233 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 1342 1424 *Byz* a aur b c d (e) f ff^{2} j l (q) vg (sin κυριους απεκρινατο) cur pesh hark sa bo arm geo slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- απεκρινατο P^{75} א B W 0141 892 1071 1241 pbo; **NEB Tisch Weiss WH**

John 5:29

- οι δε τα φαυλα P^{75} א A (D *omits* τα) E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF [Lach] RV Soden [Treg] UBS Vogels** WH^{marg}
- οι τα φαυλα P^{66c} B a e ff^{2}; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss** WH^{txt}
- και οι τα φαυλα P^{66*} W

John 5:37

- πατηρ εκεινος P^{75} P^{95} א B L W 892 a ff^{2} j; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πατηρ αυτους P^{66} A E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **HF Lach Merk Soden Vogels**
- πατηρ εκεινος αυτος D

John 6:3

- ιησους P^{66} א* B D W; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ο ιησους א² A E G H K L Γ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 579 700 892 1242 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**
- *omit* Δ

John 6:7

- ο φιλιππος P^{66} א L N W 892 1071; **Merk (NEB) Tisch [UBS] Weiss**
- φιλιππος P^{75} A B D E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH**

John 6:10

- ειπεν P^{75vid} א B L a sin cur pesh sa bo arm; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπεν δε A E H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 $33^{apud\ NA27}$ 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* b q hark; **HF [Lach] Merk Soden Vogels**
- ειπεν ουν P^{66} D G 1241 vg

John 6:23

- αλλα ηλθεν πλοιαρια **unattested**; **Merk (NEB) (RV** ελθε**) Treg (UBS** πλοια**[**ρια**]) Vogels**
- αλλα ηλθεν πλοια P^{75} B; **WH**
- αλλα δε ηλθεν πλοιαρια A E F G H Δ Θ 13 28 700 (892 αλλα δε ην πλοιαρια) 1006 1010 (1342 πλοιαρια ελθεν) 1424 1506 *Byz*; **(HF** ελθε**)**
- αλλα δε ηλθεν πλοια W (Ψ αλλα δε πλοια ηλθεν) 157; **Lach**
- αλλα ηλθον πλοιαρια (L) 091 33 579; **Bover Soden Tisch Weiss**
- αλλα δε ηλθον πλοιαρια (K 1241 αλλα δε πλοιαρια ηλθον) (N και αλλα) Γ 1 205 565 (1071)
- αλλων πλοιαριων ελθοντων D (b j r^{1}) cur? (pal) arm?
- επελθοντων ουν των πλοιων א

John 6:29

- ο ιησους A B D K L N T Θ Λ 1 13 33 205 579 1506; **Bover Lach (RV) Soden Treg [UBS] [Vogels] WH**
- ιησους P^{75} א E G H W Γ Δ Ψ 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss**

John 6:35

- ειπεν P^{75vid} B L T 579 1071 a b e r^{1} sin cur pesh bo arm; **Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπεν ουν א D N Γ Θ Ψ 0141 13 33 157 1241 ^{844} ^{2211} hark^{txt}; **Bover Soden Tisch Vogels**
- ειπεν δε A E G H K Δ 1 565 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* hark^{marg}; **HF [Lach]**

John 6:36

- εωρακατε με P^{66} P^{75vid} B D E F G H K L N (T εωρακατε μη!) W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0141 0156 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c d f ff^{2} j am pesh hark pal sa bo pbo ach^{2} arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk NEB^{marg} RV Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- εωρακατε א A a b e q sin cur; **NEB^{txt} Tisch**

John 6:39

- εν τη εσχατη ημερα א A D K N 13 33 1241 1424 *pm;* **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- τη εσχατη ημερα P^{66} P^{75} B C E G H L T W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 565 579 700 892 1006 1342 *pm* e; **HF^{txt} (RV) Soden Treg WH**

John 6:40

- εγω εν τη εσχατη ημερα א K L N Ψ 13 33 1241 ^{844} ^{2211} a c f ff^{2} q am cav dubl mediol val; **Bover HF^{marg} (Lach [εγω]) (NEB) Merk Tisch (UBS [εν]) Vogels Weiss**
- εγω τη εσχατη ημερα P^{75} B C E G H W Γ Δ Θ 565 579 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* e harl; **HF^{txt} (RV) Soden Treg WH**
- εν τη εσχατη ημερα P^{66} A D aur b Π
- τη εσχατη ημερα 1

John 6:54

- τη εσχατη ημερα P^{66} P^{75} א B D E G H L U W Γ Θ Ψ 047 1 33 565 579 1424 *pm* harl; **HF^{txt} Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- εν τη εσχατη ημερα C K T Δ 0250 13 700 892 1241 1342 *pm* am cav dubl mediol val; **Bover HF^{marg} [Lach] Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 6:66

- εκ των μαθητων P^{66} B G T 1 205 33 565 a b e f q; **Bover [Lach] Treg [UBS] WH**
- των μαθητων א C D E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 13 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss**

John 6:71

- εκ των δωδεκα P^{75}? B C* D L; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ων εκ των δωδεκα P^{66} א C^{2} E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0105 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 (1342) 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 7:8

- ουκ αναβαινω א D K M Π 1071 1079 1241 1242 1546 a aur b c d e ff^{2} vg cur sin bo arm geo eth slav; **Bover Gr NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- ουπω αναβαινω P^{66} P^{75} B E F G H L N T W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 0105 0250 1 13 28 157 565 579 700 892 1010 1342 1424 *Byz* f q pesh hark sa ach^{2} pbo; **HF Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

John 7:9

- ειπων αυτος P^{66} א D* K L N W X Π 070 1 205 565 1071 1079 1241 1242 1546 aur b l vg sa pbo bo ach^{2} arm geo^{1} slav; **Bover Soden Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- ειπων αυτοις P^{75} B D^{1} E F G H T Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0105 0250 13 33 157 579 700 892 1342^{vid} 1424 *Byz* f q r^{1} hark pal geo^{2}; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ειπων Λ e
- ειπων αυτοις αυτος a ff^{2}

John 7:12A

- γογγυσμος περι αυτου ην πολυς P^{75} B L T W 1241 b q; **Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- γογγυσμος ην περι αυτου πολυς P^{66c} 070^{vid} 33; **Bover Soden Tisch**
- γογγυσμος πολυς περι αυτου ην E G H K Γ Δ 0105 0250 1 13 565 579 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **HF**
- γογγυσμος πολυς ην περι αυτου א N Ψ 892 983
- γογγυσμος περι αυτου ην Θ
- γογγυσμος ην περι αυτου P^{66*} D

John 7:12B

- δε ελεγον P^{75vid} B N T W X Θ 0250 1 13 33 565 892 vg hark sa pbo; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Soden [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- ελεγον P^{66} א D E G H K L Γ Δ Ψ 0105 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* b e q r^{1}; **HF Lach Tisch Treg**

John 7:16

- ο ιησους P^{66} D E G H K L T W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0105 0250 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- ιησους א B (33); **(NEB) Tisch Treg WH**

John 7:34

- ευρησετε με P^{75} B N T X 0105 565 sin cur pesh hark; **Bover Lach RV [UBS] WH**
- ευρησετε P^{66} א D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* OL vg; **HF Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss**

John 7:36

- ευρησετε με P^{75} B T X 1 565 892 sin cur pesh hark; **Bover Lach RV [UBS] WH**
- ευρησετε P^{66} א D E H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0105 13 33 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* OL am; **HF Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss**

John 7:42

- ουχ η γραφη P^{66} B(* N ουκ) L T Θ Ψ; **Bover Lach (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ουχι η γραφη א A D E G H K W Γ Δ 0105 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 7:46

- ελαλησεν ουτως ανθρωπως P^{66c} P^{75} $א^{2}$ B L T W bo; **Lach RV UBS WH**
- ελαλησεν ουτως ανθρωπως ως ουτος λαλει ο ανθρωπως *(unattested?);* **Merk NEB Tisch (Treg [ως ουτος ο ανθρωπωσ]) Weiss**
- ουτως ελελησεν ανθρωπος ως ουτος ο ανθρωπος E G H K Γ Δ Θ 0141 1 157 346 565 579 892 983 (1010) 1071 1342 1424 *Byz* e f q r^{1} am (harl) hark sa ach^{2} pbo arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- ουτως ανθρωπως ελαληεσν ως ουτος λαλει ο ανθρωπος P^{66*} א* pesh pal
- ουτως ανθρωπως ελαληεσν ως ουτος λαλει D aur c
- ελαλησεν ουτως ανθρωπως ως ουτος ο ανθρωπως N Ψ 33 983 1071 1241
- ελαλησεν ανθρωπως ως ουτος ο ανθρωπως 13^{c} 28 700

John 7:50

- ο ελθων προς αυτον το προτερον P^{66} L W; **Bover Merk Soden (UBS [το]) Vogels**
- ο ελθων προς αυτον προτερον P^{75} א^{2} B T; **Lach (NEB) RV Treg Weiss WH**
- *omit* א*; **Tisch**
- ο ελθων νυκτος προς αυτον E G H Γ 579 700 1342 *Byz* vg; **HF**
- ο ελθων προς αυτον νυκτος K N Δ Ψ 0250 hark^{txt}
- ο ελθων νυκτος προς αυτον το προτερον Θ 1 13 (33 προς αυτον νυκτοσ) 205 565 892 r^{1}
- ο ελθων το προτερον νυκτος προς αψτον 1241
- ο ελθων προς αυτον νυκτος το πρωτον (D) (hark**)

John 7:53-8:11
Note: No attempt will be made to list all the variants within *this passage; the nature of the witnesses means that any such comparison is less than meaningful, and some editions do not properly include the text anyway.*

- include passage after 7:52 D G H K M U Γ 28 205 579 700 892 1010 1071 1342 *Byz* aur c d e ff^{2} j r^{1} vg pal arm^{mss}; **Bover [Gr] HF Merk (NEB^{marg}) [RV^{txt}] [Soden] [[UBS]] [[Vogels]] Weiss^{marg}**
- omit passage P^{66} P^{75} א (A C defective but lack space) B L N T W X Y Δ Θ Ψ 0141 0211 33 157 565 1241 1333^{txt} 1424* 2768 a f l q sin cur pesh hark sa ach^{2} pbo arm^{mss} geo slav; **Lach^{txt} RV^{marg} Treg^{txt} Weiss^{txt}**
- include passage after 7:52 with ** or other indications of doubt E S (Λ omits 7:53-8:2) Π 1424^{marg}
- include passage after John 21:25 1 1582 arm^{mss}
- include passage after John 7:36 225
- include passage after Luke 21:38 13 346 828 983
- include passage after Luke 24:53 1333^{c}
- include passage as appendix in some form **NEB Tisch [[WH]]**

John 8:23

- τουτου του κοσμου P^{66} P^{75} B T W 13 892 1010 e; **Lach Merk Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- του κοσμου τουτου א D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 543 565 579 700 788 983 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 8:38

- παρα του πατρος ποιειτε P^{66} B L W 597 arm geo; **Lach RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- παρα του πατρος υμων ποιειτε א C K Θ 1 13 33 565 892 f $hark^{marg}$; **Bover Merk NEB Soden Vogels**
- παρα του πατρος λαλειτε P^{75}
- παρα τω πατρι υμων ποιειτε (D παρα τω πατρι υμων ταυτα ποιειτε) E F G H N Γ Δ Ψ 0250 28 157 579 700 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh $hark^{txt}$; **HF**

John 8:39

- αβρααμ εστε τα εργα του αβρααμ εποιειτε P^{75} א* B^{2} D 070; **Bover Gr RV^{txt} Tisch Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- αβρααμ εστε τα εργα του αβρααμ εποιειτε αν $א^{2}$ L; **Merk Soden**
- αβρααμ εστε τα εργα του αβρααμ ποιειτε P^{66} B* ff^{2} vg; **NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Weiss WH^{txt}**
- αβρααμ ητε τα εργα του αβρααμ εποιειτε αν C K N Δ Ψ 1 33 565 579^{supp} 892 1006 *pm* b; **HF^{marg} Vogels**
- αβρααμ ητε τα εργα του αβρααμ εποιειτε E F G H S V Y W Γ Θ Λ Ω 0250 28 157 1342 1424 *pm;* **NEB^{txt} HF^{txt}**
- αβρααμ ητε τα εργα του αβρααμ ποιειτε αν 700
- αβρααμ εστε τα εργα του αβρααμ ποιειτε αν **Lach?**

John 8:54

- οτι θεος ημων (P^{66c} L 205 579^{supp} οτι ο θεος ημων) P^{75} A B^{2} C E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 070 1 33 565 892 1241 *Byz* f am harl mediol sangall sin cur pesh hark sa pbo;**HF Lach Merk NEB Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- οτι θεος υμων (P^{66*} οτι ο θεος υμων) א B* D F X Ψ 157* 346 700 1010 1071 1079 1342 1424 1546 a b c e ff^{2} q l cav pal; **Bover RV Soden Treg WH^{txt}**

John 8:55

- εσομαι ομοιος υμιν P^{75} A B W Θ 1 157 565; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εσομαι ομοιος υμων א A C E G H K L Γ Δ Ψ 070 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1424 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**
- ομοιος εσομαι υμιν D
- ομοιος υμων εσομαι P^{66} 13 1342

John 8:58

- ιησους P^{75} B C 579^{supp}; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ο ιησους P^{66} א A D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 9:10

- πως ουν P^{66} א C D L N Θ Ψ 070 157 ff^2 hark** ach^2; **Bover [Lach] Merk RV [Soden] Tisch [UBS] [WH]**
- πως P^{75} A B E G H K W Γ Δ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg sin pesh pbo bo; **HF (NEB) Treg Vogels Weiss**

John 9:16

- αλλοι δε ελεγον א B D W 070 1 13 205 565 c d willem sin pesh sa; **Bover RV Soden [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- αλλοι ελεγον P^{66} P^{75} A E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a aur b e f ff^2 l r^1 am cav harl lindisf theo tol hark; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg**

John 9:20

- απεκριθησαν ουν P^{66} P^{75} א B; **Bover (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- απεκριθησαν L W X Π 070 33 69 892 1241 a e ff^2 r^1 sa bo; **RV Treg Vogels**
- απεκριθησαν αυτοις D Θ 1 565 vg; **[Lach]**
- απεκριθησαν δε αυτοις A E H K Γ Δ Ψ 0250 579 700 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF**
- απεκριθησαν δε; **Merk Soden**

John 9:26

- αυτω P^{75} א* B D W 579[apud NA27] a b e ff^2 vg sin sa bo; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτω παλιν P^{66} $א^2$ A E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 0250 1 13 33 565[apud NA27] 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* f q pesh hark; **HF Merk [Soden] Vogels**

John 9:28

- και ελοιδορησαν P^{75} א* B W 070; **Merk (NEB) RV UBS Weiss WH**
- ελοιδορησαν P^{66} A E G K Γ Δ 700 892 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF Lach Tisch Vogels**
- οι δε ελοιδορησαν $א^2$ D L N Θ Ψ 0250 1 33 157 205 565 579 1071 1241 a f sin pesh hark; **Soden Treg**
- ελοιδορησαν ουν 13 [844] [2211]

John 9:31

- αμαρτωλων ο θεος P^{66} P^{75} א A E^c G K L W Δ 0250 1 13 33 700 892 1424 *Byz* vg; **HF (RV) Soden Tisch UBS Vogels**
- ο θεος αμαρτωλων B D Θ Λ Ψ 070 [844] [2211] a e; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) Treg Weiss WH**
- αμαρτωλον ο θεος E* Γ 565 579[apud SQE13] 1006 1241 1342

John 9:35A

- ιησους P^{75} א* B; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους P^{66} $א^2$ A D E G K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden [Treg] Vogels**

John 9:35B

- ειπεν P^{75} א* B D W e; **Bover NEB (RV ειπε) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπεν αυτω P^{66} $א^2$ A E G K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 070 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a b f ff^2 vg pesh hark sa; **HF Lach Merk [Soden] [Treg] Vogels**

John 10:7A

- ειπεν ουν παλιν ο ιησους $P^{6\text{-vid}}$? P^{75}; **(NEB) UBS Weiss (WH [o])**
- ειπεν ουν παλιν αυτοις ο ιησους D E G L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 579 700 892^{supp} 1342 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**
- ειπεν ουν αυτοις παλιν ο ιησους $א^{3}$ A K 13^{c} 33 1424 1506 vg hark; **Lach**
- ειπεν αυτοις ο ιησους P^{66*} $א^{2}$
- ειπεν ουν αυτοις ο ιησους P^{45} P^{66c} W 1 69 205 565 788 1241
- ειπεν αυτοις παλιν ο ιησους $א^{*apud\ NA27}$ 13*? sin?
- ειπεν ουν παλιν ιησους B
- ειπεν ουν αυτοις παλιν 0250
- ειπεν ουν ο ιησους **Tisch**

John 10:7B

- οτι εγω ειμι P^{66} א A D E W Γ Δ Θ 0250 1 13 565 892^{supp} 1342 *Byz* vg; **HF [Lach] Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss**
- εγω ειμι P^{75} B G K L U X Π Ψ 28 33 157 579 700 1241 1006 1071 1424 a arm; **Bover RV Soden Treg WH**

John 10:29A

- ο πατηρ μου ο δεδωκεν μοι παντων μειζον B* vg; **NEB^{marg} (RV^{marg} Δ εδωκε) Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ο πατηρ μου ο δεδωκεν μοι παντων μειζων א^{2} L W Ψ; **NEB^{marg} Soden**
- ο πατηρ μου ος δεδωκεν μοι μειζων παντων E G H K Γ Δ 1 33 565 579 700 1241 *Byz*; **(HF Δ εδωκε Lach NEB^{txt} (RV^{txt} Δ εδωκε) Vogels**
- ο πατηρ ος δεδωκεν μοι μειζων παντων 892^{supp} 1424
- ο πατηρ μου ος εδωκεν μειζων παντων P^{66*}
- ο πατηρ μου ος εδωκεν μοι μειζων παντων P^{66c}
- ο πατηρ ο δεδωκεν μοι παντων μειζων א*
- ο πατηρ μου ος δεδωκεν μοι μειζον παντων A Θ
- ο πατηρ μου ος δεδωκεν μοι παντων μειζον B^{c}
- ο πατηρ μου ο δεδωκως μοι παντων μειζων D
- ο πατηρ μου ος δεδωκεν μοι αυτα μειζων παντων 69
- ο πατηρ ος δεδωκεν μοι αυτα μειζων παντων 13
- ο πατηρ ο δεδωκεν μοι παντων μειζον a b c e ff^{2}
- ο πατηρ μου ος δεδωκεν μοι παντων μειζων **Bover Merk WH^{marg}**
- ο πατηρ ο δεδωκεν μοι παντων μειζον **Tisch**

John 10:29B

- του πατρος P^{66} P^{75vid} א B L sin pbo; **NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- του πατρος μου A D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* OL vg pesh hark sa ach^{2} bo; **Bover HF Lach Merk [Soden] [Treg] Vogels**

John 11:2

- μαριαμ P^{6-vid} B 33 hark; **Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- μαρια P^{66} א A D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* (sa bo ach^{2} αυτη μαρια); **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 11:19A

- προς την μαρθαν P^{66} $P^{75\text{-vid}}$ א B C* L W X 33 157 579 1241 arm; **Bover Lach NEB RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- προς τας περι μαρθαν $P^{45\text{-vid}}$ A C^{3} E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 565 700 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF Merk Soden Tisch Vogels**
- προς μαρθαν D OL? vg?

John 11:19B

- του αδελφου P^{45} P^{66} P^{75} א B D L W Θ ff^{2} l r^{1} arm; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- του αδελφου αυτων A C E G H K Γ Δ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **HF Lach [Merk] [Soden] Vogels**

John 11:20

- μαριαμ Θ 33 565 579 1582 hark; **Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- μαρια P^{45} $P^{66\text{-vid}}$ P^{75} א A B C D E G H K L W Γ Δ Ψ 0250 1 13 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* sa bo; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

John 11:21

- τον ιησουν κυριε P^{45} P^{66} $P^{75\text{-vid}}$ A C^{3} D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden (Treg [τον]) UBS Vogels Weiss**
- ιησουν κυριε א C* 213; **Merk (NEB) Tisch WH**
- ιησουν B (sin)

John 11:29A

- εγερθη ταχυ P^{75} א B C* D L W X Ψ 33 157 579 1071 1241 a b c e f ff^{2} dubl harl karol kenan sanger val sin pesh hark^{marg} arm; **Bover Lach RV Soden Treg UBS WH**
- εγειρεται ταχυ P^{45} P^{66} A C^{3} E G H K Γ Δ Θ 0250 1 13 700 1342 1424 *Byz* am cav mon tol hark^{txt}; **HF Merk NEB Tisch Vogels Weiss**

John 11:29B

- ηρχετο P^{75} א B C* L W X Ψ 157 579 1071 1241 a b ff^{2} l sin pesh arm; **Bover (NEB) RV Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ερχεται P^{45} P^{66} A C^{3} D E G H K Γ Δ Θ 0250 1 13 700 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF Lach Merk Tisch Vogels**

John 11:32

- μαριαμ P^{66c} P^{75} B C* E* L 33 579; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- μαρια P^{45} P^{66*} א A C^{3} D E^{c} G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* sa bo; **HF Bover Lach (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 11:44

- εξηλθεν P^{45-vid} P^{66} P^{75} B C* L Ψ; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και εξηλθεν א A C^{3} (D ^{2211} vg sin και ευθυσ) E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 0250 1 13 33 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach [Soden] Vogels**

John 11:45

- α εποιησεν P^{6} P^{45} א A* E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 13 33 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* a b c f ff^{2} vg; **HF Lach NEB RV^{marg} Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- ο εποιησεν $P^{66*-vid}$ A^{c} B C(^{2} ο εποιησεν σημειον ο ιησουσ) D 1 1010 1582 e; **Bover Merk RV^{txt} Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- οσα εποιησεν P^{66c} 0141

John 11:46

- ιησους P^{6} P^{66} B C D L; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους א A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 12:1

- εκ νεκρων ιησους P^{66} B; **(NEB) (RV) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- εκ νεκρων ο ιησους A D E G L W Δ 0233^{vid} 0250 33 1424^{*vid} 1506; **Bover Lach Merk (Soden [ο ιησουσ]) Treg Vogels**
- εκ νεκρων H K Γ Θ Ψ 1 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424^{c} *Byz* sin; **HF**
- ιησους εκ νεκρων א* ($א^{2}$ 579 ο ιησους εκ νεκρων)

John 12:3

- μαριαμ B 1 33 565 579 ^{844} ^{2211}; **Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- μαρια P^{66} א A D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 13 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 12:4A

- λεγει δε P^{66} א B W 579 ^{2211}; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss (WH [δε])**
- λεγει ουν A D E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 892^{supp} 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF Lach Soden Treg Vogels**
- λεγει L 33 1241 a e r^{1} sa ac^{2} pbo arm

John 12:4B

- ιουδας ο ισκαριωτης εις εκ των μαθητων αυτου א 1241 ^{844} sin? pesh sa ach^{2}; **Bover Merk Tisch (UBS [εκ]) Vogels**
- ιουδας ο ισκαριωτης εις των μαθητων αυτου P^{66} P^{75-vid} B L W 33 579; **(NEB) RV Treg Weiss WH**
- εις εκ των μαθητων αυτου ιουδας ο ισκαριωτης 1 205 565 1071 1582; **Soden**
- εις εκ των μαθητων αυτου ιουδας σιμωνος ισκαριωτης A E G H Γ Δ Θ 13 700 892^{supp} 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF Lach**
- εις εκ των μαθητων αυτου ιουδας απο καρυωτου D
- εκ των μαθητων αυτου ιουδας σιμωνος ισκαριωτης K
- εις των μαθητων αυτου ιουδας σιμωνος ισκαριωτης Q
- εις εκ των μαθητων αυτου ιουδας σιμωνος ισκαριωτου Ψ
- εις εκ των μαθητων αυτου ιουδας ισκαριωτης 0233 vg

John 12:12

- ο οχλος P^{66*} B L 13 sin?; **Bover Merk NEB RV^{marg} UBS Weiss WH**
- οχλος א A D E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 1 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- ο οχλος ο P^{66c}
- ουν ο οχλος ο Θ

John 12:22A

- ο φιλιππος P^{66} P^{75} B LX $Π^{c}$ 33 892 1006 1071 1241; **Bover HF Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- φιλιππος א A D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 565 579 700 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 12:22B

- ερχεται ανδρεας και φιλιππος και P^{75-vid} A B L a sin?; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και παλιν ερχεται ανδρεας και φιλιππος και א; **Merk**
- και παλιν ανδρεας και φιλιππος E G H K Γ Δ Ψ 0250 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF Vogels**
- παλιν ερχεται ανδρεας και φιλιππος και; **Soden**
- ανδρεας δε και φιλιππος P^{66c} (Θ(*) ανδρεας τε και φιλιπποσ) c (l) sa ach^{2} pbo
- παλιν ο ανδραιας και φιλιππος D
- και παλιν ανδρεας και ο φιλιππος W
- και παλιν ανδρεας και φιλιππος και 33
- και παλιν ο ανδρεας δε και ο φιλιππος P^{66*} b? ff^{2}?

John 12:36

- ιησους P^{75} B D L Ψ; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους P^{66} א A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 13:6A

- λεγει P^{66} P^{75} B D L; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και λεγει א A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **HF Lach Merk Soden Vogels**

John 13:6B

- αυτω P^{66} P^{75} א* B b pal pbo; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτω εκεινος א^{2} A D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ff^{2} l hark sa ach^{2}; **HF Merk Soden [Treg] Vogels**
- αυτω σιμων sin pesh
- πετρος vg pbo bo

John 13:10

- ο ιησους P^{66} א A D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden [Treg] UBS Vogels Weiss**
- ιησους $P^{75\ apud\ NA27}$ B; **Merk (NEB) Tisch WH**
- *omit* Ψ

John 13:21

- ο ιησους P^{66c} A C D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- ιησους P^{66*} א B L; **(NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

John 13:22

- εβλεπον א^{c} B C Ψ e pbo arm; **(NEB) RV Tisch UBS WH**
- εβλεπον ουν P^{66} א* A D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* hark ach^{2} bo; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Merk Soden [Treg] Vogels Weiss**
- εβλεπον δε 1093 a sin pesh; **HF^{marg}**

John 13:23

- ην ανακειμενος B C* L Ψ 892 1424 sin; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ην δε ανακειμενος P^{66} א A C^{2} D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 579 700 1241 1342 *Byz* OL vg pesh hark**; **HF Lach Merk [Soden] Vogels**

John 13:25

- αναπεσων ουν εκεινος P^{66*vid} א^{2} L 33 892; **Bover UBS Vogels**
- αναπεσων εκεινος B C e sin; **Merk (NEB) RV Treg Weiss WH**
- επιπεσων ουν εκεινος P^{66c} א* D W Δ 1 13 565 1241 hark^{marg}; **Tisch**
- επιπεσων δε εκεινος A E G H Γ Θ 700 1342 1424 *Byz* hark^{txt}; **HF Soden**
- αναπεσων δε εκεινος K Ψ; **Lach**
- οτι πεσων ουν εκεινος 579

John 13:26

- αποκρινεται ο ιησους A C^{3} E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 33 565 700 1342 *Byz*; **HF Tisch (Treg UBS [ο])**
- αποκρινεται ουν ο ιησουσ< C* L 892; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Soden Vogels Weiss (WH [ο])**
- αποκρινεται ιησους P^{66} W 579^{vid} 1506
- αποκρινεται ο ιησους και λεγει א* (1241 ...και ειπεν)
- αποκρινεται ουν ο ιησους και λεγει א^{2}
- αποκρινεται ουν ιησους B
- αποκρινεται αυτω ο ιησους και λεγει D 13
- αποκρινεται αυτω ο ιησους 1424 e

John 13:27

- ο ιησους P^{66} א A C D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden UBS Vogels Weiss**
- ιησους B L; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg WH**

John 13:29

- ο ιησους P^{66} A C D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 33 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden (Treg UBS [ο]) Vogels**
- ιησους א B; **(NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**
- *omit* 1 205 565 1506 e sin pesh pbo

John 13:31

- ιησους P^{66} א B L Δ; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους A C D E G H K W Γ Θ (Ψ 1506 ουν ο ιησους) 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 13:32A

- ει ο θεος εδοξασθη εν αυτω $א^{2}$ A C^{2} E F G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0233 13 28 33 157 565 700 892 1010 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* e f q r^{1} am cav durmach mediol pesh sa pbo arm (geo) eth slav; **Bover HF Merk [Lach] NEB^{txt} RV [Soden] Tisch [Treg] [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- *omit* P^{66} א* B C* D L W 1 579 1071 1506 a aur b c d ff^{2} l ful harl sangall sin hark pal ach^{2} mf; **NEB^{marg} WH**

John 13:32B

- αυτον εν αυτω P^{66} $א^{*,2}$ B H 1006 1342; **Bover RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτον εν εαυτω $א^{1}$ A D E G K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0233 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892 1010 1071 1241 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk NEB? Soden Vogels**

John 13:36

- απεκριθη αυτω P^{66} א A C^{3} D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk (Soden UBS [αυτω]) Vogels**
- απεκριθη B C* L 1071 1093 a b c d e f ff^{2} vg pbo bo arm; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

John 13:37

- ο πετρος P^{66} B M W 1 28 33 69 579 1241 1582; **Bover Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden UBS Weiss (WH [ο])**
- πετρος א A C E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 205 565 700 892 1424 *Byz*; **Gr HF Lach Tisch Treg Vogels**
- *omit* D r^{1} ach^{2};

John 14:5A

- πως P^{66} B C^{*vid} L W a b sin; **Bover Lach RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και πως א A C^{2} D E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg pesh hark; **HF Merk NEB Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 14:5B

- δυναμεθα την οδον ειδεναι P^{66} (א την οδον ειδεναι δυναμεθα) A C^{2} E G H (K την οδον δυναμεθα ειδεναι) L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg sin pesh hark sa bo ach^{2}; **HF Merk Soden UBS Vogels**
- οιδαμεν την οδον B C* (D b e την οδον οιδαμεν) a (pbo); **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

John 14:6

- ο ιησους A B C^{3} D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- ιησους P^{66} א C* L; **Merk (NEB) Tisch WH**

John 14:7A

- ει εγνωκατε με P^{66} (א D* ...εμε) (W εγνωκεται) 579 (a) b c d e ff^{2} (q) arm geo; **Bover NEB^{marg} Tisch UBS**
- ει εγνωκειτε με *(or* ...εμε) B C D^{1} E G H K L N Q Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0141 1 13 28 33 157 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur (f) (r^{1}) vg slav; **Merk HF Lach NEB^{txt} RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- ει εγνωκειτε A

John 14:7B

- μου γνωσεωσθε P^{66} א D W sa ach^{2} bo arm geo; **Bover NEB^{marg} Tisch UBS**
- μου αν ηδειτε B C* (L μου αν ειδητε) Q Ψ 1 33 565 1582 r^{1}; **Merk NEB^{txt} RV Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- μου εγνωκειτε αν A C^{3} E G H K N Γ Δ 13 28 157 700 892 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur (f) vg; **HF Lach Soden**
- μου εγνωσεσθαι (!) 579
- μου γινωσκετε e q
- μου γνωκειτε αν Θ

John 14:7C

- και απ αρτι P^{66} א A C^{3} D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 13 205 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur b c d e f ff^{2} am sin pesh hark; **Bover HF [Lach] Tisch UBS Vogels**
- απ αρτι B C* L Q X Ψ 1 33 565 1071 1582* a; **Merk (NEB) RV Soden Treg Weiss WH**

John 14:9A

- τοσουτω χρονω א*,2 D L Q W; **Lach Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- τοσουτον χρονων P^{66} P^{75} א^{1} A B E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* ff^{2}; **Bover HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

John 14:9B

- πως P^{66} P^{75} א B Q W 579 vg pbo bo; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- και πως A D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* f q sin pesh hark sa ach^{2}; **HF Merk Soden [Treg] Vogels**

John 14:10A

- εν εμοι μενων P^{66} P^{75} B L Ψ e b vg; **Bover RV UBS Weiss WH**
- ο εν εμοι μενων א A D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF [Lach] Merk NEB Soden Tisch [Treg] Vogels**

John 14:10B

- ποιει τα εργα αυτου P^{66} א B D; **Bover (Lach [αυτου]) (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ποιει τα εργα αυτους P^{75} L W X 33 579$^{apud\ NA27}$ 1071; **Merk Soden**
- αυτους ποιει τα εργα A E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **HF Vogels**

John 14:16

- ινα μεθ υμων εις τον αιωνα η P^{75} B 060$^{apud\ NA27}$ b; **Lach UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ινα μεθ υμεν η εις τον αιωνα א a c f ff^{2} q r^{1}; **Tisch**
- ινα η μεθ υμων εις τον αιωνα L Q Ψ 33^{vid} e hark^{marg}; **Bover Merk NEB RV Soden Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**
- ινα μενη μεθ υμων εις τον αιωνα P^{66} A E G H K W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark^{txt}; **HF**
- ινα μεμη εις τον αιωνα εις υμων D

John 14:17

- γινωσκει P^{66*} P^{75} א B W 579 a; **(NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- γινωσκει αυτο P^{66c} A D^{c} E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF [Lach] [Merk] RV Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- γινωσκει αυτον D* L

John 14:19

- ζησετε P^{75} B L; **(NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ζησεσθε P^{66} א A D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 14:26

- ειπον υμιν εγω B L X 060 (33 εγω ειπον υμιν); **Merk (NEB) [UBS] Weiss WH**
- ειπον υμιν P^{75} א A D K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565$^{apud\ NA27,Bover}$ 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1424 *Byz* sa bo; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

John 15:10

- τας εντολας του πατρος μου A D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* e f; **HF Lach (RV) Treg UBS Vogels**
- του πατρος τας εντολας P^{66} B a b ff^{2}; **WH^{txt}**
- του πατρος μου τας εντολας א^{2} vg; **Bover Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Weiss WH^{marg}**
- του πατρος μου τας εντολας μου א*

John 15:26

- οταν ελθη P^{22} א B Δ 579 1006 e l ach^{2}; **(NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- οταν δε ελθη A D E G H K L Γ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 $565^{apud\ NA27}$ 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* sin pesh hark pbo; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden [Treg] Vogels**

John 16:13A

- εν τη αληθεια παση $א^{c}$ (D) L W (Θ εν παση τη αληθεια) 1 33 565 (579 εν τη αληθεια πασιν) 1071 1582 b c ff^{2} (arm) $geo^{(1)}$; **Bover Soden Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- εις την αληθειαν πασαν A B am durmach ful mediol sangall sanger; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εις πασαν την αληθειαν E G H K Γ Δ Θ 068 0141 0233 13 28 157 700 892^{supp} 1010 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* f q r^{1}; **HF (RV) Vogels**
- εν τη αληθεια א*
- (την?) αληθειαν πασαν aur c cav harl val

John 16:13B

- οσα ακουσει B D* W Ψ 1 579 1582 $^{844\ 2211}$; **Bover Soden UBS Vogels WH^{marg}**
- οσα ακουει א L 33 b e; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**
- οσα (ε)αν ακουση A E G K Γ Δ 0250 13 565 700 892 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **(HF** οσα αν ακουση**)**
- οσα ακουση **Lach**
- οσα (ε)αν ακουσει D^{1} $E^{*apud\ Bover}$ H Θ
- οσα (ε)αν ακουει 33

John 16:18

- ελεγον ουν τι εστιν τουτο P^{66} א B (D* *omits* ελεγον ουν) L W Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 1071 1582; **Bover Lach (RV** εστσι**) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ελεγον ουν τουτο τι εστιν A D^{2} E G H K Γ Δ Θ 0250 700 $892^{supp\ apud\ NA27}$ 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 16:19

- εγνω ο ιησους א D 1 33 565 1582*; **Bover Soden (UBS [ο]) Weiss**
- εγνω ιησους P^{5} B L W; **Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg WH**
- εγνω ουν ο ιησους A E G H K Γ Δ Ψ 13 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach Vogels**
- εγνω δε ο ιησους Θ 579 ^{844}

John 16:31

- ιησους P^{22} P^{66} B C W Θ 0109 0250 ^{844}; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ο ιησους א A D E G H L Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 17:1

- ιησους א B Θ 0109 0250; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους P^{60} A C D E G H K L W Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**

John 17:8

- εδωκας μοι A (B εδωκες μοι) C D W Π* 579; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- δεδωκας μοι א E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0109 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

John 17:11

- αυτοι εν τω κοσμω א B 1241 d f; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS WH^{txt}**
- ουτοι εν τω κοσμω A C D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1342 1424 *Byz* am; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- εν τω κοσμω $P^{66\text{-vid}}$

John 17:21A

- πατερ א A C E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Lach (NEB) (RV) Soden UBS Vogels**
- πατηρ B D N W; **Bover HF Merk Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

John 17:21B

- ωσιν $P^{66\text{-vid}}$ B C* D W a b c d e (r^{1}) sin sa ach^{2} pbo arm geo; **NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εν ωσιν א A C^{3} E G H K L N Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0141 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur f q am pesh hark eth slav; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk (RV**εν ωσι**) Soden Vogels**

John 17:21C

- πιστευη P^{66} א* B C* W; **(NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- πιστευση P^{60} $א^{2}$ A C^{3} D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 17:24

- πατερ א C D E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF (NEB) (RV) Soden UBS Vogels**
- πατηρ A B N; **Bover Merk Lach Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

John 18:1A

- ιησους א B L*; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους $P^{60\text{-vid}}$ A C D E G K L^{c} W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 18:1B

- του κεδρων A S Δ 0250 c e f g^{1} q sin pesh hark; **Bover Gr Lach Merk (NEB) Soden UBS Weiss**
- του κεδρου א* D W a b r^{1}; **Tisch**
- των κεδρων $א^{2}$ B C E G K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Treg Vogels WH**
- των δενδρων (!) 9

John 18:2

- ιησους א B L X Λ; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους A C D (E G H^{vid} Γ Δ 892^{supp} και ο ιησους) K W Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 18:3

- εκ των φαρισαιων א*,2 D L 579 a? aur?; **Bover Merk (NEB) (Soden [**εκ των**]) Tisch UBS (WH [**εκ**])**
- των φαρισαιων B 0141; **Lach Treg Weiss**
- φαρισαιων א¹ A C E G K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1424 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Vogels**$^{apud\ Bover}$

John 18:5

- λεγει αυτοις εγω ειμι P^{60} (B **Weiss WH**^{marg} λεγει αυτοις εγω ειμι ιησουσ) D $^{253\ 751}$ (a λεγει αυτοις εγω ειμι ιησους δε) b e r¹ sin pbo; **NEB Treg UBS WH**
- λεγει αυτοις ο ιησους εγω ειμι (א **Tisch** λεγει αυτοις ιησουσ) A C E K L N W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0141 0250 1 13 28 33 157 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur c f q vg pesh hark sa bo ach² arm geo slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden (Tisch) Vogels**

John 18:7

- επηρωτησεν αυτους P$^{60\text{-}vid}$ A B C L U X Ψ 13 (33 ηρωτησεν αυτουσ) 205 209 1006 1071 e f q r¹ ful arm; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτους επηρωτησεν P$^{66\text{-}vid}$ א D E K W Γ Δ Θ 0250 1 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 (1342) 1424 1582 *Byz* a aur b c am cav durmach harl mediol val; **(HF (RV)**επηρωτησε**) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 18:20

- αυτω ιησους P^{66} (א ιησους αυτω) B D^{supp} L Θ Ω; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- αυτω ο ιησους A C E H K W Γ Δ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 18:23

- απεκριθη αυτω ιησους B C* L Θ 1241; **Merk Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- απεκριθη αυτω ο ιησους (א W 13 579 arm ο δε ιησους ειπεν αυτω) A C³ D^{supp} E G H Γ Δ Ψ 0250 1 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 18:29

- κατα του ανθρωπου P^{66} א^{2} A C D^{supp} E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- του ανθρωπου א* B 087^{vid} 579 e q?; **(NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

John 18:31

- ειπον αυτω B C e q sin pesh pbo bo arm; **Merk (NEB) RV UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπον ουν αυτω P^{60} א E G H L W Γ Δ Ψ 0109 0250 13 33 579 892^{supp} 1342 1424 *Byz* ach^{2}; **Bover HF [Lach] Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- ειπον δε αυτω A D^{supp} K N U Θ Π 087 1 205 565 700 1241 hark

John 18:34

- αλλοι ειπον σοι (P^{66} αλλοι ειπεν σοι) B C D^{supp} L W; **Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αλλοι σοι ειπον P^{60-vid} א A C^{3} E G H K (N αλλος σοι ειπον) Γ Δ Θ Ψ 087 0109 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* am cav durmach harl; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

John 18:36

- οι εμοι ηγωνιζοντο αν א B^{2} L W X Ψ 0109 1 13 33 579 1071 1582; **Bover Soden Treg (UBS [αν]) WH**
- αν οι εμοι ηγωνιζοντο A D^{supp} E G H K Γ Δ Θ 0250 205 209 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* q; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Vogels Weiss**
- οι εμοι ηγωνιζοντο B*

John 19:4

- και εξηλθεν $P^{66*-vid}$ A B K L Π 33 1071 pesh; **Lach (NEB) (RV εξελθε) Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εξηλθεν א D^{supp} Γ 1 205 565 1342 am cav harl sangall hark; **Bover Gr Tisch WH^{marg}**
- εξηλθεν ουν P^{66c} W Δ Θ Ψ 0250 13 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1424 *Byz* (b ff^{2}); **HF Merk (Soden [ουν]) Vogels**

John 19:11A

- απεκριθη αυτω ιησους B D^{supp} Ψ (c j ιησους *or* ο ιησουσ); **(Lach UBS [**αυτω**]) RV Treg WH**
- απεκριθη αυτω ο ιησους א L N^{c} W 1 33 205 565 579 1506; **Bover Soden**
- απεκριθη ιησους $P^{60\text{-vid}}$ (P^{66c} *illegible for* ιησουσ/ο ιησουσ) E H K Γ 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* (vg hark bo pbo ιησους *or* ο ιησουσ); **Gr HF Merk (NEB) Tisch Vogels Weiss**
- απεκριθη ο ιησους A M N* Δ (13 απεκριθη ο ιησους και ειπεν αυτω) 1071
- και απεκριθη ο ιησους (P^{66*} *illegible for* ιησουσ/ο ιησουσ) Θ

John 19:11B

- ουκ ειχες εξουσιαν P^{66} B E K W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 700 892^{supp} 1342 1424 *Byz* OL vg pesh hark; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ουκ εχεις εξουσιαν א A D^{supp} H L N V Λ Π Ψ 33 565 579 1071 1241 ^{844}; **Bover Soden Tisch**

John 19:12

- ιουδαιοι εκραυγασαν λεγοντες $P^{66\text{-vid}}$ B D^{supp} Ψ 33 157 700 892^{supp} 1071; **Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ιουδαιοι εκραυγαζον λεγοντες A L M N W Θ Π 1 69 565 788 1241 1342 1506 ^{844}; **Bover Lach Soden Tisch**
- ιουδαιοι εκραζον λεγοντες $א^{2}$ E H K Γ Δ 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF (RV)**
- ιουδαιοι ελεγον א*
- ιουδαιοι εκραυγαζον 579

John 19:24

- πληρωθη η λεγουσα A D^{supp} E H K L N W Γ Θ Ψ 0141 1 13 33 157 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1071 1241 (1342) 1424 *Byz* aur f q vg pesh hark bo arm eth slav; **Bover HF [Merk] RV [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- πληρωθη א B ^{844} a b c e ff^{2} r^{1} pbo ach^{2} geo; **Lach NEB Tisch Weiss WH**

John 19:30

- το οξος ο ιησους $P^{66\text{-vid}}$ א² A D^{supp} E G H K L Γ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden (Treg UBS WH [ο]) Vogels Weiss**
- το οξος ιησους B W
- το οξος א* a pbo; **Tisch**

John 19:33

- ειδον ηδη αυτον P^{66} B L W; **Merk Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ειδον αυτον ηδη א A D^{supp} E G H K Γ Θ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF Lach (NEB) (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 19:35

- πιστευσητε א² A D^{supp} E G H K L N W Γ Θ 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (NEB) (RV) (Soden UBS πιστευ[Σ]ητε) Treg Vogels Weiss**
- πιστευητε א* B Ψ; **Merk Tisch WH**
- *omit verse* e

John 19:38

- ο απο αριμαθαιας א E G K W Γ Δ Θ 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* pesh hark; **Bover HF Merk (RV) [Soden] Tisch [UBS] Vogels**
- απο αριμαθαιας $P^{66\text{-vid}}$ A B D^{supp} H L Ψ 579; **Lach (NEB) Treg Weiss WH**

John 20:10

- προς αυτους א* B L; **(NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- προς εαυτους א² A D^{supp} E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 050 1 13 33 565 579 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 20:15

- ιησους P^{66} א B L W 0250; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ο ιησους A D E G K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 20:16

- ιησους B D L Θ 050; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ο ιησους א A E G K W Γ Δ Ψ 0250 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 20:17

- ιησους B D L Ψ; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ο ιησους א A E G K W Γ Δ Θ 050 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 20:18

- μαριαμ P^{66} א B L 1 33 565 1582 ^{844}; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- μαρια A D E G K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 13 205 209 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* pbo bo; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**

John 20:21

- ο ιησους παλιν A B E G H K N Γ Δ Θ 078 (1 565 1071 παλιν ο ιησους) 13 33 157 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* b f ff^{2} pesh hark; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- παλιν א D L (W) Ψ 050 0141 1506 ^{844} a aur c d e q r^{1} vg sin sa bo ach^{2} arm geo; **Bover Soden Tisch Treg**

John 20:24

- ιησους P^{5} א B D; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο ιησους A E G H K L W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 050 078 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

John 20:25

- τον τυπον των ηλων א^{2} B D E G H K L W Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* pbo bo; **HF NEB RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels WH**
- τον τοπον των ηλων A Θ 078 0250 vg (sin) hark arm; **Bover Lach Merk Tisch Weiss**
- την χειραν αυτου א*

John 20:31

- πιστευσητε א^{2} A C D E G^{c} H K L N W Γ Δ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Lach NEB^{marg} RV Soden Treg (UBS πιστευ[Σ]ητε) Vogels Weiss**
- πιστευητε P$^{66\text{-}vid}$ א* B Θ 0250 157 892^{supp} ^{2211}; **Bover Merk NEB^{txt} Tisch WH**
- *omit verse* G*

John 21:3

- εξηλθον και B C D K W 1 13 565 700 892^{supp} 1424 *Byz* a e q; **HF RV Tisch Treg UBS WH Weiss**
- εξηλθον ουν και א G L N Θ Π^{c} 33 157 205 209 983 1241 ^{844} pbo; **Bover Merk NEB Soden Vogels**
- και εξηλθον και A (P και ηλθον και) Ψ ^{2211} vg hark**; **[Lach]**

John 21:4

- εις τον αιγιαλον B C E G H K 1 13 565 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* hark; **HF Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- επι τον αιγιαλον א A D L M U Θ Ψ 33 205 209 700 892^{supp} 1006 1071 ^{844} ^{2211}; **Bover Lach Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**
- *omit* (εισ/επι) τον αιγιαλον ... ιησους εστιν W

John 21:5

- ο ιησους A^{c} C D E G H K L Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF [Lach] (RV) Soden (Treg UBS [ο]) Vogels Weiss**
- ιησους א B; **Merk (NEB) Tisch WH**
- *omit* A*^{vid} W a sin

John 21:13

- ερχεται ιησους B D W; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ερχεται ο ιησους א C L Ψ 1 33 157* 565 700 892^{supp} ^{844} ^{2211}; **Gr Bover Soden Weiss**
- ερχεται ουν ο ιησους A E G H K Γ Δ Θ 13 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* f ff^{2} hark bo; **HF Vogels**

John 21:17(B)

- αυτω ο ιησους βοσκε A E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden (UBS [ο ιησουσ]) Vogels Weiss**
- αυτω ιησους βοσκε B C; **Lach (NEB) (Treg [ιησουσ]) WH**
- αυτω βοσκε א D W 1 33 205 565 1071 sin pbo bo; **Tisch**

John 21:18

- και αλλος σε ζωσει A E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 13 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Tisch UBS Vogels**
- και αλλος ζωσει σε B C*^{vid}; **Merk (NEB) Treg Weiss WH**
- και αλλοι σε ζωσουσιν P^{59-vid} D W Π 1 565 1582 hark^{marg} pbo; **Soden**
- και αλλοι ζωσουσιν σε א C^{2}

John 21:23A

- ουκ ειπεν δε P^{59-vid} א B C W 33 (c) (sin) (pesh); **Merk (NEB) (RV ειπε) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και ουκ ειπεν A D E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF Lach Soden Tisch Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$**

John 21:23B

- ερχομαι τι προς σε א^{1} A B C* (D ερχομαι προς σε) E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 0141 13 33 157 700 892^{supp} 1071 1241 1342 1424 *Byz* aur b (c *adds* συ μοι ακολουθει) d f ff^{2} q r^{1} vg pesh hark pbo bo; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB RV Treg (UBS [τι προς σε]) Vogels Weiss WH**
- ερχομαι א* C^{2-vid} 1 22 565 1582* a e sin arm geo; **Soden Tisch**

John 21:24A

- και ο γραψας B D b? e? ff^{2}? q? r^{1}?; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και γραψας א* A C E G H K W Γ Δ Ψ 1 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **HF Tisch WH^{marg}**
- ο και γραψας א^{1} Θ 13 33 ^{2211} c? hark**; **Soden (WH^{marg} [ο])**

John 21:24B

- αληθης αυτου η μαρτυρια εστιν B C* W; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αληθης εστιν η μαρτυρια αυτου א A C^{3} E G H K Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels**
- αληθης εστιν αυτου η μαρτυρια D ℓ ^{2211} aur
- αληθης αυτου εστιν η μαρτυρια 33

John 21:25

- κοσμον χωρησαι A C^{2} D E G H K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ 1 13 33 565 700 892^{supp} 1241 1342 1424 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden UBS Vogels**
- κοσμον χωρησειν א^{1} B C*; **Merk (NEB) RV Treg Weiss WH**
- *omit verse 25* א*; **Tisch**

Acts

Acts 1:11

- εμβλεποντες P^{56} א^{2} A C D Ψ 614 1175 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF^{txt} Lach Soden (UBS [εμ]βλεποντεσ)**
- βλεποντες P$^{74\text{-}vid}$ א* B E 33 81 88 181 323 945 1241 1505 1739^{supp}; **HF^{marg} Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Acts 1:14

- τοις αδελφοις א A C* D 88 104 1175 vg arm; **Bover Clark Lach Soden Tisch UBS**
- συν τοις αδελφοις B C^{3} E Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739^{supp} *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) (RV) [Treg] Vogels Weiss WH**

Acts 1:16

- ιησουν א A B C*; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- τον ιησουν C^{3} D E Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739^{supp} *Byz*; **Clark HF Merk (RV) [Soden] Vogels**

Acts 2:5

- εις ιερουσαλημ (א*) A 88 1175; **Bover Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- εν ιερουσαλημ א^{2} B (C) (D) (E) Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739^{supp} *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Soden Vogels WH^{txt}**

Acts 2:7A

- εξισταντο δε B D 614 1241 *pm* gig r mae; **Clark HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- εξισταντο δε παντες א(* απαντεσ) A C E Ψ 33 81 88 181 323 945 1505 1611 1739 1891 *pm* e p w vg pesh hark sa bo arm; **Bover HF^{marg} RV Soden Tisch [Treg]**

Acts 2:7B

- ουχ ιδου א D E 81 88 1175 1891; **Lach Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- ουχι ιδου B; **Bover (NEB) Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ουκ ιδου P^{74} A C Ψ 33 323 614 945 1241 1505 *Byz*; **Clark HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Acts 2:12

- διηπορουν C D E Ψ 096 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach Soden UBS Vogels**
- διηπορουντο א A B 076; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- διηπορουν αλληλοις 33

Acts 2:34

- ειπεν ο κυριος P^{74} א^{2} A B^{2} C E Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- ειπεν κυριος א* B* D; **Bover Clark Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg WH Weiss**

Acts 2:43(B)-44(A)

- δια των αποστολων εγινετο B D P 81 323 (614 δια των χειρων των αποστολων εγινετο) 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* d gig p* r hark sa (arm); **Clark (HF^{txt}** εγινετο**; HF^{marg}** εγενετο**) Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- δια των αποστολων εγινετο εν ιερουσαλημ φοβος τε ην μεγας επι παντας P$^{74\text{-}vid}$ א (A C εγενετο) (Ψ) 88 (326) (1175 ...εγινετο δια των αποστολων) (2495 ...φοβος δε ην...) e t w vg (mae) bo (slav); **Bover RV^{marg} [Soden] Tisch Vogels**
- δια των αποστολων εγινετο εν ιερουσαλημ (E δια των χειρων των αποστολων εγινοντο εν ιερουσαλημ) 33 104 (2344 εγενετο) pesh

Acts 3:6

- εγειρε και περιπατει A C E Ψ 095 33 36 81 88 181 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* e gig h p w vg pesh hark mae bo arm geo eth slav; **(Clark) (HF^{txt}** εγειρε και**, HF^{marg}** εγειραι και**) Lach [Soden] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- περιπατει א B D d sa; **Bover Merk NEB RV Tisch WH**

Acts 3:10

- οτι αυτος P^{74} א A C 36 81 181 326 1505 gig w vg; **Lach Soden Tisch UBS**
- οτι ουτος B D E Ψ 33^{vid} 323 614 945 1175 1241 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Acts 3:13

- ο θεος ισαακ και ο θεος ιακωβ P^{74} א (A D **Lach** θεος ισαακ και θεος ιακωβ) C 36 88 104 326 1175 vg mae bo arm; **Bover Clark (Lach) Soden Tisch (UBS ...[**ο θεοσ**] ... [**ο θεοσ**])**
- ισαακ και ιακωβ B E Ψ 0236^{vid} 33 81 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* gig h pesh hark; **Merk HF NEB RV Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Acts 4:4A

- και εγενηθη ο αριθμος P^{74} A E Ψ 0165 33 81 323 614 945 1141 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk [Soden] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- και εγενηθη αριθμος א B (D* και αριθμος τε εγενηθη; D^{c} και αριθμος εγενηθη); **Clark Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Weiss WH**

Acts 4:4B

- ως χιλιαδες πεντε B D 0165; **Bover Clark [Lach] (NEB) [Treg] [UBS] Weiss WH**
- χιλιαδες πεντε P^{74} א A 81 1175 t vg; **Tisch**
- ωσει χιλιαδες πεντε E Ψ 33 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Merk RV [Soden] Vogels**

Acts 4:8

- πρεσβυτεροι P^{74} א A B 0165 88 1175 sa bo eth; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πρεσβυτεροι του ισραελ D E P Ψ 33 36 181 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* d e gig h (pesh) hark mae arm geo slav; **Bover Clark HF Soden Vogels**

Acts 4:18

- το καθολου P^{74} $א^{2}$ A E Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- καθολου א* B; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**
- συγκατατιθεμενων δε αυτων τη γνωμη φωνησαντες αυτους παρψγγειλαντο κατα το for και καλεσαντεσ... καθολου D (gig) (h) ($hark^{marg}$) (mae);

Acts 4:22

- γεγονει B D; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εγεγονει א A E Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Merk RV Soden Vogels**

Acts 4:24

- δεσποτα συ ο ποιησας P^{74} א A B 2495 colb dem bo; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- δεσποτα συ ο θεος ο ποιησας D E P Ψ (33 181 2344 (arm) κυριε ο θεος ο ποιησασ) 36 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 *Byz* (d) e gig p pesh hark (sa) mae geo slav; **Bover Clark HF [Soden] [Vogels]**

Acts 4:28

- βουλη σου א A^{c} D E^{c} Ψ 33 614 1175$^{\text{apud NA27}}$ 1241 1505 *Byz* bam cav ful sangall val pesh hark; **Bover Clark HF Lach NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- βουλη A* B E* 323 945 1739 e gig am* colb dubl leg sang theo tol arm; **Merk Weiss WH**

Acts 4:32

- απαντα κοινα א A E Ψ 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Soden Tisch Treg UBS Vogels**
- παντα κοινα P^{8} $P^{45\text{-vid}}$ B D; **Bover Clark Lach Merk (NEB) Weiss WH**

Acts 4:33

- της αναστασεως του κυριου ιησους P^{8} P Ψ 181 614 1241 1505 2344 *Byz* gig p t hark sa eth; **Bover HF (RV^{txt}) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- του κυριου ιησους της αναστασεως B; **Merk NEB Weiss WH**
- της αναστασεως ιησους χριστος το κυριου א A (36 307 453 theo ...κυριου ημων) 1175 am bam cav colb dubl ful leg sanger val; **Tisch**
- του κυριου ιησου [χριστου] της αναστασεως **Lach**
- της αναστασεως του κυριου ιησους χριστος D E 323 945 1739 1891 r (geo) slav; **Clark (RV^{marg})**
- της αναστασεως ιησου χριστου pesh

Acts 4:37

- προς τους ποδας א E 36 p; **Merk NEB Tisch UBS Weiss**
- παρα τους ποδας P^{57} P^{74} A B D Ψ 33 323 914 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH**

Acts 5:8

- απεκριθη δε προς αυτην πετρος $P^{74\text{-vid}}$ א A B 0189^{vid} (36 απεκριθη δε πετρος προς αυτην) 1175 (1739 απεκριθη δε προς αυτην ο πετροσ) (am) bam ful sanger leg val; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- απεκριθη δε αυτη ο πετρος (Ψ *omits* ο) 33^{vid} 323 614 945 1241 1505 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF (RV) (Soden [ο]) Vogels**
- ειπεν δε προς αυτην ο πετρος D d gig p cav reg tol
- προς ην ο πετρος εφη E

Acts 5:19

- ανοιξας τας θυρας P^{74} א A 36 181 453 1175; **Soden Tisch UBS**
- ηνοιξε τας θυρας B E Ψ 089 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- ανεωξεν τας θυρας D; **Clark**

Acts 5:23

- το δεσμωτηριον א A B D e h; **Bover Clark Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- το μεν δεσμωτηριον E Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* vg; **HF Merk [Soden] Vogels**

Acts 5:26

- ηγεν αυτους א B D^{1} 88 d; **(NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ηγαγεν αυτους A E Ψ 33^{vid} 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**
- ηγαγον αυτους D* 2495 pesh

Acts 5:28

- ου παραγγελια א^{2} D E P (Ψ ουχι παραγγελια) 36 181 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* e h p w pesh hark mae arm eth slav; **Bover Clark HF Lach Merk Soden Treg [UBS]**
- παραγγελια P^{74} א* A B 1175 d gig vg bo geo; **NEB RV Tisch Vogels Weiss WH**

Acts 5:31

- του δουναι א* B; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Tisch [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- δουναι P^{74} א² A D E Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach Soden Treg Vogels**

Acts 5:33

- και εβουλοντο A B E Ψ 36 104 614 2138 sa bo eth; **Lach (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- και εβουλεουντο א D P 181 323 945 (1175 1241 1409 geo και εβουλευσαντο) 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Merk Soden Tisch**

Acts 6:3

- επισκεψασθε δε א B; **Merk RV^{txt} Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- επισκεψασθε ουν C E Ψ 33 36 181 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 1891 *Byz* e gig t vg pesh hark slav; **Bover Clark HF NEB RV^{marg} Soden Treg Vogels**
- επισκεψασθε δη A; **Lach WH^{marg}**
- επισκεψασθε P^{74} arm geo eth
- επισκεψασθε δε ουν 1175
- τι ουν εστιν αδελφοι επισκεψασθε εξ υμιν αυτων ανδρας *for* επισκεψασθε δε αδελφοι ανδρας εξ υμων D h p mae

Acts 6:5

- ανδρα πληρης P^{74} א A C D E Ψ 33 614 1175 1241 1505 *pm;* **Clark HF^{txt} Lach Soden UBS WH^{marg}**
- ανδρα πληρη B 323 945 1739 2495 *pm;* **Bover HF^{marg} Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Acts 6:13

- του αγιου τουτου (P^{8} τουτου του αγιου) B C 33 36 69 88 181 323 945 1739 1891 h p t cav tol pesh hark; **Bover HF^{marg} Merk (NEB) RV Soden [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- του αγιου P^{74} א A D E Ψ 0175 614 1175 1241 1505 *Byz* am ful; **Clark HF^{txt} Lach Tisch Treg Vogels**

Acts 7:10

- και εφ ολον P^{74} א A C E 88 104 181 323 945 1175 1739 1891 p vg; **Bover Soden Tisch [UBS] WH^{marg}**
- και ολον B D Ψ 33 614 1241 1505 *Byz* e gig t; **Clark HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Acts 7:13

- γενος του ιωσηφ P^{45} D Ψ 33^{vid} 323 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Merk (RV) Soden (UBS [του]) Vogels**
- γενος αυτου P^{74} א A E 181 t vg arm; **NEB Tisch**
- γενος ιωσηφ B C 88; **Lach Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 7:19

- τους πατερας ημων A C E P Ψ 36 81 181 323 614 945 1241 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* e gig p bam cav colb dem sanger sangall val pesh hark geo eth slav; **HF RV [Soden] [UBS] Vogels**
- τους πατερας P^{74} א B D 1175 1409 1505 am ful leg; **Bover Clark Lach Merk NEB Tisch Treg WH Weiss**

Acts 7:25

- τους αδελφους αυτου A D E Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* d e p colb reg^{c} tol pesh hark; **Clark HF Lach Merk [Soden] [UBS] Vogels**
- τους αδελφους P^{74} א B C 6 gig t am cav ful; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg WH Weiss**

Acts 7:43A

- του θεου υμων P^{74} א A C E Ψ 33 81 323 (614 1505 του θεου ημων) 945 1175 1241 1739 *Byz* h p vg hark bo mae; **HF Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- του θεου B D 36 453 gig pesh sa arm; **Bover Clark Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 7:43B

- ραιφαν P^{74} $א^{c}$ A 453 1175 pesh hark; **UBS**
- ρομφα B; **Weiss WH**
- ρομφαν א*; **Tisch**
- ρεφαν C E Ψ 33 36 *pm;* **Bover Clark HF^{marg} Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$**
- ρεμφαν 323 945 1739 *pm* vg; **HF^{txt}**
- ρεφφαν 1241 2495; **HF^{marg}**
- ρεμφαμ D
- ρεμφα 81 1505
- ρεφα 104

Acts 7:60

- ταυτην την αμαρτιαν P^{45-vid} A B C D; **Bover Clark Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- την αμαρτιαν ταυτην P^{74} א E Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Acts 8:18

- πνευμα א A^{c} $^{apud\ NA27}$ B sa mae; **Merk NEB RV^{marg} Tisch [Treg] UBS Weiss WH**
- πνευμα το αγιον P^{45} P^{74} A($^{apud\ UBS4,\ Souter,\ Bover}$; A^{*} $^{apud\ NA27}$) C D E L P Ψ 33 36 81 181 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 *Byz* OL vg pesh hark bo arm geo eth slav; **Bover Clark HF Lach RV^{txt} Soden Vogels**

Acts 8:32

- κειραντος P^{50-vid} P^{74} א A C E H L Ψ 36 69 88 104 323 429 614 1175 1505 1611; **HF^{txt} Soden Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- κειροντος B 33 81 945 1241 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Acts 8:33A

- ταπεινωσει αυτου C E L Ψ 33^{vid} 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 *Byz* e sanger pesh hark; **HF Merk Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- ταπεινωσει P^{74} א A B 1739 gig am bam cav ful leg val; **Bover Clark Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 8:33B

- την γενεαν א A B C am bam cav leg tol val hark; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- την δε γενεαν P^{74} E L (Ψ την τε γενεαν) 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* e gig p t sanger tol; **Clark HF Merk Soden Vogels**

Acts 9:12

- ειδεν ανδρα εν οραματι B C 1175 mae; **(NEB) (UBS WH [**εν οραματι**]) Weiss**
- ειδεν ανδρα P^{74} א A 81 gig p t am colb dem ful sa; **Lach RV Tisch**
- ειδεν εν οραματι ανδρα E L P 33 181 323 453 614 945 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* e armagh arm geo; **Bover Clark HF Merk Soden (Treg [**εν οραματι**]) Vogels**
- ειδεν εν οραματι Ψ
- *omit verse 12* h

Acts 9:19

- ενισχυσεν P^{74} א A C^{2} E L Ψ 33 81 614 1241 1505 *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss**
- ενισχυθη B C* 323 945 1175 1611 1739 1891; **Bover Merk Soden WH**
- ενισχυσθη P^{45}

Acts 9:21

- εις ιερουσαλημ P^{74} א A 181 1898; **Soden Tisch UBS Weiss**
- εν ιερουσαλημ B C E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels WH**

Acts 9:22

- τους ιουδαιους א* B 36 453 1175; **Bover Clark HF Lach Merk Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- ιουδαιους א² A C E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **(NEB) (RV) Tisch Weiss WH**

Acts 9:27

- ονοματι του ιησου P⁷⁴ א E L 33 614 945 1175 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF (RV) Soden UBS (Vogels [του])**
- ονοματι ιησου B C 81 323; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- ονοματι κυριου A
- ονοματι του ιησου χριστου Ψ
- ονοματι του κυριου ιησου 326 1241 p
- ονοματι κυριου ιησου 104

Acts 9:34

- ιαται σε ιησους χριστος P⁷⁴ א B* C Ψ 33ᵛⁱᵈ; **Clark Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ιαται σε ιησους ο χριστος B² E L 81 323 945 1241 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- ιαται σε ο κυριος ιησους χριστος (A ιαται σε ο κυριος ιησους ο χριστοσ) 36 1175 gig p am bamᶜ colb theo tol mae
- ιαται σε ο χριστος 614 1241 1505

Acts 9:36

- εργων αγαθων P⁴⁵ B C E 36 104 181 453 1175; **Bover Clark Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αγαθων εργων P⁵³ P⁷⁴ א L Ψ 81 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Acts 9:37

- εθηκαν αυτην P^{74} א* A 81 1175 p vg; **Tisch Treg (UBS [αυτην]) WH^{marg}**
- αυτην εθηκαν P^{45} P^{53} א^{c} C E L Ψ 33^{vid} 323 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**
- εθηκαν B 36 453 614 e gig; **NEB Weiss WH^{txt}**

Acts 9:43

- ημερας ικανας μειναι P^{53} א* B 104; **Bover NEB Tisch UBS WH**
- αυτον ημερας ικανας μειναι P^{74} א^{c} A E 81 323 945 1175 1739; **Clark HF^{marg} Lach Merk [Soden] Treg Weiss**
- ημερας ικανας μειναι αυτον C L Ψ 33 614 1241 1505 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} (RV) Vogels**

Acts 10:19A

- ειπεν αυτω το πνευμα P^{45} D E L Ψ 33 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Clark HF (RV) (UBS [αυτω])**
- ειπεν το πνευμα αυτω P^{74} א A C 6 36 81 1175 vg; **Bover Lach Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- ειπεν το πνευμα B; **Merk (NEB) Weiss WH^{txt}**

Acts 10:19B+C

- τρεις ζητουντες σε P^{74} א 81; **NEB^{marg} UBS WH^{marg}**
- δυο ζητουντες σε B; **NEB^{marg} Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ζητουντες σε **NEB^{txt} Tisch**
- τρεις ζητουσιν σε A C E^{c} 33 36 88 104 181 323 945 1175 1739 1891; **Bover (HF^{marg} RV ζητουσι) Lach Merk Soden Treg Vogels**
- τρεις ζητουν σε E*
- ζητουσιν σε D L P Ψ 614 1241 1505 *Byz*; **Clark (HF^{txt} ζητουσι)**

Acts 10:36

- ον απεστειλεν P^{74} א* C D E L P Ψ 36 181 323 453 945 1175 1241 1505 1891 2344 *Byz* e pesh hark; **Bover Clark HF [Merk] RV^{txt} Soden Tisch [Treg] [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss WH^{marg}**
- απεστειλεν א^{1} A B 81 614 623 1611 1739 g p t w vg sa bo arm; **Lach NEB RV^{marg} WH^{txt}**

Acts 10:39

- εν ιερουσαλημ P^{74} א A C E L 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1739 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF [Lach] RV Soden Tisch [UBS]**
- ιερουσαλημ B D Ψ 1505 gig vg pesh; **Clark Merk (NEB) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Acts 10:40

- εν τη τριτη ημερα א* C 6 69 467 1319 ^{1977}; **Merk NEB Tisch (UBS[εν]) Weiss**
- τη τριτη ημερα P^{74} א^{2} A B D^{2} E L P Ψ 33 36 81 181 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* e g p w; **Bover Clark HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH**
- μετα την τριτην εμεραν D* d l t;

Acts 11:11

- ημεν P^{74} א A B D 6 181 2298 armagh; **Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ημην P^{45}E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* e gig p w am cav dem ful tol pesh hark sa bo geo eth slav; **Bover Clark HF NEB^{txt} Soden$^{apud\ Bover}$WH^{marg}**
- ησαν d

Acts 11:13

- ειποντα P^{74} א A B 6 81; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ειποντα αυτω D E L P Ψ 33 36 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* d e gig p w vg pesh hark; **Bover Clark HF [Soden] Vogels**

Acts 11:20

- ελληνιστας B D^{c} E L P Ψ 36 81 181 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* geo; **HF RV^{marg} Soden UBS Vogels WH**
- ελληνας P^{74} א^{c} A D* 1518 arm slav; **Bover Clark Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Tisch Treg Weiss**
- ευαγγελιστας א*

Acts 12:3

- αι ημεραι A D E Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1505 *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach [Soden] [UBS] Vogels**
- ημεραι P^{45-vid} א B L 0244 6 88 623 1175 1241 1611 1739 arm; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 12:8

- ειπεν δε B D E Ψ 36 81* 88 181 453 614 945 1175 1739 1891 hark; **Bover Clark Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ειπεν τε P^{74} א A L 33 81^{c} 323 1175 1241 1505 *Byz*; **(HF RV** ειπε**) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Acts 12:11

- ο κυριος τον αγγελον B Ψ 614; **Bover Merk (NEB) (UBS Vogels [o]** κυριοσ**) Weiss WH^{txt}**
- κυριος τον αγγελον א A D E L 33 81 1175 1241 1505 *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**
- ο θεος τον αγγελον 36 323 453 945 1739 p
- κυριος ο θεος τον αγγελον 1241

Acts 12:21

- και καθισας P^{74} A D E L Ψ 33 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* gig hark; **Clark HF [Lach] Merk [Soden] [Treg] [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss**
- καθισας א B 81 1175 p vg; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch WH**

Acts 13:10

- του κυριου א* B; **Merk (NEB) [UBS] Weiss WH^{txt}**
- κυριου P^{74} א^{c} A C D E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Acts 13:11

- παραχρημα τε επεσεν א Ψ 81; **Tisch UBS WH^{marg}**
- παραχρημα δε επεσεν A B 33 1505; **Bover Clark Lach Merk (NEB) RV Soden Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**
- παραχρημα δε επεπεσεν P^{74} E L 323 614 945 1241 1739 *Byz*; **HF Weiss**
- παραχρημα τε επεπεσεν P^{45-vid} C 1175
- και ευθεως επεσεν D

Acts 13:20

- του προφητου C D E L Ψ 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach [Soden] [UBS] Vogels**
- προφητου P^{74} א A B 81; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 13:33

- τοις τεκνοις αυτων ημιν C^{3} E L P 33 36 81 181 307 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* e pesh hark arm geo; **Bover Clark HF Merk NEB^{marg} Soden (UBS [αυτων])**
- τοις τεκνοις ημων P^{74} א A B C* D (Ψ p τοις τεκνοις υμων) d t w vg; **RV Lach NEB^{marg} Tisch Treg Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$ Weiss WH**
- τοις τεκνοις αυτων 1175 gig
- τοις τεκνοις **NEB^{txt}(!)**

Acts 13:40

- επελθη P^{74} א(* απελθη) B D 33 36 307 453 614 2344 d am cav leg; **Bover Clark Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- επελθη εφ υμας A C E L P Ψ 097 81 323 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 *Byz* gig p bam ful sangall sanger val pesh hark sa bo arm geo; **HF Merk Soden [Vogels]**

Acts 13:44

- τον λογον του κυριου P^{74} א A B^{2} 33 36 81 181 307 323 326 453 945 1175 1739 1891 2344 gig p w am bam cav ful leg reg tol val sa geo; **Bover Clark Lach RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- τον λογον του θεου B* C E L Ψ 614 1241 1505 *Byz* dem willelm pesh hark bo arm slav; **HF Merk NEB RV^{txt} Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- παυλου πολυν τε λογον ποιησαμενου περι του κυριου D d (mae)

Acts 13:45

- υπο παυλου P^{74} א A B Ψ 614 2138; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- υπο του παυλου C D E L 097 33 81 323 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Clark HF Merk (RV) Soden [Vogels]**

Acts 13:46

- επειδη א* B D* 36 307 hark; **Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- επειδη δε $א^{2}$ A D^{1} E L Ψ 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Merk Soden Vogels Weiss**
- επει δε P^{45} P^{74} C 81 326; **WH^{marg}**

Acts 14:3

- επι τω λογω א* A pesh; **Merk Tisch [UBS] Weiss**
- τω λογω P^{74} $א^{2}$ B C D^{vid} E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* vg; **Bover Clark HF Lach (NEB) (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH**

Acts 14:8

- αδυνατος εν λυστροις א* B 1175; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS WH**
- εν λυστροις αδυνατος P^{74} $א^{2}$ A C L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss**
- αδυνατος D E h mae

Acts 14:14

- ιματια αυτων P^{74} א* C D E L Ψ 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach (RV) Tisch Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- ιματια εαυτων א^{2} A B 33 36 307 453 623; **Merk (NEB) (Soden [ε]αυτων) Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Acts 15:8

- δους P^{74} א A B 33 81 1175; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- δους αυτοις C E L 0294 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* l pesh hark; **Clark HF Lach Merk [Soden] [Vogels]**
- δους επ αυτους D (Ψ)

Acts 15:9

- ουθεν B H L P 0294 323 1241 1505; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ουδεν P^{74} א A C D E Ψ 33 81 614$^{apud\ NA27}$ 945 1175 1739 *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden WH^{marg}**

Acts 15:16

- κατεσκαμμενα P^{74} A C D L 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach Soden UBS Vogels**
- κατεστραμμενα א (B **Treg** κατεστρεμμενα) Ψ 33 326; **Bover Merk NEB RV Tisch (Treg) Weiss WH**
- ανεσκαμμενα E

Acts 15:17

- κυριος ποιων P^{74} א* B Ψ; **Lach Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- κυριος ο ποιων א^{2} A C D^{2} E L 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* hark; **Bover Clark HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Vogels**
- κυριος ποιησει D*

Acts 15:20

- των αλισγηματων P^{45} א B D 81 1175 e p*; **Bover Clark Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- απο των αλισγηματων P^{74} A C E L Ψ 33 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* vg; **HF [Merk] (RV) Soden [Vogels]**

Acts 15:23

- γραψαντες δια χειρος αυτων $P^{45\text{-vid}}$ P^{74} א* A B bo; **Bover RV Lach NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- γραψαντες δια χειρος αυτων ταδε א^{2} E L (33 χειρων) 81 323 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* hark^{txt}; **Clark HF (Merk [ταδε]) Soden Vogels**
- γραψαντες επιστολην δια χειρος αυτων περιεχουσαν ταδε (C) D gig w (pesh) (sa)
- γραψαντες δια χειρος αυτων επιστολην και πεμψαντες περιεχουσαν ταδε 614 hark^{marg}
- γραψαντες επιστολην δια χειρος αυτων εχουσαν τον τυπον τουτον Ψ

Acts 15:25

- εκλεξαμενοις $P^{45\text{-vid}}$ A B L Ψ 33 69 81 614 945 1175 1739 1891 2344 *pm* e gig p w vg (pesh) arm geo; **HF^{marg} Lach Merk Soden Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- εκλεξαμενους א C D E H P 36 181 307 323 453 1241 1505 *pm* d hark slav; **Bover Clark HF^{txt} NEB RV Tisch Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Acts 16:11

- αναχθεντες δε P^{74} א A E Ψ 6 (33 αναχθεντοσ) 81 181 326 1175 2344 e p vg; **Clark Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss**
- αναχθεντες ουν B C L P^{vid} 36 323 945 1241 1505 1739 1891 *Byz* gig hark^{txt}; **Bover HF Lach RV Soden Treg Vogels WH**
- τη δε επαυριον αναχθεντες D(* τη δε επαυριον αχθεντεσ) 614 d hark^{marg}

Acts 16:18

- παυλος P^{45} P^{74} א A B; **(NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο παυλος C (D επιστρεψας δε ο παυλος τω πνευματι και διαπονηθεις for διαπονηθεις δε ο παυλος και επιστρεψας τω πνευματι) E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Acts 16:27

- την μαχαιραν B C D 81 1175; **Bover Clark Lach Merk NEB RV [Treg UBS] Weiss WH**
- μαχαιραν P^{74} א A E L Ψ 33 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Soden Tisch Vogels**

Acts 16:28

- μεγαλη φωνη ο παυλος A; **(UBS [ο]) Vogels**
- φωνη μεγαλη παυλος א C* 33; **Tisch Treg**
- παυλος μεγαλη φωνη B; **Merk (NEB) Weiss WH**
- φωνη μεγαλη ο παυλος C^{3} D E L 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF (RV) Soden**
- μεγαλη φωνη παυλος P^{74} Ψ
- ο παυλος φωνη μεγαλη 36
- παυλος φωνη μεγαλη **Lach(?)**

Acts 16:29

- και τω σιλα P^{74} א A C^{3} E L Ψ 33 81 323 $614^{\text{apud NA27}}$ 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Tisch [UBS] Vogels**
- και σιλα B C* D; **Clark Lach Merk (NEB) Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 16:36

- απεσταλκαν א A B; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS WH Weiss**
- απεσταλκασιν D E H L P; **HF Bover (RV) Soden Vogels**
- απεστειλαν C 81

Acts 17:3

- εστιν ο χριστος ο ιησους B; **Merk (NEB) RV (UBS [ο] ιησουσ) Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εστιν ο χριστος ιησους L P Ψ 181 323 945 1175 1241 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} Soden Vogels**
- εστιν χριστος ιησους P^{74} A D 33^{vid} 81 2344; **Clark Lach Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**
- εστιν ιησους ο χριστος E 36 307 453 bo; **HF^{marg}**
- εστιν ιησους χριστος א 614 1505
- εστιν ο χριστος geo

Acts 17:11

- καθ ημεραν P^{45} P^{74} א D (E) Ψ 33 81 88 323 614 623 945 1505 1739 1891 *pm;* **Clark Lach HF^{marg} Tisch Treg UBS**
- το καθ ημεραν B H L P 6 1175 *pm;* **Bover HF^{txt} Merk (NEB) (RV) [Soden] Vogels Weiss [WH]**

Acts 17:22

- ο παυλος P^{74} D E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Merk (RV) Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- παυλος א A B 326; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 18:1

- μετα ταυτα χωρισθεις εκ P^{41} P^{74} א B 33 429 gig vg sa; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- μετα ταυτα χωρισθεις ο παυλος εκ A 1739; **(Merk Soden [ο παυλοσ]) Vogels**
- μετα δε ταυτα χωρισθεις ο παυλος εκ E H L P Ψ *Byz* hark; **HF**
- αναχωρησας δε απο D h$^{apud\ NA27}$; **Clark?**

Acts 18:7

- εισηλθεν εις οικιαν P^{74} א A D* 33 104 181 323 945 1175 1739 1891 vg pesh hark^{marg} arm; **Bover Clark Lach Soden Tisch UBS**
- ηλθεν εις οικιαν B D^{2} E L Ψ 614 1241 1505 *Byz* hark^{txt}; **Merk HF (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- εις οικιαν 6

Acts 18:15

- κριτης εγω P^{74} א A B D 33 945 1704 vg bo; **Bover Clark Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- κριτης γαρ εγω E L Ψ 323 614 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* pesh hark sa; **[Merk] HF [Soden] Vogels**

Acts 18:17

- παντες P^{74} א A B vg bo; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- παντες οι ελληνες D E L P Ψ 33 181 323$^{apud\ NA27}$ 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* d gig (h) pesh hark sa arm geo eth slav; **Clark HF Merk [Soden] Vogels**
- παντες οι ιουδαιοι 36 307 453 610 1678

Acts 19:1

- κατελθειν εις εφεσον $P^{74\text{-}vid}$ א A E Ψ 33 181 326 623 945 1739 1891 arm; **Bover HF Soden Tisch (UBS [κατ]ελθειν)**
- ελθειν εις εφεσον B L 323 614 1175 1241 1505 *Byz* vg; **Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- θελοντος δε το παυλου κατα την ιδιαν βουλην πορευεσθαι εις ιερουσολυμα ειπεν αυτω το πνευμα υποστρεφειν εις την ασιαν διελθων δε τα ανωτερικα μερη ερχεται εις εφεσον for εγενετο δε... εις εφεσον $P^{38\text{-}vid}$ D d hark^{marg}; **Clark**

Acts 19:3

- ειπεν τε εις τι B 36 453 614^{c} 1175 d; **(HF^{marg} RV** ειπε**) Lach Merk (NEB) Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ο δε ειπεν εις τι P$^{42\text{-}vid}$ P^{74} א A E 33 88 623 bo; **Bover Tisch WH^{marg}**
- ειπεν δε εις τι D Ψ 945 1739 1891; **Clark**
- ειπεν τε προς αυτους εις τι L 323 1241 *Byz* pesh sa; **(HF^{txt}** ειπε**)**
- ειπεν ουν εις τι 614* 1505 hark
- ο δε παυλος προς αυτους εις τι P^{38}

Acts 19:6

- παυλου τας χαιρας E L Ψ 323 614 945 1175 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- παυλου χαιρας P^{74} א A B (D χαιρα) 326 1241; **Bover (Clark** χαιρα**) Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 19:9

- τυραννου P^{74} א A B 323 945 1739 2344 r cav ful tol sa bo geo; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- τυραννου τινος E L P Ψ 36 (181) 307 453 1175 1241 1505 *Byz* e am val (pesh) arm; **HF [Merk] Soden Vogels**
- τυραννου τινος απο ωρας ε' εως δεκατος D (614 1409 ...απο ωρας πεμπτης εως ωρας δεκατησ) gig w hark**; **Clark**

Acts 19:14

- τινος σκευα P^{41} B E 36 307 453 1175 1739 1891 p* pesh arm; **Bover Clark Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- τινες σκευα P^{74} א A L Ψ 33 323 614 945 1241 1505 (*Byz* **HF** etc. υιοι σκευα ιουδιου αρχιερεως επτα for σκευα ιουδιου αρχιερεως επτα υιοι) vg hark^{txt}; **HF Soden Tisch Vogels**
- • (have substantially different texts of verse 14) (P^{38}) (D) (w) (hark^{marg});

Acts 19:20

- του κυριου ο λογος εψξανεν και ισχυεν (א* ισχυσεν) A B; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο λογος του κυριου ηυξανεν και ισχυεν P^{74} (א² ισχυσεν) (E ο λογος το θεου...) L (Ψ ...ηυξανεν και ισχυσεν σφοδρα) 33 36 181 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739[apud NA27] 1891 2344 *Byz* vg hark; **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- ενισχυσεν και η πιστις του θεου ηυξανεν και επληθυνετο D(*) d (pesh); **Clark**

Acts 19:30

- παυλου δε βουλομενου P^{74} א* A B 6 33; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- του δε παυλου βουλομενου E L Ψ 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Vogels**
- του παυλου δε βουλομενου א²
- βουλομενου δε του παυλου D; **Clark**

Acts 20:4

- σωπατρος P^{74} א B 33 p am colb dem ful (tol sa bo σωσιπατροσ) eth; **NEB RV[marg] Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- αχρι της ασιας σωπατρος A (D **Clark** μεχρι της ασιας σωπατροσ) E L P (Ψ) (104 (gig) σωσιπατροσ) 181 323 614 945 (1175 ωσαι πατρος for σωπατροσ) 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 *Byz* pesh hark(**); **Bover (Clark) HF Lach Merk RV[txt] Soden [Treg] Vogels**

Acts 20:6

- οπου διετριψαμεν P^{74} א A E 33; **NEB (Soden [οπ]ου) Tisch UBS**
- ου διετριψαμεν B L (Ψ ου και διετριψαμεν) 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- εν η και διετριψαμεν D; **Clark**

Acts 20:13

- προελθοντες $P^{41\text{-vid}}$ P^{74} א B^{2} C L Ψ 33 36 323 614 945 1505 1739 2138 e; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- προσελθοντες A B* E 1241 *Byz*; **HF (Merk προ[σ]ελθοντεσ) Soden Treg WH^{marg}**
- κατελθοντες D gig pesh; **Clark**

Acts 20:15

- σαμον τη δε $P^{41\text{-vid}}$ P^{74} א A B C E 33 36 307 453 1175 1739 1891 2344 (2464 vg (bo) arm geo σαμον και τη); **Lach Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- σαμον και μεινεντες εν τρωγυλλιω τη L 323 614 945 1505 *Byz* gig pesh hark sa; **Bover HF RV^{marg} Weiss**
- σαμον και μεινεντες εν τρωγυλλιω τη δε **NEB^{marg} (Soden Vogels** σαμον **[**και μεινεντες εν τρωγυλλιω**]** τη **[**δε**])**
- σαμον και μεινεντες εν τρωγυλλιω τη (D τρωγυλια) (Ψ σαμον μεινεντες εις το γυλλιον τη; **Clark**

Acts 20:16

- ιεροσολυμα B C D L 323 614 945 1175 *Byz* vg; **Clark HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ιερουσαλημ P^{74} א A E Ψ 33 181 1505 1611 1704 1739; **Bover Soden Tisch**

Acts 20:21

- εις τον κυριον ημων ιησουν B H L P Ψ 614 *pm* gig hark sa; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB RV^{marg} UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εις τον κυριον ημων ιησουν χριστον P^{74} א A C (E *omits* ημων) 33 36 88 181 307 322 323 453 623 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344 2464 d vg pesh arm geo eth slav; **HF^{marg} RV^{txt} Soden Tisch [Treg] WH^{marg}**
- δια του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου D; **Clark**

Acts 21:10

- ημερας P^{74} A B C H Ψ 33 36 181 326 453 623 1505 1611; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ημων ημερας א^{2} E L 323 614$^{\text{apud NA27}}$ 945 1241 1739 *Byz* gig hark^{marg}; **Clark HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- αυτων ημερας א* 1175

Acts 21:13

- τοτε απεκριθη ο παυλος B^{c} C^{c} 36 307 453 1678; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss (WH [ο])**
- τοτε απεκριθη ο παυλος και ειπεν א A E vg arm; **Bover (Soden [και ειπεν]) Tisch**
- τοτε απεκριθη παυλος και ειπεν P^{74}
- τοτε απεκριθη παυλος B*
- τοτε απεκριθη δε ο παυλος C* 1175$^{\text{apud GNT4}}$
- τοτε απεκριθη δε ο παυλος και ειπεν 33 1409
- απεκριθη δε ο παυλος και ειπεν (323 απεκριθη τε...) 945 1739 1891
- ειπεν δε προς ημας ο παυλος D gig; **Clark**
- απεκριθη τε ο παυλος L P (Ψ 614 2464 απεκριθη δε ο παυλοσ) 1505 *Byz* hark; **HF**
- τοτε αποκριθεις δε ο παυλος ειπεν 181
- απεκριθη ο παυλος και ειπεν 2344

Acts 21:22

- παντως ακουσονται B C*^{vid} 36 307 453 614 1175 1505 1611 1739^{txt} (pesh) hark sa bo geo eth; **Bover Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- παντως δει συνελθειν πληθος ακουσονται γαρ P^{74} (א* C^{2} *omit* γαρ) א^{2} A E 33 88 181 1739^{margin} 1891 2344 OL vg (D* L P Ψ 323? *Byz al* **Clark HF** παντως δει πληθος συνελθειν ακουσονται γαρ) (D^{1} παντως δει το πληθος συνελθειν ακουσονται γαρ); **(Clark) (HF) Lach (Soden [παντως δει συνελθειν πληθοσ] ακουσονται[γαρ]) Tisch Vogels**

Acts 22:23

- κραυγαζοντων τε A B C; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- κραυγαζοντων δε P^{74} א D E L P Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* hark; **Bover Clark HF (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels**

Acts 23:1

- ο παυλος τω συνεδριω $P^{74\text{-vid}}$ L Ψ 323 1175 1241 *Byz*; **HF (NEB) (RV) UBS Vogels Weiss**
- τω συνεδριω ο παυλος א A C E 33 945 1175 1505 1739 1891 OL vg; **Bover Clark Lach Merk Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**
- παυλος τω συνεδριω B 36 181 453 614 1505 1611; **WH^{txt}**

Acts 23:6

- εγω κρινομαι P^{74} א A C^{vid} E L Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* vg bo; **Bover Clark HF Lach Merk (RV) Tisch Treg [UBS] Vogels WH^{marg}**
- κρινομαι B gig sa; **(NEB) Soden$^{apud\ NA27}$ Weiss WH^{txt}**

Acts 23:7

- αυτου ειποντος P^{74} א A E 33 181 323 623 945 1739 1891 2464; **Bover Lach Merk RV Soden Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- αυτου λαλουντος B 209 429 1108; **(NEB) Weiss WH^{txt}**
- αυτου λαλησαντος C L Ψ 614 1175 1241 1505 *Byz*; **Clark HF Tisch Vogels**

Acts 23:23

- προσκαλεσαμενος δυο τινας A E L Ψ 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach (RV) (UBS [τινασ]) Vogels**
- προσκαλεσαμενος τινας δυο א B 33 81; **Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- προσκαλεσαμενος δυο P^{74} vg pesh

Acts 23:30A

- ανδρα εσεσθαι εξαυτης P^{74} B Ψ 36 307 453 614 2464 bo; **Merk (NEB) RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ανδρα εσεσθαι εξ αυτων א A E (33 2344) 81 181 (945 ανδρα μελλειν εσεσθαι εξ αυτων) 1175 1505 1739 1891 (vg) hark; **Bover Clark Lach Soden Tisch Treg**
- ανδρα μελλειν εσεθαι υπο των ιουδαιων εξαυτης L P 323 1241 *Byz* (gig) (pesh) sa slav; **HF**

Acts 23:30B

- λεγειν τα προς αυτον E L Ψ 81 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* hark; **Bover Clark HF Merk Soden (UBS [τα]) Vogels**
- λεγειν αυτους א A 33 181 1898; **Lach Tisch**
- λεγειν προς αυτον B 1175 arm; **(NEB) RV Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 23:30C

- επι σου A B 33 2344 gig am bam ful val sa bo; **Lach NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- επι σου ερρωσο א E L (P 1241 *pm* ερρωσθε) Ψ 36 (81 *omits* επι σου) 181 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* cav sangall tol ulm pesh hark; **Bover Clark HF Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Soden Vogels**

Acts 25:10

- επι του βηματος καισαρος εστως P^{74} $א^{c}$ A C E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- εστως επι του βηματος καισαρος א* 69 453 1175; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**
- εστως επι του βηματος καισαρος εστως B

Acts 25:18

- εγω υπενοουν πονηρων א² B E 81 104 1406 2344^vid; **Bover Clark (NEB) RV Treg UBS Vogels^apud NA27 Weiss WH^txt**
- εγω υπενοουν πονηραν P^74 A C* Ψ 33^vid 36 69 88 181 307 453 614 623 945 1175 1505 1611 1739 1891 2464 gig (pesh) (hark); **Lach Merk Soden Tisch WH^marg**
- εγω υπενοουν πονηρα א* C² w
- υπενοουν εγω L 323 1241 *Byz* arm slav; **HF**

Acts 25:22A

- φηστον א A B 33 am ful sanger; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- φηστον εφη P^74 C E L Ψ 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* gig bam (cav) leg val pesh hark; **Clark HF [Merk] [Soden] [Vogels]**

Acts 25:22B

- αυριον P^74-vid א A B 1175 vg sa bo; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο δε αυριον C E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* hark; **Clark HF [Merk] [Soden] [Vogels]**

Acts 25:24

- ενθαδε βοωντες P^74 א A B 81; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ενθαδε επιβοωντες C E L Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Vogels**

Acts 26:1

- περι σεαυτου λεγειν P^74 א A C E 33 36 81 88 104 (614 945 1505 1891 λεγειν περι σεαυτου) 1739 arm; **Bover Lach Soden Tisch Treg UBS WH^marg**
- υπερ σεαυτου λεγειν B L (Ψ λεγειν υπερ σεαυτου) 323 1175 1241 *Byz*; **Clark HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Vogels Weiss WH^txt**

Acts 26:4(A)

- την εκ νεοτητος P^74 א A C² (E) L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Clark HF Lach Merk (RV) [Soden] Tisch [UBS] Vogels**
- εκ νεοτητος B C* H 36 69 307; **Bover (NEB) Treg Weiss WH**

Acts 26:16

- ειδες με B C*vid 614 945 1175 1505 1611 1739 1891 2464 pesh hark sa arm geo eth; **Bover Merk (NEB) RVtxt [UBS] Weiss WH**
- ειδες P74 א A C2 E L P Ψ 096 36 81 181 323 1241 2344 *Byz* OL vg bo slav; **Clark HF Lach RVmarg Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Acts 26:20

- πασαν P74 א A B bam sangall val; **Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- εις πασαν E L Ψ 33 81 323 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* (am) cav (ful) leg reg; **Bover Clark HF Merk Soden Vogels Weiss**

Acts 26:21

- οντα εν τω ιερω P74 א E Ψ 33 36 69 81 614 623 945 1175 1505 1739 1881 OL vg; **Bover Clark Soden Tisch [UBS]**
- εν τω ιερω A B L 048 323 1241 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Acts 26:31

- τι πρασσει P74 א A (Ψ πρασσει τι) 33 81 104 945 1175 1739 1891 vg; **Bover Soden Tisch [UBS] WHmarg**
- πρασσει B L 323 614 1241 1505 *Byz* OL pesh hark; **Clark HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WHtxt**

Acts 27:8

- πολις ην λασαια *unattested;* **Soden Tisch UBS**
- ην πολις λασαια L Ψ 323 614 1241 1505 *Byz*; **Bover Clark HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Vogels Weiss**
- ην πολις λασεα B 1175 1739 1891 2464; **Treg WH**
- ην πολις λασια 36 81 453 945
- πολις ην λαισσα א^{2}
- πολις ην λασσαια א*
- πολις ην αλασσα A
- πολις ην λασεα 33
- ην πολις αλασσα *unattested;* **Lach**

Acts 27:11

- παυλου P^{74} א A B 81 915 1241; **Clark Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- του παυλου L Ψ 33 323 614 945 1175 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Vogels**

Acts 27:41

- της βιας των κυματων P^{74} א^{2} C L P 33 36 81 181 307 323 453 614 945 1175 1241 1505 1739 1891 2344^{vid} *Byz* pesh hark (sa) bo slav; **Bover Clark HF Merk Soden (Treg UBS [**των κυματων**]) Vogels Weiss**
- της βιας (א*) A B 623* arm geo; **Lach NEB RV Tisch WH**
- των κυματων Ψ 1678 2464 eth
- *vi maris* gig vg

Romans

Romans 1:1

- Χριστου Ιησου P^{10} B 81 a m am cav ful leg reg sangall; **Merk NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- Ιησου Χριστου P^{26} א A D^{abs1} G K L P Ψ 6 33 104 223 256 436 630 876 1175 1241 1319 1505 1506 1739 1799 1881 1962 2127 2412 2464 *Byz* b d bam dem karl sanger tol val pesh hark sa bo geo; **Bover Lach HF RV Soden Vogels WH^{txt}**

Romans 2:2

- οιδαμεν δε A B D G K L P $Ψ^{c}$ 81 104 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- οιδαμεν γαρ א C Ψ* 33 69 436 d vg arm; **Bover RV^{marg} Tisch WH^{marg}**
- οιδαμεν 1906

Romans 2:8

- απειθουσι א* B D* G 1739 1881 a b d m vg; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- απειθουσι μεν א^{2} A D^{2} K L P Ψ 33 81 104 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 2464 *Byz* hark; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**

Romans 2:16

- δια Χριστου Ιησου (א*^{vid} *omits* δια) B **NEB Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- δια Ιησου Χριστου א^{1} A D ($D^{apud\ UBS4}$ 1852$^{apud\ UBS4}$ a b d m δια Ιησου Χριστου του κυριους ημων) K L Ψ 33 81$^{apud\ NA27,Soden}$ 104 630 1175 1505 1506$^{apud\ NA27}$1739 2462 *Byz* (a b d m vg) pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Romans 3:2

- πρωτον μεν γαρ οτι א A D^{2} K L 33 104 630 1175 1505 2464^{c} *Byz* hark sa; **HF Merk Soden Tisch (UBS Vogels$^{apud\ Bover}$ WH [γαρ])**
- πρωτον μεν οτι B D* G Ψ 81 256 263 365 436 1319 1506 2127 2464* a b d vg pesh arm; **Bover Lach NEB RV Treg Weiss**
- πρωτοι γαρ 6 424^{c} 1739 1908^{marg}
- πρωτον γαρ οτι 1881

Romans 3:4

- και νικησεις א A D K 81 2464; **HF^{marg} (NEB) Tisch UBS WH**
- και νικησης B G L Ψ 223 365 876 1022 1175 1505 1739 1799 1881 2412; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Merk (RV) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss**

Romans 3:7

- ει δε η αλεθεια א A 81 256 263 365 1319* 1506 1799 1852 2127 bo; **Merk NEB RV^{txt} Tisch UBS WH^{txt}**
- ει γαρ η αλεθεια B D G K L P Ψ 6 33 81 104 436 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 1962 2464 *Byz* a b d m pesh hark sa; **Bover HF Lach RV^{marg} Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Romans 3:12A

- ο ποιων א D 81 326; **Bover Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ποιων A B G K L P Ψ 33 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**

Romans 3:12B

- ουκ εστιν εως ενος א A D G K L P Ψ 33 81 104 256 263 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1506 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* a b d m vg hark sa bo arm geo; **Bover HF Lach NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg [UBS] Vogels WH^{txt}**
- εως ενος B 6 424^{c} 1739; **Merk Weiss WH^{marg}**

Romans 3:22

- εις παντας P^{40} א* A B C P Ψ 6 81 104 263 424^{c} 630 1506 1739 1881 1908* 2464 pal sa bo arm; **Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- εις παντας και επι παντας א^{2} D F G K L 33 223 256 365 1022 1175 1319 1505 1799 1962 2127 2412 *Byz* a b d cav ful pesh hark geo; **Bover HF RV^{marg} (Soden εις παντας [και επι παντασ]) Vogels Weiss**
- επι παντας am bam leg reg sangall sanger val

Romans 3:25

- δια της πιστεως $P^{40\text{-vid}}$ B C^{3} D^{2} K L P Ψ 33 81 223 263 630 876 1022 1175 2412 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF RV Soden (UBS [τησ]) Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- δια πιστεως א C* D* F G 0219^{vid} 6 $104^{apud\ UBS4,Tisch,Soden}$ 256 365 424^{c} 1319 1505 1506 1739 1881 1962; **Lach Merk NEB Tisch Treg WH^{txt}**
- *omit* A 2127

Romans 4:8

- ανηρ ου ου א* B D* G 424^{c} 1506 1739; **Bover Merk NEB Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- ανηρ ω ου א^{2} A C D^{2} F K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Romans 4:9

- ελογισθη א B D* 630 1739 1881 1908; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- οτι ελογισθη A C D^{c} F G K L Ψ 33 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 1507 2464 *Byz*; **HF [Lach] Merk RV Soden Vogels**

Romans 4:11A

- και αυτοις א^{2} C D F G K L P 104 256 365 436 1175 1241 1319 1962 2127 *Byz* d f m am ful harl pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk [Soden] [UBS] [Vogels]**
- αυτοις א* A B Ψ 6 81 424^{c} 630 1506 1739 1799 1881 2464 dem tol bo; **NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Romans 4:11B

- την δικαιοσυνην B C* D^{2} F G K L P Ψ 33 81 104 630 1175 1241 1505 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB (RV) Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- δικαιοσυνην א C^{2} D* 6 256 330 365 424^{c} 436 1506 1739 arm; **Tisch**
- εις δικαιοσυνην A 424* 1881;

Romans 4:19

- ηδη νενεκρωμενον א A C D K L Ψ 33 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 1506 2464 *Byz* m hark** bo arm geo^{2}; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk RV^{txt} Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels [WH]**
- νενεκρωμενον B F G 630 1739 1881 1908 a b d f am dem harl pesh sa geo^{1} eth; **NEB RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss**

Romans 7:17

- η οικουσα A C D F G K L P Ψ 33 81 104 1175 1505 1506 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* a b d f; **Bover Lach Merk RV Treg UBS Vogels**
- η ενοικουσα א B; **HF (NEB) (Soden [εν]οικουσα) Tisch Weiss WH**

Romans 7:25

- χαρις δε τω θεου א[1] Ψ 33 81 88 104 256 365 436 1319 1506 1852 2127 bo arm geo[1]; **RV[marg] UBS Vogels (WH[txt] [δε])**
- χαρις τω θεου B sa?; **Bover Lach Merk NEB Tisch Treg Weiss**
- η χαρις του θεου D 51 a b d m vg
- η χαρις κυριου F G f
- ευχαριστω τω θεω א* A K L P 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 1962 2464 *Byz* pesh hark geo[2]; **HF RV[txt] Soden WH[marg]**

Romans 8:2

- ηλευθερωσεν σε א B F G 1506* 1739* a b f pesh geo[1]pesh; **Bover NEB Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ηλευθερωσεν με A D K L P 6 81 104[(non apud Soden)] 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1506[c] 1739[c] 1881 1962 2127 2464[vid] *Byz* d m vg hark sa arm geo[2] slav;**HF Lach Merk RV Soden Treg Vogels**
- ηλευθερωσεν ημας Ψ pal bo eth

Romans 8:11

- εγειρας Χριστον εκ νεκρον B D[2] F G m sa; **Treg UBS**
- εγειρας εκ νεκρον Χριστον Ιησουν א* A (C 81 εγειρας εκ νεκρον Ιησουν Χριστον) 630 1506 1739 1881 1908; **(Merk [Ιησουν]) (NEB) Tisch WH**
- εγειρας Χριστον Ιησουν εκ νεκρον D* (104 a b f vg pesh εγειρας Ιησουν Χριστον εκ νεκρον) 441? d bo; **Bover (Lach Vogels [Ιησουν]) (RV)**
- εγειρας τον Χριστον εκ νεκρον א[2] K L P Ψ 33 1175 1241 1505 2464 *Byz*; **HF Weiss**
- εγειρας εκ νεκρον Χριστον; **Soden(!)**

Romans 8:14

- υιοι θεου εισιν א A C D 5 81 88 326 436 630 1506 1739 1908 a b ful karl; **Bover Soden UBS WH**
- υιοι εισιν θεου B F G m am bam dem leg reg sang val; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss**
- εισιν υιοι θεου K L P Ψ 33 104 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz* cav harl tol; **HF (RV) Vogels**

Romans 8:20

- εφ ελπιδι P46 א B* D* F G Ψ; **Bover Tisch UBS WH**
- επ ελπιδι P^{27} A B^{2} C D^{2} K L P 33 81 104 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss**

Romans 9:27

- το υπολειμμα σωθησεται א* A B 81 1739^{c}; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- το καταλειμμα σωθησεται P^{46} $א^{1}$ D F G K L P Ψ 33 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 1739* 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Vogels**

Romans 10:3

- την ιδιαν δικαιοσυνην P^{46} א (F δικαιοσυνησ) G K L P Ψ 33 104 1175 1241 1505 (1799 την δικαιοσυνην) 2464 *Byz* (b) d* f goth; **Bover HF Tisch [UBS]**
- την ιδιαν A B D P 81 365 629 630 1506 1739 1881 1908^{txt} a d^{c} vg sa bo arm; **Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Romans 10:5

- την δικαιοσυνην την εκ του νομου οτι ο ποιησας αυτα P^{46} D^{2} F G K L P 104 365 (876 την δικαιοσυνην αυτου την...) 1175 1241 1505 2464 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF (Lach [αυτα]) (UBS [του]) Vogels**[apud NA27] **Weiss**
- οτι την δικαιοσυνην την εκ νομου ο ποιησας א*; **RV Tisch WH**
- οτι την δικαιοσυνην την εκ του νομου ο ποιησας 81 424^{c} 630 1506 1739; **Soden**
- οτι την δικαιοσυνην την εκ πιστεως ο ποιησας A
- οτι την δικαιοσυνην την εκ του νομου ο ποιησας αυτα (33* ...ποιησας ταυτα) 1881
- οτι την δικαιοσυνην της εκ του νομου ο ποιησας D*
- την δικαιοσυνην την εκ νομου οτι ο ποιησας αυτα $א^{2}$ B Ψ 945; **Merk Treg**
- την δικαιοσυνην την εκ νομου οτι ο ποιησασ; **(NEB)**

Romans 10:20

- ευρεθην εν τοις εμε P^{46} B D* F G 1506^{vid} a b d f reg; **Bover [Lach] [Treg] [UBS] Weiss WH**[marg]
- ευρεθην τοις εμε א A C D^{1} L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* am bam cav ful leg sanger val; **Merk HF (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch Vogels WH**[txt]

Romans 11:17

- συγκοινωνος της ριζης א* B C Ψ 623* 1175 1506 1912 2464[apud UBS4] b; **NEB RV**[txt] **(Tisch etc. συνκοινωνοσ) UBS Weiss WH**
- συγκοινωνος της ριζης και $א^{2}$ A D^{2} L P 6 33 81 104 256 365 436 630 (876 κοινωνος της ριζης και) 1241 1319 1506 1739 1881 1962 2127 2464[apud NA27] *Byz* a vg pesh hark arm geo slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV**[marg] **Soden [Treg] Vogels**
- συγκοινωνος P^{46} D* F G d f

Romans 11:20

- μη υψηλα φρονει P^{46} א A^{vid} B 81; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- μη υψηλοφρονει C D F G L P Ψ 33 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels**

Romans 11:21

- μη πως ουδε P^{46} D F G L Ψ 33 104 1175 1241 1505 1962 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark arm; **(Bover etc.** μηπωσ**) HF [Soden] UBS [Vogels] Weiss**
- ουδε א A B C P 6 81 256 365 424^{c} 436 441 630 1319 1506 1739 1852 1881 1908^{txt} 2127 sa bo fay; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg WH**

Romans 11:22

- επιμενης א B D* Ψ 81 630 1739^{c}; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- επιμεινης $P^{46\text{-vid}}$ A C D^{2} F G L 33 104 365 1175 1241 1505 1506 1739* 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Romans 11:23

- επιμενωσιν א* B D* Ψ 81 330* 1739 1881 2464; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- επιμεινωσιν $א^{2}$ A C D^{2} F G L 33 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 *Byz*; **(HF etc.** επιμεινωσι**) Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels**

Romans 12:1

- ευαρεστον τω θεω (P^{46} ευαρεστον θεω) $א^{2}$ B D F G L Ψ 33 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 (1881 ευαρεστον τω κυριω) *Byz* d f; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss** WH^{marg}
- τω θεω ευαρεστον א* A P 81 1506 a b vg; **(NEB) Soden Tisch** WH^{txt}

Romans 12:15

- κλαιειν P^{46} א B D* F G 6 424 1505 1739 1881 1908 a b d f vg hark arm; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS** WH^{txt}
- και κλαιειν A D^{2} L P 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1506 *Byz* pesh; **HF Soden Tisch [Vogels] Weiss** WH^{marg}

Romans 14:5

- ος μεν γαρ א* A P 0150 104 256 326 365 1319 1506 2127 a b d f vg goth; **[Lach] Merk Soden Tisch [UBS] [Vogels] [WH]**
- ος μεν P^{46} $א^{c}$ B D F G L Ψ 6 33 81 436 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 1962 *Byz* pesh hark arm geo; **Bover HF (NEB) RV Treg Weiss**

Romans 14:19

- διωκωμεν C D Ψ 33 81 104 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1506 1739 1881 1962 2127 *Byz* a b d f r gue vg; **Bover HF Lach$^{ed.\ mai}$ Merk NEB RV^{txt} Soden Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- διωκομεν א A B F G L P 048 0150 0209 6 263 326 629 1799; **Lach$^{ed.\ min}$ RV^{marg} Tisch Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Romans 14:21

- omit η σκανδαλιζεται η ασθενει א* A C 048 6 81 424^{c} 945 1506 1739 1852 r pesh bo geo^{1}; **NEB RV^{txt} Tisch UBS Vogels WH**
- add η σκανδαλιζεται η ασθενει P^{46-vid} א^{2} B D F G L P Ψ 0209 33 104 256 365 436 630 (876) 1175 (1241) 1319 1505 1881 1962 2127 *Byz* a b d f vg hark sa arm geo^{2}; **Bover HF Lach [Merk] RV^{marg} [Soden] Treg Weiss**

Romans 15:15

- υπο του θεου P$^{46\ apud\ NA27}$ א^{2} A C D G L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1506? 1739 1881 2462 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk Soden UBS Vogels**
- απο του θεου א* B F 635; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Romans 15:17

- εχω ουν την B C^{vid} D F G 69 81 365 623 1319 1852; **Bover Lach Merk RV Tisch Treg (UBS WH [την]) Weiss**
- εχω ουν א A L P Ψ 33 104 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 1739 1881 *Byz*; **HF NEB Soden Vogels**
- ην εχω P^{46}

Romans 15:23

- πολλων ετων P^{46} א A D (F) G L P Ψ 33 104 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach NEB RV Tisch UBS**
- ικανων ετων B C P 69 81 326 365 1175 1506 1912; **Merk Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Romans 16:1

- και διακονον P^{46} א^{2} B C* 81 bo 1908; **Bover [Soden] [UBS] Weiss [WH]**
- διακονον א* A C^{2} D F G L P Ψ 33 104 365 630 1175 1505 1506 1739 1881 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Vogels**

Romans 16:7

- γεγοναν (P^{46} γεγονεν) א A B 630 1739 1881; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- γεγονασιν C L P Ψ 33 81 104 1175 1319 *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Vogels**
- *omit* D F G

Romans 16:17

- εκκλινετε א* B C Ψ 6 69 424^{c} 630 1505 1611 1739 1881 2464; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εκκλινατε P^{46} א^{2} A D F G L P 33 81 104 365 1175 1241 1506? *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels**

Romans 16:19

- σοφους ειναι P^{46} B D F G L Ψ 6 365 1319 1505 1611 1852 a b d f vg arm; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss**
- σοφους μεν ειναι א A C P 33 81 104 630 1175 1241 1506 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* hark; **HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels [WH]**

Romans 16:20

- Ιησου μεθ υμων P^{46} א B 1881; **NEB^{txt} Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- Ιησου Χριστου μεθ υμων A C L P Ψ 6 33 81 104 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1506 1739 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* a b d^{c} am dem ful harl tol pesh hark sa bo arm geo; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV^{txt} Soden [Treg] Vogels WH^{marg}**
- *omit* Η χαρισ... μεθ υμων D*^{vid} F G d* f m; **NEB^{marg} RV^{marg}**

1 Corinthians

1 Corinthians 1:1

- χριστου ιησου P^{46} B D F G 33 69 a d f m am cav ful tol ulm sa geo^{1} eth; **Bover Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ιησου χριστου א A L P Ψ 0150 6 81 104 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1506 1739 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* b reg pesh hark bo arm geo^{2}; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**

1 Corinthians 1:14

- ευχαριστω τω θεω $א^{2}$ C D F G L P Ψ 0150 104 365 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1506 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* b d f am cav leg tol; **Bover HF Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt}[Soden] Treg UBS Vogels WH^{marg}**
- ευχαριστω א* B 6 424^{c} 1739; **RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ευχαριστω τω θεω μου A 33 81 326 436 a ful reg mon pesh hark** arm

1 Corinthians 2:1

- μυστηριον P^{46vid} א* A C 436 1912 a r pesh bo; **Bover NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} UBS WH^{txt}**
- μαρτυριον $א^{2}$ B C D F G L P Ψ 0150 6 33 81 104 256 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1506 1739 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* b vg hark sa arm; **HF Lach Merk NEB^{txt}RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

1 Corinthians 2:15

- ανακρινει τα παντα P^{46} A C D*; **Bover (Lach UBS Weiss WH^{marg} [τα])**
- ανακρινει μεν παντα $א^{1}$ B D^{2} L Ψ 0150 104 1175 1241 1505 1506 1881 1962 2464 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden (Treg [μεν]) Vogels WH^{txt}**
- ανακρινει παντα F G; **Tisch**
- ανακρινει μεν τα παντα P 6 33 81 256 365 424^{c} 630 1319 1739 1912 2127
- *omit -- h.t. error* א*

1 Corinthians 3:12

- χρυσον αργυρον A D P L Ψ 33 81 104 365 1241 1881 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg; **Bover HF Lach Soden UBS**
- χρυσον και αργυρον P^{46}
- χρυσιον αργυριον א C^{vid} 623 630 1175 1506 1739; **Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- χρυσιον και αργυριον B 0289^{vid} (pesh?); **WH^{marg}**

1 Corinthians 4:11

- και γυμνιτευομεν א A^{c} B(* γυμνειτευομεν) C D(* γυμνειτευομεν) F G P Ψ 0289 630 1881^{c} 2464; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και γυμνητευομεν P^{46} L 33 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881*^{vid} *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Vogels**
- *omit* A

1 Corinthians 4:17(B)

- Χριστω Ιησου P^{46} א C D^{1} 6 33 81 104 326 436 623 629 630 1175 1505 1739 1881 1962 1962 2464 a ful reg val hark bo arm geo^{1}; **Bover Lach Soden Tisch (UBS WH [Ιησου])**
- Χριστω A B D^{2} L P Ψ 0150 256 365 1241 1319 2127 *Byz* b am cav leg pesh sa geo^{2}; **HF Merk (NEB) RV Treg Vogels Weiss**
- κυριω Ιησου D* F G d

1 Corinthians 5:4

- ονοματι του κυριου ημων Ιησου B D* 1175 1739 b d; **(Lach Vogels WH [ημων]) Merk RV Treg UBS**
- ονοματι του κυριου Ιησου A Ψ 1505 1611 1852; **NEB Tisch Weiss**
- ονοματι του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου P^{46} D^{2} F G L P 0150 6 33 (81 Ιησου Χριστου του κυριου ημων) 104 256 365 630 1241 1319 1505 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* f am ful tol pesh hark** sa bo arm geo^{2}; **Bover HF Soden**
- ονοματι του κυριου Ιησου Χριστω א a cav geo^{1}

1 Corinthians 5:5

- κυριου P^{46} B 630 1739 2200; **NEB RV^{marg} UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- κυριου Ιησου P^{61vid} א (D b d κυριου Ιησου Χριστου) L Ψ 6 81 1175 1505 2464 *Byz* am cav leg reg; **Bover HF [Merk] RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου A F G P 0150 33 104 365 436 1241^{supp} 1319 1881 1962 2127 b f bam ful val pesh hark** sa bo arm geo slav

1 Corinthians 6:11

- κυριου Ιησου Χριστου P^{11vid} P^{46} א D* d; **RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss**
- κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου B C^{vid} P 33 81 104 256 365 436 629 630 1319 1739 1881 1912 1962 2127 2464 a b f r pesh hark** bo arm eth geo^{1}; **Bover (Lach Merk Vogels WH [ημων]) Soden**
- κυριου Ιησου A D^{2} L Ψ 0150 1241^{supp} 1505 1852 *Byz* sa geo^{2}; **HF NEB**

1 Corinthians 7:9

- γαμησαι P^{46} $א^{2}$ B C^{2} D F G K L P Ψ 104 365 630 1175 1241 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Treg UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- γαμειν א* A C* 33 81 945 1505; **Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{txt}**

1 Corinthians 7:13

- γυνη ει τις P^{46} א D* F G P 256 1319 1505 a b d f vg sa; **Bover HF^{marg} Tisch UBS**
- γυνη ητις A B D^{2} K L Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* hark bo; **Lach HF^{txt} Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

1 Corinthians 7:15

- υμας ο θεος א* A C K 81 181 326 1175 2127 bo; **NEB RV^{marg} Soden Tisch UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- ημας ο θεος P^{46} $א^{2}$ B D F G L P Ψ 6 33 104 256 365 436 630 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark sa arm geo; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV^{txt} Treg Weiss WH^{marg}**

1 Corinthians 9:9

- ου κημωσεις B* D* F G 1739; **NEB Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ου φιμωσεις P^{46} א A B^{2} C D^{1} K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden Vogels WH^{txt}**

1 Corinthians 9:22

- ασθενεσιν P^{46} א* A B 1611 1739 d am ful; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ασθενεσιν ως א^{2} C D F G K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz* pesh hark sa bo; **HF [Lach] [Merk] [Soden] [Vogels]**

1 Corinthians 10:8

- επεσαν P^{46} א* B D* F G a b d f; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- επεσαν εν א^{2} A C D^{1} K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **(HF επεσον) Merk (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

1 Corinthians 10:9(B)

- επειρασαν A B D^{2} K L Ψ 1251 1505 *Byz*; **HF Lach (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εξεπειρασαν (P^{46} εξεπειρασεν) א C D* F G P 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1739 1881 2464; **Bover Merk Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**

1 Corinthians 10:9(C)

- απωλλυντο (P^{46} απωλυντο) א A B 81; **Bover (NEB) RV(!) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- απωλοντο C D F G K L P Ψ 33 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 (1881 απωλλοντο) 2464 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk Soden Vogels**

1 Corinthians 10:11

- ταυτα δε A B 33 630 1175 1739 1881 2464 sa geo^{1}; **NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ταυτα δε παντα C K L P Ψ 0150 6 104 256 365 436 1241 1319 1505 2127 *Byz* a b d vg pesh hark; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk Soden Vogels**
- παντα δε ταυτα א D F G 81 f

1 Corinthians 10:18

- ουχ א* A C D* F G 33 630 1241 1739 2464; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ουχι P^{46} א^{2} B D^{1} K L P Ψ 81 104 365 1175 1505 1881 *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

1 Corinthians 10:20

- α θυουσιν B D F G; **Lach NEB Tisch UBS Weiss**
- α θυουσιν τα εθνη $P^{46\text{-vid}}$ א A C P Ψ 6 33^{vid} 81 104 256 365 630 1175 1319 1505 1611 1739 2127 2464; **Bover Merk Soden Treg (WH [τα εθνη])**
- α θυει τα εθνη K L 6 436 1881 *Byz*; **HF RV Vogels**

1 Corinthians 11:17

- παραγγελλων ουκ επαινω א D^{2} F G K L P Ψ 630 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz* a d; **HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch UBS Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$ Weiss WH^{txt}**
- παραγγελλω ουκ επαινων A C 6 33 104 326 365 1175 1739 f vg; **Bover Lach Soden Treg WH^{marg}**
- παραγγελλων ουκ επαινων B
- παραγγελλω ουκ επαινω D* 81 b

1 Corinthians 11:19

- ινα και P^{46} B D* 6 33 630 1175 1739 1881 am sa; **Bover [Lach] Merk Treg [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- ινα א A C D^{2} F G K L P Ψ 81 104 1241 1505 2464 *Byz* b cav ful tol pesh hark; **HF (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch**

1 Corinthians 12:9

- ετερω א* B D* F G 6 1739 a b d f vg pesh; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ετερω δε P^{46} א^{2} A D^{2} K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1881 2127 2464 *Byz* hark; **HF [Lach] Merk Soden Vogels**

1 Corinthians 12:10

- δε προφητεια αλλω δε א A C K L P Ψ 33^{vid} 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 2464 *Byz* pesh hark; **Bover HF RV (UBS WH [δε]...[δε])**
- προφητεια αλλω P^{46} B D F G 0201 6 630 1739 (1881 δε...*omit)* a b d f vg; **Lach Merk Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- προφητεια αλλω δε arm?; **NEB(!) Weiss**

1 Corinthians 12:26

- δοξαζεται εν μελος א^{2} C D F G K L Ψ 0285 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk [Soden] [UBS] Vogels**
- δοξαζεται μελος P^{46} א* A B 1739; **(NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

1 Corinthians 13:4

- η αγαπη ου περπερευεται (P$^{<46}$ ου περπερευεται η αγαπη) א A C D F G K L Ψ 048 0150 81 630 1241 1505 1739 1881 *Byz* d pesh hark geo^{2} slav; **HF Merk NEB RV (Lach Soden Treg? UBS [η αγαπη]) Tisch Vogels Weiss**
- ου περπερευεται B 33 88 104 256 436 623 629 1175 1319 1962 2127 2464 a f vg sa arm geo^{1}; **Bover WH**

1 Corinthians 13:11

- οτε γεγονα א* A B D* 048 0243 6 1739 a d am bam cav tol val; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS WH Weiss**
- οτε δε γεγονα א^{2} D^{2} F G K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz* b f (ful) leg pesh hark; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**

1 Corinthians 14:2

- αλλα θεω P^{46} א* B D* F G P 6 630 1739; **Bover Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αλλα τω θεω א^{2} A D^{2} K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**

1 Corinthians 14:6

- εν διδαχη א^{2} A B D^{1} K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 2464 *Byz* a b am cav ful reg tol; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden [Treg] [UBS] Vogels WH**
- διδαχη P^{46} א* D* F G 0243 630 1739 1881 bam leg val; **Bover Tisch Weiss**

1 Corinthians 14:16

- εν πνευματι א^{2} B D^{supp} P 81 365 1175; **Bover (NEB) (RV) Soden (UBS WH [εν]) Weiss**
- πνευματι P^{46} א* A F G 0243 33 629 1241^{supp} 1881; **Lach Merk Tisch Treg Vogels**
- τω πνευματι K L Ψ 104 630 1505 1739 2464 *Byz*; **HF**

1 Corinthians 14:18

- γλωσσαις B K L P Ψ 0243 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- γλωσση א A D^{supp} F G 0289 33 a b d f vg bo arm; **Bover Lach Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

1 Corinthians 14:35

- μαθειν P^{46} א^{2} B (D F G 88 (a b d f reg) rearrange vv. 33, 36-40, 34-35) K L Ψ 630 1175 1739 1881 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- μανθανειν א* A(* *illegible)* 6 33 81 104 365 623 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1611 1912 2127 2464; **Merk Soden WH^{txt}**

1 Corinthians 14:38

- αγνοειται א* A*^{vid} D(* αγνοειτε) (F G ηγνοειται) 048 0243 6 33 424^{c} 1739 b d sa bo; **Lach Merk NEB RV^{marg} Tisch UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- αγνοειτω P^{46} א^{2} A^{c} B D^{2} K L Ψ 81 104 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* pesh hark arm geo; **Bover HF RV^{txt} Soden Treg Weiss WH^{marg}**

1 Corinthians 15:6

- τινες δε P^{46} א* A* B D* F G 0243 6 630 1739 1881 a b d f vg hark^{marg} arm; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- τινες δε και א^{2} A^{c} D^{2} K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 2464 *Byz*; **HF [Merk] [Soden] Vogels**

1 Corinthians 15:10

- η συν εμοι (P^{46} η εις εμε) א^{2} A D^{1} K L P Ψ 0279^{c} 33 81 104 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1881 1912 1962 2127 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden [UBS] Vogels WH^{txt}**
- συν εμοι א* B D* F G 0243 0270* 6 1739 a b d f vg; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**

1 Corinthians 15:14

- αρα και א* A D F G K P 33 69 81 326 436 1241^{supp} al; **Bover HF^{marg} [Lach] [Soden] Tisch [UBS] Vogels WH^{marg}**
- αρα P^{46} א^{2} B L Ψ 0243 104 365 1175 1505 1739 1881 2464 pm a b d pesh hark; **HF^{txt} Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**

1 Corinthians 15:28

- θεος τα παντα א D^{2} F G K L P 104 365 630 1175 1505 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk [Soden] Tisch [UBS] Vogels**
- θεος παντα A B D* 0243 6 33 81 1241^{supp} 1739 arm; **Lach (NEB) RV Treg Weiss WH**

1 Corinthians 15:49

- φορεσομεν B I 0150 6 88 181 206 630 945^{marg} 1518 1852^{vid} 1881 sa; **Bover Merk NEB RV^{txt} UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- φορεσωμεν (P^{46} φορεσωμεν δη) א A C D F G K L P Ψ 075 0243 33 81 104 256 365 424 436 1175 1241 1319 1505 1739 1912 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* a b d f g bo; **HF Lach RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**

1 Corinthians 15:51

- λεγω παντες P^{46} B C* D* 0243* 1739 b arm; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- λεγω παντες μεν א (A λεγω οι παντες μεν) C^{2} D^{2} F G K L P Ψ 075 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz* a f vg hark; **HF [Lach] Merk Soden Vogels**

2 Corinthians

2 Corinthians 1:8

- υπερ της θλιψεως P^{46vid} B K L Ψ 0121 0243 630 1241 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- περι της θλιψεως א A C D F G P 0209 33 81 104 365 1175 1319 1505 1611 2127; **Bover Lach RV Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

2 Corinthians 1:12

- και ουκ εν σοφια P^{46} B 0121 0243 6 33 69 88 206 630 1175 1739 1881 1912 2464 a f vg pesh hark; **Bover Soden [UBS] [WH]**
- ουκ εν σοφια א A C D F G K L P Ψ 81 104 365 1241 1505 *Byz* b d; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss**

2 Corinthians 2:1

- εκρινα γαρ P^{46} B 0223 0243 33 69 630 1175 1505 1611 1739 1881 1962 2200 r hark pal; **Bover RV^{marg} UBS WH^{txt}**
- εκρινα δε א A C D(* τε) F G K L P Ψ 075^{supp} 0150 0285 6 81 104 256 365 436 1241 1319 1912 2127 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh arm; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

2 Corinthians 3:9

- τη διακονια P^{46} א A C D* F G Ψ 0243 6 33 104 326 436 630 1175 1739 b d pesh hark; **Bover Lach RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- η διακονια B D^{2} K L P 075 0150 256 365 1241 1881 1962 2127 *Byz* a f; **HF Merk NEB RV^{txt} Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- διακονια 81 629* 1505 2464;

2 Corinthians 4:5

- Ιησουν Χριστον κυριον P^{46} א A C D (F G κυριον Ιησουν Χριστον) (P *omits* κυριον) 81 326 629 1505 1611 d f vg hark; **Bover Lach UBS WH^{marg}**
- Χριστον Ιησουν κυριον B H K L Ψ 0186 0209 0243 33 104 365 630 1175 1241 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* a b pesh; **HF Merk NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

2 Corinthians 4:6

- προσωπω Ιησου Χριστου P^{46} א C H K L P Ψ 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 1739^{c} 2464 *Byz* t pesh hark; **HF (Merk UBS [Ιησου]) RV Soden Vogels**
- προσωπω Χριστου A B 33; **Lach NEB Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- προσωπω Χριστου Ιησου (P^{46} apud Bover) D F G 0243 630 1739* 1881 a b d f am ful; **Bover**

2 Corinthians 8:7

- εξ ημων εν υμιν P^{46} B 0243 6 104 436 630 1175 1739 1881 1962 1962 r pesh sa bo; **Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Soden UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εξ υμων εν ημιν א C D F G K L P Ψ (33 εξ ημων εις υμασ) 81 256 365 1241 1319 1505 2127 *Byz* a b d f vg hark; **Bover HF Lach NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Tisch Treg Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$ WH^{marg}**
- εξ υμων εν υμιν 326 629 2464
- εξ ημων εν ημιν 263

2 Corinthians 8:19

- συν τη χαριτι P^{46} א D F G K L Ψ 1241 1505 *Byz* a b r; **Bover HF Tisch UBS**
- εν τη χαριτι B C P 0225 0243 6 33 69 81 88 104 365 630 1175 1319 1739 1881 1912 2127 2464 f vg sa bo; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

2 Corinthians 8:24

- ενδεικνυμενοι B D* F G 33 181 b d ρ am bam reg val; **Lach Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ενδειξασθε א C D^{2} K L P Ψ 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 244 *Byz* a ful cav leg; **Bover HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{txt}**

2 Corinthians 9:2

- και το υμων P^{36} א B 33 1175; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- και ο υμων C P 0243 6 81 326 630 1739 1881; **Bover Lach RV Soden Vogels**
- και ο εξ υμων D F G K L Ψ 104 365 1241 1505 2464 *Byz*; **HF**

2 Corinthians 11:3A

- απλοτητος και της αγνοτητος P^{46} א* B D(* d αγνοτητος και της απλοτητοσ) F G 33 81 88 104 206 (326) 330 451 1962 2492 a r t colb hark** sa bo goth; **Bover Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- απλοτητος א^{2} H K L P Ψ 075 0121 0243 6 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 2127 2464 *Byz* (b) f* am ful pesh arm geo; **HF NEB^{txt} Tisch**

2 Corinthians 11:3B

- τον Χριστον P^{46} B D H K L P Ψ 33 81 104 1241 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) [Soden] Treg UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- Χριστον א FG 0121 0243 88 256 365 630 1175 1319 1505 1611 1739 1881 2127; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH^{marg}**

2 Corinthians 11:4

- ανεχεσθε P^{46} B D* 33 206 r sa; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ανειχεσθε P^{34} א D^{2} F G H K L P (Ψ *al* **HF^{marg}** ηνειχεσθε) 0121 0243 0278 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark; **HF^{txt} Merk Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

2 Corinthians 11:18

- κατα σαρκα P^{46} א* D* F G H 098 0278 33 81 88 104 256 365 629 1175 1319 1505 1611 1739* 1881* 2127; **(NEB) Tisch Treg UBS**
- κατα την σαρκα א^{2} B D^{2} K L P Ψ 0121 630 1241 1739^{c} 1881^{c} 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) [Soden] [Vogels] Weiss WH**

2 Corinthians 11:27

- κοπω א^{2} H K L P 0121 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz* a b vg; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εν κοπω P^{46} א* B D F G Ψ 0243 1739; **HF Merk [Soden] Vogels**

2 Corinthians 11:32

- πιασαι με B D* a b d f vg sa; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πιασαι με θελων א D^{2} K L P Ψ 0121 0150 0243 0278^{vid} 6 33 81 104 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- θελων πιασαι με F G 1739 hark

2 Corinthians 12:5

- ασθενειαις P^{46} B D* 0243 0278 6 33 1175 1739 pesh hark sa bo arm; **Bover Lach NEB RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ασθενειαις μου א D^{2} F G K L P Ψ 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz* a b vg; **HF [Merk] Soden Tisch Vogels**

2 Corinthians 12:10

- και στενοχωριαις P^{46} א* B 104 326 1175; **Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εν στενοχωριαις א^{2} A D F G K L P Ψ 33 81 365 1241 1505 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach RV Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- και εν στενοχωριαις 0243 0278 630 1739 1881;

2 Corinthians 12:15

- αγαπων P^{46} א^{2} B D (F G) K L P Ψ 075 0243 6 81 104^{c} 256 365 436 630 1175 1319 1505 1739 1881 1912 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* a b d f r vg; **Bover HF Soden Lach Treg (UBS αγαπω[ν]) Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- αγαπω א* A 0150 33 104* 1241 1505; **Merk (NEB) RV Tisch WH^{txt}**

2 Corinthians 13:5A

- Ιησους Χριστος B D K L Ψ 33 81 104 1505 *Byz* a am ful pesh hark; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- Χριστος Ιησους א A F G P 0243 326 629 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 2464 b r arm; **Bover Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

2 Corinthians 13:5B

- υμιν P^{46} B D* 33 462; **Bover Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- υμιν εστιν א A D^{1} F G K L P Ψ 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF [Lach] Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Vogels**

Galatians

Galatians 1:3

- πατρος ημων και κυριου א A P Ψ 056 0142 33 61 81 256 365 326 365 876 1241^{supp} 1962 2127 2464 a b dem ful leg reg sangall; **Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- πατρος και κυριου ημων P^{46} P^{51vid} B D F G H K L 049 075 0151 6 69 104 223 330 436 462 630 1175 1505 1739 1881 1908 2344 *Byz* d f am bam cav gran karl sanger val sa; **Bover HF Lach NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Tisch Treg (WH^{marg} πατρος και κυριου [ημων])**
- πατρος και κυριου 0150 0278 206 429 1319 1799 1877

Galatians 1:4

- υπερ των αμαρτιων P^{51} א^{1} B H 049 056 0142 0150 0278 6 33 81 88 326 330 365 424^{c} 436 462 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1611 1960 2344 2464; **HF^{marg} Merk (NEB) (RV) UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- περι των αμαρτιων P^{46} א* A D F G K L P Ψ 075 0151 104 223 1739 1799 1881 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

Galatians 1:8

- ευαγγελιζηται υμιν (D*,^{3} ευαγγελιζητε υμασ) D^{2} L 056 6 33 256 263 330 (876) 1319 (1962 ευαγγελιζηται ημιν) 2127 2464 *pm* f; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Merk Treg (UBS [υμιν]) Vogels**
- ευαγγελισηται υμιν א^{2} A 81 (104 ευαγγελισεται ημιν) 326 (1241^{supp} ευαγγελισηται ημιν) d; **RV^{txt} (WH [υμιν])**
- ευαγγελισηται א* b g; **RV^{marg} Tisch**
- ευαγγελιζηται F G Ψ (0150 1912 ευαγγελιζεται) a
- υμιν ευαγγελιζηται P^{51vid} B H 630 1175 1739(*^{vid} ημιν ευαγγελιζηται) 2200 slav; **Soden Weiss**
- ευαγγελιζεται υμιν K P 049 075 0142 0151 (0278 υμιν ευαγγελιζεται) 223 365 436 462 614 1022 1505 (1799) 1881 2344 2412 *pm* arm geo; **HF^{txt}**
- υμας ευαγγελιζεται (!) **NEB**

Galatians 1:15

- ευδοκησεν ο θεος א (A 075 al ηυδοκησεν ο θεοσ) D K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0151 0278 33 81 104 256 263 330 365 436 462 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1739 1881 1962 2127 2344 2464 *Byz* d hark** sa bo arm geo; **HF [Lach] NEB RV Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels [WH]**
- ευδοκησεν P^{46} B F G 0150 629 1505 1611 a b f vg pesh; **Bover Merk Tisch Weiss**

Galatians 2:6

- ο θεος P^{46} א A P Ψ 0278 33 81 88 104 330 365 442 614 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1912 2127; **Bover Merk (NEB) Soden Tisch [UBS] [WH]**
- θεος B C D F G K L 049 (056 0142) 075 0150 0151 436 462 630 1739 1881 2344 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss**

Galatians 3:21

- εκ νομου αν ην A C 81 1241^{supp} 2464; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss**
- εκ νομου ην αν א Ψ^{c} 0278 33 104 365 436 630 1175 1739 1912; **Bover Soden Tisch Vogels (WH εκ νομου ην [αν])**
- εν νομω αν ην B; **WH^{txt}**
- εν νομω ην αν P^{46}
- εκ νομου ην D* 1881
- εκ νομου F G d
- αν εκ νομου ην D^{2} K L P 049 056 075 0142 0151 0176^{vid} *Byz*; **HF (RV)**
- εκ νομου αν Ψ* 0150 (330 εκ νομου ων) 1799

Galatians 4:19

- τεκνα א* B D* F G d 062 323 1739; **Merk Lach Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- τεκνια א^{2} A C D^{1} Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 330 365 436 630 1881 2344 2464 *Byz* vg; **Bover HF (NEB) (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{txt}**

Galatians 4:25

- δε αγαρ σινα A B D 0278 69 256 323 330 365 436 442 1175 1319 1962 2127 2464 hark^{marg}; **RV^{txt} UBS Weiss WH**
- γαρ σινα א C F G (33*^{apud} **Tisch**) 1241^{supp} 1739 a b f r am ful tol eth geo^{1}; **Bover HF Lach RV^{marg} Tisch Vogels**
- γαρ αγαρ Σινα K L P Ψ 049 056 062 075 0142 0150 0151 6 33($^{c\ apud\ Tisch}$) 81 104 1881 *Byz* pesh hark^{txt} arm geo^{2} slav; **RV^{marg} Soden (Treg [αγαρ]**
- δε σινα P^{46} sa; **Merk NEB RV^{marg}?**
- γαρ αγαρ d
- σινα (61* 2344 *omit* το) goth

Galatians 5:7

- τη αληθεια P^{46} א^{2} C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 (33$^{apud\ NA27}$) 81 104 365 436 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739 1881 2344 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach^{pt} Merk (RV) Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- αληθεια א* A B (33$^{apud\ Bover,Tisch}$; 33*$^{apud\ Merk}$); **Lach^{pt} (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Galatians 5:20A

- ερις א A B D* 056 0142 61 223 326 614 630 876 1505 1611 1739 1881 1950 2005 2412 pesh; **HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ερεις C D^{1} F G K L P Ψ 049 075 0122 0150 0151 0278 81 104 330 365 436 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 2344 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg hark sa bo; **Bover HF^{txt} Soden WH^{marg}**

Galatians 5:20B

- ζηλος B D* P 33 1739 1881 pesh goth; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ζηλοι א C D^{1} (F G ζηλουσ) K L Ψ 049 056 075 0122 0142 0150 0151 0278 81 104 330 365 436 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 2344 2464 *Byz* vg hark sa bo; **Bover HF (RV) Soden WH^{marg}**
- *omit* ζηλοι...αιρεσεις 1799* 1960

Galatians 5:21A

- φθονοι P^{46} א B 33 81 323 442 876 945 2005 ($f^{*apud\ Tisch}$) dem sa; **Merk NEB RV Tisch UBS WH**
- φθονοι φονοι A C D F G K L P Ψ 049 (056 0142 φονοι φθονοι) 075 0122 0150 0151 0278 104 330 365 436 630 1175 1241^{supp} (1319) 1505 1739 1881 2344 2464 *Byz* a b d f am ful tol hark bo **Bover HF [Lach] [Soden] [Treg] [Vogels] Weiss**

Galatians 5:21B

- καθως P^{46} א* B F G 6 1739 1881 a b d f am dem ful sa goth; **(NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- καθως και $א^{1}$ A C D K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 33 81 104 330 (365) 436 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 2344 2464 *Byz* g t tol hark bo; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk [Soden] Vogels WH^{mag}**

Galatians 6:10

- εχομεν P^{46} A B^{2} C D F G K L P Ψ 049 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 81 330 365 436 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739^{supp} 1881 2344 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach NEB RV Soden Treg UBS Weiss**
- εχωμεν א B* 6 33 69 104 326 614 2412; **Merk Tisch Vogels WH**

Galatians 6:17

- του Ιησου P^{46} A B C* 33 629 1241^{supp} f t am cav dem ful reg; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- του κυριου Ιησου C^{3} D^{2} K L 0150 0151 104 330 630 436 1505 (1739 του κυριου μου Ιησου) 1881 2344 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF Soden (Vogels του [κυριου] Ιησου)**
- του κυριου Ιησου Χριστου א D^{1} 056 0142
- του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου D* F G
- του Χριστου P Ψ 075^{supp} 0278 81 365 442 463 1175 1319 1908 2464 bo arm
- του Χριστου Ιησου 1799*
- του κυριου 049

Ephesians

Ephesians 1:1

- Χριστου Ιησου P^{46} B D P 0278 33 330 1505 b am sanger hark; **Bover Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- Ιησου Χριστου א A F G K L Ψ 81 104 365 436 630 1175 1241 1739 1881 2344 2464 *Byz* a f cav dem ful harl leg reg tol arm; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**

Ephesians 1:14

- ο εστιν P^{46} A B F G L (P) 075 6 81 104 256 365 1175 1319 1505 1611 1739 1881 1962 2127 b d pesh; **Bover Lach NEB RV Soden UBS WH^{txt}**
- ος εστιν א D K Ψ 0150 33 223 330 436 630 876 1241 1799 2412 2344 2464 *Byz* a f vg; **HF Merk Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Ephesians 3:9

- φωτισαι παντας P^{46} א^{2} B C D F G K L P Ψ 075 33 81 104 223 256 330 365 436 630 876 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1982 2127 2412 2344 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark sa bo arm geo eth; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk RV^{txt} Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- φωτισαι א* A 0150 6 424^{c} 1739 1881; **NEB RV^{marg} Tisch WH^{txt}**

Ephesians 3:18

- μηκος και υψος και βαθος P^{46} B C D F G I P 0278 33 81 (326 υψος και βαθος και μηκοσ) 330 365 462 1175 2344 d f am ful tol arm; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- βαθος και υψος א A K L P Ψ 104 436 630 1241 (1505 βαθος και μηκος και υψοσ) 1739 1881 *Byz* hark; **HF Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**

Ephesians 4:8

- εδωκεν P^{46} א* A C^{2} D* F G 33 1241^{supp} 1962 2464 a b d f m vg arm; **Lach Merk NEB Tisch UBS Weiss**
- και εδωκεν א^{2} B C*,^{3} D^{2} K L Ψ 075 0150 6 81 104 256 330 365 436 630 1175 1319 1739 1881 2127 2464 *Byz* pesh hark goth; **Bover (HF RV etc.** και εδωκε**) Soden Treg Vogels [WH]**
- *omit* και εδωκεν δοματα τοις ανθρωποις 2344

Ephesians 4:9

- κατεβη εις P^{46} א* A C* D F G I^{vid} 082 6 33 81 424^{c} 442 1241^{supp} 1739 1881 a b d m* am* karl sangall; **Gr Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- κατεβη πρωτων εις א² B C^{3} K L P Ψ 075 0150 104 256 330 365 436 630 1175 1319 1962 2127 2344 2464 *Byz* f m^{c} bam cav dem ful leg reg sanger tol val pesh hark arm geo slav; **Bover HF RV^{marg} [Soden] [Vogels] Weiss WH^{marg}**

Ephesians 4:26

- επι τω παροργισμω א² D F G K L P Ψ 81 104 330 365 436 630 1175 (1022 εν τω παροργισμω) 1241^{supp} 1505 1739^{c} 1771 2344 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- επι παροργισμω P^{49} א* A B 1739*; **Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Ephesians 5:19A

- εν ψαλμοις P^{46} B P 0278 6 33 424^{c} 442 462 1739 2344 a b d am dem ful tol; **Bover [Lach] Merk NEB [Soden] [UBS] Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ψαλμοις א A D F G K L Ψ 81 104 330 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1881 2464 *Byz* f; **HF RV Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**

Ephesians 5:19B

- τη καρδια P^{46} א* B 1739 1881; **RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- εν τη καρδια K L Ψ 0278 33 81 104 436 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 2344 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (Soden Treg [εν] τη καρδια) Vogels**
- εν ταις καρδιαις א² A D F G P 330 365 a b d f vg pesh hark^{marg} sa bo; **NEB**

Ephesians 5:22

- ως τω κυριου P^{46} B; **NEB RV Tisch UBS WH^{txt}**
- υποτασσεσθωσαν ως τω κυριου א A I P (Ψ ως τω κυριου υποτασσεσθωσαν) 0278 6 33 81 104 256 (330) 365 424^{c} 436 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 2464 a b m vg arm; **Bover Lach Merk Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- υποτασσεσθε ως τω κυριου (D F G d ως τω κυριου υποτασσεσθε) K L 075 0150 223 424* 630 1022 1799 1852 1912 (1960 υποτασσεθε ως τω κυριου) 2344 2412 *Byz* hark; **HF**

Ephesians 5:28

- οφειλουσιν και οι ανδρες P^{46} B 33 1175 1505 hark (A D F G P 048^{vid} 0285 629 και οι ανδρες οφειλουσιν); **Bover Merk (NEB) (RV etc.** οφειλουσι και οι ανδρεσ**) (Soden UBS Vogels WH [**και**]) Treg Weiss**
- οφειλουσιν οι ανδρες א K L Ψ 81 104 330 365 436 630 1739 1881 2344 *Byz* pesh; **HF Lach Tisch**

Ephesians 5:31

- και προσκολληθησεται προς την γυναικα αυτου $א^{2}$ B D^{2} K L Ψ 0278 104 330 365 436 630 1175 1505 1739^{marg} 1881 2464 *Byz* **HF Merk NEB RV Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και προσκολληθησεται τη γυναικι αυτου P^{46} $א^{1}$ A P 0285 33 81 462 1241^{supp} 2344; **Bover Lach Treg WH^{marg}**
- και κολληθησεται τη γυναικι αυτου D* F G (a b d f vg);
- και προσκολληθησεται τη γυναικι א*; **Tisch**
- *omit* 6 1739*

Ephesians 6:21

- ειδητε και υμεις B K L Ψ 0278 104 330 365 436 1175 1505 1739 1881 (2344) *Byz* am* tol arm; **Bover HF Merk (NEB) (RV) UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και υμεις ειδητε א A D F G I P 81 326 630 1241^{supp} 2464 2495 a b d f am^{c} dem ful; **Lach Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**
- ειδητε P^{46} 33

Philippians

Philippians 1:6

- χριστου ιησου P^{48} B D L Ψ 630 1241^{supp} *pm* b d f r cav ful karl reg sangall sanger val; **HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ιησου χριστου א A F G K P 075 0278 33 69 81 104 181 256 326 365 436 614 1175 1319 1505 1611 1739 1881 2127 2464 *pm* a am leg pesh hark arm; **Bover HF^{marg}RV Soden WH^{txt}**

Philippians 2:4

- εαυτων εκαστος P^{46} א C D K L P 075 365 630 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* (pesh) hark; **Bover HF Soden [UBS] Vogels WH^{marg}**
- εαυτων εκαστοι A B F G Ψ 0278 33 81 $104^{apud\ NA27}$ 462 1175 f vg; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**

Philippians 2:21

- ιησου χριστου P^{46} א A C D F G P Ψ 33 81 326 1739 1881 2464 2495 a b d f r am cav pesh arm; **Bover Gr Lach RV Soden Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- χριστου ιησου B L 0278 104 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 *Byz* ful reg sangall sanger val hark; **Merk HF NEB Tisch Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- χριστου K Cyprian

Philippians 3:8

- σκυβαλα א* B D* F G 33 a b d f; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- σκυβαλα ειναι P^{61vid} $א^{2}$ A D^{2} K L P Ψ 075 81 104 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF [Merk] Soden Vogels**

Philippians 3:10A

- την κοινωνιαν $א^{2}$ D F G K L P 075 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1505 1739 1881 *Byz*; **HF Merk [Soden] [UBS] Vogels**
- κοινωνιαν P^{46} א* A B 1241^{supp} 1912 2464; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Philippians 3:10B

- των παθηματων $א^{2}$ A D F G K L P 075 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- παθηματων P^{46} א* B; **(NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Philippians 4:23

- υμων B F G 075 6 1739* 1836 1881 b f g pal sa; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- υμων αμην P^{46} א A D K L P Ψ 0150 33 81 104 256 326 330 365 436 451 629 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739^{c} 1962 2127 2464 2492 *Byz* a d o r vg pesh hark bo arm geo eth slav; **HF [Lach] Merk Soden [Vogels]**

Colossians

Colossians 1:7

- υπερ υμων א² C D¹ K L P Ψ 075 0150 6 33apud NA27 81 104apud NA27 256 365 630 1175 1241supp 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark sa bo arm geo eth slav; **HF NEBmarg RVmarg Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WHmarg**
- υπερ ημων P⁴⁶ א* A B D* F G 6 206* 326* 436 623 1505 m; **Bover Lach Merk NEBtxt RVtxt Soden Treg WHtxt**

Colossians 1:12

- υμας εις την μεριδα א (B) 69 104 256 365 629 1175 1319 1739 1881 2127 am cav sangall harkmarg sa arm slav; **Bover NEB RVmarg Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WHtxt**
- ημας εις την μεριδα A C D F G K L P Ψ 075 0150 6 33 81vid 436 630 1241supp 1962 2464 *Byz* a b d f m bam ful karl leg reg sanger val pesh harktxt bo geo eth; **HF Lach Merk RVtxt Soden Treg WHmarg**

Colossians 1:16

- εν τοις ουρανοις και επι της γης P⁴⁶-vid א* B Ψ 6 33 1739 a b; **Bover NEB RV Tisch UBS WH**
- τα εν τοις ουρανοις και τα επι της γης א² A (C τα...τε) D² K L P 075 81 104 365 630 1175 1241supp 1505 2464 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- εν τοις ουρανοις και τα επι της γης D* F G 69 legc? **(Lach Treg [εν])**
- τα εν τοις ουρανοις και επι της γης **Weiss?**

Colossians 1:27

- ο εστιν χριστος P⁴⁶ A B F G P 6 33 1739 1881 a b d f m vg; **Bover (HF εστι) Lach NEB RV Treg UBS WHtxt**
- ος εστιν χριστος א C D H I K L Ψ 0278 81 104 365 630 1175 1241supp 1505 2464 *Byz*; **Merk Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss WHmarg**

Colossians 2:4

- τουτο λεγω P⁴⁶ א* A*vid B H 81 1241supp 1611 m; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch UBS WH**
- τουτω δε λεγω א² Ac C D K L P Ψ 048 075 0208 0278 33 104 365 630 1175 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* a b d vg pesh hark; **HF Lach Merk Soden [Treg] Vogels Weiss**

Colossians 2:7

- βεβαιουμενοι τη πιστει B D* H 075 0208 33 81 256 326 365 1241^{supp} 1319* 2127 a b d f m*; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- βεβαιουμενοι εν τη πιστει א D^{2} K L P 0278 6 104 424^{c} 436 1175 1319^{c} 1505 1739 1881 1962 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden (Vogels [εν τη])**
- βεβαιουμενοι εν πιστει A C I Ψ 0150 424* 1912 2464

Colossians 2:13

- εν τοις παραπτωμασιν P^{46} א^{1} A C D F G K P 048 104$^{apud\ NA27}$ 326 630 1505 1739 *pm* a d f; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Soden [UBS]**
- τοις παραπτωμασιν א* B L Ψ 075 0278 33 69 81 365 436 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1881 1912 217 2464 *pm* b; **HF^{marg} Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

Colossians 2:16

- και εν ποσει P^{46} B 1739 1881 b; **Bover NEB UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- η εν ποσει א A C D F G I K L P Ψ 075 0278 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 2464 *Byz* a d f hark; **HF Lach Merk RV Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Colossians 3:4

- η ζωη υμων P^{46} א C D* F G P Ψ 075 33 81 88 104 181 256 365$^{apud\ NA27}$ 945 1319 1912 1881 1908 2127 a b d f m vg pal bo arm; **Bover RV^{marg} Tisch Treg UBS WH^{marg}**
- η ζωη ημων B(*) D^{1} H K L 0150 0278 6 436 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1962 2464 *Byz* pesh hark sa geo slav; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Soden Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Colossians 3:6

- θεου επι τους υιους της απειθειας א A C D F G H I K L P Ψ 075 0150 0278 6 33 81 104 256 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* a d$^{apud\ NA27}$ f m vg pesh hark bo arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF [Lach] Merk RV^{txt} Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- θεου P^{46} B b pal sa; **NEB RV^{marg} Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Colossians 3:11

- τα παντα א^{2} B D F G K L P Ψ 075 0278 104 365 630 1175 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) [Soden] Treg [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss**
- παντα א* A C 33 81$^{apud\ NA27}$ 436 1241^{supp}; **(NEB) Tisch WH**

Colossians 3:13

- ο κυριος εχαρισατο P^{46} A B D* F G 1175 b d f geo^{1}; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ο χριστος εχαρισατο א^{2} C D^{2} K L P Ψ 075 0150 6 81 104 256 365 630 1241^{supp} 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 *Byz* a m pesh hark sa bo geo^{2} eth slav; **HF Soden RV^{marg} Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**
- ο θεος εχαρισατο א* 1149
- ο θεος εν χριστω εχαρισατο 33 arm

Colossians 3:16

- εν τη χαριτι P^{46} א^{2} B D* F G Ψ 6 256 1319 1505 1611 1739 2005 2127 2138; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg [UBS] Weiss WH^{marg}**
- εν χαριτι א* A C D^{2} K L 075 33 81 104 356 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{txt}**

Colossians 4:15

- νυμφαν και την κατ οικον αυτης B 0278 6 424^{c} 1739 1881 $hark^{txt}$ sa; **Lach NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} UBS Weiss WH**
- νυμφαν και την κατ οικον αυτου D F G K L Ψ 0150 365 424* 436 630 (1241^{supp}) 1505 *Byz* pesh $hark^{marg}$; **Bover HF Merk NEB^{marg} Soden Vogels**
- νυμφαν και την κατ οικον αυτων א A C P 075 33 81 88 104 256 326 1175 1319 1908 1912 1962 (2127) 2464 bo slav; **RV^{txt} Tisch Treg**

1 Thessalonians

1 Thessalonians 1:4

- υπο του θεου א A C K P Ψ 0278 69 81 88 104 181 256 623 945 1175 1505 1739 1881; **Bover Soden Tisch [UBS] [Vogels] [WH]**
- υπο θεου B D F G L 33 365 630 1241 2464 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Weiss**

1 Thessalonians 1:5

- εν πληροφορια A C D F G P Ψ 0278 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* a b d f m ful cav tol; **Bover HF Lach Merk Soden [Treg] [UBS] [Vogels]**
- πληροφορια א B 33 r am bam ulm; **(NEB) RV Tisch Weiss WH**

1 Thessalonians 1:8

- εν τη αχαια א C D F G L P Ψ 0278 81 104 1175 1241 (1881 *omits* εν) 2464 *Byz* a b d f m; **HF Lach [Soden] Tisch [UBS]**
- αχαια B K 6 33 69 365 614 629 630 1505 1611 1739 2005 r; **Bover Merk NEB RV Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- *omit all of 1:8 to* αχαια *(h.t.)* A

1 Thessalonians 2:7

- νηπιοι P^{65} א* B C* D* F G I Ψ* 0150 69 104* 206 263 326^{c} 623 1962 a b d f m bam harl val bo; **Bover Lach NEB RV^{marg} UBS WH**
- ηπιοι $א^{2}$ A C^{2} D^{2} K L P $Ψ^{c}$ 0278 6 33 81 104^{c} 256 326* 365 436 630 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 2127 2464 *Byz* am cav tol arm; **HF Merk RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss**

1 Thessalonians 3:2

- και συνεργον του θεου D* 33 b d m; **Bover Lach NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} UBS Weiss (WH^{marg} [του θεου])**
- και διακονον του θεου א A P Ψ 0278 6 81 263 424^{c} 629* 1241 1739 1881 2464 am (ful και διακονον (του) κυριου) geo^{1}; **Merk RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**
- και συνεργον B; **NEB^{marg}**
- και διακονον του θεου και συνεργον ημων D^{2} K L 075 0150 104 256 365 424* 436 (1319) (1962) 2127 *Byz* pesh hark** geo^{2}; **HF**
- διακονον και συνεργον F G f

1 Thessalonians 3:13

- αγιων αυτου αμην א* A D* 69 81 629 a d m; **[Lach] RV^{marg} [Soden] Tisch [UBS] WH^{marg}**
- αγιων αυτου א^{2} B D^{2} F G K L Ψ 075 0150 0278 6 104 256 365 436 630 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 2464 *Byz* b f pesh hark pal sa arm geo; **Bover HF Merk NEB RV^{txt} Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

1 Thessalonians 4:10

- τους εν ολη א^{2} B D^{1} H K L Ψ (0278 και εν ολη) 33^{vid} 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) RV Soden [Treg] [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- εν ολη א* A D* F G 38 629; **Bover Lach Tisch**

1 Thessalonians 4:11

- ταις ιδιαις χερσιν א* A D^{1} K L 33 81 424* 436 630 1241 1962 *Byz* slav; **HF Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- ταις χερσιν א^{2} B D* F G Ψ 075 0150 0278 6 104 256 263 365 424^{c} 1175 1319 1505 1739 1881 1912 2127 a b d f m hark sa bo arm geo eth; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

1 Thessalonians 5:2

- ημερα κυριου א B D F G P 33 81 1739 2464; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- η ημερα κυριου A K L Ψ 0278 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 *Byz*; **HF Merk [Soden] Vogels**

1 Thessalonians 5:3

- οταν λεγωσιν א* A F G 33 d f pesh arm; **(NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- οταν δε λεγωσιν א^{2} B D 0226 6 104 1505 1739 1881 2464 hark; **Bover [Lach] Merk Soden Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- οταν γαρ λεγωσιν K L P Ψ 81 365 1175 1241 *Byz* a; **HF**

1 Thessalonians 5:10

- υπερ ημων P^{30} א² A D F G K L P Ψ 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden UBS Vogels WH^{marg}**
- περι ημων א* B 33; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**

1 Thessalonians 5:15

- και εις αλληλους P^{30} א² B K L P Ψ 0278 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 *Byz* bam cav theo tol val hark; **Bover HF [Soden] [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- εις αλληλους א* A D F G 6 33 69 88 326 436 623 1739 1881 2464 leg sangall; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg WH^{txt}**
- και αλληλους a am* ful*
- αλληλους reg

1 Thessalonians 5:25

- και περι ημων P^{30} B D* 0278 6 33 69 81 104 326 424^{c} 436 1505 1611 1739 1881 1912 2464 b d hark pal sa arm geo; **Bover [Lach] Merk NEB RV^{marg} Soden [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- περι ημων א A D² F G I^{vid} K L P Ψ 075 0150 256 365 424* 630 1175 1241 1319 1962 2127 *Byz* a f m vg pesh bo eth slav; **HF RV^{txt} Tisch Treg**

1 Thessalonians 5:27

- πασιν τοις αδελφοις א* B D F G 0278 436 b d f m sa geo^{1} slav; **Lach Merk NEB RV^{txt} Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- πασιν τοις αγιοις αδελφοις א² A K L P Ψ 075 0150 6 (33 *omits* πασιν) 81 104 256 365 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 *Byz* a vg pesh hark bo arm geo^{2}; **Bover HF RV^{marg} [Soden] [Vogels] Weiss WH^{marg}**

2 Thessalonians

2 Thessalonians 2:3

- ανθρωπος της ανομιας א B 0278 6 81 104 256 263 326 365 436 1739 1881 2127 2464 m sa bo arm geo eth; **NEB RV^{marg} Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- ανθρωπος της αμαρτιας A D F G K L P Ψ 075 0150 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1962 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV^{txt} Soden Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

2 Thessalonians 2:13

- απαρχην B F G P 075 0278 33 81 256 323 326 365 1505 1611 1739 1881 1908 2127 2464 f hark bo; **Bover Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Soden UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- απ αρχης א D K L Ψ 0150 6 104 436 630 1175 1241 1319 2127 *Byz* a b d m pesh sa; **HF NEB^{txt} RV^{txt} Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{txt}**

2 Thessalonians 2:14

- και εκαλεσεν א F G P 0278 69 81 88 181 256 365 436 2464 am bam cav ful tol theo val hark arm; **Bover (NEB) Soden Tisch [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- εκαλεσεν A^{vid} B D K L Ψ 33 104 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 *Byz* a b m* reg sangall pesh; **HF Lach Merk (RV) Treg WH**

2 Thessalonians 2:16

- ο θεος ο πατηρ א* D^{1} F G I; **Bover (Lach Merk UBS WH [ο] θεοσο πατηρ]) (NEB) RV Tisch Vogels Weiss**
- θεος ο πατηρ B D* 33 1739 1881; **Soden Treg**
- ο θεος πατηρ א^{2} 0278
- ο θεος και πατηρ A D^{2} L P Ψ 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 2464 *Byz*; **HF**
- θεος και πατηρ K 1175

2 Thessalonians 3:4

- και ποιειτε και ποιησετε א² D² K L Ψ 0278 (33 και ποιειτε και ποιησητε) 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 2464 *Byz* f; **Bover HF (Lach Soden Treg UBS WH [και]ποιειτε και ποιησετε) Merk (NEB) (RV) Vogels Weiss**
- ποιειτε και ποιησετε א* A (D* ποιησατε) 6 629 1739 1881 b d m; **Tisch**
- και εποιησατε και ποιειτε F G (pesh)
- και εποιησατε και ποιειτε και ποιησετε B a sa

2 Thessalonians 3:8

- νυκτος και ημερας א B F G 0278 33 81 104 256 365 1505 1611 2464; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- νυκτα και ημεραν A D I K L P Ψ 630 1175 1241 1739 1881 2464 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**

1 Timothy

1 Timothy 1:16

- χριστος ιησους A D* H Ψ 0262[vid] 33 88 104 256 326 365 436 629 1175 1912 b d r; **Bover Lach Soden Treg UBS Vogels WH[txt]**
- ιησους χριστος א D² K L P 81 630 1175 1241 1505 *Byz* a pesh hark; **HF Merk NEB RV Tisch Weiss WH[marg]**
- ιησους F G 1739 1881
- ιησους ο χριστος 614

1 Timothy 1:18

- στρατευη א² A D² F G H K L P 33 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 1739 1881[vid] *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH[txt]**
- στρατευση א* D* Ψ 38 1175 1912; **(Soden στρατευ[Σ]η) Tisch Treg WH[marg]**

1 Timothy 3:14

- προς σε εν ταχει A C D* P Ψ 33 81 1912; **Bover Lach RV Soden Treg UBS (WH [εν ταχει])**
- προς σε ταχιον א K L 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 *Byz*; **HF (NEB) Tisch Vogels Weiss**
- ταχιον F G 6 1739 1881 arm?; **Merk**
- προς σε ταχι D^2 (?)

1 Timothy 5:5

- επι θεον C F G P Ψ 048; **Bover Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS**
- επι κυριον א*; **Weiss WH^{marg}**
- επι τον θεον א^2 A D^2 K L 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 *Byz*; **HF (Lach Soden WH^{txt} [τον]) Vogels**
- επι τον κυριον D* 81

1 Timothy 5:8

- ου προνοει א^2 A C D^2 L P Ψ 33 81 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ου προνοειται א* D* F G I K 104 1881; **Bover Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

1 Timothy 5:16

- επαρκειτω αυταις C D K L P Ψ 048 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 1739 1881 *Byz*; **HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- επαρκεισθω αυταις א A F G 33 256 1175; **Bover Lach Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

1 Timothy 6:17

- επι θεω τω παρεχοντι א F G arm?; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- επι τω θεω τω παρεχοντι A I P Ψ 075 0150 6 33 81 104 256 263 365 424^{c} 1175 1739 1881 2127; **Lach Merk Vogels WH^{marg}**
- εν τω θεω τω παρεχοντι **Soden**
- εν θεω τω παρεχοντι **Weiss**
- επι θεω ζωντι τω παρεχοντι D* 1912
- εν θεω τω ζωντι τω παρεχοντι D^{2} K L 424* 630 1241 1962 *Byz*; **HF**
- επι τω θεω τω ζωντι τω παρεχοντι 436 1505
- versions uncertain επι τω/επι/εν τω but (a) b d m bam val pesh hark geo eth slave include (τω) ζωντι, f am cav ful harl hub ulm omit

2 Timothy

2 Timothy 2:14

- ενωπιον το θεου א C F G I 69 436 424* 436 614 629 630 1175 1518 1912 1962 a f hark^{marg} arm geo slav; **Merk NEB RV^{marg} Tisch Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- ενωπιον το κυριου A D K L P Ψ 048 075 0150 6 81 104 256 365 424^{c} 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 2127 *Byz* b d am ful hark^{txt}; **Bover HF Lach RV^{txt} Soden Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ενωπιον το χριστου 206 429

2 Timothy 2:18

- την αναστασιν A C D K L P Ψ 075 0150 6 81 104 256 365 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 1912 1962 2127 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV^{txt} [UBS] Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- αναστασιν א F G 048 33 geo; **NEB RV^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg WH^{txt}**

2 Timothy 3:15

- τα ιερα A C* D^2 K L P Ψ 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 1739 1881 *Byz*; **HF [Lach] [Merk] (NEB) Soden [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- ιερα א $C^{2\text{-vid}}$ D* F G 33 1175 1912 sa? bo? arm; **Bover RV Tisch Weiss WH**

2 Timothy 4:2

- επιτιμησον παρακαλεσον A C D K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 *Byz* pesh hark; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- παρακαλεσον επιτιμησον א* F G 69 1739 1881 a d b f vg sa bo; **Bover Tisch WH^{marg}**

2 Timothy 4:22

- ο κυριος א* F G 33? 1739 1881 sa; **Bover NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ο κυριος ιησους A 104 614 sanger; **Lach Merk Soden WH^{marg}**
- ο κυριους ιησους χριστος א^2 C D K L P Ψ 075 0150 6 81 256 365 436 630 1175 1241 1319 1505 1962 2127 *Byz* a b d f am bam cav ful val pesh hark bo arm geo slav;**HF Vogels**

Titus

Titus 2:11

- θεου σωτηριος א^2 A C* D* 0278 1739 karl sanger; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- θεου η σωτηριος (C^3 θεου ο σωτηριοσ) D^2 K L P Ψ 33 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 1881 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- θεου σωτηρος א* t am reg
- θεου του σωτηρος ημων F G a b bam (cav) (ful) sangall val sa bo

Titus 2:13

- σωτερος ημων ιησου χριστου א^2 A C D K L P Ψ 0278 33 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 1881 *Byz* a d vg pesh hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- σωτερος ημων χριστου ιησου א* F G b; **NEB Soden Tisch Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**
- σωτερος ημων ιησου 1739

Titus 3:9

- και ερεις και μαχας א² A C I K L P 81 104 365 630 1241 1505 1739 1881 *Byz* a b d f vg pesh hark sa bo; **HF Lach Merk RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels**
- και εριν και μαχας א* D F G Ψ; **Bover NEB Tisch Weiss WH**

Philemon

Philemon 6

- του εν ημιν εις χριστον *unattested;* **(NEB) RV^{marg} UBS Weiss (WH^{txt} [του])**
- εν υμιν εις χριστον P^{61} 33
- του εν υμιν εις χριστον א*; **Bover Merk RV^{txt} Soden Tisch (WH^{marg} [του])**
- του εν υμιν εις χριστον ιησουν א² F G P 104 365 1505
- εν ημιν εις χριστον A C; **Lach Treg**
- του εν ημιν εις χριστον ιησουν D K L Ψ 0278 81 630 1241 *Byz* ful reg; **HF Vogels**
- εις χριστον ιησουν 629 am bam karl val
- η εν υμιν χριστον ιησουν 1739 1881 a b
- εν ημιν εις χριστον ιησουν cav sangall leg
- εν υμιν εις χριστον ιησουν sanger

Philemon 12

- σοι αυτον τουτ εστιν (or τουτεστιν) τα εμα σπλαγχνα א* A 33; **Bover Lach NEB (RV εστι) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- συ δε αυτον τουτ εστιν τα εμα σπλαγχνα προσλαβου א^{2} D^{2} K L P 075 0150 0278 81 104 436 630 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 *Byz* f; **(HF εστι) (Merk Soden [συ δε]... [προσλαβον]) Vogels**
- συ δε αυτον τουτ εστιν τα εμα σπλαγχνα F G
- σοι αυτον τουτ εστιν τα εμα σπλαγχνα προσλαβου C*
- σοι συ δε αυτον προσλαβου τουτ εστιν τα εμα σπλαγχνα 048 g
- σοι συ δε αυτον τουτ εστιν τα εμα σπλαγχνα προσλαβου C^{2} D*
- σοι δε αυτον τουτ εστιν τα εμα σπλαγχνα προσλαβου Ψ
- συ δε προσλαβου αυτον τουτ εστιν τα εμα σπλαγχνα 256 263 365

Philemon 25

- πνευματος υμων A D* 048^{vid} 6 33 81 424^{c} 1739* 1881 d sa; **Lach NEB RV^{marg} Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πνευματος υμων αμην א C D^{1} K L P Ψ 075 0150 0278 104 256 365 424* 630 1241 1505 1739^{c} *Byz* a b pesh hark; **Bover HF Merk RV^{txt} Soden Vogels**
- η χαρις μεθ υμων instead of verse 25 P^{87}

Hebrews

Hebrews 1:9

- εμισησας ανομιαν P^{46} B D(* εμισησας ανομιας) K L P Ψ 0243 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1739 1881 2464 *Byz* a b vg hark; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- εμισησας αδικιαν א A 33^{vid}; **Bover Soden Tisch**

Hebrews 3:6A

- εανπερ την παρρησιαν P^{46} א^{2} A C D^{2} K L Ψ 0278 104 365 1241 1505 *Byz*; **HF (Lach Merk UBS Vogels** εαν[περ]**) Soden**
- εαν την παρρησιαν P^{13} א^{1} B D* P 0243 33 81 630 1175 1739 1881 a b; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- καν την παρρησιαν א*

Hebrews 3:6B

- της ελπιδος P^{13} P^{46} B sa; **NEB UBS Weiss**
- της ελπιδος μεχρι τελους βεβαιαν א A C D K L P Ψ 075 0150 0243 0278 6 33 81 104 256 (323 μεχρι τελους της ελπιδος βεβαιαν) 365 436 630 1241 1319 1505 1739 1881 (1962 βεβαιωσ) 2127 2464 *Byz* a b d v vg (pesh) hark pal bo arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF Lach [Merk] RV Soden Tisch Treg [Vogels] [WH]**

Hebrews 4:2

- συγκεκερασμενους τη πιστει $P^{13\text{-vid}}$ P^{46} A B C D* Ψ 0243 0278 33 81 1739 2464; **Lach Merk RV^{txt} Soden Treg UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- συγκεκερασμενος τη πιστει א b d pesh geo; **Bover (NEB) RV^{marg} Tisch Weiss WH^{marg}**
- συγκεκεραμενους τη πιστει D^{2} K L P 365 630 1241 1505 1881 *Byz*; **HF**
- συγκεκεραμμενοι 104

Hebrews 5:12(B)

- και ου στερεας א^{2} A B* D K L P Ψ 0122 0278 104 365 630 1175 1241 1505 1881 2464 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden [Treg] [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ου στερεας P^{46} א* B^{2} C 33 81 1319 1739 a b; **(NEB) Tisch WH^{txt}**

Hebrews 6:18

- τον θεον P^{46} א* A C P 0278 33 436 1505 1739 1881; **Bover [Soden] Tisch [UBS] Vogels WH^{marg}**
- θεον א^{2} B D K L P Ψ 81 104 365 630 1241 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Weiss WH^{txt}**

Hebrews 7:9

- αβρααμ και λευι (or) λευει א* C² K L P Ψ 0278 33 104 365 630ᶜ 1175 1241 1881 *Byz* a b d vg; **HF Lach Merk RV Soden UBS Vogels**
- αβρααμ και λευεις (or) λευις א² A B C* I 6 81 630* 1505 1739 μ; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

Hebrews 7:10

- μελχισεδεκ P⁴⁶ א B C* D* Ψ 0278 365 1505 1739; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο μελχισεδεκ A C³ D² K L P 33 81 104 630 1175 1241 1881 *Byz*; **HF [Soden] Tisch [Vogels]**

Hebrews 8:4

- νομον P⁴⁶ א* A B 33 436 1319 1505 1611 1881; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- τον νομον א² D K L P Ψ 0278 81 104 365 630 1175 1241 1739 2464 *Byz*; **HF [Merk] [Soden] [Vogels]**

Hebrews 9:19

- τον νομον P⁴⁶ א² A C D* L 0278 33 81 104 1241 1505 1611 1912 2464; **Bover Lach [Merk] (NEB) RV [Soden] Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- νομον א* D² K P 365 630 1739 1881 *Byz*; **HF Tisch**

Hebrews 11:6

- τω θεω P⁴⁶ א² A D* K L P Ψ 0285 81 104 365 630 1505 1739 1881 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) [Soden] [Treg] UBS [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- θεω א* D¹ I 33 326 1241ˢᵘᵖᵖ 1912; **Tisch**

Hebrews 11:12

- εγεννηθησαν א D² L Ψ 630 1241ˢᵘᵖᵖ 1739 1881 *Byz* (z); **HF (RV) Tisch Treg UBS WHᵗˣᵗ**
- εγενηθησαν P⁴⁶ A D* K P 6 33 81 104 326 365 623 1175 1611 1912 a b d vg; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) Soden Vogels Weiss WHᵐᵃʳᵍ**

Hebrews 11:32

- επιλειψει με γαρ א A D* 33; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- επιλειψει γαρ με P^{13} P^{46} D^{2} K L P 81 104 365 630 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 *Byz* a b d z vg; **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- επιλειψει με Ψ

Hebrews 11:37

- ελιθασηθησαν επρισθησαν P^{46} 1241^{supp} pesh (sa) eth; **NEB^{txt} UBS**
- ελιθασηθησαν επειρασθησαν επρισθησαν (א 048 ελιθασηθησαν επιρασθησαν επρισθησαν) L P 33 81 326 1505 1611 hark; **Bover NEB^{marg} Soden Tisch Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ελιθασηθησαν επρισθησαν επειρασθησαν P^{13-vid} A D^{1} K Ψ 075 6 104 256 365 436 630 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 *Byz* a b z arm (geo) slav; **Lach Merk RV Treg WH^{marg}**
- ελιθασηθησαν επρισθησαν 0150
- ελιθασηθησαν επειρασθησαν επειρισθησαν (!) D*

Hebrews 12:11

- πασα δε παιδεια P^{13} P^{46} $א^{2}$ A D^{2} H K L Ψ 81 365 (630 τε) $1175^{apud\ NA27}$ 1241^{supp} 1505 *Byz* a b vg pesh hark; **HF Lach Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- πασα μεν παιδεια א* P 33 256 1739 1881; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Soden (Tisch etc. παιδια) WH^{txt}**
- πασα παιδεια D* 048 104

Hebrews 12:13

- ορθας ποιειτε P^{46} א* P 33; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ορθας ποιησατε $א^{2}$ A D H K L Ψ (048 ορθας ποιησετε) 81 104 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

Hebrews 13:6

- και ου φοβηθησομαι P^{46} $א^{2}$ A C^{2} D K L P Ψ 0243 81 104 365 630 1241^{supp} 1505 1881 *Byz* hark; **HF [Lach] Soden [Treg] [UBS] [Vogels]**
- ου φοβηθησομαι א* C^{*} P 0285^{vid} 33 $1175^{apud\ NA27}$ 1739 pesh; **Bover Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Weiss Weiss**

Hebrews 13:9

- περιπατουντες P^{46} א* A D* 1912 sa bo; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- περιπατησαντες א^{2} C D^{2} K P Ψ 0243 33 81 104 365 630 1175 1241^{supp} 1505 1739 1881 *Byz* pesh hark; **HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

Hebrews 13:25

- παντων υμων (P^{46}* *omits* υμων) א* I^{vid} 6$^{apud\ NA27}$ 33 ful sa; **NEB Tisch UBS WH Weiss**
- παντων υμων αμην א^{2} A C D(* παντων των αγιων αμην) H K P Ψ 0150 0243 81 104 256 365 436 630 (1241^{supp} παντων ημων αμην) 1319 1505 1739 1881 1962 2127 *Byz* a b z am cav tol pesh hark bo geo slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden Treg Vogels**

James

James 1:12

- τοις αγαπωσιν αυτον P^{23} א A B Ψ 81 206* 2344 ff sa bo arm geo; **Bover Lach RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ο κυριος τοις αγαπωσιν αυτον (C *omits* ο) K L P 0246 436 614 630 1505 1611 2138 *Byz* hark (slav); **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- ο θεος τοις αγαπωσιν αυτον 4 33^{vid} 322 323 945 1175 1241 1243 1735 1739 1852 2298 2464 t vg pesh; **NEB (!)**

James 3:4

- η ορμη του ευθυνοντες βουλεται P^{20-vid} א B 81; **Bover (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- • (ε)αν η ορμη του ευθυνοντες βουληται A C K (L βουλεται) P Ψ 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk Soden Vogels**
- αν η ορμη του ευθυνοντες βουληθη 33

James 3:8

- δαμασαι δυναται ανθρωπων $P^{20\text{-vid}}$ B C 945 1739 hark; **Lach Merk (NEB) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- δυναται δαμασαι ανθρωπων א A K P Ψ 049 69 81 630 1241 1505; **Bover Soden Tisch Vogels**
- δυναται ανθρωπων δαμασαι L 323 614 *Byz*; **HF (RV)**

James 4:9

- μετατραπητω B P 88 206 614 630 945 1175 1241 1505 1611 1739; **Bover (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- μεταστραφητω א A K L Ψ 33 81 323 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

James 5:4A

- απεστερημενος A B^{2} K L P Ψ (81) 322 323 436 614 630 945 1175 1241 1243 1505 1611 1735 1739 1852 2138 2298 2344 2464 *Byz* ff arm geo; **HF Lach Merk RV Soden UBS Vogels**
- αφυστερημενος א B*; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- αποστερημενος 33

James 5:4B

- εισεληλυθασιν א K L Ψ 33 323 614 630 945 1241 (1505 εληλυθασιν) 1739 *Byz*; **HF Merk RV Soden Vogels UBS**
- εισεληλυθαν (A 1852 εισεληλυθεν) B P 81 1243; **Bover Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

James 5:7

- λαβη P^{74} B 048 945 1241 1739 2298 bo arm geo; **Bover Lach Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- λαβη υετον A K L P Ψ 33^{vid} 81 322 323 (436 υετον λαβη) 614 630 1243 1505 1611 1735 1852 2138 2344 2464 *Byz* (t) pesh $hark^{txt}$ slav; **HF [Merk] NEB RV [Soden] Vogels**
- λαβη καρπον א(* καρπον τον) 398 1175 (ff) $hark^{marg}$ bo
- λαβη και τον 69

James 5:14

- αλειψαντες αυτον א A K L Ψ 048^{vid} 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk RV Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- αλειψαντες B P 88 181 453 1243 ff; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Weiss WH**

1 Peter

1 Peter 1:6

- δεον εστιν P^{72} א^{2} A C K L P Ψ 048 33 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1739 *Byz*; **(HF (RV) εστι) Lach Merk Soden [UBS]**
- δεον א* B 1505 1611; **Bover (NEB) Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

1 Peter 1:16

- αγιος ειμι P^{72} A^{c} C K L P Ψ 33 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* r s vg hark; **HF [Merk] Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- αγιος א A* B; **Bover Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

1 Peter 1:21

- πιστους εις θεον A B vg; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πιστευοντας εις θεον P^{72} א C K L P Ψ 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- πιστουσαντες εις θεον 33

1 Peter 1:22

- καθαρας καρδιας P^{72} א* C K L P Ψ 33 81 323 436 614 630 945 1175 1241 1243 1505 1611 1739 1881 2138 2298 2344 *Byz* t hark sa bo (arm); **HF Merk RV^{marg}Soden [UBS] Vogels**
- καρδιας A B 1852 geo; **Bover Lach NEB RV^{txt} Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- καρδιας αληθινης א^{2} l?

1 Peter 3:1

- αι γυναικες P^{72} א² C K L P Ψ 33 323 436 614 630 945 1175 1241 1243 (1505 am armagh bam reg val pesh hark slav και γυναικεσ) 1611 1739 1852 1881 2298 2344 *Byz*; **HF Merk [Soden] [UBS] Vogels**
- γυναικες P^{81} א* A B 81; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

1 Peter 3:18A

- περι αμαρτιων επαθεν B K P *Byz*; **(HF RV^{txt} επαθε) NEB^{txt} UBS Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$ Weiss WH^{marg}**
- περι αμαρτιων απεθανεν (am bam ful reg sanger val *pro peccatis mortuus est)*; **Bover Lach Merk (RV^{marg} απεθανε) NEB^{marg} Tisch Treg WH^{txt}**
- περι αμαρτιων ημων απεθανεν א² $C^{2\text{-}vid}$ 0285 33 (L? 81 2464 επαθεν) 323$^{apud\ UBS4}$ 436 614 630 945 1175 1243 1739 1852 1881 2138 2298 2344 hark bo; **Soden**
- περι αμαρτιων υμων απεθανεν P^{72} A 1241 (1505 περι αμαρτιων υπερ υμων απεθανε) 1611 arm
- περι των αμαρτιων υπερ υμεν απεθανεν א*
- περι υμων υπερ αμαρτιων απεθανεν Ψ
- περι αμαρτιων ημων απεθανεν C^{*vid} (z? leg sangall *pro peccatis nostris mortuus est)* pesh
- περι αμαρτιων υπερ ημων απεθανεν **NEB^{marg}**
- περι αμαρτιων υπερ ημων επαθεν **NEB^{marg}**

1 Peter 3:18B

- ινα υμας P^{72} B P Ψ 0285 1175 1241 1243 1505 1611 1852 2138 *Byz* z pesh hark^{txt} arm; **HF Merk UBS Weiss WH**
- ινα ημας א² A C K L 33 81 323$^{apud\ UBS4}$ 436 614 623 630 945 1175 1518 1739 1881 2298 2344 t armagh hark^{marg} sa bo geo eth slav; **Bover Lach NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- ινα א*

1 Peter 3:22

- δεξια του θεου P^{72} א² A C K L P 0285 33apud NA27 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) [Soden] [UBS] Vogels**
- δεξια θεου א* B Ψ; **Bover Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**

1 Peter 4:17

- ο καιρος P^{72} B K L P Ψ 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) [Soden] Treg [UBS] Vogels Weiss [WH]**
- καιρος א A 33 81 88 1852; **Bover Tisch**

1 Peter 5:1

- ουν εν υμιν P^{72} A B 614 630 hark**; **Bover Lach RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ουν τους εν υμιν א Ψ 623 2464; **Merk (NEB) Tisch Soden Vogels**
- τους εν υμιν K L P 33 81 323 945 1241 1739 *Byz*; **HF**
- εν υμιν 1505

1 Peter 5:2

- επισκοπουντες μη αναγκαστως P^{72} א² A K L P (33apud NA27 αναγκαστικως) 69 81 436 (614 630 1175 1292 1505 1611 2138 hark επισκοπευοντες) 945 1241 1243 1739 1852 1881 2298 2344vid *Byz* vg (pesh) bo; **Bover HF Lach Merk RVtxt Soden Treg [UBS] Vogels**
- μη αναγκαστως א* B 322 323 sa; **NEB RVmarg Tisch Weiss WH**

1 Peter 5:9

- τω κοσμω P^{72} א* B 920; **Bover Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg [UBS] Weiss WH**
- κοσμω א² A K L P Ψ 0206 33 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Soden Vogels**

1 Peter 5:10

- εν χριστου ιησου P^{72} A K L P Ψ 33 81 323 436 1175 1241 1243 1739 1852 1881 2298 *Byz* vg hark** bo arm geo slav; **HF Soden (Treg UBS [ιησου]) Vogels**
- εν χριστου א 206 429 614 630 1292 1505 1611 2138; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εν τω χριστω B; **WH^{marg}**
- *omit* 945

1 Peter 5:11(A)

- το κρατος (P^{72} 0206^{vid} *omit* το) A B Ψ am armagh bam ful leg sangall val geo; **Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- η δοξα και το κρατος א (K 049 και δοξα κρατοσ) L P (436 δοξα κρατοσ) *Byz* harl reg sanger sa slav; **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- το κρατος και η δοξα 33 69 81 322 323 614 630 945 1175 1241 1243 1505 1611 1739 1852 1881 2138 2298 2344 hark bo arm
- η δοξα 915 t

2 Peter

2 Peter 1:4

- τιμια και μεγιστα ημιν επαγγελματα B 206 436 522 614 630 1505 1611; **Bover Merk UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- τιμια ημιν και μεγιστα επαγγελματα א K L 323 *Byz*; **HF RV Tisch WH^{marg}**
- μεγιστα και τιμια ημιν επαγγελματα C P 5 33 69 81 945 1739 vg; **Lach Soden Treg**
- τιμια και μεγιστα επαγγελματα ημιν P^{72}
- μεγιστα και τιμια υμιν επαγγελματα A
- μεγιστα και τιμια υμων επαγγελματα Ψ 1241

2 Peter 1:9

- αμαρτιων P^{72} B C L P 049 0209 33 81 614 630 1505 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk RV Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- αμαρτηματων א A K Ψ 322 323 623 945 1175 1241 1739 2298; **Bover Gr Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

2 Peter 1:17

- ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος μου ουτος εστιν P^{72} B; **UBS Weiss WH**
- ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος א A C^{1} K L Ψ 0206 33 81 322 323 436 614 630 945 1241 1243 1505 1611 1739 1852 1881 2138 2298 *Byz* vg philox hark arm geo eth slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Tisch Treg**
- ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος μου; **Vogels$^{apud\ NA27}$**
- ουτος εστιν ο υιος μου ουτος εστιν (!) C^{*vid}
- ουτος εστιν ο υιος ο αγαπητος μου ουτος εστιν (!) P 1175

2 Peter 1:18

- τω αγιω ορει P^{72} B C* 33 1175 1505 1852 2138 h w; **Bover Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- τω ορει τω αγιω א A C^{3} K L P Ψ 0209^{vid} 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1739 *Byz* vg; **HF Lach Merk (RV) Soden Tisch**

2 Peter 1:21

- ελαλησαν απο θεου ανθρωποι P^{72} B P 322 323 614 630 945 1175 1241 1243 1505 1739 1852 1881 2138 2298 hark arm; **Bover RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ελαλησαν αγιοι απο θεου ανθρωποι 81; **(Merk [αγιοι]) Soden**
- ελαλησαν αγιοι θεου ανθρωποι א (A **Lach** ελαλησαν αγιοι του θεου ανθρωποι) K L Ψ 33 436 1611 *Byz* h philox geo; **HF Treg Vogels**
- ελαλησαν απο θεου αγιοι ανθρωποι C eth
- ελαλησαν οι αγιοι ανθρωποι 431

2 Peter 2:4

- αλλα σειραις P^{72} K L P Ψ 33 322 323 436 614 630 945 1175 1241 1243 1505 1611 1739 1881 2138 2298 *Byz* philox hark bo arm geo slav; **HF RV^{marg} Soden UBS**
- αλλα σιροις א; **Bover Lach Merk NEB^{txt} Tisch Weiss?**
- αλλα σειροις A B C 81; **NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Treg Vogels WH**
- αλλα σιροις *or* αλλα σειροις h sa

2 Peter 2:13

- αδικουμενοι μισθον P^{72} א* B P Ψ 104 1175 1243 1852 (philox) (arm); **Bover Merk NEB RV UBS Weiss WH**
- κομιουμενοι μισθον א^{2} A C K L 33^{vid} 81 322 323 436 614 630 945 1241 1505 1611 1739 1881 2138 2298 *Byz* OL vg hark sa bo geo slav; **HF Lach Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

2 Peter 2:19

- δεδουλωται P^{72} א* B 623; **(NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- και δεδουλωται א^{2} A C K L P Ψ 048 33 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* philox hark; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden [Treg] Vogels**

2 Peter 2:20

- κυριου ημων και σωτηρος P^{72} א A C P Ψ 048^{vid} 33^{vid} 81 206 322 323 436 614 623 630 945 1175 1243 1505 1611 1739 1852 2138 2298 (philox) arm geo slav;**Bover Lach NEB RV^{marg} Soden Tisch (UBS [ημων]) WH^{marg}**
- κυριου και σωτηρος B K *Byz* harl; **HF Merk RV^{txt} Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- κυριου ημων L 1881 bo
- κυριου και σωτηρος ημων 104
- κυριου και σωτηρος υμων 1241

2 Peter 3:3

- επιθυμιας αυτων B C K L P 33 81 1241 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αυτων επιθυμιας א A 322 323 614 630 945 1505 1611; **Soden Tisch Vogels**
- επιθυμιας P^{72} Ψ t vg

2 Peter 3:10

- ημερα P^{72} B C Ψ 048^{vid} 049 33 81 623 945 1241 1611 1739; **Bover Lach (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- η ημερα א A K L P 323 614 630 1505 *Byz*; **HF [Merk] Soden Vogels Weiss**

2 Peter 3:16

- επιστολαις P^{72} A B C Ψ 33 623; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ταις επιστολαις א K L P 81 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Tisch Vogels**

2 Peter 3:18

- αμην P^{72} א A C K L P Ψ 33 81 322 323 436 614 630 945 1505 1611 1739^{c} 1852 2138 *Byz* philox hark sa bo arm eth slav; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- *omit* B 1175 1241 1243 1739* 1881 2298 harl geo; **NEB Tisch Weiss WH**

1 John

1 John 2:18

- οτι αντιχριστος א* B C Ψ 5 436 623 1739 geo; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- οτι ο αντιχριστος $א^{2}$ K 33 81 323 614 630 945 1175 1241 1243 1505 1611 1852 2138 2298 2344 *Byz*; **HF Merk (Soden οτι [ο]) Vogels**
- ο αντιχριστος A L 1881

1 John 2:19

- εξ ημων ησαν B C Ψ 206 429 614 630 1505 1611; **Bover Merk (NEB) UBS Weiss WH**
- ησαν εξ ημων א A K L P 33 81 323 1241 1739 *Byz*; **HF Lach (RV) Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

1 John 2:20

- και οιδατε παντες א P Ψ; **Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Tisch UBS Weiss**
- και οιδατε παντα A C K L (049 και υδατε παντα!) 33 81 323 614 630 1241 1505 1739 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- οιδατε παντες B sa; **WH^{txt}**

1 John 3:13

- και μη א C^{vid} P Ψ 322 323 945 1241 1243 1739 1881 2298 r z dubl; **Soden Tisch [UBS]**
- μη A B K L 33^{vid} 81 436 614 630 1175 1505 1611 1852 2138 2344 *Byz* am ful hark; **Bover Lach HF Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg Vogels Weiss WH**

1 John 3:19A

- και εν τουτω א K L P Ψ 81 322 323 945 1175 1241 1243 1739 1881 2298 *Byz* r w pesh sa; **Bover HF Soden Tisch (Treg UBS Vogels [και] εν τουτω)**
- εν τουτω A B 436 623 1736 2344 2464; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Weiss WH**
- και εκ τουτου 614 630 1505 1611 1852 2138 (hark εκ τουτου)

1 John 3:19B

- πεισομεν την καρδιαν A* B h (r) sa bo; **Merk (NEB) RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- πεισομεν τας καρδιας א A^{c} C K L P 81 614 1505 *Byz* t bam val; **Bover HF Lach Soden Tisch Treg**
- πεισωμεν την καρδιαν Ψ 322 323 945 1241 1739
- πεισωμεν τας καρδιας 69 623 630 1243 2464 am leg

1 John 3:23

- πιστευσωμεν B K L *Byz*; **HF Merk (RV) UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- πιστευωμεν א A C Ψ (0245 πιστευομεν) 33 81 206 323 614 623 630 945 1241 1505 1611 1739; **Bover Lach (NEB) Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

1 John 4:12

- εν ημιν τετελειωμενη εστιν $P^{74\text{-vid}}$ A 048^{vid} (33) 69 81 323 614 630 945 1505 1739 t vg; **Bover Lach Merk Soden UBS**
- τετελειωμενη εν ημιν εστιν א B; **(NEB) Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH**
- τετελειωμενη εστιν εν ημιν K L Ψ *Byz* l r w; **HF (RV)**
- τετελειωμενη εστιν 1241

1 John 5:5

- τις δε εστιν א K P 0296 33 323 614 630 945 1241 1505 1739; **Bover Merk RV Soden (Treg UBS [δε])**
- τις εστιν A L Ψ 81 *Byz* vg; **HF Lach Tisch Vogels**
- τις εστιν δε B; **(NEB) Weiss (WH [δε])**

1 John 5:6

- υδατος και αιματος B K L Ψ 322 323 1175 1739* 1881 2298 *Byz* r am ful pesh geo; **Bover HF Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- υδατος και πνευματος 945 1241 1739^{marg}
- υδατος και αιματος και πνευματος א A 436 614 1505 1611 1739^{c} 2138 sanger hark sa bo (P 0296 81 623 630 1243 1852 2464 l arm υδατος και πνευματος και αιματοσ); **Merk Soden Vogels**

1 John 5:18

- τηρει αυτον A* B 614 1505 2138 l t vg; **NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- τηρει εαυτον א A^{c} K L P Ψ 33 81 322 323 436 630 945 1241 1243 1611 1739 2298 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk Soden Vogels Weiss**

2 John

2 John 6

- καθως ηκουσατε B L Ψ 81 630 1505 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ινα καθως ηκουσατε א A K 0232 33 69 323 436 614 623 1241 1739 l vg; **Bover Soden Tisch**

2 John 12

- ημων πεπληρωμενη η א(* ημων πεπληρωμενη ην); **Bover NEB Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- υμων πεπληρωμενη η B am; **Lach WH^{txt}**
- ημων η πεπληρωμενη K L P Ψ 614 630 1505 *Byz*; **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- υμων η πεπληρωμενη A 5 33 81 322 323 424^{c} 429 436 1739 1881 l dem ful harl tol; **RV Treg**
- η πεπληρωμενη 69

3 John

No Highly Uncertain Variants in 3 John

Jude

Jude 5 (cf. the next section)

- οτι ο κυριος C* K L 436 614 630 945 1175 1505 1611 2138 *Byz*; **HF (Merk UBS [ο]) (RV^{txt}) Vogels**
- οτι κυριος א Ψ; **(NEB^{txt}) Soden Tisch Treg? Weiss WH^{txt}**
- οτι Ιησους A B 33 81 322 323 1241 1739 1881 2298 2344; **Bover NEB^{marg} WH^{marg}**
- οτι ο θεος C^{2} 623 1243 1846
- οτι θεος Χριστος P^{72}
- οτι ο Ιησους **Lach? (RV^{marg})**

Jude 15

- σκληρων B K L 614 945 *Byz*; **HF Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- σκληρων λογων א C 33 81 323 630 1241 1505 1611 1739 phil hark sa arm; **Bover [Soden] Tisch**

Jude 18

- ελεγον υμιν οτι א B L* Ψ; **HF [Soden] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels**
- ελεγον υμιν P^{72} A C K L^{c} P 33 81 323 614 630 1241 1505 1739 *Byz* vg phil hark; **Bover Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch UBS Weiss**

Jude 22A

- ους μεν ελεατε א B C^{2} Ψ 1243 1846 geo; **NEB^{txt} RV Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- ους μεν ελεγχετε A C* 33 81 322 323 436 1241 1611 1739 1881 2298 bo; **Bover Lach Merk NEB^{marg} Tisch Treg**
- ους μεν ελεειτε K L P 614 630 945 1175 1505 1852 *Byz*; **HF**
- ους μεν P^{72} t phil sa

Jude 22-23

- διακρινομενους [23] ους δε σωζετε εκ πυρος αρπαζοντες ους δε ελεατε εν φοβω א (* αρπαζοτεσ) A Ψ 33 81 322 323 (436 1241 2344 ελεειτε) 1739 1881 2298 vg bo; **Bover Lach Merk NEB^{marg} RV Tisch Treg UBS**
- διακρινομενους [23] σωζετε εκ πυρος αρπαζοντες ους δε ελεατε εν φοβω B; **NEB^{txt} Soden Vogels Weiss WH**
- διακρινομενους [23] ους δε σωζετε εκ πυρος αρπαζοντες εν φοβω C 1243 1852 hark
- διακρινομενοι [23] ους δε εν φοβω σωζετε εκ πυρος αρπαζοντες P 614 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} (HF^{marg} εκ του πυροσ)**
- εκ πυρος αρπασατε διακρινομενους [23] δε ελεειτε εν φοβω P^{72} t phil sa
- διακρινομενοι [23] ους δε σωζετε εκ πυρος αρπαζοντες εν φοβω 630 (1505 διακρινομενω)
- διακρινομενοι [23] ους δε εν φοβω σωζετε εκ πυρος αρπαζοντες ους δε ελεγχετε εν φοβω 945
- διακρινομενους [23] ους δε εν φοβω σωζετε εκ πυρος αρπαζοντες ους δε ελεατε εν φοβω 1611

Apocalypse

Revelation 1:15

- πεπυρωμενης A C; **Lach RV Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- πεπυρωμενοι P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2329 2351 *Byz* hark^{marg}; **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**
- πεπυρωμενω א 205 209 469 628 2050 2053 2062 a gig h t vg sa bo arm; **NEB Tisch**

Revelation 1:19

- γενεσθαι P$^{98\text{-}vid}$ א* C P 046 69 94 206 2050 2052 pm; **HF^{marg} Merk (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss**
- γινεσθαι א^{2} (A γεινεσθαι) 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2062 2329 2351 pm; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach (RV) Soden Treg Vogels WH**

Revelation 2:2

- κοπον A C P 94 181 1854 2053 a gig hark; **HF^{marg} Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- κοπον σου א 046 1006 1611 1841 2050 2329 2351 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} Merk Soden Vogels**

Revelation 2:22

- μετανοησωσιν C P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2351 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach (RV) Soden UBS Vogels Weiss**
- μετανοησουσιν א A (2050 metanohsei); **Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg WH**

Revelation 2:25

- αχρις P 046 1006 1841 2050; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden (UBS αχρι[σ]) Vogels**
- αχρι א C 69 177 1611 2053 2329 2351; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg Weiss WH**
- εως A
- *omit* 1854

Revelation 3:3

- γνως ποιαν ωραν A C P 1611 1854 2053 pm; **HF^{marg} Lach Merk NEB RV Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- γνωση ποιαν ωραν א 046 61 69 94 206 1006 1841 (2050 γνωσει ποιαν ωραν) 2329 2344 2351 pm; **Bover HF^{txt} Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

Revelation 3:7

- δαυιδ A C 1611 1854 2053 2329; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- του δαυιδ א P 046 61 69 94 1006 1841 2351 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**
- του αδου (!) 2050

Revelation 3:9

- διδω A C; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Vogels[apud NA27] Weiss WH**
- διδωμαι P 046 61 69 94 1006 1611 1841 1854 2050 2053 2329 2351 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Vogels[apud Bover]**
- δεδωκα א sa;

Revelation 3:17

- ουδεν A C 181 1854 2053; **HF[marg](?) Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ουδενος א P 046 1006 1611 1841 2050 2329 2351 *Byz* hark; **Bover HF[txt] Soden Vogels**

Revelation 3:18

- κολλουριον A P 1854 2050 2053 2351 pm; **HF[marg] Lach Merk (RV) (UBS κολλ[ο]υριον) Vogels WH**
- κολλυριον א C (046 κολυριον) 1006 1611 1841 2329 2344 pm; **Bover HF[txt] (NEB) Soden Tisch Treg**
- κουλλουριον **HF[marg]**

Revelation 3:20

- και εισελευσομαι א 046 0169 61 69 2006 1006 1841 1854 2329 2344 2351 pm phil; **Bover HF[txt] Tisch [UBS] WH[marg]**
- εισελευσομαι A P 1611 2050 2053 p, a gig vg sa bo; **HF[marg] Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss WH[txt]**

Revelation 4:4

- θρονους εικοσι τεσσαρες א A 2053; **HF[marg] Lach UBS WH[marg]**
- θρονοι εικοσι τεσσαρες P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2050 2329 *Byz*; **Bover HF[txt] Merk (RV** θρονοι εικοσιτεσσαρεσ**) Soden Treg Vogels WH[txt]**
- θρονους εικοσι τεσσαρας 2073; **NEB Tisch Weiss**
- θρονοι εικοσι και τεσσαρες (א[apud HF] A[apud HF]!); **HF[marg]**

Revelation 4:7

- ζωον εχων A 046 181 1006 2031 2081 2329 2344 2351; **HF^{marg}? Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ζωον εχον א P 1611 1841 1854 2050 2053 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

Revelation 4:8

- εχων ανα πτερυγας εξ A 1006 1854 2329; **Gr HF^{marg} Merk Lach (NEB) Tisch UBS WH**
- εχον ανα πτερυγας εξ 046 1841 2053 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} (RV) Soden Vogels Weiss**
- ειχον ανα πτερυγας εξ א; **HF^{marg} Treg?**
- εχοντα ανα πτερυγας εξ P 1611 2050 2351
- εχει ανα πτερυγας εξ; **HF^{marg}**

Revelation 4:9

- τω θρονω א A 469 1854 2050 2073 2080; **Lach Merk (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- του θρονου P 046 1006 1611 1841 2053 2329 2351 *Byz*; **Bover HF (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{txt}**

Revelation 5:3

- ουδε επι της γης ουδε υποκατω της γης A P 1006 1611 1841 2053 pm; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ουτε επι της γης ουτε υποκατω της γης 046 2050 2329 2351 pm; **HF^{txt} Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**
- ουδε επι της γης א
- ουτε επι της γης 1854 2344

Revelation 5:4

- εκλαιον πολυ א P 1611* pm; **(HF^{marg}?) NEB Soden Tisch Weiss UBS**
- εγω εκλαιον πολυ 046 1006 1611^{c} 1841 2351 pm; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Merk RV (Treg WH [εγω]) Vogels**
- εκλαιον πολλοι 2053 2344 bo; **HF^{marg}**
- *omit v. 4* A 1854 2050 2329

Revelation 5:6

- θεου απεσταλμενοι A 2053; **Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- θεου απεσταλμενα א 1854 2050; **Bover Tisch WH^{marg}**
- θεου τα απεσταλμενα P 1006 1841 2329 pm; **HF^{marg}**
- θεου αποστελλομενα 046 (1611 θεου τα αποστελλομενα) 2351 pm; **HF^{txt}**
- θεου τα αποστελλομενα; **HF^{marg}**

Revelation 5:8

- αι εισιν A P 1611 1854 2053 2329 2351 *Byz*; **(HF etc.** αι εισι**) Lach? Merk (NEB) (RV) Soden Treg? UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- α εισιν א 046 61 1006 1841 2050 2344; **Bover Tisch WH^{marg}**

Revelation 5:9

- ηγορασας τω θεω A eth; **Lach NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- ηγορασας τω θεω ημας א 046 (205 ηγορασας τω θεω ημων) 209 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2351 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} [Merk] Soden Treg Vogels**
- ηγορασας ημας τω θεω 2050 2344 (a gig υμας τω θεω) phil hark arm; **HF^{marg}**
- ηγορασας ημας 1; **HF^{marg}**

Revelation 5:11

- ηκουσα A P 046* 1611* 2053 2329 2351 pm a gig bo; **HF^{marg} Lach Merk NEB RV Soden UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ηκουσα ως א 046^{c} 94 104 206 1006 1611^{c} 1841 1854 2050 2344 pm phil hark sa; **Bover HF^{txt} Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

Revelation 5:13

- θαλασσης א 1611* a gig hark sa arm; **HF^{marg} Tisch Treg UBS**
- θαλασσης εστιν A 1006 1611^{c} 1841 1854 2329 2344 pm phil; **Bover (HF^{txt} RV etc.** θαλασσης εστι**) Lach Merk NEB Soden [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- θαλασσης α εστιν P 046 205 209 2050 pm vg; **HF^{marg}**
- θαλασσης οσα εστιν 2053 2351; **HF^{marg}**

Revelation 6:8

- ο θανατος (A ο αθανατοσ) P 046 2329 2351 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB RV Soden Treg [UBS] [Vogels] Weiss [WH]**
- θανατος א C 61* 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2073; **Bover HF^{marg} Tisch**

Revelation 6:11(B)

- πληρωθωσιν A C 385 2344 a gig phil sa bo; **(HF^{marg}? RV etc.** πληρωθωσι**) Lach Merk NEB UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- πληρωσωσιν א P 046 1006 1841 1854 2053 2351 *Byz*; **(HF^{txt} etc.** πληρωσωσι**) Bover Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**
- πληρωσουσιν 1611 2329; **(HF^{marg}** πληρωσουσι**)**

Revelation 7:1

- μετα τουτο A C 1006 1626 1841 1854 2053 2351 a gig vg hark^{marg} arm; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και μετα τουτο א (P pm etc. και μετα τουτα) 046 1611 2329 *Byz* pesh (hark *και* μετα τουτο); **HF Soden Tisch [Treg] Vogels WH^{marg}**

Revelation 8:6

- ητοιμασιν αυτους א* A 2351; **Lach NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- ητοιμασιν εαυτους א^{1} P 046 61 94 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels Weiss**

Revelation 9:5

- εδοθη αυτοις א A 792 1611 2053 2070 2080; **Bover HF^{marg}? Lach Merk NEB Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εδοθη αυταις P 046 0207 61 94 1006 1841 1854 2329 2351 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} RV Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Revelation 9:7

- ομοια P 046 0207 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels WH^{txt}**
- ομοιοι א 792 2926 2344; **Merk NEB Tisch Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ομοιωματα A
- ομοιωμα 2351

Revelation 9:20

- ουδε μετενοησαν P^{47} א 046 61 69 2053^{txt} 2344; **NEB Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ουτε μετενοησαν A 1 181 1611 pm; **HF^{marg} Lach Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- ου μετενοησαν C P$^{apud\ NA27}$ 94 206 1006 1841 1854 (2329 και ου μετενοησαν) 2351 pm; **Bover Gr HF^{txt} Merk RV WH^{txt}**

Revelation 9:21

- φαρμακων P^{47} א C 61^{c} 69 1006 1611 1841 1854 pm; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach RV Soden Treg UBS WH^{txt}**
- φαρμακειων (A etc. φαρμακιων) P 046 61* 2053 2329 244 2351 pm; **HF^{marg} Merk NEB (Tisch φαρμακιων) Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**

Revelation 10:8

- λαβε το βιβιον A C 61 69 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- λαβε το βιβλαριδιον א P 1 2344 2351; **HF^{marg} Soden Tisch Vogels**
- λαβε το βιβλιδαριον 046 *Byz*; **HF^{txt}**
- λαβε το βιβλαριον 2329

Revelation 11:11

- εισηλθεν εν αυτοις A 94 206 1006 1841 1854 2329 2351; **Bover Gr HF^{marg} Lach Merk RV Tisch UBS Weiss (WH [εν])**
- εισηλθεν αυτοις C P 1611 2053; **HF^{marg} Soden Treg Vogels**
- εισηλθεν εις αυτους P^{47} א 046 61 69 205 209 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} NEB**
- εισηλθεν επ αυτους **HF^{marg}**

Revelation 11:15

- λεγοντες A 046 2053 2351 pm; **Gr HF^{txt}(!) Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- λεγουσαι P^{47} א C P 051 94 104 206 1006 1611 1841 1854 2329 2344 pm; **Bover HF^{marg} Soden Treg Vogels**

Revelation 11:16A

- οι ενωπιον P^{47} א^{c} C P 046$^{apud\ NA27}$ 051 1006 1611 1841 1843 2053^{marg} 2329 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} Merk NEB Soden RV Tisch Treg (UBS WH [οι]) Vogels Weiss**
- ενωπιον א* A 2053^{txt} 61 69 104; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach**

Revelation 11:16B

- του θεου καθημενοι A P 051 1854 2329 (2351 του θεου οι καθημενοι) pm; **HF^{marg} Merk NEB Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- του θεου οι καθηηνται א* 046 94 104 206 pm; **HF^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg**
- του θεου καθηηνται P^{47} א^{2} C 1006 1611 1841 2053 2344; **Bover RV WH^{marg}**

Revelation 12:2

- εχουσα και P^{47} א A C 1006 1841 2053 am cav ful; **Bover Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch UBS [Vogels] Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εχουσα P 046 1611 1854 2020 2080 2329 2351 *Byz* hark; **HF Soden Treg WH^{marg}**

Revelation 12:3

- μεγας πυρρος A P 051 1841 2352; **Bover HF^{marg} (NEB) UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- πυρος μεγας C 046 1611 1854 2329 2344 pm hark **HF^{txt}**
- πυρρος μεγας P^{47} א 2053; **Lach? Merk (RV) Soden? Tisch? Treg? Vogels? WH^{marg}**
- μεγας πυρος 1006 2351 phil; **HF^{marg}**

Revelation 12:5

- αρσεν A C; **HF^{marg}? Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch Treg UBS WH**
- αρσενα P^{47} א P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2351 *Byz*; **Bover (HF^{txt} Soden Vogels etc.** αρρενα**) Weiss**

Revelation 12:10A

- κατηγωρ A; **Gr Lach (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- κατηγορος P^{47} א C P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2351 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Treg Vogels**

Revelation 12:10B

- αυτους ενωπιον P^{47} A P 051 pm; **HF^{marg} Lach NEB Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- αυτων ενωπιον א C 046 61 69 94 206 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 2351 pm; **Bover HF^{txt} Merk RV Soden Treg**

Revelation 12:12

- οι ουρανοι A 051 206 1006 1611 1851 073 2344 2351 pm; **HF^{marg} Bover Lach [UBS] WH^{marg}**
- ουρανοι א C P 046 1854 2053 2329 pm; **HF^{txt} Merk (NEB) RV Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Revelation 12:18 (13:1 in **HF**)

- εσταθη P^{47} א A C 61 205 209 1854 2344 2351 a gig am ful leg hark arm; **Lach Merk NEB^{txt} RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- εσταθην P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 2053 2329 *Byz* cav sang phil sa bo; **Bover HF NEB^{marg} Soden Tisch Vogels**

Revelation 13:1

- ονοματα A 046 051 205 209 1611 1854 2053 2344 2351 pm a am cav sanger hark; **Gr HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg (UBS** ονομα**[**τα**]) Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ονομα P^{47} א C P 1006 1841 2042 2057 2091 2329 pm gig ful leg sangall phil sa bo arm; **Bover HF^{marg} Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

Revelation 13:8

- ου ου γεγραπται το ονομα αυτου C 1854 2053; **Lach (Merk [**αυτου**]) RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- ων ου γεγραπται τα ονομα 2351 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} Soden Vogels**
- ων ου γεγραπται τα ονομα αυτου 1611 hark; **Bover NEB**
- ων ου γεγραπται τα ονοματα αυτων P^{47} 1006 1841 2329
- ων γεγραπται τα ονοματα αυτων א*
- ων ου γεγραπται τα ονοματα א^{2} P 051;
- ων ουτε γεγραπται τα ονομα 046; **HF^{marg}?**
- ων ου γεγραπται τα ονοματα **HF^{marg}**
- ουαι γεγραπται το ονομα αυτου A

Revelation 13:15

- ινα οσοι A P 104 1006 1841 2329 2344 a gig; **Bover Lach (Merk Soden UBS Vogels WH [**ινα**]) NEB RV Treg Weiss**
- οσοι א 046 (051 1 1854 *om. sed add a.* θηριου αποκτανθωσιν) 205 209 1611 2351 2377 *Byz*; **HF Tisch**

Revelation 13:18

- και ο αριθμος αυτου (א *om.* και ο αριθμος αυτου) A 046 2377 pm; **HF^{txt} Lach Merk (NEB) (RV) Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και ο αριθμος αυτου εστιν (P^{47} εστιν δε *et om.* και ο αριθμος αυτου) C P 051 94 206 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 pm hark; **Bover HF^{marg} Soden Treg WH^{marg}**

Revelation 14:3

- ως ωδην A C 051 35 42 1006 1841 2073 pm a vg phil; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk RV [Soden] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels WH**
- ωδην P^{47} א P 046 205 209 1611 1854 2053 2329 2344 2377 pm gig t hark arm; **Gr HF^{txt} NEB Tisch Weiss**

Revelation 14:8

- αγγελος δευτερος א^{2} (C αγγελος δευτερον) P 051 94 181 206 1611 2042 2053 2073 2344 pm (gig); **HF^{marg} (NEB) Tisch UBS Weiss**
- δευτερος αγγελος A 046 1 2329 pm; **HF^{txt} Lach Merk (RV) Treg Soden Vogels (WH [δευτεροσ] αγγελοσ)**
- δευτερος P^{47} א* 1006 1841 1854 phil; **Bover**
- αγγελος 69 a vg; **HF^{marg}?**

Revelation 14:18

- ο εχων A C 2329; **Lach Merk (NEB) RV [UBS] [WH] Weiss**
- εχων P^{47} א P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**

Revelation 16:6

- δεδωκας πιειν A C 1611 2329; **Lach Merk NEB RV Treg (UBS [δ]εδωκασ]) Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εδωκας πιειν P^{47} א P 046 051 1006 1841 2053 2062 *Byz*; **Bover HF Soden Tisch Vogels WH^{marg}**
- εδωκεν πιειν 1854

Revelation 16:12

- τον Ευφρατην א P 046 051 1 61 69 94 181 1854 2053 2062 2344 pm; **Bover Lach HF^{marg} Merk (RV) Soden [Treg] UBS [WH]**
- Ευφρατην P^{47} A C 1 1006 1611 1841 2329; **Gr HF^{txt} (NEB) Tisch Vogels Weiss**

Revelation 16:14

- της ημερας της μεγαλης א 61 69 2053 2062 2329 gig vg arm; **Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- της μεγαλης ημερας P^{47} A 1611 1841 2040; **Bover Lach WH^{marg}**
- της ημερας εκεινης της μεγαλης 046 051 1854 *Byz*; **HF (Soden [εκεινησ])**
- *omit* 1006

Revelation 16:18

- ανθρωπος εγενετο A; **Lach NEB RV^{marg} Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{marg}**
- ανθρωπος εγενοντο P^{47}
- ανθρωποι εγενοντο א 046 051 (1 pm **HF^{txt}** οι ανθρωποι εγενοντο) 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2062 2329 *Byz* a gig h phil hark; **Bover HF Merk RV^{txt} Soden Vogels WH^{txt}**

Revelation 17:3A

- κοκκινον γεμοντα א* A P 2053 2062 2329; **Lach NEB RV Tisch (Treg Weiss etc. κοκκινον γεμον τα) (UBS γεμον [τα]) WH**
- κοκκινον γεμον א^{2} 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} (HF^{marg}? κοκκινον γεμων) Merk Soden Vogels**

Revelation 17:3B

- εχων κεφαλας A 104 459 598 1006 2060 2329; **UBS WH^{txt}**
- εχωντα κεφαλας א P 2053^{comm} 2062^{comm}; **NEB Tisch WH^{marg}**
- εχον κεφαλας 046 051 1611 1841 1854 2030 2053^{txt} 2062^{txt} *Byz*; **Bover HF Lach Merk RV Soden Treg Vogels Weiss**

Revelation 17:4

- χρυσιω A 046 1854 2030 2053 2062 pm; **Gr HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- χρυσω א P 051 94 1006 1611 1841 2329 2344 pm; **Bover HF^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

Revelation 17:7

- εγω ερω σοι A 046 94 104 1006 1611 1841 2030 2053 2062 pm gig; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- εγω σοι ερω א P 051 1854 2329 2344 pm am cav ful leg; **HF^{marg} Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**

Revelation 17:8

- υπαγει A 1611 2053 2062 phil sa (bo); **Lach Merk NEB RV^{marg} UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- υπαγειν א P 046 051 205 209 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2329 2344^{vid} *Byz* a gig vg hark arm; **Bover HF RV^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**

Revelation 17:13

- εξουσιαν A 046 61 69 1004 424 1006 1841 2030 2329 pm; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- την εξουσιαν א P 051 1611 1854 2053 2062 pm; **HF^{marg} [Merk] Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**

Revelation 18:9A

- κλαυσουσιν C P 046 051 1005 1611 1841 1854 2030 2329 *Byz*; **Bover (HF^{txt} etc. κλαυσουσι) NEB Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- κλαυσονται א A 1 2053 2062; **HF^{marg} Lach Merk RV Soden Tisch WH^{marg}**

Revelation 18:9B

- επ αυτην א C 046 051 1854 2030 pm; **HF^{txt} Merk NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- επ αυτη A P 1 1006 1611 1841 2053 2062 2329 pm; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach WH^{marg}**
- επ αυτης ; **Vogels**

Revelation 18:12

- μαργαριτων א 792 1006 1611 1841 2080 gig phil hark; **Bover HF^{marg}? Merk NB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- μαργαριτας C P; **Lach WH^{marg}**
- μαργαριτου 046 051 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 *Byz* a am; **HF^{txt} Soden Vogels**
- μαργαριταις A ful

Revelation 18:16

- κεχρυσωμενη εν א C P 051 0229 1611 pm; **HF^{marg} Merk NEB Soden Tisch [UBS] Vogels [WH]**
- κεχρυσωμενη A P 046 1006 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 pm a gig vg; **Bover GR HF^{txt} Lach RV Treg**

Revelation 18:24

- αιμα א A C P 046* 1 94 1611 2053 2062 2329 a gig phil hark sa bo; **HF^{marg} Lach Merk NEB Soden Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- αιματα 046^{c} 051 1006 1841 1854 2030 *Byz*; **Bover HF^{txt} RV Tisch Vogels**

Revelation 19:5

- και οι φοβουμενοι A 046 051 (0229) 205 209 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 2344 *Byz* a gig vg phil hark arm; **Bover HF Lach [Merk] [Soden] [Treg] [UBS] Vogels Weiss**
- οι φοβουμενοι א C P sa; **NEB RV Tisch WH**

Revelation 19:11

- καλουμενος πιστος και αληθινος 046 (1006) 1611 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 2344 pm gig leg val phil hark; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Merk RV^{txt} Tisch (UBS [καλουμενοσ]) Vogels**
- πιστος και αληθινος A P 051 205 209 pm arm; **HF^{marg} RV^{marg} Soden**
- πιστος καλουμενος και αληθινος א; **NEB Treg(!) Weiss (WH [καλουμενοσ])**
- πιστος και αληθινος καλουμενος 2028 a; **HF^{marg}?**
- καλουμενος πιστος 2329

Revelation 19:12

- ως φλοξ A 469 1006 1841 2073 2080 a gig vg phil hark bo arm; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach [UBS] WH^{marg}**
- φλοξ א P 046 051 205 209 1611 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 *Byz* arm; **HF^{txt} Merk NEB RV Soden Tisch Treg Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**

Revelation 19:13

- βεβαμμενον αιματι A 046 051 205 209 1854 2030 2344 *Byz* sa arm; **HF Lach Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss**
- ρεραντισμενον αιματι P (172 1006 1841 ερραντισμενον αιματι) 2329 a gig vg; **Bover NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} WH**
- περιρεραμμενον αιματι א$^{(2)}$; **Tisch**
- ερραμμενον αιματι (1611 ρεραμμενον) 2053 2062

Revelation 19:14

- τα εν τω ουρανω P 051 42 206 1006 1841 1854 2030 pm a vg sa; **Bover Gr HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB RV [UBS] Vogels WH Weiss**
- εν τω ουρανω א A 046 1611 2053 2062 2329 2344 pm gig; **HF^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg**

Revelation 19:17

- εν φωνη א 046 61 69 104 206 1854 2030 pm; **HF^{txt} Merk NEB Tisch [UBS] Vogels [WH] Weiss**
- φωνη A P 051 1006 1611 1841 2053 2062 2329 2344 pm a gig vg; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach RV Soden Treg**

Revelation 19:20A

- μετ αυτου ο ψευδοπροφητης א (1611* μετ αυτου ψευδοπροφητησ) 1854 2053 2062 2344 a vg; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- ο μετα αυτου ψευδοπροφητης 046 1006 61 94 104 206 1611^{c} 1841 2030 pm gig; **HF^{txt} Soden Vogels**
- ο μετ αυτου ο ψευδοπροφητης P 2329; **WH^{marg}**
- μετα ταυτο ο ψευδοπροφητης 051 pm; **HF^{marg}?**
- οι μετ αυτου ο ψευδοπροφητης A bo

Revelation 19:20B

- πυρος της καιομενης א A P a vg; **Lach Merk NEB RV Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- πυρος την καιομενην 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 *Byz* gig; **Bover HF Soden Vogels**

Revelation 20:2

- ο οφις ο αρχαιος A 2080; **Lach (NEB) Tisch Treg UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- τον οφιν τον αρχαιον א 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 2329 *Byz*; **Bover HF Merk (RV) Soden Vogels WH^{marg}**

Revelation 20:5

- οι λοιποι A 1611 gig am ful; **Lach Merk NEB R Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και οι λοιποι 046 051 1006 1841 1854 2050 (2329 α οι λοιποι) pm a; **Bover HF Soden Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- *omit* οι λοιποι... τελεσθη τα χιλια ετη א 2030 2053 2062 2377 pm phil

Revelation 20:6

- τα χιλια ετη א 046 1611 2053 2062 2329 hark; **Merk NEB RV^{marg} Tisch Treg [UBS] [WH]**
- χιλια ετη A 051 61 94 205 209 1006 1841 1854 2030 2050 2377 *Byz* arm; **Bover HF Lach RV^{txt} Soden Vogels Weiss**

Revelation 20:9

- πυρ εκ του ουρανου A 94 2053^{comm} 2080; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach NEB RV^{txt} Soden Tisch UBS Weiss WH^{txt}**
- πυρ απο του θεου εκ του ουρανου א^{2} P (046 2030 2329 pm **Gr HF^{txt}** πυρ εκ του ουρανου απο του θεου) (051 HF^{marg}? πυρ εκ θεου απο του ουρανου) (205 209 a gig πυρ εκ του θεου απο του ουρανου) 1006 1611 1841 2050 2053^{txt} 2062 am ful hark (HF^{marg}? εκ του θεου πυρ απο του ουρανου); **Merk RV^{marg} Treg Vogels WH^{marg}**
- πυρ απο του θεου 1854
- h.*t.* πυρ... λιμνην א*

Revelation 20:10

- και θειου A P 046 051 1854 2030 2050 *Byz*; **HF^{txt} Lach (NEB) Merk RV Soden Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- και του θειου א 1006 1611 1841 2329; **Bover HF^{marg} Tisch WH^{marg}**
- του θειου 2053 2062

Revelation 20:11

- κατημενον επ αυτον P 046 051 2030 2050; **Gr HF^{txt} NEB) Soden Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{marg}**
- κατημενον επ αυτου A 1006 1611 1841 2053 2062 2329; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk (RV) WH^{txt}**
- κατηημενον επ αυτω 1854
- κατημενον επανω αυτου א; **Treg**

Revelation 21:3

- μετ αυτων εσται αυτων θεος A 2030 (2050 και εσται) (2053^{txt} 2062 ο θεοσ) 2329 2377^{vid} vg; **Bover Lach NEB^{marg} (UBS [αυτων θεοσ]) Weiss WH^{marg}**
- εσται μετ αυτων א 1 sin; **HF^{marg} Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- μετ αυτων εσται 046 pm gig; **HF^{txt} Merk NEB^{txt} RV^{marg} WH^{txt}**
- μετ αυτων εσται θεος αυτων 1854; **RV^{txt}**
- εσται μετ αυτων θεος αυτων P 051^{supp} 205 209 pm; **HF^{marg}**
- μετ αυτων εσται θεος 1006 1611 1841

Revelation 21:4(A)

- οτι τα πρωτα א^{1} 046 1 205 209 1854 2050 pm a sin sangall; **HF^{txt} Merk NB Soden Tisch Vogels (Treg UBS [οτι]) Weiss WH^{marg}**
- τα πρωτα A P 051^{supp} (94 HF^{marg} τα γαρ πρωτα) 1006 1611 1841 2030 2053 2062 2329 2377 pm; **Bover Lach HF^{marg}? RV WH^{txt}**
- τα προβατα א*
- οτι ταυτα 2050

Revelation 21:5

- λεγει A 046 61 94 104 1611 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 pm am cav; **HF^{txt} Lach Merk RV Tisch UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- λεγει μοι א P 051^{supp} 1006 1841^{vid} 2050 pm a ful val phil sa bo; **Bover HF^{marg} (NEB) Soden [Treg] WH^{marg}**

Revelation 21:14

- πολεως εχων A 1006 2329 2377; **HF^{marg}? (NEB) RV Tisch Treg UBS Vogels WH**
- πολεως εχον א^{2} P 046 051^{supp} 1611 1841 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 *Byz Byz*; **HF^{txt} Bover Lach Merk Soden Weiss**
- πολεως א*

Revelation 21:18

- και η ενδωμησις א^{2} A P 1611 2030 2053 2062 2377 gig t arm; **HF^{marg}? (Lach etc. ενδομησισ) (NEB) RV Tisch UBS Weiss WH**
- και ην ενδωμησις א*; **Soden**
- και ην η ενδωμησις 046 051^{supp} 1006 1841 1854 2050 2329 *Byz* a vg; **HF^{txt} Bover (Merk [ην]) Treg Vogels**

Revelation 21:27

- και ο ποιων (א* και ο ποιων ωσει) 1854 pm; **Bover HF^{txt} Merk (NEB) RV Tisch Treg (UBS WH [ο]) Vogels**
- και ποιων א^{2} A 1006 1841 (2030 2377 ουδε ποιων) 2050 2329; **HF^{marg}? Lach Soden Weiss**
- και ποιουν P 046 051^{supp} 1611^{supp} 2053 2062 pm gig; **HF^{marg}**

Revelation 22:2

- αποδιδουν A 1006 1841 2030 2053 2062 2329 pm; **Bover HF^{marg} Lach Merk (NEB) RV UBS Vogels Weiss WH^{txt}**
- αποδιδους א 046 051^{supp} 1611^{supp} 1854 2050 pm; **HF^{txt} Soden Tisch Treg WH^{marg}**

Revelation 22:5

- φωτισει A P 181 1006 1841 2050 2329; **Bover Lach (NEB) RV UBS Weiss WH**
- φωτειει א 61 69 1611^{supp} 1854; **HF^{txt} Merk Soden Tisch Treg Vogels**
- φωτιζει 792 gig; **HF^{marg}**

Revelation 22:8

- ακουων και βλεπων A 046 051^{supp} 1611^{supp} 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 pm a gig am ful hark; **HF^{txt} Lach Merk NEB RV Treg UBS Vogels Weiss WH**
- βλεπων και ακουων א 181 424 1006 1841 1852^{c} 2080 2329 pm phil bo; **Bover HF^{marg} Soden Tisch**

Revelation 22:18

- ο θεος επ αυτον A^{c} 046 1006 1611^{supp} 1841 1854 2053 2062 2329 pm; **Bover HF^{txt} Lach Merk (NEB) RV Treg UBS Weiss WH**
- επ αυτον ο θεος א 051^{supp} 206 424 2030 (2050 HF^{marg} ...επ αυτω) 2377 pm; **HF^{marg} Soden Tisch Vogels**
- ο θεος A*

Revelation 22:21A

- μετα παντων A (2050 μετα παντων ημων; ful leg val **NEB^{txt}**! μετα παντων υμων) 2066 a am cav leg sanger; **Bover Lach NEB^{marg} RV^{marg} Tisch UBS Weiss**
- μετα των αγιων א (2329 μετα των αγιων σου) gig; **NEB^{marg} RV^{txt} Treg WH**
- μετα παντων των αγιων 046 051^{supp} 205 209 1006 1611^{supp} 1841 1854 (2030 phil ...αγιων αυτου) 2053 2062 *Byz* hark sa bo; **HF Merk NEB^{marg} Soden Vogels**

Revelation 22:21B

- *omit* αμην A 1006 1841^{vid} a gig ful sanger; **Bover Gr HF^{marg} Lach NEB^{txt} Tisch Treg UBS WH Weiss**
- a*dd* αμην א 046 051^{supp} 205 209 1611^{supp} 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 2329 *Byz* am cav leg val phil hark sa (bo); **HF^{txt} Merk NEB^{marg} RV Soden Vogels**

Part 2: Orthographic Variants

The following list summarizes orthographic variants. Only the seven major editions, plus Hodges & Farstad, are listed. Note that most of these variants are *not* included in the list of variants in the Nestle-Aland editions.

- **Matthew 3:16** -- ηνεωχθησαν **Merk UBS WH** / ανεωχθησαν **Bover HF Soden Tisch Vogels**

- **Matthew 9:30** -- ηνεωχθησαν **Merk UBS WH** / ανεωχθησαν **Bover HF Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **Matthew 18:17** -- ειπε **Bover HF Soden UBS Vogels** / ειπον **Merk Tisch WH**
- **Mark 4:20** -- ἔν (x3) **Bover HF UBS Vogels WH** / ἐν (x3) **Merk Soden Tisch**
- **Mark 5:33** -- γνοι **Bover Tisch UBS WH** / γνω **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **Mark 12:1** -- εξεδετο **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / εξεδοτο **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Mark 12:4** -- εκεφαλιωσαν **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / εκεφαλιαωσαν **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Mark 13:15** -- εισελθατω **Tisch UBS WH** / εισελθετω **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **Mark 14:55** -- ηυρισκον **Bover Merk UBS WH** / ευρισκον **HF Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **Luke 3:1 (x3), 3:19** -- τετρααρχουντος **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / τετραρχουντος **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Luke 5:2(B)** -- αλιεις **Bover HF Soden UBS Vogels** / αλεεις **Merk Tisch WH**
- **Luke 5:2(C)** -- επλυνον **Bover UBS (Vogels** απεπλυνον**) WH**^{txt} / επλυναν **(HF Soden** απεπλυναν**) Merk Tisch WH**^{marg}
- **Luke 5:21** -- αφειναι **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / αφιεναι **Bover (HF) Soden Vogels**
- **Luke 6:48** -- πλημμυρης **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / πλημμυρας **Bover HF**^{txt} **(HF**^{marg} πλημυρασ**) Soden Vogels**
- **Luke 7:6** -- ακατονταρχης **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / ακατονταρχος **Bover (HF) Soden Vogels**
- **Luke 7:12** -- αὐτὴ **Bover HF UBS Vogels WH** / αὕτη **Merk Soden Tisch**
- **Luke 8:38** -- εδειτο **Merk UBS WH** / εδεετο **Bover HF Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **Luke 9:7** -- τετρααρχης **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / τετραρχης **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Luke 9:48** -- ος εαν (1) **HF Merk Tisch UBS Vogels** / ος αν **Bover Soden WH**
- **Luke 10:40** -- ειπε ουν **Bover HF Soden UBS Vogels** / ειπον ουν **Merk Tisch WH**
- **Luke 13:13** -- ανωρωθωθη **Bover HF Merk UBS WH** / ανορωθωθη **Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **Luke 14:13** (cf. 14:21) -- αναπειρους **Soden UBS WH** / αναπηρους **Bover HF Merk Tisch Vogels**

- **Luke 14:21** (cf. 14:13) -- αναπειρους **Soden UBS WH** / αναπηρους **Bover HF Merk Tisch Vogels**
- **Luke 19:48** -- εξεκρεματο **Bover HF Soden UBS Vogels** / εξεκρεμετο **Merk Tisch WH**
- **Luke 22:30** -- εσθητε **Merk Tisch UBS Vogels** / εσθιητε **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Luke 22:49** -- μαχαιρη **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / μαχαιρα **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Luke 23:30** -- πεσετε **Bover HF Soden UBS** / πεσατε **Merk Tisch Vogels WH**
- **John 4:7, 9, 10** -- πειν **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / πιειν **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **John 4:17** -- ειπας **Bover HF Soden UBS Vogels** / ειπες **Merk Tisch WH**
- **John 5:19** -- εαν **Bover HF Soden UBS** / αν **Merk Tisch Vogels WH**
- **John 6:18** -- διεγειρετο **Merk UBS WH** / διηγειρετο **Bover HF Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **John 9:17** -- ηνεωξεν **Merk UBS WH** / ηνοιξεν **Bover** (**HF** ηνοιξε) **Tisch Vogels** / ανεωξεν **Soden**
- **John 14:3** -- παραλημψομαι **Merk HF Tisch UBS WH** / παραληψομαι **Bover Soden Vogels** /
- **John 16:14** -- λημψεται **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / ληψεται **Bover HF Soden Vogels** /
- **John 16:14** -- λημψεσθε **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / ληψεσθε **Bover HF Soden Vogels** /
- **John 9:32** -- ηνεωξεν **Merk UBS WH** / ηνοιξεν **Bover** (**HF** ηνοιξε) **Soden Tisch Vogels** /
- **Acts 1:23** -- μαθθιαν **Bover Tisch UBS WH** / ματθιαν **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **Acts 1:26** -- μαθθιαν **Bover Tisch UBS WH** / ματθιαν **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **Acts 2:21** -- αν **HF Soden Tisch UBS** / ματθιαν **Bover Merk Vogel UBS**
- **Acts 7:11** -- ηυρισκον **Bover Merk UBS WH** / ευρισκον **HF Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **Acts 11:5** -- αχρι **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / αχρις **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Acts 13:1** -- τετρααρχου **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / τετραarχου **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Acts 18:14** -- ανεσχομην **Merk Tisch UBS WH** / ηνεσχομην **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Acts 23:22** -- με **Bover HF Merk Soden UBS** / εμε **Tisch Vogels WH**

- **Acts 26:29** -- και εγω **Bover Merk UBS WH /** καγω **HF Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **Acts 27:33** -- μηθεν **Tisch UBS WH /** μηδεν **Bover HF Merk Soden UBS**
- **Acts 28:20** -- ενεκεν **Bover HF Soden UBS Vogels /** εινεκεν **Merk Tisch WH**
- **Romans 16:7** -- Ιουνιᾶν **Bover Merk UBS /** Ιουνίαν **HF Soden Tisch Vogels WH**
- **1 Corinthians 9:4** -- πειν **Tisch UBS WH /** πιειν **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **1 Corinthians 10:7** -- πειν **Tisch UBS WH /** πιειν **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **1 Corinthians 16:2** -- εαν **UBS WH /** αν **Bover HF Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **2 Corinthians 3:16** -- δε εαν **Merk Tisch UBS WH /** δ αν **Bover HF Soden /** δ εαν **Vogels**
- **Philippians 2:23** -- αφιδω **Tisch UBS WH /** απιδω **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **1 Thessalonians 2:8** -- ευδοκουμεν **HF Tisch UBS Vogels WH /** ηυδοκουμεν **Bover HF Merk Soden**
- **1 Thessalonians 3:1** -- ευδοκησαμεν **HF Soden UBS Vogels /** ηυδοκησαμεν **Bover Merk Tisch WH**
- **Hebrews 9:5** -- χερουβιν **Tisch UBS WH /** χερουβιμ **Bover HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **Hebrews 10:37** -- χρονισει **Bover Tisch UBS WH /** χρονιει **HF Merk Soden Vogels**
- **2 John 8** (cf. Παρτ 3) -- ειργασαμεθα **HF UBS /** ηργασαμεθα **WH /** ειργασασθε **Bover Soden Tisch Vogels** ηργασασθε **Merk**
- **Revelation 10:9** -- απηλθα **Merk Tisch UBS WH /** απηλθον **Bover HF Soden Vogels**
- **Revelation 13:5** -- τεσσαρακοντι και δυο **Bover [UBS] [WH] /** τεσσαρακοντι δυο **HF Merk Soden Tisch Vogels**
- **Revelation 13:18** -- εξακοσιοι εξηκοντα εξ **Merk Soden UBS Vogels WH^{txt} /** χξν **Bover HF Tisch /** εξακοσιαι εξηκοντα εξ **WH^{marg}**
- **Revelation 21:4(B)*** -- απηλθαν **Bover Tisch UBS WH^{txt} /** απηλθον **Soden Merk /** απηλθεν **HF Vogels WH^{marg}**
- **Revelation 22:8(B)** -- δεικνουοντος **HF^{marg} Merk Vogels UBS WH /** δεικνυντος **Bover HF^{txt} Soden Tisch /**

* Note that this is not a purely orthographic variant, but the non-orthographic variant is not well enough supported to be considered strongly contested.

Part 3: Clear Minority Readings

The following list shows all readings where UBS goes against the clear consensus of the earlier versions — i.e. it has no more than one supporter among the six major editions.

Note: No attempt is made to show *which* variant in each verse is the clear minority reading; this can be found by consulting NA[27]. Variants in accents and breathings (e.g. Luke 8:42) are generally not listed.

- Matthew 8:13, 10:14, 11:9, 12:10, 13:28, 13:30, 15:6, 19:10, 19:28, 20:20, 20:30, 20:31, 24:37, 24:38, 27:16, 27:17, 18:18
- Mark 3:14, 3:25, 3:31, 4:8(A), 4:28(B), 6:2(A), 6:22(A), 6:23(A), 7:9, 7:28, 16:4
- Luke 4:8, 5:9, 5:18, 6:3, 6:5(B), 7:45, 8:29(A), 9:18, 9:52, 9:59(A), 9:62, 10:15, 10:32, 10:35, 10:40, 11:11B, 11:33, 12:24, 12:54, 12:56(B), 13:7, 13:27(B), 14:26(B), 15:13, 15:16(A), 16:4, 16:16, 17:33(A), 18:24, 20:9, 22:7, 22:18, 22:61, 23:42, 24:28, 24:49(B), 24:50
- John 1:26, 3:23, 3:27, 3:28, 4:5, 4:29, 4:53, 5:10, 6:37, 6:52, 7:3, 7:24, 7:39A, 7:39B, 8:28, 8:41, 8:52, 11:22, 11:54, 12:12(B), 13:2, 13:24, 15:8, 16:23, 16:28, 17:2, 17:25, 20:30, 21:4, 21:17(A)
- Acts 2:26, 2:43(A), 2:44(B), 3:22, 4:9, 7:22, 7:31, 7:43, 9:12(B), 11:22, 12:28, 13:6, 13:14, 15:4A, 15:4B, 15:41, 16:9, 16:12, 16:33, 19:15, 23:20, 26:4(B), 27:16, 27:23, 28:13
- Romans 5:1, 8:24, 9:19, 10:5, 10:15, 16:27
- 1 Corinthians 4:17(A), 9:16, 10:9(A), 13:3, 16:22
- 2 Corinthians 1:12(A), 5:3, 6:4, 8:16, 9:4, 9:10, 12:6
- Galatians 1:18, 4:23, 6:2
- Ephesians 1:20, 5:2
- Philippians 1:14, 1:24, 3:13
- Colossians 1:3, 2:12, 3:22
- 2 Thessalonians 1:2, 2:6, 2:12
- 1 Timothy 2:9(A), 6:13
- 2 Timothy 3:12
- Titus 1:10, 2:3

- Hebrews 5:3, 9:11, 9:14, 11:11, 11:13, 12:9, 12:15A, 12:15B
- James 4:14
- 1 Peter 2:5, 5:11(B)
- 2 Peter 2:6, 2:9
- 1 John 3:15, 3:21, 4:10, 5:10, 5:20
- 2 John 5, 8 (cf. Part 2)
- Jude 5 (x2), 15, 16
- Apocalypse: 6:1, 6:11(A), 11:18, 12:8, 13:3, 13:10, 17:8(B), 18:2, 18:21, 19:7, 21:6, 21:12, 21:16

Part 4: Rate of Variants

The following table attempts to approximate the number of highly uncertain variants per unit of length. The method used is quite simple: We count the total variants listed above, then divide by the number of pages the book occupies (in Barbara & Timothy Friberg, *Analytical Greek New Testament,* the only edition of UBS I have which does not have variant readings, so that the amount of text per page is roughly constant). Readings are sorted in descending order based on this statistic — i.e. the books with the greatest rate of uncertainty are listed first.

Note that this list does not include the Clear Minority Variants listed above; obviously Luke is the book where the UBS committee made the most changes from what seemed nearly certain before. But it is not the book where the editors are least sure of themselves, as the table below makes clear:

Book	Pages	Variants	Variants/Page
Mark	63*	136	2.16
John	83	171	2.06
2 Peter	7	13	1.86
Luke	110	190	1.73
Matthew	105	180	1.71
Jude	3	5	1.67
1 Thessalonians	8.5	14	1.65
Apocalypse	55	90	1.64
Colossians	9	14	1.56
Philemon	2	3	1.50
2 Thessalonians	4.5	6	1.33
2 John	1.5	2	1.33
1 Peter	11	14	1.27
Acts	107	132	1.23
Galatians	13	15	1.15
Romans	40	44	1.10
1 Corinthians	38	40	1.05
Ephesians	14	14	1.00
1 John	12	11	0.92
2 Corinthians	25.5	21	0.83
James	10	8	0.80
Titus	4	3	0.75
1 Timothy	10	7	0.70
Philippians	9	6	0.67
2 Timothy	7.5	5	0.67
Hebrews	32	19	0.59
3 John	1.5	0	0.00

* Includes the first page containing the Longer Ending but not that containing the shorter.

If we wish to look at the places where the UBS text is in the clear minority, our figures become

Book	Pages	Variants	Variants/Page
2 John	1.5	2	1.33
Jude	3	4	1.33
2 Thessalonians	4.5	3	0.67
Titus	4	2	0.50
1 John	12	5	0.42
John	83	30	0.36
Luke	110	37	0.34
Philippians	9	3	0.33
Colossians	9	3	0.33
2 Peter	7	2	0.29
2 Corinthians	25.5	7	0.27
Hebrews	32	8	0.25
Apocalypse	55	13	0.24
Acts	107	25	0.23
Galatians	13	3	0.23
1 Timothy	10	2	0.20
1 Peter	11	2	0.18
Mark	63	11	0.17
Matthew	105	17	0.16
Romans	40	6	0.15
Ephesians	14	2	0.14
2 Timothy	7.5	1	0.13
1 Corinthians	38	5	0.13
James	10	1	0.10
1 Thessalonians	8.5	0	0
Philemon	2	0	0
3 John	1.5	0	0

If we combine the two lists of variants, we can list the books where the UBS most often stands on shaky ground, either because the variant is highly uncertain or because the UBS has gone against most of what went before:

Book	Pages	Variants	Variants/Page
Jude	3	9	3.00
2 John	1.5	4	2.67
John	83	201	2.42
Mark	63	147	2.33
2 Peter	7	15	2.14
Luke	110	227	2.06
2 Thessalonians	4.5	9	2.00
Colossians	9	17	1.89
Matthew	105	197	1.88
Apocalypse	55	103	1.87
1 Thessalonians	8.5	14	1.65
Philemon	2	3	1.50
Acts	107	157	1.47
1 Peter	11	16	1.45
Galatians	13	18	1.38
1 John	12	16	1.33
Romans	40	50	1.25
Titus	4	5	1.25
1 Corinthians	38	45	1.18
Ephesians	14	16	1.14
2 Corinthians	25.5	28	1.10
Philippians	9	9	1.00
1 Timothy	10	9	0.90
James	10	9	0.90
Hebrews	32	27	0.84
2 Timothy	7.5	6	0.80
3 John	1.5	0	0

It's interesting to note that John, usually considered the Gospel least subject to fiddling (because it has no synoptic parallels) is the one where the text is least settled. It appears, looking at the overall picture, that the reason is the papyri: John exists in both P^{66} and P^{75}, and the data in these most vital of witnesses has influenced the UBS text substantially, often causing it to adopt readings most other editors rejected.

It also strikes me as interesting to see how different sections of the Bible "clump." The Gospels are all pretty uncertain; even Matthew, the gospel subject to the least uncertainty, is in the top

third of Biblical books. Paul's letters mostly stand low; only 2 Thessalonians and Colossians are in the top third, and even 2 Thessalonians, the most uncertain of all the Pauline books, trails three of the four gospels and is not much more uncertain than Matthew.

The Catholic Letters, however, are all over the map, from Jude our most uncertain book to 3 John our most certain. I had expected that the books of dubious canonicity would have the most variations, as Jude would seem to imply — but this is not so; even if we set aside 3 John as too short to be meaningful, we also find James and Hebrews at the very bottom of the list, and they too were of debated canonicity. 1 John and 1 Peter, the two Catholic epistles which were universally accepted, stand in the middle of the pack. To be sure, Jude and 2 Peter both stand among the most uncertain books.

I have no idea what this means. But it might be worth examining further.

Part 5: Agreements of the Texts

Various attempts in the past have been made to compare the nature of the sundry editions. The most recent to do this were the Alands, but they centered everything about the UBS edition. What we want is to compare all editions.

Particularly, at least in this article, in the most strongly disputed readings. So the following tables show the agreements of the more important cited texts in each of the various books. I've also included a few key manuscripts in each comparison.

Matthew

	— MANUSCRIPTS —				— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	D	Byz	Bover	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Vogel	Weiss	WH
א	—	37%	35%	29%	31%	29%	40%	81%	28%	37%	31%	46%	50%
B	37%	—	35%	19%	49%	53%	22%	41%	58%	61%	25%	84%	83%
D	31%	32%	— -	41%	54%	38%	33%	37%	52%	55%	39%	35%	35%
Byz	26%	17%	41%	—	46%	48%	64%	24%	44%	39%	83%	17%	13%
Bover	31%	49%	59%	51%	—	42%	47%	37%	62%	65%	52%	47%	49%
Merk	29%	53%	41%	53%	42%	—	51%	26%	53%	51%	57%	54%	48%
Sode	40%	22%	36%	71%	47%	51%	—	35%	39%	31%	69%	19%	20%
Tisch	81%	41%	40%	27%	37%	26%	35%	—	34%	38%	27%	51%	53%
Treg	28%	58%	57%	49%	62%	53%	39%	34%	—	72%	49%	54%	59%
UBS	37%	61%	60%	43%	65%	51%	31%	38%	72%	—	44%	63%	65%
Vogel	31%	25%	43%	91%	52%	57%	69%	27%	49%	44%	—	26%	17%
Weis	46%	84%	39%	19%	47%	54%	19%	51%	54%	63%	26%	—	76%
WH	50%	83%	38%	15%	49%	48%	20%	53%	59%	65%	17%	76%	—

There is much that is interesting here. It is no great surprise that Westcott and Hort are very close to B — though Weiss is equally close (a 1% difference in this sample is hardly significant, the more so as I'm having to take Weiss secondhand). Nor is Tischendorf's fondness for א unexpected. That Vogels is basically the Byzantine text rehashed is not news, either, and Soden's methods make it no surprise that he's the next most Byzantine. But it is noteworthy that Bover and Merk — often treated as falling somewhere between von Soden and Hort — show no affinity to each other or, indeed, anything else.

And then there are the affinities of the UBS text. It is, other than Weiss and B, the closest relative of Hort's text. But, contrary to what is often charged, the UBS text is not a rehash of WH, because its closest relative is — *Tregelles*. This may not apply beyond the bounds of the Most Uncertain readings, but it's an additional testament to this much-underestimated editor.

Mark

	— MANUSCRIPTS —				— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	D	Byz	Bover	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Vogel	Weiss	WH
א	—	43%	30%	26%	39%	43%	35%	69%	40%	46%	30%	40%	48%
B	43%	—	24%	18%	42%	55%	14%	38%	53%	72%	32%	87%	90%
D	30%	24%	—	48%	53%	30%	41%	32%	50%	41%	36%	27%	28%
Byz	24%	16%	44%	—	46%	43%	64%	27%	51%	30%	73%	17%	16%
Bover	39%	42%	53%	50%	—	36%	54%	44%	53%	49%	43%	38%	47%
Merk	43%	55%	30%	47%	36%	—	47%	32%	53%	47%	54%	57%	59%
Sode	35%	14%	41%	70%	54%	47%	—	40%	47%	24%	69%	17%	18%
Tisch	69%	38%	32%	30%	44%	32%	40%	—	41%	45%	28%	45%	42%
Treg	40%	53%	50%	56%	53%	53%	47%	41%	—	53%	57%	48%	53%
UBS	46%	72%	41%	32%	49%	47%	24%	45%	53%	—	37%	70%	73%
Vogel	30%	32%	36%	80%	43%	54%	69%	28%	57%	37%	—	32%	29%
Weis	40%	87%	27%	19%	38%	57%	17%	45%	48%	70%	32%	—	83%
WH	48%	90%	28%	18%	47%	59%	18%	42%	53%	73%	29%	83%	—

The picture here is not too different from that in Matthew, except in two regards: One is that the UBS text has distinctly shifted toward B and its allies Weiss and Westcott-Hort. The other is that Tregelles has gone in the opposite direction, away from UBS. Something to watch in the next two books…

Luke

	— MANUSCRIPTS —				— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	D	Byz	Bover	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Vogel	Weiss	WH
א	—	41%	37%	33%	43%	45%	42%	58%	33%	46%	35%	39%	43%
B	41%	—	29%	12%	32%	64%	21%	28%	48%	80%	22%	81%	92%
D	37%	29%	—	46%	52%	30%	45%	42%	54%	35%	43%	35%	32%
Byz	32%	11%	45%	—	61%	32%	64%	46%	52%	21%	84%	20%	6%
Bover	43%	32%	52%	63%	—	41%	66%	43%	61%	37%	62%	33%	30%
Merk	46%	64%	30%	33%	41%	—	34%	34%	47%	65%	42%	70%	67%
Sode	42%	21%	45%	66%	66%	34%	—	42%	50%	30%	67%	22%	16%
Tisch	58%	28%	42%	48%	43%	34%	42%	—	42%	35%	44%	37%	36%
Treg	33%	48%	54%	54%	61%	47%	50%	42%	—	51%	56%	44%	45%
UBS	46%	80%	35%	22%	37%	65%	30%	35%	51%	—	26%	76%	76%
Vogel	35%	22%	43%	87%	62%	42%	67%	44%	56%	26%	—	28%	18%
Weis	39%	80%	35%	20%	33%	70%	21%	36%	44%	76%	28%	—	80%
WH	43%	92%	32%	7%	30%	67%	16%	36%	45%	76%	18%	81%	—

Here we see a major change. The older editions — Tischendorf, Soden, Vogels, Westcott-Hort — show pretty much their old affinities. But UBS has changed: It has shifted to following B consistently, causing it to move distinctly toward Westcott-Hort and Weiss. The agreement would be even more extreme were it not for the “Western Non-Interpolations.” It may be that P^{75} has changed the way the evidence is viewed. It may be, in addition, that P75 most strongly affects the variants which are most uncertain. In any case, the data seems to provide evidence of a textual shift in UBS.

John

	— MANUSCRIPTS —				— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	D	Byz	Bover	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Vogel	Weiss	WH
א	—	33%	44%	36%	44%	30%	43%	64%	28%	43%	36%	35%	37%
B	33%	—	27%	12%	35%	42%	16%	46%	67%	66%	18%	69%	92%
D	37%	23%	—	41%	45%	25%	45%	35%	39%	35%	43%	28%	22%
Byz	35%	12%	47%	—	48%	47%	66%	29%	35%	25%	81%	28%	11%
Bover	44%	35%	53%	49%	—	43%	65%	36%	45%	50%	60%	46%	36%
Merk	30%	42%	29%	48%	43%	—	51%	38%	48%	42%	58%	53%	48%
Sode	43%	16%	53%	68%	65%	51%	—	28%	39%	31%	74%	31%	18%
Tisch	64%	46%	42%	30%	36%	38%	28%	—	41%	49%	28%	43%	49%
Treg	28%	67%	46%	36%	45%	48%	39%	41%	—	58%	39%	58%	67%
UBS	43%	66%	41%	25%	50%	42%	31%	49%	58%	—	31%	62%	68%
Vogel	36%	18%	51%	83%	60%	58%	74%	28%	39%	31%	—	36%	17%
Weis	35%	69%	33%	29%	46%	53%	31%	43%	58%	62%	36%	—	69%
WH	37%	92%	27%	11%	36%	48%	18%	49%	67%	68%	17%	69%	—

Interestingly, the pattern we saw in Luke, of UBS moving dramatically toward B, is not as obvious here. UBS does agree with B and WH more than anything else, but it's drifted back "Byzantine-ward," leaving it about as distant from WH as are Weiss and Tregelles. This even though UBS shows distinctly less agreement with Tregelles than does WH. It is a curious pattern.

Acts

	— MANUSCRIPTS —				— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	D	Byz	Bover	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Vogel	Weiss	WH
א	—	42%	32%	21%	46%	32%	37%	87%	48%	60%	20%	44%	43%
B	42%	—	30%	18%	44%	58%	13%	47%	70%	50%	30%	80%	96%
D	23%	22%	—	32%	31%	23%	27%	24%	28%	25%	27%	21%	22%
Byz	20%	17%	41%	—	43%	45%	67%	17%	33%	29%	77%	22%	18%
Bover	46%	44%	42%	45%	—	42%	55%	45%	55%	47%	48%	43%	43%
Merk	32%	58%	32%	47%	42%	—	44%	31%	52%	42%	54%	60%	57%
Sode	37%	13%	37%	71%	55%	44%	—	32%	31%	39%	70%	12%	12%
Tisch	87%	47%	33%	18%	45%	31%	32%	—	55%	57%	21%	52%	50%
Treg	48%	70%	38%	34%	55%	52%	31%	55%	—	53%	40%	67%	70%
UBS	60%	50%	34%	30%	47%	42%	39%	57%	53%	—	33%	54%	50%
Vogel	20%	30%	36%	81%	48%	54%	70%	21%	40%	33%	—	33%	31%
Weis	44%	80%	29%	23%	43%	60%	12%	52%	67%	54%	33%	—	84%
WH	43%	96%	30%	19%	43%	57%	12%	50%	70%	50%	31%	84%	—

In entering this data, I had a curious feeling about the UBS text of Acts. For the first half, it really seemed as if the UBS text was simply correcting the text of WH back toward the Byzantine text. In the second half of Acts, that largely stopped, and it became a matter of UBS vacillating between א and B in the places where they disagreed. (Note how low the rate of agreement is between א and B in this sample). The other thing we note is how UBS tends toward א rather than B. But the bottom line is that the UBS text doesn't much resemble *anything*. Note the 57% rate of agreements with Tischendorf (in line with the 60% agreement with א) and the fact that that is the highest rate of agreement with any text, and Weiss is the only other text it agrees with even 50% of the time. Compare that to, say, John — there are three different texts of that book (Tregelles, Weiss, and WH) which agree with UBS more often than Tischendorf agrees with UBS in Acts. I have no explanation for this change.

Romans

	— MANUSCRIPTS —				— EDITIONS —									
	א	B	D	1739	Byz	Bove	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Voge	Weis	WH
א	—	45%	40%	50%	30%	41%	43%	30%	82%	39%	64%	27%	36%	77%
B	45%	—	40%	45%	18%	50%	48%	25%	59%	75%	59%	23%	82%	61%
D	39%	39%	—	48%	48%	68%	39%	39%	34%	55%	52%	41%	39%	36%
1739	50%	45%	49%	—	55%	45%	55%	48%	41%	57%	39%	48%	36%	50%
Byz	30%	18%	49%	55%	—	55%	55%	77%	18%	43%	32%	82%	32%	25%
Bove	41%	50%	70%	45%	55%	—	36%	48%	36%	57%	59%	48%	52%	39%
Merk	43%	48%	40%	55%	55%	36%	—	52%	43%	68%	48%	55%	41%	50%
Sode	30%	25%	40%	48%	77%	48%	52%	—	16%	36%	30%	80%	34%	39%
Tisch	82%	59%	35%	41%	18%	36%	43%	16%	—	48%	61%	18%	55%	70%
Treg	39%	75%	56%	57%	43%	57%	68%	36%	48%	—	52%	39%	61%	55%
UBS	64%	59%	53%	39%	32%	59%	48%	30%	61%	52%	—	34%	55%	68%
Voge	27%	23%	42%	48%	82%	48%	55%	80%	18%	39%	34%	—	34%	32%
Weis	36%	82%	40%	36%	32%	52%	41%	34%	55%	61%	55%	34%	—	48%
WH	77%	61%	37%	50%	25%	39%	50%	39%	70%	55%	68%	32%	48%	—

For Paul, observe that I have added 1739 to the “standard” witnesses used in the Gospels and Acts.

Note the interesting fact that the UBS text prefers א to B, pushing it rather close to Tischendorf. This seems to be a reflection of the fact that, in Paul, א and B do not seem to be the same type of text — and the conservative UBS editors preferred the classic Alexandrian text of א A 33 to the text of P^{46} and B. Other interesting point: The attraction of Bover to D and the closeness of Tregelles to B.

Because the books of Paul are short, we won’t do statistics for all the remaining books. Instead, we’ll break the rest of Paul down into groups: 1+2 Corinthians, Galatians-Ephesians-Philippians-Colossians–1+2 Thessalonians, Pastorals+Philemon, Hebrews.

1+2 Corinthians

	— MANUSCRIPTS —					— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	D	1739	Byz	Bove	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Voge	Weis	WH
א	—	25%	47%	43%	33%	44%	49%	44%	70%	46%	46%	38%	36%	46%
B	25%	—	49%	54%	32%	48%	43%	31%	43%	66%	62%	36%	79%	70%
D	47%	48%	—	46%	35%	56%	34%	33%	56%	59%	61%	36%	52%	33%
1739	43%	54%	47%	—	35%	43%	48%	46%	48%	56%	43%	43%	52%	52%
Byz	33%	31%	36%	34%	—	39%	61%	67%	28%	41%	33%	77%	33%	31%
Bove	45%	48%	58%	43%	40%	—	25%	49%	43%	51%	62%	38%	43%	48%
Merk	50%	43%	36%	48%	62%	25%	—	66%	38%	43%	33%	74%	44%	49%
Sode	45%	31%	34%	46%	68%	49%	66%	—	31%	41%	31%	79%	21%	38%
Tisch	72%	43%	58%	48%	28%	43%	38%	31%	—	62%	54%	31%	59%	46%
Treg	47%	66%	61%	56%	42%	51%	43%	41%	62%	—	51%	46%	66%	54%
UBS	47%	62%	63%	43%	33%	62%	33%	31%	54%	51%	—	31%	64%	64%
Voge	38%	36%	37%	43%	78%	38%	74%	79%	31%	46%	31%	—	31%	39%
Weis	37%	79%	54%	52%	33%	43%	44%	21%	59%	66%	64%	31%	—	64%
WH	47%	70%	34%	52%	32%	48%	49%	38%	46%	54%	64%	39%	64%	—

The obvious point here is that so many of these variants occur where א and B disagree — note the astonishingly low 25% rate of agreement between the two. א, in this sample, has fewer agreements with B than any other text cited, including even the Byzantine text and Vogels. Since this is not the case overall, it is a clear indication of the way the editors have treated Paul. One must assume that, except for Vogels and von Soden, all the editors essentially accepted the agreements of א and B as decisive: if they agreed, that was the original reading. Another interesting point is the low rates of agreements among the texts themselves. Admittedly the very definition of “highly uncertain readings” is such that the determining texts (Bover, Merk, Soden, Tisch, UBS, Vogels, WH) will have low agreement rates. But Tregelles and Weiss are freer to agree with anything. Instead, they agree most often with each other. This probably should tell us something about the texts involved. (Personally, I think that says we should give Tregelles and Weiss more weight, but that’s just me.)

Galatians-Ephesians-Philippians-Colossians–1+2 Thessalonians

	— MANUSCRIPTS —					— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	D	1739	Byz	Bove	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Voge	Weis	WH
א	—	33%	39%	41%	29%	35%	35%	38%	75%	45%	43%	38%	32%	55%
B	33%	—	38%	48%	23%	49%	48%	25%	51%	58%	58%	33%	74%	75%
D	39%	38%	—	45%	48%	51%	52%	48%	39%	58%	54%	45%	41%	32%
1739	41%	48%	45%	—	48%	54%	43%	57%	41%	46%	51%	55%	46%	45%
Byz	28%	22%	46%	46%	—	41%	51%	70%	22%	36%	29%	71%	32%	19%
Bove	35%	49%	51%	54%	42%	—	42%	58%	33%	45%	61%	51%	51%	42%
Merk	35%	48%	52%	43%	53%	42%	—	57%	35%	51%	48%	68%	57%	48%
Sode	38%	25%	48%	57%	73%	58%	57%	—	20%	33%	43%	72%	35%	23%
Tisch	75%	51%	39%	41%	23%	33%	35%	20%	—	57%	46%	32%	49%	61%
Treg	45%	58%	58%	46%	38%	45%	51%	33%	57%	—	46%	38%	58%	58%
UBS	43%	58%	54%	51%	30%	61%	48%	43%	46%	46%	—	43%	58%	59%
Voge	38%	33%	45%	55%	74%	51%	68%	72%	32%	38%	43%	—	49%	36%
Weis	32%	74%	41%	46%	33%	51%	57%	35%	49%	58%	58%	49%	—	59%
WH	55%	75%	32%	45%	20%	42%	48%	23%	61%	58%	59%	36%	59%	—

As in 1 and 2 Corinthians, most of our uncertain reading come about where א and B differ — observe that they agree in only a third of these variants. Vogels and Soden go with the Byzantine text, Westcott-Hort (and Weiss) with B, Tischendorf with א, and Bover, Merk, and UBS fall somewhere in between though all tend more toward B. All seem to feel some Byzantine pull also — note that Bover and Merk both agree with B less than half the time, and UBS, while it agrees with it over half the time, agrees with D almost as often. As in the Corinthian letters, the one clear conclusion appears to be that agreements of B and א were again pretty decisive.

1 Timothy–2 Timothy-Titus-Philemon

	— MANUSCRIPTS —				— EDITIONS —								
	א	D	1739	Byz	Bove	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Vogel	Weiss	WH
א	—	28%	22%	28%	56%	28%	22%	67%	50%	39%	22%	39%	39%
D	28%	—	28%	39%	50%	22%	33%	28%	44%	44%	44%	44%	44%
1739	22%	28%	—	50%	33%	50%	39%	28%	22%	50%	56%	44%	39%
Byz	28%	39%	50%	—	28%	67%	56%	17%	11%	44%	89%	44%	28%
Bove	56%	50%	33%	28%	—	33%	28%	56%	56%	56%	33%	44%	50%
Merk	28%	22%	50%	67%	33%	—	56%	28%	22%	56%	67%	33%	28%
Sode	22%	33%	39%	56%	28%	56%	—	28%	39%	39%	61%	28%	44%
Tisch	67%	28%	28%	17%	56%	28%	28%	—	67%	44%	11%	56%	61%
Treg	50%	44%	22%	11%	56%	22%	39%	67%	—	61%	17%	39%	67%
UBS	39%	44%	50%	44%	56%	56%	39%	44%	61%	—	50%	56%	72%
Vogel	22%	44%	56%	89%	33%	67%	61%	11%	17%	50%	—	39%	33%
Weis	39%	44%	44%	44%	44%	33%	28%	56%	39%	56%	39%	—	67%
WH	39%	44%	39%	28%	50%	28%	44%	61%	67%	72%	33%	67%	—

The most noteworthy point about these four books is not in fact evident from these statistics — it is the fact that these four books have only eighteen highly uncertain readings (and many of those are places where the tradition is completely fractured). The reason seems pretty clear: B does not exist for these books. This strikes me as a pretty revealing point: The great tension in NT criticism is between B and all the other things that are not-B. Eliminate B and the picture changes a great deal. (Which bears thinking about: How much influence could one more undiscovered manuscript perhaps have, if it is as substantial and as significant as B?) Curiously, the editions do not, in this case, shift either toward א or 1739, the two manuscripts which might otherwise be considered the best alternatives to B; they remain pretty much scattered. Westcott and Hort, it's true, didn't have 1739, and neither did Tregelles (or Tischendorf, but he would surely have remained biased toward א no matter what), but all the newer editors did. The signal lack of a pattern in these books is, to me at least, disturbing.

Hebrews

	— MANUSCRIPTS —					— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	D	1739	Byz	Bove	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Voge	Weis	WH
א	—	22%	22%	42%	26%	58%	32%	32%	84%	37%	47%	21%	47%	63%
D	21%	67%	—	53%	53%	47%	74%	53%	21%	74%	47%	58%	53%	53%
1739	42%	44%	56%	—	63%	42%	63%	53%	37%	53%	42%	63%	32%	47%
Byz	26%	33%	56%	63%	—	32%	68%	68%	26%	47%	37%	68%	21%	32%
Bove	58%	56%	50%	42%	32%	—	47%	58%	63%	58%	42%	47%	68%	63%
Merk	32%	56%	78%	63%	68%	47%	—	68%	21%	58%	47%	68%	47%	53%
Sode	32%	22%	56%	53%	68%	58%	68%	—	32%	37%	42%	89%	26%	32%
Tisch	84%	33%	22%	37%	26%	63%	21%	32%	—	42%	37%	21%	53%	68%
Treg	37%	89%	78%	53%	47%	58%	58%	37%	42%	—	68%	47%	68%	74%
UBS	47%	67%	50%	42%	37%	42%	47%	42%	37%	68%	—	53%	63%	58%
Voge	21%	33%	61%	63%	68%	47%	68%	89%	21%	47%	53%	—	37%	32%
Weis	47%	89%	56%	32%	21%	68%	47%	26%	53%	68%	63%	37%	—	74%
WH	63%	78%	56%	47%	32%	63%	53%	32%	68%	74%	58%	32%	74%	—

In Matthew, we found Tregelles as the closest ally of the UBS text. That situation returns here; Weiss is also rather close. Vogels and Soden remain close to the Byzantine text. Westcott-Hort remains the outlying text. Bover and Merk as usual fall somewhere on the other side of the UBS text, but not close to each other. The sample in Hebrews is relatively small, so it's hard to produce detailed data.

Catholic Epistles

Because these books are so short, we really have to lump them together. Yes, the books have different textual histories, but remember that we're talking mostly about the *editors* here. For these books, in place of D, we offer 614 and 1739 to give us a full range of witnesses.

	— MANUSCRIPTS —					— EDITIONS —								
	א	B	614	1739	Byz	Bove	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Voge	Weis	WH
א	—	29%	31%	37%	31%	54%	40%	52%	67%	44%	37%	40%	38%	33%
B	29%	—	19%	21%	21%	50%	33%	10%	44%	58%	60%	31%	87%	88%
614	31%	19%	—	60%	65%	38%	60%	69%	25%	29%	46%	58%	25%	23%
1739	37%	21%	60%	—	54%	50%	42%	65%	42%	46%	50%	40%	19%	25%
Byz	31%	21%	65%	54%	—	25%	63%	63%	21%	37%	44%	73%	25%	25%
Bove	54%	50%	38%	50%	25%	—	40%	33%	67%	62%	46%	27%	54%	56%
Merk	40%	33%	60%	42%	63%	40%	—	56%	25%	38%	52%	58%	42%	40%
Sode	52%	10%	69%	65%	63%	33%	56%	—	33%	35%	40%	71%	12%	33%
Tisch	67%	44%	25%	42%	21%	67%	25%	33%	—	58%	35%	23%	54%	67%
Treg	44%	58%	29%	46%	37%	62%	38%	35%	58%	—	50%	42%	54%	56%
UBS	37%	60%	46%	50%	44%	46%	52%	40%	35%	50%	—	42%	60%	56%
Voge	40%	31%	58%	40%	73%	27%	58%	71%	23%	42%	42%	—	29%	27%
Weis	38%	87%	25%	19%	25%	54%	42%	12%	54%	54%	60%	29%	—	88%
WH	33%	88%	23%	25%	25%	56%	40%	13%	50%	56%	56%	27%	88%	—

The rather amazing thing is that our sample manuscripts are so diverse. It's perhaps to be expected that א and B would diverge a lot, but you would think that 614 or 1739 (chosen as well-known representatives of two important families of minuscules) would agree with one or the other of the two. The extremely low agreement rate between Soden and B is probably an artifact: Because so many other editors incline toward B, you won't get a Most Uncertain reading unless Soden goes against it.

It is interesting to note that the UBS text here doesn't really have a closest relative. No editor is closer to it than it is to B, and the two closest editions (Weiss and WH) are themselves little more than reprints of B. We do see a curious clump composed of Bover, Tischendorf, and Tregelles — curious because of course Tischendorf is close to א (though perhaps not as close here as in other sections) and the others are not. Merk is surprisingly Byzantine. It would seem that, in this case, the rule is that the "alliances" in these books are Merk-Soden-Vogels against Bover-Tischendorf against UBS-WH (with frequent defections, of course). Where the latter two groups agree, or where one of the Merk-Soden-Vogels group defects to agree with one of the other two groups against the other, we have an uncertain variant.

Apocalypse

	— MANUSCRIPTS —					— EDITIONS —								
	א	A	P	046	Byz	Bove	Merk	Sode	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Voge	Weis	WH
א	—	16%	36%	38%	37%	40%	37%	45%	62%	47%	29%	32%	27%	30%
A	16%	—	31%	20%	12%	32%	52%	26%	38%	44%	69%	34%	66%	67%
P	33%	29%	—	47%	63%	45%	34%	57%	30%	39%	34%	52%	41%	33%
046	37%	20%	50%	—	88%	47%	51%	60%	37%	45%	32%	59%	36%	32%
Byz	21%	7%	39%	51%	—	36%	25%	48%	13%	24%	10%	47%	17%	11%
Bove	40%	32%	49%	48%	63%	—	39%	52%	30%	41%	36%	49%	33%	37%
Merk	37%	52%	38%	52%	45%	39%	—	46%	43%	54%	63%	57%	64%	69%
Sode	45%	26%	63%	61%	86%	52%	46%	—	32%	52%	26%	70%	33%	29%
Tisch	62%	38%	33%	38%	22%	30%	43%	32%	—	47%	54%	33%	52%	46%
Treg	47%	44%	43%	46%	43%	41%	54%	52%	47%	—	52%	46%	48%	57%
UBS	29%	69%	38%	33%	18%	36%	63%	26%	54%	52%	—	40%	79%	77%
Voge	32%	34%	56%	60%	84%	49%	57%	70%	33%	46%	40%	—	45%	44%
Weis	26%	66%	44%	36%	31%	32%	63%	32%	52%	47%	78%	45%	—	70%
WH	30%	67%	36%	33%	20%	37%	69%	29%	46%	57%	77%	44%	71%	—

Please note that the numbers for the Byzantine text here require some caution. Because the majority text of the Apocalypse is split between the “strict” Byzantine and the Andreas texts, it is often not possibly to cite a “Byzantine” (=Majority) text. Throw in the slight defects in P, and you have a distorted picture of the relationship between P, 046, Andreas, and the Byzantine and Majority texts.

We also see something perhaps rather surprising: Even in the Apocalypse, the UBS text is closer to Westcott and Hort than anything else. This despite the very “un-Hortian” classification of the witnesses in this book and the relatively low value placed on א. One might argue that they are both following A, I suppose — but they agree with each other more than they agree with A!

Soden and Vogels are mostly Byzantine, of course, and Tischendorf still manages to be close to א (observe that he is the only editor to agree with א more than 50% of the time). This means that Tischendorf joins Bover and Merk in deciding if a reading is highly uncertain or not: If all three agree either with the UBS-WH cluster or with Soden-Vogels, then the reading is secure; if they split, it is uncertain.

Overall Summary

Although comparisons across corpuses are dubious, we might as well compile some statistics.

For starters, there is the total number of Most Uncertain Variants. I count 1152. Because of the slightly fuzzy definition of what is a variant, this number might vary slightly if I did the examination again (which I won't, because it took hundreds of hours!), but it seems safe to assume that there are between 1100 and 1200 readings which fit the general criterion.

Of these 1152, 670 (58%) are in the gospels.
132 (11%) are in Acts.
211 (18%) are in Paul (including Hebrews).
52 (5%) are in the Catholic Epistles
87 (8%) are in the Apocalypse

It will be evident that any statistics for the New Testament as a whole will be dominated by the Gospels, but let's do it anyway. We won't do manuscripts here, just edited texts (plus the Byzantine text):

	Byz	Bover	Merk	Soden	Tisch	Treg	UBS	Vogels	Weiss	WH
Byz	—	46%	45%	64%	27%	41%	29%	77%	23%	16%
Bover	49%	—	40%	55%	41%	54%	50%	51%	43%	42%
Merk	45%	40%	—	48%	33%	50%	50%	56%	56%	54%
Soden	64%	55%	48%	—	33%	41%	32%	71%	23%	21%
Tisch	27%	41%	33%	33%	—	46%	46%	30%	48%	49%
Treg	41%	54%	50%	41%	46%	—	56%	46%	54%	58%
UBS	29%	50%	50%	32%	46%	56%	—	36%	65%	67%
Vogels	77%	51%	56%	71%	30%	46%	36%	—	33%	26%
Weiss	23%	43%	56%	23%	48%	54%	65%	33%	—	75%
WH	16%	42%	54%	21%	49%	58%	67%	26%	75%	—

Once again we see a block consisting of Westcott-Hort, Weiss, and UBS; this is presumably centered around B insofar as it exists. We have another block around the Byzantine text, with Vogels a zealous follower and von Soden only slightly less so. That leaves Bover, Merk, Tischendorf, and Tregelles unaffiliated — with each other or with anything else. Note that Bover's closest kinship is only 55%, with von Soden; Merk's is 56% with Vogels and Weiss; Tischendorf's is a mere 49%, with Westcott-Hort, and Tregelles's is 58%, with Westcott-Hort. Tregelles seems to be inclining toward Westcott-Hort, with the limitation that he had relatively poor materials to work with; once again we see his skill in handling the little he had. Tischendorf's idiosyncratic text is surely the result of his adherence to א. Bover and Merk we simply have to call eclectic.

Appendix X: A Sample Collation

A Collation of P^{46}, א, A, B, D, K, L, 056, 0142, 0243, 223, 330, 1022, 1739, 1799 in Hebrews

Note: Only sections where 0243 is extant have been collated

N.B. Throughout the book, small portions of L have been retraced by a later corrector. In most instances the corrector seems to have preserved the original writing, but sometimes the original or corrected text is illegible.

N.B. In 1:1-4, L is illegible for occasional letters throughout the verses.

N.B. 223 is defective for 1:1-1:6 (begins αγγελοι)

1:1 πατρασιν + ημων P^{46c}

1:2 εσχατων] εσχατου P^{46} א A B D K L(* partly illegible) 0243 330 1739 1799; αισχατων 0142

ελαλησεν] ελαλησε και $א^{2\text{-vid}}$

ημιν] ημειν P^{46} *(itac.)*

υιω] υιωι (!) 0142

ον] ων 056

εθηκεν] εθηκε B^{c} 056 0142; εθετο 1022

κληρονομον] κληνομον 1799

και] *omit* P^{46}

τους αιωνας εποιησεν (056 εποιησε; 0142 εποιησα)] εποισεν τους αιωνας P^{46} א A B^{*} (B^{c} 0243 εποισε) $D^{*,2}$ 1739^{c}?

1:3 φερων] φανερων $B^{*,2}$

αυτου δι εαυτου] δι αυτου P^{46}; αυτου א A B D^{1} (corrected by D^{2}); αυτου δι αυτου D* 1022; δι εαυτου 0243 1739

ποιησαμενος των αμαρτιων] των αμαρτιων ποιησαμενος P^{46} א* ($א^{2}$ D^{1} των αματιων ημων ποιησαμενος; see below) A B D* 0243 1739

ημων] *omit* P^{46} א* A B D* 0243 1739

εκαθισεν εν] εκαθεισεν εν A *(itac.);* εκαθισεν 0243 *(hapl?)*

δεξια] + του θρονου 056 0142

υψηλοις] υπιλοις 1022*

1:4 τοσουτω] τοσουτων P^{46}; τοσουτον K

κρειττων] κριττων P^{46} א A *(itac.)*; κρειττω (D* κριττω) D^{2} 330; κρειττον K (056^{vid} κρειττ....)

των] *omit* P^{46} B

οσω] + και K

αυτους] αυτοις 0243

κεκληρονομηκεν] κεκληρονομικεν 1022 1799

N.B. In 1:5-7, P^{46} is defective for up to ten letters at the beginning of each line.

1:5 ειπεν] ειπε B^{c} 0142

ποτε των αγγελων] ~ των αγγελων ποτε D* 330

αυτω] *omit* א* (added by $א^{1}$)

εσται] εστε D* *(itac.?)*

1:6 εισαγαγη] P^{46} defective except for a possible final H but has room for only five letters (i.e. read perhaps αγαγη?)

N.B. In 1:7, P^{46} is defective τους αγγελους...λειτουργους αυτου

1:7 αγγελους (1)] + αυτου D*

πνευματα] πνα D 1022 1799

λειτουργους] λιτουργους א B* D* *(itac.)*

1:8 του αιωνος] *omit* B

ραβδος ευθυτητος η ραβδος] και η ραβδος της ευθυτητος ραβδος P^{46} א^{1} A B 0243 1739; και η ραβδος א* *(h.a.?);* και ραβδος ευθυτητος η ραβδος D* (corrected by D2)

βασιλειας] βασιλεας D*

σου (2)] αυτου P^{46} א B

1:9 εμισησας] εμεισησας P^{46} B*

ανομιαν] αδικιαν א A; ανομιας D*

εχρισεν] εχρεισεν P^{46} A B* D^{1} (correcting D* and corrected back by D^{2}) *(itac.)*; εχρισε 056 0142 330

ο θεος ο θεος] ο θεος θεος 056^{vid} (but θεος1 is at the end of the line and the missing letter might have been cut off in the margin)

σου] *omit* P^{46*}

ελαιον] ελεον B* L 056 0142; ελεος D*

N.B. In 1:11-13, P^{46} is defective for up to four letters at the end of each line

1:11 διαμενεις] διαμενις D* (itac.); διαμενης 1022

ιματιον] ειματιον D* *(itac.)*

1:12 ωσει] ως D*

περιβολαιον] περιβολεον A *(itac.)*

ελιξεις] αλλαξεις א* (corrected by א^{2}) D^{1} (corrected by D^{2}); αλλαξις D*

αυτους] + ως ιματιον P^{46} א A B D* (corrected by D^{1}) 1739

και (2)] omit D*

συ δε] + και א* (corrected by original scribe)

ετη] ετι 1022

εκλειψουσιν] εγκλειψουσιν A*^{vid}; εκλιψουσιν א B* (corrected by B^{2}) D* (corrected by D^{1}) *(itac.);* εκλειψουσι B^{c} 330

1:13 ειρηκεν] ειρηκε B^c 056 0142 330

αν] *omit* D* (corrected by D^1)

ποδων] ποδω $330^{c\text{-vid}}$

1:14 εισιν] εισι P^{46} B 056 0142

λειτουργικα] λιτουργικα א D^1 (correcting D* and corrected back by D^2) *(itac.)*

πνευματα] πνα 1022

διακονιαν] διακονιας B

μελλοντας] μελλονοντας 330

κληρονομειν] κληρονομιν D* (corrected by D^1) (itac.);

N.B. In 2:1-3, P^{46} is defective for up to fifteen letters at the end of each line and occasional letters within the line

2:1 δια τουτο... παραρρυωμεν] *omit (entire verse)* 0243 1739

δει περισσοτρως] ~ περισσοτερως δει א; δι περισσοτερως D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.?)*

ημας προσεχειν] ~ προσεχειν ημας P^{46} (א προσεχιν ημας itac.) A B* (B^c προσεχει ημας) D 1022

ακουσθεισιν] ακουσθεισι B^c 056 0142; ακουθισιν D* (corrected by D^1); ακουθησιν L*; ακουσθησι 1022* 1799

παραρρυωμεν] παραρυωμεν P^{46} א A B* D* L 1799

2:2 ει] αδελφοι ει 1799

αγγελων] αγγελου L; ααγελων *(sic)* 223

λαληθεις] λαληθις D* *(itac.)*

παραβασις] παραβασεις A *(itac.)*

2:3 εκφευξομεθα] εκφευξωμε.. $P^{46\text{-vid}}$; εκφευξομεν 056; εκφευξομαι 0142*

ημεις] ημις D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.)*

λαλεισθαι] λαλισθαι א *(itac.);* λαλεισθε A *(itac.?)*

ακουσαντων] ακουοντων 1799

εβεβαιωθη] εβεβαιωθηι 0142

2:4 συνεπιμαρτυρουντος] συνεπιμαρτυρουντες P^{46*} (corrected by original scribe); συνμαρτυρουντες B*; συμμαρτυρουντες B^2

σημειοις] σημιοις D* (corrected by D^1) 1799 *(itac.)*

τε] *omit* 0243 223 1022 1739 1799

τερασιν] τερασι B^c L 056 0142

δυναμεσιν] δυναμεσι B^c L 056 0142

μερισμοις] θερισμοις א* (corrected by $א^2$)

αυτου] του θεου D*

2:5 υπεταξεν] υπεταξε B^c 056 0142 2:6

διεμαρτυρατο] διεμαρτυρετο 330

τι] τις P^{46}

μιμνησκη] μημνησκη A

2:7 ηλαττωσας] ελαττωσας D*

τι παρ] τις γαρ $P^{46*\text{-vid}}$ (corrected by original scribe)

δοξη] δοξα 1799

τιμη] τειμη P^{46} B* *(itac.)*

εστεφανωσας αυτον] (א* partly illegible εστεφανω... ..τον; overwritten in $א^3$)

και κατεστησας αυτον... των χειρων σου] *omit* P^{46} B D^2 K L 056 0142 1799

2:8 υπεταξας] υπεταξεν 330

εν γαρ τω] εν τω γαρ א B D* 0243 1739; εν γαρ D^2

υποταξαι αυτω τα παντα] υποταξαι P^{46}; υποταξαι τα παντα B; τα παντα υποταξαι αυτω D

αφηκεν αυτω] αυτω αφηκεν P^{46}

τα (2)] *omit* P^{46}

N.B. In 2:9-11, P^{46} is defective for up to nine letters at the beginning of each line and occasional letters within the line

2:9 τι] τινα D*
ηλαττωμενον] ελαττωμενον 0142

βλεπομεν] βλεπωμεν L 056 0142

τιμη] τειμη P^{46} B* D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.)*

εστεφανωμενον] εστεφανομενον 330

χαριτι] χωρις 0243 1739^{text} (1739^{margin} illegible)

γευσηται] γευσεται D*

2:10 επρεπεν] επρεπε B^c L 056 0142 330

ον] ων 330

αρχηγον] αρχιγον L

σωτηριας] ζωης 1799

τελειωσαι] τελιωσαι א D *(itac.)*

N.B. In 2:11, P^{46} is defective for a whole line, αγιαζομενοι...δι ην. In 2:11-2:15, A is defective for up to seven letters at the end of each line.

2:11 γαρ] γαρ ο 056 0142 223; omit 330; αδελφοι ο 1799

αγιαζων] ο αγιαζων 0142

επαισχυνεται] αιπαισχυνεται A *(itac.)*; επεσχυνεται D* (corrected by D^1)

αδελφους αυτους] ~ αυτους αδελφους 0243 1022 1739

καλειν] καλιν D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.)*

2:12 εν μεσω] εμμεσω A

2:13 και παλιν...επ αυτω] *omit* 056 0142 *(h.a./h.t.*

2:14 επει] επι D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.)*

κεκοινωνηκεν] κεκοινωνηκε L 056 0142

σαρκος και αιματος] αιματος και σαρκος P^{46} א A B D 0243 1022 1739

μετεσχεν] μετεσχε B^c 056 0142

των αυτων] + παθηματων D* (corrected by D^1); τον αυτων K

θανατου] + θανατον D* (corrected by D^1)

τουτεστιν (τουτ εστιν)] τουτ εστι B 056 0142

2:15 απαλλαξη] αποκαταλλαξη A; απαλλαξει K L; απαλλαξηι 056 0142

δουλειας] δουλιας א D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.)*

2:16 επιλαμβανεται (1)] επιλαμβανετε A D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac. ?)*

αλλα σπερματος Αβρααμ λαμβανεται] *omit* 1799 *(h.t.?)*

επιλαμβανεται (2)] επιλανβανεται D*

2:17 ωφειλεν] ωφειλε B^c 056 0142; ωφιλεν D *(itac.)*

ομοιωθηναι] ωμοιωθηναι A; ομοιοθηναι 330

γενηται] γενητε D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.?)*

ιλασκεσθαι] ειλασκεσθε P^{46} A B* D* *(itac.);* ιλασεσθαι 330

τας αμαρτιας] ταις αμαρτιαις A

2:18 πεπονθεν αυτος] πεποθεν P^{46*vid}; αυτος πεπονθεν D; πεπονθεν αυτοις L

πειρασθεις] *omit* א*; πιρασθεις $א^3$ D* (corrected by D^1)

πειραζομενοις] πιραζομεοις א *(itac.)*

N.B. In 3:1–2, P^{46} is defective for up to thirteen letters at the end of each line, as well as some letters within the line and the entire line (εξιω)ται...τιμην

3:1 επουρανιου] ουρανιου 1799

κατανοησατε] κατανοησετε D*; κατανοησαται D^{1}; κατενοησατε 056 0142

ομολογιας] ομολογειας A *(itac.)*

χριστον Ιησουν] Ιησουν P^{46} א A B D* 0243 1739; Ιησουν Χριστον D^{2} K L 056 0142 223 330 1022 1799

3:2 ποιησαντι] ποιησαν 330^{c}

και] *omit* 1799

μωσην] μωυσης $P^{46\text{-vid}}$ K L 056 0142 223 330 1799

ολω] *omit* $P^{46\text{vid}}$ B

3:3 πλειονος] πλιονος D* (corrected by D^{1}) *(itac.)*

δοξης ουτος] ~ ουτος δοξης ($P^{46\text{-vid}}$.(υ).....(η)ς) א A B D 1022(* ουτως δοξης)

Μωσην] μωυσην B K L 056 0142 223 330 1799; μωυσεως D* (corrected by D^{1})

καθ οσον] οσω 1022

πλειονα] πλιονα D* (corrected by D^{1}) *(itac.)*

τιμην] τειμην B*

εχει του οικου] εχει or του οικου εχει P^{46}? (P^{46} defective for τιμην and its immediate context, but the words του οικου are missing after εχει and without the word, the preceding line would have only about 22 letters instead of the usual 25-28; with them; the preceding line has 30)

κατασκευασας] κατασκευαζων 056 0142

3:4 οικος] ο οικος 056 0142*vid

κατασκευαζεται] κατασκευαζετε A D* (corrected by D1) *(itac.)*

υπο τινος] ανωθεν υπο τινος 330

τα παντα] παντα P46 א A B D* K 0243 1739

κατασκευασας] σκευασας K; κατασκευαζων 056 0142

θεος] omit L2-vid

3:5 Μωσης] μωυσης P46 א D K L 223 330 1022

3:6 ου] ος P46 D* (corrected by D1) 0243vid 1739

οικος] ο οικος 330

εσμεν] μεν P46* (corrected by the original scribe)

ημεις] ημις D* *(itac.)*

εανπερ] εαν א1 (corrected by א2) B D* 0142c 0243 1739; καν א*

παρρησιαν] παρησιαν D*

μεχρι τελους βεβαιαν] *omit* P46 B (1022 omit μεχρι τελους only)

N.B. In 3:7-10, A is defective for up to six letters at the beginning of each line.

3:7 εαν] αν 0142*

φωνης] + μου P46* (corrected by original scribe)

3:8 σκληρυνητε] σκληρυνετε 1799

παραπικρασμω] πιρασμω (!) א

πειρασμου] πιρασμου א D* (corrected by D1) *(itac.)*

τη ερημω] τηι *(sic.)* ερημω 056vid 0142

3:9 ου] οπου D* (corrected by D^1)

με (1)] omit P^{46} א* A B D*

υμων] ημων A

εδοκιμασαν με] εν δοκιμασια P^{46} א* (A εν δοκιμα[..](α)) B D* 0243 1739; ενδοκιμασαν με D^2

ειδον] ιδον A *(itac.?)*

3:10 τεσσαρακοντα] τεσσερακοντα P^{46} א A^{vid} B* (B^c uncertain); M' (i.e. numeral) D

διο] *omit* 056 0142

προσωχθισα] προσωχθεισα A D^1 *(itac.);*

προσωχθησα K L 1022

εκεινη] ταυτη P^{46} א A B D* (corrected by D^1) 0243 1739

ειπον] ειπα A D^1 056 0142 223 1799; ειπαν D*

δε] *omit* 1799

3:11 ει] *omit* 1799

N.B. In 3:12-13, P^{46} is defective for up to seven letters at the beginning of each line and certain characters within the line, as well as missing the entire line (καλει)ται ινα... εξ υμων

3:12 βλεπετε αδελφοι] βλεπεται αδελφοι 330; αδελφοι βλεπετε 1799

εσται] εστε D* (corrected by D^1)

απιστιας] απιστειας A *(itac.)*

3:13 παρακαλειτε] παρακαλειται 330

αχρις] αχρι 0243 1739

το σημερον] το. σημερον (i.e. τον σημερον?) D^{vid}

καλειτε] καλειται A

τις εξ υμων] εξ υμων τις B D K L 330 223 1799 (P^{46} illegible)

της αμαρτιας] αμαρτιαις D* (corrected by D^1)

3:14 γεγοναμεν του χριστου] ~ του χριστου γεγοναμεν P^{46} א A B D 0243 1739; γεγοναμεν χριστου L

υποστασεως] + αυτου A; υποσγασεως *(sic.)* B*

3:15 λεγεσθαι] λεγεσθε A *(itac.?)*

σκληρυνητε] σκληρυνετε D*

3:16 αιγυπτου] εγυπτου א

μωσεως] μωυσεως P^{46} א B D K L 056 0142 330 1022 1799; μωυσεος 223

3:17 τισιν] τισι B^{c} L 056 0142

δε] + και A

προσωχθισεν] προσωχθεισεν A *(itac.);* προσωχισθε B^{c} 056 0142; προσωχθησε L; προσωχθεισα 330; προσωχθησαι 1022^{vid}

τεσσαρακοντα] τεσσερακοντα P^{46} א A B* (corrected by B^{2}); M' (i.e. numeral) D

αμαρτησασιν] απειθησασιν A

επεσεν] επεσαν D; επεσον 056^{vid} 223 1799; επεσε 1022

3:18 τισιν] τισι B^{c}c L 056 0142

ωμοσεν] ωμωσεν 0243^{*vid}; ωμοσε B^{c} L 056 0142

απειθησασιν] απιστησασιν P^{46-vid}; απιθησασιν א D* (corrected by D^{1}) *(itac.);* απειθησασι B^{1} 056 0142

3:19 βλεπομεν] βλεπωμεν 1022*

εισελθειν] εισελθιν א D* (corrected by D^{1}) (*itac.)*; ελθειν 0142* 1022

δι] δια D^{2} K L 330

4:1 ευηγγελισμενοι] ευαγγελισμενοι 0142

φοβηθωμεν] αδελφοι φοβηθωμεν 330 1799

καταλειπομενης] καταλιπομενης א D* *(itac.)*

επαγγελιας] επαγγελειας A *(itac.)*; της επαγγελιας D*

εισελθειν] εισελθιν א D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.)*

δοκη] δοκει L 056 0142 0243 1022* *(itac?)*; ου δυνηθωμεν δοκη 330

υστερηκεναι] υστερικεναι L

4:2 κακεινοι] εκεινοι 223

συγκεκραμενος] συνκεκερασμενους P^{46} A B* (B^c D^1 L συγκεκερασμενους) D*; συνκεκερασμενος א; συγκεκερασμενους 0243 1739; συγκεκραμενους (D^2 συνκεκρασμενους) 223 330 1799; συγκεκραμμενους 1022; συγκεκραμενους 0142

πιστει] πιστι D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.*

τοις ακουσασιν] των ακουσαντων D*

4:3 εισερχομεθα] εισερχωμεθα A γαρ] ουν א A 0243 1739

την] *omit* P^{46} B D* (corrected by D^1)

N.B. 0243 breaks off after 4:3 εις την; resumes 12:20 [λιθο]βοληθησεται

N.B. In 12:20-21, P^{46} is defective for several letters per line, including the entire lines φοβερον ην...εκφοβος ειμι N.B.

B is defective for the entire final portion of Hebrews

12:20 λιθοβοληθησεται] λιθοβολιθησεται 330

η βολιδι κατατιξευθησεται] *omit* P^{46} א A D K L 056 0142 0243 223 1022 1739 1799

12:21 και (1)] *omit* 056 0142 (330 illegible but has space)

ουτως] ουτω א* (corrected by א^{2}) A K (P^{46} ο(υ).. at end of line); ου D* (corrected by D^{1})

ην] η א* (corrected by א^{2})

μωσης] μωυσης א K L 056 0142 223 330 1799; μωσης γαρ 1022

εκφοβος] ενφοβος 0243, εμφοβος 1739

ειμι] omit א* (corrected by א^{2})

εντρομος] εκτρομος א D*

12:22 αλλα] ου γαρ A σιων] σειων P^{46} D* (corrected by D^{1}) *(itac.)*

και] *omit* D*

πολει] πολι D* (corrected by D^{1}) *(itac.)*

Ιερουσαλημ επουρανιω] Ιερουσαλημ επουρανιων A*; επουρανιω Ιερουσαλημ D*^{,2}; ιλημ επουνιωι *(sic.)* 056 0142

μυριασιν] μυριων αγιων D*; μυριασιν αγιων D$^{1\text{-vid}}$ (corrected by D^{2})

12:23 πανηγυρει] πανηγυρι D *(itac.);* πανηγυριζει 223

εκκλησια] εκκλησιαν 056 0142*^{vid}

εν ουρανοις απογεγραμμενων] ~ απογεγραμμενων εν ουρανοις P^{46} א A D L 0243 1022 1739

κριτη] κρισε D* (corrected by original scribe)

παντων] omit P^{46}*

πνευμασιν] πνευμασι א*^{vid} 056 0142; πνευματι D* (corrected by D^{1}); πνευματος K*^{vid} (corrected by original scribe)

δικαιων τετελειωμενων] τελιων (i.e. τελειων) δεδικαιωμενοις א* (corrected by א^{3}); δικαιων τεθεμελιωμενων D*; δικαιων τετεμελιωμενων D^{1} (corrected by D^{1}); δικαιων τεθεμελειωμενων D^{3}; δικαιων τετελειομενων 056 0142

12:24 μεσιτη] μεσιτης D* (corrected by D^1); μεσιτηι *(sic.)* 056 0142

ιησου] Ιησους Χριστος P^{46}

κρειττονα] κριττονα P^{46} *(itac.)*; κρειττον (א A D* κριττον *itac.)* D^2 K L 056 0142 0243 223 330 1739 1799

παρα τον αβελ] παρα το αβελ P^{46} L; *omit* 056* 0142; παρα αβελ 056c

N.B. In 12:25-13:2, L is heavily corrected; either the first hand or the corrector is usually illegible.

12:25 βλεπετε] αδελφοι βλεπετε 1799

παραιτησησθε] παρετησησθαι D*; παρετησησθε D^1

223 λαλουντα] + υμιν (υμειν D*) D^1

εφυγον] εξεφυγον א* (corrected by $א^2$) A; εφυγαν D*

τον επι της γης] επι γης P^{46c} א* A D 0243^{vid} 1739; τον επι γης P^{46*} $א^3$ K (L* τ(ον) επι γ(η). but space implies this reading) 056 0142 223 330 1022 1799

παραιτησαμενοι] παρετησαμενοι D*; παραιτησαμενον 330

χρηματιζοντα] τον χρηματιζοντα P^{46*} א* A D 0243; χρηματισαντα 1739

πολλω] πολυ א A D*

οι τον] τον P^{46}

ουρανων] ουρανου 0243 223 1739 1799

αποστρεφομενοι] αποστρεφομενον P^{46}

12:26 ου (1)] ει P^{46*}; omit P^{46c}

η] *omit* 0243 1739

εσαλευσεν] εσαλευσε L 056 0142

επηγγελεται] επηνγελεται D; επιγγελται 1799

λεγων ετι] λεγων οτι 056 0142 1022; λεγωμ οτι ετι 0243 1739

απαξ εγω] εγω απαξ D

σειω] σεισω P^{46} (א σισω *itac.)* A 0243 1739; σιω λεγει D*; σειω λεγει D^1 (corrected by D^2)

τον ουρανον] των ουρανον (!) 1799

12:27 των σαλευομενων την] την των σαλευομενων א* A; την των σαλευομενων την $א^2$; των σαλευομενων P^{46} D* 0243 1739

ινα μεινη τα μη σαλευομενα] *omit* A

μεινη] μινη א D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.)*

12:28 βασιλειαν] βασιλιαν D* (corrected by D^1) L^{vid} *(itac.)*; αδελφοι βασιλειαν 1799

παραλαμβανοντες] παραλαβανοντες 330; παραλαβοντες 1022

εχωμεν] εχομεν P^{46*} א K 1799

λατρευωμεν] λατρευσωμεν P^{46}; λατρευομεν א K 056 0142 0243 223 330 1022 1739 1799

ευαρεστως] ευχαριστως D* 056 0142

τω] τωι (sic) 056 0142

αιδους και ευλαβειας] ευλαβειας και δεους P^{46}-vid (א* D* ευλαβιας) $א^3$ A; ~ ευλαβειας και αιδους א2 D1 0243 1739

N.B. In 12:29-13:3, P^{46} is defective for up to nine letters at the beginning of each line, including the entire line (ξενισαν)τεσ...μιμνησκεσθε των in verse 3

12:29 και] κυριος D* (corrected by D^1) καταναλισκον] κατανισκον 056; καταναλισκων 1799

13:2 της φιλοξενιας] την φιλοξινιαν א* (corrected by א^{3})

επιλανθανεσθε] επιλανθανεσθαι A D* (corrected by D^{1}) 056 0142 330 *(itac.?)*

δια ταυτης] δι αυτης K

13:3 δεσμιων] δεδεμενων D* (corrected by D^{1})

κακουχουμενων] κακοχουμενων D^{2} K L 0243 1739

13:4 τιμιος] τειμιος D* (corrected by D^{1})

εν πασι] εν πασι 056; εν πασιν 330; εμπασι 1022

δε] γαρ P^{46} א A D* 0243 1739*

κρινει] κρινι א D* (corrected by D^{1}) *(itac.)*

13:5 αφιλαργυρος] αφλαργυρος *(sic)* 0243; αφυλαργυρος 1799*

αρκουμενοι] αρκουμενος P$^{46c\text{-}vid}$ 0243 1739*

ουδ ου μη] ουδε μη P^{46}

εγκαταλιπω (D* ενκαταλιπω)] εγκαταλειπω (P^{46} ενκαταλειπω) א A D^{2} K L 0243 330 1739

13:6 ημας λεγειν] λεγει P^{46*}; λεγιν ημας D* (itac.); λεγειν ημας D^{1}; λεγειν P^{46c} 0243 1739

και] omit א* 1739

13:7 μνημονευετε] αδελφοι μνημονευετε 1799

ηγουμενων] προηγουμενων D*

υμων] omit P^{46} D*

υμιν] υμειν P^{46} *(itac.)*

ων] ως P^{46}

εκβασιν] εγβασιν P^{46}

μιμεισθε] μειμεισθε P^{46} *(itac.);* μιμεισθαι A D* (corrected by D^{1}) 330 *(itac.?)*

13:8 χθες] εχθες P^{46} א A D* 0243 1739

και] *omit* P^{46*}

ο] *omit* $P^{46\text{-vid}}$

αιωνας] + αμην D*

N.B. In 13:9-13 A is defective for up to seven letters at the end of each line.

13:9 και ξενιας] ξενιας P^{46*}; omit 056 0142 *(h.t.?)*

περιφερεσθε] παραφερεσθε $P^{46\text{-vid}}$ א (A D* παραφερεσθαι (corrected by D^1)) 056 0142 0243 223 1022 1739 1799

χαριτι] χαρι 330

βεβαιουσθαι] βεβαιουσθε א *(itac.?)*

ουκ ωφεληθησαν] ουκ οφεληθησαν 056; οφεληθησαν 0142

περιπαντησαντες] περιπατουντες P^{46} א* A D*

13:10 φαγειν] φαγιν D* (corrected by D^1)

εξουσιαν] *omit* D* 0243 (corrected by D^1)

τη σκηνη] τηι σκηνηι *(sic.)* 056 0142

N.B. L breaks off at 13:10 after εξ (ου) (φαγ)...

N.B. In 13:11-12, P^{46} is defective for up to seven letters at the end of each line, including the entire line της παρεμβολης 12 διο και ιησους.

13:11 γαρ] *omit* P^{46}

εισφερεται] εισφερετε D* (corrected by D^1) 0243 *(itac.?)*

ζωων] ζωον D* (corrected by D^1) *(itac.?)*

περι αμαρτιας] *omit* A

κατακαιεται] P^{46*} καιεται (?) (P^{46*} defective but P^{46c} adds κατα); κατακεεται A *(itac.?);* καταναλισκονται D* (corrected by D^1)

παρεμβολης] παρενβολης D* (corrected by D^1)

13:12 Ιησους] ο Ιησους 330

πυλης] παρεμβολης P^{46}

επαθεν] *omit* א* (corrected by $א^{2}$)

13:13 εξερχωμεθα] εξερχομεθα D K 056 0142 1022*

ονειδισμον] ονιδισμον D* (corrected by D^{1})

13:14 ωδε] + με D* (corrected by original scribe) (*dittog?* Or read perhaps μεμενουσαν?)

13:15 δι αυτου] δια τουτο K

ουν] omit P^{46} א* $D^{*,2}$ (D^{1} illegible but adds about three letters)
αναφερωμεν] αναφερομεν K

θυσιαν] αυσιας P^{46}

διαπαντος] omit 1022

τω θεω] τωι θωι *(sic.)* 056 0142

τουτεστιν] τουτεστι 056 0142; omit 1799

13:16 δε] τε P^{46}; δ D*

ευποιιας] ευποιεαις P^{46}; ευποιεας A

κοινωνιας] της κοινωνιας P^{46} D* 1022

επιλανθανωεσθε] επιλανθανεσθαι D* (corrected by D^{1})

ευαρεστειται] ευαρεστιται א A *(itac.);* ευαρεστειτε D* (corrected by D^{1}); ευερ̣γ̣ετειται 0243^{vid}

13:17 πειθεσθε] πειθεσθαι D* (corrected by D^1); αδελφοι πειθεσθε 1799

και (1)] και και 0243

αυτοι] αυτοις αυτοι א^2

υπερ των ψυχων υμων ως λογον αποδωσοντες] ~ ως λογον αποδωσοντες υπερ των ψυχων υμων A; *omit* ως D* (corrected by D^2) *and* αποδωσονται (corrected by D^1) D* + περι υμων D* (corrected by D^2); αποδωσοντας for αποδωσοντες P^{46}; αποδωσονται for αποδωσοντες 0142

ποιωσιν] ποιωσι 056

υμιν] υμειν P^{46}

13:18 προσευχεσθε] προσευχεσθαι και D* (corrected by D^1)

πεποιθαμεν γαρ οτι καλην συνειδησιν] πειθομεθα γαρ οτι καλην συνειδησιν $P^{46\text{-vid}}$ A (πιθομεθα and συνιδησιν D*) (συνιδησιν D^1) (corrected by D^2) 0243 1739; οτι καλην θα γαρ οτι καλην συνιδησιν א*; πεποιθαμεν γαρ οτι καλην συνιδησιν א^2; πεποιθαμεν γαρ οτι συνειδησιν καλην 1022

εν] *omit* P^{46*}

πασιν] πασι P^{46} 056

αναστρεφεσθαι] αναστρεφεσθε A *(itac.?)*

N.B. In 13:19 P^{46} is defective for up to five letters at the end of each line plus the entire; 13:20 is almost entirely missing

13:19 ταχιον] ταχειον P^{46} א A K *(itac.);* ταχυον 1799

αποκατασταθω] (P^{46} απο(κατα).(θ)ω = αποκατασθω?) (K* αποκα(στ)... (corrected by original scribe))

13:20 αναγαγων] αναγωγων 056

ποιμενα] ποιμηνα D*

Ιησουν] + Χριστον D* 056 0142 223

N.B. In 13:21 A is defective for up to two letters at the end of each line. In 13:21-24, A is defective for up to six letters at the beginning of each line.

13:21 υμας] ημας D* (corrected by D^1)

εν (1)] *omit* P^{46*vid}

εργω] τω P^{46}; omit א D* 1022*; + και λογω A

αγαθω] αγαθωι 056 ποιησαι] + ημας D* (corrected by D^1)

αυτου] + αυτο P^{46}; + αυτω א* A 1739^{margin}

υμιν] ημιν (P^{46} ημειν) א A D K 056 0142 0243 330 1739

Ιησου χριστου] ιησους χριστος P^{46*}

ω] ωι (?) 0243^{vid}

13:22 των αιωνων] *omit* P^{46} D 223 102

ανεχεσθε] ανεχεσθαι D* (corrected by D^1) 056 0142

του λογου] τους λογους 1022

γαρ] *omit* א* (corrected by $א^2$2)

επεστειλα] απεστειλα P^{46*} (corrected by original scribe) (D* απεστιλα) D^1; επεστιλα א *(itac.)*

υμιν] υμειν P^{46}

13:23 γινωσκετε] γεινωσκετε P^{46} *(itac.)*

αδελφον] + ημων P^{46} א* (A [..ων]) D* 0243 1739

τιμοθεον] τειμοθεον P^{46} απολελυμενον] απο P^{46*vid} (corrected by original scribe) ταχιον] ταχειον P^{46} A K *(itac.)*

ερχηται] ερχησθε א* (corrected by $א^1$); ερχητε D* (corrected by D^1)

13:24 απασασθε] απασασθαι D; ασπασαασθε δε 056 0142

παντας (1)] *omit* P^{46}

και παντας τους αγιους] *omit* P^{46*}

ασπαζονται] ασπαζοντε 1799*

οι] οι αγιοι 1799

13:25 υμων] omit P^{46}*; των αγιων D*

αμην] *omit* P^{46} א*

The Manuscripts:

P^{46} *Papyrus Chester Beatty II;* also University of Michigan Inv. 6238. Papyrus manuscript, generally dated to about 200 C.E., though earlier dates have been proposed. Contains the Pauline Epistles with many lacunae. In Hebrews, it lacks 9:18, 10:21, 10:31, and portions of other verses. Generally listed as Alexandrian with "Western" readings, though in fact it is not simply an Alexandrian witness but belongs to a special type which it shares with B. **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus;* also against the Nestle Aland 27th edition

א *Codex Sinaiticus,* British Museum Add. 43725 Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the fourth century. Contains the New Testament compete. Text is Alexandrian. **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus;* also against the Nestle-Aland 27th edition

A *Codex Alexandrinus,* British Museum Royal 1 D. VIII Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the fifth century. Contains the New Testament with some lacunae, including 2 Cor. 4:14-12:16. The manuscript is complete for Hebrews, but has many passages which are difficult to read. Text is Alexandrian. **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus;* also against the Nestle-Aland 27th edition

B *Codex Vaticanus,* Vatican Library Greek 1209 Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the fourth century. Probably originally contained the complete New Testament; now lacks Hebrews 9:14-end along with the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and the Apocalypse. In Paul, the text us usually listed as Alexandrian with "Western" readings, but it in fact goes with P^{46} and perhaps 1739. **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus;* also against the Nestle-Aland 27th edition

D *Codex Claromontanus,* Paris National Library Greek 107, 107AB Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the sixth century. Bilingual manuscript of Paul, lacking

Romans 1:1-6 and with a few leaves (none in Hebrews) in a later hand. “Western” text (i.e. readings are close to those of the Latin versions). **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus;* also against the Nestle-Aland 27th edition

K *Codex Mosquensis,* Moscow Historical Library V.93, S.97 Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the ninth century. Commentary manuscript. Probably originally contained the Acts and Epistles; now lacks Acts as well as Romans 10:18-1 Cor. 6:18 and 1 Cor. 8:8-11. In Paul, the text is basically Byzantine, with the particular sort of text associated with John of Damascus’s commentary. **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus;* also against the Nestle-Aland 27th edition

L *Codex Angelicus,* Rome/Angelican Library 39 Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the ninth century. Originally contained the Acts and Epistles; now lacks Acts 1:1-8:10, Hebr. 13:10-end. In Paul, the text is clearly Byzantine. **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus;* also against the Nestle-Aland 27th edition

056 Paris, National Library Coislin. Gr. 26 Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the tenth century. Commentary manuscript. Contains the Acts and Epistles complete. In Paul, the text is basically Byzantine, with the particular sort of text associated with Oecumenius’s commentary. Very close to 0142. **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus.*

0142 Munich State Library Greek 375 Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the tenth century. Commentary manuscript. Contains the Acts and Epistles complete. In Paul, the text is basically Byzantine, with the particular sort of text associated with Oecumenius’s commentary. Very close to 056. **Source for Collation:** Based on the transcription by Timothy John Finney. Checked against the appropriate volume of Junack et al, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus.*

0243 *Codex Ruber,* Hamburg, University Library Cod. 50 in scrin.; also Venice, San Marco Library 983 Parchment manuscript, generally dated to the tenth century, though Zuntz prefers a later date. Original contents unknown; now consists of 1 Cor. 13:4-end, 2 Corinthians, and Hebrews 1:1–4:3, 12:20–13:25. The portion in Hebrews was originally designated 0121(b) until it was discovered to be identical with the Corinthian fragment 0243. Written in red ink. The text is extremely close to 1739.