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The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research

Essays on the *Status Quaestionis*

Edited by

Bart D. Ehrman • Michael W. Holmes

STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS

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IRVING ALAN SPARKS

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THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

ESSAYS ON THE *STATUS QUAESTIONIS*

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BART D. EHRMAN and MICHAEL W. HOLMES

A Volume in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger

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The Volume is Presented, with Gratitude and Affection,
to
Bruce M. Metzger
in Honor of His Eightieth Birthday
(9 February 1994)
by his Students and Colleagues

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PREFACE

New Testament textual criticism involves a complicated set of disciplines, many of them in rapid transition. Little in the field is prone to stagnation. Indeed, discoveries of new manuscripts and developments of new methodologies make it difficult (if not impossible) for anyone, even the true expert in the field, to keep abreast of all the advances. Moreover, for the nonexpert, whether professional academician or beginning graduate student, few resources exist that adequately explain recent discoveries and developments. Where does one turn to find an up-to-date statement of the *status quaestionis* with regard to the early papyri, the Greek Fathers, or the Coptic versions? How can one quickly locate information about modern methods of manuscript classification or the use of computers for reconstructing texts? What reference work discusses current thinking about methods for evaluating variant readings, or scribal habits, or the effects of theology and social realities on the transmission of the text?

The short answer is that no such resource exists. A number of valuable introductions to the field do exist, the most widely used of which are probably Kurt and Barbara Aland's *The Text of the New Testament* and Bruce M. Metzger's volume of the same title, the latter of which has been recently updated to cover some of the major developments over the past twenty- five years. These handbooks discuss such matters as the Latin versions, the Syriac Fathers, and the eclectic method in ways appropriate for beginning students. What, though, is available for those who are more advanced? While several articles review developments in the field since World War II, some of them written by contributors to the present volume, there is nothing of the magnitude and scope embodied here.

The present volume comprises a series of essays on discrete aspects of New Testament textual criticism written by internationally recognized scholars in the field, all of them providing an authoritative statement of the *status quaestionis*. Although each essay has been structured in view of the requirements of its own subject matter (i.e., the editors have not imposed an ironclad format), the foci are developments that have transpired over the past fifty years, leading to assessments of "where we are now" as a result (as of mid-1993). By no means can these essays be seen as a replacement of the standard introductions; indeed, knowledge of these basic works (but little more) is presupposed throughout the volume. But here for the first time is a collection of informed discussions of the current state of knowledge with respect to a wide range of important topics: Greek manuscripts (with separate articles on the papyri, the majuscules, the minuscules, and the lectionaries), the early versions (Diatessaron, Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Georgian), patristic citations (Greek, Latin, and Syriac), studies of scribal habits, approaches to manuscript classification, the use of computers for textual criticism, recent apparatuses and critical editions, methods for evaluating variant readings (the Majority text theory, thoroughgoing eclecticism, and reasoned eclecticism), and the use of textual data for early Christian social history. Each discussion includes an up-to-date bibliography of works relevant to the (sub-) field.

The publication of this collection coincides with a significant private occasion. It was inspired by conversations of the editors with their former teacher, Bruce Metzger. Professor Metzger was not, however, informed of the volume's inception; indeed, we decided at the outset to collect these essays and dedicate them to his honor as a surprise on the occasion of his eightieth birthday.

Raymond Brown has rightly said that Professor Metzger is "probably the greatest textual specialist that America has produced." Who could be more appropriate as an honoree of these learned contributions? Professor Metzger's own work spans the fifty years covered by these essays; in an astonishing number of instances his scholarship has set the agenda for the discussions that have transpired throughout the period, not only in the United States but everywhere in the world where New Testament textual criticism is practiced. Remarkably, he has at the same time proved adept in making the balanced results of scholarship available to laypersons. As a scholar, mentor, and Christian gentleman, he continues to inspire awe and respect in his colleagues. It is no surprise that every scholar who was asked to produce an essay for this volume — from the United States, Canada, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and South Africa — eagerly and generously agreed to participate in the project. This response surely indicates not only the widely perceived need for such a collection but even more the shared respect and admiration for the honoree, Bruce Metzger.

The volume's editors were Professor Metzger's final Ph.D. students at Princeton Theological Seminary. They have continued to sit under his tutelage and have now come to know him as a colleague and friend. It is their earnest hope that the pages of this volume will do him honor, as textual scholars continue to pursue the tasks that he has set out for us in his many publications in the field, by accumulating all of the data at our disposal, assessing it with critical acumen and up-to-date methods, and working thereby to fulfill the ultimate goals of the discipline as envisaged and pursued by Professor Metzger himself: to establish the original text of the New Testament and to write the history of its transmission.

BART D. EHRMAN
MICHAEL W. HOLMES

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Collaborative efforts like the present one are forceful reminders to all scholars of how much we need and rely on one another. The editors would like to acknowledge with gratitude everyone who has helped us bring this volume to fruition.

First and foremost is Dr. Thomas Gillespie, President of Princeton Theological Seminary. President Gillespie has always taken seriously his charge to honor the eminent faculty of the Seminary upon and within their retirement. In the present instance, he has generously provided both encouragement and the financial assistance necessary to make our vision for this project a reality.

We are thankful to Wm. B. Eerdmans, Jr., for his interest in publishing the volume in the now-rejuvenated Studies and Documents series, and especially to Eldon Jay Epp, not only for his contribution to the volume but also in his capacity as general editor of the series. Early on in our deliberations, Eldon became convinced of the utility and significance of this collection of essays, and convinced the publisher as well; since then he has provided moral support and technical expertise every step along the way.

We would like to acknowledge the assistance tendered by our home institutions, Bethel College in St. Paul and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, as well as Susan Aja Burba, Holmes's teaching assistant at Bethel, who assisted in the proofreading of several of the essays.

We are particularly grateful for the enthusiastic response we received from all of the contributors to the volume, who represent the best in textual scholarship around the world.

Finally, we would like to thank Professor Metzger's lifelong companion, Isobel Mackay Metzger, who knew of the project from the outset and generously assisted us along the way, all the while proving remarkably adept at keeping the enterprise a secret from her husband.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations follow the "Instructions to Contributors" in the *JBL* handbook (*American Academy of Religion and Society of Biblical Literature Membership Directory and Handbook* [Decatur, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1993], 383-400), with the following additions.

AIBI	Association Internationale "Bible et Informatique"
ALLC	Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing
ALLCB	*ALLC Bulletin*
ALLCJ	*ALLC Journal*
AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
BADLD	Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Literatur-Denkmäler
CBM	Chester Beatty Monographs
CHum	*Computers and the Humanities*
CIB	Centre Informatique et Bible (Maredsous, Belgium)
CJA	*Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity*
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
FChr	Fontes Christiani
GLB	Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel
HM	Hallische Monographien
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project
JSAS	*Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*
LOAPL	*Langues orientales anciennes, philologie et linguistique*
NA	Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*
NdS	Niederdeutsche Studien
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
PETSE	Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile
PFLUL	Publications de la Faculté des lettres, Université de Lausanne
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain
REArm	*Revue des Études Arméniennes*
RHT	*Revue d'histoire des textes*
SLTGNT	Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament

SPAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
StSin	*Studia Sinaitica*
StT	Studi e Testi
TrinJ	*Trinity Journal*
TR	textus receptus
UNHAII	Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
UPATS	University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies
VCSup	*Vigiliae Christianae*, Supplements

PART I

THE GREEK WITNESSES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

As the number and quality of NT papyri increased, however, so did their role in NT textual criticism, until today they occupy a highly visible and significant position among the witnesses to the NT text. Indeed, most textual critics consider those papyri dating prior to the mid-fourth century as decisive in text-critical matters, *ceteris paribus*. Yet, having come into their own, the place of the NT papyri in present and future textual criticism remains not only a matter of debate but also of urgency as scholars seek to solve the often intractable problems of the NT text.

I. Discovery and Description of the Major New Testament Papyri

The first NT papyrus came to light in 1868 when Constantin von Tischendorf — some twenty years after he had discovered Codex Sinaiticus — published a sixty-two verse fragment of 1 Corinthians 1–7, later designated P^{11}. Over the following thirty years, C. R. Gregory, Carl Wessely, and J. Rendel Harris published four more NT papyri, though none of these predated the great uncial MSS Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, which had dominated the critical editions of Tischendorf (1869) and Westcott-Hort (1881). Since these five papyri were of relatively late date (4th-7th centuries) and contained only 120 verses of the NT, it is understandable that they created little excitement among NT scholars.

Excitement, however, accompanied the 1897 discovery by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt of the first Oxyrhynchus papyri. Almost immediately they uncovered a fragment containing "Sayings of Jesus," though this was part of an apocryphal gospel and not the NT, but very soon they turned up a fragment of a codex with portions of Matthew 1 (designated P^{1}), which dated from the third century and which, at that time, was "the oldest known manuscript of any part of the New Testament."[4] Thereafter, a virtual "torrent" of papyri flowed from Oxyrhynchus, and now twenty-eight of our ninety-four different NT papyri have their origin there. Their canonical coverage is striking, for Oxyrhynchus papyri contain portions of fifteen of our twenty-seven NT books, and the only major NT writings or groups not represented there are Mark, 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, and the Pastoral epistles. These gaps in the distribution are not, of course, of significance in the random situation offered by excavations in rubbish heaps. Of great significance, however, is that twenty of these Oxyrhynchus papyri date to the second, third, or early fourth centuries — that is, prior to the great uncial MSS (such as Codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Bezae) that have been so prominent in NT textual criticism both before and after the papyri discoveries.

While many of the Oxyrhynchus papyri are of early date, they also are highly fragmentary. Indeed, of the forty-two NT papyri edited and published by 1930 (including twenty-one from Oxyrhynchus), most contain bits and pieces of a few or

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speaking of the Chester Beatty and other papyri as "remarkable" and "sensational," saw the real significance for understanding the biblical text not in these biblical papyri but in the thousands of everyday documentary papyri that illuminate the NT language (*New Chapters in New Testament Study* [New York: Macmillan, 1937] 92-101).

4. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part I* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898) 4.

several NT verses, and only ten contain portions of text as extensive as thirty to ninety verses. Yet twenty-three of these MSS — more than half — can be dated prior to the early fourth century.

This state of affairs in 1930 — the preeminent uncial MSS of the mid-fourth to sixth centuries standing out like volcanic mountains amidst a sea of minuscules and an increasing array of old but fragmentary papyri — provided the environment for the emergence of the Chester Beatty NT papyri in 1930-31. Designated P^{45}, P^{46}, and P^{47}, they were published in 1933-37 by Sir Frederic Kenyon and presented a striking combination of extensive text and early date not seen hitherto. Dating from about 200 to 250, the three MSS contained, respectively, 30 leaves of an original codex of about 220 leaves (P^{45}); 86 of an original 102 (P^{46}); and 10 leaves of an original estimated at 32 (P^{47}). More specifically, P^{45} once contained the Gospels and Acts, of which sixty-one verses of Matthew, about six chapters of Mark, five-plus chapters of Luke, most of John 10–11, and thirteen chapters of Acts survive; P^{46} originally had ten letters of Paul (but not the Pastorals), though none of 2 Thessalonians is extant; preserved are about eight chapters of Romans, virtually all of 1-2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Hebrews, and parts of three chapters of 1 Thessalonians; finally, P^{47}, which originally held the Revelation of John, now preserves about eight chapters from its central section.

Suddenly the papyri gained a measure of respect not enjoyed earlier, and their prestige received a further striking boost when five codices (three as early as the Chester Beatty and with extensive text) appeared in the mid-1950s: the Bodmer papyri. P^{66} (around 200) preserves all but about twenty-five verses of the first fourteen and a half chapters of John and fragments of the rest; P^{72} (3d century) contains the entire text of 1-2 Peter and Jude and is the earliest known copy of these epistles; P^{74}, which dates to the seventh century, has portions of Acts, James, 1-2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude. P^{75} (very early 3d century) is the earliest copy of Luke, containing portions of chapters 3–5 and all of 6–17, half of 18, and virtually all of 22–24, as well as nearly all of John 1–12 and portions of 13–15; its text is noteworthy for its extraordinary similarity to that of Codex Vaticanus. (A fifth Bodmer papyrus, P^{73}, also of the 7th century, contains only three verses of Matthew and is still unedited.)

Today NT papyri total ninety-six, representing ninety-four different MSS (since $P^{33} = P^{58}$ and $P^{64} = P^{67}$),[5] and all are from codices (except four written on scrolls, P^{12}, P^{13}, P^{18}, and P^{22}, but these are exceptional in that they were either written on both sides or on reused papyrus). Their dates run from shortly after 100 to the eighth century, and together the papyri contain portions of all NT books except 1-2 Timothy, though, as a whole, they constitute less than 2% of all Greek NT MSS. All of the papyri are continuous-text MSS, that is, MSS containing (originally) at least one NT writing in continuous fashion from beginning to end (to be distinguished, therefore, from lectionary MSS, which bring together various portions of Scripture to be read

5. Or 93 different papyri, if one accepts the further identification of P^4 with the same MS as P^{64} and P^{67}, as argued by Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Schweich Lectures 1977; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) 13; cf. 8n.1.

in church services at appointed times), and all of the papyri are written in large, unconnected letters (uncials).

Premier among these ninety-four papyri, however, are forty-three that are dated prior to or around the turn of the third/fourth centuries, with twenty-five of them furnished by Oxyrhynchus, Chester Beatty, and Bodmer MSS. Of equally early date, though written on parchment and therefore classified as "uncials," are four additional MSS that belong in this elite group: 0189 (2d/3d century), 0220 (3d), and 0162 and 0171 (3d/4th). The oldest MS of the NT is P^{52}, containing portions of only five verses of John 18 (31-33, 37-38) and usually dated about 125, though possibly it is earlier in that first quarter of the second century.[6] These forty-three oldest papyri, by century, are P^{52}, P^{90} (2d); P^{32}, P^{46}, P$^{64/67}$, P^{66} (ca. 200); P^{77} (2d/3d); P^{1}, P^{4}, P^{5}, P^{9}, P^{12}, P^{15}, P^{20}, P^{22}, P^{23}, P^{27}, P^{28}, P^{29}, P^{30}, P^{39}, P^{40}, P^{45}, P^{47}, P^{48}, P^{49}, P^{53}, P^{65}, P^{69}, P^{70}, P^{75}, P^{80}, P^{87}, P^{91}, P^{95} (3d); and P^{13}, P^{16}, P^{18}, P^{37}, P^{38}, P^{72}, P^{78}, P^{92} (3d/4th).[7]

II. Provenance of the New Testament Papyri

As noted earlier, papyrus MSS survive only when protected from moisture — when placed in protective caves, jars, or buildings, or when buried in the soil of virtually rain-free regions of Egypt, Palestine, or Mesopotamia (though papyri must neither be too near the surface nor so deeply buried as to be affected by a rising water table). Blowing sand can deface papyrus MSS and white ants can devour them. Yet thousands of documents on papyrus survived — perhaps twenty thousand have been published, mostly documentary, but including some three thousand or more literary papyri — and they survived largely in the semiloose soil of Egyptian rubbish heaps, in ruined buildings filled with refuse or windblown sand, or as material used in constructing mummy cases.[8]

How and where were the NT papyri preserved? All stem from Egypt, but exact geographical locations or specific discovery sites are rarely known, except for those found in the rubbish heaps and building ruins of Oxyrhynchus, the Fayum, and in similar situations. In such cases, though, we know more certainly their places of discard than of their origin. Yet, to know the villages where many papyri had been utilized by Christians — whether as individuals or as a church — is not to say that much is known about Christianity in those locations. Speculation has it, for example, that the Chester Beatty papyri, "acquired through the hands of natives and dealers, . . . must have been discovered among the ruins of some early church or monastery; and there is reason to believe that they come from the neighbourhood of the Fayum."[9]

6. Though earlier dated 125-150, recent opinion moves it back into the 100-125 period, perhaps very early in that quarter century. See Colin H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935) 12-16; and Aland and Aland, *Text*, 85.

7. For descriptions and discussion of the papyri, see Aland and Aland, *Text*, 56-57, 95-102; and K. Aland, ed., *Repertorium*, 215-322.

8. For data and references on these issues, see Epp, "New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts in Historical Perspective," 262-66.

9. Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*, fascicle 1: *General Introduction* (London: Emery Walker, 1933) 5. See further Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 7.

A similar statement accompanied the purchase of P^{52}, the earliest NT fragment of all, which was assumed to have come either from the Fayum or from Oxyrhynchus.[10] It has also been surmised that the Beatty and Bodmer codices may have come from the same church library.[11] These identifications lack confirmation, and rarely elsewhere do we possess certain knowledge of the provenance of early NT MSS; indeed, the whole matter of the provenance of papyrus MSS is fraught with difficulties, as E. G. Turner pointed out, not the least of which is the unreliability of dealers' reports on their places of discovery.[12] Even finds *in situ* are not particularly enlightening. For example, P^4 (with early fragments of Luke) was found in a jar walled up in a house at Coptos (modern Qift, just north of Thebes in Upper Egypt), but it was in the binding of a (presumably Christian) codex of Philo and in a house with no evident connection to a church.[13] In 1969, P^{92} was found at Madīnat Mādī (modern Narmouthis — between Theadelphia and Tebtunis in the Fayum) in a rubble-filled structure near a racecourse;[14] again, this throws no light on the origin or use of this MS. In the final analysis, this lack of context for our NT papyri does not greatly affect their use in establishing the NT text on a case-by-case basis, though we would be helped particularly in matters of text-critical theory if we knew more of their life setting.

Oxyrhynchus may provide a more interesting and perhaps useful example. The general area around Oxyrhynchus is known to have been a center of Christian activity in the fourth and fifth centuries, when Rufinus reported thirty churches there, but only two are known around the turn of the third/fourth centuries.[15] Yet, in view of the large number of NT papyri turned up in Oxyrhynchus, it is intriguing to wonder how many different discarded codices containing portions of the NT one might expect to find in a district capital in Upper Egypt, where, for example, the names of some fifty-seven hundred individuals who likely lived there between 30 B.C.E. and 96 C.E. can also be gleaned from the papyri,[16] and where some twenty temples existed, along with a theater that may have accommodated between eight and twelve thousand people, and where a Roman garrison was stationed in the second century.[17] Oxyrhynchus was also a city, as the papyri show, where copying and securing works of scholarship were subjects of letters by scholars and where critical editing and annotating of literary texts took place, with much of this evidence from the second century.[18]

10. Roberts, *Unpublished Fragment*, 24-25; H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935) 7.

11. C. H. Roberts, "Books in the Graeco-Roman World and in the New Testament," in *Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 56.

12. E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 51-53.

13. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 8, 13.

14. Claudio Gallazzi, "Frammenti di un codice con le Epistole di Paoli," *ZPE* 46 (1982) 117.

15. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 28, 150.

16. B. W. Jones and J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites 30 B.C.-A.D. 96* (American Studies in Papyrology 25; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

17. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 81-82.

18. Ibid., 86-88, 116-18, 121-22.

The Oxyrhynchus NT papyri presumably constitute merely a random selection of survivors among many more that are now lost, but what inferences may one draw from them? Do they imply that many Christians and/or numerous churches were present at Oxyrhynchus, or that collections or even libraries of NT writings existed in one or more churches, or that many copies of NT writings were coming to and going from Oxyrhynchus, or perhaps that a Christian school or other scholarly activity, including text-critical work, were part of that environment? We do not have answers to these questions, some of which would help immensely in understanding the meaning of this array of early NT MSS existing in a specific location such as Oxyrhynchus during the first few centuries of the Christian era.

III. Transmission of Papyrus Documents in Early Christian Times

Since all of our NT papyri were found in Egypt — though with few clues about their specific origin or precise use — the question has been raised whether they (and their texts) all originated in Egypt. This has generally been the assumption in the past, for the terms "Egyptian" or "Alexandrian text" to identify the "B" or so-called Neutral text really meant "the text of/from/characteristic of Egypt." But it has recently been shown from the non-Christian papyri that in Egypt, during the first centuries of the Christian era, there was a lively and vigorous movement of people back and forth between Alexandria and the Greco-Roman world to the east and west and north, as well as between Alexandria and the upper regions of Egypt, especially the Fayum and centers like Oxyrhynchus; in addition, there was a brisk circulation of letters and of literature in these same areas. Thus the several differing textual complexions contained in the NT papyri did not necessarily have to originate in Egypt, nor would they necessarily have remained in or been confined to Egypt once they arrived there — and the same would apply had they originated in Egypt. Indeed, these dynamic interchanges of people, letters, and books to and from Egypt, as well as within Egypt, could allow the extreme assertion — though no one would wish to make it — that *none* of the NT textual complexions represented in our papyri necessarily originated in Egypt; they could have been carried there from anywhere in the Mediterranean world.[19]

It has also been shown from the non-Christian papyri that letters traveled with considerable speed in Greco-Roman times, even if examples are used only from the informal "mail service" and not the imperial post (since one may assume that Christian writings would have circulated by informal means). This speed is demonstrated by extant papyrus letters that show both their date of writing and their docketed date of receipt, generally with records also of their place of origin and destination. The major evidence is found in the archives of Zenon, an estate manager in Philadelphia at the time of Ptolemy II; the hoard consists of nearly two thousand

19. The evidence, with references, is summarized in Epp, "The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission* (ed. William L. Petersen; CJA 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989) 81-84 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 280-83).

items covering 260-240 B.C.E. A few examples will make the point: letters traveled 800 miles from Asia Minor to Alexandria in two months; from Transjordan to Alexandria, about 350 miles, in thirty-six days; from Philadelphia to Syria, some 400 miles, in fourteen days; 150 miles from Alexandria to Philadelphia, one in four days and another in seven days; from Alexandria to another Delta city in nineteen days; and from Memphis to Alexandria, about 125 miles, in three weeks. Thus this prompt transfer of letters by casual means — finding, for example, someone sailing up the river to the destination of the letter — operated not only within Egypt (i.e., between the Delta, the Fayum, and Upper Egypt), but also between Egypt and places far removed, such as Ostia in Italy, Cilicia in Asia Minor, Sidon in Syria, and Arabia (to use some actual examples in addition to those cited earlier), and it functioned both in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[20]

This demonstration permits one to argue that NT writings, wherever they might have originated in the vast Mediterranean region, could rapidly have made their way to any other part of that Roman world — in a matter of days or weeks. No longer, therefore, do we have to assume a long interval of years between the time a NT letter or Gospel was written and its appearance in another place — even a far-off place. For example, wherever the Gospel of John was written, its text — whether in a form like that in P^{52} or P^{66} or P^{75} — could have reached Egypt quickly; if NT texts reaching Egypt were modified during Christian use there, those "revisions," again, could quickly be transferred to another part of the Christian world anywhere in the Roman Empire. Indeed, in the nature of things, one must grant that various forms of text in the early Christian world could not have been confined to one region for any length of time in any single form.

This analysis, moreover, permits another assertion — though one that cannot be proved: the intellectual commerce demonstrable in the Mediterranean area, particularly to and from Egypt, supports the strong possibility — if not probability — that the various textual complexions evident in our Egyptian papyri represent texts from that *entire Mediterranean region* (including texts that might have originated in Egypt itself). Thus, in contrast to the common view that the papyri represent "only" the text of "provincial Egypt,"[21] it is much more likely that they represent an extensive if not the full textual spectrum of earliest Christianity.

The letters of Paul and other NT and early Christian writers support this view, for they adequately document the use of amanuenses to write and emissaries to carry Christian letters in that period,[22] and Christian private letters among the extant papyri

20. The detailed evidence, with references, is summarized in Epp, "New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts and Letter Carrying," 52-55 (cf. 43-51 on papyrus letters more generally).

21. Applying more broadly the words used of P^{46} by Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*, fascicle 3 supplement: *Pauline Epistles, Text* (London: Emery Walker, 1936) xxii. See further below, at n. 30.

22. On amanuenses see, e.g., the greeting (and, therefore, not the whole letter) written in Paul's own hand (1 Cor 16:21; 2 Thess 3:17; Phlm 19; cf. Gal 6:11) or the writer's own hand (Col 4:18); self-reference by an amanuensis (Tertius: Rom 16:22). On letter carriers see, e.g., *apud* Phlm 12, 17, Onesimus presumably carried the letter to Philemon; Silvanus in 1 Pet 5:12; possibly Phoebe in Rom 16:1 and Titus (plus two "brothers") in 2 Cor 8:16-24; Tychicus is at least implied in Eph 6:21-22 and Col 4:7-9 (though this evidence would largely disappear if these post-Pauline "letters"

— though few and relatively late — attest to the Christian utilization of the usual letter-posting procedures of the time.[23] Beyond this, the specific motivations and mechanisms by which NT writings were transmitted in the early centuries are still obscure, though understandable enough in their broad outlines. One may assume, for example, that in the early decades of Christianity an apostolic letter or, slightly later, portions of a Gospel would be read in a worship service and that visiting Christians, on occasion, would take copies back to their own congregations, or writings would be shared in some other way with other Christians or other churches — sometimes at the request of the writer (cf. 1 Thess 5:27; Col 4:16). Soon some churches would possess several of these early writings and small collections of Gospels and/or apostolic works would emerge, perhaps even through the conscious effort, for instance, of a devoted follower of Paul. Apart from this sort of historical imagination (backed by bits of evidence), we know extremely little about such transmission processes, though we do know that the earliest NT MSS (as well as OT writings copied for Christian use) were in codex form (as opposed to the rolls or scrolls that constitute the format used for Jewish and secular literature prior to Christianity). Indeed, it is likely that Christians invented the codex for the presentation and preservation of their writings or, at very least, capitalized on this recent invention as a convenient and space-saving format[24] — and this less cumbersome format further aided (if only slightly) the rapid and efficient transfer of Christian literature in the first centuries.

IV. Utilization of the Papyri in New Testament Textual Criticism

As intimated earlier, the first series of NT papyri did not produce instant or widespread changes in the critical texts of the NT; on the contrary, even after the discovery of the Chester Beatty papyri (and, remarkably, to some extent after the Bodmer), these early papyrus artifacts of the NT text were often treated not so much as welcome illuminators of textual history but more as intruders or even irritants to an already well-established and quite satisfactory understanding of the history of the text. After all, textual critics in the first half of the twentieth century had carefully and confidently reconstructed the early textual history of the NT — and the text itself — in accordance with the elegant fourth- and fifth-century parchment codices, and many critics simply did not wish that structure to be jeopardized by these youthful papyrus interlopers — these ragged-edged documents written on what may have seemed to

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are really imitative literary works; in that case the writer would show knowledge of the customary means of letter carrying); three individuals in *1 Clem.* 65.1; Burrhus in Ign. *Phld.* 11.2; *Smyrn.* 12.1; cf. William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) on Ign. *Rom.* 10.2; and, finally, Crescens in Pol. *Phil.* 14.1.

23. See, e.g., a 330-340 C.E. letter from a Meletian Christian to a presbyter requesting help in recovering children taken from a fellow Christian (along with all his possessions) to pay a debt (*Select Papyri* [LCL] 1.378-81); or one from Apamea (Syria?) to Coptos (also 4th century) telling an aunt of her sister's death (ibid., 388-89).

24. The main reference here is Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 35-61; see Epp, "New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts in Historical Perspective," 267-68.

some of them an almost unworthy vehicle for Sacred Scripture. Yet, had not Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott-Hort called for the NT text to be established (as Tischendorf put it) "solely from ancient witnesses," for "those that excel in antiquity prevail in authority"?[25] And were not such ancient witnesses more and more coming to light? Thus the papyri would not and could not be ignored, and gradually they were worked into the critical editions of the numerous Greek New Testaments produced in the twentieth century.[26]

"Gradually," however, is the governing word here. Naturally, the earliest published papyri could have had little impact on critical editions such as Tischendorf's in 1869 or Westcott-Hort's in 1881. Yet von Soden's edition (1913) cited only twelve papyri out of twenty then known; Legg's edition of Mark (1935) cites only P^{45} (though that was, at the time, the only known papyrus containing Mark); his edition of Matthew (1940) uses six (when nine were known); and Nestle's sixteenth edition (1936) cites fifteen papyri (when nearly fifty were known). Succeeding Nestle editions cited twenty-eight in 1952 (21st); thirty-seven in 1963 (25th, when seventy-five had been published); and finally in 1979 (26th) and following, all the papyri are cited. The first Greek NT to list all known papyri was also the first completely new critical edition to be produced after the Bodmer papyri appeared: the first edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* (1966), signifying that the papyri now had fully and officially come into their own.[27]

The slowness to utilize the papyri is even more obvious in handbooks to textual criticism in the first quarter of the twentieth century (e.g., those by George Milligan, Eberhard Nestle, and Ernst von Dobschütz),[28] but especially by analysts and even editors of the papyri — an attitude that persisted to some extent even after the Chester Beatty documents came to light. The basic problems were two. First, the new discoveries were fragmentary, especially the earliest ones; and, even though the Chester Beatty P^{45} contained 14% of the original leaves of its codex (though less than that of its original text), and even though P^{46} had 84% of its codex, and P^{47} had 31%, they could not compare with the mid-fourth-century uncial MSS (primarily codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus) in coverage or consistency of text. Second, the new papyrus discoveries — even those as spectacular as the Chester Beatty — continued to be judged on the basis of these later, grand uncials. A main reason was that a MS like P^{45}, for example, did not coincide with the Vaticanus-Sinaiticus (or B-) text — which was dominant in the editions of Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort — nor did it fit the other clearly established, early text-type of Westcott-Hort: the D text. It was thought at the time, however, that P^{45} confirmed the recently established "Caesarean" text, which was considered to be later than both the B and D texts; therefore, its support by P^{45} did not confer on P^{45} any distinctive authority over against the earlier B and D texts. In the mid-1930s, Hans

25. In Tischendorf's 2d edition of 1849, but quoted in C. R. Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (8th major ed.; 3 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1869-94) 3.47-48.

26. I explore this subject in considerable detail, with full references, in "New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts in Historical Perspective," 274-83.

27. Ibid., 275-78, 283.

28. Ibid., 277.

Lietzmann stated bluntly that P^{45} and P^{46} do not teach us anything radically new or anything we did not already know.[29] Further, Kenyon — who edited P^{45}, P^{46}, and P^{47} — said of P^{46} that it "in general confirms the integrity of the text that has come down to us, and offers no sensational variants" and, therefore, it has no predominant authority "since, so far as we know, it is only a text circulating in provincial Egypt."[30] Thus the papyri gave rise to no new rationale that would unseat the textual theory that had elevated the witnesses supporting the B text to their position as the "best" MSS and "best" text.

Two subsequent events are symptomatic — if not causative — of a profound change. First, it was only when Günther Zuntz turned the customary procedure upside down by beginning his study of *The Text of the Epistles* with the "oldest manuscript of the Pauline corpus" (P^{46}) and employing it "as a foil in assessing the value of, and the interrelation between, the other witnesses"[31] that an early NT papyrus became the standard against which all other relevant MSS were measured. Second, a striking catalyst appeared in the discovery of the Bodmer papyri in the mid-1950s. P^{66}, P^{72}, and P^{75} raised the papyri in general to a new level of visibility and significance, though it was P^{75} that played the major role. Here was a very early third-century MS of John and Luke that turned out to have a text extraordinarily close to that of Codex Vaticanus (B) and yet dates 150 years earlier. That made textual critics sit up and take notice, for ever since Westcott-Hort it had commonly been held that the text of B was the result of revision over time and therefore presented a refined, smoothened version of an older and rougher text. But P^{75} did not confirm that hypothesis; rather, it demonstrated — in an actual, datable document — that already around 200 this very text was being used in Egypt.

Attention in the 1960s turned also to P^{66} (ca. 200), though not in the same way. This codex of John was judged at the time to be a mixed text, sharing typical B text and D text characteristics, that is, with textual features of the two early but sharply distinguishable text-types identified by Westcott-Hort. Here again, however, textual critics were judging a new, very early MS by later MSS that held well-established positions in current text-critical theory. We now recognize that significant new MSS of great antiquity should be studied *de novo* and should "set the stage" rather than be pulled into an existing "drama" or "plot" of textual theory (though we have yet to implement this insight fully). Thus this early assessment of P^{66} left it somewhat in the position that P^{45} had assumed earlier: a source of confusion over against current theory — which it did not seem to fit — and hence P^{66} was viewed much as was P^{45}: a very early but enigmatic treasure. (The judgment that P^{66} was a "mixed" text [B and D] was later modified, and

29. Hans Lietzmann, "Zur Würdigung des Chester-Beatty-Papyrus der Paulusbriefe," SPAW.PH 25 (1934) 775 (reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2: *Studien zum Neuen Testament* [ed. K. Aland; TU 68; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958] 171); idem, "Die Chester-Beatty-Papyri des Neuen Testament," *Antike* 11 (1935) 147 (reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, 2.168).

30. Kenyon, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fascicle 3 supplement: *Pauline Epistles, Text*, xxii.

31. G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (Schweich Lectures 1946; London: British Academy, 1953) 11, 17.

scholars now usually link it with the P^{75}-B kind of text, though recognizing that it is a rather "wild" member of that group.)[32]

P^{66} acquired independent significance, however, through the observation that it contained four to five hundred scribal corrections of two kinds: most of them corrections by the scribe of his own errors, but others that appear to be corrections made upon comparison with another exemplar — the scribe checking his finished product against another MS. P^{66}, therefore, showed a kind of microcosmic textual history of its own — revealing how scribes worked, how they might make corrections, and how different textual complexions might appear in a single MS.[33]

By the mid- to late 1960s, then, the papyri had secured their position in the formation of text-critical theory and were fully utilized in establishing a critical text of the NT — as attested also by their fresh collation and full use in the first edition of *UBSGNT* (1966).

V. Significance of the Papyri for the New Testament Text: Past and Future

How have the papyri altered the critical text of the NT or our understanding of the theory behind it — or how should the papyri affect these matters? After the Bodmer papyri — and all the other major papyrus discoveries — had been worked into our critical texts, several analyses of these post-Bodmer critical editions revealed that, in actuality, their texts (including those of Nestle-Aland and of the United Bible Societies) differed only moderately from the 1881 Greek text of Westcott-Hort. One such analysis, performed at Duke University around 1968, concluded:

> Since 1881 twenty-five editors have issued about seventy-five editions of the Greek New Testament. The collation of these many "critical" texts consistently exposes the fact that each of them is basically a repetition of the Westcott-Hort text. . . . Indeed, we have continued for eighty-five years to live in the era of Westcott-Hort, our *textus receptus* ["the text received by all"].[34]

Now it is 113 years later than Westcott-Hort, and yet essentially the same situation obtains. This is confirmed by an assessment of Nestle editions over time: Kurt and Barbara Aland (the current editors of NA), in a comparison of Nestle's early editions (that of 1898 — the first — and those that quickly followed) with the text in their own twenty-sixth edition of 1979 (whose text is identical to *UBSGNT*[3]),

32. See Gordon D. Fee, "P^{75}, P^{66}, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* (ed. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 30-31 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 258-59); idem, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P66): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics* (SD 34; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968) 35.

33. See Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II*, 35, 56, 76-83; idem, "P^{75}, P^{66}, and Origen," 30-31 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 258-59); and the further discussion below.

34. K. W. Clark, "Today's Problem with the Critical Text of the New Testament," in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship* (ed. J. C. Rylaarsdam; Essays in Divinity 6; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 160 (reprinted in K. W. Clark, *The Gentile Bias and Other Essays* [ed. J. L. Sharpe III; NovTSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1980] 123).

concluded that the early Nestle text differs from its most recent counterpart "in merely seven hundred passages."[35] They also provided a detailed comparison of NA^{25} (1963) with the editions of Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, von Soden, Vogels, Merk, and Bover; that analysis demonstrated that NA^{25} differed most from von Soden (2,047 variants), then (in descending order) from Vogels (1,996), Tischendorf[8] (1,262), Bover (1,161), Merk (770), and, finally — with the fewest variants — Westcott-Hort (558).[36]

Of course, the papyri could play virtually no role in the early Nestle editions and in Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort, but that is precisely the point: If the papyri were not utilized by Westcott-Hort in constructing their NT text, and if our own modern critical texts — which do use the papyri fully — are not significantly different from Westcott-Hort, why are the papyri considered to be so important? On the one hand, this is a sobering question when one attempts to determine the role of the papyri over the past century — have they had any substantive influence on the NT text itself? On the other hand, why should this close similarity between the texts of Westcott-Hort and our modern editions be surprising? After all, none of these new discoveries had dislodged codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus from their preeminent place in the whole structure, for the Chester Beatty papyri provided readings that left untouched the generally held theory of the time that three early text-types existed (the "Neutral" [B], the "Western" [D], and the more recently established [though later questioned] Caesarean text), for P^{45} seemed to fall midway between the B and D texts (hence, not threatening their existence), while P^{46} stood with the B text. Subsequently, the Bodmer papyri provided an even earlier witness to the Vaticanus or B text, namely, P^{75}, as well as another example, in P^{66}, of a text basically supportive of the P^{75}-B type of text — though at the same time moving away from it ("neutral, in a 'non-pure' way," Klijn called it).[37] It is only natural, then, to expect the post-Bodmer critical texts of the NT to resemble Westcott-Hort's 1881 text, and that, essentially, is what they did, despite numerous claims and a broad assumption that the NT papyrus treasures had changed everything. This is a striking conclusion to be drawn after a hundred years of extraordinary discoveries and vigorous text-critical work.

Have the papyri, then, really "come into their own" and have they been utilized fully and appropriately in textual criticism? They have been fully incorporated into our critical editions, but perhaps that is not where their major significance is to be found.

The forty-seven MSS dating up to the turn of the third/fourth century are certainly of paramount importance — perhaps even of "automatic significance"[38]

35. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 20.

36. Ibid., 26-27. For discussion and references on various comparisons, see Epp, "The Twentieth Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," *JBL* 93 (1974) 388-90 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 85-86); Epp, "New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts in Historical Perspective," 284-86.

37. A. F. J. Klijn, "Papyrus Bodmer II (John i-xiv) and the Text of Egypt," *NTS* 3 (1956-57) 333; cf. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II*, 9-14, 35, 76-83; Epp, "Significance of the Papyri," 94-96 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 290-91).

38. In the introduction of NA^{26}, 12* ("automatisch Bedeutung"), 49* ("intrinsic significance"). In the Eng. edition of Aland and Aland, *Text*, the 1982 German edition's "automatisch Bedeutung" is translated "inherent significance" (*Text*, 93).

— for establishing the text. A problem, however, is that these earliest witnesses do not reflect a unitary textual complexion, but rather a few if not several differing complexions. It remains doubtful, therefore, whether it can be said that in these forty-seven MSS the NT text "can be studied in the original,"[39] for the question regarding these textual witnesses — as in all other cases of textual variation — is still "*which* is original?" Nor does it seem helpful to designate a papyrus MS's fidelity to or deviation from the "original" in terms of "normal," "free," or "strict text,"[40] for these characterizations can hardly escape the charge of question begging.[41] Hence the papyri may have greater impact when employed to solve major methodological issues in that they can (1) provide clues to modes of textual transmission, (2) assist in describing early scribal habits and the phenomena of textual alteration, and (3) aid in defining the earliest forms of the NT text and provide a basis for clarifying the existence and nature of the earliest identifiable textual complexions (or "text-types," as they have been called traditionally). Thus, for the future, the papyri may serve in these ways as keys to unlock the abiding mysteries of the early history of the NT text and of text-critical theory.

1. The manner in which the papyri may help our understanding of the early Christian transmission processes has been sketched earlier: the rapid movement of texts in the Mediterranean world and the representative nature of the Egyptian papyri.

2. Early scribal habits are illuminated in a striking fashion and for a very early stage of NT transmission by P^{66}. This MS is possibly, though certainly not clearly, the product of a scriptorium,[42] yet its scribe was a careless worker. More to the point, P^{66} was copied by a "scribe-turned-recensor," who was correcting his own text against a second MS (in addition to his exemplar) and who, by abandoning Johannine style (as found in P^{75} and B) in a variety of places, seemed determined to produce a more readable, common Greek style. Thus he moved his text away from that found

39. Kurt Aland, "The Twentieth-Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 11 (a reply, in German, to my Hatch Memorial Lecture of the same title, published in *JBL* 93 [1974] 386-414).

40. These designations are those of the Alands and are described in their *Text*, 93-95.

41. See the brief critique in Bart D. Ehrman, "A Problem of Textual Circularity: The Alands on the Classification of New Testament Manuscripts," *Bib* 70 (1989) 381n.19. Ehrman points out, too (esp. 383-84), the severe limitations of the five "categories" that the Alands use to classify the NT papyri, uncials, and numerous minuscules (Aland and Aland, *Text*, 106-7, 159-63, 332-37). For example, the earliest papyri all fall into Category I — MSS, according to the Alands, with a high proportion of readings of the original text — which is ("as a working hypothesis" [p. 333]) the text of NA^{26}; thus, MSS most useful for establishing the original text are those with the highest proportion of original (i.e., NA) readings — again, begging the question. On both classification proposals see Epp, "New Testament Textual Criticism Past, Present, and Future: Reflections on the Alands' *Text of the New Testament*," *HTR* 82 (1989) 224-26.

42. Suggested, e.g., by Ernest C. Colwell and Gordon D. Fee; for evidence and arguments, see Fee, "P^{75}, P^{66}, and Origen," 30-31 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 258-59). One might ask whether the obvious carelessness of this scribe does not militate against its being the product of a professional scriptorium. On the "impossibility" of Christian scriptoria before 200 (except perhaps in Alexandria "about 200"), see Aland and Aland, *Text*, 70. On some ways to argue that standardized procedures were being employed already in the earliest NT papyri, and even for the existence of scriptoria, see Epp, "Significance of the Papyri," 90-91, 101-2 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 287-89, 295-96).

in P^{75} and toward the sort of readings found later in the Byzantine or A text, thereby revealing at a very early period a scribal attitude that removes difficulties and seeks the best sense of the text rather than showing a rigid concern for the preservation of the "original text."[43] Recently, too, an analysis of scribal habits in the early papyri has challenged the validity of the old "rule" that the shorter reading is more likely to be original,[44] signaling ways in which the papyri can inform our understanding of the long-standing criteria for the originality of readings.

3. The papyri can aid in defining the earliest forms of the NT text and, in turn, help to establish the existence and to clarify the nature of the earliest identifiable textual complexions (or "text-types"). A first step is to accord to the more extensive, early papyri their rightful role as *definers* of textual character and textual streams, rather than forcing them — often arbitrarily and sometimes prematurely — into procrustean beds constructed on the basis of later, more prominent MSS. A concomitant step is to permit papyri of various textual complexions to draw similar MSS into their particular constellations so as to form distinguishable clusters and then to observe how the MSS sort themselves out. This is not as simple as it sounds for at least three reasons. First, the highly fragmentary papyri are often difficult to classify; second, classifications must be made for each section of the NT (i.e., for each circulating unit), such as the Gospels or the Gospels plus Acts, the Pauline letters, the general epistles (sometimes with Acts), and the Apocalypse — and at times for each NT book; and, third, MSS often have block mixture — some sections of a single MS reflecting one distinctive kind of text and other sections reflecting another.

Moreover, the existence of "text-types" in the earliest period of NT textual history is not acknowledged by all.[45] This is partly (but only partly) a matter of defining terms, for "text-types" may imply rigidly fixed forms with closely integrated characteristics — something difficult to demonstrate on a broad scale for the earliest period due to the fragmentary nature of the papyri. As a 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. Such differentiations must be based not on general impressions or on random samples

43. Fee, "P^{75}, P^{66}, and Origen," 30-31 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 258-59); cf. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II*, esp. 9-14, 35, 76-83.

44. James R. Royse, "Scribal Habits in the Transmission of New Testament Texts," in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts* (ed. W. D. O'Flaherty; Berkeley Religious Studies Series 2; Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1979) 150-55; Peter M. Head, "Observations on Early Papyri of the Synoptic Gospels, Especially on the 'Scribal Habits,' " *Bib* 71 (1990) 240-47. Cf. also on this topic chap. 15 by Royse in this volume.

45. Especially Kurt Aland; see his "The Significance of the Papyri for Progress in New Testament Research," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship* (ed. J. P. Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965) 334-37; updated in "Die Konsequenzen der neueren Handschriftenfunde für die neutestamentliche Textkritik," in *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (ANTF 2; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967) 188-89; more recently, see Aland and Aland (*Text*, 59, 64, 103), who distinguish between "different forms" of the text (which they say did exist prior to the 3d/4th century) and "text types" (which they say existed only in the 4th century and after). Cf. E. C. Colwell ("Method in Establishing the Nature of Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969] 55): "Very few, if any, text-types were established by that time [A.D. 200]."

but on a full quantitative comparison of agreement/disagreement in variation-units (or test readings, when large numbers of MSS are being considered). To be more specific, a prominent working hypothesis states 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 10 per cent from its neighbors."[46] The few instances where NT papyri have been employed in such full comparisons, P^{75} and B in John, for example, show this kind of statistical distinctiveness in their relationship,[47] as do P^{45} and W in Mark, though P^{45} is highly fragmentary here.[48] Until more detailed analyses have been made, some may prefer to speak of "textual groups" or "textual clusters" rather than "text-types" in the early period.

Yet, what makes this sorting process so natural — and attractive — is that several early papyri draw to themselves other later MSS and form three reasonably separable constellations with similar textual characteristics. Most significant is that the papyri in each group can be identified textually with one or more major uncial MSS. Though this procedure may appear to come perilously close to classifying MSS on the basis of the great uncials, it avoids that classic fault by first differentiating various papyri from one another according to their differing textual character, and only then seeking partners for them farther down the stream of NT MSS — partners with similar textual complexions. Thus one can argue plausibly that three textual clusters or constellations emerge in our stream of transmission, each with roots in the earliest period. First, the clearest cluster can be identified (e.g., in the Gospels) in the P^{75}-Codex B line (along with P^{66}, Sinaiticus [except in John], and the later L and 33 — as well as P^{46} and 1739 for Paul, etc.), which might be called the *B text group* (traditionally known as Egyptian, Alexandrian, or "Neutral"). Second, three or four papyri and one uncial prior to the fourth century containing portions of Luke-Acts (P^{48}, P^{38}, P^{69}, 0171, and perhaps P^{29}) form a cluster that can be connected to Codex D, and later with 1739 (Acts only), 614, and 383. This has long been called — though incorrectly in the geographical sense — the "Western" kind of text, which might better be designated the *D text group*. Third, a cluster (for the Gospels) exists in P^{45} and Codex Washingtonianus (with, e.g., f^{13}), which might be called the *C text group* because it stands midway between the B and D text groups (though no longer to be called Caesarean). In addition, though not among the early clusters and therefore with no early papyrus representatives, there is the later Majority or Byzantine text group, whose earliest major witness is Codex A (though only in the Gospels). Therefore, this might be called the *A text group* in recognition of Codex Alexandrinus. This cluster does have supporting witnesses among the papyri, but only from the sixth (P^{84}), seventh (P^{68}, perhaps P^{74}), and seventh/eighth centuries (P^{42}), and it is the only "text-type" that the Alands recognize before the fourth century.[49]

46. Colwell, "Method in Establishing the Nature of Text-Types," 59.

47. See G. D. Fee, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships," *NTS* 15 (1968-69) 25-36, 44 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 223-34, 243).

48. Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (SD 43; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) 63-66, 88-89, 94.

49. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 64-69.

Yet, once one understands the nature of text-types, it is plausible to argue that the three textual constellations (in addition to the A text) also constitute three distinguishable "text-types" as early as the second century (with the C text group, however, ceasing with Codex W). Again, the relationship of P^{75} and P^{66} may point the way. As noted earlier, the text of P^{66}, through its corrections, moves toward the A text and away from P^{75} (and B), but it is still closer to the latter MSS than to any other group[50] (though it misses by at least ten percentage points the 70% requirement for text-type affinity). What this tells us is that a text-type is not a closely concentrated entity with rigid boundaries, but is more like a galaxy — with a compact nucleus and additional but less closely related members that range out from the nucleus toward the perimeter. An obvious problem is how to determine when the outer limits of those more remote members have been reached for one text-type and where the next begins. To change the figure, text-types appear on a spectrum: the primary colors stand out (corresponding, in the early period, to the major MSS in the B, C, and D texts), with a spread of other MSS (secondary colors) between them.[51]

The case made here for early text-types may be summarized as follows: The dynamic intellectual commerce demonstrated by the many papyrus documents — to say nothing of other evidence — permits us to envision a rather free and speedy transmission of letters and documents in the Greco-Roman world, including the NT writings on papyrus. This, in turn, permits us to postulate that the NT MSS unearthed in Egypt — presuming the movement of their texts to and from and within Egypt — may be judged to be representative of the entire spectrum of NT texts in the Mediterranean area in the first centuries of Christianity. Allowing these representative papyri to sort themselves into groups with similar textual complexions reveals three primary concentrations on the earliest textual spectrum, whose chief members connect readily with major uncials of the fourth and fifth centuries and with other later MSS. Therefore, the existence, as early as the second century, of the B, C, and D text-types, followed by the later A text, seems beyond a reasonable doubt, and all of this finds its basis in the NT papyri.

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50. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II*, 14, 35, 80-83.

51. For a fuller discussion, cf. Epp, "Significance of the Papyri," 84-103 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 283-97).

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CHAPTER 2

THE MAJUSCULE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

David C. Parker

I. Description and Nomenclature

It has long been habitual to describe this class of MSS as uncials. The word's use has its origin in Mabillon's interpretation of Jerome's phrase about MSS written *uncialibus litteris.*[1] Whatever the original meaning, a consensus has emerged that the name should be applied only to a particular kind of Latin majuscule.[2] The word *majuscule* should be used to designate the class of Greek hands of which we write. It means "of a fair size," as opposed to minuscule, "rather small." To attempt a definition of a hand given this name: a formal bookhand of a fair size in which almost all of the letters are written between two imagined lines.

With regard to the class of MS of the Greek NT with which we are concerned, a MS must satisfy three criteria if it is to be included: script, material, and contents: majuscule in script, parchment as to material, and with a continuous text rather than lections (though the lections may be marked, in the margin or even in the text). If a MS in a majuscule hand is written on papyrus, then it is classified among the papyri; if it is a lectionary as to contents, then it should be classified among the lectionaries. About 270 lectionaries are written in majuscule.

Because of these three criteria, one could argue that the designation "uncial" refers not to the script so much as to the whole character of the book in question. This usage is so common as to be almost universal. Nevertheless, it is palaeographically inexact, and we must learn to do without it. The term *majuscule* will be employed throughout the present study.

On the question of contents, it should be noted that a significant number of our MSS are bilingual. At present there are some eleven Greco-Latin, twenty-one Greco-Coptic, and two Greco-Arabic majuscule bilinguals.[3]

The script and material of our MSS form a group reflecting various social,

1. Prologus in Libro Iob, *Biblia Sacra,* 1.732. For a recent explanation, see P. Mayvaert, " 'Uncial letters': Jerome's Meaning of the Term," *JTS* 34 (1983) 185-88.

2. See G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300-800* (University of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Supplement 47; London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1987) v.

3. A list of all bilinguals is given in David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 60-61. To my list of

political, economic, and religious factors. Apart from our five oldest examples, they all come within a period delimited by two events. The first was the Peace of Constantine. One consequence of this revolution was a change from a preponderance of papyrus MSS to a preference for parchment, with a general adoption of biblical majuscule as the most common script. The demise of the majuscules coincides with an explosion in the production of written books in the tenth century that made it necessary to produce more books from the same parchment supply. The innovation here was the transition to minuscule scripts.

II. The Majuscules in History and Scholarship

With the transition to minuscule, the majuscule MSS passed out of use. What happened to them? Professor Metzger draws attention to the fact that "Instances of a known copy of another manuscript are exceedingly rare, which suggests that only a very small percentage of manuscripts have survived."[4] Weitzman has produced a statistical model suggesting that "10% of all books now lost were still extant in A.D. 900."[5] For NT MSS produced in late antiquity, the proportion is likely to have been far higher. This challenges our belief that the greater part of MS loss happened in antiquity. Could it be that, just as the Colosseum and Hadrian's Wall survived the depredations of earlier barbarians, only to succumb in modern times, the one to the aspirations of Renaissance popes, the other to the indifference of Victorian farmers, so too our ancient MSS may have survived a millennium, only to perish within sight of land? The story of Tischendorf snatching Codex Sinaiticus from the jaws of a baker's oven comes at once to mind. A glance at the history of the palimpsests reinforces the idea.

There are fifty-seven majuscule palimpsests, and a further fifty-one (or possibly fifty-two) majuscule lectionary palimpsests.[6] The definition of palimpsest often includes pieces of a MS used to strengthen the binding of a later one.[7] Those MSS

Greco-Coptic MSS should be added 0114 + *l*964a + *l*1353b, 0276 + *l*962 + *l*1353a, 0298, and 0299 (I am grateful to James Miller for this information). Another list is provided in Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) 56.

4. Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 54.

5. M. P. Weitzman, "The Evolution of Manuscript Traditions," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* A (1987) 150, Part 4, 287-308.

6. The majuscule group is conveniently listed by Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 12n.1. Since 0250 (the last in his list), to be added are 0254, 0257, 0269, 0271, 0272, 0273, and 0297. 0144, not shown to be a palimpsest in Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963 [henceforth cited as *Liste*]), should also be added. In his list, 0196 and 0229 are the upper scripts. For the rest, our majuscules are the primary writing. The uncertainty with regard to the number of lectionary examples is due to the state of the lower writing in the fourteenth-century *l*2008: the note in idem, "Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. Ergänzungen zur 'Kurzgefaßten Liste' (Fortsetzungsliste VII)," in *Materialen zur Neutestamentlichen Handschriftenkunde* (ANTF 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969 [henceforth cited as Supplement to the *Liste*]) 30 reads "untere Schrift kaum U-l." It is included in the list below.

7. See, e.g., the description of *l*1836 in R. Devreesse, ed., *Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des mss. Catalogues des mss grecs. II. Le fonds Coislin* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1945).

on which it has been possible to gather information were rewritten in the following centuries (precise year in brackets; the phrase "lower script" refers to the older text of a palimpsest, "upper script" to the newer one[s]):[8]

TABLE 2.1
MAJUSCULE PALIMPSESTS

VIII	024 026 0208 [first half]
VIII-IX	027
IX	068 0250
IX-X	0240
IX-XI	0197
X	035 [or later] 065 066 067 078 079 088 096 097 0120 0245 [983] 0257
XI	094 0132 0247
XI-XII	0130
XII	04 0103? 0104? 0248 0249
XIII	025 040 0134 0233 [1247]
XIV	098 0116 0209
XV	0133 [1431] 0135 0161 0269 0271 0272 0273 0297
XVI	
XVII	048 [1696-9]

The tenth-century MSS are mostly a group with Georgian upper writing now in St. Petersburg.[9] 0133 0269 0271 0272 0273 and 0297 (with the minuscule ℓ334) were all used for a MS written in 1431 C.E., now in London (B.L. Add. 31919). 0248 and 0249 were also both used in making one new MS (Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T 4.21).

Some of these MSS were reused for lectionary or minuscule copies: 040 as ℓ299, 0132 as 639, 0134 as ℓ26, 0209 as ℓ1611, 0233 as ℓ1684, 0257 as ℓ2094. 0208 was used in the first part of the eighth century, probably at Bobbio, for part of a copy of Prosper's *Chronicon*.[10]

8. Some are beyond our reach: the whereabouts of 062, 072, 0144, 0158, 0159, and 0254 are not known. They were a group seen by Tischendorf in Damascus: see W. H. P. Hatch, "An Uncial Fragment of the Gospels," *HTR* 23 (1930) 149-52 (his article is mainly about 0196). Hatch could find only 0144 when he visited Damascus in 1929. His assertion that the other MSS were removed to Germany in 1918 is robustly dismissed as gossip by E. von Dobschütz, "Zur Liste der NTlichen Handschriften," *ZNW* 32 (1933) 191. 093 is one of the Cambridge Cairo Geniza fragments; it is not possible to date the upper hand (see M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom, "Christian Palimpsests from the Cairo Geniza," *RHT* 8 [1978] 115-16). Similarly, the Coptic upper script of 086 and the Syriac overwriting of 064/074 have not been dated by their editors. 0168 is apparently lost. 090 (one MS with 064 and 074) and 0246 were cleaned but never reused. Sources of information have failed me for 0225.

9. 065, 066, 067, and 088 are in the Public Library as Gr. 6; 078 and 079 as Gr. 13; 096 as Gr. 19; 097 as Gr. 18.

10. E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century*, vol. 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959) item 1274.

The majuscule lectionary palimpsests were rewritten, for the most part, at a rather later point:[11]

TABLE 2.2
MAJUSCULE LECTIONARY PALIMPSESTS

X	ℓ559a ℓ559b
X-XI	ℓ316 ℓ317
XI	ℓ2201
XI/XII	ℓ1952 [if XI, then 1067]
XII	ℓ135 ℓ205 ℓ286 [1150] ℓ293 ℓ486b ℓ586 ℓ1836
XIII	ℓ65 ℓ66 ℓ171 ℓ220b ℓ269 ℓ1193a [1263?] ℓ1837 ℓ1953 ℓ1954 ℓ2125
XIII-XIV	ℓ1854b
XIV	ℓ155 ℓ338 ℓ363? ℓ444 ℓ482 ℓ511 ℓ668 [1311] ℓ703 ℓ907 [1350] ℓ1214 ℓ1955 ℓ2008 lower script? ℓ2123 ℓ2124
XIV-XV	ℓ481 ℓ2121
XV	ℓ368 ℓ370 ℓ1317
XVI	ℓ362

Ten of these were rewritten as NT texts: ℓ135 as ℓ136, ℓ220b as ℓ220a, ℓ269 as ℓ1944, ℓ586 as 713, ℓ668 as 982, ℓ1193a as ℓ1193b, ℓ1214 as ℓ1235, ℓ1854b as ℓ1854a, ℓ1954 as ℓ26, and ℓ1955 as ℓ27. The eleventh-century MS 1904 shared its fate with ℓ703. The upper script of ℓ1317 is by the same scribe as that of British Museum Add. 31919, which uses 0133 and six other MSS (as we have seen). ℓ559a and ℓ559b were used along with 048 in the production of Vat. Gr. 2061.

The scarcity of medieval corrections and marginalia is a further indication that majuscules were little used during this period. Sinaiticus has a couple of medieval corrections.[12] Codex Vaticanus was restored by someone in the tenth or eleventh century.[13] Codex Bezae shows no signs of use between the ninth and sixteenth centuries.[14] The Freer Gospels have no corrector later than the sixth century. Codex Alexandrinus was probably removed from Constantinople to Alexandria in 1308 — an act betokening some kind of interest in it.[15] The Laudian Acts contains eighth- and ninth-century Latin uncial annotations.

The emergence of the pre-minuscule MSS into the light of scholarship was late

11. ℓ1276 (not given as a majuscule in the *Liste*) is from the Cairo Geniza and, like 093, its upper script cannot be dated. (This fragment could be from a continuous-text MS rather than a lectionary, according to Caspar R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* [3 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900-1909] 3.1272-73.) For various reasons, I do not provide information for ℓ1429, ℓ1601, ℓ1637, ℓ1687, ℓ1849, ℓ1885, and ℓ2158.

12. Gregory (in his *Prolegomena* to C. Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece . . . editio octava critica maior* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894] 346) notes that there are "paucissima" twelfth-century corrections, and specifically notes ones to Matt 19:3 and 1 Tim 3:16. See also H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London: British Museum, 1938) 65.

13. Carlo M. Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (AnBib 26; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966) 3-4.

14. Parker, *Codex Bezae*, chap. 3.

15. T. C. Skeat, "The Provenance of the Codex Alexandrinus," *JTS* 6 (1955) 233-35.

and gradual. Codex Vaticanus is first mentioned in a letter to Erasmus by Bombasius, prefect of the Vatican Library, in 1521.[16] But it was another two and a half centuries before more than a small portion of its readings became available.[17] Codex Bezae was probably cited at the Council of Trent in 1546.[18] It is certainly one of the first two majuscules to have been cited in an apparatus. The other was the eighth-century Gospel MS Codex Regius (L 019). They were among the fifteen witnesses used by Stephanus in his third edition (1550), the first to contain a critical apparatus. Codex Claromontanus is first mentioned by Beza in the preface to his third edition of 1582. It was subsequently used for Walton's Polyglot. Codex Alexandrinus was an object of some interest from its arrival in London in 1628. It too was collated for Walton's Polyglot. K of the Gospels, Codex Cyprius, was brought to Paris from Cyprus in 1673, and collated by Simon. D^{abs1} was first used by Fell in his edition (1675). It was treated as a separate MS until Sabatier showed it to be a copy of D^{p}. Even as late as the end of the last century, it was given a separate letter (E^{p}).

In 1704 Mill was able to describe and cite eight majuscule MSS: those which we have listed (he only used L indirectly, by means of Stephanus), and two more that first appear in his edition: Basiliensis (E^{e} 07) and the Laudian Acts (E^{a} 08). Kuster, in his 1710 edition of Mill, added three more: Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, which had arrived in western Europe in the first part of the sixteenth century, and had recently been drawn to the attention of scholars; the Pauline bilingual Codex Boernerianus (012), which in the sixteenth century had belonged to Paul Junius of Leiden; and the Codex Campianus of the Gospels (M 021).

Wettstein cites twenty-two majuscules in his edition. To describe them he used the system of letters that has been in use ever since: for the Gospels A (02), B (03), C (04), D (05), E (07), F (09), G (011), H (013), I (022, the London leaves), K (017), L (019), M (021), N (022, the Vienna leaves), O (ℓ295); for Paul, A (02), B (03), C (04), D (06), E (D^{abs1}), F (010), G (012), H (015); for Acts, A(02), B (03), C (04), D (05), E (08), F (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Coislin. 1), G (020); for Revelation, A (02), B (046), C (04). The witness he called F of the Acts is a Septuagint Octateuch. Wettstein found Acts 9:24-25 in the margin. Tischendorf (who knew it as F^{a}) found nineteen other such references, from the Gospels, Acts, and the Pauline corpus. These readings have dropped out of sight, since the MS is no longer officially listed.

During the nineteenth century, study of NT MSS involved a twofold process. The first was the appearance of collations and transcriptions superior to those that had hitherto been available, advanced still further in later years by the publication of facsimile editions of some MSS. The second was the discovery of more MSS.

16. J. J. Wettstein, Prolegomena, *Nouum Testamentum Graecum* (2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1751-52) 1.23-24. Erasmus *Ep.* 1213 (*Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* [ed. P. S. and H. M. Allen; Oxford: Clarendon, 1906-58] 4.528-31, ll. 67-81). Bombasius cites the text of B for 1 John 4:1-3 and 5:7-11.

17. The story is most fully told in F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students* (ed. E. Miller; 4th ed.; 2 vols.; London and New York: George Bell & Sons; Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1894) 1.109-19.

18. F. H. A. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, Being an Exact Copy, in Ordinary Type* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1864; reprinted, Pittsburgh Reprint Series 5; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1978) viii.

The most sensational find was that of the Sinaitic MS in 1844. By the time that Gregory came to write Tischendorf's *Prolegomena*, Wettstein's twenty MSS had become eighty-eight. Sixty-five of these are among those counted as majuscules today. Two were papyri (P^{11} and P^{14}). Eleven were lectionaries. On the other hand, Tischendorf counted among the minuscules thirteen MSS now listed as majuscules.

By 1909 Gregory was able to double the number of known majuscules to 166. The two-hundred mark was passed by von Dobschütz in 1933, and the Münster *Liste* included the round sum of 250 when it appeared in 1963.[19]

Among the most important of the majuscules to have been discovered since Tischendorf one should note the Freer MSS, one of the Gospels (W 032) and one of the Pauline epistles (I 016), bought in Cairo in 1907 and published in 1912 and 1918, respectively; and the Koridethi Codex of the Gospels (Θ 038), which became known in 1901 and was published in facsimile in 1907.

Today, the list of majuscules has reached three hundred.[20] The place of a MS in the list does not indicate the sequence of discovery or of publication. 0235 was first discussed in 1899,[21] 0234 in 1903, 0237 in 1912. The last two of these MSS were cited by von Soden as ε49 and ε014, even though they did not receive a Gregory-Aland number until 1954.[22]

Although the list contains three hundred items, there are not three hundred majuscule MSS.[23] Some MSS are assigned to several different numbers. Greco-Coptic codices are prone to this numbering, since many were acquired by dealers whose practice it was to divide MS finds into small portions to be sold separately. 070 has suffered particularly badly — portions of the MS are found under eleven other numbers.[24] The numbers 0152 and 0153 were reserved for talismans and ostraca, respectively, and are no longer used. 0129, 0203, and *l*1575 are all parts of one MS; 0100 and 0195 belong with *l*963; 0192 belongs with *l*1604. These codices should be classified with the lectionaries. 055 is actually a commentary, without the complete text. 0212 is a MS of Tatian's Diatessaron, and it is a moot point whether it belongs in the *Liste* at all. Finally, two numbers are doubled — we have 092a and 092b, and 0121a and 0121b. Including 0212, the correct number of extant majuscule MSS (in 1992) is therefore 265.

I may note in passing that, with their removal from the list, certain kinds of evidence have dropped out of sight. I have referred to the marginalia of the Paris MS of the Octateuch, and to the talismans and ostraca. In addition, a number of

19. For a full account and bibliographical details, see J. K. Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (SNTSMS 62; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 3-7.

20. Münster *Bericht* 1992, 108-9.

21. Elliott, *Bibliography*, 3-7.

22. Ibid., 6.

23. H. Bachmann, "Nur Noch 241 statt 276 Majuskelhandschriften," Münster *Bericht* (1982) 69-70. Two of the new MSS from Mount Sinai have been assigned numbers but belong to MSS already numbered. See B. Aland and K. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 104-6. There are discrepancies in their figures. According to their information, the figure should be 262, not the 263 they state.

24. F.-J. Schmitz, "Neue Fragmente zur bilinguen Majuskelhandschrift 070," Münster *Bericht* (1982) 71-92. [The discovery of another fragment, in the British Library, was announced by H.-M. Bethge at the SNTS Textual Criticism Seminar in August, 1994.]

inscriptions, epigraphic and painted, have never been part of any list of the evidence available to us.[25]

III. Pre-Constantinian Majuscule Manuscripts

Five majuscule MSS may be plausibly dated to a date before 312, although the case is not proved for all of them. The oldest is 0212, the Diatessaron fragment from Dura. Discovered in 1933, its text (containing part of a Passion narrative) was first published in 1935.[26] It is dated between 222 and 256;[27] the *terminus ante quem* is established by archaeological data. The MS is unique among the majuscules in that it is a roll. The hand is, in Roberts's words, "rounded and delicate and is written with a fine pen. It stands midway between the earlier rounded hands . . . and the later 'Biblical' style."[28] A recent commentator seems doubtful that the work can be shown to be *Tatian's* Diatessaron.[29]

0220, containing Rom 4:23–5:3, 8-13, appears to have been found in the neighborhood of Old Cairo. It is dated by Hatch to "the latter part of the third century rather than early in the fourth."[30] The text is identical with that of B, except that at 5:1 it reads ἔχομεν (ℵ^1 B^2 F G P Ψ 1739 *al*) and not ἔχωμεν (ℵ* A B* C D K L 33 *pler*).

0171 contains verses from Matthew 10 and Luke 22. The Lukan fragment was the first to be found.[31] The leaf containing Matthew was published by Treu in 1966.[32] Placed by the first editor and by Cavallo in the fourth century, it is dated to about 300 by Treu and the Alands.[33] The text was deemed by Lagrange (who of course knew only the Lukan section) to be a witness to the D text.[34] The matter has been

25. See most recently, D. Feissel, "La Bible dans les inscriptions grecques," in *La monde grec ancien et la Bible* (ed. C. Mondesert; Bible de tous les Temps 1; Paris: Beauchesne, 1984) 223-31, esp. 229-31. The fullest study of the subject (in Greek and Latin inscriptions) dates back to 1914; see L. Jalabert, "Citations bibliques dans l'épigraphie grecque," and H. Leclercq, "Citations bibliques dans l'épigraphie latine," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 3.2 (ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq; Paris: Librairie Letouzy et Ané, 1914), cols. 1731-56, 1756-79.

26. C. H. Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura* (SD 3; London: Christophers, 1935); a corrected edition is C. B. Welles, R. O. Fink, and J. F. Gillian, *The Parchments and Papyri: The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . Final Report*, vol. 5, part 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959) 73-74.

27. Colin H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.-A.D. 400* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956) 21. He provides a clear plate (21b). See also G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Studi e testi di papirologia 2; 2 vols.; Florence: Le Monnier, 1967) 1.47n.7.

28. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, 21.

29. William L. Petersen, "The Diatessaron," in Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990) 412-13.

30. W. H. P. Hatch, "A Recently Discovered Fragment of the Epistle to the Romans," *HTR* 45 (1952) 84. A plate is provided by Aland and Aland, *Text*, plate 17.

31. Published in G. Vitelli, Medea Norsa, Vittorio Bartoletti, et al., eds., *Papiri greci e latini. Pubblicazioni della Societa Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto* (14 vols.; Florence: Ariani, 1912-57) 1.2-4 (number 2) and 2.22-25 (number 124).

32. Papyrus Berolinensis 11863. See K. Treu, "Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente der Berliner Papyrussammlung," *APF* 18 (1966) 25-28 and plate 1.

33. Cavallo, *Ricerche*, 1.66; Treu, "Neue neutestamentliche Fragmente," 25 (without explanation); Aland and Aland, *Text*, 123.

34. M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique Textuelle*, vol. 2: *La critique rationelle* (2d ed.; Paris: Gabalda, 1935) 71-76.

thoroughly considered more recently, notably by K. Aland, E. J. Epp, and J. N. Birdsall.[35] Aland discusses both fragments, Epp and Lagrange the Lukan, and Birdsall the Matthean. It was Aland's conclusion that there is no proven example of agreement between 0171 and D. The apparent similarity is due to the fact that 0171 is a paraphrastic text. Epp's interpretation follows the line laid down by Lagrange. He argues that one can draw lines of connection from 0171 (and other early witnesses such as P^{29}) to Codex Bezae. Birdsall noted eleven disagreements with Codex Bezae and nine agreements, including the addition at Matt 10:23. He drew attention also to agreements between 0171 and the Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis (k).[36]

0189 is a MS of Acts (5:3-21), published just too late to be used by Ropes.[37] The script is a bookhand that had been in use since the late third century, here written well and carefully, with even pen strokes. The characters lean a little to the left. Analogies in Cavallo and Maehler are plates 2a and 2b, the latter the Chester Beatty Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), of the early fourth century. Attempts to bring the date down to "third/fourth" seem to be over-optimistic. The text is characterized by K. Aland as "normal."[38]

0162 (P.Oxy. 847) contains John 2:11-22. It was dated by its editors to the fourth century, and has been brought down to third/fourth century by the Alands.[39] The script is described in the *editio princeps* as follows: "The rather large calligraphic script is more closely related to the sloping oval type of the third and fourth centuries than to the squarer heavier style which subsequently became common for biblical texts" (i.e., biblical majuscule).[40] There is, however, rather as in P.Oxy. 2699 (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*),[41] some influence of biblical majuscule — *sigma* is not markedly narrow, *nu* is square. Comparison with a hand like P. Herm. Rees 5,[42]

35. K. Aland, "Alter und Enstehung des D-Textes im Neuen Testament. Betrachtungen zu P^{69} und 0171," in *Miscel·lània Papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig* (ed. S. Janeras; Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1987) 37-56; E. J. Epp, "The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission* (ed. W. L. Petersen; CJA 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989) 98-100 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 293-95); J. N. Birdsall, "The Western Text in the Second Century," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century*, 6-7.

36. The Lukan portion of 0171 has recently been most carefully reconstructed by Birdsall, with a view to determining whether its text ever included 22:61. His conclusion that it did not is well sustained ("A Fresh Examination of the Fragments of the Gospel of St. Luke in ms. 0171 and an Attempted Reconstruction with Special Reference to the Recto," in *Philologia Sacra: Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag* [ed. Roger Gryson; 2 vols.; GLB24; Freiburg: Herder, 1993] 1.212-17, with two plates).

37. Papyrus Berolinensis 11765. See A. H. Salonius, "Die griechischen Handschriftenfragmente des Neuen Testaments in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin," *ZNW* 26 (1927) 116-19 and plate.

38. K. Aland, "Der Textcharakter der frühen Papyri und Majuskeln" (Münster *Bericht*, 1982) 54. Note that by some slip, Aland and Aland, *Text*, table 4 and plate 27, assign this MS to the "second/third century." The description (p. 104) is correct.

39. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, et al., eds, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1898ff.) 6.4-5 and plate VI; Aland and Aland, *Text*, 104.

40. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 6.4.

41. Plate 49 in E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

42. Ibid., plate 70.

dated to about 325, brings out the point. The dating of this type of hand continues to be rather problematical (Turner's dating of P.Oxy. 2699 rejects the first editor's, who considered it to be of the 3d century).[43] Without more detailed justification, one should be cautious in assigning 0162 to an earlier date. The text is described by Aland as "normal."[44] It differs from P^{75} in five places, and from B in six.

The five MSS I have been discussing have one feature in common: none of them is written in biblical majuscule, the hand that was later to become the one by far the most commonly used for NT codices. Nor do they show a common hand. Instead, they present a variety of styles, as do the early papyri. They belong with those papyri in the period before the production of monumental calligraphic codices. I turn now to that later epoch, one of considerable development in the production of books containing NT texts.

1. Biblical Majuscule

This name has its origins in Schubart's "Bibelstil"[45] and Grenfell and Hunt's "biblical uncial," a recurrent phrase in their Oxyrhynchus volumes. We owe the detailed description of the hand to Cavallo.[46] According to his reconstruction, the hand passed through three stages: development, perfection in its "canonical form," and decline. It is possible, according to his method, to date examples according to their place in this history. The view has been sharply criticized by E. G. Turner as a "metaphysical concept": "unless this hand can be proved to have emanated from a single centre, it too is unlikely to have developed and degenerated in linear fashion. If it was written in several centres it is likely that cross-influences will have affected this style, as they did other styles."[47] If Turner is not altogether fair, it is because Cavallo's account is rather more subtle (he describes various subgroups within this simple linear theory), and because the biblical texts were increasingly treated in a special way that is likely to have produced a special style, without the influence of a single geographical center.

Turner describes the hand as one of three types of Formal round hands, itself one of the three groups into which he divides literary hands of the first to fourth centuries.[48] In his definition, it is similar to his first type, "in which each letter (ι only excepted) occupies the space of a square . . . and only φ and ψ reach above and below the two lines," with the addition that "υ regularly and ρ often reach below the line."[49] A more recent definition of the hand "in the phase of its greatest formal perfection" endorsed by Cavallo is "a preference for geometric forms; letters can be fitted into squares (the only exceptions being Ι Ρ Φ Ψ and Ω); a contrast in thickness between compact vertical strokes, thin horizontal and ascending strokes,

43. Ibid., 88.

44. K. Aland, "Textcharakter der frühen Papyri," 53-54.

45. W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 1.4.1; Munich: Beck, 1925) esp. 136-46.

46. Cavallo, *Ricerche*. This work is two volumes, the second consisting of an excellent collection of 115 plates.

47. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 26.

48. Ibid., 25-26.

49. Ibid., 25.

descending diagonals of medium thickness (these differences in thickness are due to the angle of writing of about 75 degrees); absence of decorative crowning dashes or ornamental hooks. As for the shapes of the letters, as a general rule they repeat forms and basic structures of the alphabet of classical Greece."[50]

2. *Other Hands*

Cavallo and Maehler divide the book hands of the fourth to the ninth centuries into four types, of which biblical majuscule is the third.[51] The first is sloping pointed majuscule, a group that subdivides into three. The best-known example of the first of these is W, variously known as the Washington Codex and the Freer Gospels. This MS is regarded by Cavallo and Maehler as so early an example of the hand that they concluded that a date "at the end of the iv century cannot be ruled out completely."[52] For the second group one must point to a papyrus MS of Acts, P^{33}. The third group is represented by 0229, a fragment of Revelation.[53] According to the *Liste*, 0229 has been destroyed. NT majuscule MSS in sloping hands are not rare, and specimens may easily be found in the standard collections of plates.[54] Manuscripts in upright pointed majuscule are rarer anyway, and biblical examples scarcely exist. The script is used in the captions to miniatures in 042, Codex Rossanensis. The fourth group is the Alexandrian majuscule found, for example, in 0232 and P^{35}.

In addition, there are majuscules whose hand has been influenced by local conditions. The Koridethi Codex has letter forms strange enough for one to conclude that the scribe was more used to copying Georgian characters. Codex Bezae was copied by a scribe more at home with Latin than with Greek characters, although it does not forfeit its claim to be good biblical majuscule. Carolingian bilinguals like the codices Augiensis and Sangallensis (F of Paul and Δ of the Gospels) represent an attempt to revive a lost tradition.[55]

IV. Scribal Practice and Ancillary Material

In this rather general heading I include a number of topics of importance in studying our MSS.

The first is the *nomina sacra*. These are abbreviations of a number of common words, titles, and names of the NT.[56] The increase in the number of words that came

50. Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 34.

51. Ibid., 4-5.

52. Ibid., p. 38 and plate.

53. Another part of the same codex, written by the same scribe and containing a dialogue between Basil and Gregory, is in ibid., plate 28b.

54. See, e.g., the invaluable collection of W. H. P. Hatch, *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

55. For the copying of Greek MSS in the West in the early medieval period, see G. Cavallo, "La Produzione di Manoscritti Greci in Occidenti tra Età Tardoantica e alto Medioevo. Note ed Ipotesi," *Scrittura e Civiltà* 1 (1977) 111-31.

56. The list includes the following: κύριος, υἱός, Ἰησοῦς, χριστός, πατήρ, πνεῦμα, οὐρανός, Ἰσραήλ, ἄνθρωπος, σταυρός, and ἀπόστολος.

to be included among the *nomina sacra*, and the use of different forms of abbreviation, help to track the development of copying in the early centuries. These matters were studied in detail by Traube; subsequent work has extended his investigation by examining the papyri.[57]

Second, we refer to the collection of ancillary material known as the Euthaliana. This is the name given to material provided in some MSS of Acts and the epistles. These aids to the reader include brief prologues and chapter lists. The material was first edited by Zacagni in 1698; it has more recently been usefully studied by L. C. Willard.[58]

A general survey of chapter divisions, canon tables, lectional notes, neumes, and miniatures, all of which appear in majuscule MSS, is given in Professor Metzger's *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*.[59]

V. Majuscule Manuscripts and the Papyri

Until the mid-twentieth century, classification of NT texts was made on the basis of a comparison of major majuscule witnesses — Alexandrian (א and B), Caesarean (W and Θ), "Western" (several notable bilinguals), Byzantine (A E [07] and the majority). The reappearance of papyri has led to the beginning of a reappraisal. In the next few paragraphs, I attempt to give an account of some of the studies that have addressed the relationship between papyrus and majuscule copies.[60]

The Michigan papyrus of Acts (P^{38}) appeared, like 0189, too late for Ropes.[61] Silva New (Lake) contributed a note on it to the fifth volume of *The Beginnings of Christianity*.[62] It was used, and fully discussed, by Clark.[63] Sanders claimed that "the

57. L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kurzung* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 2; Munich: Beck, 1907); A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D. The Sources and Some Deductions* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 8; Leiden: Brill, 1959); J. O'Callaghan, *<<Nomina Sacra>> in Papyris Graecis Saeculi III Neotestamentariis* (AnBib 46; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970); idem, << 'Nominum sacrorum' Elenchus in graecis Novi Testamenti papyris a saeculo IV usque ad VIII,>> *SPap* 10 (1971) 99-122. For a general survey, see C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Schweich Lectures 1977; London: British Academy, 1979) 26-48. For the *nomina sacra* in Codex Bezae, see Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 97-106.

58. L. C. Willard, "A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1970). It is regrettable that this dissertation has not been published.

59. Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 40-46.

60. For a recent and full survey of the past century of NT textual criticism, see J. N. Birdsall, "The Recent History of New Testament Textual Criticism (from WESTCOTT and HORT, 1881, to the present)," *ANRW* 2.26.1 (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992) 99-197, esp. 103-9.

61. The *editio princeps* is by H. A. Sanders, "A Papyrus Fragment of Acts in the Michigan Collection," *HTR* 20 (1927) 1-19.

62. Silva New, "Note 23. The Michigan Papyrus Fragment 1571" (with plate), in *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles* (ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake), vol. 5: *Additional Notes to the Commentary* (ed. K. Lake and H. J. Cadbury; London: Macmillan, 1933) 262-68.

63. A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933) 220-25. Clark had earlier discussed the text of the papyrus ("The Michigan Fragment of the Acts," *JTS* 29 [1928] 18-28).

papyrus represents an older text, portions of which have survived in later manuscripts."[64] Clark wrote that this papyrus "proves beyond doubt that a Z text of Acts similar to that found in D and *c.Th.* [the text used by Thomas of Harkel in his marginalia] existed in Egypt, as well as elsewhere, at a very early date."[65] New argued that the MS showed many Neutral readings in detail, as well as including many of the expansive Western readings, and therefore that it represents the kind of Western text from which she believed the Neutral text to have been produced. One can see that these studies use later recensions to classify earlier MSS. What was needed was a way of evaluating the older material on its own terms, and then seeing whether the later recensions could have developed out of such beginnings.

The publication of P^{45} in 1933-34 led at once to a reappraisal of the Caesarean text.[66] Ayuso argued that the Caesarean "text" divided into two: one, "pre-Caesarean," contained P^{45} W fam. 1, 28, fam. 13; the other, Caesarean, comprised Θ 565 700 Origen, Eusebius, Sinaitic Syriac, Old Georgian, and Old Armenian.[67] More recently, L. W. Hurtado has re-examined the whole question in the Gospel of Mark.[68] He found that W and P^{45} form a group with the less closely related fam. 13. They are not, however, related to 565 and Θ and the designation "pre-Caesarean" must therefore be abandoned. W and P^{45} are not connected to the Caesarean group.

One should note here that it is not only new materials that have contributed to a refinement in our understanding. Methods of studying the MSS and analyzing variant readings have developed dramatically in the second half of the twentieth century. Thus Hurtado may claim greater scientific accuracy than Ayuso in his methods and conclusions.[69]

The contribution of P^{46} to the majuscule text of the Pauline corpus (already enriched by the discovery in 1879 of minuscule 1739) proved fruitful. Zuntz's study of 1 Corinthians and Hebrews found a "proto-Alexandrian" text of the *Corpus Paulinum* comprising P^{46} 1739 B, the Sahidic and Bohairic versions, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen.[70] He used P^{46} to overturn Lietzmann's theory (shared, as we have seen, by New) that the Alexandrian text was based on the Western text. The oldest MS furnished him with evidence that it represents the original text — restored, certainly, by Alexandrian philologists, but purer than the early, though corrupt, Western text.

The effect of P^{47} on our appreciation of the text of Revelation was analogous

64. Sanders, "Papyrus Fragment," 13.

65. Clark, *Acts of the Apostles*, 220.

66. The article by C. A. Phillips ("The Caesarean Text with Special Reference to the New Papyrus and Another Ally," *Bulletin of the Bezan Club* 10 [1932] 5-19) preceded publication of Kenyon's edition.

67. T. Ayuso, "¿Texto cesariense o precesariense? su realidad y su trascendencia en la crítica textual del Nuevo Testamento," *Bib* 16 (1935) 369-415; see also idem, "El texto cesariense del papiro de Chester Beatty en el Evangelio de San Marcos," *EstBib* 6 (1934) 268-82.

68. Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (SD 43; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981).

69. See the contribution of Thomas Geer, Jr., on quantitative methods of analysis in chap. 16 of this volume.

70. G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (Schweich Lectures 1946; London: British Academy, 1953).

to that of P^{45} on the Gospels. It enabled Schmid to divide the previously established group א A C into two: the better group consists of A C; the other of P^{47} א.[71]

P^{72}, published in 1959, caused a reconsideration of the majuscule witnesses to the Petrine letters and Jude. J. N. Birdsall showed that in Jude P^{72} has a number of agreements with Clement of Alexandria, the Liber Commicus, and the Philoxenian Syriac.[72] He drew a parallel between this rather "wild" text with a wide and early attestation, and the "Western" text of the Gospels and Acts. The papyrus has more recently been described as "normal text" in 1 and 2 Peter and "free text" in Jude, both "with certain peculiarities."[73] J. Duplacy and C.-B. Amphoux found P^{72} to belong in the same group as א A B C etc. in 1 Peter (agreement with B is the highest of any two MSS of 1 Peter in this group).[74]

The publication of P^{75} led to similar discoveries about the earlier textual history of Luke and John. In his study of P^{75} and B in Luke, C. M. Martini concluded that the remarkable relationship between these two MSS demonstrates that they are descended from a common archetype that was itself written not later than the end of the second century.[75]

In an article published in 1968, G. D. Fee examined the text of P^{66} and א in the Gospel of John.[76] Using the Quantitative Relationship method of analysis, he showed that there was a break in the textual character of א at 8:38 or thereabouts. In John 1–8, the first hand agrees more with D, and thereafter more with P^{75} and B. Thus, rather than presenting an Alexandrian text with some "Western" readings, א is a divided text. Fee also concluded that in 1:16–3:16 (for which D is lacking), א is our best witness to the Western text. In his study of P^{66}, Fee concluded that "the alleged close relationship between P^{66} and א exists only in John 6–7, and is the result of agreement in readings within the Western tradition."[77]

In a study of the text of John 6:52-71 published in the same year, Kieffer reached somewhat different conclusions: that there was a second Alexandrian text, "somewhat rough, the result of more or less arbitrary changes ('recensional' activity) made in Egypt, probably in Alexandria . . . during the second century."[78] This wild

71. J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, part 2: *Die Alten Stamme* (Munich: Zink, 1955).

72. J. Neville Birdsall, "The Text of Jude in P^{72}," *JTS* 14 (1963) 394-99.

73. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 100.

74. Jean Duplacy and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, "À propos de l'histoire du texte de la première épître de Pierre," in *Études sur la Première Lettre de Pierre* (ed. C. Perrot; LD 102; Paris: Cerf, 1980) 155-73 (reprinted in *Études de Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament* [ed. J. Delobel; BETL 78; Louvain: Louvain University Press and Peeters] 309-27).

75. Martini, *Il problema*. See also Gordon D. Fee, "P^{75}, P^{66}, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* (ed. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 24-28 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 251-56).

76. Gordon D. Fee, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships," *NTS* 15 (1968-9) 23-44 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 221-43).

77. Gordon D. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P66): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics* (SD 34; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968) 35.

78. R. Kieffer, *Au delà des recensions? L'Évolution de la tradition textuelle dans Jean VI,52-71* (ConBNT 3; Lund: Gleerup, 1968) 222.

text is partly preserved in P^{66}-א. Another revision was made in Egypt (known to us primarily from P^{75} and B), by scholars who sought out better witnesses than the P^{66}-א tradition and emended the primitive text. The scribe of P^{66} also knew a MS of this recension.

In a study of John 4, J. Duplacy placed א in Group III, with D and the Old Latin MSS e and b; P^{66} was placed in Group II, with B Origen P^{75} and C.[79]

In a study to which I have already referred, K. Aland has discussed the relationship of P^{69} to D.[80] As in his examination of 0171, he is reluctant to find significant agreement with D. Again, he prefers to consider it to be a paraphrastic text, characteristic of the *kind* of text we find in D, rather than the text itself.[81]

Although the preceding paragraphs may appear to have been about the papyri as much as about the majuscules, I hope that the shape of the story is beginning to emerge. There have been two difficulties. The first is that the groupings of MSS — Alexandrian, Caesarean, and so forth — have proved problematical. Dissatisfaction with the "genealogical method" and with the resultant theory of text-types, expressed by E. C. Colwell from 1947 onward,[82] was not only due to the impact of the papyri. As long ago as 1904, Lake had called Hort's theory "a failure, though a splendid one." Since then, the growth in the number of witnesses has highlighted the cause of this problem: allocation to a group does not do justice to the character of individual witnesses. The more MSS in a group, the less individuals conform to the details, and the vaguer the criteria for admittance become.

To formulate the second difficulty is really to express the first in a different way. Too much attention has been paid to discovering MS groupings, at the expense of the individuality of witnesses. How little work has been done on the majuscules (with one obvious exception) is a wonder of modern scholarship. The story that I have been unfolding is only occasionally that of the examination of witnesses on their own terms. It is nearly all the placing of MSS into groups, with the principal members of which they more or less closely conform. We are in danger of losing sight of the significance of particular readings as opposed to the trend of a set of readings.

With these thoughts in mind, I turn in the final section of this study to describe the contribution to our understanding of individual majuscule witnesses in the past half century.

79. Jean Duplacy, "Classification des États d'un texte, mathématiques et informatique: Repères historiques et recherches méthodologiques," *RHT* 5 (1975) 272 (reprinted in *Études de Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, 220).

80. Aland, "Alter und Enstehung."

81. This conclusion has similarities with my arguments that a free text cannot, by its very nature, share readings with other MSS in the way that representatives of fixed texts (e.g., P^{75} and B) can. See Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 258.

82. E. C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its Limitations," *JBL* 66 (1947) 109-33 (reprinted in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969] 63-83, esp. p. 80).

VI. Recent Studies of the Major Majuscule Witnesses

With the dramatic exception of Codex Bezae, little has been written about our witnesses, except where they relate to the papyri. Since such studies have already been described, I shall not refer to them here.

The major study of Codex Sinaiticus remains that of Milne and Skeat. After the arrival of the MS in London, they undertook an analysis of its physical characteristics, including a detailed study of its scribes and correctors and the question of its date and origin. In addition, they examined the case for the MS having been written to dictation, concluding this undoubtedly to have been so.

A series of studies of Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Petropolitanus by J. Geerlings and R. Champlin has extended Silva (New) Lake's earlier study.[83] These analyses have helped to refine our understanding of the place of A in the development of the Byzantine text. The palaeography of the Alexandrinus is examined with particular care by Cavallo.[84]

The standard edition of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04), a MS notoriously hard to read, remains that of Tischendorf (1843). The recent study of R. W. Lyon, which produces a list of corrections to Tischendorf's transcription,[85] has problems of its own. The edition of the Catholic epistles in *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus* frequently dissents;[86] in particular, Lyon does not seem to distinguish between, or at least does not indicate, readings *prima manu* and corrections. Nor does the edition of Luke made by the IGNTP, which like the Münster edition used photographs, always concur with Lyon.[87] In view of these various discrepancies, the production of a facsimile edition is greatly desired.

One group of MSS to have fared relatively well is the major Greco-Latin bilinguals.[88] H. J. Frede has dealt thoroughly with the textual tradition of the Pauline bilinguals 06 (Claromontanus), D^{abs1}, D^{abs2}, 010 (Augiensis), and 012 (Boernerianus).[89] He concludes that the first three constituted one branch, and the second two another. Both derived from an archetype Z, produced in sense-lines in about 350. The relationship between F and G remains, in my opinion, rather unsatisfactorily explained.[90] The most recent study of the Claromontane codex is that of R. F. Schlossnikel.[91] By analyzing the translation, in particular by isolating a distinctive

83. Silva (New) Lake, *Family* Π *and the Codex Alexandrinus: The Text according to Mark* (SD 5; London: Christophers, 1937); J. Geerlings, *Family* Π *in Luke* (SD 22; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1962); idem, *Family* Π *in John* (SD 23; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1963); R. Champlin, *Family* Π *in Matthew* (SD 24; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964). Alexandrinus is deficient down to Matt 25:6.

84. Cavallo, *Ricerche*, 1.77-80.

85. R. W. Lyon, "A Re-examination of Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus," *NTS* 5 (1958-59) 260-72; cf. esp. 266-72.

86. W. Grunewald, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*, vol. 1: *Die Katholischen Briefe* (ANTF 6; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986).

87. The Münster Institut possesses ultraviolet photographs.

88. For further details, see Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 59-69.

89. H. J. Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften* (GLB 4; Freiburg: Herder, 1964).

90. See Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 66.

91. R. F. Schlossnikel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer und das Corpus Paulinum. Eine linguistische "Bruchstelle" im Codex Claromontanus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Grec 107 + 107A + 107B) und ihre Bedeutung im Rahmen von Text- und Kanongeschichte* (GLB 20; Freiburg: Herder, 1991).

vocabulary, he is able to substantiate A. C. Clark's claim that Hebrews was added to an earlier MS of twelve epistles.

Another ancient Greco-Latin bilingual that has attracted some attention is 0230, a fragment of Ephesians. The Latin column is a rarity among our Christian MSS: it is written in capitalis (rustic capitals). That the Greek shows Coptic *mu* is no evidence that the MS is Egyptian in origin, since this letter form has been shown to have been widespread.

One MS to have suffered from almost total neglect is the Laudian Acts (08). No publication has been devoted to this MS since the 1930s.[92]

I come finally to Codex Bezae. This MS is the only majuscule to have received extended and extensive treatment in recent decades. I have expressed my own opinions at length on the subject.[93] The present account will attempt to describe the development of contemporary research. By analyzing how study of this MS has developed, we shall best be able to descry the future for research on the majuscules.

The most significant development in the study of Codex Bezae in the immediate past has been the appearance of a form of *Tendenzkritik*. The best-known exponent of this approach in its modern form is E. J. Epp, who has concentrated on anti-Judaic tendencies in Codex Bezae's text of Acts.[94] A number of smaller studies examined similar questions. It was not universally agreed that such tendencies exist.[95] More recently, methodology for such study has been refined. Rather than isolating particular tendencies from the text, the whole shape of passages or books in the MS has been analyzed (no doubt under the influence of literary criticism). Exponents of this method include Mees, Rice, and M. W. Holmes.[96] The text of Codex Bezae is treated, in this method, not as a collection of individual variants from a standard text but as a separate and distinctive telling of the story.

VII. Conclusions

What wishes may one express for the future? First, that NT textual critics will not neglect to study individual codices; and that such study will be made, best of all, with reference to the original leaves; failing that, by using reproductions. The publication of more facsimile volumes of the witnesses would contribute greatly to improving the methodological basis of the discipline. Without the study of MSS as physical entities, textual criticism can become a discipline out of touch with reality, dealing in variants with neither historical context nor MS tradition. If the examination of MSS were to cease, the *apparatus critici* would no longer possess meaning.

92. O. K. Walther's dissertation remains unpublished ("Codex Laudianus G35: A Re-Examination of the Manuscript, Including a Reproduction of the Text and an Accompanying Commentary" [Ph.D. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1979]).

93. Parker, *Codex Bezae*.

94. Eldon J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

95. For details of the debate, see Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 189-92. That bibliography may be supplemented by further references in C. D. Osburn, "The Search for the Original Text of Acts — The International Project on the Text of Acts," *JSNT* 44 (1991), notes on pp. 43-44.

96. Bibliographical details in Parker, *Codex Bezae*, 189 (Rice, Holmes), and 192 (Mees).

It is here that recent study of the text form of Codex Bezae, and Hurtado's conclusions with regard to the text of W, become significant.[97] Such study represents a move away from treating the MS tradition as a corpus containing an authentic text and a bundle of variants to a view that sees the sum total of each bundle of variants (individual MSS) as an autonomous text. Duplacy's phrase "état d'un texte" (state of text) expresses this solidity well. When dealing with fragmentary MSS such as most of the papyri and majuscules, it is hard to recover a sense of solidity, to find the state of the text. The extensive majuscules, and the most distinctive minuscule groups, best enable one to do this.

Computer technology may encourage the development of this insight, by enabling one to see the text of MSS in two ways: as variants in an apparatus, and, with a touch of a key, as a continuous text. This technology will enable one to map the shape of the witnesses far more effectively and to determine the theological and cultural influences that led to their formation. Once that is done, one may begin to talk about the recovery of older text forms. Meanwhile, the study of the majuscules is certainly not complete. It may prove scarcely to have begun.

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97. Parker, *Codex Bezae,* chap. 16; Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology,* 86-88.

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CHAPTER 3

THE GREEK MINUSCULE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

*Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel**

With the minuscules one encounters a remarkable phenomenon: the invention of this new form of writing fundamentally altered the circumstances under which all literature was transmitted. We begin, therefore, with a brief historical sketch that will enable us to consider the effects of this new form of writing on the textual tradition of the NT.

I. The Rise of the Minuscule Script and Its Significance for the New Testament Textual Tradition

The minuscule script arose during the seventh century C.E. out of the majuscule cursive. This new form of writing involved a small script in which adjacent letters were joined together so as not only to save space and expensive writing materials but also to facilitate the writing process itself. In the eighth century, at the latest, the new writing style developed into a clear, calligraphically serviceable quadrilinear script,[1] made more readable through the regular use of breathing marks and accents.[2]

1. The older majuscule script was "bilinear," i.e., letters were bounded by two horizontal lines that determined their size and shape. With the minuscule style, letters commonly extended beyond these lines to the ones above and below them, making the script "quadrilinear." [Trans.]

2. On the origin and palaeography of the minuscule script, see V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie II: Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im byzantinischen Mittelalter* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Veit, 1913; reprinted, Berlin: Nationales Druckhaus, 1978) 204-44; T. W. Allen, "The Origin of the Greek Minuscule Hand," *JHS* 40 (1920) 1-12; H. Hunger, "Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen," in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur I* (ed. H. Hunger et al.; Zurich: Atlantis, 1961) 25-147, esp. 90-107; idem, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz* (Munich: Beck, 1989) 62-68; and the contributions of Follieri, Blanchard, Mango, Hunger, and Wilson in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Colloques Internationaux du CNRS, no. 559; Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977).

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In the course of the *premier humanisme* (Lemerle), from the early ninth century until far into the tenth, the newly recovered literary heritage of antiquity (above all, texts in the natural sciences and philosophy) was sifted through and preserved in the new script in Constantinople. The sparsity of sources does not allow us to determine beyond reasonable doubt how systematically this so-called μεταχαρακτηρισμός (change of script) was carried out. What we can say for certain is that the MS tradition of ancient Greek authors always runs through Byzantium, and that the Byzantine archetype often presents the earliest attainable form of the text.[3]

During this same period the Koine text came to dominate the Greek MS tradition of the NT. With few exceptions, this was the form of text handed down throughout the entire millennium that followed.

The oldest dated minuscule MS is the Uspenski Gospels of the year 835 (Gregory/Aland MS 461), which in two respects characterizes the relationship of the NT textual tradition to the "Byzantine renaissance."[4] First, the minuscule script appears here already as a fully mature bookhand; second, the text reproduced in this Gospel MS is a pure form of the Koine. The MS thus shows that, as a rule, the "Byzantine renaissance" had no direct effect on the NT textual tradition. Although transferring *other* ancient Greek literature into the new script involved "en même temps un travail critique,"[5] this was not the case for the NT, at least in the sense that no attempt was made to base the newer MSS on the oldest available form of the text, close to that of the autographs.

The old form of the text did not ultimately have to be rediscovered after the Dark Ages before it could be reproduced in the new script. It could have been preserved through an uninterrupted textual tradition, sanctioned through established ecclesiastical usage. Nonetheless, one cannot simply equate this older tradition with the Koine. The "Purple Codices" N (022), O (023), Σ (042), and Φ (043) do attest the Koine text-type as early as the sixth century, as do P^e (024), R (027), and 064. Indeed, it is attested by MS Q (026) already in the fifth.[6] But there are a number of

3. For fundamental studies, see A. Dain, *Les manuscrits* (2d ed.; Collection d'études anciennes; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1964); idem, "La transmission des textes littéraires classiques de Photius à Constantin Porphyrogénète," *DOP* 8 (1954) 33-47; J. Irigoin, "Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople (IX^e siècle)," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale X^e-XII^e siècles* 5 (1962) 287-302; H. Erbse, "Überlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen klassischen und hellenistischen Literatur," in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur I* (ed. H. Hunger et al.; Zurich: Atlantis, 1961) 205-83; P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin, Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971); and N. G. Wilson, *Scholars at Byzantium* (London: Duckworth, 1983).

4. For a plate and basic bibliography, see B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) 102-3. On the "Byzantine renaissance," see the literature cited in n. 3.

5. "At the same time, a work of criticism" (Dain, "Transmission," 36).

6. Von Soden assigned all of these MSS to different groups of his *I*-text, and indeed each of them does attest variations from the Koine with relative frequency. The Koine text-type, however, clearly predominates in them all. See Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 113 and 118-19.

Chrysostom must still be considered a witness of an early Koine, or of an earlier form of the text that is far along in its development toward the Koine. On this point, see Gordon D. Fee, indications that the Koine text came to dominate the tradition only after the NT began to be transmitted in the minuscule script.

For one thing, if the Byzantine text of the second millennium had been the most widely disseminated form of the text already before the ninth century, the majority of MSS from this period would attest it. This, however, is not the case.[7] Moreover, J. N. Birdsall has demonstrated that Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, did not cite the NT in the Koine form.[8] This shows that the Koine cannot at all be understood simply to represent the Byzantine tradition in the ninth century.

In addition, it is striking that while MS 2464 of the Acts of the Apostles comes from the same time and probably even the same scriptorium as the Uspenski Gospels,[9] it nonetheless preserves a text that varies considerably from the Koine. The scribe of 2464 may well have preserved an older textual tradition simply because he had access to a different kind of exemplar. In any event, a form of the text of Acts or the epistles was not excluded from the tradition in the ninth century, simply because it varied from the Koine text-type.

This example of MS 2464 shows what the minuscule tradition of the NT as a whole confirms: as a rule, scribes reproduced the MSS that were available to them, with greater or lesser care, whether they contained the Koine or an older form of the text. Although MSS such as 424, with its corrections to an older form, and above all 1739, which von der Goltz rightly labeled a "text-critical production,"[10] show

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"The Text of John and Mark in the Writings of Chrysostom," *NTS* 26 (1980) 525-47. A study of Chrysostom's attestation of the readings cited in the apparatus of the *UBSGNT*[4] (which has been undertaken at the Institute for Textual Research but not yet published) confirms Fee's findings that Chrysostom "had a text probably 75% along the way toward that resultant text-type" (p. 547).

We can no longer maintain without reservation the view that was still held by the present author (B. Aland) in *The Text of the New Testament*, 64-66, that the Koine text is to be attributed to a recension produced by Lucian. Although editorial activity played an important role in the development of the Koine, one simply cannot determine if and to what extent Lucian was involved in producing a recension of the NT. On good grounds, H. C. Brennecke ("Lucian von Antiochien," *TRE* 21.478) is inclined "to ascribe Jerome's vague information about Lucian as a critical reviser of the biblical text . . . to the hagiographic tradition of the Homoeans, with its strong apologetic tendencies aimed at legitimating the Homoean church."

7. See the overview in Aland and Aland, *Text*, 159-60.

8. J. N. Birdsall, "The Text of the Gospels in Photius," *JTS* 7 (1956) 42-55 (part I), 190-98 (part II); 9 (1958) 278-91 (part III). Photius remarked occasionally that the MS tradition is liable to corruption. This does not suggest, however, that he chose to follow a form of the text that varied from the Koine on philological grounds. On this point, see Wilson, *Scholars*, 116-19.

9. B. L. Fonkič ("Notes paléographiques sur les manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques italiennes," *Thesaurismata* 16 [1979] 153-57) contradicts the view set forth in two essays by F. J. Leroy, that not only MS 461 but also 2464 comes from the hand of Nikolaos Studites ("Le Patmos St. Jean 742 [Gregory 2464]," in *Zetesis, Bijdragen . . . aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strijcker* [ed. Th. Lefèvre et al.; Antwerp and Utrecht: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1973] 488-501; "Un nouveau manuscrit de Nicolas Stoudite: le Parisinus Graecus 494," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, 181-90). But Fonkič too maintains that both MSS originated in Studite circles from about the same time.

10. E. von der Goltz, *Eine textkritische Arbeit des zehnten bezw. sechsten Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben nach einem Kodex des Athosklosters Lawra* (TU 17/4 [n.s. 2/4]; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899).

that some critical comparison of NT texts occurred in the process of transmission, these are rare exceptions to the rule.

Only after the so-called μεταχαρακτηρισμός does the actual triumph of the Koine begin.[11] That it was precisely this form of text that gained widespread acceptance with the new script is surely to be attributed to the supposed "merits" of the Byzantine text. A conscious decision may actually have been made to reproduce the text in this form; if so, it is no wonder that the decision was not made according to the text-critical principles of our own day.

II. The Significance of the Minuscule Tradition for Textual Studies

In view of the extraordinary quantity of materials preserved in the NT MS tradition of the first millennium — the papyri and the majuscules — one may reasonably ask what advantages are gained from studying the minuscule tradition. Our willingness to devote time and effort to investigate the materials will hinge on the answer.

Are the minuscules valuable only insofar as they supply supplementary material for the older tradition, that is, only because individual MSS or isolated readings confirm the text of MSS already known to be reliable? This, no doubt, is *one* of their values. That a MS such as 1739, to choose a well-known example, or even 33 or 579, 614 or 1071 or 1852, supplies important material to supplement the tradition of the first thousand years can scarcely be disputed. If, however, the point of studying this tradition were only to locate such singular details within the sea of witnesses, so that the mass of minuscules simply provided a quarry from which to mine old readings to confirm and supplement the tradition found in older MSS, then work on the minuscules could be said already to have been concluded. For the first round of sifting through the minuscule tradition has been completed for all the NT writings at the Institute for New Testament Textual Research at Münster. As a result, the exceptional MSS among the surviving minuscules are already known.

More is at stake, however. The minuscules enable one to make methodological advances in textual criticism, advances that cannot be made on the basis of the materials preserved among the papyri and majuscules, no matter how indispensable these older documents are for establishing the original text. The papyri and majuscules are for the most part individual witnesses: despite sharing general tendencies in the forms of their texts, they differ so widely from one another that it is impossible to establish any direct genealogical ties among them. This is possible, however, with many of the minuscules. These are preserved in incomparably greater numbers than the earlier MSS.[12] This enables one to establish genealogical relations with relative ease, both for distinct MS groups and for broader streams within the tradition, even though all of the stemmata could not yet have been identified. The critical point to realize is that one can reliably trace these genealogies back into the time of the

11. See the presentation of the "distribution of Byzantine type minuscules by century" in Aland and Aland, *Text*, 140-42.

12. Approximately 2,900 minuscule MSS are known today, along with over 2,000 lectionaries. For more exact figures, see the 2d ed. of the *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ed. K. Aland et al.; ANTF 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994).

majuscules. Thus they allow one to draw lines of development that reach into the early period and that help to clarify how the solitary representatives of the earlier tradition are related to one another. By means of such genealogies, it is possible to determine the ways that NT MSS vary from one another, to understand why these variations came into being, and to study the persistence of particular readings and forms of the text in the tradition. On the basis of these conclusions, one will then be able to improve significantly the external criteria used to establish the original text.

In view of the minuscules, then, textual criticism has three principal tasks:

1. To produce a major edition of the Greek NT that provides complete access to all witnesses that are significant for establishing and verifying the reconstruction of the original text.

2. To clarify the textual history of the NT tradition, that is, to illuminate its microstructure to the point of ascertaining, insofar as possible, the precise stemmatic relation of MSS to one another.

3. On these bases, to establish the original text of the NT.

These three tasks are intimately interconnected; they cannot, however, be completed simultaneously. For even though a major edition requires a carefully grounded method of textual reconstruction, only its completion will in turn provide the materials necessary for a comprehensive theory of the history of the tradition.

There can be no doubt that the text of the NT cannot be adequately established until the minuscule tradition has been completely investigated. On this point different branches of the discipline agree. The task is indeed great, but not so difficult as it might first appear. For nearly 80 percent of the surviving MSS attest only the late form of the full-blown Byzantine text, with variants that derive from the later period — that is, from the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. One can initially set aside the developments within this late period in the pursuit of the three major tasks laid out above. The history of the text down to the twelfth century, however, must be traced as exactly as possible. In so doing, it will frequently be necessary to see how both individual groups and broader streams of the tradition developed over time, down to the late centuries and to the MSS that are almost entirely Koine.

The immediate questions that this poses for future work are, What is the material that is most relevant for a comprehensive history of the text, and how can one locate it?

III. Gaining Access to the Materials

The first step toward gaining access to the materials is to gather them together in one place. In the twentieth century, after the indefatigable labors of C. R. Gregory, we have chiefly Kurt Aland to thank for his determined initiative in taking this step. Aland continued Gregory's work and, making use of the advances of his time, collected microfilm copies of all the MSS in Münster. This collection of the surviving and available materials is virtually complete, and everyone has access to it.

For the value of such a collection to reach its full potential, text critics throughout the world must be able to use its resources in accordance with their own presuppositions. What was first needed, therefore, was a means by which this profusion of MSS could be presented as neutrally as possible, so as to provide an efficient resource for more specialized investigations. To this end, as is well known, Kurt Aland employed a system of test passages that he had chosen in the 1960s and 1970s on the basis of the critical apparatuses that were then available — without the help of computers. To control the unavoidable subjectivity of such a selection, several chapters of the NT were examined by means of a particularly finely meshed net of test passages. For example, well over three hundred units of variation were chosen for the first ten chapters of John, and all of the MSS were then collated in them.

The results of these experimental collations made it quite clear that fundamentally the same results could be achieved with a far smaller number of test passages. First, it became evident that the special readings of the early papyri and the majuscules can be adequately identified, as a rule, simply through the editions of Tischendorf and von Soden. Even collations of all available MSS provide no additional evidence of this special material among the *recentiores* (those that are more recent). Second, these collations showed that a much smaller number of test passages suffices to determine the basic textual character of a MS, both its proximity to the Koine and its relationship to other forms of the text.

For these reasons, further spot collations can be limited to a selection of the following kinds of passages: (1) those whose text is sufficiently problematic to justify the effort of collating all of the witnesses; (2) those in which the Koine stands out significantly from other forms of the text; (3) those in which the attestation of the Koine text is itself divided, that is, in which the Koine witnesses split between two or, as rarely happens, three variant readings; (4) those in which the tradition has produced so-called multiple readings; and (5) those that preserve particularly interesting special readings of the early period.

The unavoidable element of subjectivity involved in this selection process was neutralized by choosing a still sufficiently large number of test passages, so that a few passages that are less conclusive cannot overturn the overall results. Full collations of a fairly large number of MSS later confirmed that it is possible, on the basis of these test passages, to attain the following results: (1) to identify the mere copies of the Koine text and to determine the relative proximity of individual MSS and groups to the Koine; (2) to assign all textual witnesses to their appropriate categories; (3) to isolate groups of MSS that attest a significant level of textual coherence; (4) to bring to light MSS that merit a closer examination because of their outstanding textual character or other noteworthy features (e.g., corrections or *variae lectiones*); and (5) to examine alternative methods of MS classification.

Thus one of the essential goals of these collations of test passages is the initial examination of all of the MSS — a process by which, traditionally, in the preparation of critical editions of ancient texts, simple copies of already known MSS are identified.[13] Although such probe collations are generally restricted to brief, continuous portions of a text, with the NT one has always to consider the possibility that the textual character of a witness changes from book to book, indeed sometimes within

13. See, e.g., M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973) 67-68.

a book. For this reason, the net of test passages must be spread over the entire expanse of the NT text.[14]

All of the MSS have been collated in the test passages at the Instititute for Textual Research. The results had to be summarized in a concise ranking system. This is the purpose of the so-called categories, which have been frequently defined and explained.[15] By means of precise numbers, the system indicates the distance of a MS from the late and normal forms of the Byzantine tradition. In the initial evaluation of the textual character of a MS we start with the proportion of its variations from the normal Byzantine text, expressed as a percentage. For students, however, the indication of the MS's appropriate category is probably more descriptive. Once again, however, we must emphasize that these categories are used only at the initial stage of sorting out the mass of MSS. In no way are they meant to settle the question of genealogical relations.

Categories I-III, and in its own way also Category IV, can serve as parameters for specifying the distance of a MS from the Koine, the most recent form of the text. This is true whether or not one considers NA^{26} to be the original form of the text in the test passages.[16] A MS that attests a greater number of variations from the majority text can be taken with some certainty to preserve a relatively early form of the text. In other words, every theory of the text will need to encompass all of the MSS that are shown to fit this description. A large number of minuscules from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries are to be assigned to Category III.[17] On the whole, therefore, they vary no less strongly from the Koine than does Codex Alexandrinus in the Gospels, containing a high share of Byzantine readings, yet preserving elements of older — or at any rate, other — text forms that survived despite the eventual triumph of the Koine.

Nonetheless, the MSS of Category III number among the most important

14. This is not the place to publish a list of test passages. The collations of these passages and a quantitative evaluation of the results are found in the series ANTF. The following volumes have already appeared: *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. I: Die Katholischen Briefe* (ed. K. Aland in collaboration with A. Benduhn-Mertz and G. Mink; 3 vols.; ANTF 9-11; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1987); *II: Die Paulinischen Briefe* (ed. K. Aland in collaboration with A. Benduhn-Mertz, G. Mink, and H. Bachmann; 4 vols.; ANTF 16-19; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991); *III: Apostelgeschichte* (ed. K. Aland in collaboration with A. Benduhn-Mertz et al.; 2 vols.; ANTF 20-21; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1993).

Contrary to the original plan (cf. K. Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri for Progress in New Testament Research," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship* [ed. J. P. Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965] 343), the collations of test passages in the Synoptics are not restricted to the Gospel of Mark, as is still implied by B. D. Ehrman ("A Problem of Textual Circularity: The Alands on the Classification of New Testament Manuscripts," *Bib* 70 [1989] 383). At this stage, the MSS of the Gospels have been collated in 64 test passages in Matthew and 53 in Luke. For the format of the volumes of *Text und Textwert* and their practical applicability, see Aland and Aland, *Text*, 317-37.

15. See Aland and Aland, *Text*, 159-63 and 332-37.

16. Ehrman considers our initial classification of MSS according to these categories to be unusable, because agreements with the *UBSGNT*^{3}/NA^{26} are also counted as evidence for the value of a MS for reconstructing the original text (cf. "Textual Circularity," 383-84). He should recognize, however, that Categories I and II are just the ones that include those MSS that vary most strikingly in their special readings from both the Majority text and the Nestle text.

17. See the tabular overview in Aland and Aland, *Text*, 159-63.

witnesses for the advance of the Koine text. This is true in particular for groups of MSS that over the course of several centuries constantly preserved a transitional stage of the text, midway between an earlier distinctive form and the Koine. Down to the modern era, for example, one such group transmitted the Catholic epistles in a form of text already found in the Harclensian Syriac of the sixth century.[18] It is possible that such mixed texts, preserved over time, provide evidence for early stages in the development of the Koine. To investigate this phenomenon fully, however, requires a more exact description of the MSS and full collations; these in turn presuppose a major edition of the Greek NT.

By arranging the NT MSS into categories and providing descriptive lists of them, the *Text of the New Testament* supplies, in preliminary form, the results of the collations of all the available MSS in about twelve hundred test passages.[19] Moreover, the specialist is given full access to the collations of the test passages themselves in the volumes of the series *Text und Textwert*, which are published successively.[20] These collations are already in themselves a great help for all textual critics. But, in addition, every MS has been compared with every other according to two mutually complementary principles that do not need to be discussed again here.[21] Scholars have thereby been provided with resources that they can use both to determine which minuscules attest early forms of the text and to establish "tentative group definitions."[22] Moreover, in using these resources the investigator is not bound by any set of presuppositions. Never before have such comprehensively useful resources been available.

From the presentation of the materials and the resources that can be used to make them accessible, we come to the question of how they can be used, that is, to the significance of the minuscules for the tasks of establishing the original text and writing the history of its transmission. In this area, research over the past fifty years has taken a variety of approaches, independent of one another, in classifying the minuscules.[23] There is no doubt that herein lies our most pressing task.

The most important method to be discussed in this connection is the Claremont Profile Method (CPM), which was initiated in the school of Colwell.[24] It is also a method that has enjoyed quite a long history of trial and application. Wisse and McReynolds developed the CPM into its final form; it was then used to select the minuscules for the volumes of Luke for the International Greek New Testament Project (IGNTP).[25] Since the CPM used the MS groupings of von Soden as a starting

18. See B. Aland's study of the Greek prototype of the Harclensian in *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* I: *Die Großen Katholischen Briefe* (ed. B. Aland; ANTF 7; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986) 41-90.

19. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 96-142.

20. See n.14.

21. See Aland and Aland, *Text*, 317-37.

22. See F. Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (SD 44; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), e.g., 36-37.

23. In the limits of this essay we cannot discuss specialized studies of individual minuscule MSS.

24. Our discussion here is based on the final formulation of the method found in Wisse, *Profile Method*.

25. On the relationship of the results of the investigations of Wisse and McReynolds to the actual selection of MSS for the IGNTP, see the review of B. Aland in *JTS* 42 (1991) 207-9.

point,[26] we begin by giving another brief assessment of his methods. Moreover, we need to ask whether the combination of the CPM with the kind of quantitative analysis devised by Colwell and Tune can be expected to clarify the complex structure of the minuscule tradition, as Richards and Ehrman have proposed.[27] Finally, we will sketch how a different approach — the local-genealogical method — can be further developed for the study of the NT minuscules.

IV. The Classification of the Manuscripts

The actual investigation of the minuscule tradition began with von Soden's attempt to reconstruct the "*I*-Type" from traditions that varied from both the "Hesychian text" *(H)* and the Koine *(K)*. What is most significant for our understanding of the history of the tradition, however — in that it takes us beyond Hort's conception of the three basic forms of the text — is that the results of von Soden's endeavor came to contradict his own aims. For it is not possible to reconstruct *one* recension from the strands of the tradition that vary from the *H*- and *K*-type.[28]

It is particularly difficult to disentangle these strands when they have become contaminated by other elements of the tradition. To get around this problem, von Soden differentiated between variant readings that link together supposed MS groups and those that are not distinctive to a group, having wandered over from other forms of the text. No doubt this is the correct procedure for classifying MSS that are so closely related to one another that their distinctive variants reveal the nature of their shared archetype. Unfortunately, however, relatively few MSS display this requisite level of coherence. Indeed, for nearly two-thirds of all textual witnesses, narrow textual groupings cannot be established without stretching the concept of "group" to include witnesses that attest only some readings that are claimed to be distinctive.

Thus, von Soden showed that it is possible to group these two-thirds of all MSS, but his procedure has the appearance of a game of solitaire.[29] Just as in the course of the game the same card can be made to fit into different series of cards,

26. Cf. Wisse, *Profile Method*, 9-18, 36-37.

27. See esp. E. C. Colwell, "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript"; Colwell and E. W. Tune, "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," both in E. C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 26-44, 56-62; W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* (SBLDS 35; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977); B. D. Ehrman, "Methodological Developments in the Analysis and Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *NovT* 29 (1987) 22-45; idem, "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *JBL* 106 (1987) 465-86.

28. At this point von Soden's textual theories drew unanimous criticism from specialists. See B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 141-42; and Aland and Aland, *Text*, 22-23.

29. Von Soden himself employs this image in his concluding summary (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, part I: *Untersuchungen* [3 vols.; Berlin, 1902-10; 2d ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911] I,3,2108).

so too the profile of variant readings of a large number of MSS can be made to fit into different sequences of "distinctive readings" belonging to hypothetical groups.[30]

In 1982 Wisse provided the definitive formulation of the CPM and demonstrated its usefulness in his study of a total of 1,385 MSS of Luke. On the whole, the method is convincing and applicable to an investigation of the tradition that is dominated by the Koine.[31] Its objective is "to find groups of MSS that are close enough in text so that an entire group can be represented by a few of its members in an *apparatus criticus*."[32] To attain this end for the Lukan MSS, Wisse and McReynolds devised a system of test passages made up of all of the genealogically significant units of variation that emerged when 550 MSS were fully collated in at least three chapters of the Gospel.[33] A unit of variation was considered genealogically significant when it contained a "group reading," a reading shared by one of the previously established groups of MSS.[34] The system of test passages then served as "a grid or screen on which the profiles of the individual MSS are projected"[35] and was used to establish MS groups. In this process, a "group reading" is defined as a reading attested by at least two-thirds of a group's members.[36] A "group profile," then, "requires a large degree of internal agreement among its members"; the "group members" must display "approximately the same profile of agreements and disagreements with the TR." Moreover, "a group profile must differ significantly from the profiles of other groups. . . . The minimum difference was set at two group readings per sampling chapter."[37]

This method can indeed serve as an instrument for classifying MSS that approximate the Koine, but only with two provisos: (1) its concept of a MS "group" cannot be applied to the Koine text itself, and (2) the MSS should not be collated against the TR but against selected representatives of the Koine.[38]

We can demonstrate the necessity of these points by considering von Soden's group K^x, which Wisse himself took over and described anew in the light of his method.

Under the siglum K^x, von Soden brought together the Koine MSS of the Gospels that he could assign neither to the later edition, K^r, nor to the earliest representatives of the Koine, K^1.[39] According to Wisse, over half of all the Lukan

30. This explains, e.g., why in the list of MSS that were collated for the Catholic epistles (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* I,3,1841), 469 (= α306) is given under both I^{b1} and *K*, and 496 (= δ360) is designated as both I^{b1} and I^{b2}.

31. It does not, however, apply to the earlier stages of transmission. This is chiefly because among the relatively few surviving witnesses of the early period no groups cohere to the degree attested in the tradition proximate to the Koine. On this matter, see B. Aland's review of the IGNTP, *JTS* 42 (1991) 201-15, esp. 207-8.

32. Wisse, *Profile Method*, 41.

33. See ibid., v and 42.

34. See ibid., 38-39.

35. Ibid., 36.

36. See ibid., 37.

37. Ibid., 41.

38. The selection should include those witnesses that vary from the Majority text only when the Koine attestation is itself split, as, e.g., exemplars of the Byzantine recension K^r.

39. See von Soden, *Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, I,2,713.

MSS that he analyzed (734 out of 1,385) belong to the "group" K^x, of which nearly one-third can be placed in subgroups or "clusters" and pairs.[40] To be sure, for those streams of the tradition that are further removed from the Koine, and perhaps even for the K^x clusters, altogether legitimate grounds exist for retaining the concept of MS "groups." In this area of the tradition (K^x), however, the concept of a "group" thwarts the very aim of the profile method itself, namely, the ***eliminatio codicum*** on the basis of demonstrated group membership.[41] Thus, Wisse writes:

> This large, amorphous group tends to function as the common denominator of the Byzantine "text." Its members often have a large number of "surplus" readings compared to the group readings. How much deviation from the group norm one should allow cannot be settled on objective grounds. Raising the K^x group membership standards would sharply increase the number of "Kmix" MSS, and lowering the standards would endanger the group's distinctiveness.[42]

This purported "distinctiveness" of K^x is itself highly questionable, however, since the so-called K^x group readings include variants that are widely attested.[43] In such places the Koine witness is actually split: some variants are attested by a large minority of Koine MSS, and so belong themselves to the Koine text.

The K^x MSS also reveal the methodological confusion that results when witnesses are collated against the TR. When the TR differs from the Koine, it makes no sense to construe the Koine variants as "group readings."[44] These are simply agreements of K^x with the Koine recension K^r (as it has been called since von Soden). More interesting are the remaining "group readings" of K^x, in which the variations from K^r show that the Koine witnesses are split. Even in these places, however, the "group readings" do not belong to K^x but to K^r, the greatest of the *bona fide* groups within the Koine.[45] In fact, the readings of K^x are simply majority readings. Of course, MSS that are distinctive only insofar as they regularly agree with the majority of witnesses can be designated as a "group"; indeed, the text of these MSS — by definition, the majority text — is important, if one wishes, with Wisse, to investigate the "lines of textual tradition which fed into the tenth and eleventh centuries."[46] But such an investigation will certainly have to start by giving primary consideration to readings that *vary* from the majority text.

Where then does this leave us? Wisse's method presupposes that the entire MS tradition of the NT can be organized without remainder into groups, or at least into

40. See Wisse, *Profile Method*, 94-99.

41. *Eliminatio codicum*, a technical term: "elimination of manuscripts." In NT textual criticism, with its great mass of surviving MSS, the expression signifies chiefly the elimination of MSS, with good cause, from the ongoing process of examination. The *eliminatio* is justified and necessary above all for pure copies or nearly identical transcriptions of other MSS, as are often found in the realm of the Byzantine text.

42. Wisse, *Profile Method*, 43.

43. In such places the NA apparatus uses the siglum *pm (permulti)*.

44. This is true of 10 out of 19 K^x readings postulated by Wisse (*Profile Method*, 95 and 122-33): Luke 1/34; Luke 10/23, 57; Luke 20/4, 13, 19, 35, 55, 62, 65. With the exception of Luke 20/19, all of these represent agreements of the TR with MS 1. They may perhaps serve, then, as evidence for Erasmus's use of this MS.

45. See D. O. Voss, "Is von Soden's K^r a Distinct Type of Text?" *JBL* 57 (1938) 311-18.

grouplike patterns. What was already made clear through von Soden's work, however, is now demonstrated yet again: the MS tradition does not lend itself to this kind of structure, in which all textual witnesses are arranged into groups and families — even if one follows Colwell's example in adjusting the definition of the groupings to fit the actual data of the NT textual tradition.

For these reasons we can say that the CPM provided necessary guidance at a time when one was confronted with the need to choose some out of the large number of surviving MSS for inclusion in the IGNTP edition of Luke, but when there was as yet no tool for sifting through all of the material. In that situation, the CPM acquitted itself as remarkably effective. Now, however, other resources have become available, and one should combine the CPM with other methods of classification.

In Münster we have chosen not to begin by organizing the textual witnesses into groups and only thereafter to select witnesses for the *Editio critica maior.* Our primary intent was, and is, to document completely the readings of all MSS that differ from the late form of the Koine. Thus the critical apparatus in the *Editio critica maior* will contain the variants of all the MSS that diverge from the Koine, as well as the variants that constitute the Koine tradition itself. Such an apparatus must be the starting point for all text-critical work, both the reconstruction of the original text and the investigation of the history of its transmission down to the Koine. For what readings should form the basis of that work, if not those that vary from the Koine?

MSS for the large edition will be selected, first, by means of a quantitative criterion: the apparatus will present *all* MSS that vary from the Koine text in more than 10 percent of the test passages.[47] This approach guarantees that no readings of the earlier traditions will be lost, even when these are preserved only in the *recentiores.* Moreover, the apparatus will include a range of MSS that stand generally near the Koine, but whose variant readings suggest some kind of relationship to the representatives of older forms of the text.[48] Naturally, a selection of the representatives of the Koine text itself will also be included.

That this procedure will not allow any relevant elements of the tradition to be overlooked can be demonstrated, for example, by means of the group that Wisse labels M27. Disregarding the places in which M27 simply agrees with the Koine or with the majority of its witnesses against the TR,[49] thirty-five readings can prove interesting for understanding how this group relates to the Koine.[50] The method of selecting MSS just sketched would guarantee that all of these readings appear in the

46. Wisse, *Profile Method,* 5.

47. We can place this threshold higher only for the Catholic epistles, due to the peculiar circumstances of their transmission. On this matter, see K. Wachtel, "Probleme der Dokumentation des byzantinischen Textes in einer Editio Critica Maior des Neuen Testaments," *Bericht der Hermann Kunst-Stiftung zur Förderung der neutestamentlichen Textforschung für die Jahre 1988-1991* (Münster: Regensberg, 1992), 48-97.

48. K. Wachtel is presently undertaking a detailed study of the Byzantine text of the Catholic epistles, identifying Koine MSS that attest a significant amount of older tradition for inclusion in the large edition.

49. That is, the following "profile" readings (cf. Wisse, *Profile Method,* 100, 127-33): Luke 1/6, 34; Luke 10/15, 57.

50. M27 attests to considerable group support for the Koine text (which is included under the abbreviation *pm* in the NA apparatus) in the following "profile" test passages: Luke 1/9; Luke

critical apparatus, although, to be sure, with different attestation from that given in the IGNTP edition of Luke. The IGNTP selected four of the twenty-one MSS that Wisse categorized as Group M27: M (= 021), 27, 71, and 1458. Interestingly enough, each of these MSS varies from the Majority text in *fewer* than 10 percent of the test passages of Luke used in Münster. Since 021 is a Koine majuscule of the ninth century, it will certainly be included in the Münster apparatus despite its wide-ranging agreements with the Majority text. The inclusion of this MS already means that the apparatus will automatically contain all but one of the "profile" readings of M27. The one exception is the "profile" test passage 22 in Luke 20:

Luke 20:10 απο του καρπου του αμπελωνος δωσουσιν αυτω]
λαβη απο του καρπου του αμπελωνος (M27).

Nevertheless, by what may seem to be our unsophisticated criteria of selection, this reading will be included in the apparatus, since MSS 1625 and 2705 contain it. These witnesses, left out of the IGNTP but included by Wisse in his group M27, are not pure Koine MSS and are therefore, necessarily, integrated within the Münster apparatus. That these two MSS belong together is also clear from the profile of their variations in the test passages used in Münster.

By these means not all the MSS that belong in group M27 are identified. But the example does show that one will be able to proceed to the study of the historical roots of the Koine and engage in the search for non-Koine traditions preserved within Koine MSS on the basis of readings listed in the *Editio critica maior*. Those who wish to investigate the textual history of the Koine can make a selection from these readings for a system of test passages that relate specifically to the Koine; they can then undertake a set of collations of these Koine-specific test passages, following the pattern of the CPM, and on this basis arrive at definitions of Koine groups that cannot be called into question by the presence of readings that happen to be peculiar to the Majority text or the TR.

The pressing task, however, is to make available to the text critic all the material that differs from the Koine — all the early evidence. As the example of Group M27 shows, the inclusion of older traditions preserved in the Koine MSS does not increase this material but simply corroborates it. For this reason, the older traditions attested in Koine MSS are of no significance when reconsidering the original text, and the use of the CPM to select witnesses relevant for that task is a digression. Nonetheless, a modified form of the CPM can certainly perform valuable service in clarifying the details of the history of the tradition, within the context of the local-genealogical method.

None of this means that the identification of groups should be abandoned for the present. Indeed, sequences of variation peculiar to groups of non-Koine MSS are also reliably uncovered in the system of test passages used in Münster, as has been shown elsewhere.[51]

To combine the CPM with the quantitative analysis devised by Colwell and

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20/42, 50, 61, 65; the M27 readings in these passages cannot be regarded as significant. There is relatively strong MS support in Luke 1/22, 23, 36, 37, 53; Luke 10/9, 10, 12, 25, 35, 43, 60; Luke 20/9, 33, 43, 53, 60, 68, 70, 73, 74, and weak evidence in Luke 10/41; Luke 20/2, 18, 22, 40.

51. See B. Aland, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, I,41-90.

Tune, as Richards and Ehrman have suggested,[52] is not very promising. The quantitative method produces useful results only in those parts of the tradition where the text-types can be differentiated, as these are represented, for example, by B, D, Θ, and Ω.[53] But to conclude that Koine minuscule MSS do in fact attest primarily the Koine requires a system of test passages that is specific to the Koine, not a complicated comparison of these MSS with all others. Nonetheless, for elements of the tradition standing at a further remove from the Koine, a quantitative analysis can provide a valuable service. Such an analysis must constantly bear in mind, however, that agreements among MSS in Koine readings have, in themselves, no genealogical significance. One must always compare the absolute number of agreements between two MSS with the number of their agreements after the Koine readings have been removed.

V. Present and Future Tasks in Research on the Minuscules

In the light of what has been said so far, we can define the starting point for all present and future work on the minuscules in the following terms. Most textual scholars today agree that textual criticism can achieve definitive results only when it is based on all the relevant materials.[54] The situation that Wisse bemoaned — that the minuscule tradition was hardly accessible except in the edition of von Soden, which is both difficult to use and full of errors — is now beginning to change. By means of the collations of test passages in Münster, those minuscules that do not simply reproduce the Koine have been identified. This fulfills an essential precondition for the appearance of the large edition, whose apparatus will document the readings of these MSS in full.

Following different principles, the IGNTP has begun to present the tradition of the Gospels on a broad basis. We will not restate our opinion of the editorial design of the Luke volumes here. It would be desirable, however, for the IGNTP apparatus to be aimed more strongly at clarifying the history of the text than it has been so far. In any event, one hopes that the publications of the IGNTP and of the Institute for New Testament Textual Research will complement one another in the long term.

The most important task confronting the specialized study of the minuscules today is to develop a comprehensive description of the history of the text so as to improve the external criteria that are used to assess readings. Doing so would create the essential preconditions for a comprehensive grounding and securing of the original text.

This does not mean that we can simply cast overboard the achievements of text-critical research of the past 150 years and start all over again from scratch. We cannot do so, nor do we want to. We know too well, for instance, that a reading attested by P^{75} and B but not by the later tradition is more likely to be original than

52. See the works cited in n. 27.

53. On this point, see also Wisse, *Profile Method*, 28-32.

54. See ibid., 5.

one attested by several hundred Koine MSS but not by representatives of the earlier forms of the text. At the same time, it is crucial that text critics not be content simply to ask "what to do when Codex Vaticanus and P^{75} disagree."[55]

A point of departure for combining the established results of textual research with more recent developments is provided by the local-genealogical method. The combination requires two things: a review of the reconstructed text at all points where variants occur, and a detailed description of the agreements in variation among all witnesses significant for the history of the text between its origins and end point (i.e., the Koine). Such a design might appear at first to be far too broad in scope. It is nonetheless achievable, and for this reason, that determining the original text is unproblematic in the overwhelming majority of passages with variation. Because textual criticism is chiefly concerned with those passages where the transmission of the text constitutes a problem, we sometimes forget that the majority of variants represent the divergence of a very few textual witnesses from the mainstream of a tradition that is for the most part altogether reliable.

The textual critic is primarily concerned with those passages in which a variant reading found in a minority of textual witnesses can or must be judged to be original against the mainstream, on the grounds of internal and external criteria. Even in these passages it is frequently not difficult to determine the original text on the grounds of established principles of textual criticism. What matters here, however, is that we must consistently reexamine whether the internal and external criteria do indeed lead to the same decision. When they do, and the original text can be established on clearly statable grounds, then this passage can be used as a building block in establishing a comprehensive theory of the tradition. Moreover, in such a passage it is also possible to reconstruct the genealogical relation of the readings to one another and so to arrange them in a local stemma.

In taking this last-mentioned step we can utilize a hitherto little noticed potential for our knowledge of clearly distinguishable groups of minuscules, even though this knowledge is growing but slowly. When single groups of MSS exhibit particular variations, this is often a significant indication of the genealogical connection between readings.[56]

A further procedural step involves describing the ways in which witnesses vary from one another in those passages where the original text is certain, and thus to establish external criteria for assessing less certain variants. After that, one can finally return to analyze passages where the original text has not been determined beyond doubt in order to integrate them, wherever possible, into the overall pattern that is evident in the undisputed passages.

Such a procedure agrees, for the most part, with that followed already by Westcott and Hort on the basis of the sources available to them in the nineteenth century. Westcott and Hort, however, handled the minuscule tradition, so to speak, as a "black box," scarcely concerning themselves with what happened between the

55. Ibid.

56. Moreover, they show — as does the mass of Koine MSS in general — the care with which copyists normally executed their work.

appearance of the text-types assumed to be closest to the original and the ascendancy of the Koine. To refuse to do so today is no longer possible. No theory of the NT textual tradition deserves the label "scientific" if it fails to incorporate, and ultimately to explain, all of the evidence.

In the manner just described, it is possible to assemble secure building blocks for a realistic model of textual history. Such blocks will ground and secure the reconstruction of the original text. In Münster, G. Mink is currently working on a method that aims at establishing a comprehensive theory of the development of the text.[57] With the help of the "universal stemma" that Mink is preparing for all relevant MSS (using "stemma" in a narrowly defined, special sense), it will be possible to review and improve the evaluation of the variants of any given passage in the light of the genealogical relations that obtain among the "stages of the text" of all MSS. Moreover, this method will help us refine the ways we characterize individual textual witnesses and will thus provide a better basis for the external criteria we use in evaluating variant readings.

This much is clear: the external criteria of textual criticism must be improved. That is the pressing task of our discipline. It can be achieved only by adopting various methodological approaches that complement one another. In this way we will be able to make up the deficiencies that continue to beset the field of textual criticism at this point. The investigation of the minuscules is for this reason a particularly crucial area of labor: its results will bind together all the manifold other branches of the NT tradition.

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57. G. Mink, "Eine umfassende Genealogie der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung." *NTS* 39 (1993) 481-499.

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CHAPTER 4

THE GREEK LECTIONARIES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Carroll D. Osburn

Although traditionally included among sources of data vital for the research of the developing MS tradition of the Greek NT,[1] and sporadically presented in the critical apparatuses of various editions of the Greek Testament, the textual evidence in the Greek lectionaries has been seriously neglected in the search for the earliest text of the NT. A common assumption has been that lectionary MSS, being late, must preserve that form of text called the TR and are, therefore, of little value in the text-critical enterprise.[2] Evidence from the Greek lectionaries, however, is vital in tracing the history of the transmission of the text of the NT, and as various readings in the MS tradition owe their origin to the influence of the lectionaries, these neglected witnesses are important in determining the original text of the NT.[3]

1. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 163-70; and Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 30-31.

2. So Hermann von Soden, who purposefully excluded lectionaries from his otherwise comprehensive study of Greek MSS (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, part 1: *Untersuchungen* [2d ed.; 3 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911] I.1.19-20). F. G. Kenyon observed that lectionaries "are comparatively late in date, and also labour under the suspicion that their transcribers might feel themselves less bound to textual accuracy than in the case of copies of the New Testament" (*Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [2d ed.; London: Macmillan, 1912] 141). D. W. Riddle, however, countered: "Nothing could be further from the truth, inasmuch as the Gospel and Apostle lectionaries are a part of the altar equipment and are thus the most sacred possession of the Church" ("The Use of Lectionaries in Critical Editions and Studies of the New Testament Text," in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels* [ed. E. C. Colwell and D. Riddle; SLTGNT 1; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933] 74-75).

3. A point Prof. Metzger has consistently emphasized in his own contributions to the study of Greek lectionaries. See, e.g., Bruce M. Metzger, *The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (SLTGNT 2/3; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), which presents two of the nine chapters of his doctoral dissertation at Princeton University in 1942. See also his "A Comparison of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and the Greek Gospel Lectionary," in *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black* (ed. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969) 209-20.

I. The Greek Lectionaries

Lectionary MSS are those in which the text of the NT is divided into separate pericopes, rearranged according to the fixed order in which they are read as lessons for the church on particular days during the year. Each lesson is introduced appropriately and modifications are made in the text as necessary at the beginning due to the detachment from the preceding context. There are many different kinds of lectionaries. Some provide readings only for Saturday and Sunday services, while others have lessons for each day of the week. Some lectionaries have only readings from the Gospels, while others have lessons only from the Apostolos (the rest of the NT except Revelation, which does not occur in the lectionary system), and some include readings from both the Gospels and the Apostolos. A complete lectionary has two parts: the synaxarion (following the movable, ecclesiastical calendar that begins and closes with the variable date for Easter) and the menologion (following the fixed, civil calendar, beginning on 1 September and closing on 31 August).[4]

In a typical daily lectionary, the synaxarion exhibits the following format:

1. From Easter to Pentecost, there are selected readings from John and Acts.

2. For sixteen weeks beginning the Monday after Pentecost to Holy Cross day, about 14 September, the readings are from Matthew, supplemented with selections from the first part of Mark, and from Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, prefaced with a couple of readings from Ephesians and Hebrews.

3. From Holy Cross day to Lent, the lessons are from Luke, with weekday readings from the latter part of Mark for the thirteenth to seventeenth weeks.

4. During Lent, the Saturday and Sunday readings are from Mark, John, and Hebrews, with weekday readings from the OT.

5. Numerous and lengthy readings occur for Holy Week, mostly from the Gospels, with a few from Romans and 1 Corinthians.

6. After Holy Week, eleven resurrection lessons for Sunday morning appear, beginning with All Saints' Day.

The menologion begins on 1 September and provides texts for the celebration of particular events in the life of Jesus and Mary, festivals for apostles and great church leaders, as well as saints and martyrs, and special occasions such as funerals, droughts, and dedication of a church. For instance, on Christmas Day the readings are Matt 1:18-25; 2:1-12; and Gal 4:4-7. On 25 March, Annunciation, the texts are Luke 1:24-38 and Heb 2:11-18. On 18 October, Luke the Evangelist is celebrated with readings from Luke 10:16-21 and Col 4:5-9, 14, 18. On 23 February, John 12:24-36 commemorates Polycarp, and on 2 May, Athanasius is remembered with readings from Matt 5:14-19 and Heb 4:14–5:6. While the thirteen major church festivals are fairly uniform, menologia vary in their readings because of differing preferences for festivals and honored saints in various locales and eras.[5] So whereas

4. For discussion of terminology see Jacques Noret, "Ménologes, synaxaires, ménées; essai de clarification d'une terminologie," *AnBoll* 86 (1968) 21-24; Jean Duplacy, "Les lectionnaires et l'édition du Nouveau Testament grec," in *Mélanges bibliques en hommage au R. P. Béda Rigaux* (ed. A. Descamps and A. De Halleux; Gembloux: Duculot, 1970) 509-45, esp. 519ff.

5. E. C. Colwell notes, "it is possible that on any one day two mss may agree in the scripture read but disagree as to the saint; or they may agree on the saint and read different scripture passages,

the synaxarion had a more fixed form from the beginning, the menologion naturally reflected divergent lists of saints and festivals in its lessons.

Precisely when and where these lections became fixed remains unsettled. Gregory theorized that the Saturday and Sunday lessons probably originated in the first half of the second century.[6] Gregory did correctly distinguish between the formation of the Saturday lessons and the Sunday lessons. As Metzger mentions,[7] if one reads from Saturday to Sunday to Saturday to Sunday, the sequence of Lukan readings is bewildering, but if all of the Saturday lessons are listed in sequence, their order is almost entirely regular, as is the list of Sunday lessons by themselves. As the Alands have observed, however, the notes ἀρχ(ή) and τέλ(ος) designating the beginning and ending of readings do occur in many early MSS, but not before the eighth century, and of all the lectionaries dated before the eighth century (*l*1604 [4th]; *l*1043 [5th]; *l*1276, *l*1347, *l*1354 [6th], etc.), not one exhibits a system of pericopes that agrees with the normal Greek lectionary.[8]

How early, then, are traces of lections detectable? It is evident, possibly from the time of Origen, but certainly from the time of Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria, and John Chrysostom, among others, that having specific Scripture lessons for specific days was customary in their localities.[9] Chrysostom indicates frequently that he is commenting on the "lesson" for the day (e.g., *Hom. 7 ad Antioch* and *Hom. 63.47 in Act*). Consequently, Metzger is of the opinion that "the lectionary system current today in the Orthodox Church had its origin sometime during the fourth century."[10] But the Alands counter (1) that the canon of the NT was not settled prior to the fourth century,[11] thus rendering Gregory's second-century date impossible and a fourth-century date doubtful; (2) that Chrysostom's sermon texts often coincide with the Byzantine lectionary system is due to coincidence; and (3) that while lectionary MSS existed in the fourth century (e.g., *l*1604), the lections in such early lectionaries differ considerably from the later Byzantine lectionary system that is found in over two thousand MSS.[12] So while set "lections" for particular services do exist in the earlier period, the Alands do not see the evidence supporting the

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or they may disagree on both saints and scripture" ("The Contents of the Gospel Lectionary," in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*, 4-5).

6. C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (3 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900-1909) 1.337; see also 3.1216-17.

7. Bruce M. Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 483.

8. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 167.

9. See C. E. Hammond, *Outlines of Textual Criticism* (4th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1884) 29.

10. Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries," 495-96.

11. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 167-68; Kurt Aland, "Das Problem des neutestamentlichen Kanons," in *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 2; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967) 1-23. See also Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (corr. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) 191-247.

12. See the list of lectionaries in Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963) 205-318 (2d ed., 1994); supplemented in K. Aland, "Korrekturen und Ergänzen zur 'Kurzgefasste Liste,' " in *Materialien*

existence of the formal Byzantine lectionary system at that time. Junack argues that the dominant NT lectionary system was not developed until the late seventh or early eighth century,[13] coinciding with the development of the Byzantine calendar, and that the text in the lectionaries agrees with this dating. Metzger himself observes that "the Greek lectionary text presents a Byzantine type of text," but adds, "there are also present noticeable traces of what is commonly called the Caesarean type of text, as well as certain Alexandrian and Western readings."[14] The Alands, though, are certain that "the text we find in the Greek lectionaries is almost identical with the Byzantine Imperial text," and therefore "can be of significance only in exceptional instances."[15]

The question, however, is not settled. For his own reasons, Burgon saw the matter as settled by A.D. 348.[16] For other reasons, some would not like to admit the origin of the lectionary system prior to A.D. 300, for it then could be said to represent the text of the early period. Far too little research has been done on the lectionary text of the Gospels and Apostolos in the synaxarion and menologion to permit a consensus on the place(s) and date(s) of origin. Work is also necessary on patristic testimony regarding lections, including the developing history of the liturgy, and on pre-seventh-century lectionary texts.

II. The Use and Study of Lectionaries

Although Greek lectionaries began to become available in the West as early as the sixteenth century,[17] they did not really figure in the preparation of editions of the Greek NT until the work of Mill in 1707, who used eight Gospel lectionaries and one Apostolos. It follows that the TR was based entirely on continuous-text Greek MSS. Bentley knew of one lectionary and Bengel used another in his edition of 1734. In the fuller apparatus of Wettstein (1751-52), twenty-four Gospel and four Apostolos lectionaries are used, while Griesbach (1774-1811) used twelve Gospel and two Apostolos MSS, which he collated himself. Significantly, Matthaei (1782-88), who lived for many years in Russia, brought the number of Gospel lectionaries used to fifty-seven and Apostolos lectionaries to twenty, and published both synaxarion and menologion lections in convenient tables. Not long after, Scholz (1830-36) brought the total number of Gospel lectionaries used to 178 and Apostoloi to fifty-eight.

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zur neutestamentlichen Handschriftenkunde (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969) 30-37; and Aland and Aland, *Text*, 170.

13. Klaus Junack, "Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Überlieferung der katholischen Briefe," in *Die alten Übersetzungen*, 498-591. Metzger observes that "substantially the same choice of Scripture passages in lectionary manuscripts dating from the seventh or eighth century is still followed by the Greek Orthodox Church today" (*Text*, 31).

14. Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries," 495.

15. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 169.

16. J. W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark* (London: J. Parker, 1871; reprinted, Ann Arbor: Sovereign Grace Book Club, 1959) 275.

17. See the useful survey of Riddle, "The Use of Lectionaries," 67-77, on which much of the following discussion is based. See also C. R. Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912) 390-91.

Then matters took a decidedly different direction. Although lectionaries were plentiful and had been discussed by various writers,[18] they were largely abandoned in NT textual criticism. Given the nature of Lachmann's task, it is not really surprising that he made no use of lectionaries, but more might have been expected of Tischendorf: although he edited several lectionaries, he cited them only occasionally in the full apparatus of his eighth edition. Westcott and Hort admit the paucity of their knowledge of these MSS, express regret that such ignorance continues, acknowledge that some lectionaries contain valuable information, but conclude that they have little to contribute to their edition and only slight use is made of them. The third edition of Scrivener's introduction gives a full account of the Greek lectionaries, supplanted by the 1894 prolegomena to Tischendorf's eighth edition, prepared by C. R. Gregory.[19] Nothing in Tischendorf's apparatus itself indicates that he was as competent in his work with lectionaries as Gregory's statement in the later prolegomena might suggest. The 1904 edition of Antoniades actually was based on some sixty Greek lectionaries dating from the ninth to sixteenth centuries. But the arbitrariness of his work and the lack of any critical apparatus render his edition of marginal value for scientific purposes.[20] H. von Soden's failure to use lectionaries is enigmatic in that he was the first editor of a critical text to make much use of medieval MSS. Based on a superficial examination, though, von Soden deliberately omitted lectionaries from consideration. In modern hand editions, lectionaries are absent in Souter, Vogels, and Kilpatrick. Merk made occasional use of three, and Bover cited a few. NA^{26} includes sporadic lectionary evidence, as does *UBSGNT*^{3}, but there is nothing approaching a systematic presentation of lectionary readings in any printed Greek Testament.

Recognizing the need to examine the textual evidence in the Greek lectionaries, a project initiated at Chicago in the 1930s set as its ambitious goal the preparation of an "edition of a critical text of the lectionaries and the writing of the history of the lectionary text."[21] A pivotal article by Colwell in 1932 set the stage for the project.[22] In view of the substantial rejection of lectionaries from consideration in

18. For example, G. F. H. Reinwald, *Die kirchliche Archaeologie* (Berlin: Enslin, 1830); C. E. Caspari, *Sur les Pericopes* (Strassburg, 1833); and later, J. M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church* (London: J. Masters, 1850).

19. F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (3d ed.; London: G. Bell & Sons, 1883) 78-86; C. R. Gregory, *Prolegomena*, vol. 3 of C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece . . . Editio octava critica maior* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894) 687-800.

20. See the critique of John M. Rife, "The Antoniades Greek Testament," in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text*, 57-66.

21. D. W. Riddle, "The Character of the Lectionary Text of Mark in the Week-Days of Matthew and Luke," in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text*, 40. This goal moved lectionary studies beyond the mere presentation of collation data, as in Herbert T. Weiskotten, *The Greek Evangelistary: A Study of Barrett Ms. 5424 in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1916). Work on the lectionaries at Chicago actually began with Allen P. Wikgren, "The Scheide Gospel Lectionary" (M.A. thesis, Dept. of New Testament, University of Chicago, 1929). A useful assessment of the Chicago project is Allen Wikgren, "Chicago Studies in the Greek Lectionary of the New Testament," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963) 96-121.

22. E. C. Colwell, "Is There a Lectionary Text of the Gospels?" *HTR* 25 (1932) 73-84 (reprinted as "Method in the Study of Gospel Lectionaries," in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969] 84-95).

NT textual criticism since the early nineteenth century, Colwell argued that "the discussion of the quality and significance of this text may reasonably be postponed until its existence has been established."[23] From his analysis of collations of selected lessons from more than fifty MSS, Colwell concluded:

> lectionaries agree with one another in lections taken from the Synaxarion and in lections taken from the Menologion. They agree in lections where their text is practically identical with the Textus Receptus, and they agree where their text differs widely from the Textus Receptus. Whether a small number of lectionaries are compared in a large number of lections or a large number of lectionaries are compared in a small number of lections, the result is the same: they agree with one another. This agreement is the more significant when it is noted that the support from non-lectionary MSS varies in kind and amount; and even where there is no other support, the agreement of lectionary with lectionary is as close as ever. Such agreement justifies speaking of the text of lectionaries as "the lectionary text."[24]

In 1933 *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels,* edited by Colwell and Riddle, began the Chicago project. The collection of essays is useful for terminology, lectionary contents, methodology of research, and history of lectionary use. Following Colwell's suggestion,[25] one can say that proper methodology in studying lectionaries involves the individual lesson as the important unit in the study of the lectionary text. Thus the Chicago project stressed that lectionaries must be compared lection by lection, in the order in which they appear in the lectionary.[26]

The first study in the Chicago series was Branton's establishment of a common text of the Gospel lectionary in the Lenten lessons.[27] On the basis of twenty-seven MSS, Branton found near perfect agreement in variants against the TR. Examining lections for the thirteen major festivals in twenty MSS of the menologion, Redus also found a "lectionary text" similar to that which had been detected earlier by Schubert in the Markan Week-Day lections.[28] Metzger's study concluded:

23. Ibid., 73.

24. Ibid., 84.

25. E. C. Colwell, "Method in the Study of the Text of the Gospel Lectionary," in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text,* 13-20.

26. H. Greeven suggests the study of individual documents ("Die Textgestalt der Evangelienlektionare," *TLZ* 76 [1951] 513-22). But see E. C. Colwell, "The Significance of Grouping of New Testament Manuscripts," *NTS* 4 (1958) 73-92 (reprinted as "Method in Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," in Colwell, *Studies,* 1-25). Only rarely does an individual lectionary merit special treatment, e.g., Jacob Geerlings, *The Ferrar Lectionary* (SD 18; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959).

27. James Rodney Branton, *The Common Text of the Gospel Lectionary in the Lenten Lections* (SLTGNT 2/1; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934). Not all studies at Chicago were published in the series. See David C. Pellett, "The Holy Week Lections in the Greek Gospel Lectionary" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1954); Walter F. Specht, "The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Matthew in the Greek Lectionary" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1955); and Alfred Scott Illingworth, "The Text of the Lucan Lections of the Menologion in the Greek Gospel Lectionary" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1957).

28. Morgan Ward Redus, *The Text of the Major Festivals of the Menologion in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (SLTGNT 2/2; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936); Paul Schubert,

> The Byzantine text and the lectionary text overlap to some extent, but the lectionary text has more than twice as many "Caesarean" readings than does the Byzantine text. The lectionary text was derived either from a typical Byzantine text which somehow acquired a considerable number of "Caesarean" readings . . . or the lectionary text was derived from a text predominately "Caesarean" (or, more precisely, pre-Caesarean) and was gradually brought into conformity with the prevailing Byzantine text. The latter alternative seems to be the more probable.[29]

Buck concluded similarly:

> lectionaries are Byzantine in character. . . . However if a more critical text rather than a majority text is used, the Johannine portions of the lectionary are seen to be more closely allied to the "Caesarean" text-type than to any form of the Byzantine, including K^1. The reason why lectionaries appear to be Byzantine is that in significant readings, they have been "corrected" to a prevailing standard. "Caesarean" witnesses, however, are prominent both to the majority variants and in the identification of strong minority groups.[30]

Bray corroborated this developing viewpoint.[31] In the final contribution to the Chicago series, Harms concluded that "the lectionary majority readings exhibit more homogeneity than those of the text-types with which comparison was made," and that the text of the Matthean weekday lessons are basically Byzantine with detectable Caesarean influence.[32]

Thus the Chicago project concluded that (1) the individual lection or group of lections remains the best basis for investigation, (2) the lectionaries display remarkable homogeneity in the readings in which a majority (usually 80-100%) agree in departures from the TR, (3) the majority readings are often attested by nonlectionary witnesses of various text-types, and (4) the lectionary text is basically Byzantine with significant Caesarean influence.[33] Although several fine contributions to the understanding of the Gospel lectionaries emerged, the project stopped far short of its goal of producing a critical edition and writing a history of the lectionary text. Also, the Alands observe:

> The results of lectionary research in America (which has centered primarily in Chicago) were far less conclusive than was imagined because the collations were made against the Textus Receptus (Oxford 1873 edition). When variants from this base were found in the lectionaries they were thought to be traces of an earlier text, whereas only too frequently they merely repre-

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"The Text of the Markan Week Day Lections and Von Soden's I^{ϕ} Text," in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text*, 43-56.

29. Metzger, *Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke*, 66-67.

30. Harry M. Buck, *The Johannine Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (SLTGNT 2/4; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958) 76-77.

31. William D. Bray, *The Weekday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (SLTGNT 2/5; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

32. Ray Harms, *The Matthean Weekday Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary* (SLTGNT 2/6; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

33. See Wikgren, "Chicago Studies in the Greek Lectionary," 118-19.

> sented deviations of the printed Textus Receptus from the Byzantine Imperial text.[34]

Admittedly, analysis based on agreements in variants from the TR is a faulty methodology and studies following that procedure can even be misleading.[35] What is needed are studies of the lectionaries based on direct comparisons of texts that can effectively demonstrate relationships with all known MSS.[36]

The Apostolos lectionaries were not a part of the Chicago project. In a dissertation at Chicago in 1961, however, D. E. Ericsson analyzed twenty-four lectionaries of Acts.[37] Although a useful probe, Ericsson's work suffers from five principal deficiencies: (1) the text of the lectionaries is not presented, only tables of percentage of agreement and disagreement; (2) only four of the fifty lections of Acts in the synaxarion are examined, providing insufficient data for his rather firm conclusions;[38] (3) the analysis is made only of variations from the TR, a procedure tenuous at best since significant readings in which lectionaries agree with the TR remain unexamined; (4) the limitation of data to units of variation in which there are three or more possible readings as depicted in the sizable, but certainly incomplete, apparatus of Tischendorf's eighth edition omits many significant data; and (5) the utilization of data from continuous-text MSS in the apparatus of von Soden, although supplemented by reference to printed editions, published collations, and microfilms, renders the analysis suspect. The use of only five Byzantine cursives is certainly inadequate for descriptive analysis of the relationship of the lectionaries to the Byzantine textual tradition. Thus the text of Acts in the Greek lectionaries remains largely uninvestigated, and work in this area has no solid legacy upon which to begin.

Cocroft worked on the Pauline lessons from fourteen lectionaries, collated against the TR and examined on the basis of MSS data in the critical apparatuses of von Soden and Tischendorf, concluding that these lessons reflect a Byzantine type of text.[39] Kubo has investigated the text of the lectionaries in the Catholic epistles.[40] The most substantive discussion of work in the Apostolos is that of Junack, who concludes that the Byzantine lectionary system originated in the seventh/eighth century and that the text in the lectionaries agrees with this dating.[41]

34. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 169.

35. Bruce M. Metzger, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospels," *JBL* 64 (1945) 457-89.

36. On quantitative analysis see the essay by Thomas C. Geer, Jr., in chap. 16 of this volume.

37. Dwight E. Ericsson, "The Book of Acts in the Greek New Testament" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961).

38. For example, Ericsson's treatment of the five verses at Acts 17:19-23 is inadequate to support his conclusion that "the Synaxarion and Menologion represent different text-forms" in Acts (ibid., 64).

39. Ronald E. Cocroft, *A Study of the Pauline Lessons in the Matthean Section of the Greek Lectionary* (SD 32; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968), esp. 92-93. This was a Th.D. dissertation at Princeton Theological Seminary.

40. See Sakae Kubo, "The Catholic Epistles in the Greek Lectionary," *AUSS* 1 (1963) 65-70.

41. Junack, "Zu den griechischen Lektionaren," 498-591, esp. 541-42.

III. Greek Lectionaries in Current Scholarship

The IGNTP incorporated lectionary evidence into its extensive apparatus of Luke.[42] The citation of lectionary evidence is limited to (1) the dominant lectionary text as established by the collation of ten MSS selected by a rather involved process, and (2) citations from a representative sample of thirty-one lectionaries exhibiting a divergent text, quoted individually.[43] Each lection begins either without an incipit, with one of the six standard incipits denoted by Roman numerals,[44] or with the nonstandard incipit given in full. An index appearing on the page containing the first verse of the lection provides the verses contained in the lection. The date or day for which the lection is prescribed is then given. Although occupying considerable space in the apparatus, this procedure provides the reader with the necessary means of evaluating the nature and history of the reading, for it does make a difference whether a reading is from the daily, Saturday, or Sunday lessons, and whether the same passage reads differently in other parts of the synaxarion or menologion.[45] The IGNTP now working on John will incorporate Greek lectionaries also, but with attention to criticism by reviewers of the Lukan volumes.[46]

The International Project on the Text of Acts has as its goal a critical edition of the text of Acts based on an exhaustive apparatus involving all Greek MSS, extensive versional projects in Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, and Ethiopic, and patristic citations.[47] Not counting the MSS with citations of Acts in hymns and prayers, 375 Apostolos lectionaries are extant. The standard lectionary system reads some 647 of 1,006 verses in Acts, in the normal order with the exception of six lections, for example, 1:1-12 on Thursday of the sixth week (Ascension Day), which follows 18:22-28 and which duplicates the first eight verses of Easter Day, easily seen to be due to appropriateness for the day on which it is to be read. In four lections, some material is customarily omitted: (1) on the day after Easter (1:12-17, 21-26) the gory details of Judas's death (vv. 18-20) are omitted; (2) on Monday of the third week (6:8–7:5, 47-60) 7:6-46, a lengthy section of Stephen's speech involving argumentation from the OT, is dropped; (3) on the fourth Sunday after Easter (11:19-26, 29-30), the reference to the famine in Judea

42. *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel According to St. Luke, Part One: Chapters 1–12* (ed. by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984); and *Part Two: Chapters 13–24* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).

43. See E. C. Colwell, "The International Greek New Testament Project: A Status Report," *JBL* 87 (1968) 188-91. The lectionaries exhibiting the dominant text-form are: *ℓ*69 (11th century; Paris); *ℓ*333 (13th; London); *ℓ*513 (12th; Messina); *ℓ*852 (11th; Sinai); *ℓ*853 (11th; Sinai); *ℓ*867 (12th; Sinai); *ℓ*991 (10th/11th; Jerusalem); *ℓ*995 (11th; Jerusalem); *ℓ*1084 (13th; Athos); and *ℓ*1750 (11th; Sinai). The thirty-one other lectionaries are: *ℓ*10, *ℓ*12, *ℓ*32, *ℓ*48, *ℓ*70, *ℓ*76, *ℓ*80, *ℓ*150, *ℓ*184, *ℓ*211, *ℓ*253, *ℓ*292, *ℓ*299, *ℓ*524, *ℓ*547, *ℓ*854, *ℓ*859, *ℓ*890, *ℓ*950, *ℓ*1016, *ℓ*1056, *ℓ*1074, *ℓ*1127, *ℓ*1231, *ℓ*1579, *ℓ*1599, *ℓ*1627, *ℓ*1634, *ℓ*1642, *ℓ*1663, and *ℓ*1761.

44. Incipit I: "in that time"; incipit II: "the Lord said to his disciples," etc.

45. See Metzger, "Greek Lectionaries," 493-94.

46. David Parker, "The International Greek New Testament Project: The Gospel of John," *NTS* 36 (1990) 157-60.

47. See Carroll D. Osburn, "The Search for the Original Text of Acts — The International Project on the Text of Acts," *JSNT* 44 (1991) 39-55.

in verses 27-28 is deleted; and (4) on the sixth Sunday after Easter (20:16-18, 28-36), verses 19-27, the account of Paul's personal difficulties throughout his ministry, is passed over. In the lectionaries collated so far, few variations to the standard lections have been encountered and these may well involve only local phenomena; for example, *l*597 on Monday of the fourth week reads 9:43–10:16 instead of 10:1-16, and on Tuesday of that week reads 10:17-33 instead of 10:21-33. Also *l*599 on Tuesday of the sixth week reads 17:19-34 instead of 17:19-28, and on the sixth Sunday after Easter reads the entirety of 20:16-36 instead of 20:16-18, 28-36. As these two lectionaries are from the Grottaferrata monastery in Italy, they may well reflect only a local phenomenon.

The forty-seven lectionaries collated, all synaxaria with some menologia,[48] are from a wide geographical distribution and range in date from the eighth (*l*846; Sinai) through the thirteenth century. While much work remains to be done, one may venture cautiously at this point that *l*809 (12th century; Sinai) is perhaps the best representative of what may be called the "lectionary text" of Acts, with *l*1153 (10th century; Athens) and *l*1590 (13th century; Sinai) quite close. It is safe to say that no group of randomly chosen Byzantine continuous-text MSS would show the same degree of homogeneity. This text-form is read by most of the lectionaries collated to date and tends to confirm that lectionaries of Acts were copied from other lectionaries. Basically, the text of Acts in the lectionaries seems to be early Byzantine in character, with significant agreement with the uncials H, L, P, but clearly quite removed from the later TR. It exhibits elements remaining from more ancient text-forms, which require further clarification. Precise description of the lectionary text of Acts awaits further research.

As with the Gospels, there are instances where the lectionary text has influenced the text of continuous-text MSS. For example, at Acts 5:21, which begins the Saturday lection of the second week after Easter, the text reads, "they entered" the temple and began to teach. It is clear from verse 18 preceding that the subject of "they entered" would be "the apostles." Consequently, the lectionary adds "the apostles" at the beginning of the lection, specifying to the auditors the understood subject of the sentence. This addition, clearly originating in the Greek lectionary, is read in the NT MS tradition by 69, 522, and others. There is no doubt that the lectionary text of Acts will be useful in describing the history of the transmission of the text of the NT, but its value in determining the original text remains uncertain.

The project at the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster does not include the lectionaries.[49] The Alands conclude:

48. Harms mentions that Erroll Rhodes, while a student at Chicago, indexed menologion lections in more than 250 lectionaries (*Matthean Weekday Lessons*, 4n.6). Rhodes informs me that he did not make such an index, but that William Bray might have. The index has not been located.

49. See Kurt Aland, ed., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. I: Die katholischen Briefe* (ANTF 9-11; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1987); see Junack, "Zu den griechischen Lektionaren," 498-591.

> for New Testament textual criticism, so far as the original text and its early history is concerned, nearly all the approximately 2,300 lectionary manuscripts can be of significance only in exceptional instances. . . . For this reason only five lectionary manuscripts are noted after the hundreds of [continuous-]text manuscripts listed in appendix I of Nestle-Aland[26].

Interestingly, however, they continue: "But this may change because lectionaries with an independent text have been found not only among the recent discoveries at Sinai, but also in the preparations for [*UBS*]*GNT*[4]."

IV. Conclusion

The preceding observations suggest several conclusions.

1. A critical edition of the lectionary is greatly needed, based on full collations of all lections and direct comparisons of texts rather than variants from a printed text.

2. It is vital that a history of the lectionary text be produced, based on adequate textual data, especially accounting for the various pre-seventh-century lectionary forms and the relationship with lections in early Church Fathers such as Chrysostom.

3. While it is evident that lectionaries have much to contribute to the understanding of the later NT MS tradition, much remains to be done in clarifying the value of lectionaries for understanding better the earlier tradition.

4. Greater attention needs to be given to locating instances in which the lectionaries have influenced nonlectionary MSS, including variants created by incipits, words substituted for public reading, and transpositions of text.

5. More work needs to be done on the relationship between the lectionaries and the developing liturgical tradition.

As Vaganay and Amphoux have put it, "nine tenths of the work is still to be done and the results will have to be patiently awaited."[51]

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50. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 169. NA^{27} lists nine lectionary manuscripts.

51. Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* (2d ed. rev. and updated by Amphoux; trans. J. Heimerdinger; English ed. amplified and updated by Amphoux and Heimerdinger; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 25.

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PART II

THE EARLY VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

CHAPTER 5

THE DIATESSARON OF TATIAN

William L. Petersen

When Professor Metzger set about writing *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (1977), he followed the lead of Arthur Vööbus's *Early Versions of the New Testament* (1954), which also begins with an examination of Tatian's Diatessaron. Vööbus, in turn, may have been influenced by Theodor Zahn, who inaugurated his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur* with a volume titled *Tatian's Diatessaron*. These scholars accorded Tatian's harmony of the Gospels pride of place because it is considered the oldest of the versions. As such, the Diatessaron is of fundamental importance for the study of the text of the Gospels and for the study of the evolution of the gospel tradition. When Tatian composed his harmony (probably ca. 172 C.E.), he was, of course, forced to use the Gospels in the form they then had. Reconstruction of the Diatessaron's text therefore provides the researcher with a "snapshot" of the Gospels as Tatian knew them in the mid-second century. In raw chronological terms, the Diatessaron antedates all MSS of the NT, save that tiny fragment of the Gospel of John known as P^{52}. As Louis Leloir observed, "Pour retrouver les plus anciennes leçons évangéliques, la connaissance de l'oeuvre de Tatien est d'une importance primordiale"; and Sir Frederic Kenyon noted that the Diatessaron "provides us with a text that must go back to Greek MSS. of at least the middle of the second century, and possibly much earlier."[1]

Although the original text of the Diatessaron is lost, it left its imprint on many documents. Some are translations — albeit, revised — of the Diatessaron itself; others are patristic works that quote the Diatessaron. More than 170 specific MSS or works are known to contain Diatessaronic readings and sequences of harmonization. It is from these "witnesses" to the Diatessaron that its text is reconstructed. It has been argued that the Diatessaron was the first Gospel text in Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and Arabic.[2] Its appearance in Old High German and Middle Dutch lags the translation of the separate Gospels by only a few decades; Diatessaronic readings appear in some of the oldest Old Norse and Old Icelandic homily

1. L. Leloir, "Le Diatessaron de Tatien," *OrSyr* 1 (1956) 209; F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (2d ed.; London: Macmillan, 1912; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.) 150.

2. Each of these claims will be examined in the course of this article.

books as well.[3] Hence, the study of Diatessaronic witnesses in these diverse languages is also instructive of the problems the Gospels experienced in the process of translation. Robert Murray remarked that the study of these witnesses "offers extraordinary insights into the patterns of cultural transmission from the earliest Christian to the medieval world."[4]

I. Prologue

In order to survey the last fifty years of Diatessaronic research,[5] one must back up to 1923, when a new era in Diatessaronic studies was inaugurated by Daniël Plooij's monograph *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron*. Prior to Plooij, most scholars (with the notable exceptions of O. Schade, C. W. M. Grein, Th. Zahn, and H. J. Vogels) subscribed to the dictum of the preeminent Germanist of the time, Eduard Sievers, that all the Latin and vernacular Western Gospel harmonies were dependent on Codex Fuldensis (Fulda: Landesbibliothek, MS Bonif. 1), a Latin copy of an older Latin Gospel harmony.[6] Although this mysterious older harmony vanished, Codex Fuldensis remains. Copied at the direction of Victor, bishop of Capua, and completed in 546, Codex Fuldensis is distinguished by a very pure Vulgate text.

Plooij's monograph and a successor volume successfully challenged Sievers's unsubstantiated assertion.[7] The centerpiece of Plooij's case was a Middle Dutch MS dated to about 1280, known as the Liège Harmony (Liège: Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS no. 437). Study of the MS led Plooij to propose three theses. First, he drew attention to some variant readings in the Liège Harmony that were absent from Codex Fuldensis. Some of these variants found their only parallel in Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, such as Ephrem's *Commentary* on the Diatessaron, the Old Syriac separate Gospels ($Syr^{s.c}$), Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary* (which cites the Diatessaron by name), and the Arabic Harmony. Since these variants were absent from Codex Fuldensis — which was, according to Sievers, the "Stammhandschrift"[8] of all the Western harmonies — but were present in other Diatessaronic witnesses in the West and East, it was apparent that Codex Fuldensis was not the only purveyor of the Diatessaron's text in the West. Another MS had to have existed, one which offered a more "Diatessaronic" form of the text than did the Vulgatized[9] Codex Fuldensis.

3. A. van Arkel-de Leeuw van Weenen and G. Quispel, "The Diatessaron in Iceland and Norway," *VC* 32 (1978) 214-15; see also I. J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse* (PFLUL 27; Geneva: Droz, 1986) 86, 101-2, 116.

4. R. Murray, "The Gospel in the Medieval Netherlands," *HeyJ* 14 (1973) 309.

5. For further details on any of the persons, texts, or issues discussed in this chapter, see my *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (VCSup 25; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

6. *Tatian, Lateinisch und Altdeutsch, mit ausführlichem Glossar* (ed. E. Sievers; BADLD 5; Paderborn: Schöningh, 1872; 2d ed., 1892; reprint 2d ed., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960; here cited after the 2d ed.) xviii-xix.

7. D. Plooij, *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leiden: Brill, 1925).

8. Sievers, *Tatian, Lateinisch und Altdeutsch*, xviii.

9. "Vulgatization" is the process of stripping away primitive Diatessaronic readings and replacing them with the "standard" text of a particular time and place. The term is used regardless

Since some of the variants were paralleled in the Old Latin (OL) Gospels, and the Middle Dutch tradition was obviously a translation from Latin, Plooij called his hypothesized MS an "Old Latin Diatessaron" so as to distinguish it from Codex Fuldensis, whose text was Vulgate.

Second, Plooij noticed that some of the variant readings in the Liège Harmony were duplicated only in Syriac witnesses or in Eastern witnesses dependent on a Syriac Diatessaron. From the hundreds of instances, one may point to the Liège Harmony's reading at Matt 15:39, "so *sat* Ihesus altehant in en schep" ("then Jesus *sat* at once in a boat"), against the canonical Greek Matthew's ἐνέβη εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ("he *embarked* into the boat"), and the Vg's "*ascendit* in naviculam." The variant in the Liège Harmony agrees exactly with the reading of the Old Syriac ($Syr^{s,c}$): "he went and *sat [yaṯab]* in a boat." Another example is at John 7:2, where the Liège Harmony interpolates "Op enen tyt" ("At a time") at the beginning of the verse; the only other sources with the interpolation are the Arabic Harmony ("And at that time") and Syr^{s} ("And at that time"). Since these variants were paralleled only in Syriac and other Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses dependent on a Syriac Diatessaron (the colophon in some MSS of the Arabic Harmony states it was translated from a Syriac Diatessaron), Plooij called these readings Syriasms. Since these variants were unattested in the Greek and Latin MS tradition, he concluded that the text of the Latin archetype on which the Liège Harmony ultimately depended (the "Old Latin Diatessaron") had been translated directly into Latin from Syriac, without a Greek intermediary.

Third, since the imprint of the Diatessaron was, on the one hand, so strong on the Gospel text in Latin (esp. on the OL MSS) and on the vernacular harmonies of the West, and, on the other hand, so evident in the oldest Gospel texts in Syriac and the vernacular harmonies of the East, and since witnesses were so numerous in both the Western languages (at least 18 Latin Gospel harmony MSS are known; over 25 are extant in Middle Italian, more than 10 in Middle High German, and over 18 in Middle Dutch) and in the Eastern languages (the Arabic Harmony exists in 12 MSS), but evidence for its existence in Greek or influence on the Greek MS tradition was virtually nil, Plooij concluded that the Diatessaron had been composed in Syriac.[10]

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of the language in which it occurs. For example, Baumstark noticed instances of Vulgatization in Ephrem's *Commentary*, which led him to conclude that even the Syriac Diatessaron had been Vulgatized before the time of Ephrem (fl. 340-373); cf. his "Zur Geschichte des Tatianstextes vor Aphrem," *OrChr* 30 (3d series 8) (1933) 1-12.

10. Plooij's choice of Syriac echoed earlier scholarship, from Zahn onward. No Greek Diatessaronic witnesses were known when Plooij published his monographs; in the interval, only one certain Greek-original witness has appeared: Romanos the Melodist — but he was a Syrian and is ultimately dependent on a Syriac Diatessaron. The Dura Fragment appears to be a translation from Syriac, and its connection with the Diatessaronic tradition has been challenged; cf. D. Plooij, "A Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron in Greek," *ExpTim* 46 (1934-35) 471-76; and A. Baumstark, "Das griechische 'Diatessaron'-Fragment von Dura-Europos," *OrChr* 32 (3d ser., 10) (1935) 244-52. On the Dura Fragment, see also F. C. Burkitt, "The Dura Fragment of Tatian," *JTS* 36 (1935) 255-59. Kraeling's editio princeps (*A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura* [SD 3; London: Christophers, 1935]) has now been supplanted by the edition of C. B. Welles et al., *The Parchments and Papyri: The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . , Final Report* (vol. 5, part 1; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959) 73-74.

Since Plooij, all Diatessaronic research has, in one way or another, revolved around his theses, attempting to confirm, disprove, or modify them. His findings were initially supported by Anton Baumstark, Curt Peters, J. Rendel Harris, H. J. Vogels, and Zahn. Adolph Jülicher[11] and, to a lesser degree, F. C. Burkitt[12] dissented.

II. The Period 1940 to 1950

Although the outbreak of World War II caused a hiatus in publication, research continued. The Orientalist Baumstark pressed his investigations into the Western harmonized tradition, begun in a series of articles in the 1930s. In these earlier studies he had adduced new evidence in support of Plooij's theses; he discovered Diates-

11. A. Jülicher, "Der Echte Tatiantext," *JBL* 48 (1924) 132-71. Much of Jülicher's evidence crumbles upon examination; for example, he misquotes (in German) the Middle Dutch harmony's text. He also failed — perhaps because he was a Latinist — to appreciate the importance of the link between the Western witnesses and the Vetus Syra. Jülicher argued that many of the "variant" Diatessaronic readings (i.e., non-Codex Fuldensis readings) in the Liège MS were the result of the nothing more than the Dutch translator's artistic freedom. This argument has been repeated by later scholars, such as the medieval church historian C. C. de Bruin (*Jezus: het verhaal van zijn leven* [The Hague: Boekencentrum, 1980] 204; see also his *Woordern voor het Onzegbare* [Leiden: Rijskuniversiteit, 1976]) and the VL expert B. Fischer ("Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* [ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972] 46-49). How this old canard keeps flapping amazes anyone who has examined the empirical textual evidence. Is it likely that — of the thousands of Greek, Latin, and vernacular Gospel MSS — only Diatessaronic witnesses should interpolate "at that time" at John 7:2, or that only Diatessaronic witnesses should have Jesus "sit" in a boat at Matt 15:29? Belief in the absurd may be virtuous in some circles, but not among scholarly textual critics. The pattern given above repeats literally hundreds of times among and only among Diatessaronic witnesses. If the number of such agreements were small, then "spontaneous" touches of translators, exercising their "artistic freedom," or some vague and unnamed Western medieval exegetical traditions might be able to account for the readings. But such a theory founders on the empirical facts: reading after reading can be adduced from the same witnesses. Note that the expertise of each of these scholars lies in a specific subspecialization, and specialization is the bane of Diatessaronic research. Further, note that neither de Bruin nor Fischer ever specifically explained whence such Diatessaronic readings came, as did Plooij. Rather, they left one with vague generalities.

For additional examples of specific, unique textual agreements among Diatessaronic witnesses, see S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron* (BibOr 13; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1950); J. fon Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron* (Studia Germanica 5; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965); or my *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist* (CSCO 475, Subsidia 74; Louvain: Peeters, 1985).

12. F. C. Burkitt, "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies," *JTS* 25 (1924) 113-30. Burkitt's objections are more trenchant than Jülicher's. Burkitt offered two criticisms: first, while the Eastern and Western witnesses had striking agreements, they also had some disagreements, especially in the sequence of harmonization. In some cases, the Liège Harmony followed the sequence of Codex Fuldensis and the other Western harmonies, against all the Eastern witnesses. If Liège's Latin archetype were independent from Fuldensis, then how did Liège acquire Codex Fuldensis's order? (Burkitt's point is correct, and a stumbling block to Plooij's theory. Two preliminary answers, however, may now be offered: first, the tendency of all Western harmonies to move gradually in the direction of the "standard" local text — here, the Vg and Codex Fuldensis — may be responsible; second, we know that Justin Martyr used a harmony, and it has exceptionally close connections with the Liège Harmony, raising the possibility that one should speak of two early archetypes in the West: Justin's Greek harmony, and Tatian's [Syriac to Latin] harmony. The Western harmonized tradition may have arisen in some admixture of both.) Second, Burkitt noted that some of Plooij's examples were found in the Vg; these were inadmissible as evidence. (Today, this point is granted by all: sometimes Plooij's enthusiasm got the better of him. Enough valid examples remain, however, to make his case.)

saronic readings in two collections of Middle High German fragments, the Himmelgarten Fragments and the Schönbach Fragments.[13] The readings in the Himmelgarten Fragments were especially important, for they sometimes found their only parallel in the Arabic Harmony, while at other points, their only agreement was with the Middle Dutch Liège, the Middle English Pepysian, and the Arabic harmonies. An example occurs in Mark 15:46, where the Himmelgarten Fragments read "en reine lilaken" ("a pure linen cloth") for the canonical σινδόνι;[14] here the Arabic Harmony is in singular agreement with the Himmelgarten Fragments, also reading "a pure linen cloth." In another case, the Liège Harmony, the Middle English Pepysian Harmony, and the Himmelgarten Fragments all follow Matt 27:57 with Mark 15:43 — a sequence of harmonization identical with that of the Arabic Harmony. Codex Fuldensis lacks either reading. Readings such as these confirmed Plooij's thesis that there had to have existed an "Old Latin Harmony," whose text had not been conformed to the Vulgate, as Codex Fuldensis's text had been.

For some time Baumstark had promised a study of the Old High German and related traditions, but he died in 1948 and it was not published until 1964.[15] During World War II Baumstark, then a professor in Bonn with strong Nazi sympathies, secured the loan of an important but little-studied Middle Dutch MS, the Utrecht Harmony (Utrecht: Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS no. 1009). It disappeared at the end of the war and has not yet been recovered.[16]

The loss of this witness was partly assuaged by discoveries taking place at the same time. In 1942 Giuseppe Messina drew scholars' attention to the existence of a Persian Harmony in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. Its existence had remained unremarked since it was first cataloged by S. E. Assemani in 1742.[17] Another discovery that would profoundly influence subsequent Diatessaronic research took place in 1945: the *Gospel of Thomas* was found in Egypt.

III. The Period 1950 to 1975

Messina's edition of the Persian Harmony appeared in 1951.[18] Metzger was among the first to report on the harmony.[19] Extant in a single MS (Florence: Bib. Laurent.,

13. A. Baumstark, "Die Himmelgartener Bruchstücke eines niederdeutschen 'Diatessaron'-Textes des 13. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 33 (3d ser., 11) (1936) 80-96; idem, "Die Schönbach'schen Bruchstücke einer Evangelienharmonie in bayrisch-österreichischer Mundart des 14. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 34 (3d ser., 12) (1937) 103-26.

14. The Greek is carried over into the Latin, where both the VL and the Vg read *sindonem* (MS k reads *palla*).

15. A. Baumstark, *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian, herausgegeben von Johannes Rathofer* (NdS 12; Cologne/Graz: Böhlau, 1964).

16. On the Utrecht harmony, its character and disappearance, see my *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 238-46.

17. S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Lavrentiae et Palatinae Codicvm mms. Orientalivm Catalogvs* (Florentiae, 1742) 59.

18. G. Messina, ed., *Diatessaron Persiano* (BibOr 14; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1951).

19. Metzger, "Tatian's Diatessaron and a Persian Harmony of the Gospels," *JBL* 69 (1950) 261-80; reprinted in *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (NTTS 4; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963) 97-120.

Cod. Orient. 81, dated 1547), the Persian Harmony is a striking document. On the one hand, its sequence of harmonization is almost always unique, distinct from all other Diatessaronic witnesses. This has led some experts to assert — probably correctly — that it is not a direct descendant of Tatian's Diatessaron.[20] On the other hand, everyone agrees that its text is rich in Diatessaronic readings. Therefore, although the Persian Harmony may not be a Diatessaronic witness in the usual sense (in which the witness reflects not only Diatessaronic readings but also a Diatessaronic sequence), its text is nevertheless a valuable source of Diatessaronic variants. One investigation found that the Persian Harmony preserved more Diatessaronic readings than any other Eastern Diatessaronic witness.[21] The circumstances under which such a situation arose are unknown, but the Persian Harmony's archetype was apparently based on an ancient Syriac *tetraevangelion* that, because of its antiquity, was saturated with Diatessaronic readings. The Syriac *tetraevangelion* on which the Persian Harmony was based must have been more ancient than the two Old Syriac MSS known to us today ($Syr^{s,c}$), for the Persian Harmony has more Diatessaronic readings than either of them.[22] Another peculiar feature of the Persian Harmony is its obvious dependence on an identifiable extracanonical source in the Nativity account, where it incorporates readings from the *Protevangelium Iacobi*.

The work of Plooij and Baumstark in the 1920s and 1930s to free the Western witnesses from the onus of Sievers's dictum that Codex Fuldensis was the "Stammhandschrift" of all the Western harmonies stimulated a new generation of scholars to reexamine the Western harmonized tradition. The texts were no longer automatically regarded as secondary witnesses to Codex Fuldensis, but were now — as they should have been all along — subjected to a thorough, unprejudiced examination. New witnesses were found, buried deep in popular ecclesiastical literature. In 1953 Walter Henss identified Diatessaronic readings in an Alemannic epic poem composed about 1300, *Saelden Hort* ("Spiritual Treasure Chest").[23] The first third of the poem treats the life of John the Baptist and Jesus; it is here that Diatessaronic variants crop up. Henss also pointed to (but did not investigate) a Latin poem composed at the beginning of the twelfth century in the same general geographic region (southern Swabia in Germany to the Vorarlberg in Switzerland) as a work with Diatessaronic readings.[24] This poem, the *Vita Beate Virginis et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, was investigated by R. van den Broek in 1974, and Henss's premonitions were found to be correct.[25]

20. So, e.g., T. Baarda: the Persian Harmony is "independent of Tatian's Diatessaron" ("In Search of the Diatessaron Text," in *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus: Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the New Testament* [Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 1983] 69).

21. See the statistics in my *Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus*, 156-57.

22. The Old Syriac separate Gospels and the Peshitta appear to be later than the Syriac Diatessaron, for both of these Syriac recensions contain Diatessaronic readings. This point has been established for more than a century; most recently, see M. Black, "The Syriac Versional Tradition," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments*, ed. K. Aland, 120-59.

23. W. Henss, *Tatians Diatessaron im Saelden Hort* (dissertation, Marburg, 1953).

24. Idem, "Zur Quellenfrage im Heliand und ahd. Tatian," *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 77 (1954) 1-6; reprinted in *Der Heliand* (ed. J. Eichhoff and I. Rauch; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973) 191-99.

25. R. van den Broek, "A Latin Diatessaron in the 'Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica,' " *NTS* 21 (1974) 109-32.

Perhaps the finest example of method in Diatessaronic research appeared in 1950. Stanislaus Lyonnet's *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron* examined the genesis of the Armenian version of the Gospels. His discovery of both Diatessaronic sequences of harmonization and Diatessaronic variants in the oldest strata of Armenian Gospel texts forced him to conclude that the first Armenian Gospel had been a Diatessaron. Later scholars have tentatively agreed but noted that another possibility existed — which Lyonnet considered but rejected — namely, that a Syriac *tetraevangelion*, more deeply imbued with Diatessaronic readings than the two Old Syriac MSS known today, might be the source of the numerous Diatessaronic readings found in the oldest Armenian Fathers and Gospel MSS.[26]

In the late 1950s, the first publications relating to the *Gospel of Thomas* appeared. As its editors puzzled over *Thomas's* sources, one of them, Gilles Quispel, noticed some agreements with various witnesses to the Diatessaron. An example: Logion 44 of *Thomas* reads: "He that shall blaspheme against *the Father*, it shall be forgiven him." Matt 12:32 reads: καὶ ὃς ἐὰν εἴπῃ λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ ("And if any man speaks a word against *the Son of Man*, it shall be forgiven him"). The *Thomas* reading is paralleled in the Tuscan Harmony ("Chiunque dirà parola contra *'l Padre*, gli sarà perdonato"); no other source is known to contain this variant. In quick succession, Quispel published a stream of articles relating *Thomas* to various aspects of the Diatessaronic tradition.[27] Although some of Quispel's evidence is flawed, a sufficient number of valid examples remain to show that some sort of a relationship exists between *Thomas* and the Diatessaronic tradition.

A controversy — one of the more famous in recent NT studies — then arose as to how that relationship should be described. Three possibilities existed. First, could *Thomas* be dependent on the Diatessaron?[28] This seemed unlikely, given that the agreements were in specific variant readings, not in sequence of harmonization or the arrangement of larger units of text. Second, might the Diatessaron be dependent on *Thomas*?[29] Most experts who have examined the evidence have come to a negative conclusion.[30] The reason is that the distinctive extracanonical logia of *Thomas* are

26. Later scholars include L. Leloir, "La Version arménienne du Nouveau Testament," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des neuen Testaments*, ed. K. Aland, 301-2; Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 151. Lyonnet found the cross-Gospel harmonizations (switching from Matthew to Luke, for example) indicative of use of a Diatessaron, not a *tetraevangelion*. These harmonizations often agree exactly with other Diatessaronic witnesses, so one may exclude the possibility that the Armenian, spontaneously and by chance, time and again, made the identical harmonizations as the Diatessaron.

27. Among the many: "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *VC* 11 (1957) 189-207 (reprinted in his *Gnostic Studies* [UNHAII 34/2; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1975] 2.3-16); "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," *NTS* 5 (1958-59) 276-90; "L'Évangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron," *VC* 13 (1959) 87-117 (reprinted in *Gnostic Studies*, 2.31-55).

28. This position was espoused by Baarda in the volume he wrote with R. Schippers, *Het Evangelie van Thomas* (Kampen: Kok, 1960) 154.

29. The position of, e.g., J.-É. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* (NHS 5; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 21-23.

30. Cf. A. F. J. Klijn, *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts. Part Two: 1949-1969* (NovTSup 21; Leiden: Brill, 1969) 8-9. This study is a helpful synopsis of the principal issues; Klijn includes many of the key readings, so the reader may examine the evidence firsthand.

utterly absent from all known Diatessaronic witnesses. If Tatian had used *Thomas*, one would have expected at least one of *Thomas's* extracanonical sayings to have insinuated itself into the Diatessaron — but none has. Third and finally, the possibility existed that both *Thomas* and the Diatessaron used a common source.[31] But if so, what was that source? Had it been an Old Syriac text of the separate Gospels, as A. F. J. Klijn suggested?[32] This seemed unlikely, for it required hypothesizing the existence of a Syriac *tetraevangelion* before 150 — something for which there is no evidence. Indeed, all the oldest Syriac separate Gospels betray Diatessaronic influence[33] — which is why scholars posit the Diatessaron as the oldest Syriac Gospel. Therefore, Quispel's suggestion — that the agreements were best explained by presuming dependence on a common source, probably an extracanonical Judaic-Christian gospel (either the "Hebrew gospel" or the "Gospel of the Ebionites") — encountered the fewest problems. It explained the occasional nature of the agreement; it dovetailed with the demonstrable acquaintance of, on the one hand, *Thomas* with the extracanonical tradition, and, on the other hand, of the Diatessaron with the extracanonical tradition;[34] and it conformed with the established sequence of evolution of the Syriac versions of the Gospels (Diatessaron first; Old Syriac second; Peshitta third).

But the matter was still not resolved, for a new controversy then arose over the character of the common source. Was it a bona fide extracanonical gospel, truly a "free" tradition independent from the canonical Gospels, or were both the Diatessaron and *Thomas* merely dependent on a very early redaction of a "canonical" gospel whose text contained particular "deviations" from the redaction that would later become canonical? An example of a "canonical" MS with an extracanonical, Judaic-Christian gospel reading is our oldest Vetus Latina (VL) MS, Codex Vercellensis (MS a, 4th century), which also contains the "light" at the Jordan when Jesus was baptized. Could such a MS, in Greek, explain some of the readings common to Tatian and *Thomas* but absent from the current canonical text? Our present state of knowledge of the gospel text in the mid-second century precludes a definitive answer, although the consensus favors *Thomas's* use of an independent tradition.[35] What does seem certain to all, however, is that the source — whether it be a very early, deviating form of a "canonical" gospel, or a genuinely "extracanonical" gospel — seems to have had an Eastern, Semitic cast to it. Hence, some of the readings appear to be Aramaisms or Syriasms, and others are found only in documents ascribed to Judaic-Christian circles (e.g., the Pseudo-Clementines).

31. This was the position of Quispel, who spoke of *Thomas* having access to a "free" tradition, i.e., a gospel tradition independent of the canonical Gospels.

32. Klijn, *Survey, . . . Part Two*, 15.

33. See above, n. 22.

34. *Gos. Thom.* 2 is, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 2.9.45), paralleled in the "Gospel according to the Hebrews." Epiphanius (*Haer.* 30.13) reports that the "light" at Jesus' baptism — a reading found in the Diatessaron — stood in the "Hebrew gospel."

35. Cf. the conclusion of R. McL. Wilson, "Nag Hammadi and the New Testament," *NTS* 28 (1982) 297: "a majority of those who have investigated [*Thomas's* relationship with the Synoptics] now favour the independence of Thomas." Wilson is citing (with approval) G. MacRae, "Nag Hammadi and the New Testament," in *GNOSIS: Festschrift für Hans Jonas* (ed. B. Aland; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978) 152-53, who came to the same conclusion.

Quispel's claim that an extracanonical, Judaic-Christian gospel text might lie behind the jewel of Old Saxon poetry, the *Heliand*, which had been identified by its first editor in 1840 as related to the Diatessaronic tradition,[36] precipitated a reaction by the Germanist Willi Krogmann. Ignoring the long history of research into the matter, Krogmann asserted that the *Heliand*'s agreements with Diatessaronic witnesses were due to chance, poetic license, and cultural factors.[37] Quispel responded with articles that adduced additional variants. Two of Quispel's *promovendi* also produced studies that decisively settled the issue in favor of dependence. J. fon Weringha's *Heliand and Diatessaron* is, next to Lyonnet's study of the relationship of the Armenian version to the Diatessaron, one of the finest examples of sound method in Diatessaronic studies. Fon Weringha found numerous points of contact — some unique — between the *Heliand* and Eastern as well as Western Diatessaronic witnesses. R. van den Broek's discovery of Diatessaronic readings in the *Vita Rhythmica* — some of which were shared with the *Heliand* — showed that a distinct, common tradition lay behind the readings.[38] Since the *Vita Rhythmica* was also a poem, Krogmann's claim that the "poetic license" exercised by the *Heliand*'s author was responsible for the agreements crumbled. Was it likely that two poets, composing harmonized "Lives of Jesus," writing in two different languages, should independently, spontaneously, and at random, have made identical modifications in the Gospel account? Certainly not; the agreements suggested a common source. The obvious candidate for this common tradition was Plooij's Old Latin Diatessaron, since the readings in question were absent from Codex Fuldensis.

When Baumstark died in 1948, he left behind in his papers a nearly completed manuscript (it lacked notes and required editing) on the Old High German Tatian. The task of preparing it for publication fell to Johannes Rathofer, a Germanist and *Heliand* specialist, who saw the volume to press in 1964.[39] The study is an important source of readings from the Old and Middle High German witnesses. Together with later work by Quispel and his students, this study refuted another of Sievers's unsubstantiated assertions, this time regarding the Old High German Diatessaronic witnesses. In 1872 Sievers had produced the first modern scholarly edition of Codex Sangallensis, a bilingual Latin-Old High German Gospel harmony (St. Gallen: Stiftsbib., MS No. 56; dated ca. 830). He asserted that the Latin column was a copy of Codex Fuldensis, the "Stammhandschrift" of all the Gospel harmony MSS in the West. In keeping with this thesis, he went on to assert that Codex Sangallensis's Old High German column was nothing more than a slavish translation of its neighbor-

36. J. A. Schmeller, *Heliand oder die altsächsische Evangelien-Harmonie*, part 1: *Text*. Part 2: *Heliand: Wörterbuch und Grammatik nebst Einleitung und zwei Facsimilies* (Monachii, Stutgartiae, Tubingae: Cotta, 1830, 1840). Here, vol. 2 (part 2), xi.

37. W. Krogmann, "Heliand, Tatian und Thomasevangelium," *ZNW* 51 (1960) 255-68; see also his "Heliand und Thomasevangelium," *VC* 18 (1964) 65-73. After Schmeller, the *Heliand*'s dependence on the Diatessaron was investigated and independently confirmed by E. Windisch (*Der Heliand und seine Quellen* [Leipzig: Vogel, 1868], esp. 25-45) and C. W. M. Grein (*Die Quellen des Heliand. Nebst einem Anhang: Tatians Evangelienharmonie herausgegeben nach dem Codex Cassellanus* [Cassel: Kay, 1869]), among others.

38. Van den Broek, "Latin Diatessaron," 109-32.

39. Baumstark, *Vorlage*.

ing Latin column; any deviations were due to the Old High German translator's "Uebersetzungs*kunst.*" A close examination of the MS, however, led Baumstark to note numerous points where the Old High German column did not follow the neighboring Latin column. In many of these, the deviating reading was OL; in others, the deviating reading agreed with other Diatessaronic witnesses. An example of Diatessaronic agreement is at Luke 3:1, where Codex Fuldensis and the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis read only "Abilinae"; the Old High German column, however, reads "*in* thero *steti* thiu Abilina *uuas heizzan*" ("there *in a city that was called* Abilina"), following both MSS of the Old Syriac ($\text{Syr}^{s,c}$: "*in the land of* Abilene"); a faint echo may survive in the Arabic Harmony ("*in* Abilene"). This evidence supported Plooij's hypothesis of an "Old Latin Diatessaron," and was one more nail in the coffin of Sievers's assertion that Codex Fuldensis was the sole means by which Diatessaronic readings had been brought to the West.

Later, however, Rathofer wrote a superb critique of Baumstark's (and his own) work on the Old High German Tatian. Titled "Die Einwirkung des Fuldischen Evangelientextes auf den althochdeutschen 'Tatian.' Abkehr von der Methode der Diatessaronforschung,"[40] Rathofer noted that Sievers's edition of Codex Sangallensis (still the only edition of the MS) contained many mistakes; these sometimes led to "false positives," to borrow a term from medicine. The misprints in Sievers's edition and his failure to incorporate the corrigenda from Ranke's edition of Codex Fuldensis into his edition of Codex Sangallensis sometimes led Baumstark (an innocent victim of Sievers's carelessness, one should note) to find "Diatessaronic" readings where there were, in reality, none. Given that Baumstark had "found" Diatessaronic readings in what were nothing more than between 250 and 400 misprints in modern editions, Rathofer posed the question: "How many more 'Diatessaronic' readings might have been created by nothing more than scribal errors in the copying of MSS over the centuries?" Rathofer's critique deserves the closest attention from Diatessaronic scholars; not all, however, of Baumstark's (or other scholars') work falls under his strictures. Extensive agreements and distinct sequences of harmonization are not the result of typographical errors in modern editions or slips of a medieval scribe's pen.[41]

In 1975 Quispel published a massive collection of Diatessaronic variants in a monograph titled *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron.* Preceded by a hypothetical reconstruction of how Plooij's "Old Latin Diatessaron" might have come to northern Europe, seventy-nine pages of collations (prepared by Quispel and J. van Amersfoort) delineated agreements among the *Gospel of Thomas*, the Old High German Tatian (including the *Heliand*), and the

40. In *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter* (Festschrift K. Langosch; ed. A. Oennerfors et al.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973) 256-308.

41. For instance, none of the examples presented in this article is subject to Rathofer's critique. Another undisputed link among Eastern and Western witnesses — but not with Codex Fuldensis — is the incipit of the Diatessaron. While Codex Fuldensis begins with Luke 1:1-4, many Eastern and Western witnesses begin with John 1:1, which Dionysius bar Ṣalībī states was the Diatessaron's incipit. Such specific agreements in sequence cannot be assigned to scribal errors, ancient or modern.

full array of Diatessaronic witnesses, Eastern as well as Western. In this work, Quispel also introduced another Western Diatessaronic witness, Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi* (ca. 1345). Here again, variant readings were found whose only parallels lay within the Diatessaronic family of texts, both East and West; Codex Fuldensis, which lacked the readings, could not be their source. The damage done a century earlier by Sievers's unsubstantiated assertions was finally being corrected by textual evidence.

Commencing in the 1960s, our knowledge of Ephrem's *Commentary* on the Diatessaron was immeasurably enriched by the work of various scholars. In 1962 a Dutch scholar, Tjitze Baarda, announced discovery of a fragment of the *Commentary* embedded in a list of testimonies.[42] Then, in 1957, Sir Chester Beatty acquired a lacunose MS of the *Commentary* in the original Syriac (now in the Beatty collection in Dublin: MS 709; late 5th century). He retained Louis Leloir — who had produced in 1954 a new edition of the *Commentary* from its Armenian MSS — to prepare an edition, which appeared in 1963.[43] Then, in 1966, Pedro Ortiz Valdivieso published a small Syriac fragment of the *Commentary.*[44] Like the Baarda Fragment, the Valdivieso Fragment preserved a portion of the text not found in the Beatty MS. Finally, in 1984, five additional folios of the Beatty MS were acquired by the Beatty Library, and in 1986 an additional thirty-six folios of the same MS were purchased. Once again, Leloir was asked to edit the find. The forty-one additional folios were published in 1990, two years before his death.[45] Leloir also published a series of substantial monographs and articles on the Diatessaron, especially concerning Ephrem and the Eastern Diatessaronic tradition; they are indispensable tools for research.[46]

IV. The Period 1975 to the Present

Building on the work of Plooij, Baumstark, and Quispel, numerous studies in the 1970s and 1980s investigated specific witnesses to the Diatessaron. In 1975 Baarda published a model study of Aphrahat's text of the Fourth Gospel;[47] he concluded that Aphrahat knew the Diatessaronic tradition. Following a lead given by Curt

42. Baarda, "A Syriac Fragment of Mar Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron," *NTS* 8 (1962) 287-300; reprinted in *Early Transmission*, 51-64.

43. Leloir, ed., *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne* (CSCO 137 [text], 145 [Latin translation] [Armen. 1 and 2]; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq and Peeters, 1953, 1954); idem, ed., *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque* (CBM 8[a]; Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1963).

44. Valdivieso, "Un nuevo fragmento siriaco del comentario de San Efrén al Diatésaron (P. Palau Rib. 2)," *SPap* 5 (1966) 7-17.

45. Leloir, ed., *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709), Folios Additionnels* (CBM 8[b]; Louvain: Peeters, 1990).

46. Among the most useful titles: "Divergences entre l'original syriaque et la version Arménienne du commentaire d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron," in *Melanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 2: *Orient Chrétienne* (StT 232; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964) 303-31; *Le témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron* (CSCO 227, Subsidia 19; Louvain: Peeters, 1962); and "Le Diatessaron de Tatien," *OrSyr* 1 (1956) 208-31, 313-34.

47. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage* (2 vols.; Meppel: Krips Repro, 1975).

Peters, in 1985 the present writer published a study of Diatessaronic readings in the hymns of Romanos the Melodist.[48] Although Romanos wrote in Greek and was Justinian's court hymnographer, he is a witness to the Syriac Diatessaronic tradition, for he was a Syrian by birth and brought Syrian prosody and other (i.e., non-Diatessaronic) Syrian Gospel readings to Constantinople with him. This study also specified methodological guidelines for determining which variants in Diatessaronic witnesses have a high probability of being genuinely Diatessaronic.[49]

Numerous articles published during this period addressed individual aspects of Diatessaronic research. In studies analogous to those of Lyonnet on the Armenian, J. Neville Birdsall made important contributions by exploring the origins of the Georgian Gospels. He concluded that the oldest Georgian Gospels were translated from a Syriac *tetraevangelion*, not a Diatessaron. This Syriac *tetraevangelion* was, however, deeply "tinctured" with Diatessaronic readings.[50] Another of Quispel's *promovendi*, J. van Amersfoort, identified Diatessaronic readings in a new witness in Middle Dutch, *Vanden Levene ons Heren* ("From the Life of Our Lord"), which dates from the first half of the thirteenth century.[51] Quispel noted Diatessaronic readings in the Greek homilies of the mystic Macarius.[52] R. van den Broek discovered Diatessaronic readings in the Amsterdam Lectionary (Amsterdam: Bib. UvA, HS I.G.41, dated 1348), readings that seem to reflect an even older stage of the Middle Dutch tradition than does the Liège Harmony.[53] Baarda published over a score of articles on specific passages in the Diatessaron. Major themes in his work have been the textual value of the Arabic Harmony (obscured by the defective editions of Ciasca [1888] and Marmardji [1935]),[54] and investigations of unusual (and sometimes singular) readings in Diatessaronic witnesses. An example is his analysis of the Diatessaron's version of Luke 4:29-30, according to which Jesus "flies" to Capernaum from the hilltop from which the villagers of Nazareth are about to cast him. The variant is found in Ephrem, Augustine, and the Middle Dutch *Rijmbijbel*.[55]

The presence of the reading in Augustine is fascinating, for it supports the

48. See my *Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus*.

49. These guidelines build on earlier work by Quispel and fon Weringha; they serve as a check on the excesses of a scholar like Baumstark.

50. See his " 'The Martyrdom of St Eustathius of Mzketha' and the Diatessaron: An Investigation," *NTS* 18 (1972) 452-56; idem, "Evangelienbezüge im georgischen Martyrium der hl. Schuschaniki," *Georgica* 4 (1981) 20-23.

51. J. van Amersfoort, "De invloed van het Diatessaron op de middelnederlandse tekst 'Vanden Levene Ons Heren'," in *Handelingen van het acht en dertigste Nederlands Filologencongres* (Amsterdam/Maarssen: APA-Holland Universiteits Pers, 1986) 195-207.

52. Quispel, "Macarius and the Diatessaron of Tatian," in *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East* (ed. R. H. Fischer; Chicago: Lutheran School of Theology, 1977) 203-9.

53. Van den Broek, "Enkele opmerkingen over de Latijnse archetypus van het Middelnederlandse diatessaron," *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 70 (1977) 434-58.

54. Baarda, "An Archaic Element in the Arabic Diatessaron? (TA 46:18 = John xv 2)," *NovT* 17 (1975) 151-55; reprinted in *Early Transmission*, 173-77.

55. Baarda, " 'The Flying Jesus,' Luke 4:29-30 in the Syriac Diatessaron," *VC* 40 (1986) 313-41.

observation (first made by Leloir and then, independently, by Quispel)[56] that Augustine, probably from his days as a Manichaean, occasionally lapses into citing a passage according to the Diatessaron used by the Manichees. Manichaean use of a Diatessaron was first asserted by Schmidt and Polotsky in their announcement of the discovery of the Homilies; Baumstark produced the first readings.[57] Quispel, Werner Sundermann, and the present writer adduced additional evidence.[58] Despite this evidence, some have disputed the claims. These critics, however, have neither refuted the textual evidence nor offered alternative explanations of the agreements — tasks which are incumbent on them.[59] This situation reminds one of Sievers's turning a blind eye to the textual evidence known to him when he asserted that Codex Fuldensis was the archetype of all the Western harmonies, and that the variants in Codex Sangallensis' Old High German column were the result of artistic freedom and chance.[60]

In a finding of significance for the question of the relationship of the Eastern and Western Diatessaronic traditions, the present writer adduced a series of agreements between Diatessaronic witnesses and the Gospel citations of Justin Martyr, who was Tatian's teacher in Rome.[61] It had long been speculated that Justin's "memoirs of the apostles" (ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων) was a harmony of the Synoptic Gospels; that this collection of "memoirs" has agreements — including some harmonizations — with the Diatessaron reinforces the view that it was a harmony. The discovery of textual dependence raises the possibility that Tatian incorporated parts of Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα into his Diatessaron, perhaps even using

56. Leloir, *Le témoignage*, passim; Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, 58-68.

57. C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten," SPAW.PH [no number] (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1933) 58n.1. Manichaean use of a Diatessaron was first hypothesized by Isaac de Beausobre in 1734 (*Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme* [2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1734-39] 1.303). See Baumstark's review of H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien (Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty I)*, in *OrChr* 32 (3d ser., 10) (1935) 257-68; see also his "Ein 'Evangelium'-Zitat der Manichäischen Kephalaia," *OrChr* 34 (3d ser., 12) (1938) 169-91.

58. Quispel, "Mani et la tradition évangélique des Judéo-Chrétiens," *RSR* 60 (1972) 143-50; see also idem, "Mani the Apostle of Jesus Christ," in *Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou* (ed. J. Fontaine and C. Kannengiesser; Paris: Beauchesne, 1972) 667-72 (reprinted in Quispel, *Gnostic Studies*, 2.230-37); Werner Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte, Kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients; Berliner Turfantexte 11; Berlin, 1981) 76-79 (Text 4a.18); idem, *Mittelpersische und parthische Kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients 8; Berliner Turfantexte 4; Berlin, 1973) 106-8 (Texts 38, 39); idem, "Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 14/3 (1968) 386-405; and my "An Important Unnoticed Diatessaronic Reading in Turfan Fragment M-18," in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn* (ed. T. Baarda et al.; Kampen: Kok, 1988) 187-92.

59. See M. Tardieu, "Principes de l'Exégèse manichéenne du nouveau testament," in *Les Règles de l'Interprétation* (ed. M. Tardieu; Paris: Cerf, 1987) 126-27 (esp. n. 16), 144-45.

60. More recently, such claims have been made regarding the Western witnesses — especially the Liège Harmony — by B. Fischer and C. C. de Bruin (see the references in n. 11 above). But again, like Sievers before them, they ignore the textual evidence, fail to offer an alternative explanation (other than chance) for hundreds of agreements limited to Diatessaronic witnesses, and fail to adduce textual evidence to support their assertions. Until these basic requisites of scholarship are met, their rhetorical arguments do not warrant consideration.

61. See my "Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence Upon Justin's ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ," *NTS* 36 (1990) 512-34.

it as a foundation. There were other insights as well: Justin's text had an especially strong agreement with the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony. This raises the possibility that the discrepancies noted by Burkitt and others between the Eastern and Western witnesses to the Diatessaron perhaps result from the continuing influence of Justin's harmony on the Western harmonized tradition — independently of, but in addition to, Tatian's Diatessaron (which is itself already partly dependent on Justin's harmony).[62] In 1992, M.-E. Boismard independently arrived at a similar conclusion.[63]

V. The State of the Question

From the researches and discoveries sketched above, the state of the question of Diatessaronic studies is as follows. The Diatessaron was almost certainly composed in Syriac,[64] about 172. If — in addition to Tatian's harmony — Justin's harmony also influenced the Western harmonized tradition, then it is no longer necessary to attribute the harmonistic readings in Novatian's Gospel text or in the Roman Antiphonary to the Diatessaron,[65] for they may stem from Justin's harmony. Hence, the Diatessaron need not be the oldest Gospel text in Latin; that honor probably belongs to the harmonized Gospel used by Justin. Throughout the history of Diatessaronic research, a majority of scholars have chosen Rome as the Diatessaron's provenance. This was awkward but was deemed necessary: it was awkward because the earliest evidence for the Diatessaron comes from the Syrian East in Aphrahat and Ephrem, and Syriasms in the Diatessaron suggest that Syriac was its original language; it was necessary, however, in order to account for the presence of "Tatianisms" in the oldest Latin Gospel citations.[66] Now, however, with an alternative explanation for these "Tatianic" readings in the earliest Latin Gospel texts and citations — namely, they are "Justinisms," not "Tatianisms" — the sole reason for placing the Diatessaron's

62. See above, n. 12.

63. M.-E. Boismard, *Le Diatessaron: De Tatien à Justin* (Ebib 17; Paris: Gabalda, 1992). The virtue of Boismard's study — his first excursion into Diatessaronic studies — lies in underlining the connection between Tatian and Justin, and between the Middle English Pepysian Harmony and the Arabic Harmony. He goes on, however, to create a complex pedigree for the Diatessaron, which involves no fewer than four harmonies: (1) the oldest is Justin's harmony; it was, however, revised, creating (2) a "Syro-Latin Harmony," which was not Tatian's Diatessaron but which was disseminated in the East and West; Justin's original harmony was revised by Tatian and translated into Syriac, creating (3) the Syriac Diatessaron; this Syriac Diatessaron was (4) translated into Latin and introduced in the West, where it underwent various revisions. Much of Boismard's evidence collapses when examined closely, in part because he fails to exercise the requisite self-criticism and because he is unfamiliar with the complexities and pitfalls of Diatessaronic studies.

64. This has been the position of most experts since before the turn of the twentieth century. Most recently, my own investigation independently confirmed Syriac as the original language ("New Evidence for the Question of the Original Language of the Diatessaron," in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments zum 80. Geburtstag Heinrich Greeven* [ed. W. Schrage; BZNW 47; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986] 325-43).

65. As done by Baumstark and others; see Baumstark's articles, "Tatianismen im römischen Antiphonar," *OrChr* 27 (3d ser., 5) (1930) 165-74; and "Die Evangelienzitate Novatians und das Diatessaron," *OrChr* 27 (3d ser., 5) (1930) 1-14.

66. Roman provenance was suggested by Burkitt, Vogels, Plooij, and Vööbus. All, however, betray their unease by having Tatian create a "second edition, revised and enlarged," of his Roman Diatessaron in Syriac.

composition in Rome is obviated. Therefore, one may suggest that Tatian composed his Syriac Diatessaron either in the East or on his way back to the East after his expulsion from the primitive Roman church.

As for Tatian's sources, it is difficult to determine whether he used a bona fide extracanonical gospel or only a deviating canonical gospel that, because of the early date, had not yet evolved into the canonical form we know today in the great uncials of the fourth century. What is undeniable, however, is that the Diatessaron contains readings that are now "nonstandard" (e.g., the "light" at Jesus' baptism) and that are attributed to an extracanonical, Judaic-Christian gospel by ancient ecclesiastical writers (e.g., Epiphanius).[67] This suggests that, until the contrary is proved, Tatian employed one or more extracanonical sources.

The dissemination of the Diatessaron in the East begins with a Syriac Diatessaron, the first Gospel in Syriac. Its readings influenced all later Syriac texts: Syr$^{s.c.p.h.j}$, Aphrahat, and so on. The Georgian and the Arabic Gospels were first translated from a primitive — and, therefore, heavily Diatessaronic — Syriac *tetraevangelion*. It is difficult to know if the first Armenian Gospel translation was made from such a *tetraevangelion* or from a Syriac Diatessaron. In the West, it is now clear that Plooij was correct: an "Old Latin Diatessaron" existed, prior to Codex Fuldensis. The present array of Western Diatessaronic witnesses — in Latin, Old High German, Middle High German, Old Saxon, Middle Dutch, Middle English, and Middle Italian — are to varying degrees dependent on this lost Old Latin Diatessaron. It is possible that some of the unique textual characteristics of these Western witnesses result from various mixtures of three traditions: (1) Justin's pre-Tatianic Gospel harmony; (2) Plooij's un-Vulgatized Old Latin Diatessaron; and (3) the Vulgatized, "domesticated" text of Codex Fuldensis. Puzzling out the precise mix of these three sources in each individual witness in the West will certainly take scholars well into the next century, if not beyond. This backbreaking work would not be important save for the fact that it makes available to the textual critic a version of the Gospels that antedates all the papyri except P^{52} by at least half a century.

Working with the Diatessaron is challenging; Vööbus called it "one of the most difficult topics in all the field of New Testament textual criticism."[68] Logic stipulates that the Diatessaron's text can only be recovered with certainty where it differed from the canonical text. After all deviations from the canonical text have been logged, then a threefold analysis is necessary to determine the likelihood that a given variant stood in the Diatessaron. First, the reading should occur only in Diatessaronic witnesses; should it occur in a non-Diatessaronic source, one must exclude the possibility that this source gave the reading to the Diatessaronic witnesses. Second, the reading should occur in at least two witnesses, one in the East and one in the West. Third, all the sources with the reading should be

67. Another example of such a Judaic-Christian reading in the Diatessaron is at Mark 10:18 (Luke 18:19), where Ephrem's *Commentary* and Justin read, "One is good, *my Father in the heavens*."

68. Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 3.

either harmonized "Lives of Jesus" or documents subject to influence from that tradition.[69]

Two avenues lie open for research. First, the industrious scholar could take an entire witness, such as the Venetian Harmony or Aphrahat, and excise every Gospel citation.[70] These would be checked against all variants in the canonical MS tradition in all relevant languages (Greek, Latin, Syriac, and the witness's vernacular), against all patristic citations prior to the source under examination, and against all other Diatessaronic witnesses. The result would be a profile of a particular witness's Gospel text and its agreements with other Diatessaronic witnesses. Where congruence is found, there the probable reading of the Diatessaron is found. A second possible approach would be to delimit an episode, such as the Sermon on the Mount or the Synoptic Apocalypse, and perform a similar analysis.[71] The result would be a reconstruction of the Diatessaron's text of that passage. An aspirant should, above all, immerse himself or herself in the history of Diatessaronic studies, for only by studying and critiquing the work of the giants — Zahn, Harris, Vogels, Plooij, Baumstark, Peters, Leloir, and others — can one hope to become a member of what Baesecke called "an order within an order."[72]

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69. I discuss these criteria and give examples of their application in my *Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus,* 55-67.

70. An example of this approach is Baarda's study of citations from John in *Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat.*

71. A team at the Vrije Universiteit van Amsterdam, under the direction of Baarda, is now using such an approach on the Sermon on the Mount; we eagerly await the results of their study.

72. G. Baesecke, *Die Überlieferung des althochdeutschen Tatian* (HM 4; Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1948) 3.

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CHAPTER 6

THE SYRIAC VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Tjitze Baarda

Introduction

A considerable degree of progress during the last fifty years is evident in the study of the Syriac versions. Even in the relatively short period since the publication of Professor Metzger's well-known vade mecum, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*,[1] additional evidence, MS and otherwise, has come to light, old conundrums have been resolved, and reliable critical editions (a long-standing *desideratum*) have been inaugurated. What follows here is not a detailed survey of the history of this progress and research since the *Early Versions;* other scholars such as B. Aland, J. N. Birdsall, S. P. Brock, and, in a different way, A. Vööbus, have presented surveys better than I am able to produce.[2] In this contribution I wish to offer instead a short survey of the development of the various Syriac versions of the Apostolos. A pair of verses, 1 Cor 1:27 and Heb 5:7, taken from two epistles for which we now can rely on excellent critical editions, will provide a suitable point of departure.[3]

1. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977); for the Syriac versions, see pp. 3-98. My copy, which I received from him as a present in 1977, has been a steady companion in my studies on textual criticism, a loyal guide that I always keep within reach.

2. B. Aland, "Die Übersetzungen ins Syrische, 2. Neues Testament," *TRE* 6.189-96; J. N. Birdsall, "The Recent History of New Testament Textual Criticism (from Westcott and Hort, 1881, to the present)," *ANRW* 2.26.1 (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992) 123-32; S. P. Brock, "Syriac Versions. B. New Testament," *ABD* 6.796-99; A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac II: New Contributions to the Sources Elucidating the History of the Traditions, with an Appendix: The Discovery of New Sources for the Archaic Text of the Book of Acts* (CSCO 496, Subsidia 79; Louvain: Peters, 1987) 1-34. An extensive earlier report was given by M. Black, "The Syriac Versional Tradition," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 120-59. For additional useful information, see chap. 14 by S. Brock in this volume.

3. B. Aland and A. Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung*, vol. 2: *Die Paulinischen Briefe*, part 1: *Römer- und 1. Korintherbrief* (ANTF 14; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991); M. E. Gudorf, "Research on the Early Syriac Text of the Epistle to the Hebrews" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1992). I will not give attention to the Syro-Palestinian text, since the lectionaries that are preserved lack lessons in which these two verses are found; moreover, this version is — in spite of its relationship with the Old Syriac and Peshitta — a version of its own, which deserves a broader discussion than I can present here.

Part I

1. A Patristic Variant Reading in 1 Cor 1:27

Mar Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron is not only of importance for the recovery of the text of that early Syriac Harmony but also of interest for knowledge of the early Syriac Pauline text. The sample that I present is in itself not very important, but it is illustrative. In his comment on the pericope of Nathanael's calling, Ephrem of Nisibis quotes the text of 1 Cor 1:27a in the following form:[4]

ܓܒܐ ܠܗ ܓܝܪ ܠܣܟ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ:.	"For — quoth — 'He chose the foolish of the world
ܕܢܒܗܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܚܟ̈ܝܡܐ:.	to shame by them the wise' "

This text, from the newly discovered folios of the Syriac version of the Commentary, agrees with the text we already knew through the Armenian translation, which reads: "He chose — it says — the foolish of the world, so that to-shame-he-put by them the wise."[5] One may compare this allusion with the Greek text of 1 Cor 1:27a-b:[6]

(1) ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός,
(2) ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφούς,
(3) καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός,
(4) ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά.

One should notice that the neuter τὰ μωρά was interpreted as referring to people (in his Commentary they are identified with the Galileans: ignorant people, who sit in darkness). The second variant reading is the addition of "by them" (ܒܗܘܢ; Arm. նոքաւք), which one might dismiss as an interpretative addition, if there was not a similar variation in another commentary ascribed to Ephrem.

In 1893 the Mechitarist Fathers published a Latin translation of an Armenian version containing a short commentary of Ephrem on the letters of Paul, in which the same verse is rendered thus:

(1) sed elegit indoctos,
(2) *ut* per eos *confundat sapientes* erroribus imbutos;
(3) *et infirmos elegit,*
(4) ut per eos *confundat* fortes a cupiditatibus conculcatos.[7]

Here again are the neuter words τὰ μωρά, τὰ ἀσθενῆ, and τὰ ἰσχυρά interpreted as referring to persons. But here also is the addition "by them" of line 2 (and in the

4. L. Leloir, *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709). Folios Additionnels* (CBM 8[b]; Louvain: Peeters, 1990) 34:21-22 [chap. IV:18 *in fine*].

5. L. Leloir, *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne* (CSCO 137, Arm. 1; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq and Peeters, 1953) 57:17-18.

6. B. Aland et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament* (4th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft/United Bible Societies, 1993) 569.

7. *S. Ephræm Syri Commentarii in Epistolas D. Pauli nunc primum ex Armeno in Latinum sermonem a Patribus Mekitharistis translati* (Venice: San Lazzaro Press, 1893) 50. The italics were apparently meant to denote the text commented on by Ephrem, but it is clear that it is far from being exhaustive, for one would expect also line 1 *(sed elegit indoctos)* and line 4 *(ut* and *fortes)* to be in italics.

parallellism of line 4). The Armenian text[8] reads here նոքօք (= նոքաւք, as in Leloir's text), the instrumental case: "by them," which in its turn suggests a Syriac wording ܒܗܘܢ. One may surmise now with some confidence that this phrase was part of the text known to Ephrem.[9]

Now we have additional testimony for the existence of the same reading in another fourth-century author, Aphrahat. In his long hortatory *Demonstration* (14:29), he quotes 1 Cor 1:27-30 as words of the Apostle.[10] The text of verse 27 reads there:

ܓܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܫܛܝܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ (1) God chose the fools of the world

ܕܢܒܗܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܚܟܝܡܐ (2) to shame by them the wise,

ܘܓܒܐ ܠܡܚܝܠܐ (3) and he chose the weak

ܕܢܒܗܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܥܫܝܢܐ. (4) to shame by them the strong.

The Armenian translator,[11] due to parablepsis, has preserved only lines 1 and 4, but in the fourth line he has the variant reading նոքաւք, "by them," which is also found in the Syriac text in both lines 2 and 4 (ܒܗܘܢ). Apart from the omission of the adversative ܐܠܐ (ἀλλά), which is natural in a quotation outside its context, Aphrahat agrees fully with Ephrem in his rendering of the text. This supports the idea that a fourth-century Syriac text contained the addition of ܒܗܘܢ, "by them."

A third witness to this reading is the author of the so-called *Liber Graduum*. In his twenty-seventh sermon (27:5),[12] he quotes a text different from those mentioned, but, in spite of that, he keeps the remarkable addition ܒܗܘܢ, "by them." The author writes that someone who lacks a good spiritual guide will be on the wrong track: he does not know how to pray; he is like a stupid *(idiot)* merchant (ܬܓܪܐ ܗܕܝܘܛܐ), who is incapable of organizing his affairs; everything he has gathered he looses by his stupidity *(idiocy)*. Perhaps one is tempted to say (with 1 Cor 1:27a) "God has chosen the *idiots* so that he will shame by them the wise." His quotation of that verse reads as follows:

ܓܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܗܕܝܘܛܐ (1) God chose the idiots

ܕܢܒܗܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܚܟܝܡܐ (2) to shame by them the wise

8. The text is given by J. Kerschensteiner, *Der altsyrische Paulustext* (CSCO 315, Subsidia 37; Louvain: CSCO, 1970) 34 (no. 109), 119 (v. 27a)-120 (v. 27b).

9. J. Molitor reconstructs the text in Greek as follows: αλλα εξελεξατο (ο θεος) τα (μωρα) . . . ινα καταισχυνη τους σοφους, και τα ασθενη . . . εξελεξατο . . . ινα καταισχυνη τα ισχυρα (*Der Paulustext des Hl. Ephräm aus seinem Armenisch erhaltenen Paulinenkommentar untersucht und rekonstruiert* [Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica 4; Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1938] 28). This text shows the inadequacy of his retranslation, for it follows the order of the presupposed Syriac text and presents the Greek neuter nouns that were not present in the Syriac text underlying the Armenian.

10. J. Parisot, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes* (*Patrologia Syriaca* I/1; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894) 648:7-13 (v. 27 is in lines 7-9); cf. Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 34, 119-20. Cf. the recent translations of M.-J. Pierre, *Aphraate le Sage Persan: Les Exposés*, 1 (SC 349; Paris: Cerf, 1988), and 2 (SC 359; Paris: Cerf, 1989) 650; P. Brun, *Aphrahat, Unterweisungen* 1-2 (FChr 5/1, 5/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1991), esp. 2.361 (Brun forgot to render "durch sie" in the fourth line).

11. G. Lafontaine, *La version arménienne des oeuvres d'Aphraate le Syrien*, vol. 3: *Démonstrations XIII-XIX* (CSCO 423, Arm. 11; Louvain: CSCO, 1980) 31:13-17 (v. 27 is in lines 13-14).

12. M. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum* (*Patrologia Syriaca* I/3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1926) 777:9-10, with the comments, 777:11-12.

The author forbids this abuse of the text by explaining it as follows: "These *idiots* [ܗܕܝ̈ܘܛܐ] whom God chose were *idiots* [ܗܕܝܘܛܝܢ] in earthly matters and were wise in heavenly matters."[13] In spite of the difference, "idiots" instead of "fools," his text still contains the words ܒܗܘܢ, "by them."

2. A Syriac Variant of the Peshitta in Heb 5:7

As a second sample I refer to the peculiar reading of the Syriac Vulgate found in Heb 5:7 that, although it had been noticed in earlier studies,[14] is now of special interest after the discovery and edition of Philoxenus's commentary on the Johannine prologue. The Peshitta reads:

ܐܦ ܟܕ ܒܣܪܐ ܠܒܝܫ ܗܘܐ	(1) ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ
ܒܥܘܬܐ ܘܬܟܫܦܬܐ	(2) δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας
ܒܓܥܬܐ ܚܣܝܢܬܐ ܘܒܕܡ̈ܥܐ	(3)
ܩܪܒ ܗܘܐ	(4)
ܠܘܬ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ	(5) πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον
ܡܢ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܚܝܘܗܝ	(6) σῴζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου
	(7) μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων
ܘܐܫܬܡܥ	(8) προσενέγκας καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς
	(9) ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, . . .[15]

What one can easily discover here are the partly idiomatic differences between Greek and Syriac, such as the latter's finite verbs instead of the Greek participles, and singular nouns (in line 2) instead of the plural.[16] There is also a different interpretation of the position of the last Greek words here (line 9), which the Syriac text combines with the next verse. The greatest difference, however, occurs in the first line, where

13. It is, as far as I can see, the only passage in the *Liber Graduum* where these words (*idiots, idiocy*) are used frequently; the only other passage is found in the thirtieth sermon (30:1; Kmosko, *Liber Graduum*, 861:8), where a combination of ܫܛܝܘܬܐ and ܗܕܝܘܛܘܬܐ occurs, which has been attributed to Philoxenus (R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* [2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1879-1901] 1.974).

14. Cf., e.g., J. W. Reusch, *Syrus Interpres cum fonte Novi Testamenti Graeco collatus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1741) 289; J. Wichelhaus, *De Novi Testamenti Versione Syriaca Antiqua quam Peschitho vocant libri quattuor* (Halle: Orphanotrophaeum, 1850) 327.

15. Gudorf, "Research," 78.

16. H. von Soden reckons sy^{p} among the witnesses (Ia1 200, b1 206, 2 d260, c1 158, J1) that have omitted τε in δεησεις τε και ικετηριας (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 2: *Der Text* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913] 806). Preferable is the view of C. Tischendorf, who adds to his listing of MSS that omit τε (K o^{scr} 52 115 121 al pauc Did$^{tri\ 403}$) the following notation: "(nec exprim d e f vg syr^{sch} cop basm arm aeth)" (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, 2 [8th ed.; Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1872] 795).

the rendering "Even when he was clad with flesh" (or: ". . . had put on flesh") is surprising and deserves attention.

Part II

1. The Old Syriac Version[17]

The agreement among Ephrem, Aphrahat, and the author of the *Liber Graduum* suggests that there was in the fourth century a Syriac text of the Apostolos that may have been read in the churches while the Diatessaron was still the dominant Gospel text. Accepting such an Old Syriac text of Acts and the Pauline corpus is now a commonplace among textual critics, even though no remnant has been found in any MS.[18] The case was quite different with respect to the Old Syriac Gospel; there sy^{c} and sy^{s} presented a text clearly different from the Peshitta, one having much in common with the quotations in the *Liber Graduum* and the works of Aphrahat and Ephrem. One had ample reason, therefore, to assume that these two MSS represented an Old Syriac version of the Gospels that exhibited a relatively large amount of Diatessaronic readings. No such MS support has ever been found for the Apostolos. In view of the above agreements, however, it is quite probable that there was once also an early Old Syriac text of Paul's letters.

1 Cor 1:27

If we now return to 1 Cor 1:27 we may perhaps reconstruct the hypothetical Old Syriac text of this verse as follows:

[ܐܠܐ] ܓܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܣܟ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ	(1) "But God chose the fools of the world
ܕܢܒܗܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܚ̈ܟܝܡܐ	(2) to shame by them the wise.
ܘܓܒܐ ܟܪ̈ܝܗܐ	(3) And he chose the weak
ܕܢܒܗܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܫ̈ܠܝܛܢܐ	(4) to shame by them the strong."

This wording is based mainly on the texts found in Aphrahat (Aph) and Ephrem (Eph), and partly on that of *Liber Graduum (LG)*. I will discuss their specific contribution and the value of their text for the Greek text. In line 1 one may note the following:

17. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 36-48; Aland, "Übersetzungen"; Brock, "Syriac Versions," 796; Birdsall, "Recent History," 123-24; Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 68-69, 269-70.

18. Cf. J. H. Ropes, "Old Syriac," in *The Beginnings of Christianity, I: The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 3: *The Text of Acts*, by J. H. Ropes (ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake; London: Macmillan, 1926) cxlviii; F. C. Conybeare, "The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts," in *Text of Acts*, 373-453. For the study of the Old Syriac Paul see esp. Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, whose discussion and bibliography are very useful; see also A. F. J. Klijn, "A Note on Ephrem's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles," *JTS* 5 (1954) 76-78.

a. The omission of ܐܠܐ (= ἀλλά) in Aph, *LG*, and Eph (1/2) is caused by the fact that the verse is quoted outside its context.

b. The position of ܓܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ (= ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός) at the beginning of the sentence is idiomatic.

c. ܠܣܟ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ (obj.), "the foolish ones of the world," presents an interpretation of τὰ μωρά as referring to persons.

One variant occurs in line 2:

d. The phrase ܕܢܒܗܬ (= ἵνα καταισχύνῃ) is, as we have seen, supplied with ܒܗܘܢ, "by them," indicating that the foolish are instruments of God.

In line 3 one may observe:

e. The explicit subject (ὁ θεός) is apparently omitted in the Old Syriac.[19]

f. The Old Syriac version (cf. Eph, Aph) apparently omits τοῦ κόσμου.[20]

g. Again the personal interpretation occurs: "the ill/weak ones," for τὰ ἀσθενῆ.

Finally, in line 4:

h. The translator added here, as in line 2, an instrumental ܒܗܘܢ, "by them."

My reconstruction of the hypothetical text of the Old Syriac form is only tentative. For although the text of the *Liber Graduum* agrees to a large extent, it also deviates in one respect. Where Ephrem *(Comm. Diat.)* and Aphrahat read "the foolish *of the world*" (ܠܣܟ̈ܠܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ), the *Liber Graduum* presented the variant reading "idiots" (ܠܗܕܝ̈ܘܛܐ). Now this is an unusual word in the *Liber Graduum*, almost being restricted to the passage in which this quotation is given. One cannot deny that this may have been the reading that the author knew from his text of Corinthians. If that is so, one might have two different types of Old Syriac text, just as sy[s] and sy[c] are different versions or recensions of one and the same text. One might even go a step further and ask whether the form in the *Liber Graduum* could have preserved the original form of the Old Syriac "Apostle" here. I have already mentioned that in the third line the Old Syriac might have read "the sick/weak ones," omitting τοῦ κόσμου. Is it possible that the early translator responsible for the Old Syriac text wished to prevent any suggestion that the foolish and weak ones that God chose had anything to do with "the world," and therefore preferred to omit it also in the first line? The word ܗܕܝ̈ܘܛܐ may have been chosen because (1) it was used as a characterization of the apostles in Acts 4:13, and (2) it could not only mean "stupid" or "foolish" (like ܣܟܠܐ) but might have as well the connotation "simple" or "untaught." If this reading "idiots" instead of "fools of the world" was the original Old Syriac — and the Pauline commentary ascribed to Ephrem, "sed elegit *indoctos*," might support it — then we have here in the *Liber Graduum*, and perhaps in Ephrem *(Comm. Paul.)*, the original reading, which in its turn, in a different recension, was assimilated to the Greek text. This recension was known to Aphrahat and also to Ephrem *(Comm. Diat.)*.

Heb 5:7

In the sample I presented the text of the Peshitta, which differed from the Greek text in several details. Can one discover an Old Syriac text of the verse in the *Liber*

19. Cf. Kerschensteiner: "eine wirkliche Variante" (*Paulustext*, 119).

20. Ibid.

Graduum? The eighteenth sermon, entitled "On the Tears of Prayer,"[21] has an exhortation to struggle against sin with prayer, as our Lord has done before us and had shown us that

ܒܩܥܬܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܝܬܐ ܘܒܕܡ̈ܥܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܬܐ	[a] "with strong shouting and many tears
ܩܪܒ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܥܘܬܐ	[b] Jesus offered a supplication
ܠܗܘ ܕܡܦܨܐ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܐ	[c] to him who delivers him from death
ܘܐܫܬܡܥ ܘܐܬܓܡܪ	[d] and he has been heard (5:7) and has become perfected (5:9)."

This allusion does not allow one to make firm statements about the Old Syriac form of the text. It agrees with the Peshitta text in the finite verb [b], the singular "supplication" [b] instead of the plural δεήσεις; it abbreviates the text in [c] and uses a different verb. It is remarkable that the tears have become *many* in this reference [a];[22] in the same context the author writes: "and this 'that our Lord shouted with strength and was afflicted in prayer — and his sweat *became* as it were drops of blood (Luke 22:44) — and shed *many* tears,' was to show us. . . ."[23] One might ask whether *many* was part of the Old Syriac version.

Another passage, found in the twenty-third *Demonstration* ascribed to Aphrahat, deserves consideration.[24] When Jesus, in his prayers in Gethsemane, asked his Father that the cup might pass him, he was not heard, "For if he was heard when He asked to be saved *from death, while he was clad with* a body. . . ." I have the impression that Aphrahat has combined here, in his argumentation, an element of the Gethsemane episode with words taken from Heb 5:7. If that is so, we have here an interesting example of an Old Syriac reading, in which — just as is the case in John 1:14 — σάρξ was still rendered with ܦܓܪܐ, "body," not yet with ܒܣܪܐ, "flesh."[25] The latter word was introduced then by the reviser of this Old Syriac text when he created the Syriac Vulgate.

2. *The Peshitta*[26]

The 1901 text-critical edition of the Peshitta Gospels for which G. H. Gwilliam was mainly responsible was not followed by a critical edition of the remainder of the Peshitta NT, in spite of the efforts of Gwilliam (d. 1913) and his associate J. Pinkerton (d. 1916).

21. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum*, 431-44, esp. 437:4-7.

22. Cf. for *many* tears 2 Cor 2:4, and the addition of *many* in Acts 20:19 in some MSS (including C H L P arm).

23. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum*, 437:12-15.

24. Parisot, *Demonstrationes* (*Patrologia Syriaca* I/2; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907) 32:2-4.

25. For a discussion see T. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, vol. 1: *Aphrahat's Text of the Fourth Gospel* (D.Th. dissertation, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 1975) 64-66, 421-22.

26. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 48-63; Aland, "Übersetzungen," 191-92; Brock, "Syriac Versions," 796-97; Birdsall, "Recent History," 130; Metzger, *Text*, 69-70.

Their text, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1920, became more or less standard. A new edition with an extensive and reliable *apparatus criticus* has since then been a long-felt desideratum, but it is only due to the stimulating pioneer activity of A. Vööbus that several of his pupils inaugurated studies on various NT books with a particular interest in the Peshitta textual tradition. These include the Captivity letters (Knappe), Romans (Buck), Thessalonians (Ross), Acts 1–2 (McConaughy), and more recently Hebrews (Gudorf).[27] Gudorf could apply to his edition of the text the exemplary pattern and format of the editions of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung at Münster, Germany, which comprise up till now the large Catholic epistles of James, 1 Peter, and 1 John, and two Pauline letters, Romans and 1 Corinthians.[28] I expect that these last two editions will become indicative for future studies and editions of the Syriac Bible, especially on account of their most valuable introductions and appendices. But I hope that besides this German achievement, students of the late Vööbus will continue to collate the mass of Peshitta MSS to which they have access. Whereas the German editions are based on respectively nine and twelve rather early MSS, the American edition of Gudorf registers for his collation no less than sixty MSS, mostly dating from the early sixth century up to the late twelfth century.

1 Cor 1:27

As far as the sample 1 Cor 1:27 is concerned, the edition of Aland and Juckel has the following text of the Peshitta:

ܐܠܐ ܓܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܣܟܠܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ	(1) "but God chose the fools of the world
ܕܢܒܗܬ ܠܚ̈ܟܝܡܐ.	(2) to shame the wise
ܘܓܒܐ ܟܪ̈ܝܗܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ	(3) and he chose the weak of the world
ܕܢܒܗܬ ܠܥ̈ܫܝܢܐ.	(4) to shame the strong."[29]

This is a fairly adequate rendering of the text, but it maintains the idiomatic transpositions in lines 1 and 3, omits the subject (ὁ θεός, ܐܠܗܐ) in the third line,[30] and has the "personal" interpretation of the *neutra*. It lacks the addition of the Old Syriac

27. W. D. Knappe, "The Captivity Letters in the Syriac Tradition" (Ph.D. dissertation, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1977); E. Buck, "Manuscript Studies in the Syriac Versions of Romans" (Ph.D. dissertation, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1978); A. M. Ross, "Studies in the Thessalonian Epistles in Syriac" (Ph.D. dissertation, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1983); D. L. McConaughy, "Research on the Early History of the Syriac Text of Acts Chapter One and Two" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1985); M. E. Gudorf, "Research on the Early Syriac Text of the Epistle to the Hebrews" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1992).

28. B. Aland (and A. Juckel), *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung*, vol. 1: *Die grossen katholischen Briefe* (ANTF 7; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986); B. Aland and A. Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung*, vol. 2: *Die Paulinischen Briefe, part 1: Römer- und 1. Korintherbrief* (ANTF 14; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991).

29. Aland and Juckel, *Römer- und 1. Korintherbrief*, 290.

30. Cf. J. W. Reusch, *Syrus Interpres cum Fonte Novi Testamenti Graeco collatus* (Leipzig, 1741) 227.

ܒܗܘܢ, "by them," that occurs in the patristic quotations. This text confirms the common idea that the Peshitta was nothing more than a kind of recension of an Old Syriac text based on some Greek text, analogous to the Vulgate, being a recension of an Old Latin text.

The testimony of the Peshitta tradition presents another parallel with the Latin: just as in the Latin tradition, where later on the Vulgate text was influenced again by the Old Latin, one finds also in the Peshitta tradition influences of the preceding Old Syriac text: in a rather early Peshitta MS (B.M. Add. 14.480, dating from ca. A.D. 600), again the addition ܒܗܘܢ occurs, though in the second line only.[31]

Heb 5:7

The second sample was taken from the Peshitta. Its MSS hardly differ, except for the introductory ܐܦ ܟܕ, "even when," "also when," where some codices read ܟܕ ܐܦ, and others ܐܦ ܟܕ ܗܘ.[32] One might consider the possibility that the *Vorlage* of sy^{p} read ἄν after ὅς like Greek MS D (cf. ܗܘܐ), or that the reviser read ὅτε instead of ὅς (cf. ܟܕ). As to the most surprising variant, one might conjecture that the ultimate source for the Peshitta rendering with ܠܒܝܫ, "clad" or "clothed," was a misreading of ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις as ἐν τοῖς ἱματίοις. The words τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ may, as already mentioned, have been rendered in Old Syriac with ܦܓܪܐ, and may have been corrected in the Peshitta to ܒܣܪܐ.

3. The Philoxenian Version[33]

Our knowledge of the Philoxenian translation is restricted, since it is not easy to distinguish between the later revision by Thomas of Harkel and the original work of Polycarp, who was charged with making a new translation by Philoxenus of Mabbug. That Philoxenus charged his chorepiscopus with such a translation was already known from the colophons of the Harklean version but is now also confirmed by Philoxenus's own observation in his commentary on the prologue of John.[34] After he has dealt with the famous variant reading in Heb 2:9 (χωρὶς θεοῦ *loco* χάριτι θεοῦ),[35] Philoxenus blames the Nestorians for the "correction." Because he found the "heretical" reading also in the Peshitta, he continues by saying that those who had translated the text earlier (i.e., those responsible for the Peshitta) had, often voluntarily or out of ignorance, produced a lot of mistranslations: "And because of this we also have taken up the burden that the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament

31. Cf. Aland and Juckel, *Römer- und 1. Korintherbrief*, 290n.3.

32. For the former see BM 7160, Paris 47 & 48, Vat. 470; for the latter, Oxf. 623, Oxf. e. 6, Konat 104, Man. 2527, Tiruv. 4 (Gudorf, "Research," 78).

33. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 63-68; Aland, "Übersetzungen," 192-93; Brock, "Syriac Versions," 797-98; Birdsall, "Recent History," 131; Metzger, *Text*, 70-71.

34. A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog, Commentaire du prologue johannique (Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,534)* (CSCO 380, Syr. 156; Louvain: CSCO, 1977) 53:11-17 (Syr.).

35. S. P. Brock, "Hebrews 2:9b in Syriac Tradition," *NovT* 27 (1985) 236-44; Gudorf, "Research," 198-222; cf. J. K. Elliott, "'When Jesus was apart from God': An Examination of Hebrews 2,9," *ExpTim* 83 (1972) 339-41.

should once again be translated from Greek into Syriac."[36] He illustrates the apparent wrong translations by referring to Heb 5:7 (below) and 10:5.[37]

1 Cor 1:27

Philoxenus, in one of his Discourses,[38] quotes part of the text in the following way: ܓܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܣܟܠܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܒܗܬ ܠܚܟܝܡܘܗܝ "God chose the fools of the world to shame its wise," in agreement with the Peshitta (ܐܠܐ omitted because it is quoted outside its context; "*its* wise," that is, the wise men of the world, is interpretative). There is reason to assume that this case is one of the many examples in which Philoxenus quotes either the Peshitta text or even an Old Syriac text or a mixture of both. Unfortunately, the many references to this Pauline verse in his commentary on the Johannine prologue do not include a formal quotation of its text.[39] Philoxenus clearly knew the Peshitta wording with ܟܪܝܗܐ for τὰ ἀσθενῆ (§30), but to our surprise he usually contrasts, in a sort of wordplay, ܚܝܠܬܢܐ, "strong," with ܡܚܝܠܐ, "weak" (cf. §§30, 62 [twice]),[40] and once ܚܟܝܡܐ, "wise," with ܣܟܠܐ, "stupid, foolish" (§62).[41]

Heb 5:7

In his sample of a less fortunate translation of the Greek in the Peshitta, Philoxenus himself presents a Syriac text of this verse that does justice to the Greek text of the Apostolos. His rendering reads:

ܗܘ ܕܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܒܣܪܗ	(1) ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ
ܒ̈ܥܘܬܐ ܘܬܟܫܦ̈ܬܐ	(2) δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας
ܠܘܬ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ	(3) πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον
ܕܢܚܝܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܐ	(4) σῴζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου
ܩܥܬܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܝܬܐ ܘܕܡܥ̈ܐ	(5) μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ δακρύων
ܩܪܒ.	(6) προσενέγκας. . . .[42]

36. The quotation is in De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 53:15-17.

37. Cf. S. Brock, "The Resolution of the Philoxenian/Harclean Problem," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 329.

38. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 458-519*, 1-2 (London: Asher, 1893-94) 1:82.13 (mentioned by Aland and Juckel, *Römer- und 1. Korintherbrief*, 290).

39. De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 30:23-25 [§12], 72:8-10 [§30], 151:18-20 [§61], 153:10, 17-18 [§62].

40. This is the reading in the Harklean version (see below).

41. This may have been the word in the Syriac Palestinian version; unfortunately we have no lesson with the text of 1 Cor 1:26-31. In Lesson 79, however, the key words are ܚܟܡܬܐ and ܣܟܠܘ ("wisdom" and "foolishness") (A. Smith Lewis, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary* [StSin 6; London: J. C. Clay & Sons, 1897] 115-16).

42. Cf. De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 53; Brock, "Resolution," 329, 330-31.

Compared with the Peshitta, this text agrees closely with the Greek text; the sentence follows the Greek word for word. What may surprise us is that Philoxenus uses the verb ܦܓܐ (= *LG*) instead of ܐܡܪ (syp) and reads ܡܚܠܬܐ instead of ܒܚܠܬܐ (*LG*, syp). Because this is a quotation, we cannot be certain that this was the text in Philoxenus's translation, but we know that this form of text would have been the one that he opted for as an exact rendering of the Greek text.

4. The Harklean Version[43]

The version of Thomas of Harkel was admittedly a new collation of the Philoxenian text with some Greek MSS and a revision of the Philoxenian with the intent to create a Syriac text that was a most literal representative of the underlying Greek text. Since the studies of Sebastian Brock and Barbara Aland have sufficiently discussed the true nature of this revision, here I may address only the form of the text in the two passages under discussion.

1 Cor 1:27

The Harklean version does credit to its reputation as a slavish translation, for it formulates the verse in the following word-for-word rendering:

ܐܠܐ ܠܫܛܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	(1) ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου
ܓܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ	(2) ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός,
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܢܒܗܬ ܠܚܟܝܡܐ	(3) ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφούς,
ܘܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܝܠܝܢ[44] [ܕܥܠܡܐ]	(4) καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου
ܓܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ	(5) ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός,
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܢܒܗܬ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܚܝܠܬܢܝܢ	(6) ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά.[45]

The syntax follows the Greek pattern; the ambivalent -ܕ, which could mean ὅτι, ὅς, or ἵνα, has been replaced by the unambiguous -ܕ ܐܝܟܢܐ (= ἵνα).

Heb 5:7

The Harklean text of the second passage reads:

ܗܘ ܕܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ	(1) He who in the days of the flesh of his
ܘܒܥܘܬܐ ܘܬܟܫܦܬܐ	(2) *and* prayers *and* supplications

43. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 68-75; Aland, "Übersetzungen," 193-94; Aland (and Juckel), *Die grossen katholischen Briefe*, 7-13, 41-90, 111-27; Aland and Juckel, *Römer- und 1. Korintherbrief*, 22-46; Brock, "Syriac Versions," 798; Birdsall, "Recent History," 131; Metzger, *Text*, 70-71.

44. For the text, see Aland and Juckel, *Römer- und 1. Korintherbrief*, 290; for the Greek text, see their discussion of "Die Rückübersetzung der Harklensis (mit Kollation der griechischen Handschriften 1505, 1611, 2495)" (pp. 559-98, esp. 581).

45. H1 (the Oxford MS New College 333, in the Bodleian) omits the words "of the world"; cf. Aland and Juckel, *Römer- und 1. Korintherbrief*, 290, 581 (cf. 15-16).

ܠܘܬ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ	(3) toward him who is able
ܕܢܚܝܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܐ	(4) to save him from death,
ܥܡ ܩܥܬܐ ܚܣܝܢܬܐ ܘܕܡܥܐ	(5) with mighty crying and tears
ܩܪܒ ܘܟܕ ܐܫܬܡܥ . .	(6) he offered. And while he was heard. . . .[46]

If one would assume that the rendering registered here for Philoxenus was indeed identical with the text that his translator Polycarp presented in this verse, then one might be able to detect the corrections that Thomas of Harkel had made. Lines 2-3 agree with Philoxenus's rendering, except that Thomas added a copulative *waw* at the beginning of line 2, in order to express the Greek τε καί more correctly. In line 1 he follows Philoxenus, except for the over-correction ܕܝܠܗ = αὐτοῦ (for ܗ-) that is characteristic of the Harklean. In line 5 the unambiguous ܥܡ = μετά occurs, instead of the usual Syriac rendering with ܒ-. Remarkable is the rendering of σῴζειν in line 4.[47]

Conclusion

Two verses from the text of the Apostolos have provided an occasion to trace the development of the respective Syriac versions from the Old Syriac to the Harklean. My choice of the Apostolos was deliberate, since in chapter 5 of this volume William L. Petersen presents the problems of the earliest Syriac Gospel text, the Diatessaron, its influence on the Old Syriac Gospels, and its later replacement by the more official Peshitta Gospels. In the case of the text of the Apostolos I am inclined to follow the hypothesis launched by several scholars that there existed an Old Syriac text of the *Corpus Paulinum*.[48] One may even be tempted to conjecture that this Old Syriac text of the Apostolos (Acts and Paul) was from the very beginning the second part of the Syriac NT whose first part consisted of the Diatessaron Gospel.

The choice of only two verses was more or less random. It is impossible to deduce from them firm conclusions as to the character of the Pauline text in the Old Syriac version. One can see, however, from the rendering in 1 Cor 1:27 that its text was not a very strict rendering of its Greek *Vorlage:* it seems to have omitted the subject "God" once, it correctly interpreted the Greek *neutra* as referring to persons, and it twice added the words "by them" to make clear what the text meant to say. One might label such a translation as "free." At the same time we discovered that in spite of the strong agreement among the various references to this verse in the early Syriac authors, their wording also differed. This suggests that variations existed among the MSS in the fourth century, just as is the case between sy^c and sy^s in the Gospels.

The Peshitta is to some extent a revision of the Old Syriac text. It is clear,

46. Besides the text in Gudorf, cf. Brock, "Resolution," 330.

47. On the differences in the rendering of the verb between the Harklean, Philoxenus, and Peshitta, see Brock, "Resolution," 330n.27.

48. Cf. Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," 133-39 (see esp. his remarks on 1 Cor 1:27, p. 137); Metzger, *Early Versions*, 43-44; and the literature mentioned by them.

however, that it was not a thorough one. It preserved the idiom of its predecessor and made only a few corrections of its text, for example, the deletion of "by them" in 1 Cor 1:27, the supression of "many," and the (theological?) change of "body" into "flesh" in Heb 5:7. The overall impression is that the Peshitta was only a slightly revised form of some Old Syriac MS.

The Philoxenian version was a conscious attempt to render the Greek text in a form that closely followed the Greek wording and idiom, in order to avoid the misunderstandings to which the Peshitta could give rise, especially in cases where a christological issue was at stake. For example, it changed the Peshitta reading "when he was clad with flesh" (Old Syriac: "body") into a text that conformed with the Greek "in the days of his flesh" (Heb 5:7). The Harklean text followed the pattern of the Philoxenian version, but overdid it by its mannerisms that often violated Syriac idiom. It is probable that these Monophysite scholars (Philoxenus and Thomas of Harkel) created these word-for-word translations for theological purposes, because the Peshitta was suspected of deliberate or unintentional "Nestorianisms." It seems certain that the first of these two scholarly translations did not receive widespread usage. But its translation principles were taken over and developed in the second one, whose text was apparently more successful, since it has been preserved in a number of MSS. The Peshitta, however, remained the standard version of all the Syriac-speaking churches, not only of the Nestorians but also of the Monophysite Jacobites.

Bibliography 1977-1993

The preceding contribution has provided an opportunity to refer to several new and most important studies in the field of the Syriac NT tradition. Unfortunately it was not possible to give due attention to every study that I found in my files. Nor were my files quite as exhaustive as they might have been. But the following bibliography is at least an attempt to give the reader an idea of studies that have been published since Metzger's *Early Versions*.

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CHAPTER 7

THE LATIN VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT*

Jacobus H. Petzer

It is probably fair to say that more progress has been made in research on the Latin version during the past half century than in research on any other version of the NT. This is no doubt mainly due to the contribution to this field of study by the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron, Germany. Since its inception almost half a century ago, this institute has not only undertaken research on the Old Latin (OL) Bible but also coordinated and stimulated research in this area. This institute has had an immense influence on NT textual criticism and made an incalculable contribution to this discipline.[1] Consequently, a discussion of the Latin version is for the most part also a discussion of the work of the Vetus Latina Institute. I will treat the subject in four parts, the first surveying the most important contributions to the research of the Latin Bible, followed by an evaluation of the progress made during the past fifty years. The third part examines the value of the Latin version for the history of the Greek text, and the last suggests areas for further research.

I. Editions and Literature

1. The Vetus Latina Institute

The Vetus Latina Institute was established in the 1950s at the Benedictine Monastery in Beuron, Germany, by Bonifatius Fischer.[2] It can be seen as a logical consequence of work done at this monastery earlier in the century. The name of Alban Dold, famous for his deciphering of palimpsests, immediately comes to mind, as does the name of Josef Denk, Dold's predecessor, who was largely responsible for the estab-

1. This is apparent not only from the editions of the OL text prepared at the institute (see discussion below), but also from the fact the institute has directly or indirectly been involved in many other projects, such as the building of the apparatuses of NA^{26}, the UBS series, and the IGNTP volumes on Luke and John, the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate, and the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae project, to mention a few.

2. For a survey of the work of this institute, see their annual *Arbeitsbericht;* also G. Haendler, "Zur Arbeit an altlateinischen Bibelübersetzungen," *TLZ* 114 (1989) 1-12.

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lishment of the citation index (which now includes more than a million cards recording citations from and allusions to the Bible in Latin). Following these earlier developments Fischer established the Vetus Latina Institute with the purpose of giving the world a new Sabatier.[3] Preparatory work for this edition included the constant update of the citation index as well as the building of a collection of microfilms of the important Latin MSS.

The series started with the edition of the OL text of Genesis by Fischer in 1951 and a description of the OL MSS and Latin ecclesiastical writings.[4] This was followed by the first edition of a NT text, that of the Catholic epistles by Walter Thiele, the first fascicle of which appeared in 1956.[5] The next edition was by Hermann Josef Frede, who published his first fascicle of the text of Ephesians in 1962.[6] Frede has since published the texts of Hebrews and all the Pauline epistles except Romans, the Corinthian epistles, and Galatians.[7] He also updated the information on the Church Fathers.[8]

Recent developments at the Institute brought new personnel, which means that a number of new projects are currently in progress. Regarding the NT, work is under way on four more books: Romans by Hugo S. Eymann, 1 Corinthians by Uwe Fröhlich, Revelation by Gerhard Balharek, and Acts by the present author.[9] It is clear that the NT is in a fairly healthy position as regards these editions: work remains to be done on the four Gospels, 2 Corinthians, and Galatians.[10]

3. Petrus Sabatier was the first scholar to give comprehensive and detailed attention to the OL Bible with his edition of the OL biblical text in 1743. Since this edition, however, great advances have been made with regard to the discovery of material, which created the need for a new edition of the OL text. This need led to the establishment of the Vetus Latina Institut in Beuron. The attachment of the Vetus Latina series in Beuron to Sabatier's work is clearly visible from the title and subtitle of the series: Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und in Verbindung mit der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron.

4. *Genesis* (ed. B. Fischer; Vetus Latina 2; Freiburg: Herder, 1951-54); B. Fischer, *Verzeichnis der Sigel für Handschriften und Kirchenschriftsteller* (Vetus Latina 1; Freiburg: Herder, 1949).

5. *Epistulae Catholicae* (ed. Walter Thiele; Vetus Latina 26/1; Freiburg: Herder, 1956-69).

6. *Epistula ad Ephesios* (ed. H. J. Frede; Vetus Latina 24/1; Freiburg: Herder, 1962-64).

7. *Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses* (Vetus Latina 24/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1966-71); *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos* (Vetus Latina 25; Freiburg: Herder, 1975-91); both edited by H. J. Frede.

8. H. J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel* (Vetus Latina 1/1; Freiburg: Herder, 1981). The information was updated by two *Aktualisierungshefte* in 1984 and 1988. Frede is currently preparing the much-needed update of the MS information.

9. The text of 2 Corinthians was studied by H. Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altlateinischen Überlieferung des zweiten Korintherbriefes* (BBB 16; Bonn: Hanstein, 1960).

10. Also the OT is currently getting a fair amount of attention. The first edition of an OT text since the edition of Genesis appeared in 1977 when the first fascicle of the text of *Sapientia Salomonis* was published by Walter Thiele (Vetus Latina 11/1). In the process of publication are *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)* (Vetus Latina 11/2), also by Thiele, *Isaiah* (Vetus Latina 12) by Roger Gryson of the Centre de recherches sur la Bible latine, Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve in Belgium, and *Canticum Canticorum* by Eva Schulz-Flügel (Vetus Latina 10/3). In preparation are the editions of *Exodus* (Vetus Latina 3/1) by Rudolf Dietzfelbinger, *Judith* (Vetus Latina 7/2) by Pierre-Maurice Bogaert (from the Centre de recherches in Louvain-la-Neuve), and *1 Samuel* (Vetus Latina 5/1) by Ciriaca Morano of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas in Madrid, Spain.

What do these editions look like? Their overarching goal is to present as comprehensive and as detailed a picture as possible of the evidence concerning the (Old) Latin Bible up to the ninth century. Consequently the editions include the readings of all Latin MSS with an at least predominantly OL text and all Vulgate (Vg) MSS up to the ninth century. In a patristic apparatus every citation from and allusion to the Latin Bible in ecclesiastical writings up to this time are recorded in full. The citations are taken from specific editions of the writings, prescribed in the *Sigelliste*[11] and include the variation in the MSS of these writings recorded in the apparatuses of the editions. The lemma of the edition does not follow a single reconstructed text but presents the text in the forms in which it was transmitted in its history. Consequently a number of lines of text, each representing a text-type in the history of the OL version, run across each page of the editions. These texts are not reconstructed and therefore not eclectic. Rather a single extant witness, which best represents that specific text-type, is chosen for the purpose and its text is used as the lemma for that specific text-type. If no witness to a specific type is available, nothing is printed. The lemma also includes all the variation recorded from the MSS and patristic evidence in small print below each line of text, so that the user has a clear overview of the variation in the history of the specific text-type. The critical apparatus records the witnesses that contain each reading. Each edition is accompanied by a detailed introduction that contains discussions of each MS referred to in the edition, the most important ecclesiastical writings, and the text-types identified in the history of that specific book.

Apart from the texts there is also a monograph series, which contains contributions to the history of the Latin Bible of various kinds, often on detailed aspects of the editions for which there is no place in the already lengthy introductions.[12] Mention must be made of the works of Fischer in this series, which emphasize the great contribution of this scholar to this discipline. Two of these works discuss various aspects of the history of the Latin version and the Latin MSS.[13] In them he describes and discusses hundreds of Latin MSS, assisting in the important task of bringing order to the almost unmanageable number of Latin biblical MSS. Also his four volumes of computerized classifications of the Latin MSS of the Gospels are important.[14] These volumes contain a classification of the texts of more than 450 Latin

11. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller*.

12. *Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel* (GLB). See, e.g., W. Thiele, *Wortschatzuntersuchungen zu den lateinischen Texten der Johannesbriefe* (GLB 2; Freiburg: Herder, 1958); idem, *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes* (GLB 5; Freiburg: Herder, 1965); H. J. Frede, *Pelagius, der irische Paulustext, Sedulius Scottus* (GLB 3; Freiburg: Herder, 1961); idem, *Altlateinische Paulushandschriften* (GLB 4; Freiburg: Herder, 1964).

13. B. Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter* (GLB 11; Freiburg: Herder, 1985); idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte* (GLB 12; Freiburg: Herder, 1986).

14. B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1: *Varianten zu Matthäus* (GLB 13; Freiburg: Herder, 1988); vol. 2: *Varianten zu Markus* (GLB 15; 1989); vol. 3: *Varianten zu Lukas* (GLB 17; 1990); vol. 4: *Varianten zu Johannes* (GLB 18; 1991); idem, "Zur Überlieferung des lateinischen Textes der Evangelien," in *Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Bible Latine: Colloque organisé à Louvain-la-Neuve pour la promotion de H. J. Frede au doctorat* honoris causa *en théologie le 18 avril 1986* (ed. R. Gryson and P.-M. Bogaert; Cahiers de la Revue Théologique de Louvain 19; Louvain-la-Neuve: Faculté de Théologie, 1987) 51-104.

MSS of the Gospels by means of a sample method and thus represent the most comprehensive analysis of the Latin Gospel text to date. The four volumes that have thus far appeared merely list the readings and MS groupings, but Fischer is currently preparing a monograph that will explain the classifications in more detail. Finally, one of the most important and influential contributions to the research on the Latin Bible is the *Festschrift* for Frede and Thiele.[15] It contains more than seven hundred pages of articles by almost forty scholars on numerous aspects of Latin Christianity.

2. Other Contributions

In addition to the work of the Vetus Latina Institute, in particular two other editions of Latin texts require mention. The first is Kurt Aland's revisions of Adolf Jülicher's editions of the OL Gospel MSS.[16] These editions do not have any critical apparatus nor do they refer the reader to any patristic sources; they are restricted to the MSS. The information is contained in a text arranged in two lines, one for the African and one for the European text, with the variants in the OL Gospel MSS given in smaller print below each line of text. These texts are currently the best-available editions of the Latin Gospels, pending the completion of the Gospels in the Vetus Latina series.

The second is the Stuttgart edition of the Vg,[17] edited on the model of the UBS editions of the Greek text by an international and interdenominational team of scholars. This text is widely regarded as the best representative of Jerome's version to date. A more comprehensive edition of the Vg with a fuller apparatus has been for some years now under way in Rome.[18] When the NT finally appears in this series, it will probably replace that stalwart of Vg editions by Wordsworth and White.[19]

Finally, as far as discussions of the Latin version are concerned, two more recent discussions stand out. The first is Bruce Metzger's treatment of the subject in his survey of the early versions of the NT,[20] wherein one can find, among other things, good descriptions of the OL MSS as well as a good survey of the literature on the subject. The second is by Fischer in Aland's book on the early versions, which focuses more on the methodological and material developments.[21] Also his essays

15. *Philologia Sacra. Studien zu Bibel und Kirchenvätern für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, vol. 1: *Altes und Neues Testament;* vol. 2: *Apokryphen, Kirchenväter, Verschiedenes* (ed. R. Gryson; GLB 24-25; Freiburg: Herder, 1993).

16. A. Jülicher, W. Matzkow, and K. Aland, eds., *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, vol. 1: *Matthäus-Evangelium* (2d ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972); vol. 2: *Marcus-Evangelium* (2d ed.; 1970); vol. 3: *Lucas-Evangelium* (2d ed.; 1976); vol. 4: *Johannes-Evangelium* (1963).

17. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (ed. B. Fischer et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969).

18. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad Codicum Fidem* (iussi Pauli PP. VI cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti Hieronymi in urbe ordinis sancti benedicti edita; Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1926-).

19. *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine secundum Editionem S. Hieronymi* (ed. J. Wordsworth, H. J. White, and H. F. D. Sparks; Oxford: Clarendon, 1889-1954).

20. B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 285-374.

21. B. Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache: Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte," in *Die alten Übersetzungen*

on the Latin MSS of the Middle Ages, referred to above, merit mention.[22] In addition J. Keith Elliott discussed the subject in a recent article in the series *ANRW*.[23] Finally, I must refer to Pierre-Maurice Bogaert's continuing surveys of literature on the Latin Bible in *Revue Bénédictine*.[24] These articles contain valuable references to and discussions of literature on this subject.

II. Methodological and Material Progress

1. Terminology

Although scholars have made some progress in the way in which they refer to this version, some confusion still needs to be clarified. The general distinction between the OL text or VL and the Vg is no problem and needs little introduction. The problem is with the ways in which some scholars refer to the former texts. For example, the OL or VL is still occasionally referred to as the *Itala*.[25] This word is, however, sometimes also used to refer to the European text of the OL in distinction from the African text, or even to some form of the European text found in Italy. These kinds of problems create confusion. Fortunately it seems that the more correct way of referring to this version as OL or VL is finally starting to replace the old, confusing term.

Second, the current standard system of reference to the OL MSS creates confusion. It is customary to refer to these MSS in apparatuses by means of letters of the Roman or Greek alphabet, or by means of abbreviations such as gig, g, ff^2, and so on. But the ongoing discovery of more and more of these MSS has led to the practice of referring to different MSS by the same symbol.[26] Fischer devised a new

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des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 1-92; reprinted in Fischer, *Beiträge*, 156-274. All subsequent references are to the reprint.

22. Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*.

23. J. K. Elliott, "The Translation of the New Testament into Latin: The Old Latin and the Vulgate," in *ANRW* 2.26.1 (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992) 198-245.

24. P.-M. Bogaert, "Bulletin de la Bible Latine," *RBén* 86 (1976) 1-28; 87 (1977) 29-64; 88 (1978) 65-92; 90 (1980) 93-116; 91 (1981) 117-36; 93 (1983) 137-64; 95 (1985) 165-96; 96 (1986) 197-220; 98 (1988) 221-52; 99 (1989) 253-80; 101 (1991) 281-308; 102 (1992) 309-40.

25. This manner of reference has its origin in a passage in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* 2.22: "in ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris praeferatur nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae." It is uncertain what the word *Itala* in this passage refers to. Yet this unfortunate term is even today still used in some circles; see, e.g., the title of the Jülicher-Aland editions of the Gospels (see n. 16). It is also present in the apparatus of the UBS texts through the symbol *it* used for the Latin version.

26. The symbol e, for example, refers to two different MSS, one of the Gospels and one of Acts. In the former it refers to a MS (2 in the Beuron system) in a museum in Trente, while in the latter instance it refers to the well-known bilingual Codex Laudianus (50 in the Beuron system) kept in Oxford. Since the 1960s at least three new OL witnesses have been discovered. Fischer discovered two (67 and 74 in the Beuron system of reference); see B. Fischer, "Ein neuer Zeuge zum westlichen Text der Apostelgeschichte," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963) 33-63 (reprinted in Fischer, *Beiträge*, 74-105); idem, "Zur Liturgie der lateinischen Handschriften vom Sinai," in

system that brought order to this chaos, using numbers to refer to these MSS, and this system is also becoming more popular.[27]

Finally, the *Sigelliste* represents an important development in the use of Latin patristic evidence.[28] This work contains an annotated list of all relevant Latin ecclesiastical writings, each with a symbol or abbreviation, used in the Vetus Latina series. This way of reference to the Latin writings is fast becoming the standard mode of reference, used in, among others, such works as the IGNTP's edition of Luke.[29] In addition to the reference system, this work also contains important facts about each writing, such as its date, location, the sources it might have used, and, importantly, an indication of the best critical edition currently available for the reconstruction of the text from which the citations in the specific writing come. The information is constantly being updated, and the next edition will certainly contain information about newly discovered material, such as the recently discovered sermons of Augustine.[30]

2. *Methodology*

The methodology by means of which research on the OL Bible is being done has developed over a period of almost a century. In his survey of the OL version, Fischer aptly describes both the history of this process and the methodology itself; thus a short note on the main aspects of the methodology will suffice here.[31]

The methodology is determined by two main aspects. The first is the purpose of the editions and the second the state of the evidence. The main purpose of the project is to identify and explain the different forms wherein the version occurs among its witnesses. Consequently the history of this version is being described by means of identifiable text-types. With respect to the OL tradition, however, a text-type is defined somewhat differently than in the textual criticism of the Greek NT. In the latter it refers to forms of text that developed largely as a result of copying mistakes. In the former it has a more formal definition and refers in general to revisions and/or new translations of the *Vorlage*, whereby a deliberate attempt was made to revise an

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Beiträge, 106-55. Frede discovered the so-called Budapest MS of the Paulines (89 in the Beuron system of reference); see H. J. Frede, *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*, vol. 1: *Untersuchungen;* vol. 2: *Die Texte* (GLB 7-8; Freiburg: Herder, 1973, 1974).

27. Fischer, *Verzeichnis der Sigel.* Although it might seem to have limited value in apparatuses to the Greek NT, where such numbers could be confused with Greek minuscules, the problem could easily be solved by using the numbers in superscript with a symbol such as "vl"; e.g., vl^1 for k, or vl^{55} for h.

28. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller*, and its two *Aktualisierungshefte*.

29. *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel according to St. Luke* (ed. by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, 1987). The same applies for John; see D. C. Parker, "The International Greek New Testament Project: The Gospel of John," *NTS* 36 (1990) 157-60.

30. F. Dolbeau, "Sermons inédits de Saint Augustin Prêchés en 397," *RBén* 101 (1991) 240-56; 102 (1992) 44-74.

31. Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," 160-87; see also W. Thiele, "Probleme der Versio Latina in den Katholischen Briefen," in *Die alten Übersetzungen*, ed. K. Aland, 93-149.

existing version. This process involved the revision of the vocabulary and diction on the basis of a Greek *Vorlage*. Particularly the vocabulary, that is, the choice of Latin words to render specific Greek words, plays an important part in this research. Text-types are thus identified by means of differences in the patterns of vocabulary and diction in the different Latin witnesses as well as differences in their relation to the Greek text.[32]

This specific definition of text-type used in this research makes the research both easier and more difficult. It makes it easier in the sense that one works with a more defined or fixed definition of what one is to search for. What makes it more difficult, however, is the state of the evidence, since it is clear that what is available today represents only a small part of what once existed and that this part does not come from the main line of developments.

The MSS, representing what is called the *direct tradition*, are not only often fragmentary but also often very late. This makes it difficult to decide where and how particular MSS relate to others. What makes the matter worse is that almost every MS is of a mixed nature. Most probably not one single "pure" Latin MS of the first millennium has survived. Every Vg MS of the period contains OL readings in a greater or lesser extent, and every OL MS seems to have been contaminated to some extent by Vg readings. Even in the MSS with a predominantly OL text, apparently few contain a text that represents one of the OL text-types "purely." They are all mixed. This mixture takes on nearly every form possible. Some MSS contain block mixture, whereby the textual quality of the MS changes in specific parts, witnessing to different text-types in different parts. In some instances the mixture takes the form of individual readings of a specific text-type incorporated into a MS that has a predominantly different text-type. In other instances one finds a combination of these two kinds of mixture. Not only does the extant evidence therefore reflect only part of what once was, but it also does not represent any part of the mainstream of the history.

This state of the direct tradition makes the *indirect tradition* or patristic evidence very important.[33] Without the patristic evidence it is not possible to form a proper picture of the history of this version. The relationship of a late MS to an early Father often serves to date and localize the text of the MS. This evidence, however, is also problematic, and apart from the fact that the Fathers frequently cited from different text-types known to them, they also often created their own readings, which were later incorporated into MSS of these text-types. It seems that there was a kind

32. This is apparent not only from the editions and their introductions that have so far appeared in the Vetus Latina series, but also from more elaborate discussions of their histories, such as that of W. Thiele, *1. Petrusbriefes;* and H. J. Frede, "Lateinische Texte und Texttypen im Hebräerbrief," in *Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Bible Latine*, ed. Gryson and Bogaert, 137-53. The role of vocabulary in this research is particularly well illustrated by Thiele in his discussion of the text of 1 Peter, referred to above, and in his analysis of the vocabulary of the first Johannine epistle; cf. Thiele, *Wortschatzuntersuchungen*.

33. For a discussion of the Latin patristic evidence, see H. J. Frede, "Die Zitate des Neuen Testaments bei den lateinischen Kirchenvätern: Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte," in *Die alten Übersetzungen*, ed. K. Aland, 455-78.

of free handling of the Latin version early in its history, with new readings being created by almost everybody who worked with the text.

These kinds of problems require the specific method by means of which the texts in the Vetus Latina series are edited, a method that does seem complicated to some critics[34] but is really the only way of presenting the evidence in an interpreted way. These kinds of problems make it impossible to reconstruct texts and text-types in an eclectic way. Instead the goal is to present the group of readings belonging to each text-type together, without judging one to be superior to the other.

The state of the extant evidence also means that one has to take an individual view of the history of each book, for Fathers that seem important witnesses to text-types of one book do not cite from another at all. Consequently a distinctive feature of the history of and witnesses to this version is their great diversity, whereby the qualities and features of texts and text-types differ from book to book and often even from chapter to chapter within the same book. Not only does one find that one book has no trace of evidence of a text-type that is well documented in another, but often a single witness attests to two text-types with different qualities in two different books. It is impossible to use the same symbols for denoting text-types in all the editions, for the witnesses and qualities of the identifiable text-types differ. Consequently the Vetus Latina texts seek to present only what is available for each specific book or part of book. For example, if a specific text-type does not have any witnesses in a specific book, there is no reference to it in that specific edition.

3. Text-Types and Textual Histories

One of the consequences of the state of the evidence for the reconstruction of the history of the Latin version is that it is difficult to give a general survey of the history of the Latin NT as a whole. This is possible only in a broad sense, and one ought to view this section as just that — a broad survey of the main lines and trajectories through the history of this version.[35] The survey does not include the Gospels, as none of their texts has as yet been studied comprehensively.

The Old Latin Text

Although it is known that at least parts of the NT were translated into Latin late in the second century, the first physical evidence of knowledge of the existence of a Latin version of at least some biblical books occurs in the citations from the NT in the writings of the African Father Tertullian at the beginning of the third century. It has been established that Tertullian must have known a Latin version of at least some

34. See, e.g., Elliott, "Translation of the New Testament into Latin," 215.

35. A more detailed survey of the text-types in each section of the NT, i.e., the Gospels, Acts, the Paulines, Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse, can be found in Fischer ("Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," 188-207), the introductions to the editions, and discussions such as that by Thiele (*1. Petrusbriefes*), Frede ("Lateinische Texte"), and J. H. Petzer, "Texts and Text-Types in the Latin Version of Acts," in *Philologia Sacra*, ed. Gryson, 259-84.

of the Catholic and Pauline epistles and Acts. His citations, however, are of such a nature that it is difficult to imagine him quoting from this version, for little connects these citations to the rest of the Latin tradition. Both their vocabulary and diction differ from the rest of the known Latin tradition. The same goes for the biblical citations in the Marcionite parts of Tertullian's writings. This phenomenon has in the past led to different hypotheses, none of which succeeded in explaining the phenomenon satisfactorily. It is currently thought that they do in fact not come from a Latin Bible, but that they represent translations from a Greek text by Tertullian, influenced by whatever Latin version(s) he knew. Tertullian's text is consequently represented by the symbol X in the Vetus Latina editions.[36]

Only with the citations of Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage in the mid-third century, does one start to tread on firmer ground, for it is clear that Cyprian cites from an identifiable text-type — probably the first textus receptus of the Latin Bible — not least because these citations can often be related to MSS.[37] The association of Cyprian with Africa has led to this text being called the African text (or *Afra*, as it is sometimes called). It is denoted by the symbol K in the Vetus Latina editions.

The African text distinguishes itself clearly from the rest of the (later) Latin tradition. It has a unique (ancient) vocabulary and diction that are easily recognizable. When and where it was produced is difficult to say. The form in which it appears in Cyprian's citations already shows signs of decay, which means that it was most likely produced early in the third century — probably after Tertullian, who does not seem to have known this version. Where it was produced is still unknown. It seems not to have been Africa. Some scholars think that it was produced in Italy.

The production of the African text was apparently soon followed by a revision, which produced the so-called European version (sometimes unfortunately referred to as the *Itala*[38]), and it is this revision that creates the most problems for researchers of the OL text. The circumstances of the origin of this revision are unclear, as apparently little is known about its third-century history. Frede saw in the citations by Novatian (an Italian contemporary of Cyprian) an attachment to this version, and it seems that it also appears in the citations from Acts in the contemporary (African?) Pseudo-Cyprianic writing *De Rebaptismate*.[39]

36. It is important to see that this symbol does not represent a text-type, as do the other symbols used in the editions, but is used to refer to Latin texts that do not fit into the general outline of the history of this version as represented by the other witnesses. Consequently it functions as a catchall for sometimes widely different and differing witnesses, such as the citations from Thessalonians in Victorinus of Pettau.

37. Notably ms. 1 (k) in the Gospels, 55 (h) in Acts and Revelation, and 74 in Revelation.

38. See discussion in §II.1 above.

39. See Frede's discussion of Novatian's citations in Vetus Latina 25/1, 150-53. Hans von Soden mistakenly classified the citations in *De Rebaptismate* as a witness to the African text; see H. von Soden, *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909) 272-293. A. C. Clark has correctly called this classification into question (*The Acts of the Apostles* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1933] 254-55). These citations are problematic, and although Thiele (*1. Petrusbriefes*, 17) thinks that they stand outside the main line of developments, there seems to be enough evidence for them to be related to an ancient form of some European text. Cf. Petzer, "Texts and Text-Types"; M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Le Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres: Reconstitution et réhabilitation*, vol. 1: *Introduction et Textes;* vol. 2: *Apparat critique, Index des*

A clearer picture of the European text emerges only in the fourth century in the texts of Fathers such as Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Lucifer of Cagliari, Ambrose, Augustine, and their companions. It is also, however, in the differences in the nature of the evidence of these witnesses that the picture diversifies. For although the evidence unites in witnessing basically to the existence of two major European text-types, in addition to a number of smaller or minor (local) texts, the quality and quantity of the evidence as well as the nature of the text-types differ in many respects from book to book.

The two major European texts display analogous features. In all instances there seems to have been a large and diverse text, found in many diverse witnesses in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries over all of Europe. It is called the I-text in the Paulines, Acts,[40] and the Apocalypse, and the T-text in the Catholic epistles.

This text is complemented by a smaller, more restricted (but by no means local) text, found in a diversity of witnesses in the different books. Being associated in the Paulines and Acts mainly with the citations of Lucifer of Cagliari, it is referred to in these books as the D-text, whereas the predominantly Spanish connection of its witnesses in the Catholic epistles and Revelation leads to it being called the S-text in those books.[41] The more restricted nature of the evidence witnessing to this text means that its features and characteristics differ from book to book. For the Paulines and Acts it has definite Italian connections, which it does not have in the Catholic epistles and Revelation. The Spanish connections of the latter are again absent from the former. This phenomenon illustrates clearly the diversity in the quality and quantity of the evidence.

These are the major revisions or text-types in the European tradition. In addition, a number of smaller or minor text-types, all with local connections, have been identified. Given their local nature one can appreciate that they differ from book to book and depend greatly on the survival of specific evidence from specific areas.

What seems at first sight to be another major or greater revision in Acts, but what is in fact a minor and local revision, is the text found in Codex Bezae.[42] Many aspects of this text are still problematic. Apart from an apparent relation to the already problematic citations from Acts in PS-CY reb[43] — the exact meaning of which has not yet been interpreted with certainty — on the one hand this text stands totally outside the Latin tradition, while on the other hand it contains readings of every single Latin text-type identified. These features make it difficult to decide whether it represents a new translation, with coincidental agreements with the Latin tradition,

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caractéristiques stylistiques, Index des citations patristiques (Synthèse 17; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984) 48-50.

40. Fischer uses this symbol to refer to the D-text (which will be discussed below) in his discussion of the text-types in Acts; see Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," 194-96.

41. For a general survey of the (Old) Latin Bible in Spain, see Teofilo Ayuso Marazuela, *La Vetus Latina Hispania: Origen, Dependencia, Derivaciones, Valor e Influjo Universal, reconstruccion, Sistematizacion Analisis de sus Diversos Elementos. Coordinacion y Edicion Critica de su Texto*, vol. 1: *Prolegomenos* (Textos y Estudios 1; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1953).

42. Cf. Petzer, "Texts and Text-Types," 259-84.

43. See n. 39 above on the citations from Acts in PS-CY reb (i.e., Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Rebaptismate*).

or whether it represents a thorough revision of some as yet unidentified existing Latin version.

These European text-types are frequently difficult to distinguish from one another, first, because often only little has survived in their specific witnesses, but second, because of large-scale mixture in the witnesses. As one might expect, this mixture became worse as the centuries progressed, and already at the end of the fourth century the mixture is of such a nature that it is often difficult to determine to which text-type a specific witness belongs. Consequently, the same Father or MS is frequently listed as a witness to more than one text-type.[44]

Another feature of this mixture is the ongoing influence of the African text on the later European tradition. The production of the European text did not end the influence of the African text in any abrupt way, and readings of this text occur in witnesses to the European text in later centuries all over Europe. In some places this mixture seems to have taken the form of a revision, produced to harmonize the two versions. These kinds of "middle" texts "between" the African and European versions (which can often be related to the Donatist controversy) are generally denoted by a C in the Vetus Latina editions.

Contrary to earlier opinion, which explained the great differences between the Latin versions as having originated from independent translations, it is currently generally believed that with few — if any — exceptions, the whole known tradition goes back to a single translation of the Greek into Latin. All texts and text-types in the main line of development are consequently related in some way to this ancient version.

The Vulgate

It is from this mixture, characterizing the state of the text late in the fourth century, that the Vg was produced. Unlike its character in the OT, where it represents a new translation from a Hebrew *Vorlage*, its character in the NT is that of a revision of a European text.[45] In general it seems as if it represents a revision of some witness(es) to the I- (in Paul and Acts) or T-texts (in the Catholic epistles), but it also reveals ties with other European texts. It probably originated from one of the later fourth-century mixtures of these European texts. It is uncertain who was responsible for this revision. At least for the Paulines and Catholic epistles it seems not to have been the same person responsible for the Gospels (believed to have been Jerome), as the nature of the translation differs. The name of Rufinus the Syrian has been mentioned as a possibility.

Although the Vg was meant to bring an end to the diversity, the textual

44. A good example is Augustine, who cites from both the I- and D-texts in the Paulines in addition to a minor local text, and who seems to have known all the major Latin texts in Acts except that of Bezae and the Vg; see J. H. Petzer, "St. Augustine's Text of Acts," *Neot* 25 (1991) 33-50.

45. For a discussion of the history of the Vg, see Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," 220-59; idem, "Der Vulgata-text des neuen Testaments," *ZNW* 46 (1955) 178-96 (reprinted in Fischer, *Beiträge*, 51-74); and esp. his *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*. See also J. H. Petzer, "The Textual Relationships of the Vulgate in Acts," *NTS* 39 (1993) 227-45.

diversity obviously did not magically stop with the production of the Vg. Decay continued, with the new version creating even more mixture.[46] Consequently a number of revisions of the Vg became necessary. One such revision, the so-called Spanish revision, undertaken by one Peregrinus,[47] resulted in what is referred to as the Spanish Vulgate. This revision is of particular importance for the OL text, as it seems to go back to OL witnesses, thus creating a mixture of an OL and Vg text. Other major revisions include the revisions by Theodulf and Alcuin late in the eighth century.[48]

III. Value for the History of the Greek Text

Such, then, is the history of the Latin version of the NT in broad terms. What is important to see in the description above is the consistent line that runs through the whole of the NT from the African to the European text, culminating in the Vg. This process involved a constant revision of the vocabulary and diction and a constant movement away from the "ancient" African way of saying things to the more "fluent and modern" European way. This development culminated in the language of the Vg. This movement characterizes not only the language and vocabulary of these revisions but also their relation to their Greek *Vorlagen*, and in this respect it is interesting to note that one can detect a similar movement away from the Western *Vorlage* of the African text. It is in this aspect that one can judge the value of this version for the reconstruction of the history of the Greek text.

Again Fischer has aptly dealt with the theory of this matter in his survey of the Old Latin NT, and I need not repeat it here;[49] it will suffice to refer briefly to the two main points of the theory. The first is that the Latin version does not have any direct bearing on the "original" text (autographs) of the NT. It is much too late for that. Its only value as a direct witness, therefore, is to the history of the Greek text, insofar as it had contact with that history. Second, it is not so much the individual Latin witnesses that are important for reconstructing the history of the Greek text, but rather the text-types, because they represent a revision on the basis of (a) Greek MS(S). This point is important, since it is only the text-type that had direct and consistent contact with Greek evidence. No doubt individual Fathers and scribes did have passing contact with Greek evidence, and this contact did influence their Latin text on occasion. But that this contact was in passing and inconsistent makes it worthless for reconstructing the history of the Greek text, as it cannot really be evaluated. Furthermore, in evaluating the evidence of these text-types, it is important to see that each text-type represents only one Greek

46. See B. Fischer, "Zur Überlieferung altlateinischer Bibeltexte im Mittelalter," *Nederlandse Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 56 (1975) 19-33 (reprinted in Fischer, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, 404-21).

47. On the figure of Peregrinus, see B. Fischer, "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters," in *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, ed. Fischer, 47-53.

48. For a discussion of these editions see B. Fischer, *Die Alkuin-Bibel* (GLB 1; Freiburg: Herder, 1957); idem, "Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Großen," in *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften*, ed. Fischer, 35-202; and idem, "Die Alkuin-Bibel," in ibid., 203-403.

49. See Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," 259-74.

witness, the one that is assumed to have formed the *Vorlage* on which the revision was based.[50]

When one applies these principles to the practical situation, it becomes clear how the movement away from the African text that characterizes the vocabulary and diction of the European text-types also characterizes their relation to the Greek textual history. On the one hand, the *Vorlage* of the African text was thoroughly Western. This is particularly visible in Acts, where the African text displays a consistent Western text, but also in the Paulines and Catholic epistles, where the Western text is generally more difficult to identify. On the other hand, the European text is since its earliest phases characterized by a movement away from the Western text toward an Alexandrian text, whereby some Western readings occur in some witnesses but are omitted in others. This movement culminates in the Vg, which seemed to have been based on a later form of the Alexandrian text.

It is not quite clear how to explain this phenomenon. It is uncertain whether the movement reflects a deliberate attempt by the creators of the Latin text-types to excise (secondarily) the suspect Western readings in their Greek *Vorlagen* in the process of revising the Latin text, or whether these editors/revisers followed faithfully Greek sources from which these readings were already absent. The trend could even have come from a combination of these two possibilities. Part of the problem is obviously the continuing inability to solve the mysteries of the remarkable diversity in the witnesses to the Western text in general. A satisfactory explanation of this textual movement in the Latin tradition will be achieved only after the problem of the Western text in general has been solved.

The Latin version's relation to the Greek text is, as can be seen, fairly complicated, fluctuating between the Alexandrian and Western texts. An important consequence for the evaluation of the Latin evidence arising from this scenario is that it is wrong to refer to the OL version *en masse* as Western and to suspect every reading supported by some OL witness to be Western. Rather, one ought to use and evaluate the evidence of these witnesses in a nuanced way, keeping in mind the specific nature of the text in that witness.

IV. Areas for Ongoing Research

Notwithstanding the immense progress in the research on the Latin Bible during the postwar period, some major issues still need to be researched, as well as a host of minor unsolved problems, which exceed the limits of this article. The following, however, seem to be some of the major unsolved problems and areas in which further research is necessary.

As far as editions are concerned, the most important task currently is the edition of the Gospels. As I have said, NT textual criticism still depends largely on the Jülicher-Matzkow-Aland editions of the Gospel MSS for the assessment of these texts. Fischer's classification of the Gospel MSS and his coming discussion of their texts will contribute much to our knowledge of the Latin Gospels, but even this study

50. See further B. Fischer, "Limitations of Latin in Representing Greek," in Metzger, *Early Versions*, 362-74 (= Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," 259-74).

is still based largely on the MSS — no comprehensive study of all the evidence has as yet been undertaken. Given the proven importance of the Fathers in the study and edition of other parts of the NT, such a comprehensive study of the evidence might reveal much and go a long way to solve many of the problems of not only the Latin Gospels but even the Latin version as a whole. Part of the problem, however, is the large number of citations to be assessed, perhaps well over a hundred thousand, according to a rough calculation on the basis of the cards in the citation index in Beuron. Given that the editor of a text such as Acts needs to deal with about twenty thousand citations, it becomes apparent how immense the task is which awaits an editor of the Latin Gospels, where phenomena such as harmonization complicate the matter further. Despite these daunting problems, it is important that these texts get the attention they deserve as soon as possible.

In addition, there is much room for research in the history of the Vg, especially its later history. Pending the outcome of the Roman Vulgate project, which will incorporate the most recent developments, this research is still a great *desideratum* in the research on the Latin Bible. One of the more important points to clarify is the origin of the Vg in the parts outside the Gospels.

From a thematic point of view the most serious problems seem to be age-old. The first is the problem of the origin of the Latin version — where, when, why, how? Traces of a Latin Bible have been found fairly early in the second century — well before Tertullian. There is, however, no direct evidence thereof, neither in MSS nor in citations, since up to Tertullian most Fathers still wrote in Greek. Consequently it is still not possible to form a comprehensive picture of when, where, or why biblical passages were translated into Latin for the first time.

Second, the important biblical citations in the writings of Tertullian need to be assessed comprehensively, since Tertullian is the first to cite from the Bible consistently in Latin. But these citations do not fit into the rest of the Latin tradition. The same goes for Marcion's citations from the NT, quoted in Tertullian's writings. These phenomena bring many questions to the fore. How does one explain the idiosyncrasies in Tertullian's citations? Are they his own translations of a Greek text, as currently thought, and if so, why did he not cite from the Latin version he apparently knew? Why did he choose to translate from Greek sources? Could these citations represent verbatim citations from an existing Latin version, which was just so old and strange that it was forgotten soon after the production of the African text? Or does Tertullian mean to cite verbatim at all? All these kinds of problems and questions need to be assessed on a comprehensive scale, if we are to solve the problems of the identity of the Latin (and Greek) texts current in Africa at the beginning of the third century. Many individual studies of individual books have been completed by editors of the Vetus Latina editions. What is needed is a comprehensive look at all Tertullian's citations from the whole of at least the NT.

Third, an explanation ought to be found for the nature and origin of the African text. It has been shown that this version is quite idiosyncratic as regards its vocabulary and diction, both in comparison to the later European versions and to the general vocabulary and diction employed by those who cite from it. Maybe a new approach to this problem, employing new methodology such as a sociolinguistic or sociohistorical approach, will be able to tell us something of the origin of this text.

Finally, a still-unsolved riddle is that of the text of Codex Bezae — particularly in Acts. A recent thorough study of this MS by David Parker brought a new theory as regards the origin of not only the MS but the whole of the Bezan textual tradition by associating it with the Latin law school in Berytus.[51] From the point of view of its contact with the Latin evidence, however, there is no firm evidence that at least the Latin version of Acts has ever been used in a Latin community before the Middle Ages, and one must ask whether this text was produced for a predominantly Latin bilingual community at all, and whether it could have been produced for a predominantly Greek bilingual community, and if so, where, and why? The problem is that its Latin text (of Acts, at least) seems to have special ties with all the identifiable Latin text-types of Acts except the Vg. In this respect it seems a mere late mixture of existing texts, which in fact is characteristic of the history of the Latin version, as was explained above. In addition, however, there are just as many idiosyncrasies, including apparent translation mistakes, which suggest that this text may have been a totally new translation of the Greek text without any relation to the rest of the Latin tradition. How does one explain these phenomena? These kinds of problems bring into view the whole problem of the Western text and its origin. It is clear that this MS needs a comprehensive study, taking into account all possible aspects of its text.

V. Conclusion

From what I have said, it is clear that the research done under the auspices of the Vetus Latina Institute has led to great progress in our knowledge of the Latin Bible. This project has not only brought new clarity as to the early history of this version but has also contributed to such minute aspects of this research as the terminology, the way in which the Latin evidence is being referred to, and the identification and classification of good editions of the Latin ecclesiastical writings. As such, the contribution of this institute goes beyond the boundaries of Latin or even NT textual criticism and reaches well into disciplines such as patristics, church history, and even the study of medieval European culture in general.

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51. D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); see also the discussion of this MS and the problems surrounding it in Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," 208-19.

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CHAPTER 8

THE COPTIC VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Frederik Wisse

I. Introduction

Relatively early in the history of the Christian church the Greek OT and the NT were translated into the languages of non-Greek speaking peoples living in or near the Roman Empire. The earliest and most important of these translations are those into Coptic (spoken in Egypt), Latin (spoken in the western part of the Mediterranean basin), and Syriac (spoken inland from Antioch toward the Persian frontier). The importance of these versions for the textual criticism of the Greek NT lies first of all in that they are indirect witnesses to an early state of the Greek text that is poorly attested by the surviving Greek witnesses, and second in their ability to localize the form of the Greek text that they translated.

The Greek MS tradition is not able to provide much information for the patristic period about the kinds of text in use in different regions. Only from the ninth century on do we have some Greek NT MSS that include a colophon stating the date and place of origin; for the earlier period a rough estimate of the date of a MS has to be established on palaeographical grounds.[1] No such guess can be made for place of origin except for the papyri found in Egypt, which most likely originated there. Thus the early versions promise to provide unique evidence for the state of the Greek text in important geographic areas and for a period from which only a few fragmentary Greek NT MSS survive.[2]

Unfortunately a number of factors complicate and weaken the potential value of versions as witnesses to the form of the Greek text in use in some regions during the early centuries of the Christian era. This is particularly the case for the Coptic

1. That is, by comparing its handwriting to that of dated Greek documents. Since the conventions of Greek calligraphy changed gradually over the centuries it is possible to make a rough estimate of the date of an undated NT MS on the basis of its handwriting alone. The estimate, however, can normally only claim to be accurate within about 100 years. Some papyrologists venture to pinpoint dates within 25 years, but this is seldom warranted on palaeographical grounds alone, and would be totally inappropriate for Coptic MSS.

2. Only the scriptural citations in the writings of the Church Fathers could supply similar information. Since, however, the early Fathers cited only occasional verses, and often very freely or from memory, their witness to the text of the NT is far less complete and dependable than the versional evidence. See further chap. 12 by Gordon D. Fee in this volume.

versions,[3] in large part because of the distinctive circumstances in which they originated.

II. Background and Origins of the Coptic Versions

In late antiquity the Greek language and culture had penetrated Egypt far more than Latin- and Syriac-speaking areas. A large number of native Greek speakers had settled in Egypt well before the Christian era, not only in the cities but throughout the country. Government, commerce, and education functioned all in Greek. Due to the overwhelming dominance of the Greek language and culture there developed a large class of Greco-Egyptians who were native Copts but who could function in Greek. When writing they tended to use Greek rather than Coptic. In the few cases that Coptic was used in writing it was no longer in the demotic script but by means of the Greek alphabet supplemented by six or seven demotic letters. A large number of Greek loanwords entered the Coptic language, representing not just technical terms but many common nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. On the average about 15 percent of the words in early Coptic texts are Greek.[4]

On the one hand this would appear to make the Coptic versions particularly useful witnesses to the Greek text. In the great majority of cases the Greek loanwords in the Coptic text were taken directly from the Greek *Vorlage*,[5] though normally without the Greek inflection.[6] Also, the written Coptic was apparently adapted to imitate Greek idiom and word order,[7] so that in some cases one could even consider citing the Coptic in support of variants in Greek involving minor transpositions. On the other hand, that Coptic existed in close proximity to and very much in the shadow of Greek meant that the early history of the transmission of the Coptic text was open to continuing influence of the Greek text to a much greater degree than the Latin and Syriac versions. Thus one cannot assume that the state of the Greek text at the moment of translation was preserved in the Coptic versions without significant further interference of other and later forms of the Greek text.

3. This essay will not restate the wealth of information on the Coptic versions of the NT and full bibliography found in Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 99-141; and G. Mink, "Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 160-299.

4. One cannot be sure that all Greek words in Coptic translations are true loanwords, i.e., part of the Coptic vernacular. Relatively uncommon Greek words were apparently retained frequently because the translator was unsure about the meaning or unaware of the Coptic equivalent. This policy would make some sense if the translator could assume that most of the intended readers were somewhat familiar with Greek.

5. Since "model" and "archetype" are open to misunderstanding when referring to the copy of the text that was the basis of the translation, I use the German word.

6. In a few cases the Coptic translator chose a Greek synonym to translate a Greek word, probably because it would be more familiar to a Coptic reader. Greek nouns and adjectives are used in Coptic in the nominative singular form, and verbs normally in the present infinitive form minus the final *nu*.

7. Since the great majority of ancient Coptic texts are literal translations from Greek, it is sometimes difficult to determine what is proper Coptic idiom and syntax.

Other factors also tend to obscure the date of the hypothetical Greek *Vorlagen* of the Coptic versions. One cannot assume that all parts of the NT were translated more or less at the same time. The codex form that was used — and perhaps even specifically developed — for Christian writings as early as the second century was at first not able to accommodate more than one or two Gospels or a collection of the Pauline letters.[8] Thus the NT writings, or groups of the shorter ones, circulated separately and would have been translated separately — and possibly repeatedly — over a longer period.

This is the more probable since there is no evidence, and no reason to suspect, that the first translations of biblical writings into Coptic were officially sponsored and controlled by the ecclesiastical leadership. Egyptian Christianity started, and long remained, basically a Greek church that was dominated by a unilingual Greek-speaking hierarchy long after the majority of its members were Copts. No doubt it considered itself well served by the Greek Bible. This is the likely reason for the fact that among the NT papyrus fragments found in Egypt and dated before the fourth century none is in Coptic. It is only for the late fourth and fifth century that Coptic MS attestation becomes substantial and representative of most of the NT writings. Even for this relatively late period the witnesses represent a wide array of Coptic dialects and independent traditions. This suggests that the early history of transmission of the Coptic text of the NT long remained fluid and haphazard.

III. Dating the Coptic Versions

Little progress has been made during the past fifty years in Coptic palaeography. Palaeographical dating is far more difficult for early Coptic MSS than for Greek ones, since there are almost no early dated Coptic documents. This dearth is alleviated somewhat by the fact that Coptic scribal conventions in the Hellenistic period appear to follow closely developments in Greek calligraphy.[9] Thus dated Greek documents can be used also for Coptic palaeography. Nonetheless great caution is needed in assigning dates to early Coptic biblical fragments, and an even greater latitude is called for than with Greek texts.[10] Scholars have an unfortunate tendency to list the earliest possible date of a MS without specifying sufficiently the latitude one must always allow in palaeographical dating. Since, however, the interest of the textual critic is in the date of the Greek *Vorlage*, it is not the earliest possible date that counts

8. The Nag Hammadi collection, which includes the best-preserved early papyrus codices, indicates that until the mid-fourth century the single quire remained the norm. This set a limit to the number of folios that could be bound into one volume; for Nag Hammadi the highest number is 75 folios in the case of Codex III. Multiquire parchment codices could accommodate several hundred folios.

9. The existence of some early Coptic texts that are bilingual or include some Greek text is particularly useful, e.g., British Museum MS. Or. 7594, which has Greek fragments in the cartonnage of the binding, and the bilingual P. Osl. inv. 1661.

10. The dates are often assigned by papyrologists whose expertise is Greek rather than Coptic palaeography. It is telling that the late Paul E. Kahle, Jr., one of the few scholars with a broad knowledge of Coptic texts, generally preferred considerably later dates than those assigned by Greek papyrologists.

but the latest possible one.[11] The result is that the present state of knowledge of Coptic palaeography[12] allows one to conclude little more than that Coptic translations of various NT books were in existence in the fourth century C.E., but that was already clear from Coptic patristic evidence.

Some scholars believe that there is indirect evidence for the existence of Coptic translations before the fourth century. Athanasius reports that at the age of twenty (i.e., probably in 271 C.E.), Anthony heard the gospel read in a village church in Upper Egypt.[13] Since Anthony was an illiterate Copt who in his later life spoke to visiting Greeks through an interpreter,[14] it seems reasonable to assume that he had heard the passage in question (Matt 19:21) read in Coptic translation. If the story is not legendary, the *terminus post quem non* of the Coptic Gospel of Matthew would be shortly after the mid-third century. It is, however, not that obvious that the young Anthony must have heard the Gospel read in Coptic rather than in Greek. He came from a well-to-do family and probably had, as did many in his social class, at least some passing knowledge of Greek.

Whatever be the case, it is not unlikely that various books of the OT and NT had been translated into Coptic by the second half of the third century. The limited evidence available would appear to support the following periodization of the origin and history of transmission of the Coptic versions.[15]

1. The Pre-Classical Stage (250-350 C.E.*)*[16]

This period is characterized by a number of uncoordinated translation efforts into various dialects serving, it would seem, mainly the interests of private Greco-Egyptian Christians. This would explain the production of MSS that include a curious selection of, or excerpts from, several OT and NT writings.[17] It is probably wrong to speak of versions at this point even though the later Sahidic and Fayumic versions may have had their beginning during this time. Only a few copies may have existed

11. This is also true if the estimated date of a copy is used to establish the *terminus post quem non* of the original, e.g., when appeal is made to the date of P^{52} in dating the Gospel of John. The crucial question is whether there are compelling palaeographical reasons to exclude a date for P^{52} in the middle or late second century.

12. For the present state of knowledge see B. Layton, "Towards a New Coptic Paleography," in *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (ed. T. Orlandi and F. Wisse; Rome: C.I.M., 1985) 149-58.

13. *Vita Antonii* 1.

14. Ibid., 72.74.

15. The headings have been kept similar to the ones used by R. Kasser in "Le Papyrus Bodmer III et les versions bibliques coptes," *Mus* 74 (1964) 423-33; cf. R. Kasser, "Les dialectes coptes et les versions coptes bibliques," *Bib* 46 (1965) 287-310. Metzger presents Kasser's periodization with qualified approval (*Early Versions*, 127-32). Cf. also Kasser, "Petites rectifications à propos de l'histoire des versions coptes de la Bible," *Bib* 61 (1980) 557-60.

16. Kasser dates this stage from 200 to 250; I see no justification for his even earlier "Preliminary Stage."

17. For example, the Crosby Codex of the University of Mississippi (now part of the Schøyen collection: J. E. Goehring, ed., *The Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193* [CSCO 521; Louvain: Peeters, 1990]), British Museum MS. Or. 7594, Michigan Ms Inv. 3992, P. Osl. inv. 1661, and Bodmer III (for the contents of these MSS see Metzger, *Early Versions*, 110-24).

of these early translations, and most would not have had any influence on the later versions. As translations they tend to be idiosyncratic and flawed. The demand for and production of these translations was most likely connected with hermetic monasticism, which was rapidly gaining popularity among Coptic-speaking Christians. The interest of these monks went well beyond the Christian Scriptures. During the same period the gnostic and heterodox Christian writings included in the Nag Hammadi codices were translated from the Greek and copied.[18]

2. The Classical Sahidic and Fayumic Stage (350–450 C.E.*)*[19]

Two developments in this period had a profound influence on the transmission of the Coptic versions: the rapid growth of the church in the countryside and the equally astounding growth of cenobitic monasticism. Between the founding of the first monastery by Pachomius in 318 (or 325) and his death in 346, he had established another eight male and two female monasteries populated by as many as seven thousand monks and nuns. At the same time and later in the fourth and fifth centuries numerous other monasteries were founded independently of the Pachomian establishments. Regular reading of Scripture was mandatory for the Pachomian monks.[20] The original monastery of Pachomius in Tabennisi had ten scribes involved in the production of books.

While the Copts who joined the church during the third century appear to have been mainly Greco-Egyptians, the rapid growth in the fourth century appears to have been made up of unilingual Copts. For these Christians a Coptic translation was a more urgent matter than for Greco-Egyptians. The monasteries supplied this need and would also have been the main users of biblical MSS. Since the production was no longer for individuals but for groups, the monks shifted to Sahidic, the most widely used and understood dialect. Copies would have been shared with other monasteries throughout the country. The result was the rise of a standard Sahidic version that remained remarkably stable until its disappearance in favor of the Bohairic version a few centuries after the Arab conquest. A striking feature of the classical form of the Sahidic version compared to the preclassical period is a significant decrease in Greek words.[21] The likely reason is the shift from translations intended for Greco-Egyptians to ones that had to be accessible to unilingual Copts.

18. Papyrus letters found among the cartonnage of the binding of Nag Hammadi Codex VII connect this collection to the main Pachomian monastery located near the burial site of the codices. Among the Nag Hammadi tractates are several duplicates that were independently translated: *The Gospel of Truth* in Codices I and X, *The Apocryphon of John* in Codices II and III, and *The Gospel of the Egyptians* in Codices III and IV. Most of the substantial differences between these independent translations appear to be the result of the incompetence of the translators.

19. Kasser dates this stage from 250 to 300.

20. See the Rule (*Pachomiana latina* [ed. A. Boon; Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 7; Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1932]) and Life of Pachomius (*Sancti pachomii vitae graecae* [ed. F. Halkin; Subsidia Hagiographica 19; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1932]).

21. A good example is provided by the biblical citations in *The Exegesis of the Soul* (Nag Hammadi Codex II), which represent the preclassical stage. The wealth of citations in the writings of the main Coptic author Shenoute (late 4th and early 5th century) fully represents the classical Sahidic version.

At the same time that the classical Sahidic version took shape and became the preferred form of the Coptic NT, translations in Achmimic, Subachmimic, Middle Egyptian (Oxyrhynchite), Fayumic, and Bohairic continued to circulate in limited numbers. By far the most important of these was the Fayumic version.

The Fayumic version probably took its classical form around the same time as the Sahidic version and under similar circumstances. The relative isolation of the Fayum oasis secured its survival during the hegemony of the Sahidic version but it quickly succumbed to the later Bohairic version. Fragments dating from the fourth to the ninth century from all but one of the NT writings survive, but little is known about them.[22] Thus it is not certain whether the Fayumic version is related to the Sahidic version. There is some indication, however, of its relationship to Middle Egyptian and the early Bohairic MSS, but the lines of dependence require further investigation. The fourth-century fragments of the Gospel of John at the University of Michigan that were designated in the published edition as Fayumic are more likely Middle Egyptian.[23]

3. The Final Sahidic and Fayumic Stage (450-1000 C.E.*)*

The Arab conquest started the decline of the Coptic language, which ceased to be widely spoken in Lower Egypt after the tenth century, and in Upper Egypt after the fifteenth century. The role of Bohairic as the liturgical language of the Coptic church spread to areas where Sahidic or Fayumic had been dominant. Sahidic biblical MSS continued to be copied in monasteries in Upper Egypt, but after the tenth century this became more a spiritual exercise than a response to a real need. No Fayumic biblical MSS dated after the ninth century survive, which probably means that the version was at that time replaced by the Bohairic one.

4. The Bohairic Version (after 800 C.E.*)*

It is not useful to distinguish stages for the Bohairic version. The few early Bohairic biblical fragments[24] are idiosyncratic and do not stand in an obvious relationship to the later Bohairic version. Since there is no direct evidence of the Bohairic version before the ninth century, it is questionable to assume its existence prior to that time. It is quite possible that monasteries in the Bohairic-speaking area in western Lower Egypt used and produced the Sahidic version before the ninth century. As far as we know, Greek had remained the official liturgical language of the Coptic church until at least the Arab conquest. The shift from Greek to Bohairic in the church services, which appears to have begun sometime after the conquest in Alexandria (642 C.E.),

22. The Revelation of John is missing, probably because its canonical status was long in doubt in the Coptic church. A summary of the known Fayumic biblical fragments was drawn up by Paul E. Kahle in *Bala'izah; Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt I* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) 282-85.

23. E. M. Husselman, *The Gospel of John in Fayumic Coptic* (*P. Mich. Inv.* 3521) (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1962).

24. Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 123-25.

would be the likely reason for the origin and spread of the Bohairic version. Earlier versions may have been consulted for the creation of the new ecclesiastical version, but in all probability it was basically a fresh translation of the Greek text that had been in use up to that time in Alexandria. When the Coptic patriarch moved from Alexandria to Cairo in the eleventh century, the Bohairic version became firmly established also in that city and spread from there to Upper Egypt. Thanks to George W. Horner we possess a dependable edition of the Bohairic NT based on a significant number of good MSS.[25]

IV. The Witness of the Coptic Versions to the Greek Text of the New Testament

The high regard the Coptic versions have enjoyed since the overthrow of the TR is due to their apparent support of the Alexandrian text[26] favored by most textual critics of the Greek NT. The study of the textual affiliation of the Coptic versions has advanced little during the past fifty years. The earlier classifications of the Sahidic and Bohairic versions have been more or less confirmed. But the quick and rough method of tabulating statistics of agreements and disagreement with prominent uncials such as ℵ, B, and D has serious limitations. While it can identify members of the same close-knit family of MSS, it presents a confusing picture when more distantly related texts are compared. This is because of the dependence for classification on unique Alexandrian, Western, or Byzantine readings rather than on a unique pattern of readings in a passage.[27] This approach leads to the conclusion that the Sahidic and Bohairic versions are more or less Alexandrian, though with a considerable number of Western readings; but their exact relationship to the Alexandrian and Western texts remains obscure. The role and possible origin of the Western text in Egypt has become a more urgent issue in recent years with the discovery of the Glazier codex of Acts in Middle Egyptian that is of the Western type.[28] This remains a fertile area for further study. The textual affinities of the preclassical Coptic NT

25. G. W. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic* (4 vols.; London: Clarendon, 1898-1905; reprinted, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969).

26. Also called the Neutral, Hesychian, or Egyptian text; its leading members are codices Sinaiticus (ℵ or 01) and Vaticanus (B or 03).

27. See F. Wisse, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence* (SD 44; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982). This study shows that when the unique features of B (and its close allies) and of D are ignored, it becomes clear that D, at least in the Gospel of Luke, has a pattern of readings similar to B when compared to the Byzantine groups. Further study of the Coptic versions may help to delineate the textual matrix that the Alexandrian and Western texts have in common.

28. Hans-Martin Schenke, ed., *Apostelgeschichte 1,1–15,3 im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Glazier)* (TU 137; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1991). For earlier bibliography see Metzger, *Early Versions*, 117-19.

MSS, most of which are now available in dependable editions,[29] remain largely unexamined.

V. Research Prospects

The discovery and publication of important new MSS during the past fifty years and the development of better classification methods mean that the time is ripe for major advances in the study of the Coptic versions.

1. Now that a complete list is available of all known Sahidic Gospel MSS and fragments,[30] work can begin on a new edition of the Sahidic version. Horner's edition is completely inadequate and out of date.[31] Much better, earlier, and more complete MSS are present in the Palau-Ribes collection in Barcelona,[32] the Pierpont Morgan collection in New York,[33] and the Chester Beatty collection in Dublin. Since the purpose of this venture need not be the construction of a critical text of the Sahidic version, probably only those variants should be cited in the apparatus that can be used in support of the Greek text.[34] The few preclassical MSS that are closely related

29. These include, in addition to the items mentioned in Metzger (*Early Versions*, 108-21) and in nn. 28 and 32 here, the following: Hans-Martin Schenke, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium im Mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Scheide)* (TU 127; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981); (for a preliminary analysis of the textual affinities of this MS, see the review of Schenke by M. W. Holmes in *BO* 40 [1983] 638-39); Gonzalo Aranda Perez, *El Evangelio de San Mateo en Copto Sahidic* (Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano" C.S.I.C., 1984) (Pierpont Morgan M569); Karlheinz Schüssler, *Die katholischen Briefe in der koptischen (sahidischen) Version* (2 vols.; CSCO 528-29 [Scriptores Coptici 45-46]; Louvain: Peeters, 1991) (Pierpont Morgan M572 plus Cairo Coptic Museum no. 3813); William H. Willis, "The Letter of Peter (1 Peter)," in *The Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193* (ed. J. E. Goehring; CSCO 521; Louvain: Peeters, 1990) 135-216.

30. F.-J. Schmitz and G. Mink, *Liste der Koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, I: Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien 1 & 2* (ANTF 9, 13, 15; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986, 1989, 1991). See also Anne Bouvarel-Boud'hors, *Catalogue des fragments coptes: I. Fragments bibliques nouvellement identifiés* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987), a repertory of several hundred previously unidentified leaves and fragments of Sahidic and Fayumic biblical texts in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris).

31. G. W. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and Thebaic* (7 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1911-24; reprinted, Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969).

32. Published by H. Quecke: *Das Markusevangelium saïdisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M569* (Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1972); *Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M569* (Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1977); and *Das Johannesevangelium saïdisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183 mit den Varianten der Handschriften 813 und 814 der Chester Beatty Library und der Handschrift M569* (Rome and Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1984).

33. Leo Depuydt, *Catalog of Coptic Manuscripts In the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 4; Louvain: Peeters, 1993); appendix II lists MSS from the same find (Hamuli) in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. Also, Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Album of Photographic Plates* (photographed by D. A. Loggie; Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1993).

34. Cf. similarly K. Aland, "The Coptic New Testament," in *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East* (ed. R. H. Fischer; Chicago: Lutheran School of Theology, 1977) 8-9. This important task should be performed by editors of the Coptic text who are fully familiar with the limitations of Coptic in representing

to the Sahidic version should be included,[35] as well as the many NT citations in the writings of Shenoute.

2. P. E. Kahle's untimely death prevented him from completing an edition of the known fragments of the Fayumic version. This remains an urgent and worthwhile venture, not only because the Fayumic version deserves to be cited in an apparatus to the Greek NT but also because it will give a basis to study possible links to the early Middle Egyptian texts and the later Bohairic version. As in the case of the Sahidic version, only variants significant for the Greek text would need to be included in the apparatus.

3. Once dependable editions of the Sahidic and Fayumic versions are available, the textual affinities of the Coptic versions and preclassical translations need to be reconsidered with the help of the more sophisticated methods for the classification of MS evidence that have been developed during the past fifty years.[36] This will go a long way in accomplishing the important contribution that the Coptic versions can make to the reconstruction of the original text and the history of transmission of the Greek NT.

VI. Summary

In surveying the last fifty years, one may observe that while some important MSS have been discovered and published, substantially enhancing our knowledge of the various versions, corresponding advances in critical editions and the analysis of textual affinities are notably absent. In comparison to the two other major versions (Latin and Syriac), we have scarcely begun to reap the harvest offered by the Coptic versions.

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Greek; cf. the excursus by J. M. Plumley in Metzger, *Early Versions,* 141-52; and Mink, "Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments," 188-299.

35. For example, the fourth-century Subachmimic MS of the Gospel of John, published by H. Thompson: *The Gospel of John According to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1924).

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CHAPTER 9

THE ETHIOPIC VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Rochus Zuurmond

Introduction

Research into the text of the Ethiopic (Ge'ez) NT has mainly centered on seven topics:

1. When, where, and why did this version originate?

2. Has there been one translation only, or have there been several independent attempts to translate?

3. It is obvious that the Ethiopic version, as we know it from the extant MSS, has been revised several times. When and on which basis were these revisions made and can they be traced in the MS tradition?

4. Have all the books of the Ethiopic NT basically the same history of transmission or are there significant differences?

5. Was the earliest Ethiopic text of the NT translated from the Greek or from another language (in particular: Syriac)?

6. If the *Vorlage* was Greek, to which type of Greek text did it belong?

7. Finally, given a reliable critical edition, what is the value of the Ethiopic version for textual criticism of the Greek NT?

It is not always possible to separate these issues, but I will try to show how they developed in the past and where we stand now.

I. History of Research

Research on anything connected with Ethiopia begins with Job Ludolf. Although more than three hundred years old, his oeuvre is still a treasury one should never overlook. He was the first, and for a long time the only one, to discuss the Ethiopic version (Eth) of the NT. Much of what he wrote can now be said more precisely and with more detail, but his basic insights still hold.

In his *Historia Aethiopica* Ludolf suggested the fourth or fifth century as the version's date of origin. He staunchly defended a Greek *Vorlage*. Ten years later, in his *Commentarius*, realizing that different parts of the NT may have had a different history of tradition, he modified this opinion by admitting that more than one translation is current in Ethiopic, but still no other than from the Greek.[1]

1. Job Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopica* (Frankfurt am Main, 1681) §III.4: "The Ethiopic version of the Bible undoubtedly originates from a Greek text. In a pure and complete form, however, it is

The thesis of a multiple origin is sensible in view of the doublets and conflations that characterize Eth already in MSS as early as the fourteenth century.[2] Examples include ms. 3 (Ab type, 12th/14th century), which, when translating ἐδίδου καρπόν in Matt 13:8, combines the reading "was fruitful" of mss. 1 and 2 (Aa type, 12th/13th century) with the more literal reading "gave fruit" of ms. 12 (B type, 13th/14th century). This conflation is common in MSS of the C type from the late fourteenth century onward. Ms. 12, which was used for the *editio princeps*, although presenting a rather pure B text, is not without conflations of the same kind. One finds an example in Matt 13:14, where καὶ ἀναπληροῦται is translated with a doublet: "that might come and be fulfilled." The first element represents the A text, while the second is typical of the B text. Again this conflation becomes the standard text in C MSS from the late fourteenth century onward.

A number of questions remain, however. Are the copious doublets indeed the result of more than one translation? Freely quoting Hackspill, Montgomery may come closer to the truth when he states that "the story of Bible translations is not one of new translations but rather of progressive revisions."[3] One also would like to know whether these translations or revisions cover the whole of the NT, what was their origin and what were their main characteristics, and how the ensuing texts are traceable in the various books of the NT.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, following a suggestion by Guidi, Hackspill tackled some of these problems.[4] Hackspill confined himself to the first ten chapters of Matthew in ms. 15 (Ab type, 14th century), but those he researched thoroughly. He agreed with Ludolf that Eth is basically a translation of the Greek, made in the fourth or fifth century. On the basis of extensive comparison he concluded that this Greek text was of an early Byzantine type.[5] According to Hackspill, the

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not yet available in Europe." This last remark refers to the *editio princeps*, and rightly so. Cf. Ludolf, *Commentarius ad suam Historiam Aethiopicam* (Frankfurt am Main, 1691) 295: "It is impossible to assume that the Ethiopic version which is current in Europe, both of the Old and of the New Testament, was translated from the Arabic." Furthermore, "We shall not deny that different translations of Scripture exist in Ethiopia, . . . but we are in no way convinced that a more recent one has been translated from the Arabic" (p. 297). (I must add that in the last remark Ludolf is speaking of the OT, and of the NT only by implication. Moreover, he means translators rather than translations.) See also Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968) 37.

2. I use the classification and numeration I proposed in *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: The Synoptic Gospels* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 27; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989) 1.48ff.

3. J. A. Montgomery, "The Ethiopic Text of the Acts of the Apostles," *HTR* 27 (1934) 171, quoting L. Hackspill, "Die äthiopische Evangelienübersetzung (Math. I–X)," *ZA* 11 (1896) 187.

4. I. Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico," in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Anno CCLXXXV (1888), Serie Quarta, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, vol. 4, part 1ª-Memorie; Hackspill, "Evangelienübersetzung," 117-96, 367-88.

5. He uses the expression "Syro-Occidental" ("Evangelienübersetzung," 135; cf. "syrisch-occidental" on p. 132). A problem has arisen about the meaning of this term, but I honestly do not understand what all the fuss is about. Hackspill (p. 132) explicitly follows the classification of Westcott and Hort: Neutral (MS B), Occidental (MS D, Itala, Peshitta), Alexandrian (MS A — which is not extant in the chapters of Matthew analyzed by Hackspill — and partly MS ℵ), and Syrian (MSS E F G K L M S U Δ Π and others, sometimes plus it, vg, and syr). The term "Syro-Occidental" encompasses the sum total of the "Syrian" group (which many today would call the "Koine" or "Byzantine" group) plus the "Occidental" group (the MSS of the "Western"

confusion in its transmission was caused by the intrusion of the Arabic "Alexandrian Vulgate." Some copyists added its readings to the text of the original translation, thereby giving rise to the thoroughly conflated texts of the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries, while others simply replaced the early readings with those of the "Alexandrian Vulgate."

This hypothesis undeniably removes some questions. The earlier MSS[6] of the Gospel of Matthew indicate indeed, roughly speaking, three types of text: a type that might be more or less the original ("A text" in my classification); a type that looks like a correction on the basis of some Arabic *Vorlage* ("B text"); and an expanding type that, verse after verse, conflates the readings of these two ("C text"). Then, from the seventeenth century onward, revisions of the C text begin to appear on the basis of an Arabic text, of which I could identify two in the Gospels.[7] No doubt there are others. One can divide the A text into three subgroups: Aa, Ab, and Ac. Aa is the earliest; Ab is somewhat later and shows some influence of revision; Ac is much like Aa but chosen as a separate indication for Mark and Luke when a MS has a B text in Matthew.

The alleged "Western" provenance of Eth needs clarification.[8] There is little doubt that the Eth of the Gospels shows a number of "Western" readings. In my edition of Mark I named, among others, Mark 6:38 and 4:1, as well as 1:23; 3:3; 4:4; 11:2; 11:13; and 12:14.[9] Hackspill mentions Matt 2:8; 2:23; 4:4; 4:16; 5:29; 5:46; 6:15; 9:4; 9:6; 10:4; 10:13; 10:23; and 10:42. Yet there are reasons to be cautious. Most of the agreement between the Eth and a particular type of Greek text in the Gospels is not with a "Western" but with an Egyptian or a Byzantine text. Perhaps, constrained by the current categories, one must say that the mixture in Matthew is not identical with the mixture in John (see further below) and elsewhere, but generally speaking I would call the Eth "early Byzantine." This is exactly what Hackspill said.[10] In addition, one can explain some alleged "Western" readings without dependence on a Greek text, and others do not belong to the earliest tradition

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text). Not a convenient combination, but Hackspill actually names the MSS: C D E F G K L M S U V Γ Δ Π, sometimes plus it, vg, and syr. All he wanted to show was that the Ethiopic version was non-Neutral and non-Alexandrian. Translating Hackspill's terminology into modern parlance, one would say that the Ethiopic *Versio Antiqua*, which he rightly saw represented in his MS, is basically a Byzantine text, with some "Western" elements and some remnants of the early Egyptian text. For lack of a better term one could coin this "early Byzantine." See also Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, 39, esp. n. 2, arguing the same point regarding the use of this term by Hackspill's teacher, Guidi.

6. "Early" in Ethiopic textual criticism means the 14th or 15th century. Only a handful of MSS (either biblical or nonbiblical) from the 14th century or earlier are extant. The oldest Ethiopic MSS known are two Abbâ Garimâ Gospels (mss. 1 and 2), which in my opinion cannot be safely dated later than the 13th century, but are probably one or two centuries older.

7. "D text" and "E text." See Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.82-88.

8. Both the unhappy confusion around the term "Syro-occidental" (see n. 5 above) and the alleged relation with the Syriac (see pp. 145-46 below), in particular the Vetus Syra, have contributed to the false opinion that the Ethiopic version was "Western."

9. On Mark 6:38 see Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.54; on 4:1, see ibid., 1.61; on the others, ibid., 1.131.

10. See n. 5 above.

of the Eth but have been absorbed later. The remaining number of "Western" readings is small indeed and hardly distinctive.[11]

But Hackspill's theses leave some questions unanswered. Is one justified in assuming that what applies to Matthew also applies to the other books of the NT? We are not. Subsequent research revealed that the Gospel of Matthew is a peculiar case. Is Hackspill's "substituting" text really based on the "Alexandrian Vulgate"? Here too Hackspill was too rash. There is definitely influence from the "Alexandrian Vulgate" but only at a relatively late stage.[12] Arabic influence on the texts earlier than the fifteenth century must have come from other quarters. Moreover, Hackspill was certainly mistaken in dating the phases of development. He saw both processes, substitution and addition, starting in the fifteenth century and running more or less concurrently. But one of his major witnesses for the substituting text, the Vatican MS (ms. 12), is at least one century earlier than that,[13] and in ms. EMML 1832 we even have a dated thirteenth-century MS (A.D. 1280/81) of the addition type; this pushes back the origin of the suggested revision well into the thirteenth century. If one looks at the virtual omnipresence of the addition-type text ("C text") from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, and its tendency to expand *ad absurdum*, it becomes much more likely that the nonconflating types of text, as they begin to appear massively in the seventeenth century, were not concurrent with the C text but rather a reaction to it.

In 1968 Edward Ullendorff published a detailed survey of research in his *Ethiopia and the Bible*. As far as the NT is concerned, Ullendorff — leaving the door slightly ajar for Arthur Vööbus's theses — refers to Hackspill as the only "authoritative" study. Ullendorff rightly saw that Eth, as known in the late 1960s from the then available MSS, does not justify the opinion "that the work of translation was necessarily carried out on one *Vorlage* only, that not more than one attempt was made, and that any given MS may not incorporate the results of varying strands and translational traditions."[14]

In three publications of the 1950s, Vööbus had defended an Old Syriac *Vorlage* of Eth.[15] He was certainly right in pointing out the chaotic state of the textual tradition

11. If in Hackspill's examples one excludes the addition of a subject (4:4) or a verbal suffix (2:8; 6:15; 9:4), because they are too common to be distinctive, and if one also drops the instances that may well be explained as free translation (4:16b; 5:46; 9:6; 10:4; 10:13), as well as the one where the alleged "Western" reading is not found in the earliest MSS (2:23), one is left with 4:16a; 5:29; 10:23; and 10:42, four examples of fairly clear "Western" elements in ten chapters — not very impressive. Under those conditions P^{66} is also "Western." (It is a pity that NA^{26}, contrary to promise, does not mention more than half of the relevant variant readings in Codex Bezae.)

12. In the Gospels the earliest MS that clearly reflects influence of the "Alexandrian Vulgate" is ms. 39 from Dāgā Estifānos (15th/16th century). It stands practically on its own. The next would be London, British Library, Or. 509 (18th century).

13. The fifteenth-century date attributed to it by Grébaut and Tisserant (*Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani* [2 vols.; Vatican City: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1935]) is too late. A fourteenth- or even late thirteenth-century date, on palaeographical grounds, is much more plausible. Uhlig suggests the mid-fourteenth century (*Äthiopische Paläographie* [Stuttgart: Steiner, 1988]).

14. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, 39, 53.

15. Arthur Vööbus, *Die Spuren eines älteren Äthiopischen Evangelientextes* (PETSE, Stockholm, 1951); idem, "Ta'amera Iyasus," *OCP* 17 (1951) 46-67; idem, *Early Versions of the New Testament* (PETSE 6; Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1954).

of the Ethiopic NT, where almost any textual variant in the apparatus of a critical edition of the Greek text would find some support somewhere. His pan-Syrian approach, however, does not stand its ground when the textual data are properly analyzed. Neither is there, in spite of legendary reports about early Syrian influence in Ethiopia, much to say in favor of a Syriac origin from the historical point of view.[16]

A Coptic *Vorlage* was suggested as early as 1866 by Paul de Lagarde,[17] but this thesis has never found much support. The Eth has a few Coptic loanwords,[18] but no indication of a full translation from one of the Coptic dialects. One would expect in the transcription of names and loanwords at least some of the typical misspellings characteristic of texts that have gone through a Coptic phase, but none appears in the Gospels.[19]

Ever since Ludolf the view of scholars (with the above exceptions) has been that Eth originated from a Greek text. A Greek origin of the Eth of the Acts of the Apostles was defended by Montgomery and Boismard.[20] Hofmann found a Greek text underlying the Eth of the Apocalypse.[21] My own research led me to deny any other origin than Greek in the case of the Gospels.[22] Finally, Uhlig and Hofmann in their edition of the Catholic epistles and the Pauline Corpus come to the same conclusion.[23] Whatever the vicissitudes of the Eth may have been, and granted that influences from non-Greek sources may have played their role already at an early stage, the Eth is an immediate descendant of the Greek textual tradition.

II. Present State

We are at present in a much better position than Ludolf, Hackspill, and even Ullendorff in 1968. Recent decades have witnessed the appearance of large numbers of MSS, some of which — by Ethiopian standards — are very old.[24] At the beginning of the century Gregory listed just over one hundred NT MSS; the number has now risen to well over five hundred. The most important collection of early biblical MSS is the Davies collection of microfilms, deposited in the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (HMML) at Collegeville, Minnesota. By far the largest is the Ethiopic Monastic Manuscript Library (EMML) collection, also at home in Collegeville.

16. I argued both points in *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.95-99, 114-23. See further below.

17. Paul de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866).

18. See, e.g., Coptic *MTON* in Mark 16:18 (Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 2.397).

19. See further Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.112-13.

20. Montgomery, "Ethiopic Text"; M.-É. Boismard and A. Lemouille, *Le Text occidental des Actes des Apôtres* (2 vols.; Synthèse 17; Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1984).

21. J. Hofmann, *Die Äthiopische Übersetzung des Johannes-Apokalypse* (CSCO 281; Louvain, 1967).

22. Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.90-132.

23. J. Hofmann and S. Uhlig, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: Die Katholischen Briefe* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 29; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992); H. Maehlum and S. Uhlig, *Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: Die äthiopische Version der Gefangenschaftsbriefe des Paulus* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 33; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992).

24. See n. 6 above.

Catalogs of these collections as well as some other formerly uncataloged collections are now available or being produced.[25]

The work of critically editing these MSS, or at least an informed selection of them, has begun. Hofmann was the first with his edition of the Apocalypse in 1967. Five years later Metzger edited the shorter ending of Mark's Gospel, using and mentioning sixty-five MSS.[26] I researched the textual tradition of the Synoptic Gospels and edited Mark in 1989; Matthew is under way and Luke will follow. Uhlig and Hofmann have published the Catholic epistles and part of the *Corpus Paulinum*. Additional work remains to be done. There is much new material on the Apocalypse. The edition of the Gospel of John needs to be undertaken. The exact origin of the many revisions has to be established. That, however, will be possible only if another *desideratum* is fulfilled: a text-critical edition (or rather: a number of such editions) of the NT in Arabic.[27]

So where do we stand now regarding the seven topics mentioned at the beginning of this essay? On the "when, where, and why" question, unanimity is widely prevalent. The Eth originated book by book, possibly at first even pericope by pericope, in the kingdom of Axum in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, for the use of a Christianized population that did not understand Greek. Some details, however, are still disputed. Whether the charming story of the little brothers, Frumentius and Edesius, as reported by Rufinus is historically reliable — I doubt it — is not very important.[28] Frumentius is named by Athanasius and his adversaries as "bishop of the Axumites" in the mid-fourth century.[29] It is possible that at least parts of the NT in Ge'ez existed at that time. Early in the sixth century Ethiopia was a Christian nation. By that time the clergy must have had access to a complete Bible in their own language. A fourth- or fifth-century date also fits in with the type of text that might have been its *Vorlage* (see further below).

Already in the nineteenth century scholars recognized that Eth "re-Semiticizes" some proper names and uses Aramaic loanwords for a number of religious terms.[30] This factor points to a Jewish Aramaic background of some of the translators or early copyists.[31]

25. For details see Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.220ff. The Cerulli collection has now been described also by O. Raineri. See *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 31 (1987) 247; 32 (1988) 18 for references.

26. B. M. Metzger, "The Ending of the Gospel according to Mark in Ethiopic Manuscripts," in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings* (ed. John Reumann; Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1972) 165-80; he mentioned another 129 MSS (from EMML) in the final version of the article (in *New Testament Studies: Philological, Versional, and Patristic* [NTTS 10; Leiden: Brill, 1980] 127-47).

27. Arabic versions were translated from Greek, Syriac, and Coptic (B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1977] 257-68). I noticed Old Syriac readings in some of them. This matter deserves more interest than is presently given.

28. *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.9 (*PL* 21.478ff.)

29. See J. M. Szymusiak, ed., *Athanase d'Alexandrie. Deux Apologies* (SC 56bis; Paris: Cerf, 1987) *Ep.* 29 and 31.

30. Among others by de Lagarde *(Gesammelte Abhandlungen)* and Hackspill ("Evangelienübersetzung"); see also the preface to Dillmann's *Lexicon* and H. J. Polotsky, "Aramaic, Syriac, and Ge'ez," *JSS* 9 (1964) 1-10.

31. A remarkable example is found in the A text of John 1:42, where the translator transposed

Another point is the question of the "Nine Saints." As the story goes they were Monophysite Syrian monks who came to Ethiopia in the early sixth century because of persecution in their homeland.[32] According to Vööbus among others, their Syrian background was the reason for the supposed Syriacisms in Eth. I shall not deny that there is historical truth in the story of Syrian monks coming to Ethiopia, but I am not convinced that it happened in the fifth century and even less that these "Nine Saints" are connected with the translation of the Bible. I would rather attribute interference with the biblical text to the Syrians who stayed in Ethiopia during the Zâgwê period (ca. 1150-1270) and were thrown out in the early fourteenth century, when the "Solomonic Dynasty" was consolidated and the sole authority of the Egyptian patriarch was restored.[33] Using (and perhaps trying to introduce) their own Syriac-based Arabic Scriptures, these Syrians might have claimed that their version had strong credentials. That would leave the indigenous translations allegedly corrupted by the Egyptians.[34]

The question of the Greek *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic *Versio Antiqua* is complicated. The first chapters of Mark have a distinct agreement with the text of Greek Codex W (Freerianus, 032).[35] Other parts show a type of text that for lack of a better term I call "early Byzantine." The matter needs to be investigated further, not only book by book but chapter by chapter.

On the A text of the Gospel of John no research has so far been done. Unfortunately there are many obstacles. The earliest text, and obviously the one less spoiled, is to be found in two *Abbâ Garimâ* MSS (mss. 1 and 2). Both, however, have large lacunae and many severely stained pages, mostly illegible on microfilm. Where these conditions overlap we have no reliable A text, since the Lalibalâ MS (ms. 4), and even more so the other A MSS, are clearly the result of a revision. Unless new MS evidence can be found, parts of the Gospel of John will have to be restored on the basis of the later evidence.

The general characteristics of Eth, mentioned below, also apply to the Gospel

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Kephas and *Petros*, making *Kephas* the familiar name and *Petros* the translation. I have a suspicion that there may be some truth in the traditional Ethiopian view that (some sort of) Judaism preceded Christianity in Ethiopia. It is possible that the OT (LXX?) was known to some of the early translators of the NT. See Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.127-28, 132, 209, and 2.366 (at Mark 7:31).

32. For a full report see C. Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia* (Bergamo: Arti Grafiche, 1928) 158ff. The main facts are summed up by Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, 52-53.

33. Yagba-Seyon, at the end of the 13th century, complained to the Coptic patriarch about the influence of "Syrian metropolitans" in Ethiopia. Yet he himself and his successor Amda-Seyon (1314-1344) employed Syrian secretaries and seemed to have good relations with the Jacobites. The Syrians may have been in Ethiopia since the row between the Coptic patriarch and the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch in 1238. An earlier date is also possible. As early as 1099, when the crusaders conquered Jerusalem, the Syrians fled to Egypt, and there have been other occasions when they had to flee from Jerusalem. Some of them may have ended up in Ethiopia. See O. F. A. Meinardus, *The Copts in Jerusalem* (Cairo: Commission on oecumenical affairs of the see of Alexandria, 1960) 14-17; idem, *Christian Egypt Faith and Life* (Cairo: American University Press, 1965) 380; and Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 69-72, 89.

34. I suggested this solution for the problem of Syrian influence earlier in *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.117.

35. Ibid., 1.130-31.

of John. For that reason there is no point in using the evidence of Eth in instances involving word order, the presence of words or suffixes indicating personal subjects or objects (only the absence is significant), the translation of Greek moods and tenses, and so on. A few examples will illustrate the point. Obviously for stylistic reasons the *Versio Antiqua* ("A text") completely changes the word order in 1:27: "whom I am not worthy to loosen the thong of his sandal (is) he who comes after me." Most editions, following more recent MSS, restore the Greek order. That Eth renders "first the good wine" in 2:10 in such a way that "first" comes last does not at all mean that its *Vorlage* had the word order of P^{75}. In 4:27 Eth adds "to him" to "none said." One might be tempted to interpret this addition as support for the "Western" text, but since Ethiopic would have added the personal suffix anyway, it is no such thing.

Nevertheless, Eth, as far as it can be retrieved, may have a few surprises in store. On the basis of thirty-odd distinctive samples, mainly from the first five chapters of John, I came to the following conclusions.[36]

1. The division of A texts into three groups (Aa, Ab, and Ac), designed for the Synoptics, also makes sense for John. Although the Ac MSS (they are the MSS containing a B text in Matthew) by no means represent a text as radically revised as the B text of the Gospel of Matthew, these MSS do form a distinct group in John. They contain a number of conflations of A readings with readings of a revision that is clearly present in the Lalibalâ MS (ms. 4). Many of these conflations eventually found their way into the Roman and the Platt editions.[37]

2. The Roman edition does not represent the *Versio Antiqua*. It largely copies the Ac text of the Vatican MS (ms. 12). There are some conflations; for example, in 1:28 one finds "Bitânyâ Bêtarâbâ." "Bêtarâbâ" on its own occurs for the first time in the Lalibalâ MS (ms. 4), while the A text reads "Bitâniyâ" only.

3. The Platt edition is even more useless for text-critical purposes than the Roman edition. As in the Synoptic Gospels it represents a thoroughly eclectic text, with many elements deriving from late Ethiopic MSS that have been revised with the help of an Arabic text.

4. The influence of the so-called Greek Majority text is not as strong as in the Synoptics. In about half of my sample cases Eth goes against the Ethiopic equivalent of the Greek Majority text. The later Ethiopic MSS usually bring the text closer to the Majority. To give a few examples of non-Majority readings, Eth supports "only God" in 1:18, does not add "who is in heaven" in 3:13, does not add "and" at the beginning of 3:32, and leaves out the complete *pericope adulterae* in 7:53–8:11. In all four examples the Platt edition supports the Majority text.

36. Having chosen only those cases involving readings which beyond reasonable doubt have been reproduced in the Ge'ez translation, and having transliterated as literally as possible both the Greek and the Ge'ez into English, I trust that with the help of the critical apparatus of the recent editions of the Greek NT the reader will understand which Greek variant I am referring to. I name only a few witnesses; the remainder may be found in the apparatus of NA^{26}. I am well aware of the dangers of retroversion. Therefore only when this danger is minimal have I selected a text as a sample.

37. See the example of Bethany in John 1:28, mentioned in the next paragraph.

5. One can establish statistically significant agreement between Eth and the Greek text of P^{66}, B, and C.[38]

The first example that comes to mind is John 1:49, where Eth, by adding "truly" (*'amân*, not the loanword *'amên*), seems to be almost the only text to support P^{66}. There is, however, in this instance the possibility of coincidental contextual harmonization, since "truly" also appears in verse 47, although Eth translates slightly differently there (*be'amân*).

There are more examples (in addition to the first three mentioned under point 4 above) of Ethiopic readings supporting P^{66}, B, and C (as far as it is extant). In 1:27 Eth with P^{66}, B, C*, and others omits "who came into existence before me." In 1:36 Eth supports P^{66*} and C (against B) by adding "who takes away the sin of the world." In 3:31 Eth reads "is above all" at the end of the verse, with P^{66} and B. In 4:11 Eth retains "the woman" with P^{66}, C, and the Majority text (but against B). One example of the reverse: Eth goes against the combined witness of P^{66}, B, and C* in John 17:12 and joins the Majority text by adding "in the world."

Finally, there is the case of John 5:3-4. After "paralyzed" in verse 3 the Majority text and some others (against P^{66} P^{75} ℵ A* B C* and a number of others) have a large addition. One would expect this addition to be absent from Eth. That is, however, only partly the case. The Eth adds: (3b) "and they waited for the disturbing of the water. (4a) For an angel of the Lord at the right time washed himself[39] in the pool and the water was disturbed." That is only the first part of the Greek *comma*, missing the actual point of the addition. I could find no other witness for this strange phenomenon. I take it, however, as an indication that this part of the A text might be secondary.

6. The Greek *Vorlage* of Eth in John is certainly neither "Western" nor purely "Byzantine." Not unlike the Synoptics, but with a stronger element of Greek MS B and its allies, it too might — for lack of a more suitable designation — be called "early Byzantine." If it were retrievable it would probably fall in Alands' Category II.[40]

No special relationship exists between Eth and any of the Syriac versions. The argument against a Syriac *Vorlage* clearly holds for the Gospel of John as well.[41]

The matter of the provenance of Eth must be considered settled: it was Greek (see above). The question of whether there were one or more translations cannot be answered in general terms. Ludolf's idea of more than one translation still finds some support.[42] My view, based on thorough research of the Gospels and a close look at

38. I must say that in the last chapters of John the agreement between the Ethiopic and P^{66} (which is fragmentary there) and B is not distinctive.

39. With some Greek MSS and versions; some later Ethiopic MSS, among others ms. 4, have the equivalent of the more common "descended." This is another example of the complexity of the Ethiopic textual tradition.

40. K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 106.

41. See Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.114-23. Cf. no. 79 of my list on p. 99 and p. 103, the strange but not unique fact that a Greek word (προβατικῇ in John 5:2) has been transcribed inclusive of its inflectional suffix.

42. Hofmann mentions the possibility ("Das Neue Testament in äthiopischer Sprache," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* [ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972] 360).

most other books of the NT, is that the strongest case for two translations can be made for the Gospel of Matthew. Still, even in Matthew the hypothesis of a revision fits the facts better.

The problem here concerns the "B text." The earliest MSS of the Gospel have a distinct text, which I call the "A text."[43] A number of early MSS, albeit not as early as the ones containing the A text,[44] have a text that differs considerably from the A text. I call it the "B text." It has a number of more or less distinctive features. It uses "while saying" *(enza yebl)* instead of "and he said" (*wayebê*, usually with pronominal suffix) in the A text, and the loanword *Diablos* where the A text has *Saytân*. The quotation formula "was fulfilled" is rendered freely in the A text ("arrived") but literally in the B text. Nothing, however, is consistent in Eth. There are always exceptions, and no guarantee exists that even the earliest MSS represent the original translation(s).

The difference between the A text and the B text is prominent in Matthew, less noticeable in Mark and Luke, but obvious again in John.[45] The B text of Matthew, as it occurs in the late medieval MSS, is unusually uniform, which is a sign of authoritative tradition over a period of no more than two generations. The *terminus ad quem* lies in the late thirteenth century because the earliest MS to conflate the A text and the B text (ms. 11) is dated A.D. 1280/81. Many elements of the B text, however, must be earlier, since they appear in abundance in the Lalibalâ MS.[46]

The B text has too much in common with the A text to be regarded as a totally independent translation. Almost without exception the B text is closer to the Greek than the A text.[47] In particular, it looks as if the many freely translated passages in the A text have been corrected. Apart from that the B text has a Semitic flavor in the spelling of proper names and loanwords, even more than the A text.

A good example of the phenomenon of A text versus B text is the notorious passage, Matt 21:28-31. I give a literal translation, in parallel columns.

Matthew 21:28-31

A text	B text
28.	
What do you say?	What then do you say?

(The B text adds the equivalent of Greek δέ.)

43. Mss. 1 and 2, 13th century or earlier.

44. Mss. 12, 13, and 14. See further below.

45. See n. 49.

46. EMML 6907 (no. 4), of the 12th/13th century. The text in Matthew belongs predominantly to the A group, but in some chapters elements of the B text are prominent.

47. Nonetheless, the exceptions make it hard to assume an immediate Greek background for the B text. See the example of Matt 21:28 and 21:30 below.

A man had two boys.	A man had two sons, brothers.

(Absence or presence of τις cannot be decided. "Boys" or "sons" [Eth has synonyms] is irrelevant for the *Vorlage*. "Brothers" is a gloss, part of a conflation that I have not been able to trace back. It is one of the rare occasions where the B text deviates from the Greek against the A text.)

And he said to the elder one:	And he said to the first:
My son, go,	My son, go,

(The A text is freer but represents the same Greek as the B text. Both texts omit here and in v. 30 the rather superfluous-looking προσελθών. The agreement with sy^{cs} is probably coincidental. The agreement of A and B suggests interdependence.)

leave for my vineyard, work today!	work today (in) my vineyard!

(The A text adds a verb meaning "leave for the fields," which looks like a doublet [if it is not a clumsy interpretation of προσελθών]. The A text may also translate εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. The B text, as usual, follows the Greek literally, including its word order.)

29.

And he answered and said to him:	And he answered and said:

(The A text, as usual [see also v. 31], adds an object to the verb.)

Yes!	Not me!

(The A text has only an affirmative [either ἐγώ or ὑπάγω is possible]. The B text seems to render οὐ θέλω.)

And he did not go.	And after that he repented and went.

30.

And he said to the younger one the same.	And to the second one too he said the same.

(Again both texts omit προσελθών. The B text most likely goes back to δευτέρῳ, while the A text could be either ἑτέρῳ or δευτέρῳ.)

And he said:	And he answered and said:
Impossible!	Yes, my lord!

(The A text represents οὐ θέλω; the B text has the same affirmation that the A text has in v. 29, but adds "my lord.")

And thereafter he repented	

(The B text omits these words here. The Ge'ez in the B text of v. 29 differs slightly.)

and went.	and he did not go.

31.

Which of these two	So which of these two

(The B text adds the equivalent of οὖν.)

	was the one who
did the will of his father?	did the will of his father?

(The B text is more elegant, but there is no difference in meaning. The addition of "his," absent in the Greek, is more or less obligatory in Ge'ez in these cases.)

And they said to him:	And they said:
(See at v. 29.)	
the latter.	the first.

(The A text could translate either ὕστερος or ἔσχατος.)

And Jesus said to them:	And Jesus said to them:
Amen I say to you	Amen I say to you
publicans and prostitutes	that publicans and prostitutes

(The A text and the B text use slightly different words for "publicans" and "prostitutes," but the meaning is identical.)

will precede [masc.] you	will precede [fem.] you
to the kingdom of heaven.	in the kingdom of God.

("Heaven" in the A text is a case of contextual harmonization; cf. Matt 7:21; 18:3; 19:23; 20:1; 22:2; etc. This is a common feature in Eth.)

In general the B version follows the Majority text, whereas the A version is closest to mss. B and Θ. "A," however, is a rather free translation (of the Greek, no doubt) and therefore its exact provenance is hard to establish. "B," as usual, is much closer to the Greek, but that does not imply direct dependence on a Greek original. The remarkable agreement between "A" and "B" in verses 28 and 30 (both omit προσελθών) and the fact that "B" uses exactly the same Ethiopic words as "A" for acceptance and refusal, although in reverse order, indicate that the author of the B text had the A text in mind, if not in front of him.

My suggestion would be that the B text is the result of a revision of the *Versio Antiqua* by Arabic-speaking clergy in Ethiopia with a Syrian background, during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries (see the previous discussion). The Lalibalâ MS (ms. 4) represents an early attempt to correct the A text, while the Vatican MS (ms. 12) and its allies represent the final, authoritative stage.

In sum, the following picture appears, based on the Gospels but according to relevant studies and editions valid for the remaining sections of the NT as well.[48] The earliest Ethiopic version originated in the fourth/fifth century as a translation of a Greek text. In the twelfth century a revision started that was carried out completely only in the Gospel of Matthew but that also left traces in other books.[49] From the

48. Ethiopic tradition divides the NT in five sections, each usually bound in a separate volume: (1) Four Gospels (many separate Gospels of John are extant); (2) Pauline epistles (including Hebrews); (3) Catholic epistles; (4) Apocalypse; (5) the book of Acts is usually bound in one volume with one of the others (usually Paul), but never with the Gospels.

49. Outside Matthew, for reasons I explained above, I call it "Ac text."

fourteenth century onward there have been several new attempts to improve the text on the basis of an Arabic NT.

III. Character and Value

On the character of Eth much has been written.[50] A summary, therefore, suffices here. In addition to the precautions that apply to the use of any version, when using Eth one has to be aware of its particular characteristics.

This version has an extreme tendency toward harmonization.[51] It simplifies not only when the Greek is difficult but also by using the same words or the same grammatical construction repeatedly in the same context ("contextual harmonization"). It adds ad lib subjects (e.g., "Jesus") and objects (e.g., "he said *to them*"). As a translation it is in no way consistent.[52]

Ge'ez syntax allows a relatively free order of words in the sentence. That freedom is reflected in the A text. Only the B text in Matthew sometimes restores the Greek word order. The predominance of parataxis makes it inevitable that the conjunction "and" (Ge'ez *we*) appears abundantly and in most instances is no reliable indication of the presence of Greek καί.

A version is a version and not a Greek MS. Like other versions Eth should be used with much caution in reconstructing the underlying Greek. In addition, a gap of about half a millennium separates the actual translation(s) from the earliest MSS. No one knows what happened to the text during that period. From the twelfth century onward there is ever-increasing confusion, caused by the influence of Arabic texts.

For the Gospels we have a few MSS of the thirteenth century or earlier. In the rest of the NT the earliest MSS come from the fourteenth century. If a critical edition is able to overcome these handicaps, considerable value remains. The translation was made in a relatively early period. In some parts it reflects a type of text that obviously comes from Egypt. Greek papyri have changed our perception of the early transmission of the text and called into question the usefulness of some aspects of the current system of classification. Within a new, refined framework of groups and types of text Eth may appear even more valuable than it is at the present time.

50. Hofmann, *Die Äthiopische Übersetzung*, 240-56; Zuurmond, *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.48-67; 2.336-38.

51. I have a feeling that this may, at least partly, be caused by the fact that the earliest translations were made for lectionary purposes. Lectionaries often have parallel pericopes from the Gospel immediately after one another. That could greatly enhance the chance of harmonization and may have done so right from the beginning.

52. I have mentioned (in *Synoptic Gospels*, 1.128-29) the case of the word for Passover (Greek πάσχα). One could transcribe this in several ways in Ethiopic. Different transcriptions, each with a different background, are sometimes found on the same page of the same MS. One could add a long list of such inconsistencies (see *Synoptic Gospels*, 2.335-39). Those who want a survey of "the" translation technique of this version are asking for the moon.

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2. Abbâ Garimâ III. Aa type. XIII or earlier. Four Gospels. Microfilm, Davies collection, HMML.
3. Abbâ Garimâ II. Ab type. XIII/XIV. Four Gospels. Microfilm, Davies collection, HMML.
4. Lalibalâ. Aa type with B influence. XII/XIII. Four Gospels. Microfilm, Davies collection, HMML. Second copy: EMML 6907.
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CHAPTER 10

THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Joseph M. Alexanian

The Bible was translated into Armenian in the early fifth century as part of an historic struggle to unify the Armenian people and preserve their religion and culture from destruction in the battles between the Persian Empire on the east and the Byzantine Empire on the west. The leaders in this spiritual and cultural renaissance were the catholicos of the Armenian Church, Sahak (ca. A.D. 350-439), and the scholar-missionary Mesrop Mashtots (ca. A.D. 361-440). Supported by the king Vramshapouh, Mesrop created an Armenian alphabet and he and Sahak and their disciples translated the Bible as well as the writings of religious and secular authors into Armenian. This initial translation of the Bible (Arm 1) was followed by a thorough revision later in the fifth century (Arm 2).[1]

The Arm 1 NT was translated from an Old Syriac base text during A.D. 406-414. Following the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, Greek copies of the Bible were brought from Constantinople and the Arm 2 revision was based on the Greek text. The character of this Greek text is a matter of considerable discussion. Later in the fifth century, the Bible was translated from Armenian into Georgian. The earliest Armenian and Georgian MSS and fragments suggest that Arm 2 was originally closer to Arm 1 than is the Arm 2 text found in our extant MSS, the earliest of which dates from the ninth century.[2] A process of corrections during the fifth and sixth centuries eliminated many Old Syriac and Tatianic readings and conformed Arm 2 more closely to the Greek text. All Armenian NT MSS and virtually all OT MSS derive from the Arm 2 revision, since they share a number of unusual readings, that is, free renderings, Syriacisms, and mistranslations of the Greek.[3]

1. For a historical survey of this period, see George A. Bournoutian, *A History of the Armenian People* (2 vols.; Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1993) 1.53-89; and Karekin Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London: SPCK, 1965) 61-110. For a different view of Mesrop's and Sahak's motivation, see Hagop J. Nersoyan, "The Why and When of the Armenian Alphabet," *JSAS* 2 (1985-86) 51-71.

2. For surveys of the research into the origin and early history of the Armenian version, see Louis Leloir, "Versions arméniennes," *DBSup* 6.810-14; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 161-69, 190-96; and Joseph M. Alexanian, "The Armenian Version in Luke and the Question of the Caesarean Text" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1982) 5-34.

3. August Merk, "Die Einheitlichkeit der armenische Evangelienübersetzung," *Bib* 4 (1923)

The usefulness of the Armenian version for text-critical purposes has been recognized since the time of Johann Jakob Griesbach, who included Armenian among the Alexandrian witnesses in the third edition of his Greek NT published in 1805.[4] The value of the version derives from its antiquity, the ability of the language to represent its *Vorlage*, the accuracy of scribal transmission, and the light shed by the version on the status of the biblical text in a distant corner of the ancient world. In the case of particular books, especially among the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and the book of Revelation in the NT, the witness of the Armenian is crucial for establishing the original text.[5]

In spite of two hundred years of scholarly interest, the testimony of the version regarding the fifth-century Armenian text has been compromised by the lack of a critical edition based on sound methodological principles. The text regularly cited in critical editions of both the OT and NT is the 1805 edition of Yovhannes Zōhrapean (Zohrab) of the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice, Italy.[6] Though a notable achievement for its time, the Zohrab edition is woefully inadequate, by modern text-critical standards, in both text and apparatus.

Zohrab's base text, which is cited in critical apparatuses to represent the fifth-century Armenian version, is not the earliest attainable text, much less the text of the fifth century. It represents a later form of the Cilician text, which is itself a late and somewhat noncharacteristic development in the transmission of the Armenian text.[7] Though the Cilician text does not appear to have undergone arbitrary revision, the text in the Gospels does show a clear shift toward the Latin Vulgate and Greek Byzantine texts, especially in conspicuous passages such as the Lord's Prayer and the *pericope adulterae*.[8] Many MSS from Greater Armenia represent the fifth-century testimony of the version more accurately than Zohrab's base text.

Not only is Zohrab's text inadequate, his apparatus is virtually useless for text-critical purposes, both because the MSS whose readings are cited are not iden-

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356-74; S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron* (BibOr 13; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1950) 180.

4. J. J. Griesbach, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1805) xix.

5. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 169.

6. Yovhannes Zōhrapean, *Astuacašunč' Matean Hin ew Nor Ktakaranc'* (God-breathed Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments) (Venice: St. Lazar Press, 1805). (In Armenian.)

7. See Claude Cox, "The Textual Character of the Manuscript Printed as Text in Zōhrapean's Bible," *REArm* 18 (1984) 69-83; and Joseph M. Alexanian, "The Armenian Gospel Text from the Fifth Through the Fourteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Armenian Culture* (ed. Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone; UPATS 6; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984) 387-89. The seat of Armenia's political and religious life moved to Cilicia in southern Asia Minor when the armies of the Byzantines and the Seljuk Turks overran Greater Armenia. The Cilician Kingdom (A.D. 1080-1375) acquired great power and wealth. During this period, Armenian culture was first exposed to the full force of European — especially Frankish — culture. Frankish influence affected many aspects of Armenian culture, including the biblical text. See Bournoutian, *History*, 1.117-31, for the history of the period.

8. Claude Cox, "Concerning a Cilician Revision of the Armenian Bible," in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Claude Cox; Mississauga, Ontario: Benben, 1984) 209-22; Alexanian, "Armenian Gospel Text," 388-89. Cf. idem, "Armenian Versions," *ABD* 6.805-8. This textual shift is related, no doubt, to the Uniate movement in Cilician Armenia and the close ties between the Armenian nobility and Catholic Europe.

tified and because they are too few in number and narrow in range to represent the chronological and geographical diversity in the transmission of the text. Readings in the apparatus are sometimes superior to the base text, but the limitations of the apparatus prevent the textual critic from utilizing that information.

Especially when scholars must weigh the evidence for including or omitting a passage and find the Greek evidence divided is it crucial that the versional evidence be represented accurately. This is not the case, for example, when the *UBSGNT* cites the evidence for the phrase υἱοῦ (τοῦ) θεοῦ in Mark 1:1 and for the account of Jesus' bloody sweat in Luke 22:43-44. In both cases the Armenian version is listed in favor of including the passage, when virtually all MSS from the ninth through the twelfth centuries that I have examined (currently 34 MSS) omit both passages, strongly suggesting that the fifth-century Arm 2 text may have omitted both passages.

The desperate need for a critical edition of the ancient Armenian version has been recognized for many years.[9] In 1969 the Synod of Bishops of the Armenian Apostolic Church initiated a project to prepare and publish a critical edition of the classical Armenian Bible. A governing committee was formed of scholars in Armenia, and the project was made part of the program of the Academy of Sciences and the Mashtots Institute of Manuscripts (the Matenadaran) in Erevan. To supplement the efforts of scholars within Armenia, Armenologists from around the world have been invited to participate in the project.[10]

Critical editions of the OT corpus are being published regularly.[11] Work in the NT is proceeding more slowly. Nevertheless, significant progress has been made in a number of areas during the past fifty years.[12] I will survey in turn the tools that have been developed to support Armenian textual studies, the methodological advances in Armenian textual criticism, the technical studies of the Armenian text, and the text-critical projects that are currently under way, placing greater emphasis on developments since about 1970.

9. Metzger's interest in the Armenian version is evident beginning with his Ph.D. dissertation published by the University of Chicago Press in 1944. His interest has continued unabated through the years. Again and again he has reminded his readers of the value of Armenian for NT textual studies and has expressed the need for a critical edition of the Armenian NT. See, e.g., Bruce M. Metzger, "The Evidence of the Versions for the Text of the New Testament," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies* (ed. Merrill M. Parvis and Allen P. Wikgren; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950) 41; idem, "Recent Contributions to the Study of the Ancient Versions of the New Testament," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship* (ed. J. Philip Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965) 347; idem, *Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* (NTTS 8; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968) 150; idem, *Early Versions*, 170-71.

10. Chahé Ajamian, "Deux projets concernant la Bible arménienne," in *Armenian and Biblical Studies* (ed. Michael E. Stone; Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976) 8-12; C. Cox, "A Report on the Critical Edition of the Armenian Old Testament," *REArm* 16 (1982) 451-56.

11. For example, Michael E. Stone, ed., *The Armenian Version of IV Ezra* (UPATS 1; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979); Claude E. Cox, *The Armenian Translation of Deuteronomy* (UPATS 2; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981); A. S. Zeyt'unyan, ed., *Girk' Cnndoc' K'nnakan Bnagir* (Critical text of the book of Genesis) (Hay Hnaguyn T'argmanakan Hušarjanner [The most ancient monuments of translation] 1; Erevan, Armenian SSR: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1985) (in Armenian); S. Peter Cowe, *The Armenian Version of Daniel* (UPATS 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992). Zeyt'unyan's edition of Exodus has also been published and other books are in preparation.

12. See Metzger, *Early Versions*, 153-71, 190-96; Claude Cox, "Biblical Studies and the Armenian Bible, 1955-1980," *RB* 89 (1982) 99-113.

Professor Metzger has pointed out that more MSS of the Armenian version of the NT are extant than of any other version except the Latin Vulgate.[13] Since these MSS are scattered throughout the world, MS catalogs are a necessity for text-critical research. Catalogs for most of the major collections and many of the smaller collections have been available for some time.[14] During the past few years, several new catalogs have appeared that will significantly aid the researcher. Volume 1 of the Armenian Academy of Science's Grand Catalog of MSS in the Mashtots Matenadaran in Erevan, with detailed descriptions of MSS 1-300, was published in 1984.[15] Several of the succeeding volumes have been readied for publication. The eleventh and final volume of Norayr Bogharian's Grand Catalog of the MSS at the St. James Monastery in Jerusalem was published in 1991.[16] This achievement caps a lifetime of dedicated labor by one of the great MS scholars of our day. In 1992 Chahé Adjemian's catalog of all whole Bible MSS and Bernard Coulie's "catalog of catalogs" were published.[17] The latter volume lists all libraries, public and private, that possess Armenian MSS, and for each library the catalogs that have been published. Also included are tables of concordance between current and old MS numbers and an index of MSS.

Microfilm of MSS and other forms of photographic reproduction are indispensable tools for the textual critic. Most of the major Armenian monasteries, as well as university libraries and public and private museums, are equipped to supply these materials. The Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., has microfilm of twenty-one Gospel MSS and five whole Bible MSS in the library of the Armenian Patriarchate and St. James Monastery in Jerusalem. The Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at Saint John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, has microfilm of 1,328 Armenian MSS in Europe and the United States, including the entire collection of the Mekhitarist Fathers in Vienna. Among these are nineteen biblical MSS and two lectionaries. They also have MS catalogs from many institutions throughout the world.

Computer technology is revolutionizing many aspects of the text critic's work. Michael Stone of Hebrew University in Jerusalem is pioneering the use of optical scanners and the Oxford Collate Program with the Macintosh computer to collate Armenian MSS, format the data, and prepare camera-ready text and critical apparatus for printing. The need for a corpus of ancient and medieval Armenian texts in

13. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 157.

14. Most of these are listed in Erroll F. Rhodes, *An Annotated List of Armenian New Testament Manuscripts* (Tokyo: Rikkyo [St. Paul's] University, 1959) viii-xiii; Leloir, "Versions arméniennes," 817; Metzger, *Early Versions*, 157-58; and Cox, "Biblical Studies," 102-3.

15. O. Eganyan, A. Zeyt'unyan, and P. Antabyan, eds., *Mayr C'uc'ak Hayerēn Jeṙagrac' Maštoc'i Anuan Matenadarani* (Grand catalog of Armenian MSS in the Mashtots Matenadaran) (Erevan: Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1984). (In Armenian.)

16. Norayr Bogharian, ed., *Mayr C'uc'ak Hayerēn Jeṙagrac' Srboc' Yakobeanc'* (Grand catalog of St. James MSS) (11 vols.; Jerusalem: Armenian Convent Printing Press, 1966-1991). (In Armenian.)

17. Chahé Adjemian, *Grand catalogue des manuscrits arméniens de la Bible* (Lisbon: Bibliothèque arménienne de la fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1992) (in Armenian); Bernard Coulie, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens* (CChr, Series Graeca; Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).

machine-readable format has led to the creation of the Leiden-Jerusalem Armenian Data Base (LJADB) by Stone and J. J. S. Weitenberg. The LJADB has a growing list of OT, NT, ecclesiastical, patristic, and historical texts stored as ASCII files. In the NT the LJADB has the Gospel text of Matenadaran MSS 2374 (A.D. 989) and 6200 (A.D. 887) and the Zohrab text of Acts.

A serious hindrance to the preparation of a critical edition of the Armenian NT is the lack of MSS from the first four centuries of the version. The ancient historians give a brief account of the origins of the version but are silent about most issues that are of concern to the textual critic.[18] Three sources can help to compensate for this lack: early MS fragments, patristic quotations, and the testimony of the early Georgian biblical MSS. Arthur Vööbus speaks of "a rich harvest" of ancient fragments of early Gospel MSS surviving as end sheets in later MSS found in libraries throughout Europe. He describes two such fragments containing portions of Matthew and claims that "this priceless material ushers in a new epoch" in the study of the Armenian text and bridges the gap between the fifth century and the extant MSS.[19] Yet this material remains scattered and difficult to access.

A second resource is biblical citations in early patristic writings and liturgical MSS. The pioneer Armenologist F. C. Conybeare, in the last article written before his death in 1924, drew attention to the fact that the Gospel text found in the citations of the fifth-century Armenian authors and translators differs from the text found in the extant MSS.[20] Paul Essabalian began the search for this early text, examining MSS of the Armenian breviary as well as the fifth-century Fathers.[21] Stanislas Lyonnet joined in the search and expanded the sources to include all of the fifth-century Fathers, the breviary, the ritual MSS, the Old Georgian text, and even the extant Armenian MSS. The lectionaries examined by Lyonnet contained only the standard Arm 2 text.[22] In 1967 Louis Leloir completed the task for the Gospel of Matthew, publishing the biblical citations in Armenian with a Latin translation.[23] Before his death, Leloir had collected the citations from the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John, and had begun working on Acts. We can only hope that someone will oversee the publication of this priceless material.

The commentaries of the Syrian church father Ephrem were translated into Armenian in the fifth century and have left their mark on the biblical text. Leloir has published the Armenian text of Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron with a Latin translation.[24] The Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary on Acts was

18. See Arthur Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament* (PETSE 6; Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1954) 138-42; S. Lyonnet, "Aux origines de l'église arménienne: La traduction de la Bible et le témoignage des historiens arméniens," *RSR* 25 (1935) 170-87; Cowe, *Daniel*, 229-37.

19. Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 156-59.

20. F. C. Conybeare, "An Armenian Diatessaron?" *JTS* 25 (1924) 232-45.

21. Paul Essabalian, *Le Diatessaron de Tatian et la première traduction des évangiles arméniens* (Vienna: Imprimerie des Pp. Mechitharistes, 1937).

22. S. Lyonnet, "La première version arménienne des évangiles," *RB* 47 (1938) 355-82; idem, "Vestiges d'un Diatessaron arménien," *Bib* 19 (1938) 121-50; idem, *Les origines*, 7-194.

23. Louis Leloir, *Citations du Nouveau Testament dans l'ancienne tradition arménienne* (CSCO 283-84, Subsidia 31-32; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1967).

24. Louis Leloir, *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'évangile concordant* (2 vols.; CSCO 137,

translated into Latin by Conybeare and was included in J. H. Ropes's study of Acts.[25] The Armenian translation of Ephrem's commentary on the Pauline epistles was published by the Mekhitarist Fathers of Venice in 1836. A Latin translation of the Armenian followed in 1893.[26]

The use of the Georgian version as a witness to the fifth-century Armenian text assumes that the Georgian Bible was translated from the Armenian in the fifth century. This is indeed the conclusion of most scholars.[27] This view does not preclude the probability of strong Syriac influence on the Georgian text, as well.

As research on the Armenian Bible advances into more complex and theoretical aspects of textual criticism, the question of methodology becomes increasingly important. For the Armenian text, methodological studies were first carried out by Michael Stone in preparation for the publishing of critical editions of the OT corpus. The procedures developed by Stone and refined by Claude Cox involve collating all MSS in select passages against Zohrab, classifying and evaluating variants and errors, grouping MSS on the basis of shared readings, evaluating the groups and determining their stemmatic relationships, choosing the best MS for the base text and other MSS to represent the diversity of the text tradition, and fully collating these MSS against the base text to construct the critical apparatus.[28]

Cox and S. Peter Cowe have followed these procedures in producing "diplomatic" critical editions of Deuteronomy and of Daniel, respectively. In his edition of 4 Ezra, Stone provides both an "eclectic" or full critical edition in part 1 and a diplomatic edition in part 2.[29] The methodology of A. S. Zeyt'unyan's edition of Genesis, and apparently that of future editions by scholars in Armenia, is more modest. The base text is the text of Zohrab's base MS, corrected and revised by the editor. Analysis of MS groupings and discussion of the archetype of the version are limited. Nevertheless, the reliability of the text and apparatus, the greater accuracy in representing the version, and the richness of the textual data are qualities for which one can be grateful.[30]

Scriptores armeniaci 1: Armenian text; CSCO 145, Scriptores armeniaci 2: Latin translation; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq and Peeters, 1953, 1954). For a French translation, see idem, *Commentaire de l'évangile concordant ou Diatessaron* (Paris: Cerf, 1966).

25. F. C. Conybeare, "The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts," in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I: *The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 3: *The Text of Acts*, by J. H. Ropes (ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake; London: Macmillan, 1926) 373-453.

26. These works were not available to me. See J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana* (TextsS 3/3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895) 83.

27. See Metzger, *Early Versions*, 190-96. For more recent studies, see Alexanian, "Armenian Version in Luke," 253-56, 265-68; and Cowe, *Daniel*, 239-66.

28. Michael E. Stone, "The Old Armenian Version of Isaiah: Towards the Choice of the Base Text for an Edition," *Textus* 8 (1973) 106-25; Michael E. Stone and Claude E. Cox, "Guidelines for Editions of Armenian Biblical Texts," *BIOSCS* 15 (1982) 51-59.

29. See n. 11 above. A diplomatic edition uses the text of one MS, judged to have the best text, as its base text. An eclectic edition presents as its base text what the editor judges to be the original text, based on all the available evidence. Stone and Cox recommend that, given the level of our understanding of the version and the poor quality of current editions, our goal for the present should be reliable diplomatic editions rather than full critical editions ("Guidelines," 51-52).

30. See the reviews of *Genesis* by S. Peter Cowe in *JTS* 39 (1988) 180-82; and Claude E. Cox in *REArm* 21 (1988-89) 87-125.

The establishing of group relationships among MSS is an essential part of reconstructing the history of a version and determining the original text. The first scholar to group Armenian MSS was Frédéric Macler in his 1919 study of the text of Matthew and Mark, using ten dated MSS. His method was common in his day: the gathering of textual agreements and disagreements collated against a common text, noting especially agreement in error.[31]

By the 1960s, when I began studying the Armenian Gospel text, NT text-critical methodology had become much more rigorous. The standard methodology was the Colwell-Tune Method.[32] As Ernest Colwell and Eldon Epp were developing the precise definitions of terms that undergird the new, quantitative methodology, they had explicitly excluded the versions because of the complex problems introduced by citing the versions on the same basis as the Greek. At the same time, Epp had stressed the need to overcome these problems and include the versional evidence with the Greek in order to gain an accurate view of the early history of the text.[33]

During the early 1970s, I successfully used the Colwell-Tune Method to measure relationships among Armenian Gospel MSS and to identify families and text-types within the MS tradition. More importantly, I developed and tested the concepts and procedures by which the Colwell-Tune Method may be used to measure the relationships between Greek MSS and Armenian and other versions.[34] Only two problems arose. First, step three of the method, the quantitative measurement of relationships, did not accurately measure the relationships between two or more versions when one version had been translated from the other. Since Armenian was translated from Old Syriac and Georgian from Armenian, most of the distinctive group readings (step two) were translational variants that are not found in the Greek text and are excluded from the corpus of variation-units used to generate the percentages in step three. In such cases, one must rely on the evidence of step two, which is not limited to variants found in the Greek text.[35]

Second, the Colwell-Tune Method clearly identified two major branches (Group Z and Group W) in the transmission of the Gospel text. But, although it pointed to the probability of subgroups within Group Z by means of high percentages of agreement between pairs of MSS (step three), it could not demonstrate their presence or describe their character because Group Z, like the Byzantine text of the

31. Frédéric Macler, *Le texte arménien de l'évangile d'après Matthieu et Marc* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1919). In regard to the methodology, cf. Eldon Jay Epp, "The Twentieth Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," *JBL* 93 (1974) 407-8 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 101-2).

32. E. C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 26-39, 56-62, 96-105, 162-64; Gordon D. Fee, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships," *NTS* 15 (1969) 28-31 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 225-27); Epp, "Twentieth Century Interlude," 407-9 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 101-3); Bart D. Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *JBL* 106 (1987) 466. See also chap. 16 by Thomas C. Geer, Jr., in this volume.

33. Colwell, *Studies*, 57n.2; Eldon Jay Epp, "Toward the Clarification of the Term 'Textual Variant,'" in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text* (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1976) 157-58, 163-64, 170-72 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 50, 54-55, 59-60).

34. Alexanian, "Armenian Version in Luke," 93-122, 300-302.

35. Ibid., 265-68.

Greek tradition, is a carefully transmitted text with relatively few distinctive readings to distinguish one subgroup from another.

The Claremont Profile Method was designed to solve this problem, as well as the challenge of assessing the relationships of thousands of MSS.[36] In connection with the IGNTP Paul McReynolds and Frederik Wisse developed the Profile Method to enable scholars to identify textually significant groups within the mass of Byzantine Greek MSS, to assign quickly new MSS to the correct group, and to select the best MSS to represent accurately each group in the apparatus of the IGNTP edition of the Gospel of Luke.[37] Although the Profile Method had not been developed for use with versions, I encountered no difficulties in applying it to the Armenian version. Thus far, the Profile Method has been used to classify over ninety Gospel MSS.[38] In view of the fact that there are over two thousand one hundred Armenian Gospel MSS, the Profile Method will continue to prove its usefulness in the future.

A methodological issue unique to versions is the problem of determining which readings represent the archetype and which reflect the idiom of the language or the habits of the translator. Allen Wikgren has stressed the necessity of expert knowledge of both Greek and the language of the version.[39] In addition, both Leloir and Henning Lehmann have illustrated from the text of James the complexity of the issue. Lehmann has demonstrated the importance of linguistics and the need to analyze translational patterns throughout the NT.[40] In this regard, a welcome feature of Metzger's *Early Versions* is the "Limitations" section that concludes the discussion of each version.[41]

36. For most of the books of the OT and NT, the total number of extant Armenian MSS is 100-150 MSS; for the Psalms, perhaps twice that number; for some of the Pseudepigrapha, fewer than 50 MSS. For the Gospels, the number of extant MSS exceeds 2,100. These facts were unknown to me when I first began studying the Armenian Gospel text. Later, the significance of these numbers and their implications for methodology became clear.

37. Paul R. McReynolds, "The Claremont Profile Method and the Grouping of Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts" (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1969) 1-11; Eldon Jay Epp, "The Claremont Profile-Method for Grouping New Testament Minuscule Manuscripts," in *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of Kenneth Willis Clark* (ed. Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs; SD 29; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1967) 27-38 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 211-20); Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence* (SD 44; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) v-vii. Cf. Ehrman, "Group Profiles," 468-71. See also chap. 16 by Thomas C. Geer, Jr., in this volume.

38. Joseph M. Alexanian, "The Profile Method and the Identifying of Textual Groups Within the Armenian MS Tradition," in *Armenian Texts, Tasks and Tools: Papers of an AIEA Workshop on Priorities, Problems and Techniques of Text Editions* (ed. Henning J. Lehmann and J. J. S. Weitenberg; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993) 44-56. Cf. idem, "The Text of the Oldest Armenian Gospel Manuscript in America: A Reappraisal of Walters Art Gallery MS 537," *JSAS* 5 (1990-91) 55-64.

39. Allen P. Wikgren, "The Citation of Versional Evidence in an Apparatus Criticus," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. Parvis and Wikgren, 95-115.

40. Louis Leloir, "Traduction latine des versions syriaques et arméniennes de l'épître de Jacques," *Mus* 83 (1970) 189-208; Henning J. Lehmann, "Some Questions Concerning the Armenian Version of the Epistle of James," *Acta Jutlandica* 57 (erroneously numbered 56) (1982) 57-82. (Vol. 57 is entitled *Aarhus armeniaca*.)

41. See Erroll F. Rhodes, "Limitations of Armenian in Representing Greek," in Metzger, *Early Versions*, 171-81. Rhodes's treatment of Armenian is accurate and helpful. See also Cox, *Deuteronomy*, 223-41; and Cowe, *Daniel*, 357-87.

Text-critical analysis of the Armenian NT text has been progressing slowly for more than one hundred years. Scholarly attention has focused primarily on the Gospels.[42] Scholars had been divided on the question of the archetype of the Armenian Gospels until Essabalian's 1938 study of the fifth-century sources convinced Lyonnet that the base was Syriac, not Greek.[43] Every textual study published since 1938 has supported a Syriac base for Arm 1.

In his 1948 study of the Armenian text of Mark, Erroll Rhodes examines the texts of forty-three previously unstudied Gospel MSS. Like Macler, he finds that most MSS agree quite closely with Zohrab, while a smaller number differ from one another and from Zohrab. Within the majority group, he notes five MS clusters. Armenian is most closely related to the witnesses of the Caesarean text. Rhodes compares Armenian to the MS groupings of Hermann von Soden and Teófilo Ayuso and proposes that, in Mark 1, Armenian reflects a stage of unity anterior to the east-west cleavage of the Caesarean text.[44]

Lyonnet's final contribution to the study of the Armenian text is a carefully researched and reasoned defense of his views regarding the origins of the Armenian version. Lyonnet gathers Arm 1 readings from many sources, describes some characteristics of the Arm 1 translation, compares Arm 1 to the Old Syriac four-Gospel text and the Diatessaron of Tatian, and concludes that Arm 1 was probably a translation of the Diatessaron. Arm 2 developed out of Arm 1 as the result of an initial revision-translation based on Greek and, perhaps, Syriac four-Gospel texts, followed by a long process of conforming the Armenian to the Greek. As to the nature of this Greek text, the base of Arm 2, Lyonnet follows the prevailing view that it was Caesarean, but he cautions that the value of Arm 2 as a witness to the Caesarean text depends entirely on the extent of our acquaintance with the text of Arm 1.[45]

Armenian studies have been enriched by the researches of Vööbus, who brought to the field a thorough knowledge of Syriac textual history. Because the relations between Syrian and Armenian Christianity were direct and intimate, and because the official Gospel text in Syria was the Old Syriac, not the Diatessaron, Vööbus argues that the official translation by Sahak and Mesrop was not a diatessaron but the four Gospels based on an Old Syriac text somewhat closer to the Diatessaron than the extant Old Syriac texts. Noting the work of Essabalian and Lyonnet, Vööbus agrees that Tatian's Diatessaron probably was translated into Armenian, but he insists that this would have been a private translation, not the official one.[46]

My study of the Armenian text of Luke has confirmed earlier studies, primarily from Matthew and Mark, that the extant Gospel MSS fall into two groups.[47] Group Z contains the vast majority of MSS, including Zohrab's base MS, whereas Group W has only a few MSS. Group Z MSS span all centuries beginning with the ninth,

42. See the surveys listed in n. 2; and Cox, "Biblical Studies," 107-9.

43. See nn. 21 and 22; and Lyonnet's review of Essabalian in *Bib* 19 (1938) 214-16.

44. Erroll F. Rhodes, "Mark 1: The Internal Consistency and External Relations of the Armenian Version" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948) 22-29.

45. Lyonnet, *Les origines*, esp. 195-276.

46. Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 138-54.

47. See, e.g., Macler, *Le texte arménien*, 1-2; August Merk, review of Macler, *Bib* 4 (1923) 220-29.

while the Group W MSS identified thus far date from the ninth through the eleventh centuries. A few later MSS contain Group W readings. The Group Z text is quite homogeneous and evinces a tradition of careful textual transmission. Within Group Z are a number of subgroups. Using the Profile Method, I have identified nine thus far. The Group W MSS differ from one another in text, contain many errors, especially singular readings and harmonizations, and appear to reflect provincialism and lack of ecclesiastical control.[48]

In their search for the Greek base of Arm 2, textual critics have suggested virtually every type of text. Since 1924, when B. H. Streeter gave birth to the "Caesarean text," Armenian has been regarded as an important witness to this third text-type.[49] The disintegration (and, presumably, the demise) of the Caesarean text requires a reassessment of the relationship between Arm 2 and Greek.[50] My analysis of the Lukan text, using the Colwell-Tune Method, has shown that the primary Greek witness to the Armenian text is family 1 (f^1). Many scholars see family 1 and the other "pre-Caesarean" witnesses as evidence for an early, widespread text that continued in use into the Middle Ages in some regions, and in others evolved into the Byzantine text. Colwell named this popular missionary text the "Early Koine."[51] My research suggests that the base for Arm 2 was a MS of this Early Koine text similar to Greek codex 1.[52]

Investigation of the rest of the Armenian NT text is in its infancy. Gérard Garitte's analysis of Georgian Acts leads him to conclude that the base of Old Georgian was an Old Armenian text, now lost, which was based on an ancient Syriac version different from the Peshitta.[53] J. N. Birdsall rejects the Armenian base of Georgian Acts and suggests that their admitted agreements might better be explained by "parallel translation" from similar Greek or Syriac MSS.[54] My preliminary analysis of nine MSS of Armenian Acts finds that eight of the nine MSS have a text close to Zohrab. One MS (Jerusalem MS 297, a fifteenth-century Bible) has variants that may point to a version of Acts different from the standard text. These readings

48. Alexanian, "Armenian Version in Luke," 169-231; idem, "Armenian Gospel Text," 384-86; idem, "Profile Method," 44-56.

49. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1924) 104-5; E. C. Colwell, "Slandered or Ignored: The Armenian Gospels," *JR* 17 (1937) 48-61.

50. Bruce M. Metzger, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospels," *JBL* 64 (1945) 457-89, slightly revised and reprinted in idem, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (NTTS 4; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963) 42-72; Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (SD 43; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) 88-89; Epp, "Twentieth Century Interlude," 393-96 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 89-92); Alexanian, "Armenian Version in Luke," 35-79.

51. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology*, 166-67. The evidence for this early text is surveyed in Alexanian, "Armenian Version in Luke," 52-78.

52. Alexanian, "Armenian Version in Luke," 236-90; idem, "Armenian Gospel Text," 382-83.

53. Gérard Garitte, *L'ancienne version géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres d'après deux manuscrits du Sinaï* (Bibliothèque du *Muséon* 38; Louvain: Publications Universitaires and Institut Orientaliste, 1955) 19-20.

54. J. Neville Birdsall, "The Georgian Versions of the Acts of the Apostles," in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn* (ed. T. Baarda et al.; Kampen: Kok, 1988) 39-45.

do not appear to represent a different underlying Greek text. Armenian Acts' strongest relationship is with the Alexandrian text-type.[55]

Nothing can be added to Metzger's survey of the Pauline epistles except to note that J. Armitage Robinson, in his study of Armenian-Syriac relations, reports that he could find no trace of Syriac influence in the Armenian text of Philemon or 2 Peter.[56] The absence of Syriac influence in Philemon, 2 Peter, and Revelation (see below) and the inclusion of 3 Corinthians in the early canon reflect the status of these books in the early Syriac canon and support the view that the Arm 1 NT was translated from Syriac.

For the Catholic epistles one may add three studies. From his collations of the Georgian, Armenian, and Syriac versions for the Beuron Project, Joseph Molitor concludes that the base of the Old Georgian text of 1 John was an Old Armenian text with unmistakable Syriac features.[57] Leloir's analysis of the Armenian text of the Catholic epistles leads him to suppose that the major Catholic epistles were first translated from Syriac.[58] Lehmann submits Leloir's examples of Syriacisms in James to linguistic analysis and cautions that one cannot argue from linguistic Syriacisms to textual Syriacisms. He sees strong evidence of a Greek base for Armenian James but admits that one cannot decide whether this data comes from the original translation or a later revision.[59]

The book of Revelation, though translated into Armenian in the fifth century, was not admitted into the canon until the twelfth. In his edition of the Armenian text based on more than ten MSS, Conybeare concludes that Armenian Revelation was translated first from Latin, was revised on the basis of Greek MSS, and underwent as many as five revisions.[60] More recently, Molitor analyzes the text in the editions of Zohrab, Murad, and Conybeare, and concludes that the Armenian text was translated directly from Greek.[61]

Much remains to be done in the study of the Armenian NT text. Ongoing efforts to provide the resources for text-critical work include the preparation of an album of Armenian palaeography under the direction of Michael Stone, and an edition of the Armenian Bible by Chahé Ajamian. Scholars at the Mashtots Matenadaran are working steadily to complete the cataloging of the more than 10,400 MSS in their collection in the face of severe economic hardships and shortages of staff and materials. Another critical tool is a central listing of all Armenian biblical MSS with

55. Joseph M. Alexanian, "Remarks on the Armenian Text of the Acts of the Apostles," in *Text and Context: Studies in the Armenian New Testament* (ed. S. Ajamian and M. E. Stone; UPATS 13; Studies of the Alex and Marie Manoogian Museum at St John's Armenian Church 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 15-22.

56. Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 91; Metzger, *Early Versions*, 168.

57. Joseph Molitor, "Zur armenischen Vorlage der altgeorgischen Version des 1. Johannesbriefes," *Handes Amsoreay* 75 (1961) 415.

58. Louis Leloir, "La version arménienne du Nouveau Testament," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 303-4.

59. Lehmann, "Some Questions," 68, 77.

60. F. C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria's Scolia, Edited from the Oldest MSS. and Englished* (London: Text and Translation Society, 1907).

61. Joseph Molitor, "Zum Textcharakter der armenischen Apokalypse," *OrChr* 55 (1971) 90-148; *OrChr* 56 (1972) 1-48, esp. 45-46.

universally accepted *sigla*, as is the case with the Greek MSS. At least four different systems of *sigla* can be seen in recent publications. The Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes is attempting to develop a common system, in consultation with the Matenadaran.

In textual studies, Cowe's interest in Arm 1 has led him to examine 3 Corinthians in the Armenian tradition. This apocryphal correspondence between Paul and Corinth was translated into Armenian in the fifth century, as was Ephrem's commentary on it. Since 3 Corinthians was part of the early Syriac canon but not the Greek, it is likely that it was included in Arm 1 and did not undergo the revision process of Arm 2. Thus 3 Corinthians would join with only a few portions of the OT corpus in preserving a relatively pure sample of the Arm 1 text.[62]

Of the major text-critical projects underway, only one is planning to publish a critical edition of an Armenian NT book in the foreseeable future. The International Project on the Text of Acts (IPTA), directed by Carroll D. Osburn of Abilene Christian University, is preparing a critical text, with full critical apparatus, of the Greek text of Acts. The IPTA is committed to preparing critical editions of the early versions, including Armenian, as a necessary step toward the eventual publication of Greek Acts. I have been asked to coordinate the Armenian phase of the project.

The objectives of Armenian Acts are to test the texts of all of the more than 160 MSS of Acts, choose from among them about 30 MSS for the apparatus, collate these MSS throughout Acts and prepare a stemma, and publish an eclectic critical edition of Armenian Acts whose text will represent as accurately as possible the fifth-century Arm 2 text and whose apparatus will reflect the diversity and historical development of the text. The volume will also discuss the character of the Armenian text and the relationships of Armenian Acts to the Greek MS families and text-types and to the Syriac and Georgian versions.

The future for Armenian NT textual criticism is surely brighter than it has ever been. Armenia is now an independent nation. The Mashtots Matenadaran, the largest repository of Armenian MSS in the world, is now more easily accessible to foreign scholars than ever before. A growing interest in the Armenian biblical text and the growing opportunities for cooperation between scholars in Armenia and the rest of the world can only lead to the enhancement of all areas of Armenian studies for the mutual enrichment of all.

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62. See S. Peter Cowe, "The Two Armenian Versions of Chronicles, Their Origin and Translation Technique," *REArm* 22 (1990-91) 53-96; idem, "The Canticle of Azariah and Its Two Armenian Versions," *JSAS* 5 (1990-91) 23-48; idem, *Daniel*, 278-321, 350-87. See also Metzger, *Early Versions*, 161n.2, 165.

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CHAPTER 11

THE GEORGIAN VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

J. Neville Birdsall

Fifty years ago, knowledge of the Georgian version was beginning to be soundly based. In 1928 an edition of the Gospel of Mark had appeared, edited by Robert Pierpont Blake, based on three MSS.[1] The text printed was that of the Adish MS, the oldest Georgian MS then known. The *apparatus criticus* presented the variants in two MSS of which a partial edition had been published by Vladimir Beneshevich. One of these, written in the monastery of Opiza, is preserved on Mount Athos. The other, written at Tbet', is in the Public Library at St. Petersburg. In comparison with the Adish MS, these MSS present a relatively unitary text, which Blake considered to be a revision. For Mark, and for the succeeding fascicle containing Matthew, Blake drew his information from the edition of Benesevich.

The edition of Matthew appeared in 1933; that of John did not appear until 1950.[2] By then, Blake was being helped by Canon Maurice Brière, and, before his death that year, had already committed future fascicles to his younger colleague. Thus the edition of John appeared in their joint names, while the edition of Luke at length brought the work to completion, appearing in 1955 over Brière's name only.[3]

A Latin translation of both text and apparatus was part of the edition. In the first three fascicles, this was the work of Blake himself; in Luke, it was made by Brière. Blake wrote sanguinely about the capacity of Latin to reflect Georgian, but Brière expressed some unease about such confidence.[4] The latent problem was already apparent to Joseph Molitor, who in 1953 published a Latin translation that sought to achieve greater exactness in the representation of Georgian for the three Gospels edited by Blake.[5] He considered that Brière's translation needed no revision.

1. Robert P. Blake, ed., *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of Mark* (PO 20/3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1928).

2. Robert P. Blake, *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of Matthew* (PO 24/1; Paris: Firmin-Didot 1933); Robert P. Blake and Maurice Brière, eds., *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of John* (PO 26/4; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1950).

3. Maurice Brière, ed., *La Version Géorgienne Ancienne de l'Évangile de Luc* (PO 27/3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1955).

4. Blake, *Old Georgian Mark*, 10-11 (= 444-45); Brière, *Version Géorgienne Ancienne de Luc*, 11-12 (= 285-86).

5. J. Molitor, "Das Adysh-Tetraevangelium. Neu übersetzt und mit altgeorgischen Paralleltexten verglichen," *OrChr* 37-47 (1953-63) seriatim.

Using an improved form of his Latin calque, he translated subsequent editions of the rest of the NT and provided a *Glossarium Latinum-Ibericum-Graecum* for most of the NT apart from the Pauline epistles.[6] Garitte utilized such a Latin translation in his edition of the Acts of the Apostles in Georgian,[7] as I did in my editions of *xanmet'i* fragments of the Gospels and other texts from a Vienna palimpsest.[8]

An edition of the four Gospels in Old Georgian by Akaki Shanidze appeared in 1945.[9] Based on three MSS, all preserved in Georgia, and written in the monastery of Shatberd, it presented the text of the Adish MS in parallel to that of the other MSS. This has advantages over Blake's presentation in which the other MSS are presented as variants against the Adish MS. The edition also provides a corrective to Blake's text of the Adish MS. Blake had only the photographs of Taqaishvili to rely on, whereas Shanidze was working from the MS itself. In 1949 I. Imnaishvili produced a concordantial lexicon to the four Gospels, using Shanidze's edition as his base text.[10]

Palimpest fragments in collections inside and outside Georgia had revealed earlier stages of the Georgian language than had survived elsewhere except in some inscriptions. The term *xanmet'i*, previously incomprehensible, known from a colophon to the revision of the Gospel text by Giorgi Mtac'mideli, was identified as referring to this form of the language. Thenceforward, such documents have been known as *xanmet'i* MSS. Another palimpsest revealed another form of the language, termed *haemet'i* by analogy. *Xanmet'i* texts were first published by Ivane Džavaxishvili.[11] Akaki Shanidze contributed linguistic discussions and identifications, editions from other MSS, the discovery and publication of the *haemet'i* texts, and a valuable chrestomathy, published in 1935, containing the recently identified texts in both ancient forms.[12] Ivane Džavaxishvili's decipherment of 1923 was revised and republished as an appendix of his Georgian palaeography in 1949.[13] Molitor provided in 1956 a unified collection of all biblical and patristic *xanmet'i* and *haemet'i* texts.[14] In 1971 the present writer published *xanmet'i* fragments of the Synoptic Gospels.[15]

6. J. Molitor, *Glossarium Latinum-Ibericum-Graecum in quattuor Evangelia, . . . antiquioris versionis Ibericae* (CSCO 280, Subsidia 30; Louvain: CSCO, 1967).

7. G. Garitte, *L'ancienne version géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres d'après deux manuscrits du Sinaï* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 38; Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1955).

8. J. N. Birdsall, "Khanmeti fragments of the Synoptic Gospels from MS. Vind. Georg.2," *OrChr* 55 (1971) 62-89.

9. A. Shanidze, *Two Old Recensions of the Georgian Gospels According to Three Shatberd Manuscripts (A.D. 897, 936 and 973)* (Monuments of the Old Georgian Language 2; Tbilisi, 1945).

10. I. Imnaishvili, *Kartuli otxtavis simponia-leksik'oni* (Concordance-lexicon of the Georgian Gospels) (Dzveli kartuli enis dzeglebi [Monuments of the Old Georgian Language] 6; Tbilisi, 1948-49).

11. See J. Molitor, *Monumenta Iberica Antiquiora* (CSCO 166, Subsidia 10; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1956) iv-vi, item no. V.

12. See G. Garitte, "Bibliographie du Professeur A. Šanidze," *Mus* 80 (1967) 431-74, esp. items 16, 17, 30, 37, 45, 92.

13. Ivane Džavaxishvili, *Kartuli Damc'erlobata-mcodneoba anu p'aleograpia* (Georgian knowledge of scripts or palaeography) (Tbilisi, 1926; 2d ed., 1949).

14. Molitor, *Monumenta Iberica Antiquiora.*

15. Birdsall, "Khanmeti Fragments of the Synoptic Gospels."

Most recently an expansion of Džavaxishvili's original edition has been published by Lamara Kadž'aia, whose introduction has been translated into German jointly by Heinrich Greeven and Michael Job.[16] The publication of a translation of the Georgian Gospel texts from Kadž'aia's edition has been delayed by Greeven's death.

The Acts of the Apostles has been twice edited, in each case from different MSS. In 1949/50 Ilia Abuladze published an edition of four recensions of the Georgian version.[17] Their texts are based on nine MSS, seven preserved in Georgian libraries, one in St. Petersburg, and one in the Iveron monastery on Mount Athos. The edition had not reached Gérard Garitte before his publication of another edition from two MSS in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.[18] This text has many idiosyncrasies not shared by Abuladze's MSS. A disadvantage has been occasioned by this unavoidable dual presentation. Since Abuladze's edition is rarely found in the West, Garitte's tends to be treated as the only information to hand, with consequent distortion in discussion.

An edition of the Catholic epistles, by K'etevan Lortkipanidze, was published in 1956 using seven MSS.[19] Five of these had been used by Abuladze; another was preserved in the Svanetia Museum. Meanwhile, the Photographic Expedition of the Library of Congress had made available microfilms of many MSS in three Near Eastern collections, including those of Sinai.[20] A Sinai MS, known to Garitte, could thus be used by Lortkipanidze. So, within one edition, it was made clear that here, as in Acts, the Sinai tradition was distinct from that preserved in MSS in Georgia.

The book of Revelation in Georgian appeared in 1961, edited by Ivane Imnaishvili.[21] Two of the three MSS on which the edition rests are found in the Tbilisi collections, the third at Mount Sinai. The editorial work has one fault in that scant regard is paid to the identity of the translation as that of Euthymius the Athonite from the sixth-century commentary by Andreas of Cappadocian Caesarea. The continuous text precedes the lemmatized commentary. Despite knowing the edition of the Greek by Josef Schmid,[22] Imnaishvili frequently emends the text. A glance at Schmid's edition, however, shows in every case that the readings of the MSS are correct renditions of the peculiarities of Andreas's text, needing no emendation.

16. Lamara Kadž'aia, *Xanmet'i T'ekst'ebi. Nak'veti I* (Xanmet'i texts: Part 1) (Tbilisi, 1984); Lamara Kadž'aia, *Die ältesten georgische Vier-Evangelien-Handschrift* (trans. H. Greeven and M. Job; Bochum, 1989).

17. Ilia Abuladze, *Sakme Mocikulta* (The Acts of the Apostles) (Dzveli kartuli enis dzeglebi [Monuments of the Old Georgian Language] 7; Tbilisi, 1949/50).

18. Garitte, *L'ancienne version géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres.*

19. K. Lortkipanidze, *K'atolik'e Ep'ist'oleta Kartuli versiebi* (the Georgian versions of the Catholic epistles) (Dzveli kartuli enis dzeglebi [Monuments of the Old Georgian language] 9; Tbilisi, 1956).

20. *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950* (prepared under the direction of Kenneth W. Clark; Washington, D. C., 1952).

21. I. Imnaishvili, *Iovanes Gamocxadeba da misi targmaneba. Dzveli kartuli versia* (The Revelation of John and its commentary: The Old Georgian version) (Dzveli kartuli enis k'atedris shromebi [Works of the Department of Old Georgian Language 7; Tbilisi, 1961).

22. J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, part 1: *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia. Text/Einleitung;* part 2: *Die alten Stämme* (Münchener Theologische Studien 1. Ergänzungsband; Munich, 1955, 1956).

In 1974 the Pauline epistles were published.[23] The scholar originally entrusted with the edition, Ketevan Dzoc'enidze, died without completing it. It was successfully brought to publication by K'orneli Danelia. Thirteen MSS have been utilized, eight from Georgian collections, one from St. Petersburg, two from the Iveron on Mount Athos, and one from Sinai. Four recensions are identified, presented in two columns, with a critical apparatus of the variants of all thirteen. (In 1983 Danelia produced a study of the history of the Old Georgian literary language, based on his work on the Paulines.)

The edition was followed by Danelia's publication of the Euthalian apparatus to the Pauline epistles in 1977.[24] The later Georgian recensions of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Catholic epistles contain shortened versions of those parts of the Euthalian apparatus dealing with their content. In both these cases, the editors included that material with the text. It is, in contrast, in the oldest recensions that the apparatus to the Pauline epistles is found, and in a very full form, only the most meager relics remaining in the two later recensions. The extent of the material prefaced to the older recensions required presentation apart from the canonical text. Its textual problems are quite distinct, although it has an indirect bearing on the early history of the version.[25]

In 1979 Imnaishvili published an edition of the two later recensions of the four Gospels with a full introduction.[26] It was based on five MSS, four found in Georgia and one at Etchmiadzin in Armenia. This completes our knowledge of the Gospel text in Georgia. An edition of the NT printed in 1963 with ecclesiastical approval gives in the Gospels the latest recension, the work of Ephrem Mcire, edited by Imnaishvili from three MSS.[27]

The whole NT in Georgian from MSS with continuous text has now been made available. The text of the Mzxeta MS, compiled for the scholar and lexicographer Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani, is also in the process of publication. The volume containing the three Synoptic Gospels was published in 1987.[28] Bernard Outtier has drawn up a *repertorium* of all known MSS of the older versions of the NT, including lectionaries.[29]

The presentation of the text in lectionaries, however, has scarcely begun. In

23. K. Dzoc'enidze and K. Danelia, eds., *P'avles ep'ist'oleta kartuli versiebi gamosacemad moamzades Keteven Dzoc'enidzem da K'orneli Daneliam* (The Georgian versions of the epistles of Paul prepared for publication by K. Dzoc'enidze and K'. Danelia) (Dzveli kartuli enis k'atedris shromebi [Works of the department of Old Georgian Language] 16; Tbilisi, 1974).

24. K. Danelia, *Evtales st'ikomet'riis dzveli kartuli redakciebi* [The Old Georgian redactions of Euthalius's Stichometry] (Dzveli kartuli enis k'atedris shromebi [Works of the Department of Old Georgian Language] 20; Tbilisi, 1977) 53-149.

25. J. N. Birdsall, "The Euthalian Material and Its Georgian Versions," *OrChr* 86 (1984) 170-95.

26. I. Imnaishvili, *Kartuli otxtavis ori bolo redakcia* (The two final redactions of the Georgian Gospels) (Dzveli kartuli enis k'atedris shromebi [Works of the Department of Old Georgian Language] 22; Tbilisi, 1979).

27. *Axali agtkumay uplisa chuenisa Ieso Krist'esi* (The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ) (Tbilisi, 1963).

28. E. Dorchinashvili, ed., *Mcxeturi xelnac'eri* (the Mzxeta manuscript), vol. 5 (Tbilisi, 1986).

29. Bernard Outtier, "Essai de répertoire des manuscrits des vieilles versions géorgiennes du Nouveau Testament," *LOAPL* 1 (1988) 173-79.

1912 K'orneli K'ek'elidze published from two MSS a document that he identified as the *kanonarion* of the Jerusalem church.[30] But K'ek'elidze gave no text of the lections in these sources; one gains no information from his edition for textual study. The same is true of the later edition of the lectionary, using additional material, by Michael Tarchnishvili.[31] We have only one guiding clue. At the end of the Adish MS, after the Gospel of John, is found a pericope containing Mark 14:33-37a. Its text is harmonized with the Matthean parallel at a number of points. Both Blake and Shanidze print this in their editions alongside the continuous text of Mark, Shanidze further noting that its form of the text is shared by the Latal MS, used by K'ek'elidze.[32] In the Adish MS, its lectionary origin is plain, indicated by a note of the festival at which it is to be read and an incipit showing its derivation from Mark. In the text of the Paris and Sinai MSS used by Tarchnishvili, available on microfilm, this lection has been accommodated to that of the recensions with continuous text, which are not thus harmonized. This intriguing matter has not been pursued further but would seem to suggest that a distinct form of the Gospel text might be found in lections of the earliest form of the Jerusalem Lectionary in Georgian.

The close links of the earliest Georgian version of the Pauline epistles with the Jerusalem Lectionary are shown by two marginal notes about lectionary usage in MSS utilized in the Dzocenidze-Danelia edition and by an instance in one such MS where the introductory formula of a lection, namely, the vocative "Brothers," has infiltrated the text.[33] An ostensible rubric has also intruded into the text of the second of the two older recensions of Acts at 20:28, but while one may surmise that this comes from the Jerusalem Lectionary calendar, one cannot demonstrate this from published information.[34]

In addition to the monographs and editions surveyed up to this point, and those to be discussed below, we may briefly indicate surveys by experts that provide a wider and often more detailed bibliography than the present survey. The essay of David Lang in 1957 brought much recent work from Georgia to Western attention.[35] The work of Arthur Vööbus in 1954, of Molitor in 1972, and of Bruce Metzger himself in 1977 are all parts of wider presentations concerning the whole versional attestation of the NT.[36]

30. K. K'ek'elidze, ed., *Ierusalimskii Kanonar' VII veka. Gruzinskaya versiya* (Tiflis, 1912).

31. Michael Tarchnishvili, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem* (2 vols. in 4 parts; CSCO 188-89, 204-5; Scriptores Iberici 9-10, 13-14; Louvain: CSCO, 1959-60).

32. Blake, *Old Georgian Mark*, 124-25 (= 558-59); Shanidze, *Two Old Recensions of the Georgian Gospels*, 168.

33. J. N. Birdsall, "Introductory Remarks on the Pauline Epistles in Georgian," *Studia Patristica* 18 (ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone; Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1985) 282 (with reference to 1 Cor 11:23 and 15:1, and to 2 Cor 6:2).

34. J. N. Birdsall, "The Georgian Versions of the Acts of the Apostles," in *Text and Testimony: Essays in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn* (ed. T. Baarda et al.; Kampen: Kok, 1988) 41.

35. David M. Lang, "Recent Work on the Georgian New Testament," *BSOAS* 19 (1957) 82-93.

36. Arthur Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament* (PETSE 6; Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1954) 173-209; J. Molitor, "Das Neue Testament in georgischer Sprache," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 314-44; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 182-214.

Before proceeding to theoretical and analytical questions, we may mention the *instrumenta studiorum* produced in the period under discussion. Džavaxishvili produced a mighty treatise on Georgian palaeography.[37] Abuladze edited an invaluable album of dated MSS.[38] The present writer has given a survey of these and many other aids to the reading of Georgian MSS.[39] Shanidze's Old Georgian grammar, available in German translation,[40] treats all aspects of the language. Renée Zwolanek's *Altgeorgische Kurzgrammatik* correlates this material with earlier grammars.[41] Molitor composed a number of lexica to the NT, while Abuladze left an invaluable *repertorium* for the whole corpus of extant Old Georgian literature, published posthumously.[42] Rich bibliographical guidance is provided in *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients,* brought up to date in its French translation.[43]

In the discussion of the significance of the version for the wider textual study of the NT, one must treat the question of its origin and sources as a prolegomenon. It has long been noted that, in the Gospels, the Adish MS shows by some remarkable mistranslations that its text was probably made from an Armenian base. Some arguments used to support this view of the version's origin, other than the evident mistranslations, are by no means strong, and for some time the present writer sought an alternative explanation. Subsequent perusal, however, has shown the basic evidence to be convincing. Its presentation by Stanislas Lyonnet is particularly trenchant.[44] He also pointed to links with the Syriac tradition behind the Armenian, in that case on textual rather than on linguistic grounds. The argument has been most fully presented for the Gospels but applies to Acts and the corpora of epistles. It does not apply to Revelation, since the Georgian version of that book is demonstrably a translation from Greek at a relatively late date.

Failure to distinguish between the linguistic and historical data as well as the textual affiliations has made some discussions potentially misleading. Acknowledgment of a probable Armenian exemplar for the original translation, and a Syriac behind that, does not exclude the version from consideration within the wider body of textual witnesses. It does not merit dismissive classification as a "secondary

37. Džavaxishvili, *Kartuli Damc'erlobata-mcodneoba anu p'aleograpia.*

38. Ilia Abuladze, *Kartuli c'eris nimushebi. P'aleograpiuli albomi* (Specimens of Georgian script: a palaeographical album) (Tbilisi, 1949; 2d ed., 1973).

39. J. N. Birdsall, "Georgian Palaeography," in *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus,* vol. 1: *The Kartvelian Languages* (ed. Alice C. Harris; Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1991) 85-128.

40. Akaki Shanidze, *Altgeorgisches Elementarbuch,* part 1: *Grammatik der altgeorgischen Sprache* (trans. H. Fähnrich; Schriften des Lehrstuhls für Altgeorgische Sprache 24; Tbilisi, 1982).

41. Renée Zwolanek, *Altgeorgische Kurzgrammatik* (OBO, Subsidia Didactica 2; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976).

42. J. Molitor, *Glossarium Ibericum in quattuor Evangelia et Actus Apostolorum antiquioris versionis. Index Graecus-Ibericus* (CSCO 243, Subsidia 23; Louvain: CSCO, 1963); idem, *Glossarium Ibericum. Supplementum in Epistulas Catholicas et Apocalypsim antiquioris versionis* (CSCO 265, Subsidia 250; Louvain: CSCO, 1965); Ilia Abuladze, *Dzveli kartuli enis leksik'oni (Masalebi)* (Lexicon of the Old Georgian Language: Materials) (Tbilisi, 1973).

43. Julius Assfalg and Paul Krüger, *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975); *Petit Dictionnaire de l'Orient Chrétien. Traduction et adaptation* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991).

44. S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron* (BibOr 13; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1950).

version" by which editors and writers of introductions often condemn it to oblivion. These ancestors of the Georgian version were related to textual types known within the Greek and the other versional traditions. Yet evidence of them survives only in patristic and liturgical quotations. No continuous-text MSS are extant in either case. The Georgian is our only access to deeper knowledge of such an Armenian or Syriac version. For instance, if one learns that the continuous Georgian text concurs with the quotations of an Armenian, a Syriac, or a Greek writer, one may erect the hypothesis that the continuous texts used by them were akin to the Georgian. Starting from this point, one may use knowledge of the language and idiom of Georgian and of the inferred intermediary stages to eliminate renderings so occasioned from the putative text ultimately lying behind the Georgian. Thus the Georgian version may function as the surrogate of the original text or of an intermediate version.

To establish a relative chronology for different text-types in the Georgian, as was done first for the Gospels by both Blake and Shanidze and has been subsequently done for the other NT books apart from Revelation, should not necessarily carry with it the assumption that each later recension is a direct descendant of that which chronologically preceded it. Blake made this assumption for the relationship of the Adish MS with those reported in his critical apparatus. The analysis by Lyonnet, however, reveals that some Armenianisms are found in the other MSS recorded by Blake and by Shanidze but not in the Adish MS. One thus perceives that the two distinct texts have developed in parallel, not in succession.

Further reflection on these data allows one to envisage the possibility of correction to a Greek standard early in the version's development. Greek influence could have come from contacts with Greek-speaking Christianity in lands adjacent to western Georgia, or from Palestine, where many Georgians followed the monastic life. Both in the Gospels and throughout Praxapostolos, one must be prepared to envisage more complex patterns of interaction to emerge than some earlier discussions have concluded. One can by no means rule out that an ancestral Armenian was made from a Greek text. Even a "grand-parental" Syriac must eventually have derived from the Greek.

In this respect the work of Molitor is subject to criticism. The present writer does this regretfully, because of his acquaintance with Molitor and his admiration for his priestly life. Moreover, as a scholar, with single-minded devotion, he provided *instrumenta studiorum ibericorum* for his colleagues in research on the Georgian versions, a mass of data that no student of the language can afford to neglect. In his analysis of the version as a source for knowledge of the text of the NT, however, he blindly followed the approach of Anton Baumstark.[45] The thrust of Baumstark's excursions from liturgiology into the oriental scriptural versions was to stress the Syriac base from which others sprang, paying scant attention to the possibility of Greek influences at work or to any influences other than the Syriac. Molitor followed a like path in analyzing the Georgian NT. We concede that Armenian and Syriac strata are to be uncovered in most parts of the NT; this is clear both from linguistic

45. Anton Baumstark, "Zum altgeorgischen Evangelien-text," *OrChr* 26 (3d ser., 3-4) (1930) 117-25.

analysis and from the textual affiliations of specific variant readings. But Molitor's work on this facet of the data often proceeds as if the Greek that ultimately lay behind the Georgian had little part to play. So much did this approach dominate him that his study of the book of Revelation in Georgian is a *reductio ad absurdum* in which, against all the evidence, external and internal, he appears absolutely determined to find Armenian and Syriac ancestors, even where none is to be found.[46]

His work on the Gospels assumed implicitly that at their base lay a Diatessaron, as Baumstark had asserted. Stressing harmonistic readings in his studies, he implied that these derive from a harmony base within the version's ancestry. By italicization of such readings in his *Synopsis latina evangeliorum ibericorum antiquissimorum*,[47] he infiltrates the same suggestion. But this offends against the logical principle of "Ockham's Razor," for a large proportion of these harmonizations are present in various Greek text-types. These could readily have affected the Georgian text, not only by the date of the MSS in which such readings occur but at an earlier date.[48]

Two sources show the Georgian version of the Gospels, the Pauline epistles, and some parts of the OT to have been in existence in the fifth century. One of these is the earliest martyrdom written in the language, that of St. Shushanik, who was martyred in the late fifth century.[49] The account of her martyrdom claims to be the work of an eyewitness. A number of her utterances and prayers include complex allusive echoes of Scripture, especially from the Gospels.[50] These works draw on both ancient recensions of the Gospels. Even if the redating to more than a century later by Paul Peeters is correct,[51] the allusions and their source would still date in the late sixth or early seventh century.

But we no longer depend on this indirect witness to date the Georgian version, for, in the first *xanmet'i* fragments to come to light, we possess actual Gospel MSS. Aided by palaeography, we may base our dating on these. They are republished in the work of Lamara Kadž'aia,[52] who dates them in the fifth century. Her textual analysis shows that already in the fifth century, MSS were to be found in which both ancient recensions alternated. Whether the claims of the author of the Martyrdom of St. Shushanik are authentic or not, the martyr could certainly have drawn on both types of text.

Two other early Georgian martyrdoms were drawn on at the beginning of the

46. J. Molitor, "Die georgische Version der Apokalypse (von 978) ins Lateinische übertragen," *OrChr* 50-52 (1966-68) seriatim, esp. 52 (1968) 15-21; cf. J. N. Birdsall, "The Georgian version of the Book of Revelation," *Mus* 91 (1978) 355-66.

47. J. Molitor, *Synopsis Latina Evangeliorum Ibericorum Antiquissimorum* (CSCO 256, Subsidia 24; Louvain: CSCO, 1965).

48. Some analogous (although not precisely identical) faults may be identified in Arthur Vööbus, *Zur Geschichte des altgeorgischen Evangelientextes* (PETSE 4; Stockholm, 1953).

49. Ilia Abuladze, *Dzveli kartuli agiograpiuli lit'erat'uris dzeglebi. C'igni I (V-Xss.)* [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiography. Book 1.5-10 cc.] (Tbilisi, 1964) 11-29.

50. J. N. Birdsall, "Evangelienbezeuge im georgischen Martyrium der hl. Schuschaniki," *Georgica* 4 (1981) 20-23.

51. Paul Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik, martyre en Arméno-Géorgie," *AnBoll* 53 (1935) 5-48, 245-307.

52. Kadž'aia, *Xanmet'i T'ekst'ebi*; idem, *Die ältesten georgische Vier-Evangelien-Handschrift*.

century by scholars claiming that the Gospels came to Georgia as a Diatessaron. Adolf von Harnack and Džavaxishvili drew on the Martyrdom of St. Eustace of Mzxeta. The martyr recounts the instruction he received about the life of Christ in harmony form. But the claim to find Diatessaronic traces founders on two facts.[53] First, the order of Gospel incidents finds no parallel in any form of Tatian's Diatessaron known to us; it is basically Markan with Johannine inserts, whereas Tatian's harmony followed John. Second, the vocabulary of "St. Eustace's" harmony follows the two early recensions of the continuous-text MSS. A telling point is that the hemorrhaging woman seeking a cure is said to come up to Jesus "by stealth." This phrase is known in no form of the Diatessaron but is in Codex Bezae and the Old Latin, the Koridethi Gospels and the Armenian, and also in the Adish Gospels at this point (Mark 5:33) with the very adverb used in the Martyrdom.

The second discussion was by Kirsopp Lake, basing his work on a translation of the martyrdom of Abo of Tiflis by K. Schultze.[54] Lake argued from a variant assumed to be from John 10:7 that a Diatessaron had been used. Whether this is so or not is of little moment, however, for the exegesis in which it occurs has been taken from a homily by Amphilochius of Iconium inserted into the martyrdom. The currency of a harmony in Georgia is in no way proved by this implant.[55]

The Gospels in Georgian are known already in two parallel recensions by the fifth century. Behind both lies an Armenian version. It has some traces of its Syriac ancestry but also close links with a Greek tradition attested in the Koridethi Codex, and the minuscule family 1 identified by Lake. This affinity is clearly reflected in both the early Georgian recensions. The later recensions are the result of Athonite revision in the tenth and eleventh centuries, generally to the norm of the Byzantine text, although not uniformly. The distinction between the two later recensions is mainly linguistic and stylistic, although some variants might be used to identify a specific stratum of Byzantine text with which the revision was affiliated. For example, at Luke 10:22 both later recensions have the reversed order of the second and third clauses attested in the Greek MSS N U 477 903 1424, yet the similar reading known in N and X at the parallel Matt 11:27 is not known in these Georgian recensions.

The Acts of the Apostles in Georgian shows its links with Syriac and Armenian strata of transmission more through readings and renderings known from writers such as Ephrem and Eznik than through specifically linguistic features. The Armenian and Georgian transmission was probably in parallel, as shown by the divergent spellings of geographical names. The text of the three older recensions is related to ancient Greek texts which are so-called mixed texts, known from minuscules (e.g.,

53. J. N. Birdsall, " 'The Martyrdom of St. Eustathius of Mzketha' and the Diatesssaron: An Investigation," *NTS* 18 (1972) 452-56.

54. K. Lake, "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Martyrdom of Abo," *ExpTim* 17 (1905-6) 286; based on Karl Schultze, *Das Martyrium des heiligen Abo von Tiflis* (TU 27/4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905).

55. J. N. Birdsall, "Diatessaric Readings in 'The Martyrdom of St. Abo of Tiflis'?" in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 313-24.

181, 1175), not the Old Uncial or Western texts.[56] The later recensions have been corrected to a standard of text known in most Greek Byzantine MSS.[57]

Some readings of the Old Georgian Pauline epistles agree with our most ancient witness, the Chester Beatty papyrus (P^{46}), others with the Old Latin and the Greco-Latin bilinguals.[58] Interpretative renderings occur, the most striking being the recasting of 2 Cor 4:4 in a way that avoids the difficult phrase "the god of this world." To construe the Greek in this way is as old as Irenaeus and Tertullian. The two oldest recensions have the Euthalian apparatus, which was originally translated from a form close to that known in the Greek majuscule H (015), the oldest witness to this material.[59] Moreover, the influence of the Euthalian material within the text itself is vividly shown in an expansion found within the text of the oldest Georgian recensions at Heb 11:33-38. Here the OT faithful, unnamed in the Greek text, are specifically identified.[60] These identifications are known in marginal notes in the Greek Euthalian material. This material is mainly preserved in south Italian Greek minuscules. Its transmission in Georgian is parallel to those variant readings in the Georgian Gospels attested in late Greek minuscule families. The proposal that these traditions from peripheral areas of the Christian world were linked through an early center of Christian learning such as Caesarea deserves reexamination.

The Georgian version of the book of Revelation is a translation of the commentary of Andreas of Caesarea by Euthymius the Athonite.[61] The original Greek used by Andreas is rarely transmitted without the commentary. In the Georgian, the case is curious, the text alone standing first, then the lemmatized commentary. The text standing alone and that in the lemmata are not always uniform. From the text alone, it is not possible to identify which subfamily within the Andreas tradition the version followed, but the commentary shows that it was the family denominated "f," containing the Greek MSS 051 2023 2031 2056 2073.[62] The majuscule 051 is of the tenth century; only two other witnesses of the Andreas commentary are as old. Of the three witnesses to the Georgian version, one carries the date of A.D. 978, while another is datable in the same century. We have here then not only an important witness to the text of Revelation used by Andreas but to the text of his commentary as well.

The text of the recensions of the NT in Old Georgian is established. Future collation will probably fill in only minor detail. In the Gospels we have two early recensions whose place or date of origin is not precisely known but which were already in existence in the fifth century. In Acts and the Catholic epistles we have discovered that recensional forms proper to St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai are to be distinguished. No such phenomenon is found in the Pauline epistles, although a closer examination of the data might lead to a more precise differentiation

56. Birdsall, "Georgian Versions of Acts," 42-43.

57. Ibid., 45; Jeffrey Wayne Childers, "The Acts of the Apostles in the Old Georgian version" (M.A. thesis, Graduate School, Abilene Christian University, 1992).

58. Birdsall, "Introductory Remarks on the Pauline Epistles in Georgian."

59. Birdsall, "Euthalian Material and Its Georgian Versions."

60. Michel van Esbroeck, "Hébreux 11,33-38 dans l'ancienne version géorgienne," *Bib* 53 (1971) 43-64.

61. J. N. Birdsall, "The Georgian Version of the Book of Revelation," *Mus* 91 (1978) 355-66.

62. J. N. Birdsall, "The Translation of Andreas on 'Revelation' by Euthymius the Athonite," *Bedi Kartlisa, Révue de Kartvélologie* 41 (1983) 96-101.

between the recensions denoted by the letters *Ani* and *Bani*. Both the Gospels and the Pauline epistles are attested for the fifth century. Except for one pericope surviving in the Adish MS, in the same form as in the Latal lectionary, a distinctive text in lectionaries has yet to be discovered. A future task should be the examination of the lectionaries, for it is not antecedently unlikely that texts may be specific to them in the Georgian as elsewhere.

Would it be worthwhile to collate all known Georgian MSS? We have no certain means of knowing. So far as Acts is concerned, the project at Abilene Christian University under the direction of Carroll Osburn intends to do so.[63] In all parts of the NT, most uninvestigated MSS will be of the later recensions. As these were produced by authority, their texts are likely to be uniform with the later recensions already edited. The exercise, then, might well be fruitless.

A more pressing enterprise is the collation of quotations in the Georgian homiletic traditions. This work has rarely been undertaken. Molitor examined the quotations in the *xanmet'i mravalt'avi* and found that their affiliations were sometimes with Adish, sometimes with the other early texts.[64] My cursory examination of those in the Sinai *mravalt'avi* revealed that affiliation changes from homily to homily, thus going back beyond the compilation of the collection.[65] This is of equal interest but leads into areas other than the history of the version.[66]

A further task should be to examine all these texts for the illustration of the history of interpretation. Textual links may give clues where to seek the most fruitful results. In the Paulines, Severian and Theodoret are frequently in evidence, and, not surprisingly, Ephrem the Syrian. In the later recensions, to judge from the Gospels, there are many different threads to follow in all parts of the material.

A plentiful harvest is latent in the study of the Georgian version. Metzger's essays have inspired and guided many, including the present writer, to engage in investigations constituting the basis of textual analysis and theory. May they (and, it may be hoped, this volume) also play a role in the inspiration of those who will emerge to be his successors, and ours.

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63. Carroll D. Osburn, "The Search for the Original Text of Acts — The International Project on the Text of Acts," *JSNT* 44 (1991) 39-55.

64. J. Molitor, "Evangelienzitate in einem altgeorgischen Väterfragment," *OrChr* 40 (1956) 16-21.

65. J. N. Birdsall, unpublished work in progress.

66. For further investigation of this area, the essential guide is Michel van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens: Étude descriptive et historique* (PIOL 10; Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique, Institut orientaliste, 1975).

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PART III

THE PATRISTIC WITNESSES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

CHAPTER 12

THE USE OF THE GREEK FATHERS FOR NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Gordon D. Fee

In NT textual criticism, patristic citations are ordinarily viewed as the third line of evidence, indirect and supplementary to the Greek MSS,[1] and are often therefore treated as of tertiary importance. When properly evaluated, however, patristic evidence is of primary importance, for both of the major tasks of NT textual criticism:[2] in contrast to the early Greek MSS, the Fathers have the potential of offering datable and geographically certain evidence.

Unfortunately, these important data have had a rocky road in the discipline. On the one hand, the data are generally difficult to come by, and those that are available have not always been used circumspectly, thus often resulting in skewed — or sometimes flat-out misleading — information or conclusions. On the other hand, precisely because the state of the data themselves has made their usefulness tenuous — or tedious — they have sometimes been treated with something close to benign neglect.

Both of these failures are primarily the result of the larger problem of recovering and using this evidence with any degree of confidence. Indeed, the enormous

1. Such judgments are regularly found in the manuals on textual criticism, most recently those by B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 86-88; and K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 166-69. The latter is particularly instructive, inasmuch as it devotes a whole chapter to the early versions, while the Greek patristic evidence receives less than three pages, which mostly bemoan the difficulties and lack of valid or definitive studies of the Fathers' texts. Cf. also the two most important overview articles during this period: M. J. Suggs, "The Use of Patristic Evidence in the Search for a Primitive New Testament Text," *NTS* 4 (1957/58) 139-47, who calls this evidence "supplemental"; and B. M. Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *NTS* 17 (1971/72) 379-400, who speaks of it as "indirect."

2. That is, the recovery of the original text and reconstructing its history. For example, see the work of F. J. A. Hort, who used the Fathers as one of three criteria in determining the secondary character of the Byzantine text-type (*The New Testament in the Original Greek* [2,] *Introduction* [and] *Appendix* [2d ed.; London: Macmillan, 1896] 107-15), and whose use of the Fathers in his debate with Ezra Abbot on John 1:18 is still a model for evaluating the data (*Two Dissertations* [Cambridge and London: Macmillan, 1876] 1-72, esp. 30-42), despite his use — born of necessity — of some uncritical texts of the Fathers. (Abbot's two essays appear in *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel and Other Critical Essays* [Boston: Ellis, 1888] 241-85.) See also the use of this evidence by B. H. Streeter in *The Four Gospels* (London: Macmillan, 1924) chap. 4.

amount of effort involved simply in gathering and evaluating the patristic evidence for a single variant can be so forbidding that only the scholar with special knowledge and expertise in the field ever takes the time to do so. The net result is that the nonspecialist working scholar is typically compelled to depend on a mass of uncertain and often unreliable data. Lying behind this situation is the threefold problem of gathering, presenting, and evaluating the evidence, so as to make it more readily available to all.

The history of this facet of NT textual criticism over the past half century, therefore, is a two-part account of (1) refining the process for presenting and evaluating the evidence itself (for the purpose of using it in making textual decisions as to the original text), and of (2) finding and refining a methodology for analyzing each Father's textual evidence so as to determine the contours of his NT text and its relationship with the rest of the data (for the purpose of writing the history of the transmission of the text). The happy side of this story is that during the past three decades the necessary methodological refinements have basically been put in place, so that we are at last in position to make great strides toward removing both the tenuousness and tediousness of this task for the working scholar.[3] This chapter is basically devoted to the telling of that story.[4] But before doing so, a few words are necessary regarding the unique problems that one encounters with these materials.

I. Problems

The use of patristic evidence involves three difficulties, reflecting in turn the Father himself, the transmission of his works, and our own need to discriminate carefully between what is primary evidence and what is not.

1. The Church Father and His Bible

The problems created by the Fathers themselves and their citing habits are frequently noted. Basically, they cover four areas.

First, the question of copying or citing from memory. Did the Father cite Scripture by looking up the passage and copying his text or did he simply cite from memory? If it was from memory, as appears to have been most common, can his memory be trusted to have reproduced the copy of Scripture he must have possessed?

Second, the question of citing habits. The citing habits of the Fathers range from rather precise (e.g., Origen) to moderately careful (e.g., Eusebius) to notoriously

3. Although those doing the actual labor that makes these data available will still be involved in many long hours of tedium.

4. I first gave some of the substance of this paper at the centennial meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Dallas, November, 1980, under the title, "New Testament Textual Criticism: Today's Agenda and Tomorrow's Task. III. The Patristic Quotations of the New Testament." A thorough revision of that paper appeared in *ANRW* 2.26.1 (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992) 246-65, entitled "The Use of Greek Patristic Citations in New Testament Textual Criticism" (reprinted in E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* [SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993] 344-59).

slovenly (e.g., Epiphanius); therefore, one must carefully study the habits of each Father himself before his citations can be fully useful.

Third, the character or type of work involved. The care with which the Fathers cite their texts often varies from work to work.[5] For the most part, they tend to be more accurate in commentaries and polemical treatises, especially in the latter, if the meaning of the biblical text is involved; as a rule, one cannot expect them to be as precise in letters and sermons.

Fourth, the number of Bibles used by the Father. It is perhaps presumptuous to assume that any Father, writing over thirty or forty years, had only one Bible; and perhaps it is folly even to assume he had only one Bible at any given time. After all, Origen (at the beginning of the 3d century C.E.) refers to many extant copies of Scripture and sometimes makes note of their textual differences.[6] Furthermore, some Fathers relocated from time to time (Irenaeus, Origen, Athanasius, Chrysostom), so that they may have used not only different Bibles in a lifetime but Bibles from different geographical centers with differing kinds of texts.

2. *Scribes and Editors*

This second dimension of the problem has first of all to do with the transmission of the patristic texts themselves, texts that have suffered a whole variety of exigencies. Not only are the Fathers' works available in varying quantities of extant MSS (from one to scores), but all the scribal questions asked of the NT MSS must also be applied to the Fathers' texts, and especially to that portion of their texts where they cite Scripture. It has long been recognized that the monks of the Middle Ages, to whom we are indebted for most of the extant copies of the Fathers, sometimes conformed biblical passages to a more contemporary text — although as M. J. Suggs has pointed out, this problem can be overstated, since there is also good evidence that the trained copyist normally aimed at verbal accuracy.[7] In any case, NT textual criticism at this point depends on patristic scholarship for the critical editions of the Fathers, from which one can draw the NT data.

Unfortunately, editors are not faultless. This is true not only of the older, and sometimes less critical, editions (many of which Migne reproduced in his *Patrologia Graece*, sometimes adding his own errors), but also of such editions as E. Pusey's of Cyril of Alexandria[8] and of some of the editions in the magisterial GCS (see p. 195 below). The net result is that even though critical editions greatly increase

5. My own work with the Fathers confirms this judgment first made by J. M. Bebb ("The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations on the Text of the New Testament," in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* II [Oxford: Clarendon, 1890] 216), and repeated by Suggs ("Use," 143) and Metzger ("Patristic Evidence," 379-80).

6. See B. M. Metzger, "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963) 78-95.

7. Suggs, "Use," 140.

8. See G. D. Fee, "The Text of John in *The Jerusalem Bible:* A Critique of the Use of Patristic Citations in New Testament Textual Criticism," *JBL* 90 (1971) 163n.1 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 335n.1).

our access to the Fathers' NT texts, they must themselves be used critically by those seeking to recover those texts.

3. The Need to Discriminate

The problem here rests with the judgment, or lack thereof, exercised by those who use these data. This is often true of individual scholars, whose use of patristic evidence sometimes reveals a failure to have worked carefully with a Father's citation in context.[9] But it is also — and especially — evident in the errors of the *apparatus critici* of our standard critical editions,[10] errors that lead in turn to any number of misjudgments on the part of those who use these editions, usually because they lack the time and resources to investigate every patristic citation of a given passage.

I must quickly point out that the problem is not the fault of the editors of the *UBSGNT*; rather it is the result of a great lacuna in NT studies, namely, the collection and presentation of the NT text(s) used by the Greek Fathers,[11] based on a careful analysis and evaluation of the available data. Hort himself lamented this problem over one hundred years ago: "It is unsatisfactory that so much of the patristic testimony remains uncertain in the present state of knowledge; but such is the fact. Much of the uncertainty, though not all, will doubtless disappear when the Fathers have been carefully edited."[12] It is the unfortunate reality of this discipline that over one hundred years later, the Alands could similarly lament the condition of this evidence and claim that the vast majority of work in this area still remains to be done.[13]

This is not to say that some progress has not been made; much has, especially during the period under review. Unfortunately, much of this work was done poorly. Despite the failures of the early part of this period, the story during the past twenty-five years is one of several major successes that put us on the threshold of a new day. But that part of the history, and its corrective, belongs to the story of the past

9. A case in point is the use of Origen's discussion of Luke 10:42 in catena fragment 78 in John by M. Augsten, on the one hand ("Lukanische Miszelle," *NTS* 14 [1967/68] 581-83), and by A. Baker, on the other ("One Thing Necessary," *CBQ* 27 [1965] 127-37), both of whom use the data without considering Origen's own context and discussion and thus offer differing — and incorrect — conclusions as to Origen's text. See G. D. Fee, " 'One Thing Needful?' Luke 10:42," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 51-75.

10. This problem is well illustrated in the apparatus of the 3d ed. of *UBSGNT*, where for the most part the evidence was derived from the apparatuses of Tischendorf and von Soden ("Introduction," xxxvi). Unfortunately, in the majority of instances this evidence is incomplete, ambiguous, or unreliable. In any case, it can never be implicitly trusted. For example, in my study of Luke 10:41-42 in the first Metzger *Festschrift* ("One Thing?") the analysis of the patristic evidence, which is highly important *primary* evidence for this passage, demonstrated the *UBSGNT*[3] to be unreliable on six counts (Basil in var. 1; Clement and Basil in var. 2; Origen in var. 5; Clement and Augustine in var. 6) and incomplete on several others (Evagrius, Nilus, Augustine, for var. 2; Cassian, Olympiodorus for var. 4). Such a problem occurs over and again in this edition, greatly minimizing the value of its patristic evidence.

11. For the story of the Latin Fathers, which is a happier one in terms of NT textual criticism, see chap. 13 by J. Lionel North in this volume.

12. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 5.

13. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 171-73.

fifty years, to which I must now turn. The story itself is in four parts: the availability of the data; the gathering and presentation of the data; the analysis of the data; and the evaluation and use of the data.[14]

II. Availability of the Data

Our ultimate goal is a carefully evaluated presentation of all available Greek patristic evidence, which in turn can find its way, also with careful evaluation, into the apparatuses of our critical editions. But the path toward that goal leads first of all through the results of patristic scholarship. Since most of this work lies outside our immediate discipline, my purpose here is simply to report on the present state of affairs.

1. Index to the Fathers

The four-volume *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, published in the Greek series of the Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout), is now the absolutely indispensable guidebook to the Greek Fathers and their works.[15] The *Clavis* alerts one to all the works of a given Father, the best critical editions, discussions about authenticity, the availability of a work in early versions, and the more significant bibliography. It should also help to standardize nomenclature.

2. Critical Editions

Although much work remains to be done,[16] a random look through the *Clavis* reveals that the publication of critical editions continues apace. Besides the two major series, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (GCS) (1897-) and Sources chrétiennes (SC) (1941-), critical editions also appear in a great variety of other places. One should always consult the *Clavis* for the latest edition of a Father's work(s).

One can scarcely overstate the necessity and usefulness of these editions.[17] As

14. In an extensive paper on patristic citations presented at a special consultation on NT textual criticism called by the Society of Biblical Literature at its 90th annual meeting, held in New York, October 22-27, 1970, I argued that six tasks were before us at that time: (1) continued publication of good critical editions of the Fathers; (2) an index of NT citations from all Fathers for each NT book; (3) the critical reconstruction, or otherwise full and critical presentation, of each Father's NT text; (4) the evaluation of each Father's textual relationships, i.e., placing the Father's evidence in the history of the transmission of the text; (5) the presentation of such evidence in the various *apparatus critici;* and (6) the evaluation and use of patristic citations in the recovery of the "original" NT text. The progress on the first two of these is here recorded in §II; the others are taken up in the remaining sections of this essay. (The paper was subsequently published in two parts, as "The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations," *Bib* 52 [1971] 357-94; and "The Text of John in *The Jerusalem Bible*"; both reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 301-34, 335-43, respectively.)

15. For the Latin Fathers, see *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Brugge: Karel Beyaert, 1961).

16. The single most glaring need continues to be the lack of a critical edition of the majority of the works of Chrysostom.

17. For example, on the basis of J. W. Burgon's large collection of patristic evidence (see Metzger, "Patristic Evidence," 171), all gathered from uncritical editions, H. C. Hoskier argued that Hippolytus of Rome's citations of 1 Thess 4:13-17 and 2 Thess 2:1-12 (in his "On Christ and

already noted, however, for NT textual criticism one must also strike a note of caution, since the editors of these editions are not always sensitive to the special nature of the NT citations or to the citing habits of the Father.[18] One must therefore never simply take an edition at face value, but must always be ready to rethink with the editor as to which variant in the Father's own MS tradition most likely represents the actual text of the Father.

3. Index of Patristic Citations

In order to find the patristic evidence for any given NT text, the first volumes of the much-needed and welcome index of patristic quotations are now available from the Centre d'Analyse et de Documentation patristique of the faculty of Protestant Theology of Strasbourg.[19] The first five volumes include all the Fathers of the second and third centuries, plus three Palestinian Fathers from the fourth (Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius of Salamis), and Amphilocius and the Cappadocian Fathers (Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus). Happily, this index is of all biblical citations, not just the NT. Also happily, but for textual purposes somewhat frustratingly, distant allusions, as well as citations and adaptations, are included. As a result, one must frequently sift through a large number of inconsequential listings in order to realize a minimal gain of textual data. Nonetheless, such a thorough index is a giant step forward.

III. Gathering and Presenting the Data

By means of these various tools one now has access to the critical editions of many of the Fathers' works and to all of their biblical references. But the greater task still remains of gathering, evaluating, and presenting these data so as to make them accessible to scholarship at large. This is the longer — and not always congenial — story, but one that now brings good hope for the future.

In order to tell this story of hope, one must begin with the more unfortunate narrative of some early failures in the collecting of the data, which led in turn to inadequate presentations of the results. This narrative is in two parts.

First, there is the story of the Greek patristic evidence in one of the major

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Antichrist") are "generally found on the side of [the Byzantine MSS]" (see *Codex B and Its Allies: A Study and an Indictment* [London: Quaritch, 1914] 427). But an analysis of these citations from the Achelis edition (GCS) demonstrates that Hippolytus's text is consistently in agreement with D F G and the OL, which is precisely what one would expect of someone living in Rome in the early 3d century (cf. G. D. Fee, "A Critique of W. N. Pickering's *The Identity of the New Testament Text:* A Review Article," *WTJ* 41 [1979] 419-20; and C. D. Osburn, "The Text of the Pauline Epistles in Hippolytus of Rome," *SecCent* 2 [1982] 97-124).

18. All who have worked closely with these data have their stories to tell. Cf., e.g., Fee, "Text of John in *The Jerusalem Bible*," 164n.2 [reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 336n.2], on Preuschen's edition of Origen); Suggs, "Use," 141n.1 (on Heikel's edition of Eusebius); and Aland and Aland, *Text*, 171 (on the CSEL edition of Cyprian).

19. *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la litterature patristique* (5 vols.; Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975-91).

projects of our period, the IGNTP's edition of Luke.[20] The problems with these materials are the result of many factors, most of them related to a lack of proper oversight between 1955 and 1964.[21] During that period an enormous amount of nearly useless data had been collected, because (1) most of the collectors had not used critical editions (relying mostly on Migne's *PG*), and (2) even then they did not carefully read the Father's text but relied on Migne's notoriously unreliable references, so that all too frequently the data were incomplete, as well as inaccurate. I was hired by the project to spend the summer of 1969 to see what could be done with the material available to that time. I soon discovered that a large amount of data had not been collected at all, and that much that had been gathered needed a thorough reworking. After months of labor (continuing on into the next two years), I turned over to the editor's files of cards that were approximately 90 to 95 percent checked or redone altogether. By such a process errors are bound to have made their way into the apparatus.

Of equal concern was the need for these materials to be presented in such a way that some evaluation of their usefulness could also appear in the apparatus. Thus, at the annual meeting of the American Committee in 1969, an initial probe was presented into ways that these data could appear so as to offer minimal steps toward evaluation and usefulness. Unfortunately most of these suggestions did not get beyond the committee; the net result, therefore, is a large gathering of material for Luke in these two volumes, but with no means by which one can use it discriminatingly.

Second, there is the unfortunate story, which reaches back into the first half of this century, of the presentation and analysis of the Greek texts of individual Fathers. This story begins in 1931 with the presentation of Chrysostom's text of the Gospel of Mark by J. Geerlings and S. New, whose analysis, which has frequently been quoted or referred to, has proved to be quite inaccurate and misleading.[22] The same holds true for many of the subsequent studies published up to 1970, as well as for most of the unpublished dissertations on other early Greek Fathers.[23]

20. *The Gospel According to St. Luke.* Part I: *Chapters 1-12.* Part II: *Chapters 13-24* (ed. by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project; The New Testament in Greek 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, 1987). In many ways the history of NT textual criticism in the U.S. over the past fifty years corresponds roughly with the history of this project, with which the honoree of this volume has been closely connected from its inception (1948). One can find the story of the project itself in the introduction to ibid., 1.v, xiv-xv. For a history of the patristic data in this volume, see J. Duplacy and M. J. Suggs, "Les citations grecques et la critique du texte du Nouveau Testament: Le passé, le présent et l'avenir," in *La Bible et les Pères* (ed. A. Benoit and P. Prigent; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971) 187-213.

21. In 1963 Suggs became chair of the patristics section, which led to a major effort to bring the Greek patristic evidence into a workable state. On the inadequacies of the patristic evidence in the volumes, see esp. the review by W. L. Petersen in *JBL* 107 (1988) 758-62.

22. J. Geerlings and S. New, "Chrysostom's Text of the Gospel of Mark," *HTR* 24 (1931) 121-42. See G. D. Fee, "The Text of John and Mark in the Writings of Chrysostom," *NTS* 26 (1980) 525-47, esp. 538-47.

23. For works up to 1970, see the various studies by R. V. G. Tasker and K. W. Kim, whose conclusions at times accidentally prove to be generally correct, because, e.g., Origen's text of John is so certain that even with an incomplete collection, inadequate presentation, and faulty methodology, the conclusions can hardly miss. So also with L. A. Eldridge, *The Gospel Text of Epiphanius*

These studies have three problems. (1) Apart from that of Geerlings and New, the Fathers' "texts" were presented in the form of lists of variants from the TR, so that other scholars did not have direct access to the full NT text of the Father. (2) With a couple of notable exceptions, these studies evidenced a general lack of sensitivity as to which data can be used to establish the Father's text and which lie somewhere between uncertain and altogether useless. (3) Their analyses of the data, which generally existed not to make the Father's data available but to place his text into the history of transmission, did so with an inadequate methodology, so that the results often gave a false picture of the Father's text and relationships.[24]

The happy side of this story, which one can trace to Suggs's overview article in 1957/58, actually began in 1970 with the publication by M. Mees of the full textual data, with analysis, of the NT text of Clement of Alexandria.[25] I followed up on the suggestion by Suggs, and in a paper also presented in 1970 and published the following year, I urged that "critical reconstructions, especially of the biblical text of the early Greek Fathers, are currently the most urgent need for the study of patristic citations in NT textual criticism."[26]

This plea has finally found fruition in the form of a series, launched under the auspices of the Society of Biblical Literature through Scholars Press, entitled The New Testament in the Greek Fathers: Texts and Analyses (NTGF).[27] As the title and subtitle indicate, the aim of this series is to publish a given Father's entire NT, or portions thereof, and to offer an analysis of his text. As of this writing the first three volumes in the series have already appeared,[28] with several others in various stages of progress. The parameters of this series, which are herewith described, should serve as basic guidelines for all such presentations.[29]

1. The introduction to each volume provides a brief sketch of the Father's life

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of Salamis (SD 41; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968), whose better methodology for analysis brings him toward what appear to be generally correct conclusions, but whose gathering and presentation of the data leave much to be desired. For unpublished dissertations see Fee, "Text of John in Origen," 359n.1 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 302n.6); for a judgment on the work of Witherspoon (Cyril), Linss (Didymus), and Zervopolous (Athanasius), see ibid., 365n.1 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 306n.15). The works by Oliver on Basil and Suggs on Eusebius are noteworthy exceptions.

24. On the question of methodology, see §IV below.

25. Suggs, "Use," in which he suggested: "More ambitiously [than merely presenting all the data], we might aim at publishing 'critically reconstructed' texts of these patristic witnesses" (p. 147); M. Mees, *Die Zitate aus dem Neuen Testament bei Clemens von Alexandrien* (Bari: Istituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica, 1970).

26. Fee, "Text of John in Origen," 358 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 301-2); cf. n. 14 above.

27. Currently edited by B. D. Ehrman, with an editorial board consisting of G. D. Fee, B. M. Metzger, and W. L. Petersen.

28. Vol. 1: B. D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (1986); vol. 2: J. A. Brooks, *The New Testament Text of Gregory of Nyssa* (1991); vol. 3: B. D. Ehrman, G. D. Fee, and M. W. Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen*, vol. 1: *Text and Apparatus* (1992).

29. The following sketch combines material from an original proposal I made at the centennial meeting of the SBL in 1980 with the presentation made by B. D. Ehrman at the annual SBL meeting in 1986, announcing the actual appearance of the series.

and writings, and discusses the unique problems attendant to the analysis and classification of his citations of the NT text.[30]

2. The second component is the actual presentation of the text, which in every case is based only on critical editions of the Father's works. The presentation itself takes one of two forms, depending on the quantity of the evidence and the nature of the Father's citing habits. First, where a Father (a) cites freely, and/or (b) cites infrequently, and/or (c) cites texts in two or more forms, the safest procedure is to list all the various forms in which a text is cited, in a fashion similar to the study of Clement's text by Mees or of Gregory's by J. A. Brooks. In contrast to Mees's work, however, a more thorough evaluation of the data to establish Clement's text is both possible and desirable.

The second method is one I proposed some years ago for Origen and Cyril of Alexandria, in which a carefully reconstructed text of the Father's NT is presented.[31] Such a presentation must be careful not to lose any piece of evidence, including textual variations in the transmission of the Father's work; at the same time, a thorough evaluation of the data is made so as to present to the highest degree possible the very text of the Father's NT.[32]

3. At some point, either with the presentation of the text itself or in a full listing elsewhere, an apparatus of the Father's text is included, collated in full against carefully selected control MSS representing the previously established textual groups. No standardized group of witnesses is required, but normally twenty to forty of the most important textual representatives are included. The collations are presented in full for all citations and usable adaptations.

4. These data are then analyzed so as to ascertain the textual affinities or relationships of the Father's text with the other available witnesses to the NT text (see IV below).

5. Finally, each volume normally concludes with some statement concerning the historical results of the study, especially in terms of how the analysis has contributed to our understanding of the history of the transmission of the NT. The significance of these conclusions will vary, but their potential for helping us write the history of the NT text is great, since they afford firm evidence for the condition of the text at some datable, geographical point.[33]

I can scarcely emphasize enough how useful such collections and presentations of patristic evidence will be for the future of this discipline; I hope that many scholars

30. The introduction also normally includes (a) a discussion of the problems concerning the authenticity of works commonly attributed to the Father, (b) other circumstances of his life that might complicate a textual analysis (e.g. Didymus's blindness, or Origen's or Chrysostom's moves from one locale to another), and (c) comments on the Father's citing habits that may contribute to the formal analysis.

31. See n. 14 above.

32. In presenting the text of Origen (see n. 28), we decided to combine the two methods; that is, we actually list all the data, but then in each case offer a reconstructed text, as much as the data allow.

33. Ehrman also suggested, and in his volume included, an appendix of the results of the study that could become part of the *UBSGNT* and NA apparatuses. Cf. Ehrman, Fee, and Holmes, *Text of the Fourth Gospel in Origen*, 1.471-89.

will find time to engage in this effort, or at least to direct younger scholars toward dissertations that might eventually be included in the series.[34]

IV. Analysis of the Data

At issue here is the analysis of the Father's text so as to place it within the history of the transmission of the NT. As before, part of this story is one of failure, linked to the earlier studies discussed in the preceding section. The story of success is linked both with that of Greek MS evidence and with that of the NTGF (noted above).

First of all, it was not possible to analyze a Father's text adequately until a methodology was in hand that would give greater certainty and precision regarding the Greek evidence itself.[35] The basic methodology that finally evolved is known as the quantitative method, which E. C. Colwell pioneered and which I further refined, in which percentages of agreements are established between the Father's text and all other MSS used in the collation, where at least two of them agree in variation against the rest.[36]

Since this method establishes only the broad parameters of a Father's textual relationships, some kind of further analysis is also usually needed. In the past decade two complementary suggestions have been made in this regard. The first was my attempt to devise a means for a quick profile of a Father's text, which came also to have potential for adding precision to results of the quantitative method.[37] The method is simply to isolate a Father's agreements/disagreements with selected MSS at variants where the Majority text and *UBSGNT*[3] differ, followed by an analysis of all singular readings and subsingular agreements. What such a method cannot do is to speak to a Father's relationship with groups and subgroups that do not emerge in the Majority text/*UBSGNT* collation or in the Father's own singular or subsingular readings. This fault is corrected by the second method, pioneered by B. Ehrman, who has devised a means for establishing group profiles, whereby a Father's text can be assessed in relationship to various groups and subgroups of MSS within a given tradition.[38]

With the problem of methodology basically overcome, the need for the future is to apply these methods to a Father's text where a more careful evaluation of citations takes place before one undertakes the quantitative analysis. That step leads to the final chapter in this story — the need for a more careful evaluation of all the pieces of evidence from a Father before using them to establish the original text and writing the history of its transmission.

34. Cf. the appeal by the Alands: "This is a field ripe for innumerable doctoral dissertations and learned investigations. Any volunteers?" (*Text*, 173).

35. For an account of this story see B. D. Ehrman, "Methodological Developments in the Analysis and Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *NovT* 29 (1987) 22-45.

36. See Fee, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships," *NTS* 15 (1968/69) 23-44 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 221-43).

37. See "Text of John and Mark in Chrysostom," 525-47.

38. See esp. "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *JBL* 106 (1987) 465-86.

V. Evaluation of the Data

At the center point of this century, and in conjunction with the inception of the IGNTP, R. M. Grant argued rightly that "patristic citations are not citations unless they have been adequately analyzed."[39] Indeed, the numerous examples of careless or completely invalid usage noted above demand that the process of evaluation must become an inviolable axiom in our discipline. The needs here are two: first, we need to devise a set of criteria, or guidelines, by which to assess the degrees of certainty or doubt with regard to any patristic citation. Second, for the sake of those who regularly use the NA^{26} or *UBSGNT*^{3} editions, a means is needed whereby these degrees of certainty or doubt can be expressed in the *apparatus criticus*, thus enabling the user to move toward the same degree of confidence with these data as with the MS and versional evidence.

The following guidelines are offered as a preliminary working list toward such a set of criteria, beginning with certainty and working toward extremely doubtful materials.[40]

1. A Father's name could be listed in **bold type** when there is virtual certainty as to the actual text that he used (as much as historians may speak of "certainty"). Such cases include:

1.1. When in his subsequent discussion the Father makes a point of the very words used by the biblical author.

1.2. When in a commentary or homily the subsequent discussion confirms the wording of a citation.

1.3. When the Father actually mentions a known variation to his own text.[41] (In this case, of course, the Father becomes certain evidence for two readings; but one reading is that of the Father's own text, which is the primary interest in the use of his materials. Current practice should continue for citing his second reading, e.g., Origen^{mss}.)

1.4. When in a commentary, homily, or polemical treatise, the Father repeats the text in the same way again and again.

2. A Father's name should be given in CAPITALS when there is a high degree of probability that we have his actual text, but with less certainty than in category 1. Examples include the following:

2.1. When a Father makes a citation of several verses in length, especially when he also singles out the biblical author or book.[42]

39. Grant, "The Citation of Patristic Evidence in an Apparatus Criticus," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies: The Materials and the Making of a Critical Apparatus* (ed. M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950) 124.

40. I first set forth these in my *ANRW* article (see n. 4 above). One will need to consult the original article for more detailed explanations and illustrations of the various proposed guidelines.

41. See, e.g., the useful collections of such references in Origen and Jerome gathered by B. M. Metzger: "Explicit References in the Works of Origen," and "St. Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 179-90.

42. This assumes that an author is more likely to have consulted his text at such points than otherwise. One must use great care here, however, for this is also a place where a copyist of the

2.2. When an isolated citation shows clear affinities with a Father's otherwise well-established textual relationships.

2.3. In most of the isolated citations of a Father whose citing habits reflect a rather high degree of verbal accuracy.

2.4. When a Father alludes to the language of a passage in such a way that it is virtually impossible for him to have done so without knowledge of the biblical text.[43]

2.5. Where in various unsuspecting ways (e.g., verb inflections in which the root is changed in allusions or adaptations) the Father reveals his text where subsequent scribes are most highly likely to have tampered with it.

2.6. In Synoptic parallels when a Father actually notes the usage in another Gospel.

3. In most other citations, the Father should simply be listed in regular lower case. This is not to throw unnecessary doubt on a patristic citation; rather, it is to inform the user that some degree of caution is necessary, since the editors do not have the two higher kinds of certainty about the citation. In most cases these citations probably reflect the actual text used by the Father, but one simply cannot be as certain as in the cases noted above.

4. One category of citations needs further comment; it may appear in our apparatuses in any of the above forms, depending on the other criteria. It is well known that Fathers in two or more citations often reflect two or more text forms. In such cases the following guidelines should prevail:

4.1. Many times a careful analysis of all the data reveals that in fact the Father knew and used only one form of text and that the second citation reflects either (a) a fault of memory or inconsequential omissions or (b) adaptations in a new context. This is true especially when the two citations reflect a "long" or "short" form of text (i.e., the addition or omission of adverbs, adjectives, pronouns, or prepositional phrases). In most such cases the "long" form reflects the Father's actual text, while the "short" form is an abbreviated version made by the Father himself.[44] I would argue that such "short-form" variants have no business in our analyses or apparatuses.

4.2. Sometimes one can show beyond reasonable doubt that the Father knew and used two different forms of text (e.g., Origen's citations of Mark in his Com-

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Father's work may have unconsciously conformed the text to his own standard (e.g., the full citation of the Matthean version of the Lord's Prayer in Origen's *On Prayer* has been conformed to the prevailing text by the addition of ὅτι in v. 5 and τῆς in v. 10, as the subsequent discussion by Origen makes clear). Furthermore, in a Father like Epiphanius, who does *not* consult his text, this criterion is of no value (see, e.g., his "citations" of Mark 5:2-14 in the *Panarion*).

43. This criterion has especially to do with large additions and omissions. The operative word is "language." For example, one can assume by the *language* he uses that Tertullian knew a text of — or the same form of tradition as — John 5 that carried the gloss of vv. 3b-4. But one can be equally dubious as to whether Ps-Didymus *(De Trinitate)* or Amphilochius knew a text of John with these words. Even though they refer to an angel stirring the water, in both cases the rest of their comments not only fail to reflect the *language* of the gloss, but in fact offer a different understanding of the tradition. Here one can be sure only that they knew about the tradition reflected in the Western gloss; but it is doubtful whether they knew a biblical text with these words.

44. Cf. the similar judgments by Metzger, "Patristic Evidence," 396.

mentary on John; Hesychius's two homilies on the presentation of Jesus). In such cases the Father should be listed twice, as reasonably certain evidence that he knew and used two different texts.

4.3. In many instances one cannot clearly decide between 4.1 and 4.2. In such cases one must use the Father's evidence with utmost caution, perhaps listing it twice, but in parentheses. For the most part it is far less likely that a Father actually knew and used two different texts than either that he is guilty of carelessness or that an error has made its way into his own textual tradition. This means that we usually must admit that we do not know his text rather than suggest that he knew both forms.

5. Finally, in the following situations one must exhibit the greatest caution in including or using a Father's text as supporting evidence. If one were to choose to include such data in an apparatus, they should be enclosed within parentheses, indicating to the reader the highest degree of uncertainty.

5.1. Synoptic parallels are especially treacherous waters.[45] Most Fathers have a strong tendency for *memoriter* citations to become intricately, but probably not purposefully, harmonized. Therefore, one can use such evidence with confidence in only three categories of citations: (a) where the text is part of a commentary or homily on the Gospel in question; (b) where the Father indicates explicitly which Gospel he is citing; (c) where the material cited or referred to is unique to one of the Gospels.

5.2. It is generally a doubtful procedure to place much confidence in the "short text" of a Father, when one is dealing with an isolated quotation and the alleged "omission" is at the beginning or end of the citation.[46]

5.3. Lemmata of commentaries and homilies are notoriously poor risks; in the catenae they are even worse. In the former case, unless one can demonstrate the lemmata to have been carefully preserved in general (as in Origen's Commentary on John), they are useful in establishing a Father's text only to the extent that they are supported by the ensuing commentary.

5.4. In an isolated citation of a single verse one can almost never use a Father's evidence for the presence or absence (or substitution) of connective particles and conjunctions.[47] In most cases such conjunctive signals have been either omitted or conformed to the Father's own context. Except for those instances that occur within a citation of several verses in length, all such items should be eliminated from our quantitative analyses and apparatuses.

45. See some of the suggestions in this regard in G. D. Fee, "Modern Textual Criticism and the Synoptic Problem: On the Problem of Harmonization in the Gospels," in *J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-Critical Studies 1776-1976* (ed. B. Orchard and T. R. W. Longstaff; SNTSMS 34; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 154-69 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 174-82).

46. This is one of several problems with the attempt by M.-E. Boismard, following the earlier lead of F. C. Conybeare, to use the Fathers (along with the versions) to discover an earlier, independent, and more likely original text than that found in the early Greek MSS. For bibliography and critique, see Fee, "Text of John in *The Jerusalem Bible*" (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 335-43); cf. Metzger, "Patristic Evidence," 387-95.

47. This was first noted by Suggs, "Use," 142. My own work with these data over many years has absolutely confirmed the validity of this judgment. A much too high incidence of these nearly useless "variants" occurs in the apparatus of the IGNTP Luke.

5.5. In a Father with a notorious number of singular readings (e.g., Chrysostom's homilies; Epiphanius's *Panarion*), one must be especially cautious in finding any significance in subsingular readings (i.e., in isolated agreements with one or a few other witnesses). Such agreements usually mean nothing as to the Father's text, but rather reflect independently created singular readings. If such data are ever to be included in an apparatus (on the principle of not losing any datum), then they should appear in parentheses.

VI. Some Conclusions

The suggestions offered above are programmatic and need to be subjected to careful scrutiny and further refinement. The use of such criteria assumes a certain amount of knowledge of the Fathers and their texts; those who gather and present these texts are in the best position to offer this kind of service. I hope the presentations of the future will attempt to aid others in this way.

As I have indicated, the *apparatus critici* of the future could be designed to reflect the degrees of certainty or doubt involved. Such apparatuses should be guided by two principles: on the one hand, no single datum should be lost or discarded; on the other hand, not all data should be implied to have equal value (as is now the case).

To illustrate such an apparatus, I have reworked that of *UBSGNT*^{3} for Luke 10:41-42, on the basis of the rather thorough study of each of the Father's texts for my contribution to the first Metzger *Festschrift*.[48]

> μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ (or τυρβάζῃ) περὶ πολλά, ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία P^{45,75} A C* K P Δ Π Ψ f^{13} 28 565 700 892 1009 1010 1071 1079 1195 1216 1230 1241 1242 1253 1344 1365 1546 1646 2148 2174 *Byz Lect* it$^{aur,f,(q)}$ vg syr^{c,p,h} cop^{sa} CHRYSOSTOM Evagrius Nilus PS-BASIL PS-MACARIUS JOHN-DAMASCUS AUGUSTINE // μεριμνᾷ καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά, ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἢ ἑνός P^{3} (א* B) C^{2} L 1 33 579 2193 syr^{hmg} cop^{bo} eth it^{m} **Origen** **Basil** CYRIL-ALEXANDRIA OLYMPIODORUS JEROME CASSIAN // μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά, ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία 38 cop^{boms} arm geo // μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά it^{c} // θορμβάζῃ D it^{d} // *omit* it^{a,b,e,ff2,i,l,r1} syr^{s} AMBROSE POSSIDIUS

When all of our *apparatus critici* can so distinguish between Fathers' certain and less certain citations, and leave the dubious ones out altogether, then the users of our Greek critical texts can have far more confidence in their own ability to make textual decisions. At the same time, the judicious use of patristic evidence, based on presentations and analyses that are also sensitive to the degrees of certainty, will aid in the task of using this evidence more confidently in our attempt to write the history of the NT text. To this end the story of Greek patristic evidence during the second half of the twentieth century paves the way for the beginning of the twenty-first.

48. See n. 9 above.

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CHAPTER 13

THE USE OF THE LATIN FATHERS FOR NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

J. Lionel North

I. The Scope of the Material[1]

The definition of "Latin Fathers" is not self-evident. Strictly speaking, "Father," whether Greek or Latin or Syriac, implies a champion of dogmatic orthodoxy, often a bishop, who may therefore belong to any era. The most generous definition would begin with the Latin translation of Hermas and advance through eighteen hundred years well into the twentieth century. Who would wish to deny to all twenty-two Latin Doctors of the Church the title of Father, especially men of the caliber of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) or Robert Bellarmine (d. 1621)? Further, the substitution of historical criteria for dogmatic would involve the inclusion of persons of uncertain orthodoxy, like Peter Abelard and Martin Luther, and of laypersons like Thomas More, as well as clergy like bishop John Fisher, his contemporary and fellow martyr.

In order to make such a gargantuan stretch of time and its massive and varied literary output more comprehensible and manageable, scholars have devised a particular set of artificial restrictions. Conventionally, the first third of the seventh century is regarded as marking the close of the Latin patristic period, with either Gregory the Great (d. 604) or Isidore of Seville (d. 636) bringing the second great chapter to a close. The first concerns the Latin Bible, which overlaps the second and always informs and inspires it. Indeed, a consideration of the Latin Bible requires us to modify the conventional restriction of the terminus ad quem to the seventh century.

The most important figure in the story of the Latin Bible is Jerome (d. 420), reviser of earlier Latin NT texts and translator into Latin of Hebrew and Greek OT texts.[2] The tenacious survival of OL readings not only in post-Hieronymian Fathers but also in copies of Jerome's own biblical work, long after the seventh century, makes it necessary to put a higher terminus ad quem on what should be included among the "Latin Fathers," if textual critics wish to be confident that they are

1. I have not repeated the important general and cautionary comments that Gordon Fee has made and exemplified on the Greek Fathers in chap. 12 above. Mutatis mutandis they apply to all Christian authors, whatever the language in which they write.

2. See Jacobus Petzer's essay on the Latin versions, chap. 7 above. These revisions and translations, along with what Jerome left undisturbed, are conventionally lumped together and called the Vulgate (Vg). Their Latin antecedents are summarily described as Old Latin (OL).

investigating all sources of OL readings.[3] It is instructive that while Pierre de Labriolle could write, "After Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidore of Seville, the framework of the intellectual life of the Middle Ages was established for a long time. A natural line of demarcation at this point closes the history of Latin Christian Literature,"[4] J.-P. Migne extended his *Patrologia Latina* to include Innocent III (d. 1216). Moreover, Dom Eligius Dekkers and Dr. Aemilius Gaar conclude their *Clavis* with Bede (d. 735), while the Vetus Latina Institute, Beuron, has decided on an upper date of about 800, regularly not including in its edition of the OL Bible (= Vetus Latina) any quotations after that date.[5]

The importance of the Latin Fathers for the reconstruction of the pre- and post-Hieronymian NT(s) is greater than that of the Greek Fathers for the reconstruction of the Greek NT. The sheer abundance of Greek biblical MSS, on papyrus and parchment, in majuscule and minuscule, renders less valuable the quotations found in the Greek Fathers. Were these all to be lost, little would be lost that is not supported by one Greek biblical MS or another. By contrast, the relative paucity of OL NT MSS and the fragmentary nature of many of them make the witness of Latin Fathers indispensable.

II. The Work of the Vetus Latina Institute, Beuron

Although much excellent work has been done elsewhere (see below), one undertaking undoubtedly overshadows all that has been done in the last half century on the contribution of the Latin Fathers to NT textual criticism. This is the enterprise that is now located in the Vetus Latina Institute in the Benedictine Archabbey of St. Martin, Beuron, in Baden-Würtemberg in southern Germany (= Beuron). Thus I will start with this institute. The work did not begin there, and increasingly the army of collaborators working on Vetus Latina grows and spreads, even to South Africa; but no one will dispute the pivotal importance of the resources now found in Beuron

3. Similarly the study and use of OL biblical MSS are generally not restricted to those *written* before Jerome. If they were, we would be ignoring all our evidence!

4. De Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius* (2d ed.; Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1924; trans. Herbert Wilson; London: Kegan Paul, 1924) 518. "Marazuela" (see below) also does not advance beyond Isidore.

5. For the upper date see *Clavis Patrum Latinorum . . . ad Bedam* (2d ed.; *SacEr* 3; Brugge: Beyaert, 1961). See further B. Fischer, *Verzeichnis der Sigel für Handschriften und Kirchenschriftsteller* (Vetus Latina 1; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1949); idem, *Verzeichnis der Sigel für Kirchenschriftsteller* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1963); H. J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel* (Vetus Latina 1/1; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1981); idem, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Aktualisierungsheft 1984* (Vetus Latina 1/1A; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1984); idem, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Aktualisierungsheft 1988* (Vetus Latina 1/1B; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1988). In fact, no Carolingian writers are included in Vetus Latina, apart from Fischer's edition of Genesis, where, e.g., Alcuin and Abelard are quoted for 24:63, 65; 49:27. If Alcuin's (or, Ps-Alcuin's) commentary on Revelation is really based on OL, as is sometimes claimed, this will be a serious flaw. Asser's Life of Alfred also contains OL readings; cf. W. H. Stevenson, ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904) xciv. The preference for *Kirchenschriftsteller* rather than *Kirchenväter*, perhaps borrowed from the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, illustrates the historical criterion (whereas Kirchen*väter* may suggest bishops and so dogmatic orthodoxy, Kirchen*schriftsteller* and *Scriptorum* Ecclesiasticorum are more neutral, descriptive expressions).

and particularly of the vision, organizing skills, and sheer hard work of Bonifatius Fischer, Walter Thiele, and its present director, Hermann Josef Frede.[6] For nearly fifty years this trio has made Beuron a center, if not the center, of Latin Bible studies, particularly so with regard to the OL and the Latin Fathers.[7]

Beuron's aim is not in the first instance the recovery of the original Hebrew and Greek. Its purpose is to present the evidence of all OL biblical MSS and all pre-Carolingian Latin Fathers for the pre-Hieronymian Bible, that is, to do for the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries what Pierre Sabatier did for the eighteenth and nineteenth.[8] Such a presentation will undoubtedly prove invaluable for the editor of the Greek NT (see below); but wider purposes are already being served and will be served. Historians of biblical interpretation and of Christian doctrine, for instance, will be able to plot more securely (i.e., chronologically and geographically) the trajectories and influences of nearly every verse in the Latin Bible.[9]

6. The core of the whole enterprise was the half million or so cards, containing about 700,000 quotations from the Fathers, which were excerpted and typed up by Father Joseph Denk (1849-1927), all with a view to preparing a new "Sabatier." This monument to single-minded zeal was deposited in Beuron in 1920, where it rested, largely undisturbed, until Fischer was entrusted with implementing Denk's plans. Denk's literary remains have been more than doubled, both with quotations and allusions from newly discovered works and with material from new editions of old works. It remains an almost inexhaustible resource not only for the team working on Vetus Latina but also for other scholars, who are always made most welcome. In 1914 Denk published, as a specimen of his "Sabatier redivivus," an edition of Ruth and Jude. Regrettably, this is all that he was able to produce; cf. A. Jülicher's critical review in *TLZ* 42 (1917) 37-38, part of which is quoted in n. 17 below. Frede also gives a full description of "l'école de Beuron" in *Kirchenschriftsteller* (1981) 9-22 (by B. Fischer). Its progress has been reported annually in Beuron's *Arbeitsbericht der Stiftung* 1-37 and *Bericht des Instituts* 1-26 (to date). A complete list (111 items to date) of the publications of Frede and Thiele is available in *Philologia Sacra* (ed. R. Gryson; 2 vols.; GLB 24/1-2; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993) 1.1-15.

7. This is not to underrate the significance of the work on the Vg of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Jerome in Rome and the more recently established Centre de Recherches sur la Bible latine in the Catholic University in Louvain-la-Neuve. Beuron has made its contribution to the study of the Vg as well. Fischer and Thiele contributed to the Stuttgart Vulgate; Fischer is the editor of the Vulgate Concordance (see below), has produced two studies of Alcuin's Bible, and has undertaken a massive investigation of the Latin Gospels up to the 10th century in four volumes, with at least one more volume of evaluation of these to come; he has also republished his *Kleine Schriften* in GLB 11-12 (see below).

8. Sabatier (d. 1742), a French Benedictine monk, made a "virtually exhaustive collection" *(Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church)* of materials from OL biblical MSS and patristic quotations, and presented them, in three folio volumes, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica . . . ,* as *Versio Antiqua,* synoptically alongside *Vulgata Nova* (3 vols.; Rheims, 1743), with the NT in vol. 3. Even after 250 years it remains indispensable for those parts of the OL not covered by Vetus Latina and was twice reissued in 1976; cf. Fischer's introduction to Brepols's reprint, reviewed, with further bibliography, in *Bulletin de la bible latine/Bulletin d'ancienne littérature chrétienne latine* 6 (pp. 29-30) and the Beuron *Bericht* 20/9 (1976) 11-12. Full title and description in Darlow-Moule's *Historical Catalogue* . . . §6263; Fischer clarifies the misleading date of publication (1743) in Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller* (1981), 9n.1.

9. See further the lecture delivered by R. Schnackenburg, *Die Bedeutung der Vetus-Latina-Forschung für Wissenschaft und Geistesleben* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1976), which relates Vetus Latina to biblical scholarship, esp. textual criticism, patristics, the study of Late Latin, general history, and art history; one might say, almost to the whole of Mediaevistik. Also see chap. 22 by Bart Ehrman in this volume.

1. The Sigla of the Beuron Editions

Even with the restriction of the scope of "Latin Fathers" to those of the first eight centuries, a further attempt had to be made to avoid overloading the pages of Vetus Latina with unnecessarily lengthy references. Fischer's first task was therefore to compile an index of all pre-Carolingian Fathers, give to each as short a *siglum* as would avoid confusion (e.g., AM = Ambrose, AMst = Ambrosiaster, JUL-P = Julianus Pomerius, JUL-T = Julianus of Toledo), and then give to each work of each author a short distinguishing symbol (e.g., ep = epistula, h = homilia, s = sermo, tr = tractatus).[10] If one combines the two, "TE an" = Tertullian's *De Anima*. Pseudonymous works are prefaced with PS-; e.g., "PS-AU s" introduces the great corpora of sermons wrongly attributed to Augustine. A further *siglum* indicates the particular corpus, so that "PS-AU s Cai" designates the spurious sermons that A. B. Caillau and B. Saint-Yves published under Augustine's name.[11] Fischer, now followed by Frede in the new editions, gives the date for each work where this is known, the particular edition used in Vetus Latina, and, if a new edition has replaced an old one in later volumes of Vetus Latina, an indication of which of the earlier volumes use the old one.[12] Other useful details are provided, including places where the work under consideration is quoted elsewhere in the Latin tradition and the section in the Dekkers-Gaar *Clavis* that deals with the same work.[13] Many anonymous works are introduced by AN; others of a hagiographical, conciliar, hymnic, or "Bible-introductory" nature are indicated by A-SS, CO, HYM, and PROL, respectively, followed by more specification. Translations from Greek authors are included (BAS = Basil, CHRY = John Chrysostom, ORI = Origen) with a reference to the relevant section in M. Geerard's *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*.[14]

The system may appear cumbersome, but fifteen minutes' use will familiarize students with it and make them wonder how they could have survived for so long without it. It is an excellent introduction to the range of Latin patristics and is regularly brought up to date, not only with details about new editions but also with the latest scholarly opinion on questions of authorship and dating.

2. The Layout of the Beuron Volumes

As far as the NT is concerned, since 1956 the Catholic epistles, Paul apart from the four *Hauptbriefe*, and, most recently, Hebrews have been completed. In addition, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, and Revelation are currently under way.[15] An analysis

10. As he acknowledges, Fischer was developing a system that Dom Alban Dold had started in the 1920s. It was Dold (1882-1960) who received Denk's literary remains and preserved them at Beuron. Fischer wrote of Dold: "Without P. Alban Dold there would have been neither the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron nor the Vetus Latina" (Beuron *Bericht* 10 [1961] 11).

11. 15% of the index is devoted to AU and PS-AU.

12. See n. 5 above.

13. See n. 5 above.

14. But RUF(inus) includes quite a number of *other* Greek authors that *he* translated.

15. Altogether 27 volumes in about 40 parts are envisaged. The parts of Vetus Latina dealing with Genesis and the Wisdom of Solomon have been completed. The Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), and Isaiah are in progress; and Exodus, 1 Samuel, Judith, and Esther are being actively

of Vetus Latina's edition of Hebrews will convey some idea of how each biblical book is presented. Hebrews was published in nine fascicles between 1987 and 1991, as the conclusion of Vetus Latina 25 (pp. 997-1743), which also contains 1-2 Thessalonians, 1-2 Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. The edition begins with a long introduction (pp. 1001-62) that deals with (a) the MSS that have not been fully discussed in earlier introductions, or at all (pp. 1001-17); (b) the ancient commentators (pp. 1018-27); (c) the "Texte und Texttypen" ("Texts and Text-types") that the analysis of MSS and quotations discloses (pp. 1027-50; see below); and (d) "Einbindung des Hebraerbriefs in das Corpus Paulinum" ("The Inclusion of Hebrews in the Pauline Corpus"; pp. 1051-62). The second and fourth sections have a significance far beyond textual criticism as narrowly conceived; both bear on patristic exegesis, early church history, and especially the NT canon. Nothing comparable exists elsewhere. Pages 1065-1662 contain the edition of Hebrews, in the familiar fourfold presentation outlined below. The next section, "Nachträge und Berichtigungen" ("Supplements and Corrections"; pp. 1663-92), is particularly useful, given the amount of new material that appeared subsequent to the earlier fascicles, chiefly through new discoveries and the reading of new editions by fresh eyes. Next, there is a most useful "Register" (pp. 1693-1738), showing where each MS is extant and where each Father quotes Hebrews. This enables one to get an overview of the textual complexion of the Bible that the Father is probably quoting from or recalling, work by work.

A more detailed description is now necessary. The place to begin is with the part of Vetus Latina that has called for the exercise of the greatest judgment and analysis and so has occasioned the most criticism. Even if the patristic material were not presented so fully, Vetus Latina would still need to provide some form of analysis. A mere listing of references to all quotations and allusions would not suffice.[16] As it is, analysis is unavoidable since a priori considerations suggest that over a span of six hundred years, Christians in different parts of the Latin-speaking world would have read their Bible in slightly different forms, and an edition of the OL Bible that is planning to be a contribution to history should try to show in what form different areas received and read their Bible. Accordingly, Vetus Latina analyzes the mass of readings for each verse, and where the evidence allows, identifies the several strands of the tradition ("text-types" or "forms of the text"). The criteria are lexical and text-critical. Where different Fathers transmit a Greek word in different ways or imply a different Greek word, this counts as evidence for a different translation, or, more likely, for a revision or development of an earlier translation. By the application of these criteria, Vetus Latina has demonstrated the existence of several strands, not all of which, of course, occur on every page or even in every book. To indicate a different strand in a highly complex tradition, separate boldface capital letters are assigned to the readings of (a) particular Fathers (e.g., Tertullian = **TE**, Cyprian =

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planned. Where Denk conjectured completion in about 4000 *Reichsformat* pages, Vetus Latina's 27 volumes could well contain eight times that amount in Royal Quarto. Frede calculates 15-20,000 pages for the NT alone (*Die alten Übersetzungen*, 478)!

16. Cf. the comparison between Vetus Latina and the Strasbourg *Biblia Patristica* below.

CY, Augustine = AU); (b) particular areas (e.g., North Africa, both early and later; Europe; Italy; and Spain); and (c) particular MSS (e.g., the archetype of the famous quartet of Pauline bilinguals d e f g).[17]

Vetus Latina is being published in Royal Quarto (32 × 24 cm.), with each large page divided into four parts: (1) A line (or lines, if needed) of Greek text from NA[26], with the corresponding text of each strand of the Latin tradition extant for the verse (see previous paragraph), including the Vg. Orthographical variations are included, as these may be clues to textual affiliation. (2) A precise statement of the biblical MSS that are defective for the verse in question. (3) A collation of biblical MSS and Fathers, not against the Greek but against the line(s) of the different strands of Latin text reconstructed in part 1, and a statement where these variations agree with elements in the Greek and the versional traditions. (4) Most valuably, a complete statement of the patristic foundations — an alphabetically organized report of every quotation and allusion, together with the reference, by page and, if possible, by line, to the edition reported in the *Verzeichnis*. Where the editions' *apparatus critici* report variations in the transmission, these too are recorded — no editor is right all the time!

A comparison with the Strasbourg *Biblia Patristica* is instructive in this respect. The five volumes so far published include all writers of the second and third centuries, and Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Amphilochius. These lists of references to quotations and allusions are valuable, since inter alia they serve as a useful check on Vetus Latina, particularly for Irenaeus Latinus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen Latinus. But if the student wishes to see how a particular verse is used in the Fathers, he or she must check through all five volumes and, from the bare reference given, turn elsewhere for the text and its context. In contrast, a typical page of Vetus Latina gives the whole tradition at a glance.

In addition to Vetus Latina, Beuron also edits a series of monographs (Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel = GLB).[18] Several of these have been devoted to particular Fathers and to particular works, for example, H. J. Frede on Pelagius and Sedulius Scottus, and on another, anonymous, commentator on the Pauline epistles (GLB 3, 7-8, respectively); C. Hammond Bammel on Rufinus's adaptation of Origen's commentary on Romans (GLB 10, 16); B. Löfstedt on Sedulius Scottus on Matthew (GLB 14, 19); H. König on Apponius's commentary on the Song of Songs (GLB 21); and R. Gryson and P.-A. Deproost on Jerome on Isaiah (GLB 23). E. Schulz-Flügel is reediting Gregory of Elvira's and Justus of Urgel's commentaries on the Song of Songs.

17. As indicated above, this is the feature of Vetus Latina's presentation of the evidence that has been seriously criticized; cf. the reviews of H. F. D. Sparks and G. G. Willis in *JTS* 8 (1957) 301-7, esp. 301-4; 15 (1964) 132-36, esp. 132-34; 17 (1966) 448-56, esp. 451-53, 454-56. Cf. also Jülicher's criticism of Denk: "Denk's hope, to create order by classifying the material in accordance with types of translation, is bound to prove false as soon as these types are tangled together in one Bible verse — and sadly that will almost be the rule" (*TLZ* 42 [1917] 37). But can a complex picture be expressed in an uncomplex way? Cf. G. Salmon, *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the NT* (London: Murray, 1897) 131ff.

18. In the 36 years, from 1957 to 1993, 25 volumes have been published, 17 in the last 11 years.

It would have been artificial to attempt to describe Beuron's work under separate headings, in terms of acquisition of new materials and development of new methods, of their contributions to isolating the original text of the NT and to the history of its transmission. In one way or another all of these areas have been served and the results of the Beuron research have been fed into both Vetus Latina and GLB. One may say, however, by way of summary, that it is particularly in the areas of method and history of transmission that Vetus Latina and GLB make their main contribution to the realization of the goals of NT textual criticism. The isolation and identification of the various strands of tradition represent the only advance on Hort's old division of OL NT MSS into African, European, and Italian families, and, including as it does the Latin Fathers, the advance is truly gigantic. Because the basis of Vetus Latina's analysis is the evidence of the Fathers, the contribution of the new method to the history of transmission is obvious: since in most cases we know when and where a Father lived and worked, chronological and geographical parameters — the stuff of history — are available to the scholar studying his quotations. I shall return later to Vetus Latina's contribution to the search for the original text.

III. The Vetus Latina Hispana

In the same year that Beuron was launched with the publication of the first edition of the *Verzeichnis*,[19] a similar project was completed in Madrid. On October 20, 1949, Teofilo Ayuso Marazuela presented the first volume of *La Vetus Latina Hispana* to the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto "Francisco Suarez." Its 598 folio pages include extensive and detailed bibliographies of editions and studies (books and articles), a heading for every identifiable Father with his works (editions and discussions), and then a separate heading for every anonymous, dubious, and spurious work, with the same bibliographical help. The terminus ad quem is the seventh century and Isidore of Seville. A system of *sigla* is developed for the known Fathers and for the anonymous, dubious, and spurious works (pp. 27-38). The oddly provincial atmosphere of the book that allowed Marazuela to separate Spanish from non-Spanish writers may be explained by the title, so that a "general" discussion of the OL (pp. 145-312) is followed by a discussion of the hypothesis that there was a specifically Spanish element in the OL (pp. 317-532; cf. the conclusions on pp. 330-31). One particularly valuable section is the list of more than seventy studies dealing with the biblical text of particular Fathers (pp. 195-97, 546-47). This may be the starting point of Jean Duplacy's famous "call for a complete statement of patristic quotations from the Greek Bible," particularly for a register of monographs.[20] The differences between this immense book and the *brevitas brevissima* of the Beuron *Verzeichnis* are clear. It is a great pity that "Marazuela" is so inaccessible and now nearly fifty years out of date.

19. See n. 5 above.
20. Jean Duplacy, *VC* 24 (1970) 239-40.

IV. Material Advances

In addition to the publications of the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron and the Vetus Latina Hispana, other significant advances have been made in recent decades in the study of the Latin Church Fathers and their texts of the NT. First I will consider new discoveries and new editions. Here nothing matches the Dead Sea Scrolls or the Nag Hammadi Library or the Greek patristic sources discovered in Toura. During our period, however, the 217 volumes of *PL* have been supplemented by the four fat volumes of *PLS* edited by Adalbert Hamman (1958-71). Although they do not proceed beyond Bede they still comprise more than thirty-five hundred pages and contain texts not included in *PL* and texts not discovered 150 years ago. Each volume has an *Elenchus operum in hoc supplemento a nobis denuo exscriptorum* ("Index of More Works We Have Reported in this Supplement"), and a glance soon discloses which texts have become available since 1940.[21] The more notable works are Pelagius, *De induratione cordis Pharaonis* ("On the Hardening of Pharoah's Heart"), and the Augustinian sermons edited by Lambot. More recent discoveries include almost the whole of Chromatius of Aquileia, an anonymous commentator on the Pauline epistles, and the thirty-one new Augustinian letters discovered by J. Divjak.[22]

As for new editions, the postwar period has witnessed the progress of CSEL (roughly 25 volumes in about 45 years) and the birth and prodigious growth of two new enterprises: SC (about 400 volumes, all with facing French translation, in about 40 years, nearly one-third on pre-Carolingian Latin Fathers) and CChr, Series Latina (roughly 130 volumes in about 40 years). These three corpora have displayed a laudable wish not to compete with each other, and together they will soon render *PL* redundant for most pre-800 Fathers. Most volumes are equipped with ample introductions (and bibliographies in CChr) and copious indexes, including biblical references that are frequently marked to indicate pre-Hieronymian readings.

While space limitations do not allow me to discuss other notable editions of the Latin Fathers that have been published outside these corpora, no survey, however summary, can fail to mention the magisterial edition of Tertullian's *De Anima* by J. H. Waszink. Unum pro omnibus! One should not forget, however, that not all critical editions are completely successful simply because they are modern.[23] But the availability of new critical editions usually encourages the study of the NT text used by the Fathers, because the unremitting toil such study calls for is less likely

21. See 1.1705-14; 2.1587-1602; 3.1443-60; 4.2293-2322. The fifth volume of the set (ed. A. L. Bailly and J.-P. Bouhot; Paris: Garnier, 1974) contains an invaluable series of indexes, e.g., *Index Locorum S. Scripturae*, 223-307.

22. Hardly a year passes without *RBén* publishing some addition to our Latin biblical or patristic materials; see A. de Vogüé, "Fragments d'un texte monastique inconnu et du Commentaire de Pelage sur saint Paul dans le manuscrit de Paris N.A.L. 2199," *RBén* 100 (1990) 482-92, esp. 490-92. Dom Eligius Dekkers has announced the discovery of another commentary on three Pauline epistles; see "Un commentaire pseudo-augustinien sur trois épîtres pauliniennes (Rm, Gal, Eph)," in *Philologia Sacra* (ed. R. Gryson; 2 vols.; GLB 24/1-2; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993) 2.605-12.

23. Cf. W. Kinzig's review of the edition of Arnobius the Younger's Commentary on the Psalms, CChr, Series Latina 25 (1990), in *JTS* 43 (1992) 693-701, esp. 701: though "all printed editions [i.e., pre-*CChr*] are worthless . . . the new edition must . . . be used with caution."

to be vitiated. Some investigations have already been mentioned in the reference to GLB, and I shall return shortly to Frede's work on Pelagius.

Some studies concentrate "simply" on collecting and ordering the quotations and allusions; for example, M. A. Fahey on Cyprian, A.-M. la Bonnardière on Augustine, and A. M. Coleman on Lucifer. Though these were not intended primarily for textual purposes — they do not collate or analyze or discuss variants — they are extremely useful collections and, as far as one can judge, complete and accurate. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of R. W. Muncey's *The New Testament Text of Saint Ambrose*, whose idea was excellent (with the shadow of F. C. Burkitt over it, how could it be otherwise [see p. v]?), but whose execution was seriously flawed.[24]

One of the most necessary and valuable editions of a Latin Father in the last fifty years has been H. J. Vogels's edition of Ambrosiaster. In some preliminary studies he investigated Ambrosiaster's Pauline text, and later he reconstructed it from the lemmata and commentary. Shorter but no less valuable work has been published in article form; for example, A. J. B. Higgins on "The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian," H. J. Frede on the NT text of Zeno of Verona, and F. F. Bruce on "The Gospel text of Marius Victorinus," another pre-Hieronymian writer who has been virtually rediscovered through the critical edition of the philosophical works by Hadot and Henry. Bruce concentrates on the Fourth Gospel. Perhaps after the Sanday-Turner-Souter edition of Irenaeus's NT quotations not much remained to be done, but K. T. Schäfer dealt with his text of Galatians. Future work may also be needed on correlating the new Armenian fragments to the Latin translation of book 3 (cf. PO 39/1).[25]

The Latin Father who has figured most prominently in Latin Bible studies since World War II is Pelagius. The springboard was the edition of his commentary on Paul, along with its reworking a generation later, by Alexander Souter.[26] In two

24. Cf. n. 25 below.

25. M. A. Fahey, *Cyprian and the Bible: A Study in Third-Century Exegesis* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1971); A.-M. la Bonnardière, *Biblia Augustiniana* (7 vols.; Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1960-75); A. M. Coleman, *The Biblical Text of Lucifer of Cagliari (Acts)* (England: J. H. Lawrence, 1927; this is outside our period but is clearly part of the whole enterprise); idem, *The Biblical Text of Lucifer of Cagliari (Timothy I and II, and Titus)* (Oxford: A. T. Broome & Son, 1946); idem, *The Biblical Text of Lucifer of Cagliari (Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I and II Thessalonians, and the Epistle to the Hebrews)* (Oxford: A. T. Broome, 1947); H. J. Frede, "Probleme des ambrosianischen Bibeltextes," in *Ambrosius Episcopus* (ed. G. Lazzati; 2 vols.; Milan, 1976) 1.365-92 (N.B. his comments on Muncey: "But it is incomplete and suffers from a remarkably large number of inaccuracies" [p. 378]; another omission is noticed in 2.340n.19); H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zum Text paulinischer Briefe bei Rufin und Ambrosiaster* (BBB 9; Bonn: Hanstein, 1955); idem, *Das Corpus Paulinum des Ambrosiaster* (BBB 13; Bonn: Hanstein, 1957); A. J. B. Higgins, "The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian," *VC* 5 (1951) 1-42; H. J. Frede, "Neutestamentliche Zitate in Zeno von Verona," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 297-304; F. F. Bruce, "The Gospel Text of Marius Victorinus," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 69-78; K. T. Schäfer, "Die Zitate in der lateinischen Irenaeusübersetzung und ihr Wert für die Textgeschichte des Neuen Testaments," in *Vom Wort des Lebens* (ed. N. Adler; NTAbh Supplement 1; Münster, 1951) 50-59.

26. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922-31).

preliminary studies published in 1915 and 1916, Souter expressed his support for the traditional view that Jerome revised the whole of the NT, and that Pelagius represented the closest approximation in pre-Hieronymian texts to the Vg of Paul.[27] Taking a contrary view, a little before Souter's preliminary work, de Bruyne argued that the Vg of Paul was the work of Pelagius. The controversy has reemerged in our period in slightly different terms, with Schäfer and his pupils Zimmermann, Tinnefeld, Nellesen, and Borse ranged in support of Souter against another pupil, Frede, aided by his Beuron colleagues Fischer and Thiele.[28] Though the outcome may favor Frede, one could wish that we had more than two principal MSS of the commentary from which to work.[29]

V. Methodological Advances

The chief advance in methodology has unquestionably been the preparation and publication of the concordance to the Vg by Fischer. I have written fully elsewhere on this magnificent undertaking and little more need be said here,[30] except perhaps to indicate its most significant methodological aspects. It clearly represents an advance on Dutripon, not least because it incorporates data from the different strands of Vg transmission. Its relatively speedy production was made possible by the application of computer science. Fischer in particular has interested himself in this new technology and more recently has used it in his researches into the Latin Gospels.[31] Further, it is clear that the concordance unlocks not only the Vg. In the absence of concordances to

27. A. Souter, "The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul: the Problem of Its Restoration," *Proceedings of the British Academy 1905-1906*, 409-39; idem, "The Character and History of Pelagius' Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul," *Proceedings of the British Academy 1915-1916*, 261-96; idem, "Pelagius and the Pauline Text in the Book of Armagh," *JTS* 16 (1915) 105.

28. The debate is documented by D. de Bruyne, "Étude sur les origines de notre texte latin de saint Paul," *RB* 12 (1915) 358-92; Frede, *Die alten Übersetzungen*, 474ff. and nn. 50, 51, and 58; and B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 357-58. Outside Beuron, E. Wolgarten has maintained a thesis similar to Frede's; cf. Vetus Latina 25.846.

29. See n. 22 above for a newly discovered fragment from Pelagius's commentary on 1 Cor 15:36-51. Theodore de Bruyn has just published a fresh evaluation of Pelagius's commentary on Romans, its textual transmission, and its biblical text; cf. *Pelagius's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Translated with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), esp. 24-35, 155ff., and tables I and II. Perhaps this is the place to refer to Souter's revision in 1947 of his 1910 edition of the Greek NT. Its chief usefulness was and remains its full deployment in the apparatus of the Latin commentators on Paul, on whom Souter was a leading authority; cf. the preface in both editions, v-vi, and *Proceedings of the British Academy 1915-1916*, 264: "I had already, in 1910, . . . cited its evidence [i.e., Pelagius on Paul] for all the passages in the Pauline epistles selected by me to illustrate variations of reading."

30. Cf. the review article on *Novae Concordantiae*, in *JTS* 29 (1978) 186-92, 547-49. Perhaps one should qualify the eulogies of Dutripon: E. Nestle (*JTS* 12 [1911] 608) was not completely satisfied with the coverage of *aio*.

31. Cf. B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 (GLB 13; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1988) 15, 17-18; idem, "The Use of Computers in New Testament Studies, with Special Reference to Textual Criticism," *JTS* 21 (1970) 297-308. On the use of computers in textual criticism see also chap. 17 by Robert Kraft in this volume.

the different strands of the OL, "Fischer" will be of immense help for those parts of the Vg that are either simply the OL or the OL lightly revised.[32]

VI. Contributions to the Original Text

The Latin West was never hermetically sealed off from the Greek East. There was always a penumbra of Latin culture and scholarship that continued to be open to the East and illuminated by it, until at least the Muslim conquest of Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa in the seventh century. In addition to Irenaeus and Tertullian, Ambrose was always open to Greek biblical and theological influences; Jerome preferred Greek MSS to Latin; through John Cassian Eastern monasticism was introduced to the West; Marius Victorinus made a gallant attempt to domesticate his Greek Neoplatonic understanding of Christianity into Latin, even though in despair he had to preserve some untranslatable Greek words; some have proposed that Ambrosiaster's mother tongue was not Latin and that the Arian commentator on Matthew wrote originally in Greek.[33] The Latin West was never impermeable and so may make a contribution not only to the history of the Greek NT but also to the reconstruction of its original form.

Earlier, I suggested that Beuron's immediate significance did not lie in the recovery of the original text. This should not suggest that the Beuron editors are content to see in the disentangling of their "text-types" only an exercise on inner-Latin variations and that they have remained silent on the further implications of their work. On the contrary, all three have shown their awareness of broader issues, although they have expressed themselves on these matters with the greatest caution.[34] An illustration is Thiele's study of the so-called *Zusätze* ("additions") in the Catholic epistles. He does not want to see all these additions to the text as "the normal liberties of a Latin text." In spite of their negligible Greek support, he prefers to see some of them (e.g., 1 Pet 2:23, *cum percuteretur non repercussit*, "when he was struck, he did not strike back") as Latin representatives of the Greek "Western" text of the Catholic epistles.[35] Whether or not he would proceed from an ancient Greek reading to the original Greek text, his reviewers have not been slow to see the full implications of his analysis.[36]

32. But note that a start has already been made: T. A. Bergren, *A Latin-Greek Index of the Vulgate New Testament Based on Alfred Schmoller's Handkonkordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament with an Index of Latin Equivalences Characteristic of "African" and "European" Old Latin Versions of the New Testament* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

33. M. Zelzer, "Zur Sprache des Ambrosiaster," *Wiener Studien* 4 (1970) 196-213, esp. 213: "This [i.e., all her earlier data] can be explained only on the assumption that Latin was not his mother tongue"; J. van Banning, "The Critical Edition of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*: An Arian Source," in *Studia Patristica* 17/1 (ed. E. A. Livingstone; Oxford: Pergamon, 1982) 382-87, esp. 383.

34. For example, Fischer in *Die alten Übersetzungen*, 80ff.; Thiele at 100-113, and Frede at 472-76.

35. Although final reference must be made to Thiele's monograph, *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefes* (GLB 5; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1965), to his edition in Vetus Latina 26/1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1956-69), and to n. 34 above, one may find a convenient list of seventeen of these *Zusätze* in his "Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum (I Joh 5, 7f.)," *ZNW* 50 (1959) 61-73, esp. 64ff.

36. See my contribution to the Frede-Thiele Festschrift (" 'Qui cum percuteretur, non reper-

The one scholar in our period who has most single-mindedly sought to utilize patristic material to recover the original text is M.-É. Boismard. The Latin Fathers figure prominently, though not exclusively, in his reconstruction of several dozen verses from John's Gospel. In the history of our discipline he stands at the opposite extreme to Albert C. Clark. Where Clark defended the longer "Western" text in the Gospels and Acts, explaining shorter texts as due to homoeoteleuton, Boismard championed the shortest of the shorter texts in John. Plenty of time has now elapsed for his famous articles of the late 1940s and 1950s to be evaluated. For all Boismard's massive learning, one is inclined to concur with B. M. Metzger's assessment: "It is difficult to take Boismard's argument seriously."[37]

Somewhere between the caution of Vetus Latina and the audacity of Boismard one might locate the extensive reporting of readings from the Latin Fathers in the two volumes on Luke recently prepared by the IGNTP. It is clearly less rash than Boismard because the presentation of one part of a multiform tradition can imply no claim for its preeminence, but less cautious than Vetus Latina because reporting Latin patristic readings in the *apparatus criticus* of a Greek NT implies that they can make a contribution toward the recovery of the original text and not simply to the history of its development, even in its Greek "Western" forms. In any event, no other Greek NT or part thereof provides such an ample citation of Latin patristic quotations and allusions. Having prepared about one-third of this material and now looking back on what was done and how it appears, I wonder if we should not have been more selective. In only a slightly different context, Fischer says rightly: "However many individual Latin witnesses attest the text-type, usually a Latin text-type is a single witness to its Greek original. . . . That also applies even if the individual Latin witnesses are abundant."[38] Nonetheless, the edition will serve as a benchmark for similar endeavors.

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cussit' (1 Pet 2:23): The Christian Trajectory of a Non-Christian Motif," in *Philologia Sacra* [ed. R. Gryson; 2 vols.; GLB 24/1-2; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993] 1.316-37), and earlier experiments in which I argue for an original Greek on the basis of mainly Latin materials: *SE* 6 (TU 112) (ed. E. A. Livingstone; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973) 387-92; and in my 1989 Durham doctoral dissertation, "Romans 12,11: A Textual, Lexical and Ethical Study." They propose the originality of ἀκηδιᾶν and καιρῷ at Mark 14:33 and Rom 12:11, respectively. See also the reviews of G. D. Kilpatrick, *JTS* 40 (1989) 225, 733-34; and J. K. Elliott, *JTS* 43 (1992) 636.

37. Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1972) 379-400, esp. 387-95 (quotation from p. 394); cf. G. D. Fee, "The Text of John in *The Jerusalem Bible:* A Critique of the Use of Patristic Citations in NT Textual Criticism," *JBL* 90 (1971) 163-73 (reprinted in E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee, *Studies in Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* [SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993] 335-43). More recently the textual decisions of the Boismard-Lamouille commentary on John's Gospel (*L'Évangile de Jean* [Paris: Cerf, 1977]) have been criticized by J. Delobel in *Jean et les Synoptiques: Examen critique de l'exégèse de M.-E. Boismard* (ed. F. Neirynck; BETL 49; Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1979) 23-39, 205-26.

38. Fischer, *Die alten Übersetzungen*, 80.

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CHAPTER 14

THE USE OF THE SYRIAC FATHERS FOR NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Sebastian P. Brock

Introduction

Quotations from the Syriac Fathers play a significant role in the study of the different Syriac versions of the NT. The reason for this lies in the nature of the Syriac biblical material that comes down to us, especially as regards the Gospel text.

Probably the earliest Syriac version was the Diatessaron — to whose very mention a whole host of unsettled problems is attached. Even if one assumes that the Syriac Diatessaron represented Tatian's work (and not a Gospel harmony by someone else), there is no certainty over the language in which it was first composed. If Syriac,[1] then it will presumably date from shortly after about 170 C.E., subsequent to Tatian's return to the east from Rome. If Greek was the original language,[2] however, then the Syriac translation could have been made by someone else at an unknown later date. Because the Diatessaron does not survive in Syriac, our exact knowledge of its Syriac form depends entirely on quotations in early Syriac writers, above all in the *Commentary on the Diatessaron* by Ephrem (d. 373 C.E.).

Probably, though not certainly, subsequent to the Diatessaron come the Old Syriac Gospels, represented in two somewhat different forms in the two surviving witnesses, the Curetonianus (C) and the Sinaiticus (S), both of the fifth century. Since it is likely that C and S have independently undergone some revision on the basis of the Greek text (itself developing), the witness of quotations in early Syriac writers is of great importance for the purpose of discerning other, and perhaps more primitive, forms of the Old Syriac. Outside the Gospels, the quotations of fourth-century Syriac writers provide the sole evidence for the pre-Peshitta form of these books.

In the course of the fifth century the Old Syriac and Diatessaron were replaced by the Peshitta, a further (and surprisingly inconsistent) revision of the Old Syriac. So effectively was this particular revision circulated that it succeeded in quickly becoming the standard (and remarkably stable) text of all the Syriac churches. Exactly when, how, and by whom the Peshitta revision was first promulgated is unknown;

1. So, W. L. Petersen, "New Evidence for the Question of the Original Language of the Diatessaron," in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von H. Greeven* (ed. W. Schrage; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986) 325-43.

in the formulation of any hypothesis, however, the witness of quotations from early Syriac writers is crucial.

The requirement for exactitude in theological expression, brought about by the christological controversies subsequent to the Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.), led to another revision, bringing the Syriac text closer to the Greek original. Commissioned by Philoxenus, Syrian Orthodox theologian and bishop of Mabbug (d. 523 C.E.), this work was actually carried out by his chorepiscopos Polycarp in 507/8 C.E. Exactly how the Philoxenian version was related to yet a further work of revision, the Harklean, undertaken by Thomas of Harkel about 615 C.E., has been a matter of controversy among scholars ever since the text of the single surviving of these two versions was published. Is this text the Philoxenian (as its editor thought), with just some marginalia and critical apparatus added by Thomas? Or is it really the Harklean — which would then mean that the Philoxenian was lost? Only in recent years, thanks to a study of quotations in Philoxenus's own writings, has this long-standing problem finally been settled, in favor of the latter alternative (see further below).

It will be apparent from this brief overview that some Syriac Fathers have a particularly important role to play in establishing the early Syriac versions of the NT. In any study of pre-Peshitta forms of the text, interest will focus on the rather small corpus of fourth-century Syriac literature (virtually nothing of relevance from earlier times survives). This corpus consists of three main collections: (1) the 23 Demonstrations of Aphrahat, written between 337 and 345 C.E. in the Persian Empire; (2) the extensive writings in both prose and verse of Ephrem, who worked in Nisibis prior to 363 and then, for the last ten years of his life, in Edessa; and (3) the collection of thirty ascetical homilies usually known as the *Liber Graduum*, or Book of Steps, composed perhaps in the Persian Empire around 400 C.E. All these works are preserved in sixth- (or even fifth-) century MSS; there is, therefore, little likelihood that their biblical quotations were adapted in the course of scribal transmission to the more familiar Peshitta. In the case of Ephrem, however, one needs to take great care to exclude the considerable number of works of dubious authenticity — a precaution that not all scholars have taken in the past.[3]

Two different approaches are possible in considering the evidence of quotations in the Syriac Fathers. In the first, the biblical book (or group of books) of a particular version constitutes the starting point. For example, this was the approach of F. C. Burkitt in his edition of the Old Syriac (based on C), whose apparatus gives citations from Aphrahat and Ephrem where available, and of I. Ortiz de Urbina in his *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum*, which covers quotations of both Diatessaron and Old Syriac.[4]

2. Thus the majority of scholars in recent years. See the survey in ibid., and, for earlier opinions, B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 30-32.

3. There has been dispute in the past over the extent of Ephrem's genuine works: A. Vööbus wanted to include many works excluded by E. Beck (Ephrem's main editor in modern times). Most scholars today would accept Beck's judgment on this matter.

4. See F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904). In chaps. 3 and 4 of vol. 2 *(Introduction and Notes)* he has a detailed study of early Gospel quotations. In *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et exinde excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani* (Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia VI; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1967), I. Ortiz

By contrast, the second approach takes as its starting point a particular author. Thus for Aphrahat we have the meticulous study by T. Baarda (covering only John), and for Ephrem the materials collected by L. Leloir (unfortunately including many works definitely not by Ephrem).[5]

With these preliminary observations in mind we can now look at particular areas in a little more detail.

I. The Gospels: Diatessaron, Old Syriac, and Peshitta

The year 1963 marked a watershed in the study of Syriac quotations of the Diatessaron, for in that year Leloir published the newly discovered Syriac original of much of Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron*,[6] hitherto known only in Armenian translation. Previous to this, attempts to glean Diatessaron readings from Syriac writers were hedged in by uncertainties, either over the identity of the version cited, or, in the rare cases where the Syriac author in question identified the quotation as being from the Diatessaron, over the textual accuracy of the quotation, since both the authors and the MSS in question were late.[7] Now, for the first time, extensive quotations from the Syriac Diatessaron were available in an early author and preserved in a sixth-century MS. Not surprisingly, this evidence gave rise to new collections of Syriac Diatessaron material excerpted from this new witness by Leloir and Ortiz de Urbina.[8] Quite apart from the fact that both works need to be used with caution, they both now need to be supplemented in view of the discovery and subsequent publication by Leloir of a considerable number of further leaves from the same MS of Ephrem's *Commentary*.[9]

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de Urbina gives quotations from the Old Syriac on pp. 3-205 (but in the sequence of the Diatessaron), and what he deems to represent the Diatessaron on pp. 207-99. On this work see R. Murray, "Reconstructing the Diatessaron," *HeyJ* 10 (1969) 43-49.

5. For Aphrahat see T. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, vol. 1: *Aphrahat's Text of the Fourth Gospel* (Amsterdam: Krips Repro B.V, 1975). He gives a helpful survey of earlier research on Aphrahat's Gospel text on pp. 11-54. For Ephrem see L. Leloir, *L'Evangile d'Ephrem d'après les oeuvres éditées. Recueil des textes* (CSCO 180, Subsidia 12; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1958). (For Leloir's collection of Ephrem's quotations from the Diatessaron, see n. 8 below.) Still valuable is the much earlier study by F. C. Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* (TextsS 7/2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901). For work on the quotations in the *Liber Graduum* see A. Baker, "The Significance of the New Testament Text of the Syriac Liber Graduum," *SE* 5 (TU 103; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968) 171-75, and the literature cited there. The witness of Aphrahat, Ephrem, and the *Liber Graduum* is included in *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (2 vols.; ed. by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project; The New Testament in Greek 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, 1987).

6. L. Leloir, *Saint Ephrem. Commentaire de l'Evangile concordant. Texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709)* (CBM 8; Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1963).

7. For the former, see, e.g., A. Rücker, "Die Zitate aus dem Matthäusevangelium im syrischen 'Buche der Stufen'," *BZ* 20 (1932) 342-54, on which see the comments by A. Baker, "Significance." For the latter, see, e.g., I. H. Hall, "A Pair of Citations from the Diatessaron," *JBL* 10 (1891) 153-55.

8. L. Leloir, *Le témoignage d'Ephrem sur le Diatessaron* (CSCO 227, Subsidia 19; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1962). Chap. 1 contains the excerpts in Latin translation, while chap. 2 provides discussion and other supporting testimonia. For Ortiz de Urbana, see n. 4 above.

9. L. Leloir, *Saint Ephrem. Commentaire de l'Evangile concordant. Texte syriaque (Manu-*

Although the Diatessaron was deliberately suppressed in the first half of the fifth century by Theodoret (and others), some of its distinctive readings continued to have an afterlife in Syriac literature, albeit probably independently of actual texts of the Diatessaron. An excellent example is provided by the reading *mukle*, "bars (of Sheol)," at Matt 16:18, instead of *tar'e*, "gates" (thus S C P): not only does the reading occur in Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (14.1), but it also turns up in many later writers as well, some of whom show no other knowledge of the Diatessaron.[10]

Quotations in early writers may also on occasion throw light on the wording used in the oral transmission of the gospel message, prior to the composition of the Diatessaron and Old Syriac.[11] This possibility has been suggested in the case of the recurrent use by early Syriac writers of the verb *šr'*, "reside," in contexts reminiscent of Luke 1:35 and John 1:14, where all the Syriac versions, by contrast, employ the verb *'aggen*, "tabernacle."[12] As it happens, both *šr'* and *'aggen* have excellent credentials in Jewish Aramaic, where both verbs are used in the context of theophanies.

The lack of any evidence concerning the origins of the Old Syriac has not prevented scholars from offering speculations. Thus, for Burkitt, Palut was the responsible party (i.e., in his view, it originated in the late 2d century), whereas for A. Vööbus it was Qune (early 4th century).[13] While no sufficiently early Syriac quotations are available to help adjudicate between these two positions, the evidence of quotations does help to resolve another issue on which these scholars differed. In the introduction to his edition of the Old Syriac Gospels Burkitt claimed that Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (d. 435), was the author of the Peshitta.[14] One of the key pieces of evidence that he adduced in support was the observation that writers earlier than

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scrit Chester Beatty 709). Folios additionels (CBM 8[b]; Louvain: Peeters, 1990). An English translation of the entire commentary, by C. McCarthy, is provided in *JSS* supplement 2, 1993.

10. See R. Murray, "The Rock and the House on the Rock," *OCP* 30 (1964) 315-62, esp. 341-50 and 356-62; and my "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," in *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet* (ed. A. Dietrich; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse III.96; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975) 80-108, esp. 95-98; reprinted in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* [London: Variorum, 1984], chap. 4). The references from later writers cited in my article could be extended considerably. It is significant that *mukle* occurs rather frequently in liturgical texts.

11. The work of P. Perrier, *Karozoutha: Annonce orale de la bonne nouvelle en araméen et évangiles gréco-latins* (Paris and Montreal: Médiaspaul, 1986) needs to be used with caution.

12. See my "The Lost Old Syriac at Luke 1:35 and the Earliest Syriac Terms for the Incarnation," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century* (ed. W. L. Petersen; CJA 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989) 117-31.

13. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2.208; with due caution, A. Vööbus, *Neue Angaben über die textgeschichtlichen Zustände in Edessa in den Jahren ca 326-40* (PETSE 3; Stockholm: The Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1951) 33-34. The origins of Christianity in Edessa are highly uncertain, and Burkitt's reconstruction has been challenged, notably by W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (BHT 10; Tübingen: Mohr, 1934; 2d ed. 1963; ET, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* [trans. Paul J. Achtemeier et al.; ed. R. A. Kraft and G. Krodel; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971; London: SCM, 1972]), chap. 1. See further my "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity," in *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism* (ed. H. A. Attridge and Gohei Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992) 212-34.

14. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2.161.

Rabbula quoted the Old Syriac (or Diatessaron) Gospels, those later than Rabbula the Peshitta.

In a number of publications Vööbus vigorously challenged this position, largely on the basis of the evidence of quotations.[15] In the first place, Vööbus showed that Old Syriac readings could be found in writers dating from well after Rabbula's time. In Burkitt's defense, although this observation is undoubtedly correct, Vööbus's accompanying claim that Peshitta quotations could be found in writers prior to Rabbula is open to question, in that the dating of the texts he adduced is highly doubtful. Vööbus's second point was that when Rabbula made his Syriac translation of Cyril's *De recta fide* toward the end of his life, he adapted the Gospel quotations to the wording of the Old Syriac, rather than to the Peshitta. If Rabbula was really the author of the Peshitta, as Burkitt claimed, why did he ignore it here? Vööbus resolved this dilemma by deducing that Rabbula was not the author of the Peshitta. As further evidence that the Peshitta revision antedated Rabbula, Vööbus adduced the presence of Peshitta readings in Gospel quotations that featured in translations from Greek that are preserved in the earliest of all dated Syriac literary MSS (411 C.E.), and in the Syriac Acts of John, which probably belongs before 400.[16]

Many of Vööbus's later contributions on this topic were written in response to M. Black, who challenged his findings and sought to defend Burkitt's position (although he admitted that Burkitt was wrong in denying the existence of Old Syriac readings in writers later than Rabbula).[17] Black gave a different interpretation of the important witness of the quotations in Rabbula's translation of Cyril's *De recta fide:* for him, the mixture of Old Syriac and Peshitta readings indicates that Rabbula was indeed using his own revision but that this revision had not yet been completed. As for Vööbus's claim to have found Peshitta quotations in writings prior to Rabbula, Black pointed out that much uncertainty surrounds these, since in several cases they were translations from Greek rather than original Syriac compositions.

One can observe that in the course of this controversy over the origins of the Peshitta the differences between Vööbus and Black gradually narrowed over the years. Although Black never abandoned Burkitt's view that Rabbula made an au-

15. Notably A. Vööbus, ***Investigations into the Text of the New Testament Used by Rabbula of Edessa*** (Contributions of Baltic University 59; Pinneberg: Baltic University, 1947); idem, ***Researches on the Circulation of the Peshitta in the Middle of the Fifth Century*** (Contributions of Baltic University 64; Pinneberg, 1948); idem, ***Neue Angaben;*** idem, ***Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*** (2 vols.; CSCO 128, 496, Subsidia 3, 79; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq and Peeters, 1951, 1987).

16. For the former, see A. Vööbus, "The Oldest Traces of the Syriac Peshitta," ***Mus*** 63 (1950) 191-204; for the latter, idem, "Das Alter der Peschitta," ***OrChr*** 38 (1954) 1-10.

17. Black's most important contributions here are "The New Testament Peshitta and Its Predecessors," ***SNTS Bulletin*** 1 (1950) 51-62; "Rabbula of Edessa and the Peshitta," ***BJRL*** 33 (1950-51) 203-10; "The Gospel Text of Jacob of Serugh," ***JTS*** 2 (1951) 57-63; "Zur Geschichte des syrischen Evangelientextes," ***TLZ*** 77 (1952) 705-10; "The Text of the Peshitta Tetraevangelium," in ***Studia Paulina in Honorem J. de Zwaan*** (ed. J. N. Sevenster and W. C. van Unnik; Haarlem: De Eerven F. Bohn, 1953) 20-28; "The Syriac New Testament in Early Patristic Tradition," in ***La Bible et les Pères*** (ed. A. Benoit and P. Prigent; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971) 263-78; "The Syriac Versional Tradition," in ***Die alten Übersetzungen des Neues Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*** (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 120-59. The controversy is well covered by Metzger, ***Early Versions,*** 56-61.

thoritative revision of the Syriac Gospel text, he admitted in his later articles that, on the one hand, there was a long process of revision behind the Peshitta, and, on the other hand, Rabbula's revision was not to be identified as the Peshitta as we have it in MSS of the late fifth century onward. Here I may observe that since the two surviving Old Syriac MSS are each, in different ways, sporadically revised on the basis of a Greek text (or texts),[18] the so-called Peshitta readings in quotations earlier than about 400 could equally well be explained as pre-Peshitta revisions analogous to those also found in S and C. What no one has found yet is clear early evidence of the Peshitta text in its fully developed form, such as appears in the stable MS tradition of the late fifth century onward.[19] When and how this text was promulgated thus remains unknown, and the lack of Syriac writings dated firmly to the first half of the fifth century makes it unlikely that much further light can be shed on this question.[20]

II. Acts and Epistles

Vööbus's final argument in favor of a date for the origin of the Peshitta prior to Rabbula was that the Peshitta's NT canon, which excluded 2 Peter, 2-3 John, Jude, and Revelation, points to a fourth- rather than a fifth-century date. The argument is not particularly persuasive in that the need to provide translations of these books was not felt until the sixth century in the Syrian Orthodox tradition, and has never been felt by the Church of the East. In any case, it did not prevent Vööbus from positing the existence of a lost Old Syriac version of Acts and the Pauline epistles. Since fourth-century writers quote these books (and Ephrem wrote commentaries on them — unfortunately preserved only in Armenian), a Syriac version did undoubtedly exist. What is uncertain is whether this text was as different from the Peshitta as the Old Syriac Gospels, or whether instead the Peshitta Acts and Epistles more or less represent the original Syriac translation of these books, with little or no subsequent revision ever being undertaken. In theory the witness of quotations in fourth-century writers should be sufficient to resolve this question, especially in view of the fact that most of the relevant material has been collected and analyzed by J. Kerschensteiner;[21] unfortunately, however, the extent of the quotations is so limited that no certain answer can be given. An added drawback is that we still lack a critical apparatus to the Syriac text of Acts and the Epistles.

18. Sometimes of a different textual character from the Greek text underlying the original Old Syriac translation.

19. Vööbus's claims to the contrary (e.g., in *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, vol. 2) seem to be exaggerated.

20. As Metzger observed, "The question who it was that produced the Peshitta version of the New Testament will perhaps never be answered" (*Early Versions*, 59). Here I may note that several very early Peshitta MSS contain the Eusebian sections (in their adapted Syriac form): could the promulgation of a particular revised text (our Peshitta) and the introduction of the Syriac sections be connected?

21. J. Kerschensteiner, "Beobachtungen zum altsyrischen Aktatext," *Bib* 45 (1964) 63-74; idem, *Der altsyrische Paulustext* (CSCO 315, Subsidia 37; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1970).

In the case of one particular passage, Heb 2:9b, where the Peshitta witnesses, both MSS and editions, are divided in accordance with the ecclesiastical boundaries brought about by the christological controversies of the fifth century, it does seem that one can discern the original Peshitta reading with the help of a quotation in Ephrem's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*, even though that work is preserved only in Armenian.[22] At Heb 2:9 the famous variant χωρίς θεοῦ, which is attested by one majuscule and two minuscules and supported by a range of early Greek Fathers, including both Diodore and Theodore, occurs regularly in Peshitta MSS and editions belonging to the Church of the East, whereas the reading of the vast majority of Greek witnesses, χάριτι θεοῦ, is reflected in the form "for he in his grace, God, for the sake of everyone tasted death," found in Peshitta MSS and in the Syriac Fathers of the Syrian Orthodox tradition. The Syriac Fathers on either side of the ecclesiastical divide accused the other of altering the text, obviously a sensitive issue where theopaschite language was at stake. Who was right as far as the Syriac version of Hebrews was concerned? Unfortunately, the verse is not quoted by Aphrahat or the *Liber Graduum*, and the solitary quotation of it in Ephrem is in a work preserved only in Armenian translation. The latter, however, is sufficient to show that Ephrem must have known the reading attested by the later Syrian Orthodox MS tradition. Evidently, then, the reading "apart from God" (already known to Narsai in the late 5th century)[23] was introduced into the Peshitta tradition of the Church of the East under the influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia — the "exegete" par excellence of that tradition.

III. Later Revisions: The Philoxenian and the Harklean

White's decision to entitle his edition of Oxford, New College ms 333, "Versio Philoxeniana" resulted in a debate lasting nearly two centuries over the true identity of this very literal translation of the Syriac NT.[24] Much of the debate focused on the interpretation of a key term, unfortunately ambiguous, in the long and informative colophon provided by Thomas of Harkel in 615, where he describes the relationship between his work and that of Philoxenus and Polycarp. It was only when scholars turned their attention to the evidence of quotations in Syriac writings of the sixth century, and in particular those of Philoxenus himself, that the debate was finally resolved.[25] Fortunately, two of Philoxenus's Gospel commentaries are preserved in

22. For the following, see the evidence cited in my "Hebrews 2:9b in Syriac Tradition," *NovT* 17 (1983) 236-44.

23. *Homilies of Mar Narsai I* (San Francisco: Patriarchal Press, 1970) 588.

24. J. White, *Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1778); the rest of the NT was published in 1799-1803. See Metzger, *Early Versions*, 64.

25. Vööbus ("New Data for the Solution of the Problem Concerning the Philoxenian Version," in *Spiritus et Veritas: Festschrift K. Kundzins* [Eutin: Andr. Ozolins, 1953] 169-86) and G. Zuntz (*The Ancestry of the Harclean New Testament* [London: British Academy, 1945]) already saw this point; the latter was unfairly denigrated, as a result of some errors in his use of Syriac, by upholders of White's position. The eventual publication of the relevant works by Philoxenus made possible the definitive resolution of the problem, for which see my "The Resolution of the Philoxenian/Harclean Problem," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays*

sixth-century MSS, and the evidence of their quotations shows conclusively that in these works Philoxenus used a revised text of the Peshitta that clearly formed the basis of the more literal version published by White, which thus can now with certainty be identified as the Harklean.

The key role played by quotations of the Syriac Fathers in resolving this controversy is one of the factors lying behind the decision to include the evidence of quotations in the timely new edition of the Harklean currently being undertaken by the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster. Here, sensibly enough, instead of tackling the more complicated Gospel textual tradition, the Catholic epistles were taken as a starting point, followed by the Pauline epistles.[26] In this edition, not only is the text of the Harklean MSS (in this part of the NT, few in number) set against the Peshitta, but at the same time the witness of quotations in Syriac writers of all periods up to the thirteenth century is set out in full — a feature that will prove invaluable not only for any study of the textual tradition but also for the history of exegesis.

IV. Problems and Desiderata

At the conclusion of this rapid survey it may be helpful to reflect on some of the hazards that encounter the scholar who works on biblical quotations in the writings of the Syriac Fathers. First and foremost, perhaps, is the difficulty (esp. in early writers) of identifying what is a quotation and what is a gloss or paraphrase. Even in cases where the author may seem to introduce a quotation as direct, by using *lam,* "it says," he may nevertheless insert his own gloss on a particular word within the quotation. This hazard needs to be kept in mind, especially by non-Syriacists who may be inclined to rely on the translator's use of italics to identify what he or she, sometimes wrongly, considers to be the extent of the quotation.[27] A second hazard, again particularly affecting early writers, is the tendency to fuse the wording of two different, but similar, passages (usually done deliberately, rather than inadvertently).[28]

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in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 325-43; and (from a slightly different perspective) B. Aland, "Die Philoxenianisch-Harklensiche Übersetzungstradition," *Mus* 94 (1981) 321-83.

26. B. Aland, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung,* vol. 1: *Die grossen katholischen Briefe* (ANTF 7; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986); B. Aland and A. Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung,* vol. 2: *Die Paulinischen Briefe,* part 1: *Römer- und 1 Korintherbrief* (ANTF 14; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991).

27. Conversely, there may be places where a quotation has been wrongly identified, as in Aphrahat, *Demonstration* 6.12, where what is in fact a quotation of 3 Corinthians 10 has generally been misidentified as a fusion of 1 Cor 12:11, 28 and Rom 12:3, 6; on occasion, too, the translation may be erroneous (a striking case of Homer nodding will be found in the Latin translation to Ephrem, *Comm. Diatessaron* 3.16 [quoting Luke 2:49]).

28. Thus, e.g., Ephrem, *Comm. Diatessaron* 10.12, alludes to John 19:34 using the verb *rdaw,* "flowed," instead of *npaq(w),* "issued," which features in all the extant Syriac versions, as well as in *Comm. Diatessaron* 21.11; "flowed" should not be taken as a genuine variant but as a deliberate accommodation to the wording of John 7:38, which was sometimes taken to refer to Christ, not the believer. The same "pseudo-variant" features in Greek when Didymus uses ἔρρευσεν in a loose quotation of John 19:34 (*PG* 39.689).

As several scholars have observed, the early translators of Greek patristic literature into Syriac often adapted the quotations to the form of the Syriac NT with which they were familiar.[29] This practice means that these translations may also be potentially important witnesses to the Syriac text of the Diatessaron, Old Syriac, or Peshitta. This is an area where one must take extreme caution before making any significant claims. In this connection, the textual critic also needs to be aware of the developing history of Syriac translation technique and of the radical change in attitudes toward translation that took place over the course of the fourth to seventh centuries C.E.[30] Here the turn of the sixth century (the time of Philoxenus) provides something of a watershed, for from this time onward the Syriac form of the biblical text was no longer seen to have an overriding authority; instead, the Greek was now perceived as having greater prestige.[31] Thus, over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, translators tried to reproduce their Greek originals more and more closely, with the result that by the early seventh century their versions often represent mirror renderings of the Greek, a style of translation well reflected in Thomas of Harkel's revision, the Harklean.

One further hazard may be singled out for comment. In their zeal to discover instances of the influence of the Old Syriac on writers of the fifth and later centuries, some scholars, notably Vööbus, have adduced evidence that, in the light of wider considerations, needs to be interpreted quite differently. A good example is provided by Vööbus's claim to have discovered a quotation of the Old Syriac of Acts 2:1-10 in the eighth/ninth-century Syrian Orthodox writer Iwannis (John) of Dara.[32] In this quotation, by far the most significant variant is the use, in verse 3, of the verb *'aggen*, "tabernacle (on)," for the action of the tongues of fire on the apostles at Pentecost (the Peshitta, in conformity with the Greek, has *iteb[w]*, "settled [on]"). The use of the verb *'aggen* here interestingly links the passage not only with Luke 1:35 and John 1:14, where it features in all the Syriac versions, but also with Acts 10:44 and 11:15, where it corresponds to ἐπέπεσεν, with the Spirit as subject. If *'aggen* really did belong to the lost Old Syriac of Acts 2:3, this would be a matter of considerable interest, given the importance of this term in the Syriac Bible. A study of the developing use of *'aggen* in liturgical contexts, however, coupled with the complete absence of any support for the reading *'aggen* at Acts 2:3 in the many fourth- and

29. See, notably, A. Baumstark, "Das Problem der Bibelzitate in der syrischen Übersetzungsliteratur," *OrChr* 3/8 (1933) 208-25; and C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians* (OCA 123; Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1939) 37-42. An interesting recent study of OT quotations in the Syriac Gospels is provided by J. Joosten, "The Old Testament Quotations in the Old Syriac and Peshitta Gospels: A Contribution to the Study of the Diatessaron," *Textus* 15 (1990) 55-76.

30. See my "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," in *IV Symposium Syriacum* (OCA 221; Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983) 1-14; reprinted in *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), chap. 10; and, for the wider background, my "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *GRBS* 20 (1979) 69-87; reprinted in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London: Variorum, 1984), chap. 3.

31. This is shown, e.g., by a number of comments made by Philoxenus.

32. A. Vööbus, "Die Entdeckung von Überresten der altsyrischen Apostelgeschichte," *OrChr* 64 (1980) 32-35; idem, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, 2.205-10.

fifth-century Syriac authors who quote or allude to the verse, makes it much more likely that the presence of *'aggen* in John of Dara's quotation is due to the influence of the liturgical use of *'aggen* in the context of Pentecost, rather than to his having preserved the lost Old Syriac text here.[33]

What are some of the main desiderata for the future? First and foremost, perhaps, comes the need for a new, full collection of the evidence for the Diatessaron in Ephrem's *Commentary*, which would include the material from the recently published additional folios. Although there already exist quite a number of studies (not always satisfactory) of quotations in individual authors, it would also be good to have a series of monographs, on the lines of those under way for the Greek Fathers, providing the full evidence for the biblical text quoted by individual Syriac writers, accompanied by a textual (and perhaps, exegetical) commentary.[34] A writer for whom there is ample material, the study of which would be of great interest, is Philoxenus; indeed, as far as the lost Philoxenian version is concerned, his revised quotations, found in some of his later writings, constitute the main surviving evidence.

Finally, an undertaking much smaller in its final form, but by no means easily achieved, would be to collect the evidence in Syriac writers of explicit references to variant readings in the Syriac biblical text, much along the lines that Professor Metzger has done for Origen and Jerome.[35]

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33. See my "Lost Old Syriac," 127-30.

34. Scholars Press is publishing the series on the New Testament in the Greek Fathers. See chap. 12 by Gordon D. Fee in this volume. For Syriac a good model is provided by Baarda, *Gospel Quotations*.

35. B. M. Metzger, "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of R. P. Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963) 78-95; idem, "St. Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 179-90. An interesting example of explicit references to variant readings (not noted in Kerschensteiner, *Der altsyrische Paulustext*) is provided by John the Solitary, *Dialogue on the Soul* (ed. S. Dedering) 62, where he mentions *shap*, "overturn," as a variant to *tra'*, "breach," at Eph 2:14; the Peshitta here has *šr'*, "undo" (= Greek λύσας), but the reading *tra'* (which may be due to the influence of Peshitta Isa 5:5) occurs in the *Liber Graduum* (Kerschensteiner, no. 412).

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PART IV

METHODS AND TOOLS FOR NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

CHAPTER 15

SCRIBAL TENDENCIES IN THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

James R. Royse

The evidence used in textual criticism is usually divided into two major types, external and internal. Internal evidence is then further divided according to intrinsic probabilities (considerations of what the author probably wrote) and transcriptional probabilities (considerations of how scribes probably copied).[1] The topic here is the final category. Ideally one wishes to know all one can about the practice of copying,[2] but the primary task is to use one's knowledge of scribal tendencies to make judgments about the likelihood of particular errors in the transmission of the text. Indeed, almost any extended discussion of variant readings will consider scribal tendencies that are supposed to have played a part in the creation of the nonoriginal readings. Consequently, it is of importance to understand the sorts of errors that scribes might commit.[3] Knowing which errors are likely and which are unlikely will help one to choose among the many possible sequences of variants in the transmission of the text, and thus to decide (as reasonably as possible) what the original text was.

For instance, it is commonly noted that scribes tended to confuse letters or groups of letters that had a similar pronunciation. Indeed, since many letters or combinations of letters came to be pronounced alike, in the early period probably the most common cause of variation was lack of consistency in spelling words that sounded alike.[4] It is commonly accepted that such errors are generally of no direct value for the history of the text (and are thus usually omitted from critical editions) but may be of indirect value by permitting one to see a pattern that may appear in more substantive variants. Such spelling errors may occasionally involve meaningful

1. See the statement by Hort in B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* [2,] *Introduction* [and] *Appendix* (2d ed.; London: Macmillan, 1896) 19-20; quoted in Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 129-30.

2. See Klaus Junack, "Abschreibpraktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Textüberlieferung," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 277-95.

3. Among many surveys of such tendencies, Metzger, *Text*, 186-206, has a broad selection of examples.

4. See Ernest C. Colwell, "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P^{45}, P^{66}, P^{75}," in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 110.

variation. For example, since ο and ω were pronounced alike, scribes could confuse ἔχομεν and ἔχωμεν at Rom 5:1; and since αι and ε were pronounced alike, scribes could confuse προσεύχεσθαι and προσεύχεσθε at Luke 22:40.[5] Knowing that such confusions could occur does not tell one which reading is original, but it does alert one to possible explanations of the textual history.[6]

Again, it is observed that scribes tended to omit text by skipping from one occurrence of some letters to another occurrence of the same (or similar) letters. When this occurs at the end of a word or line it is called homoeoteleuton, at the beginning of a word or line, homoeoarcton; more generally, one speaks of scribal leaps that typically result in the loss of text (haplography) when the leap is forward, but cause the duplication of text (dittography) when the leap is backward.[7] When one reading may be explained as thus arising from a second reading, the second reading is considered the more original.

It is also found that scribes added details from one Gospel when copying another, or more generally tended to harmonize differing accounts of similar topics. Thus, when one reading agrees with a parallel account and a second reading does not, one may think of the second as the more original.[8] Further, scribes may have made changes in the text in order to improve its language. For instance, G. D. Kilpatrick has emphasized the role of Atticism during the transmission of the text, claiming that scribes would "correct" non-Attic forms to the Attic forms that were recommended.[9]

In addition, scribes may have been influenced by doctrinal motives. Although Hort was convinced that doctrinal motivations played virtually no role in the transmission of the NT text ("even among the numerous unquestionably spurious readings of the New Testament there are no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes"), many critics since Hort have challenged this view.[10] Eldon Jay Epp's study of the "Western" text in Acts concluded that this text is anti-Judaic

5. Rom 5:1 is often discussed; see Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971) 511; Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 286. On Luke 22:40 see H. N. Bate, "Luke xxii 40," *JTS* 36 (1935) 76-77.

6. Discrimination of this class of errors as well as of confusions of similar grammatical forms has been greatly facilitated by the work of Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1: *Phonology;* vol. 2: *Morphology* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 55/1-2; Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1975-81).

7. The precise statement of this common phenomenon is, however, often mistaken; see my "The Treatment of Scribal Leaps in Metzger's *Textual Commentary*," *NTS* 29 (1983) 545.

8. See Michael W. Holmes, "The Text of the Matthean Divorce Passages: A Comment on the Appeal to Harmonization in Textual Decisions," *JBL* 109 (1990) 651-64.

9. Kilpatrick, "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament," in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze* (ed. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, and F. Mussner; Regensburg: Pustet, 1963) 125-37 (reprinted in *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G. D. Kilpatrick* [ed. J. K. Elliott; BETL 96; Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1990] 15-32).

10. Hort, *Introduction*, 282 (see the fuller context at 282-84). See the survey by Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 1-40. More recently, see Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

in several respects.[11] Much further work has been done on D and the "Western" text from this perspective.[12] Some have suggested such tendencies also for the papyri.[13]

The full range of possible explanations of scribal activity can be seen clearly in Metzger's *Textual Commentary*, which discusses many of the significant variants. Metzger typically provides (besides discussion of the external evidence) an assessment of transcriptional probabilities. Thus, throughout one finds statements such as:

> "the absence of πάντα may be the result of the Alexandrian penchant for pruning unnecessary words" (on Matt 13:44);
>
> "various scribes undertook to heighten the account by the addition of πολύν or ἱκανόν before or after λαόν" (on Acts 5:37);
>
> "scribal expansion of the names of the Lord is of frequent occurrence" (on Acts 20:21);
>
> "copyists would have been tempted to insert ἡ in order to clarify the sense" (on Eph 2:21).

While one may view some such observations simply as common sense, critics have attempted to formulate the general principles that would guide the evaluation of specific texts. Such principles, commonly called "canons of criticism," may be found throughout the literature.[14] One will easily observe, however, that the statements vary more or less from one another and often lead to conflicts in practice. For example, at Mark 10:7, is the shorter text the result of homoeoteleuton, or is the longer text the result of assimilation to parallels?[15] Again, at John 5:17, was Ἰησοῦς "added by scribes in order to provide a subject," or was it deleted for "stylistic considerations"?[16] Internal criteria and external criteria may also frequently be in tension.[17] While one can hardly hope that scholars might agree on all such issues, the varying statements and the conflicts lead one to wonder what the evidence is (or might be) for such claims about the tendencies of scribes, especially for such specific tendencies as those noted above from Metzger.[18]

11. See his summary of conclusions (*Theological Tendency*, 165-71).

12. See D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 189-92, 279-86 (including his references).

13. See Howard Eshbaugh, "Textual Variants and Theology: A Study of the Galatians Text of Papyrus 46," *JSNT* 3 (1979) 60-72; and Mikeal C. Parsons, "A Christological Tendency in P^{75}," *JBL* 105 (1986) 463-79. Parsons's goal is to provide some insight into theological motivations that might have led to the Alexandrian text at the "Western non-interpolations."

14. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, xxvi-xxvii (the statement there is similar to that found in Metzger, *Text*, 209-10); Aland and Aland, *Text*, 280-81 (here the various rules are all found together; 10 and 11 are the internal ones). Hort does not explicitly list such criteria, although a selection may be found in Epp, "Textual Criticism," in *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. E. J. Epp and George W. MacRae; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989) 81 (reprinted as "Decision Points in Past, Present, and Future New Testament Textual Criticism," in E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* [SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993] 22); see below for some further statements.

15. This text is frequently discussed: Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 104-5; Aland and Aland, *Text*, 308; and my "Scribal Leaps," 543.

16. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 210.

17. See, e.g., the examples cited by Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom?" *HTR* 69 (1976) 245-46 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 165).

18. See further chap. 20 by J. K. Elliott in this volume.

For instance, Kilpatrick has said of Metzger's *Textual Commentary:* "We can go through many comments and find what look like little bits of original composition in imagining reasons why scribes may have done this or that, but for these imaginative reconstructions we are given neither evidence nor corroboration."[19] The study of scribal tendencies should ultimately be able to provide at least some evidence or corroboration for the claims made in the reconstruction of the history of particular variations, or of the history of the NT text in general. Such study is the requisite basis for the canons of criticism that deal with transcriptional probability.

Among the general rules that critics have formulated, two of the most common are to prefer the shorter reading *(lectio brevior potior)* and to prefer the harder reading *(lectio difficilior potior)*.[20] The justification for the former is that scribes tended to add to the text, and for the latter that scribes tended to simplify the text. The use of these two principles, however, must be circumspect. As Edward Hobbs has pointed out, "if you have enough variations, these two rules will inevitably lead to the following absurd results: if you follow the shorter readings, you will end up with no text at all; and if you follow the harder readings, you will end up with an unintelligible text."[21] Consequently, more elaborate statements of textual principles will usually qualify these principles. But critics disagree concerning the scope of such qualifications, as a brief survey will indicate.

One can see an extreme use of the principle *lectio brevior potior* in a series of articles by M.-É. Boismard, who found the supposedly authentic readings at many places by following the "shorter readings" found in the versions and the Fathers. He notes:

> If therefore one wished to apply impartially the rules of textual criticism, should one not say that the better text is the short text represented mostly by Chrysostom, the Latin, and the Syriac? We do not claim thereby that *all* the omissions of the short text are in fact the expression of the original text; we wish only to say that, *in general*, it should be so.[22]

This comment indicates a willingness to be consistent in following one rule, but most critics have proved less willing to leave aside external criteria and any internal criteria other than *lectio brevior potior*. Metzger responded to Boismard precisely on this issue:

> [Boismard] seems never to raise the question whether accidental omission in transcription or freedom of translation and/or citation might not be a more appropriate explanation for the origin of such shorter readings.[23]

19. Kilpatrick, *A Textus Receptus Redivivus? Protocol of the Thirty-Second Colloquy: 12 March 1978* (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, 1978) 12.

20. Although the precise wording will vary, these may be found in, e.g., Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, xxvi-xxvii (rules 1 and 2); Aland and Aland, *Text*, 281 (rules 10 and 11).

21. Hobbs, "An Introduction to Methods of Textual Criticism," in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts* (ed. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty; Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1979) 19.

22. Boismard, "Lectio brevior, potior," *RB* 58 (1951) 165.

23. Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1971-72) 391.

That patristic citations must be used with great caution is well known, but for the current topic Metzger's emphasis on scribal omission is of prime importance. He continues:

> Of course marginal notes and expansions do creep into the text of ancient manuscripts, but at the same time omission, whether accidental or sometimes, as it appears, intentional, is also a familiar phenomenon.[24]

Thus the appropriately qualified rule may be to prefer the shorter reading unless some specified conditions obtain. For example, since scribes often omit text because of homoeoteleuton or homoeoarcton, the critic may often prefer the *longer* reading when one can explain the shorter reading on these grounds. In such a case the more specific principle (scribes tend to omit by a leap from the same to the same) carries more weight than the more general principle (scribes tend to add).

The canon that the harder reading is to be preferred is sometimes described as a basic principle to which many or even all of the other transcriptional principles can be reduced.[25] What is "easier" is what scribes tend to produce, so that accepting the harder reading means choosing the original reading over the reading likely to have been created by scribes.[26] Applying this general principle, however, requires knowledge of what kinds of simplifications scribes actually produced, and these varied greatly. Clearly, one must not prefer scribal blunders (identified somehow or other) under this principle, and sometimes either of two readings may with plausibility be viewed as the more difficult.[27]

Moreover, some have made broad criticisms of such criteria. For example, Emanuel Tov has made a sustained attack against a whole range of rules based on alleged scribal tendencies.[28] His analysis is primarily concerned with OT textual criticism, but he also refers frequently to the NT and indeed to texts in general. Tov's thesis with respect to internal criteria in particular is that all the usual criteria have grave problems.[29] One may especially note that with respect to *lectio brevior potior,* Tov claims that not all scribes "were more prone to add details than to omit them."[30]

Moisés Silva has replied in detail to Tov's arguments, giving particular attention to his attack on *lectio brevior potior.*[31] One of Silva's observations is that many of the commonly cited exceptions to this principle are in fact covered by the rule as

24. Ibid., 396; by the way, the emphasis here is rather different from that found in his *Textual Commentary,* as we shall see later.

25. As was the case with Bengel; see Epp, "Eclectic Method," 220 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies,* 146-47).

26. See Eugene Nida, "The 'Harder Reading' in Textual Criticism: An Application of the Second Law of Thermodynamics," *BT* 32 (1981) 101-7.

27. See the reply to Nida by J. M. Ross, "The 'Harder Reading' in Textual Criticism," *BT* 33 (1982) 138-39.

28. Tov, "Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules," *HTR* 75 (1982) 429-48.

29. See his summary (ibid., 444).

30. Ibid., 441, where Tov cites my "Scribal Habits in the Transmission," 139-61.

31. Silva, "Internal Evidence in the Text-Critical Use of the LXX," in *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1985) 151-67, esp. 157-61 on *lectio brevior potior,* with references to Colwell's work and to my own studies.

formulated by J. J. Griesbach. In particular, "brief omissions, if they do not affect significantly the meaning of the text, constitute one of Griesbach's important exceptions to the rule of *lectio brevior*."[32]

Here one may desire some clarification of what is meant by the "rule" of *lectio brevior potior*. It may mean what Griesbach meant by it (as Silva presents it), and so may indeed cover the relevant exceptions. But this is not the case with other formulations. F. J. A. Hort stated: "The almost universal tendency of transcribers to make their text as full as possible, and to eschew omissions, is amply exemplified in the New Testament."[33] The wording by Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland in no way suggests that single, unimportant words are likely to be omitted.[34] Bruce M. Metzger's formulation mentions only the following possible exceptions: "*(a)* Parablepsis arising from homoeoarcton or homoeoteleuton may have occurred. . . . *(b)* The scribe may have omitted material which he deemed to be (i) superfluous, (ii) harsh, or (iii) contrary to pious belief, liturgical usage, or ascetical practice."[35] Indeed, Metzger goes on to formulate a separate rule that would seem to contravene directly Griesbach's exception clause: "Scribes would sometimes . . . *(c)* Add pronouns, conjunctions, and expletives to make a smoother text."[36] Thus the rule as often presented does indeed presuppose scribal tendencies contrary to those which Griesbach's exception permits.[37]

In any case, such discussions show that the application of these principles may vary, and that the evidence underlying them is far from clear. Indeed, evidence for these principles is usually not cited, and one may wonder whether it is possible to know what scribal tendencies were, either for a particular scribe or for scribes in general. Without such knowledge, discussions of the principles of transcriptional probability are likely to remain inconclusive.

Indeed, experience with MSS, either through detailed study of them individu-

32. Ibid., 158; this is item *(c)* of the exceptions to the rule as found in Metzger, *Text*, 120. On Griesbach's version of this rule, see also Epp, "Eclectic Method," 225-26 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 151).

33. Hort, *Introduction*, 175, and also 235: "In the New Testament, as in almost all prose writings which have been much copied, corruptions by interpolation are many times more numerous than corruptions by omission."

34. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 281; they warn against applying this rule mechanically, but they give no indication of exceptions such as that found in Griesbach, although they cite homoeoteleuton and homoeoarcton as among "the most frequent causes of omissions" (285). Nonetheless, later (289-90) they write: "The most obvious type of intentional change is the **explanatory supplement**, . . . Among such innumerable minor expansions may be counted the frequent insertion of the article, and the particles γάρ, δέ, οὖν, and so forth. . . . From the very beginning the text had a tendency to expand. This is why the shorter reading is generally the better, the original reading" (boldface theirs). In fact, the warning against applying the rule mechanically (281) is directed toward D, and in particular (as it seems) against the "Western non-interpolations" (cf. also 15, 236, 311). Westcott and Hort used their preference for the shorter reading to follow the readings of D in such cases (*Introduction*, 175-77), but Aland and Aland do not wish to follow the *lectio brevior potior* principle in that direction.

35. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, xxvii.

36. Ibid.

37. Griesbach also notes omission by homoeoteleuton as one of the exceptions to *lectio brevior potior* (see item *[a]* of the exceptions to the rule as found in Metzger, *Text*, 120), and, as noted above, Metzger includes this exception in his rules.

ally or through the means of a critical apparatus, leads quickly to the recognition of some general categories of scribal errors. But reflection on the variations also reveals that not all scribes are the same: each has his own pattern of errors. Just as witnesses must be weighed rather than counted when dealing with external criteria, so also must one consider the profile of errors in each MS. Observations along these lines occur throughout the literature. For instance, both Hort and Hermann von Soden included analyses of the scribal tendencies found in B and ℵ.[38]

A decisive step forward in such studies was made by Ernest C. Colwell in his 1965 paper on the habits of the scribes of P^{45}, P^{66}, and P^{75}. This work is fundamental in several respects: Colwell's explicit goal is to isolate the tendencies of particular scribes, as a prerequisite to finding the original text;[39] he concentrates on three of the earliest papyri; and he uses the singular readings of the MS as those most likely to have been created by the scribe, and thus those that show most clearly how the scribe copied. Methodologically, therefore, Colwell's study demonstrates that one of the ways to detect an individual scribe's habits is to examine the readings that he shares with no other witness. As Colwell and his collaborator E. W. Tune say: "A study of [a scribe's] singular readings will reveal habits and inclinations that will aid in the appraisal of his readings which are not singulars."[40]

A few of Colwell's findings (often cited in later studies) are the following:

1. "In P^{75} the text that is produced can be explained in all its variants as the result of a single force, namely the disciplined scribe who writes with the intention of being careful and accurate."

2. "P^{45} gives the impression of a scribe who writes without any intention of exactly reproducing his source. He writes with great freedom — harmonizing, smoothing out, substituting almost whimsically."

3. "P^{66} seems to reflect a scribe working with the intention of making a good copy, falling into careless errors, . . . but also under the control of some other person, or second standard. . . . It shows the supervision of a foreman, or of a scribe turned proofreader."

4. "In summary, P^{75} and P^{66} represent a controlled tradition; P^{45} represents an uncontrolled tradition."[41]

Some of the more general consequences of his study are of prime importance. As the quotations above indicate, one consequence is that the three scribes studied have quite different profiles of errors. The implications of this point for the usual presentation of the criteria are profound. Instead of saying that scribes tend to do something, one should rather say that some scribes tend to do one thing, and other

38. See Hort, *Introduction*, 233-37, 246-47; Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, Part 1: *Untersuchungen* (Berlin: Glaue, 1902-10) 906-35. One can find many other less systematic treatments.

39. A goal endorsed by Hort: "It therefore becomes necessary in the case of important MSS to observe and discriminate the classes of clerical errors by which their proper texts are severally disguised" (*Introduction*, 36).

40. E. C. Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, "Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings," in *Studies in Methodology*, 104.

41. Colwell, "Scribal Habits," 117-18.

scribes tend to do something else. Yet such precision in the evaluation of particular readings rarely occurs in the literature.[42]

But these three scribes seem to have shared some tendencies. For example, Colwell showed that the harmonizations introduced by all three scribes were most often to the immediate context, rather than to parallels or to general usage.[43] More significantly, all three scribes tended to lose, rather than gain, words. Most of these omissions were no doubt accidental,[44] but whether they were accidental or not, each scribe omitted more often than he added. A subsequent study that I undertook for the six extensive papyri from before the fourth century (P^{45}, P^{46}, P^{47}, P^{66}, P^{72}, and P^{75}) confirmed Colwell's finding on this point: all six omitted more text than they added.[45] The precise figures are as follows:

	P^{45}	P^{46}	P^{47}	P^{66}	P^{72}	P^{75}
additions	28	55	5	14	16	12
omissions	63	167	18	19	29	41
net words lost	102	283	43	22	27	53
significant singulars[46]	222	471	51	107	98	119
words lost per significant singular	.46	.60	.84	.21	.28	.45

All the scribes do make additions, and it is possible that at any particular variant we have such an addition. But these figures suggest strongly that the general tendency during the early period of textual transmission was to omit.[47] The corresponding general principle of textual evaluation would thus seem to be that, other things being equal, one should prefer the longer reading.[48]

A subsequent study by Peter M. Head has given yet further confirmation to this view. Head studies the singular readings of "the fourteen smaller fragments of the gospels" in order to characterize any scribal tendencies.[49] Despite the compara-

42. The one direct use of Colwell's study in Metzger's *Textual Commentary* (161) is at Luke 12:31, where the tendency of P^{75} to drop personal pronouns explains its shortest reading. Metzger does also refer from time to time to other studies; nevertheless, he does not cite evidence for most of the claims concerning scribal tendencies.

43. Colwell, "Scribal Habits," 112-14. Metzger's survey of tendencies discusses harmonization to parallels (*Text*, 193, 197-98) but seems not to mention harmonization to the immediate context. See Hort's description of some individualisms of B as "due to easy assimilation, chiefly between neighbouring clauses or verses, occasionally between parallel passages" (*Introduction*, 237).

44. Colwell does, though, detect some intentional omissions in P^{45} ("Scribal Habits," 119).

45. See my "Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri" (Th.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1981), esp. 602.

46. These are defined as those singular readings that remain after exclusion of nonsense readings and orthographic variants (ibid., 51-54).

47. Naturally, this entire topic deserves fuller treatment. One interesting comment comes from T. C. Skeat: "It is my belief that as a part of their training scribes were given one golden rule: 'Never omit.' " ("A Note on πυγμῇ in Mark 7:3," *JTS* 41 [1990] 526). It would be helpful to know what evidence there is that scribes, esp. in the early period, adopted such a rule, and indeed crucial to know to what extent they successfully followed it.

48. See the fuller discussion in my "Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri," 593-615 ("The Shorter Reading?").

49. Head, "Observations on Early Papyri of the Synoptic Gospels, especially on the 'Scribal Habits,' " *Bib* 71 (1990) 240-47, esp. 242.

tively narrow basis, Head found that spelling was the chief cause of singular readings, and that transpositions as well as harmonizations to the context and to parallel passages were frequent. Head's conclusions here are significant: "Most fundamental is the support given to the conclusion that omission is more common than addition."[50] His supporting figures are particularly telling: these MSS attest (in total) twelve omissions to only seven additions. While such confirmation is significant, one should note that the figures rest on a small number of readings.[51]

A few further studies that have focused on scribal tendencies in specific early MSS merit brief mention.[52] G. Zuntz studied P^{46} in detail as part of his general study of the text of the Pauline epistles.[53] Gordon D. Fee's study of P^{66} includes an analysis of its scribal habits, and his article on P^{75} and P^{66} provides much useful information on those papyri and on scribal habits in general.[54] Sakae Kubo has studied the nature of P^{72}, while Carlo M. Martini has analyzed the characteristics of P^{75}.[55] Codex Bezae continues to draw attention, and D. C. Parker's recent work offers a comprehensive study of its scribe and correctors.[56] More recent studies include J. C. O'Neill's of B, Mikeal C. Parsons's of F and G, and M. Silva's of P^{46}, B, ℵ, and A in Galatians.[57] These studies differ considerably in their methodology; for example, Fee, Kubo, and Martini rely (at least in part) on singular readings, while Silva considers differences from NA^{26}. But all of them provide much valuable information on this subject.

One reason for concentrating on the scribal habits of the early MSS is that it

50. Ibid., 246.

51. It is not clear, however, how Head defines a singular reading. One can, at any rate, sometimes find support for his cited "singulars" in standard places: e.g., the order ευαγγελιον τουτο της βασιλειας found in P^{75} at Matt 24:14 (ibid., 245) is also found in D al^{5} according to Tischendorf and in D 1223 according to von Soden; the omission of Ιησους by P^{71} at Matt 19:18 (ibid.) is supported by F 13 124 according to Tischendorf and by F $f^{13\,(\text{except } 69)}$ 443 517 1093 1424 according to von Soden.

52. The last few years have seen the beginning of a series of works that present the readings of all papyri and thus will greatly aid future study: *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus*, vol. 1: *Die Katholischen Briefe* (ed. K. Junack and W. Grunewald); vol. 2: *Die Paulinischen Briefe*, part 1: *Röm., 1. Kor., 2. Kor.* (ed. K. Junack et al.; ANTF 6, 12; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986, 1989).

53. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (London: British Academy, 1953); see esp. 17-57, 252-62.

54. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P66): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics* (SD 34; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968), esp. 36-56; idem, "P^{75}, P^{66}, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* (ed. Richard N. Longenecker and Merrill C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 19-45 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 247-73).

55. Kubo, *P^{72} and the Codex Vaticanus* (SD 27; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965), esp. 8-30; Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (AnBib 26; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), esp. 42-65, 139-42.

56. Parker, *Codex Bezae*.

57. O'Neill, "The Rules Followed by the Editors of the Text Found in the Codex Vaticanus," *NTS* 35 (1989) 219-28; Parsons, "ΣΑΡΚΙΝΟΣ, ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΣ in Codices F and G: A Text-Critical Note," *NTS* 34 (1988) 151-55; Silva, "The Text of Galatians: Evidence from the Earliest Greek Manuscripts," in *Scribes and Scripture: New Testament Essays in Honor of J. Harold Greenlee* (ed. David Alan Black; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 17-25; Silva includes a discussion of *lectio brevior potior*.

is usually thought that scribal tendencies during the earliest period of the text differed substantially from those operative at later periods.[58] Colwell comments:

> *The story of the manuscript tradition of the New Testament is the story of progression from a relatively uncontrolled tradition to a rigorously controlled tradition.* ... The general nature of the text in the earliest period (to A.D. 300) has long been recognized as "wild," "uncontrolled," "unedited."[59]

More recently, B. Aland has emphasized the differences in copying:

> In the earliest time of our tradition, one can as a scribe still deal relatively freely with the text of an author. . . . Circumstances change fundamentally from the ninth century on. The demands on exactness and discipline become incomparably higher in a scribal tradition carried on chiefly by monks.[60]

Despite these differences in exactness, the case of P^{75} shows clearly that at least some scribes were capable of care.[61] Nonetheless, the other substantial early papyri show just as clearly that as a rule early scribes did not exercise the care evidenced in later transcriptions. In any case, the discovery of six substantial early papyri has provided the opportunity to evaluate their general scribal tendencies and thus to assess various canons.

Interestingly enough, however, Aland does not suppose that the canons of criticism would need to be altered:

> In the previous comments I did not go into the criteria that lead in each particular case to a decision about the original reading, since they of course have not changed and will not change. Rather the old-school rules of classical philology are to be applied, which must be observed by anyone who produces a text. . . . These rules have often been presented by various authors in the appropriate handbooks. To be sure, in this area one can dispute the details of specific formulations or difficult points, but not the kernel of these rules themselves.[62]

Such a view would seem to minimize the significance of the papyri (or other early MSS) for this aspect of NT textual criticism, and may well cause one to wonder what the genuine significance of the papyri is. Epp has recently addressed this general issue; he surveyed the reception and influence of the papyri and asked: "If Westcott-Hort did not utilize papyri in constructing their NT text, and if our own modern critical texts, in fact, are not significantly different from that of Westcott-Hort, then

58. See already Hort, *Introduction*, 6-9.

59. Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," in *Studies in Methodology*, 164, 166n.3 (emphasis his). See, though, the remarks by Epp on "standardization procedures" by the early 2d century ("The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission* [ed. William L. Petersen; CJA 3; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989] 101-2 [reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 295-96]).

60. B. Aland, "Neutestamentliche Textforschung und Textgeschichte: Erwägungen zu einem notwendigen Thema," *NTS* 36 (1990) 339-40 (my translation).

61. Ibid., 342 (my translation).

62. Ibid., 356-57; she refers to the treatment found in Aland and Aland, *Text*, 280-81 (my translation).

why are the papyri important after all?"[63] Epp goes on to urge that the papyri should play a fundamental role in three areas: (1) trying "to isolate the earliest discernible text-types," (2) helping "to trace out the very early history of the NT text," and, the point of direct concern here. "(3) Finally, the papyri can aid in refining the canons of criticism — the principles by which we judge variant readings — for they open to us a window for viewing the earliest stages of textual transmission, providing instances of how scribes worked in their copying of manuscripts."[64]

Barbara Aland has replied to Epp in a recent paper that discusses the singular readings for Matthew found in the papyri through the fourth century.[65] She does point out that the evidence of the papyri at previously known variations may help to change the decision, as has taken place at Matt 26:20 and 26:45, where NA^{26} goes with the papyri.[66] She does not, however, discuss Epp's third point.

Indeed, while the papyri are obviously well known and frequently cited, they have not altered the printed editions of the NT in the way that one might have expected. After all, the papyri do not contribute many new readings that are tempting.[67] What they usually do provide is additional, typically earlier, support for readings already known. Such support may occasionally alter the evaluation of the external evidence, but it does not directly affect the internal evidence. A careful study of early scribal habits, however, could indeed alter some canons of internal evidence and thus indirectly lead to a reevaluation of the merits of specific readings. In any case, the kind of detailed study of major MSS that Colwell recommended,[68] and that has since been undertaken only in part, would ultimately provide evidence for the principles of transcriptional probability and thus for the critical evaluation of variants.

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63. Epp, "The New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts in Historical Perspective," in *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.* (ed. Maurya P. Horgan and Paul J. Kobelski; New York: Crossroad, 1989) 285.

64. Ibid., 288.

65. B. Aland, "Das Zeugnis der frühen Papyri für den Text der Evangelien: Diskutiert am Matthäusevangelium," in *The Four Gospels, 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck et al.; 3 vols.; BETL 100; Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1992) 1.325-35; the response to Epp is at 332-35.

66. Ibid., 332-33.

67. As Aland points out (ibid., 332). See also Epp: "the New Testament papyri contribute virtually no new substantial variants" ("Significance," 101 [reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 295]).

68. "The publication of a commentary on the singular readings of these papyri and of other important manuscripts would be most valuable" (Colwell, "Scribal Habits," 124).

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CHAPTER 16

ANALYZING AND CATEGORIZING NEW TESTAMENT GREEK MANUSCRIPTS: COLWELL REVISITED

Thomas C. Geer, Jr.

The evaluation of variant readings has stood at the center of NT textual criticism since its beginnings as a discipline. The evaluation of readings presupposes a familiarity with the MSS that support them, and this in turn assumes a clear understanding of the textual affinities of the MSS, a sense of how they relate to one another.[1] Moreover, the evaluation of a reading in any early version or patristic witness must be based on an understanding of the relationships among Greek MSS. Thus the knowledge of MSS lies at the heart of what textual critics have traditionally seen as their primary goal — making judgments about different readings so as to establish as nearly as possible the original text of the NT.

A knowledge of the MSS is equally important for a secondary concern of NT textual criticism — writing the history of the NT text. Nonetheless, even though Westcott-Hort clearly and emphatically stated that "*knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings*,"[2] still, more than a century later, few MSS are known with any sophisticated level of precision. Indeed, while it is at present an axiom within the text-critical discipline that MSS are to be weighed rather than counted, the general lack of acquaintance with the MSS themselves invites the simple procedure of counting.[3]

I. Survey of Earlier Work

Since John Mill first brought to light the mass of variants involved in NT Greek MSS, textual critics have attempted to find some appropriate way of analyzing the

1. There is certainly value in examining each MS in its own right and not in relation to others; but any discussion that evaluates a variation-unit requires some knowledge of how the MSS supporting each reading relate to each other. In addition, such information is crucial for any writing of the history of the NT text.

2. B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* [2,] *Introduction* [and] *Appendix* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882), 31.

3. See ibid., 41, 42. Of course, some disagree with this principle, but it is a general consensus. Few are able to evaluate carefully the external evidence for variant readings in the NA^{26} or *UBSGNT*^{4} because there is insufficient information given for the MSS presented. As a result, MS citations end up being little more than a group of letters or numbers at the bottom of the page.

large number of MSS that support them.[4] Most of the critical energy, however, has been expended in discovering methods to make the process as quick and painless as possible. This has led to at least two serious methodological problems for the discipline: (1) MSS have almost always been examined only at some places of variation; and (2) until recently, MSS have almost always been studied only in relation to their variations from the TR.[5] Compounding these methodological problems is the circumstance that some of the most influential textual critics of the modern era (e.g., Westcott and Hort) have actually worked very little with Greek MSS, while those who have undertaken detailed MS analyses have sometimes been less than careful in their work (e.g., von Soden).

Nearly fifty years ago, Bruce Metzger challenged the prevailing methodology of comparing MSS against the TR. With his crushing criticism of this method, he initiated a significant shift in MS studies:

> For obviously it is of slight value in determining family relationships to know only that in a certain area a given manuscript agrees with, say B and א ten times in differing from the Textus Receptus. If B and א should in addition differ from the Textus Receptus in ninety instances, the Neutral element in the given manuscript would be slight indeed.[6]

The four decades since Professor Metzger's article have witnessed a growing consensus that MS relationships should be determined on the basis of a total comparison of MSS against each other, and that the documents in question should be collated in toto, section by section. The pioneer of the newer methods was E. C. Colwell, who over a five-year period wrote several groundbreaking articles that established the principles necessary for identifying textual affinities among textual witnesses.[7] Beginning with E. A. Hutton's method of triple readings,[8] Colwell developed a

4. For a brief summary of Mills's work, see B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 107-8. For a recent survey of attempts at analysis, see Bart D. Ehrman, "Methodological Developments in the Analysis and Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *NovT* 29 (1987) 22-45; idem, "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *JBL* 106 (1987) 465-86.

5. This allows one to see immediately how a particular MS relates to the Byzantine tradition of which the TR serves as a representative. Numerous studies of Greek MSS — indeed, most of the ones we have — have been done on this basis.

6. B. M. Metzger, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospels," *JBL* 64 (1945) 488.

7. For a collection of his still useful methodological suggestions, see E. C. Colwell, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969).

8. In the early 20th century, Hutton had suggested the use of "triple readings" for determining the textual affinities of MSS. A "triple reading" is a variation-unit at which the three major textual traditions each support a different reading. See, e.g., Acts 15:7:

> εν υμιν εξελεξατο ο θεος P^{75} א A B C 81 (206) 429 453 (522) 630 1 549 175 1739 1891 2200
> ο θεος εν ημιν εξελεξατο E H L P 049 105 MT
> εν ημιν ο θεος εξελεξατο (D) 323 (614) gig Ir Amb

This verse has three distinct readings, each supported by one of the three main textual traditions of Acts: respectively, the Alexandrian (Egyptian), Byzantine, and "Western." Thus, for instance, if one does not know how Codex 630 fits into the overall textual tradition of Acts, this variant suggests that it belongs to the Alexandrian tradition; similarly with 105 and the Byzantine system that considered, at its first level, "multiple readings."[9] He then, along with E. W. Tune, outlined other methodological advances as follows:

> Sound method requires *(a)* that in any area of text that is sampled the total amount of variation be taken into account — not just the variants from some text used as a "norm"; *(b)* that the gross amount of agreement and difference in the relationships of mss must be large enough to be significant; *(c)* that all variants must be classified as either genetically significant or not.[10]

Colwell realized that to establish MS relationships, ideally one MS should be compared (in all of its readings) against all others, rather than against some external standard.[11] He also recognized, however, that until textual critics could begin to use the computer for this kind of analysis, they must use some method short of the ideal. He therefore proposed a sampling method, insisting that the portions of text to be considered "be large enough to be significant."[12] Moreover, he urged that readings be "weighed" rather than merely counted, so that the evaluation consider only those variant readings that have some claim to being "genetically significant."[13] Finally, since he was limited on the number of MSS

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tradition, and 614 and the "Western." Theoretically, if one had enough of these kinds of variations, deciding a new MS's textual affinities could be done relatively quickly. Realistically, however, there are just too few "triple readings" in the NT textual tradition. Hutton counted 312, barely over ten per NT document. Simply put, this does not provide enough data to make solid textual judgments. See E. A. Hutton, *Atlas of Textual Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911).

9. "Multiple readings" was Colwell's term for variations "in which the mimimum support for each of at least three variant forms of the text is either one of the major strands of the tradition, or the support of a previously established group . . . or the support of some one of the ancient versions . . . or the support of some single manuscript of an admittedly distinctive character (such as D)" ("Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript," in *Studies*, 27-28). The following is an example of such a reading from Mark 1:13 (p. 40):

κaι ην εν τη ερημω ℵ A B D L Θ 33 579 892 1342 2427 bo sa it
κaι ην εκει εν τη ερημω W Δ 157 1241 K^l K^i K^r TR
κaι ην εκει 28 517 565 700 family^1 familyΠ sy^s
Omit family^{13}
Hiatus C Ψ af sy^c

For his full description of this method, see "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript," in *Studies*, 26-44 (originally published as "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript within the Manuscript Tradition of the Greek New Testament," TU 73 [1959] 757-77).

10. E. C. Colwell and E. W. Tune, "The Quantitative Relationships Between MS Text-Types," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1963) 25 (reprinted as "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," in *Studies*, 56).

11. "If our newly-found manuscript is to be compared with previously known manuscripts, it should, ideally, be compared completely with all other manuscripts. How, otherwise, can complete accuracy be obtained? Partial comparisons — between two individuals or two groups — are often misleading; and ignoring large numbers of individuals reduces the probability that our conclusions are correct. If we compare only a part of our manuscript's content with a part of the content of other manuscripts, we increase the chance of error. If we compare all of our manuscript's content with all the content of only one hundred others, how can we assume that the nine thousand nine hundred manuscripts we have ignored would not upset our conclusions?" ("Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript," 26).

12. He typically regarded a chapter of a document to provide an ample amount of text.

13. He used the phrase "genetically significant" to refer to variations that demonstrate some

he could include, Colwell maintained that one should carefully choose MSS representative of known textual groups as control witnesses.

This selection of control witnesses built on previous investigations in which some MSS were already shown to represent a variety of text-types: for example, in the book of Acts, B, the Alexandrian (Egyptian) text; H L P 049, the Byzantine tradition; and D, the "Western" tradition.[14] Other witnesses fall into these three groups in varying degrees of support. One should then compare any witness under scrutiny against the MSS representative of each of the three groups. *In nuce*, then, the method involved examining the new witness's textual alignments vis-à-vis representative group witnesses in a substantial amount of text at significant places of variation.

Colwell's meticulous methodology proved to be a great advance on previous work, which grouped witnesses together on vague and impressionistic grounds, often on the basis of shared divergences from the TR.[15] His method was adopted and refined by Gordon D. Fee in his investigation of the text of P^{66}. Fee summarized his procedure:

> (1) After collating the MSS, the variation-units where at least two MSS agree against the rest are isolated, (2) the number of agreements between all the MSS at each variation-unit are tabulated; for convenience this count is put into percentages. (3) Finally, one analyzes the number and kinds of significant agreements involved in the count, as well as the kinds of agreements with or against certain textual traditions.[16]

Fee's major advance on Colwell lay in his suggestion to weigh variations *after* counting instead of before. All variation-units (with the exception of movable nu's and sigma's, variations in spelling, and nonsense readings) where at least two MSS agree against the rest are included in the initial quantitative analysis. After this preliminary inquiry, a process of "weighing" is done, by which one determines the relationships of the MSS in the variation-units that seem to be genetically significant. As Fee suggests:

> Genetic relationships must ultimately be built on firmer ground than on agreements, for example, in the addition/omission of articles, possessives, conjunctions, or the tense change of verbs (usually), or certain kinds of word order, or in many instances of harmonization. On the other hand, major rewritings, some large addition/omission variants, certain kinds of substitu-

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relationship between MSS that share readings. Since most textual variants consist of textual minutiae, this is an attempt to locate those places where some sort of relationship is likely.

14. In their study of John 11, Colwell and Tune included P^{75} B W ℵ for the Beta text-type (our Alexandrian/Egyptian); TR Ω C^R A Ψ for the Alpha text-type (our Byzantine); D P^{45} P^{66} for the Delta text-type (our "Western"); and Θ 565 for the Gamma text-type (generally referred to now as Caesarean) ("Quantitative Relationships," 25-32 [reprinted in *Studies*, 56-62]). Of course, the control groups for each section of the NT must be established independently.

15. The discipline has still not come to terms completely with Colwell's suggestions. Some have been implemented, some have been adapted, but he stood in the middle of this century as "a voice crying out in the wilderness" in his call for complete collations.

16. Gordon D. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P66): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics* (SD 34; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968), v.

> tions, as well as several kinds of word order variants, must certainly be recognized as the basic data from which to construct stemmata of textual relationships.[17]

Thus, assigning different "weights" to different kinds of textual variation provides a more substantial basis for the statistical inquiry into MS relationships.[18]

Colwell's call for full collations did not convince everyone. Two of his students, Frederik Wisse and Paul McReynolds, developed the Claremont Profile Method in order to classify nearly fourteen hundred MSS (mostly Byzantine) of Luke.[19] Their driving concern was to develop a methodology that was both quick and efficient. Toward that end, they proposed considering a profile of readings for different groupings of MSS. These profiles were drawn from sample portions of Luke (chaps. 1, 10, and 20). Once it was determined how various groups of MSS attested common patterns of readings (= profiles), additional MSS needed to be examined only at points of variation used to establish the profiles. This provided a great savings in terms of time and effort in identifying a MS's textual affinities: entire MSS of Luke did not need to be collated but only specific readings of particular chapters.

As effective as the method proved for a rapid classification of MSS, however, it still leaves much to be desired. In the most extensive critique of the method, Bart Ehrman has noted two of its major difficulties.[20] First, as practiced by Wisse and McReynolds, the method is unable to detect block mixture within a MS. If the MS changes affinities between chapters 1 and 10 or between 10 and 20, one can certainly recognize that change. If, however, a large section between chapters 11 and 19 is affected, it goes completely undetected. Anyone who has worked with MSS knows that this kind of mixture is not at all uncommon. The method, then, must be applied chapter by chapter to a biblical book, as was done by W. L. Richards in his study of the MS tradition of the Johannine epistles.[21] Doing so, however, compromises somewhat the chief advantage of the method — that it saves time.

17. Fee, "On the Types, Classification, and Presentation of Textual Variation," in E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 67-68 (a slightly revised and updated version of "Toward the Classification of Textual Variation: Colwell and Tune Revisited," SBL NT Textual Criticism Seminar, Washington, D.C., 1974). It is obvious even from the way Fee words this paragraph that there is a great deal of subjectivity in deciding whether a variant is "genetically significant." This subjectivity becomes only more obvious as one attempts to isolate genetically significant variations in a portion of text. Since, however, the number of these is going to be relatively high (compared to triple readings, for instance), the subjective aspect of the task can be readily accommodated. The obvious subjective nature of this part of the procedure reminds us that textual criticism is still both a science and an art.

18. This methodology was used productively by W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), esp. 19-30; and Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark* (SD 43; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), esp. 10-12.

19. For a full presentation of the method, see Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence* (SD 44; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

20. Ehrman, "Use of Group Profiles," 468-71.

21. See Richards, *Classification*. Wisse, the main spokesperson for the Claremont Profile Method, objected strongly to Richards's method of using the Claremont Profile Method only after applying a quantitative method throughout the epistles.

Ehrman's second criticism was yet more telling: by utilizing only one kind of grouping pattern of reading (i.e., readings that are shared by the majority of a group's members) the method leads to obviously incorrect pairings. The most blatant example is Wisse's placement of Codex Bezae and Codex Vaticanus in the same group.[22] Any methodology that results in such an obvious error must be seen as seriously limited, regardless of its merits as a rough-and-ready system. A full profile analysis needs to consider other data as well — for example, readings preserved among witnesses of one group but no other.

Kurt and Barbara Aland have also stopped short of full collations in their recent categorization of a large number of MSS (particularly those cited in NA^{26}) in their introduction, *The Text of the New Testament*.[23] To their credit, they have provided more information regarding textual affinities for a select number of NT MSS than is available anywhere else. Their main concern in categorizing these MSS was to determine as quickly as possible which ones belong to the Byzantine textual tradition. To that end, they selected some one thousand passages in the NT in which the Byzantine text differs from non-Byzantine MSS, and collated MSS in these so-called test passages.[24] Since they were concerned only with MSS that were of some benefit in establishing the "original text," all those established as belonging to the Byzantine tradition were discarded.

Their procedure does indeed appear to work well to eliminate Byzantine MSS from consideration. It is nonetheless impossible to use the material presented in their book to identify a MS's textual affinities. They simply do not present enough data. One example can serve to illustrate the problem. Codex 1505 is described with the following sets of numbers (1 = agreements with the Byzantine text; 1/2 = agreements with the Byzantine text where it has the same reading as the original text; 2 = agreements with the original text; S = independent or distinctive readings): Evv, 211^{1} $99^{1/2}$ 3^{2} 9^{s}; Acts, 55^{1} $26^{1/2}$ 15^{2} 9^{s}; Cath, 35^{1} $4^{1/2}$ 41^{2} 18^{s}; Paul, 147^{1} $46^{1/2}$ 25^{2} 29^{s}. Apparently, then, 1505 is extant at 322 of the readings in the Gospels, at 105 in Acts, at 98 in the Catholic letters, and at 247 in Paul. Thus, although the Alands speak of 1000 readings, only 762 are represented with 1505.

But the real problem has to do with what one can deduce from these rather cryptic numbers. For instance, it appears from the numbers provided that codices 1505 and 2495 are nearly identical in how they relate to the different kinds of readings (2495: Evv, 191^{1} $92^{1/2}$ 3^{2} 8^{s}; Acts, 55^{1} $24^{1/2}$ 14^{2} 12^{s}; Cath, 37^{1} $4^{1/2}$ 38^{2} 18^{s}; Paul, 160^{1} $46^{1/2}$ 18^{2} 22^{s}. Yet 1505 is said to belong in "category III, but V in the Gospels," whereas 2495 is *"category III with reservation, but higher in Catholic letters."* But a quantitative analysis shows that these MSS have a close relationship: they agree in over 90% of all variant readings

22. See Wisse, *Profile Method*, 119.

23. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989).

24. It is rather difficult for the text-critical community to evaluate their process, because they do not list these test passages or provide a critical apparatus of the readings. Wisse's criticisms of the Alands' treatment of the Byzantine textual tradition as a closed and distinct unit seems to arise more from his own concern to identify differing strands within that tradition than from what the Alands were actually trying to accomplish (see Wisse, *Profile Method*, 21, 22).

in Acts 8–28. While one could perhaps deduce that relationship from the numbers the Alands present, it is not presented precisely in their description.[25]

The series of volumes that Kurt Aland has published, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften*, in which volumes on the Catholic letters, the Pauline epistles, and now Acts have all appeared, looks somewhat more promising.[26] For the Catholic epistles, for example, this investigation examined ninety-eight "test passages" in all 540 surviving Greek MSS.[27] What makes the first volume so useful is the actual presentation of the variation-units along with the MS support. In addition, volume 2 provides 540 tables that present each MS as the standard by which the others are compared (with specific references to the readings shared from vol. 1). This allows one to see quickly how any MS of the Catholic letters compares to any other — at least in the chosen "test passages." The volumes also provide detailed information about how many of which kind of reading each MS contains.

All of this is exciting and useful. It provides infinitely more information about MSS for a significant section of the NT than is available anywhere else. In their summary of the process, the Alands conclude, "This tool awaits discovery by textual critics."[28] One hopes that it has begun to be discovered and to be used productively in the text-critical community at large.

This whole process, however, was admittedly driven by the concern to eliminate MSS of the Byzantine tradition from consideration in publishing a major critical edition of the Greek NT. To that end, the method still utilizes test passages rather than full collations. For this reason, while it is at present the most comprehensive source of information about MSS in the various corpora for which volumes have now appeared, it cannot be the final word.

Summary

Different goals in classifying Greek MSS over the past fifty years have determined the various methods used and the overall effect of the approach. If one is interested (as the Alands are) in isolating MSS that may be of use in determining the "original text," then one has some need for a method to dispose of the great mass of the MSS. If, however, one is interested (as were Wisse and McReynolds) in finding different groupings within the Byzantine textual tradition, then one must utilize some fuller method. The rest of this essay describes such a procedure, arguing that full quantitative and profile analyses are necessary for the complete classification of our NT MSS.[29]

25. See Aland and Aland, *Text*, 107, 135, 137.

26. Kurt Aland et al., eds., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*. I: *Die Katholischen Briefe* (3 vols. in 4; ANTF 9-11; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1987); II: *Die Paulinischen Briefe* (4 vols.; ANTF 16-19; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991); III: *Die Apostelgeschichte* (2 vols.; ANTF 20-21; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1993). A report on this set of volumes was included as chap. 8 in Aland and Aland, *Text*, 317-37 (which is actually an earlier [1987] paper describing the series).

27. This process is reminiscent of one important aspect of Colwell's suggestions: that variants be weighed before being counted. That is precisely what is at work here; the ninety-eight variation-units are apparently the Catholic letters' part of the thousand readings in the NT.

28. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 332.

29. While scholars will always have a larger goal involved in examining MSS (e.g., choosing

II. Colwell Redivivus: A Program and a Plea

1. A Program: Quantitative Analysis

Nearly fifty years ago, E. C. Colwell stood alone in his vision that all MSS might be compared against all others at all places of variation. He realized that the task could not be accomplished with the limited technology of that time. As computers make it increasingly possible to subject MSS to a full quantitative analysis, however, there is increasingly less reason to refrain from doing so. Full comparisons will still be more time-consuming than any kind of sampling method, but not prohibitively so. Indeed, the computer program being used for the minuscule MSS of the Fourth Gospel for the IGNTP enables a statistical analysis to be done immediately upon completing the collation.[30] The critical point to be realized is that full collations alone will yield definitive, rather than tentative, results. What follows, then, is a program for investigating Greek MSS based on the foundation that Colwell has provided. The textual groupings that it assumes and the examples that it gives all derive from the text of Acts, the subject of my own most extensive investigations. Mutatis mutandis, however, the program will work with any set of MSS and textual groups, of whatever magnitude or character, in any of the corpora of the NT.

The program involves at least three steps for every MS and four for some. The first step involves providing a complete collation of every MS under investigation. Included in these collations must be all units of variation where at least two Greek MSS agree against the rest, with the standard exceptions (movable nu's and sigma's, obvious itacisms, spelling differences, scribal nonsense, and singular readings).[31] Although the great majority of these variations may be insignificant from a genealogical standpoint, nothing can substitute for the total range of variation. When this procedure has been followed in the book of Acts, approximately 2,975 places of variation have emerged, an average of just over one hundred per chapter.

In addition to collating the entire document, it is essential, on this first level, to separate the MS into sections (two halves and then as many smaller divisions as

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representatives for an apparatus, or writing the history of textual transmission), there is just as clearly a need to examine them as MSS, not simply to serve some other end. Once the MSS have been classified in their own right, however, many other aspects of our discipline will be served well.

30. There are some existing limitations at this stage, particularly in determining how to identify a variation-unit, but it appears that one can easily overcome such difficulties.

31. Much involved in this aspect of the work is a clear definition of what constitutes a unit of textual variation. See the articles by Epp and by Fee on this problem in their *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, chaps. 3–4. How one counts variation-units will obviously have an effect on final figures. The variation-unit at Acts 26:1 affords an example of the decisions that one has to reach:

περι σεαυτου λεγειν P^{74} ℵ C E 33 81 88 104
υπερ σεαυτου λεγειν B L P 049 69 105 181 325 MT
λεγειν περι σεαυτου H 945 1739 1891
λαλειν περι σεαυτου 614 913 1518 1611

Two word substitutions (περι/υπερ and λεγειν/λαλειν) and a change in word order are represented here. Nonetheless, it is clearly one unit of variation consisting of four readings.

seems practicable and/or significant). Otherwise, it will be impossible to recognize block mixture (junctures at which the MS significantly alters its textual character).

In the second step, the MS under investigation is compared with carefully selected representatives of the already established textual groupings, which serve as control witnesses. The importance of choosing these representatives carefully cannot be overemphasized. Including MSS of mixed or uncertain textual affinities at this stage of the analysis will only create problems. As the process continues, these groupings may themselves be modified (a factor too little recognized by those who have never applied the method). But known MS groupings can prove useful in initiating the process.[32]

One need not include a large number of MSS in the control groups; three or four of the best representatives of each tradition will start the process more than adequately, as witnesses are evaluated in the light of the numerous variant readings that emerge from the collations.

Once one determines how many times different MSS agree with each other in all points of variation, it is useful as a second step to convert the numbers into percentages and to compare the results. For instance, in Acts Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus agree 2,516 times in 2,967 places of variation at which both are extant. They have, therefore, an 84.8% level of agreement. This then can serve as a useful gauge of comparison. For example, Codex Vaticanus agrees with Codex Bezae 1,063 times in the 1,980 places of variation for which they both have text, or 53.7% of the time. In this extreme example, it would be fairly easy to realize the differences with just the raw numbers, but the percentages make the distinction more precise and easier to spot — 84.8% to 53.7%.[33]

The percentages of agreement among the MSS reveal a great deal about textual groupings.[34] For instance, this full analysis reveals that in Acts, Codex 105 (a twelfth-century minuscule) agrees with 049 (an uncial in the Byzantine tradition) 92.5% of the time. As we shall see, a profile of group readings may inform us even

32. Some scholars have suggested that agreements of the entire text of each MS be tabulated in the analysis, rather than just those places involving variation. At one level that may sound impressive, but it is unnecessary. In comparing Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus in Acts, it is clear that they obviously agree in most of the text. If one were to count each word and use that as the basis of the analysis, then the two agree probably around 95%, which is significantly higher than their agreement when looking only at places of variation. But under such a system, *all* the MSS of Acts agree much more highly with each other, so that the retabulation simply pushes the percentages of agreement higher and flattens out the statistical differences. It does nothing for comparing MSS against one another. It is important always to bear in mind the ultimate aims of establishing relationships among MSS: how they behave when there is variation in the textual tradition. Does this MS typically side with the Byzantine witnesses or with the "Western" witnesses, etc.?

33. There is no concern at this stage to discuss levels of probability or significant levels of agreement as such, because the percentages reflect real numbers, not theoretical ones.

34. Colwell's oft-repeated dictum that MSS of a text-type must agree with each over 70% and be separated from others by at least 10% (Colwell, *Studies*, 59) continues to be a helpful guideline, although it is not always useful when looking at large numbers of MSS. Moreover, Richards is certainly correct in suggesting that one should not anticipate any particular level of agreement among MSS; rather the MSS themselves must set the different levels (Richards, *Classification*, 33-41).

more along these lines, but here the numbers from the quantitative analysis alone make clear that 105 is a strong member of the Byzantine tradition. Add to that Codex 105's 61.1% level of agreement with Codex Vaticanus and 53.7% agreement with Codex Bezae, and this MS is confirmed easily as a strong Byzantine witness on even the preliminary level of investigation.

Similarly, Codex 1175 agrees with Codex Vaticanus in the total amount of variation in Acts 78.0% of the time. For a later minuscule, this is a fairly high level of agreement with the Egyptian textual tradition in Acts. Coupled with its low percentage of agreement with 049 (59.5% — the same level of agreement that Vaticanus has with 049) and with Codex Bezae (51.9%), the initial quantitative analysis again is clear: Codex 1175 is a strong representative of the Egyptian textual tradition in Acts.

This first level of analysis often reveals yet more precise information about a particular MS. For instance, for Codex 33 the percentages demonstrate significant changes in textual complexion, particularly when the MS is divided into different sections for analysis. In Acts 1–11, Codex 33's percentage of agreement with Codex Vaticanus is 56.2%; in chapters 12–28, it is 80.0%. At the same time, 33's percentage of agreement with the Majority text in the first eleven chapters is 78.0%, and 60.4% for chapters 12–28. The numbers thus indicate that the significant shift occurred between chapters 11 and 12.[35] Here I should emphasize: only with a *complete* quantitative analysis is this shift in textual character easy to spot and diagnose.[36]

On some occasions, however, the quantitative analysis fails to provide the precision necessary to locate a MS.[37] For instance, Codex 453 in Acts agrees with Codex Vaticanus 72.1% of the time and with the Byzantine 049 68.2%, a statistically insignificant difference. As a result, the quantitative analysis does not prove decisive.[38] Consequently, one must go a step further and look at individual variant readings to make any definitive statement. Many MSS will always fall into this latter category. For this reason, it is imperative to examine MSS not only in their overall levels of agreement but also at places of particularly significant instances of variation.

35. For a more complete study, see Thomas C. Geer, Jr., "The Two Faces of Codex 33 in Acts," *NovT* 31 (1989) 39-47.

36. In fact, looking only at genetically significant variations does not enable one to pinpoint the precise place of the change, in that the variation-units immediately on each side of 11:25 are not especially significant. The change of affinity is obvious, nonetheless. Thus even though a sample profile would have indicated some type of change in this MS, only a complete analysis of all its extant variation-units reveals clearly the nature and location of the change.

37. The use of the quantitative analysis alone has been criticized for allowing too much importance to accidental agreements in error (see Ehrman, "Use of Group Profiles," 466). While that would be theoretically true if only a sample chapter were examined, I have yet to find this kind of limitation. As Ehrman and others have noted, the real limitations of the quantitative method lie elsewhere: it is unable to demonstrate how regularly a MS shares group readings of any of the different textual traditions of a document.

38. Its insignificant level of agreement with Codex Bezae (51.4%) does rule out a strong affinity with the "Western" textual tradition. Interestingly, this MS, even after a profile analysis, remains very "mixed," slightly more closely aligned with the Egyptian textual tradition.

Group Profiles

As has been pointed out repeatedly, numbers alone cannot reveal all that we would like to know about a MS's textual affinities.[39] Certainly, they provide indications, sometimes very good ones, but a third step is necessary to achieve a clear picture of a MS's relationship with others. One must examine variant readings themselves. Toward that goal, Gordon Fee's suggestion continues to be important: after counting all the variations, one must weigh them.

As anyone who collates MSS knows, the great mass of textual variation consists of textual minutiae, some of which reveal little about how one MS relates to another. For instance, the add/omit of an article in two different MSS does not imply (at least in the great majority of cases) that one is related to the other. Indeed, the same is true of most of the textual variations with which textual critics work. But other kinds of variations are more productive for indicating textual affinities.[40] Notice, for instance, the following variants in Acts 24:23b:

η προσερχεσθαι H L P 049 105 (206) 323 429 453 522 614 MT sa

omit P^{74} ℵ A B C E 81 630 945 1175 1739 1891 2200 latt sy bo

Here the first reading is clearly Byzantine and the second is obviously Egyptian. The unknown minuscules aligning themselves with each reading have definitely been influenced by one textual tradition or the other.

Consider next 24:6-8:

και κατα τον ημετερον νομον ηθελησαμεν κριναι παρελθων δε Λυσιας ο χιλιαρχος μετα πολλης βιας εκ των χειρων ημων απηγαγε κελευσας τους κατηγορους αυτου ερχεσθει επι σε E 206 323 429 453 522 614 630 945 1739 1891 2200 TR gig vg^{cl} $sy^{(p)}$

omit P^{74} ℵ A B H L P 049 81 105 1175 MT p* s vg^{st} sa bo

The omission is the Egyptian (P^{74} ℵ A B 81 1175)/Byzantine (H L P 049105 MT) reading. It also has some claim to being "Western" since it is attested by part of the Latin tradition. At the same time, MSS supporting the first reading are certainly related in some way (most of them are related to family 1739 in Acts): the addition could not possibly have been passed on accidentally.

A substantial list of such readings can provide a significant tool for classifying the MSS. Some readings will be supported only by witnesses of one or another of the control groups (i.e., Egyptian, Byzantine, or "Western" witnesses). Others will evidence splits in the support of the control groups, some control witnesses of the group attesting one reading and some the other. It is important, therefore, to keep different situations in mind.

39. See, e.g., Ehrman, "Use of Group Profiles," 465-66.

40. Scholars have been inconsistent in the use of the concept of genetically significant variations. For instance, Bart Ehrman, in his work on Didymus, seems to use the phrase for any "real" variation-unit. He says, e.g., "Only those variants previously adjudged to be genetically immaterial are not included: nu-moveable, οὕτω/οὕτως, nonsense readings, itacism, and other minor spelling differences, including, normally, the spelling of proper names" (*Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* [SBLNTGF 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986] 34). I am using it here as Fee seems to suggest, to refer only to particular kinds of variation-units: those that are significant enough to necessitate some type of genealogical relationship among MSS that share them.

In general terms, this kind of analysis leads to two major kinds of profiles:[41] (1) Readings supported by the majority of only one of the control groups (Egyptian, Byzantine, or "Western" witnesses). One will normally find relatively few such readings, but how any MS outside the control groups of witnesses behaves at those points is obviously important. (2) Readings that are attested by a substantial part of any of the three textual traditions (regardless of how well it is also supported by any of the other traditions). This second kind of profile allows one to see how a MS under analysis relates more generally to each textual tradition. One can then observe how often a MS supports readings characteristic of each of the known textual traditions in these genetically significant variation-units.

Family Profiles

For the great majority of MSS, the process just outlined will be as far as one can productively take the process, but closer groupings of MSS demand a fourth step. The MSS themselves determine how the profile looks in these situations. For instance, in the book of Acts, family 1739 includes seventy primary family readings, that is, readings supported only by MSS in that family, and eighty-five secondary family readings, that is, readings supported predominantly by these MSS but with some support from others.[42] The following are examples of primary and secondary family readings, with the family members underlined:

Primary:

2:30 καθισαι] αναστησεν τον Χριστον καθισαι (323) (429) 1739 1891
3:18 -αυτου 429 522 630 945 1739 1891 2200
4:14 βλεποντες συν αυτοις] συν αυτοις βλεποντες 429 522 630 945 1739 1891 2200
5:32 εσμεν μαρτυρες] εν αυτῳ μαρτυρες (429) 522 630 945 1739 1891
5:40 επι] εν 323 945 1739 1891
7:2 ακουσατε] ακουσατε μου 323 429 453 945 1739 1891 2200
7:4 υμεις νυν] νυν υμεις 429 630 945 1739 1891 2200
7:5 αυτον] αυτης 945 1739 1891 2200
7:36 τερατα και σημεια] σημεια και τερατα 429 522 630 945 1739 1891

Only the first of these readings has any claim to being genetically significant; the rest are minor, unusable for establishing broad generalizations about the MSS involved. When examining MS relationships on the family level, however, such kinds of variant readings are important, for these MSS consistently share minor variations that no other Greek MSS contain.

41. These parallel somewhat Ehrman's first two profiles. His third one is not included here, but it may certainly be a useful additional step in some situations. The main difference between this proposal and Ehrman's is that his is based totally on kinds of readings, while mine is based more on types of readings within only particular kinds of textual variations, namely, genetically significant ones. For his useful methodological discussion, see Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind*, 223-38.

42. For details about family 1739, see Thomas C. Geer, Jr., "Codex 1739 in Acts and Its Relationship to Manuscripts 945 and 1891," *Bib* (1988) 27-46.

Secondary:

2:38 επι τῳ] εν τῳ B C D 429 522 630 945 1739 1891 2200

2:38 Ἰησου Χριστου] του κυριου D E 429 522 614 630 945 1739 1891 2200 2412

2:47 επι το αυτο] τῃ εκκλησιᾳ επι το αυτο 69 429 522 630 945 1739 1891

3:2 θυραν] πυλην E 181 323 429 522 630 945 1739 1891 2200

3:22 ειπεν] ειπεν προς τους πατερας Ψ 429 522 630 945 1611 1739 1891 2200

3:26 υμων] αυτου 88 323 429 522 913 945 1739 1891 2200

4:18 καλεσαντες] προσκαλεσαμενοι 630 913 945 1739 1891 2200

Each of these readings is supported by several members of family 1739, but also by two or three additional MSS. Again, few, if any, of the readings can make any general claim of being genetically significant. Taken together with the earlier list of seventy readings, however, they confirm the close relationship of these MSS. That is, whereas none of these readings may appear significant in isolation, together they demonstrate an important relationship among the MSS that share them. The consistency of family support is too uniform to be explained as coincidence.

In this kind of family profile analysis, the MSS that share all or most of the family or group readings should be construed as the leading members of the family or group,[43] while those that share some or few of them are secondary members. Whereas such readings could never be used to determine a MS's general textual affinities,[44] once the readings have been isolated, any new MS can be examined at these points and recognized as a family member.

2. A Plea

For too long in our discipline, too much has been based on too little.[45] The time has come for full collations of MSS to enable us to write confidently about the history of the NT text. As the readings within the MSS become known and used in critical editions, they may also have some impact on the search for the original text. But before we can know that, we must do the work ahead of us. For three or four centuries now, textual critics have bemoaned the lack of information about the primary witnesses. How many more centuries must we wait before we deal with this, the major desideratum of NT textual criticism? I issue a plea that while we use as productively

43. I am using the example of a family of MSS here, but a similar list of distinctive readings emerges for other closely related MS groupings.

44. This is confirmed by the fact that some of the MSS that share these readings belong primarily to the Byzantine textual tradition in Acts, whereas others have a closer affinity with the Egyptian textual tradition. In such instances, these particular readings provide no information about general relationships.

45. "From Desiderius Erasmus and Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros, the first editors, to Constantin von Tischendorf, Brooke Foss Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, and Herman Freiberr von Soden, the giants of our discipline, the resources used were what was immediately available . . . it has been true of all editors down to the present that the selection of manuscripts, especially of minuscule manuscripts, has been determined by the limitations of their knowledge of these manuscripts, and therefore by chance" (Aland and Aland, *Text*, 317).

as possible what the Alands, the Claremont Profile Method, and others have provided based on sampling methods and test passages, we not allow ourselves to stop so short of our ultimate goal. Rather, these preliminary methods must urge us on to a complete study of the witnesses to the NT text.

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CHAPTER 17

THE USE OF COMPUTERS IN NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Robert A. Kraft

Computer-assisted textual criticism of biblical materials has received virtually no attention from the standard handbooks (Metzger, the Alands, and, for Jewish Scriptures, Tov). This is a pity, for it fails to encourage scholars and students to take advantage of the powerful "new" (or better, newly available to virtually anyone) tools that will both help revive interest and activity in various aspects of textual criticism and help make the wealth of often complex text-critical data more easily available. It is not that the authors of the handbooks are unaware of such developments, but they do not encourage the use of appropriate electronic resources and approaches in general, sometimes even leaving the impression that computer-assisted research in textual criticism is of little significance.[1] Nothing could be further from the truth, however, both for the present state of textual criticism and especially for its future.

I. History of Developments

This is not to say that attention to computers in NT and closely related studies in general has been lacking, as the appended bibliography and sequence of selected highlights illustrate. The earliest attempt to apply "the new technology" to NT textual criticism seems to have come as early as 1950-51, with John Ellison's project at Harvard.[2] A new age was dawning, and it seemed to hold much promise for such statistic-intensive and detail-intensive subjects as textual criticism. Various spurts of activity in the 1960s helped define the main areas of expectation: statistical analysis of MS relationships, accurate recording and manipulation of variant readings, and

1. B. M. Metzger (*The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* [New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964] 169) sets the tone, by failing to focus on the positive issues. His discussion in the recent 3d edition (1992), however, shows some modest progress.

2. His unpublished Harvard dissertation entitled "The Use of Electronic Computers in the Study of the Greek NT Text" was accepted in 1957. See his later discussion, "Computers and the Testaments," in *Computers in Humanistic Research* (ed. Edmund A. Bowles; Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967) 160-69.

3. For statistical analysis see Ellison, "Computers and the Testaments"; Vinton A. Dearing, *Methods of Textual Editing* (UCLA pamphlet, 1962); idem, "Some Notes on Genealogical Methods

production of traditional editions with extensive apparatuses.[3] By around 1970 the question of computers and NT textual criticism (within the context of computers and biblical studies) had become a serious issue for a significant cross section of NT scholars, as is illustrated by the discussions associated with the SNTS, the SBL, the Vetus Latina Institut in Beuron, the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster, and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in France, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A consultation on this subject was held at the 1970 SNTS international meeting in Newcastle, and again in 1971 in Holland, but nothing more was heard of this initiative after the reports from these meetings. Perhaps the pessimistic report from the 1970 SNTS discussions helped create a mood of despair. It would take, so the report claims, "the resources of 200 man-years" "to encode the available manuscripts by hand," and the development of suitable automatic scanning capabilities for that task "would require something like 20 man-years"![4] Who had the time, training, and resources for such undertakings?

In that same period, some relevant probes were undertaken, notably by Wilhelm Ott and Bonifatius Fischer in connection with the Münster and Beuron projects.[5] There were also some detailed discussions of genealogical/stemmatic methodology, or at least "quantitative analysis," with an eye to the development of computer-programming strategies ("algorithms").[6] The fledgling SBL committee on computer research even led to the nominal establishment of a "Center for Computer-Oriented Research in Biblical and Related Ancient Literatures" that was represented mainly by Richard Whitaker and his ARITHMOI newsletter (from March 1971). This center

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in Textual Criticism," *NovT* 9 (1967) 278-97; Jacques Froger, "La critique de texte: une variante de la methode de Dom Quentin," *Revue des Etudes Latines* 42 (1964) 187-92; idem, "La collation des manuscrits à la machine électronique," *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche de d'Histoire des Textes* 13 (CNRS, 1965), 135-171. In addition to the works of Froger just mentioned, for variant readings and for editions see Bonifatius Fischer, *Vetus Latina Institut der Erzabtei Beuron, Bericht* 3 (1969) 25-30; Wilhelm Ott, "Transcription and Correction of Texts on Paper Tape: Experiences in Preparing the Latin Bible Text for the Computer," *LASLA Revue* 2 (1970) 51-66.

4. Kenneth Grayston, "Computers and the NT," *NTS* 17 (1970-71) 478-79.

5. Kurt Aland, "Novi Testamenti Graeci Editio Maior Critica: Der gegenwärtige Stand der Arbeit an einer neuen grossen kritischen Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments," *NTS* 16 (1969-70) 163-77; Bonifatius Fischer, "The Use of Computers in NT Studies, with Special Reference to Textual Criticism," *JTS* 21 (1970) 297-308; Wilhelm Ott, "Computer Applications in Textual Criticism," in *The Computer and Literary Studies* (ed. J. Aitken et al.; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973) 199-223.

6. See, e.g., Jacques Froger, "The Electronic Machine at the Service of Humanistic Studies," *Diogenes* 52 (1965) 104-42; Vinton A. Dearing, "Some Notes on Genealogical Methods in Textual Criticism," *NovT* 9 (1967) 278-97; John G. Griffith, "Numerical Taxonomy and Some Primary Manuscripts of the Gospels," *JTS* 20 (1969) 349-406; Bonifatius Fischer, "Use of Computers in NT Studies"; Gian Piero Zarri, "L'automazione delle procedure di Critica Testuale, problemi e prospetive," in *Problemes posés par la formalisation et l'automatisation des méthodes d'analyse de la transmission su discours, écrit ou oral* (Centre d'analyse documentaire pour l'archéologie, 1971) 147-66; idem, "Algorithms, Stemmata Codicum and the Theories of Dom H. Quentin," in *The Computer and Literary Studies* (ed. J. Aitken et al.; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973) 225-37; idem, "A Computer Model for Textual Criticism," in *The Computer in Literary and Linguistic Studies* (ed. A. Jones and R. F. Churchhouse; Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976) 133-55; idem, "Some Experiments on Automated Textual Criticism," *ALLCB* 5 (1977) 266-90; W. L. Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* (SBLDS 35; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).

attempted to collect "data sets" and transcription codes for an electronic archive. Around 1976, however, this effort gave way to the newly formed Computer Assisted Research Group (CARG) under John Hurd, although ARITHMOI had a brief revival (with the same masthead) in 1981. But even in these developing SBL contexts, little attention was paid to NT textual criticism. On the whole, at least among the "NT professionals," a pessimistic mood seems to have been the general outcome of the efforts documented through the early 1970s, fostered not only by the negativism of some influential mainstream spokespersons (see above), but by the despairing reports from even some of the activist advocates (e.g., the SNTS consultation). Probably the sensationalistic claims associated with the computer-assisted work of people such as A. Q. Morton on ancient authorship (esp. Paul) were a factor as well in these less than enthusiastic attitudes to the new technology.[7]

Eldon J. Epp provides a view from within the discipline of NT textual criticism, including a brief section on "Computers in Textual Criticism."[8] His conclusion is that although the Münster Institute was making use of computers to classify witnesses and was planning to use them to create printed critical editions, little was being done with computers and NT textual criticism in North America. In a note, Epp does mention Vinton Dearing's work on computer-assisted textual analysis and genealogical method,[9] but he says nothing in detail about Dearing's "further applications to NT texts."

Apart from Ellison, then, whom Epp does not even mention, computer-assisted NT textual criticism as such seems to have begun quite modestly around 1970 with Wilhelm Ott's contributions to the Münster project (and, on the Latin side, the work of Fischer and Ott with the Beuron project) — and with the relatively unexamined work of Dearing.

The times were apparently not yet right for major computer projects in biblical studies, at least not in the Americas. Equipment was expensive and awkward to use, and sympathetic expertise was hard to find. Indeed, traditions of collaborative scholarship that computer-assisted research generally requires were not well established among biblical scholars. The recently founded National Endowment for the Humanities (1965) was just beginning to become part of the humanistic scholarly tapestry, the recently reorganized (1969) SBL had not developed support structures for such major projects, and there were plenty of other fish to fry besides biblical textual criticism in the newly emerging centers of electronic activity relating to humanistic texts.

In addition, not much was happening with NT text criticism itself, as Epp reports. One might have thought that the increasing availability of computers and computing power would quickly break that "interlude," but it did not happen. Vinton Dearing, as a relative outsider (coming from a distinguished career in the field of English, with his studies of Dryden), developed his projects, but few insiders paid

7. See A. Q. Morton and J. McLeman, *Christianity in the Computer Age* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1964).

8. Epp, "The Twentieth Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," *JBL* 93 (1974) 412-13 (reprinted in Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* [SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993] 106-7).

9. Ibid., 410n.71 (= reprint, 104n.37).

much attention. The Münster Institute did move forward, but more as a fixture than as a leader and developer of an international field, and certainly not with a "missionary" spirit about the new tools and the resulting data. Britain and France were mostly silent. Significant computer-assisted research was developing in Italy, but it left little impact in this area. Electronic editions of the Greek text of the NT became available through various sources, including at least one with morphological tagging, but even this development does not seem to have stimulated the encoding or analysis of NT textual variants on any significant scale.[10]

The explanation of this phenomenon (or lack of a phenomenon) may be even more simple than is suggested above. In general, concern about the reliability of available NT textual editions was not much of an issue, and training in NT textual criticism as its own reward had declined radically, perhaps in part because the establishment of the text did not seem to be a particularly pressing problem any longer. Why bother encoding hundreds of thousands of variants that would have little value for scholarship in general even if available? There were other projects to pursue, with higher claims to priority. The IGNTP survived, it is true, but without much concerted vision or resources for correcting this situation or, until quite recently, productive vision about how to acquire appropriate resources and make use of the new technology.

II. Recent Developments

The advent of the increasingly powerful microcomputer (desktop computing) in the 1980s and its gradual permeation of academic offices and studies has had only minimal effects on the situation, partly because guidelines to assist individuals in encoding variants have not been readily available (little is self-evident about what to code and how to format it for general usage and effective software development), and the software to do significant things with encoded variants is not plentiful, easily available, or well known. So even if one would like to work with the NT textual variants electronically, it is not clear how to start, or what can be done without the individual researcher learning everything (perhaps even including programming) from scratch.

This is not to deny that some progress has been made, both directly and indirectly. Much experimental work has been carried out on various types of ancient and medieval textual variation in a variety of languages. Wilhelm Ott's development of the Tübingen System of Text-Processing Programs (TUSTEP) is a leading example of a mainframe-based project from earlier times that has now also been adapted to the IBM/DOS-based microcomputing world. But TUSTEP has been used primarily with texts that have relatively limited text-critical demands, compared to the NT materials. More recently, an excellent program (COLLATE) for collating MSS has

10. For an electronic edition see, e.g., Morton and McLeman, *Christianity in the Computer Age*. Particularly significant was the development of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) project, under the direction of Theodore Brunner. For one with morphological tagging see Barbara and Timothy Friberg, *Analytical Greek New Testament: Greek-Text Analysis* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981), which was prepared from electronic data and was made available electronically in a modified format by the Center for Computer Analysis of Texts (CCAT) at the University of Pennsylvania in the mid-1980s.

been developed for the Apple Macintosh operating system, but to use it with NT materials would require recreating each individual MS (up to a total of 100, at present) and then feeding the entire collection, one by one, into the program. This obviously does not encourage further exploration, if the variants are already available atomistically as in a standard (printed) critical apparatus. Plans to adapt COLLATE to existing variant data banks, however, are presently under discussion.

One of the goals of the Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies (CATSS) project developed in the late 1970s at the Hebrew University and the University of Pennsylvania was to encode all published variants to the ancient Greek Jewish scriptural traditions (LXX and related materials). This initiative generated detailed discussion of how best to encode the complex and extensive text-critical materials for purposes of electronic analysis, thus touching on the sorts of coding issues basic to computer-assisted NT textual criticism as well. The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) discussions in the late 1980s included and advanced these technical coding issues.

Most recently (1991), aspects of the old IGNTP endeavor have resurfaced with a computer orientation that promises to revive interest and progress. A program called MANUSCRIPT has been developed by Bruce Morrill and Jerry Lewis, in cooperation with Paul McReynolds, for use with the IGNTP John project, among other things. MANUSCRIPT is aimed at facilitating the entry of data, as well as their organization and ultimate presentation.

Thus many of the obstacles that contributed to "the interlude" are disappearing, or at least seem less formidable, and the time may be ripe for reassessing the situation with a view to moving ahead with these powerful new electronic tools as major allies. One can conveniently isolate the various remaining problem areas:

1. For the most part, the relevant *data* have not been encoded. Thus a formidable task faces anyone who wants to apply the power of computer technology to NT text criticism, simply at the basic level of making the textual data available. Encoding the data is not as difficult a task as it might seem, however, insofar as several different Greek NT texts already are available in electronic form (e.g. Stephanus, Scrivener, *UBSGNT*^{2}, *UBSGNT*^{3}, *UBSGNT*^{4} = NA^{26}), and scanning (Optical Character Recognition = OCR) technology has improved sufficiently to provide major assistance in getting the variants into electronic form simply by starting with available published apparatuses, unless one prefers the approach used in the MANUSCRIPT program, which involves entering fresh collations on a data base. But the effective use of these resources requires technical coordination that is not readily available to most scholars, and the very thought of pursuing these tasks remains intimidating to many. Thus the solution to this problem probably requires significant teamwork in the framework of organized and funded projects. The IGNTP is attempting to reorganize in these directions.

2. Closely connected to the basic problem of encoding the data is the question of how to *format* them effectively.[11] The models provided by printed textual appara-

11. For some examples, see Susan Hockey's chapter on "Textual Criticism" in her *Guide to Computer Applications in the Humanities* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980) 144-67.

tuses are for the most part inappropriate to the electronic approach, although it is possible to work back and forth between the traditional and the relatively unexplored new possibilities.[12] Already in the 1950s, John Ellison suggested a list of important text-critical phenomena to be "tagged" in dealing with such computerized data: for example, pluses, minuses, substitutions, transpositions, and several varieties of orthographic variation (proper names, itacism, case/tense endings, nonsense).[13] The CATSS project followed similar procedures for the first four categories, without seeing the need to distinguish orthographical variants in just these ways (one can normally discover them without having specific tags).[14] The TEI project has recently developed some systematic recommendations pertaining to such matters of coding and format, which promise to help encourage the production of predictably consistent sets of data that in turn can be manipulated and analyzed by appropriate general software.

3. Since not many data are yet encoded for NT text-critical research, one can hardly expect to find much software in place for studying them. TUSTEP, COLLATE, and now MANUSCRIPT have been mentioned above, and doubtless the Münster Institute has developed various programs for producing and manipulating its data (as has CATSS). But until the data are firmly in place little can happen at the exciting level of exploring them with shared software. Too much attention has probably been paid thus far to using the computer to replicate old print formats. We will need to explore even more carefully the many nonprint applications that have been discussed in the past but that are only now becoming practical realities for most individual scholars. Programs that analyze stemmatic (or other) relationships from one direction or another are already under development on microcomputers;[15] these promise to help open new possibilities for NT textual analysis. Other examples of desirable standard software would include the ability to recreate any given MS or subgroup of MSS from the encoded data; the ability to analyze types of variation in relation to scribal habits from particular times and/or places; the ability to identify subgroupings of MSS and trace fluctuations in text-critical alliances and groupings over set ranges of text; and numerous similar matters.[16]

4. Computer technology will ultimately permit one to integrate the text-critical data with a wide variety of other relevant material by means of "hypertex-

12. This will be clear to anyone who works closely with TUSTEP, COLLATE, or, now, MANUSCRIPT.

13. See his Harvard dissertation, "The Use of Electronic Computers in the Study of the Greek NT Text," 1957.

14. See Robert Kraft, "Treatment of the Greek Textual Variants," in *Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies*, vol. 1: *Ruth* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 53-68.

15. For example, COLLATE's cladistic analysis module, incorporating insights from the natural sciences; see Peter M. W. Robinson and Robert J. O'Hara, "Computer-Assisted Methods of Stemmatic Analysis." In *The Canterbury Tales Project Occasional Papers* (Oxford: Office for Humanities Communication, 1993).

16. For types of variation see Froger, "Electronic Machine." On identifying subgroupings see Fischer, "Computers in NT Studies"; John G. Griffith, "The Interrelations of Some Primary Manuscripts of the Gospels in the Light of Numerical Analysis," *SE* 6 (TU 112) (1973) 221-38; Jean Duplacy, "Classification des états d'un texte, mathématiques et informatique: repères historiques et recherches méthodologiques," *RHT* 5 (1975) 249-309.

tual" linkages. For example, the user might encounter a difficult biblical passage (in English or Greek) and wish to explore various avenues of investigation, including viewing the text-critical situation (the material currently found in the textual apparatus), seeing some of the key MSS in digitized facsimile (like having photographs of the passage in particular MSS), checking various electronic tools for further enlightenment (e.g., dictionaries, grammatical information, MS listings, standard abbreviations, etc.), searching the text or other ancient materials for similar modes of expression, and so on. Sound can also be included in a hypertext environment, if our electronicized text critic is interested in learning how "errors of the ear" might have come about (and if experts in such matters have produced appropriate data).

III. The Challenge

We have, in short, not come very far in realizing the promise offered by computer-assisted research for NT textual criticism, although much of the groundwork has been laid. This condition cannot last much longer, however, given the resources readily available today and the number of scholars interested in text-critical matters. Nevertheless, one must resist the tendency to engage in isolated, individualistic research — especially at the level of encoding the text-critical data — if progress is to be made in a timely manner. Similarly, some of the timeworn practices and attitudes at work in NT text criticism — for example, the relative disdain for or despair at attempting stemmatic analysis and contentment with considering only a small fraction of the known evidence — need reassessment, as does the understandable tendency to view things from the perspective of the printed page. Thus the elements are in place for coordinated and systematic efforts toward creating the desired data bank of NT textual materials. What seems lacking thus far is effective organizational leadership and appropriate funding.

Appendix

Computers and Biblical Studies: A Selective Chronological Outline

The following presents selected highlights (by date) of computer developments of special relevance for biblical studies:

1951-57 John Ellison's Harvard dissertation (NT text criticism)

1957 Ellison's concordance of the RSV, electronically produced

1961-64 A. Q. Morton et al. (Edinburgh), stylistic studies of Paul, etc.

1961 Founding of LASLA (Laboratoire d'Analyse Statistique des Langues Anciennes) at University of Liège, Belgium (L. Delatte)

1964 Literary and Linguistic Computing Centre (Cambridge, R. Wisbey)

1964 Gerard E. Weil (CNRS, Nancy France), CATAB (Centre d'Analyse et de Traitment Automatique de la Bible et des Traditions Ecrites) Project on Hebrew Bible

1965 Creation of NEH (National Endowment for the Humanities) in the United States

1965 James Marchand (University of Illinois, Urbana) creates Gothic Bible concordance
1966 *Computers and the Humanities Journal* (J. Raben)
1967 Richard E. Whitaker's Ugaritic concordance (Harvard dissertation), with help from David Packard
1967 Original COCOA (Word Count and Concordance generation on the Atlas computer) program, by D. B. Russell (basis of the later Oxford Concordance Program, coordinated by Susan Hockey)
1967 CALCULI newsletter by Stephen Waite (Dartmouth)
1967 CETEDOC (Centre de Traitement Electronique des Documents) established at Louvain-la-Neuve in Belgium (by Paul Tombeur)
1968 British Academy Committee on the Use of Computers in Textual Criticism, chaired by K. J. Dover
1968 Beuron Vulgate Concordance Project (B. Fischer and W. Ott)
1969 Hebrew Computational Linguistics *Bulletin* begins
1968ff. Yehuda T. Radday (Haifa, Israel) studies Hebrew Bible styles
1969 American Philological Association Repository begins
1970 Cambridge (England) Conference on "Computer in Literary Research"
1970 Consultations, reports, and activities (SBL, SNTS)
1970 F. I. Andersen and D. Forbes (on Hebrew Scriptures; syntax)
1971-81 Richard Whitaker, ARITHMOI (for biblical studies, SBL)
1971ff. Maredsous (Belgium) Project (biblical texts and translations)
1971 Arthur Baird and David N. Freedman, Computer Bible Series, Biblical Research Associates
1972 Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) Project begins (Theodore Brunner, University of California, Irvine)
1973 Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing (ALLC) founded, *Bulletin* begins
1973 David Packard's Greek Morphological Analysis Program
1974 Raymond Martin (Dubuque; on translation technique, style, etc.)
1975 David Packard develops early IBYCUS prototypes
1975 Yakov Choueka (Bar Ilan, Israel), Responsa Project begins
1975-78 SBL Consultations on Computing (J. C. Hurd)
1976 Oxford Text Archive established
1977 Werkgroep Informatica at Amsterdam (biblical texts; E. Talstra, F. Postma)
1978 CNRS Colloquium on Computers and Textual Criticism
1978 Association for Computers and Humanities (ACH) founded
1978 CATSS Project Probes at the University of Pennsylvania (Greek Jewish Scriptures)
1979 H. Van Dyke Parunak (Hebrew Scriptures; lexical density plots)
1979 GRAMCORD (Reference Manual; Paul Miller)
1979 CARG (Computer Assisted Research Group) of SBL; John Hurd (Toronto)
1980 CIB (Centre: Informatique et Bible) of PROBI (Promotion Biblique et Informatique) founded in Maredsous, Belgium (F. Poswick)

1981 Timothy and Barbara Friberg NT morphology article published (ed. Peter Patton)
1981 Michigan-Claremont *BHS* text encoding begins (Parunak-Whitaker)
1982 Association Internationale "Bible et Informatique" (AIBI) founded in connection with CIB at Maredsous (F. Poswick)
1984 IBYCUS Scholarly Computer (microcomputer) prototype displayed
1984 OFFLINE column begins (SBL), Center for Computer Analysis of Texts (CCAT) at the University of Pennsylvania
1984 Founding of CDMB (Centre de Documentation sur les Manuscrits de la Bible) Project of the CNRS, directed by Christian-Bernard Amphoux
1985 AIBI First International Colloquium, Louvain-la-Neuve
1985 TLG CD-ROM "A" is published ("B" 1986; "C" 1987; "D" 1992)
1987 PHI (Packard Humanities Institute) established in Los Altos, CA
1987 John Hughes, *Bits, Bytes, & Biblical Studies* (Zondervan)
1987 Perseus Project begins (Harvard; hypertext classical studies; Gregory Crane)
1987 International Colloquium on 10th anniversary of Werkgroep Informatica in Amsterdam
1988 TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) project begins (based on SGML = Standard Generalized Markup Language)
1988 AIBI Second International Colloquium, Jerusalem
1991 AIBI Third International Colloquium, Tübingen
1993 TSI (Textual Software Initiative) proposal for standardized software development
1994 AIBI Fourth International Colloquium, Amsterdam

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CHAPTER 18

MODERN CRITICAL EDITIONS AND APPARATUSES OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

Moisés Silva

It would be an interesting exercise to compare current achievements in the production of Greek NT texts with the expectations of scholars around the middle of the century. On the one hand, most of them would no doubt have been shocked to be told that it would take almost four decades before the publication of *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (see §IV below). On the other hand, they could not have anticipated what significant strides would be made possible by technological advances. As in every scholarly field, progress in NT textual criticism seldom corresponds to the best-laid plans. Nevertheless, one can hardly doubt that progress has indeed been made. The following survey makes clear that, as we approach the end of the century, students of the Greek NT have rich resources at their disposal.[1]

I. Diverse "Handy" Editions

I may appropriately begin this survey with the year 1947, which marked the appearance of the second edition of Alexander Souter's Greek NT.[2] Based on Edwin Palmer's reconstruction of the Greek lying behind the RV of 1881, this work offered an eclectic text that is close to the TR but shows some influence from the Westcott-Hort text (the revisers had partial access to the latter during their work).[3] For the

1. For an evaluation of critical editions during the period covered in the present article, see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 143-46 and 280-84. See also Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 20-47 and 222-67; and J. Neville Birdsall, "The Recent History of New Testament Textual Criticism (from Westcott and Hort, 1881, to the present)," *ANRW* 2.26.1 (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992) 177-86.

2. Alexander Souter, ed., *Novvm Testamentvm graece: textvi a retractatoribvs anglis adhibito brevem adnotationem criticam svbiecit* (editio altera, penitvs reformata; Oxford: Clarendon, 1947). The 1st edition had appeared in 1910. See the evaluation by G. D. Kilpatrick, "Three Recent Editions of the Greek New Testament," *JTS* 50 (1949) 10-23 and 142-55, esp. 19-23.

3. This characterization of Souter's text (and the others mentioned below) vis-à-vis the TR relies on the analyses found in Kurt Aland, "The Present Position of New Testament Textual Criticism," *SE* 1 (TU 73; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959) 717-31, esp. 719-22.

second edition, Souter enlarged the apparatus and thus provided a useful work that proved popular, especially in Britain, during the following two decades.

Though not as widely used, three important editions by Roman Catholic scholars also appeared in revised form during the 1950s and 1960s. The fourth and last edition of Heinrich Joseph Vogels's work was published in 1955.[4] It is characterized by a text that departs from the TR only a bit more frequently than Souter's. The apparatus pays special attention to the evidence of the earliest Latin and Syriac materials.[5]

The distinctive work of Augustin Merk, first published in 1933, had gone through five editions before his death in 1945. Because of its popularity among Catholic theologians, an additional five editions have since appeared.[6] Merk relied heavily on the controversial work of Hermann von Soden, as is especially clear in the grouping of Greek MSS. His reconstructed text abandons the TR more frequently than the other Catholic editions, while the apparatus is in several respects comparable to Vogels's.

Finally, the Spanish scholar José María Bover continued to revise his bilingual edition, first published in 1943. His plan to produce a trilingual edition was brought to fruition by José O'Callaghan in 1977 (the Greek and the Neo-Vulgate are in parallel columns, with Bover's own Spanish translation at the bottom).[7] Characterized by moderation and clearly worked-out principles, Bover's eclectic text reflects skepticism of distinctive Alexandrian readings (rejecting them if they are unique) and gives more preference than is customary to "Western" readings; as a result, it approximates in some respects the text of von Soden but distances itself considerably from that of Westcott and Hort. The apparatus, which had already drawn praise in its earlier form,[8] is now enhanced by several features (it includes, e.g., the evidence of no fewer than nine modern editions).

The British and Foreign Bible Society, which during the first half of the century had been reprinting the third edition of Nestle's text (1903), commissioned G. D.

4. H. J. Vogels, ed., *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* (4th ed.; 2 vols.; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1955). The 1st edition had appeared in 1922.

5. Taking, e.g., Luke 2:1-14 as an illustration, Vogels, but not the editions prepared by Eberhard and Erwin Nestle up to that time, lists under vv. 6, 7, and 10 eleven variants that are attested only in those ancient versions.

6. Augustinus Merk, ed., *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* (10th ed.; Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici 65; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1984). S. Lyonnet, J. P. Smith, and C. M. Martini have been involved in the production of these posthumous editions. For a detailed evaluation of the 5th edition, see Kilpatrick, "Three Editions," 142-52, who points to some disturbing inaccuracies, esp. regarding the evidence from the Old Latin (pp. 145-46), and to Merk's inconsistency in following his own principles (p. 152). Nevertheless, Kilpatrick comments: "Only when his edition is compared with others does the extent of its peculiar information become clear, and it may be said at once that any scholar who seeks to gain as full a picture of the evidence as possible and neglects Merk, does so at his own peril" (p. 142). With some qualifications, this judgment is still valid.

7. José María Bover and José O'Callaghan, eds., *Nuevo Testamento trilingüe* (BAC 400; Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1977).

8. Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, "Recent Spanish Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *JBL* 66 (1947) 401-23, esp. 415-22. The article is reprinted with alterations in *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (NTTS 4; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963) 121-41, esp. 135-41.

Kilpatrick to produce a new apparatus for that text. Published in 1958, this edition included broad evidence for a selected number of variants.[9] About the same time, Kilpatrick began work on an edition intended for translators, but dissatisfaction over the character of his text prevented him from completing it.[10]

A particularly interesting edition was published in 1982.[11] Relying primarily on the apparatus of von Soden, this work by Zane C. Hodges and Arthur Farstad attempted a reconstruction of the text found in the majority of MSS, which apparently differs from the TR in more than 1,800 places.[12] This edition includes two apparatuses. The first one provides information about textual variations within the Majority tradition itself. The second apparatus alerts the user to variants found in the Alexandrian tradition, but the evidence given is extremely limited and therefore misleading. Dissatisfied with the quality of this text, particularly in John 7:53–8:11 and in the book of Revelation, Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont have published still another edition of the Byzantine text.[13]

II. The Story of Nestle-Aland and the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*

An important development in the postwar era was the involvement of Kurt Aland in the production of the famous Nestle text, which had already established itself as the pocket edition of choice for numerous biblical scholars. First prepared at the end of the last century by Eberhard Nestle, this text reflected the consensus of then-current scholarship as represented by Constantin Tischendorf, Westcott-Hort, and (beginning with the 3d edition) Bernhard Weiss, but every few years he prepared corrected editions that also updated the apparatus. His son, Erwin Nestle, took on the work beginning with the thirteenth edition, which appeared in 1927. Under Aland's editorship, beginning with the twenty-first edition in 1952, many additions and refinements were introduced, but the basic character of the work remained constant through the twenty-fifth edition, which appeared in 1963.

The temporal gap between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth edition[14] was

9. Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ (2d ed.; London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1958). The text itself was modified at a few points; some changes in the format (including punctuation) were also introduced.

10. Cf. the evaluation of his method in Metzger, *Text*, 177-78.

11. Zane C. Hodges and Arthur Farstad, eds., *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* (2d ed.; Nashville: Nelson, 1985; 1st ed., 1982). Cf. my review in *WTJ* 45 (1983) 184-88.

12. According to Daniel B. Wallace ("Some Second Thoughts on the Majority Text," *BSac* 146 [1989] 270-90), who comments that many of these differences are "quite significant" (p. 276). He further reports that the number of differences between the Hodges-Farstad text and *UBSGNT*^{3} is almost 6,600.

13. Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine/Majority Textform* (Atlanta: Original Word, 1991). This text does not include an apparatus and omits all types of punctuation, including breathing marks and accents. See the review by J. K. Elliott in *NovT* 35 (1993) 197-99.

14. *Novum Testamentum Graece* (26th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1979). The title page indicates that the edited text is the work of K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger,

about four times longer than had been the pattern up to that point. What was the reason for this delay? Already in the 1950s it had become clear that some substantive changes would be required. The discovery of numerous documents, especially the papyri, during the first half of the century made it increasingly difficult to preserve the structure of the apparatus. For example, Nestle's use of special symbols (such as the Gothic letter $\mathfrak{H}$ to indicate the "Hesychian" or Alexandrian text-type) could not handle any new evidence that did not easily fit the underlying theory of textual history. More important, however, was that, if this underlying theory (which reflected the state of learning at the end of the 19th century) could not account for the new evidence, the text itself needed a serious overhaul.

Backed by the extensive resources of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster, Aland initiated a project to produce a major edition of the Greek NT that would combine a newly reconstructed text with a nearly exhaustive critical apparatus.[15] This new text would also be reproduced in the twenty-sixth edition of the Nestle-Aland text (NA^{26}). As is hardly surprising with projects of this magnitude, the deadlines were not easy to meet. In addition, a parallel development in the work of the United Bible Societies affected the direction of Aland's project, and thus I need to make a digression before continuing with the story.

Under the leadership of Eugene A. Nida, from the American Bible Society, a group of prominent textual critics was brought together to prepare an edition of the Greek NT that would be especially suitable for Bible translators. This editorial committee consisted originally of Kurt Aland himself, Matthew Black, Bruce M. Metzger — who had the responsibility of preparing the supplementary volume[16] — and Allen Wikgren (Arthur Vööbus also participated in the early stages of the work). The first edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* appeared in 1966, and the second (with the addition of Carlo M. Martini to the committee) in 1968. The text itself was newly reconstructed, using criteria based broadly on the views crystallized by Westcott and Hort but abandoning some features of those views (esp. the concept of a "Neutral Text") made untenable by the new evidence. On the one hand, because decisions on textual variants were made by majority vote, this text probably lacks the consistency — but also the idiosyncracies — of editions produced by individual scholars. On the other hand, it is not fair to compare this method to that used by Nestle: in the case of the UBS edition, the people involved could argue with one another about the problems, and, in spite of their different perspectives, their ability to work together must reflect significant shared assumptions. Besides, if a whole group of scholars is going to be responsible for such an edition, how else can decisions be made if not by vote and/or consensus?

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and A. Wikgren (i.e., it is the text of *UBSGNT*³, on which see below), whereas the apparatus and the distinctives of this edition are the work of Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, with the help of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster.

15. Cf. Kurt Aland, "*Novi Testamenti graeci editio maior critica.* Der gegenwärtige Stand der Arbeit an einer neuen grossen kritischen Ausgabe des Neuen Testamentes," *NTS* 16 (1969-70) 163-77.

16. Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (Third Edition)* (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971; corr. ed., 1975).

The apparatus of this edition broke new ground in the selection and presentation of textual evidence. First, only those variants were selected for inclusion that are directly relevant to the work of translators. The vast majority of variations among MSS are either devoid of semantic content (e.g., orthographic differences) or are impossible to reproduce in a translation (e.g., some syntactical subtleties). Variants of this sort were omitted from the apparatus. Nonetheless, some kinds of variants that have little if any semantic significance (such as "Jesus Christ" vs. "Christ Jesus") had to be included because they would be reflected in translation. As a result, quite a few pages of the UBS volume include no variants at all, and those that do seldom list more than two or three variants. The total number of variants included is fewer than fifteen hundred, while the number in competing handy editions is usually several thousand.

Second, the decision was made to include more evidence per variant than was customary in editions of this kind. Virtually all the papyri and majuscules, plus a large number of minuscules, are cited if they support one of the variants listed (most other editions, as a rule, cite only the evidence that supports a reading *not* chosen in the text, so that the user has to deduce what MSS support the text). In effect, the account of Greek MSS is "almost complete" through the ninth century.[17] Moreover, the evidence from many lectionaries, versions, and Fathers is included selectively. Whether the user for which this edition is intended can possibly sift through all that evidence without being overwhelmed is an interesting question, but one must applaud this effort at comprehensiveness.

A third characteristic — the most interesting and distinctive — is the inclusion of a "grade" (A, B, C, or D) to indicate the degree of certainty that the committee members attached to each variant chosen for the text.[18] While often helpful, these ratings have some confusing aspects. Many users have wondered whether a low grade reflected a corresponding measure of disagreement among the committee members. Others were confused by the significance of a D rating, which was said to indicate "a very high degree of doubt,"[19] as though the reading chosen by the committee in those cases was more doubtful than the variant(s). The use of these ratings was further complicated by the decision to use brackets in the text itself "to enclose words which are regarded as having dubious textual validity."[20] In spite of

17. That statement comes from the introduction of the 4th edition (p. 5*), for which the number of minuscules and the way they are presented differ significantly from previous editions.

18. Thus reviving, in a modified form, the practice of J. A. Bengel in his 1734 edition of the Greek text.

19. See p. xiii in the 3d edition. For the 4th edition (p. 3*), the description of these ratings has been rewritten. Now an A "indicates that the text is certain" (previously, "virtually certain"); a B, "almost certain" (previously, "there is some degree of doubt"); a C means that "the Committee had difficulty in deciding which variant to place in the text" (previously, "there is considerable degree of doubt whether the text or the apparatus contains the superior reading"); and a D that "the Committee had great difficulty in arriving at a decision."

20. P. x of the 3d edition. The introduction to the 4th edition puts it a little differently: bracketed words "may be regarded as part of the text, but . . . in the present state of New Testament textual scholarship, this cannot be taken as completely certain" (p. 2*). Moreover, we are now informed that all such passages are given a C rating, but we are still not told how they differ in degree of certainty from other C-rated passages that are *not* bracketed.

these and other questions, however, one can hardly deny the great value of having some indication of how the committee members themselves perceived the weight of evidence. For the translator and the student, it has a practical significance: be very cautious with readings that received lower than a B rating.

In preparation for the next edition of the UBS text, a thorough revision was undertaken, involving the more direct cooperation of the Münster Institute; in all, over five hundred changes were introduced into the text itself. Kurt Aland, understandably, had brought suggestions to the committee based on the changes he intended to incorporate into NA^{26}; conversely, the discussions of the committee affected the preparation of his new edition.[21] This development had the effect of bringing the two texts closer and closer together. The decision was eventually made to use the same text (aside from some matters of orthography and punctuation) for both editions. This revised text first appeared in 1975 as the third edition of the UBS text, and is reprinted in the fourth edition.[22]

When NA^{26} finally appeared in 1979, one was therefore prepared for the character of the text itself; the totally reworked apparatus, however, evoked both surprise and admiration.[23] Although a few scholars (with some justification) were quick to point out problems and weaknesses in the edition, it must have taken some effort to avoid feeling impressed by this achievement. The typesetting alone is a sheer marvel. The amount of information compressed into the apparatus goes well beyond what any reasonable person could have expected. Though hardly infallible, the quality of the data is extraordinarily good, considering especially the technical and complicated character of the material.

A brief comparison with the apparatus of the earlier editions of NA may be of value. The new edition continues the use of a clever system of signs that allows the user to determine, even before looking at the apparatus, the character of the variation (omission, addition, transposition, substitution, punctuation); this system also helps

21. As Aland himself points out (NA^{26}, p. 42*).

22. The 4th edition appeared in May 1993, as I was finishing this essay. In place of Matthew Black and Allen Wikgren, Barbara Aland and Johannes Karavidopoulos have joined the committee. While the text remains unchanged, the apparatus has been completely reworked. We are told that 273 sets of variants have been removed, but 284 new ones have been added. The degree of certainty for most passages has been raised, so that D ratings have virtually disappeared (not one remains in the whole Gospel of Luke, for example). Since the evidence has not changed substantially, do these changes mean that the committee members are more certain of their decisions than before, or does it merely reflect a concern that users of the edition would misunderstand the relatively few instances of A ratings? What the changes mean in practice may be illustrated from Galatians. The 3d edition had a total of twenty-two passages included in the apparatus; for the 4th edition, one of these has been omitted (at 6:13, a variant that has caused exegetical debate) but seven new ones added, for a total of twenty-eight. The earlier edition had only one A rating and five D ratings, whereas the new one has no D ratings and a whopping sixteen A ratings. Metzger's *Textual Commentary* discusses a total of thirty-six passages, but it does not include three of the passages now found in the 4th edition (at 3:28; 5:24; and 6:10).

23. Not least from the editor himself: "It [i.e., appendix II] is of the greatest importance, in our opinion: it makes a manual edition of the 'standard text' — with a critical apparatus already surpassing other editions of its class for comprehensiveness and lucid presentation of evidence — into an edition which not only surveys the results of critical textual studies over the past century, but also permits their assessment. . . . What more could one ask!" (pp. 71*-72*).

to conserve space in the apparatus. Almost everything else, however, has undergone revision. The use of the Gothic letter 𝔓 has been dropped altogether on the grounds that it oversimplified the evidence, whereas the Gothic 𝔎 (= Koine or Byzantine text-type) has been replaced by the Gothic 𝔐 (= Majority).[24] Moreover, the presentation of the evidence is noticeably different (except for standard conventions found in most editions).

Using Luke 2:1-14 as an example, one finds that most of the lemmas were already included in the earlier editions. Two new variants are listed in verse 7 (the omission of τὸν πρωτότοκον by W and the omission of the last ἐν by the Sinaitic Syriac) and one in verse 9 (the addition of ἰδού by a large number of witnesses). But the new edition ignores a variant listed by NA[25] in verse 4 (αὐτούς instead of αὐτόν).[25] More important is the amount of evidence presented for individual variants. In verse 2, for the αὕτη of the text, NA[25] gives the alternate reading αυτη η, and the only specific MS listed in support is C, though the Koine text is included, as well as the abbreviation *pl* (most witnesses); no evidence is given for the reading chosen in the text.[26] In contrast, NA[26] lists, as supporting the addition of η, 10 uncials, families 1 and 13, and the Majority text; moreover, it gives the evidence in support of the adopted reading: 5 uncials, 2 significant minuscules, and the abbreviation *pc* (a few additional witnesses).

Some other subtle changes give a more accurate representation of the MS evidence. For example, at verse 14 the earlier edition identified two different variation-units related to the last clause, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας. The first of these had to do only with the preposition and indicated that the Syriac was a witness for καί instead of ἐν and that the Old Latin (plus Irenaeus) omitted the word altogether. The second referred only to εὐδοκίας, indicating that the Koine text and other witnesses, including the Syriac, read the nominative εὐδοκία. Wisely, NA[26] combines these data so that the whole clause is treated as one variation-unit. The apparatus, in turn, lists the variants as follows: (1) εν (και sy) ανθρωποις ευδοκια and (2) ανθρωποις ευδοκιας. As a result of treating the whole clause as a unit, the significance of the evidence stands out more clearly (e.g., there is no real connection between the omission of the preposition by the Old Latin and the substitution of καί by the Syriac, as the earlier edition might have suggested).

24. There is an important subtlety in this latter change. The new symbol subsumes a dozen or so MSS that, while significant enough to be described as "constant witnesses" (which implies that they are cited explicitly for each variant), are in fact *not* cited if they happen to agree with the Majority text.

25. Although it is somewhat misleading to count lemmas (because the evidence is not presented the same way by all editors), it may be of some interest to note that the total for this passage in NA[26] is twenty, whereas Souter has five, Vogels has twelve, Merk twenty (but seven not in NA[26]), Bover nine, and Kilpatrick sixteen. Among the variants ignored by NA[26], note esp. the omission of πάντες in v. 3, the substitution of αὐτήν in place of αὐτούς in v. 6, the omission of αὐτῆς in v. 7, the substitution of κόσμῳ in place of λαῷ in v. 10, several variations on Χριστὸς κύριος in v. 11, and the omission of ὅς ἐστιν in v. 11.

26. The additional information is given that this reading was regarded as "noteworthy" by Hort and that it was accepted by von Soden. In NA[26] this kind of information is now included in appendix II, which lists not only von Soden but also Vogels, Merk, and Bover as accepting the variant (there is no reference to Hort).

Because of the widespread popularity of *UBSGNT*[3] (now *UBSGNT*[4]) and NA[26] (now NA[27]), two very different editions that nevertheless share the same text, some additional comments of a general nature are warranted. One controversial question has to do with the description of the text as *standard* by some writers.[27] Not a few scholars have objected to such a description, either because they dispute the value of the edition or because they fear the consequences of adopting a new "textus receptus." One must sympathize with this sentiment, especially if the term *standard* is understood in the sense of "definitive": we can hardly afford to encourage the view that the work of NT textual criticism is for all practical purposes complete. If anything, the papyrological discoveries and the research of the last several decades have made us more aware of the complexities of the textual history of the Greek NT. Nonetheless, the term may be used simply to indicate that the text in question has received widespread acceptance. In my opinion, this acceptance is well deserved, but one need not concur with this judgment to recognize the facts of the case. The UBS text reflects a broad consensus and it thus provides a convenient starting point for further work. Far from considering this text as definitive, therefore, we ought to do all we can to improve it.[28]

Another question has to do with the relative merits of the two editions. Their purposes are so different that a comparison between them is likely to turn invidious. Undoubtedly, Bible translators who have no interest in textual criticism as such will continue to find the UBS edition especially useful; moreover, the readable font of this edition has made it appealing to a wide variety of users, especially beginning theological students.[29] A questionable argument in favor of this edition is the fuller listing of evidence in the apparatus. The truth is that even professional NT scholars (whether they realize it or not) do not really know what to do with most of that evidence; after all, much of it is inherently ambiguous anyway. The evidence given in NA[26], precisely because it is more selective, is more meaningful — and if someone should complain that thereby the presentation reflects the opinions of the editor, the only appropriate answer is that that is precisely what an editor is supposed to give the user.

Beyond these concerns, I must join the chorus of complaints regarding the popularity of the UBS editions among NT scholars. While it is true that most of the variants listed in NA[26] have little claim to originality — and thus appear to be somewhat irrelevant for NT exegesis — students make a grave mistake if they fail to become familiar with the realities of textual history broadly considered. Even NA[26] is unable to give the user an accurate perception of those realities,[30] but

27. Even more objectionable is the gratuitous equating of this text with the "original," as at least one serious publication has done.

28. Happily, the preface to the 4th edition offers a caveat: "The text of this edition has remained unchanged. This should not be misunderstood to mean that the editors now consider the text as established" (p. vi).

29. Unfortunately, the 4th edition has abandoned that font and made use of one that is both less elegant and less readable. Partly because of its lighter weight, and partly because the letters and lines give the appearance of being closer together, the font used in this edition is much harder on the eyes.

30. A few examples may help the reader become aware of the kinds of problems one faces. A collation of Galatians in Codex Ψ against NA[26] reveals some inconsistencies and errors. In 1:9,

continuous exposure to the data in its apparatus at least provides a base of knowledge that informs the scholar's decisions when struggling with the more substantive variants. Besides, textual transmission is itself a component in the history of interpretation, so that familiarity with it is hardly irrelevant to the exegete.

III. Gospel Synopses

Textual criticism of the Synoptic Gospels poses a set of distinctive problems; moreover, decisions about the text directly affect source-critical questions. One needs to give special attention, therefore, not only to how the text of those books is established but also to the selection and display of variants in the apparatus. K. Aland has used the text of *UBSGNT*[3] to prepare a valuable synopsis, available also in bilingual format, that includes many important parallel references.[31] The apparatus conforms to (but is not identical with) that of NA[26]: it includes a somewhat larger number of variants and lists additional witnesses.

The works by Reuben J. Swanson, John Bernard Orchard, and M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille have their own valuable distinctives but do not make a real advance on matters of textual criticism.[32] Swanson is quite innovative in that he presents in horizontal format not only the Synoptic parallels but also the textual variants; he reproduces the text of *UBSGNT*[3], while the textual documentation (which is limited) is based on his own collations. Orchard (who claims that the layouts of the standard synopses are biased in favor of Markan priority) rejects the view that shorter readings are preferable; he includes a limited apparatus as

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where the text has παρελάβετε, the apparatus gives the unique reading of Ψ, ευαγγελισαμεθα υμιν. The verb is misspelled (the MS clearly reads ευηγ-), but a more important question is why this singular reading was documented here, whereas a large number of other singular readings of this MS (some rather interesting) were not. Again, at 4:7, for the reading διὰ θεοῦ in the text, the apparatus gives a variant in Ψ (and a few other MSS) as follows: μεν θεου, συγκληρονομος δε Χρ.; in fact, however, Ψ repeats the word κληρονομος before the particle μεν (. . . ει δε υιος, και κληρονομος· κληρονομος μεν θεου, συγκληρονομος δε Χριστου). Even when the information is accurate, it can be misleading. At Gal 4:18, for the reading of the text, ζηλοῦσθαι, the apparatus gives -ουσθε, a variant found in ℵ B 33 1739 (and elsewhere). But ℵ commonly misspells the diphthong αι with ε and vice versa, and in this very paragraph (vv. 12 and 13) the scribe had twice written -ται where he meant -τε. Because these (and comparable) mistakes are not recorded in the apparatus, the user is likely to take seriously the witness of ℵ at v. 18, even though one should really disregard it.

31. *Synopsis quattuor evangeliorum* (ed. K. Aland; 13th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1985). See J. K. Elliott's review in *NovT* 29 (1987) 183-89. In 1987 the United Bible Societies published this edition, with the RSV on facing pages, under the title *Synopsis of the Four Gospels* (8th ed.).

32. Reuben J. Swanson, *The Horizontal Line Synopsis of the Gospels: Greek Edition* (Dillsboro, NC: Western North Carolina Press, 1982-); only the first volume, on Matthew, is out, now apparently published by Books of Distinction in Camarillo, CA. John Bernard Orchard, *A Synopsis of the Four Gospels in Greek, Arranged according to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983); cf. the review by David C. Parker in *SJT* 38 (1985) 258-61. M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Synopsis graeca quattuor evangeliorum* (Louvain and Paris: Peeters, 1986); cf. the helpful description by John S. Kloppenborg in *CBQ* 50 (1988) 707-9, and the extended review by F. Neirynck, "Le texte des évangiles dans la Synopse de Boismard-Lamouille," *ETL* 63 (1987) 119-35.

an appendix. Boismard and Lamouille use narrow columns (the line divisions are based on *cola* and *commata*) for the better comparison of the material, and they carefully integrate the Gospel of John. Their text is basically Alexandrian, but with some harmonizations removed so that it approximates the "Western" text; unfortunately, they provide no apparatus.

One additional synopsis deserves special attention. In 1952 Heinrich Greeven undertook a revision of the famous work by Albert Huck (revised by Hans Lietzmann), *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien.* Mainly because of the decision to prepare a new recension of the Greek text itself, it was nearly three decades before the project was published.[33] The editor states that his text differs from *UBSGNT*[3]/NA[26] an average of nine times per chapter.[34] One must be grateful to have a carefully reconstructed text that is independent of the so-called standard text. Unfortunately, in his introduction Greeven says nothing about the principles, criteria, or methods used to make those textual decisions, though he leaves the clear impression that he is particularly suspicious of readings that could be explained as harmonizations. For Luke 2:1-14 he lists some ten variants, a couple of which are not included in the handy editions discussed earlier (e.g., B's singular reading σφόδρα in place of φόβον μέγαν at v. 9; the reason for this inclusion is apparently the parallels at Matt 11:6 and 27:54).

The presentation of the evidence in the apparatus has some distinctive features, such as the citing together of MSS on the basis of assumed textual groupings and the inclusion of evidence from numerous Gospel harmonies. Greeven's work has received a mixed reception,[35] but it clearly reflects extensive research and needs to be taken seriously. "In general H-G displays a greater number of variants than either [Aland or Orchard], and the selection in H-G is specifically designed for study of the synoptic problem. In fact H-G's apparatus is a rare example of a controlled apparatus established within specified parameters."[36]

33. Albert Huck, *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels: With the Addition of the Johannine Parallels* (13th ed., fundamentally revised by Heinrich Greeven; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1981).

34. In Luke 2:1-14 there are two differences: in v. 5 Greeven adds the Majority reading γυναικί (a reference to 1:27 suggests that he views the omission in the early MSS as the result of assimilation toward that verse), and in v. 12 he omits the article τό (against all witnesses except B Ξ and apparently the Sahidic version; here Greeven himself gives no evidence in the apparatus).

35. G. D. Fee is generally appreciative but finds some of the textual choices "puzzling" and wishes that Greeven had spelled out his priorities (*JBL* 102 [1983] 144-46). M.-É. Boismard offers some specific criticisms in *RB* 90 (1989) 442-45.

36. J. K. Elliott, "An Examination of the Text and Apparatus of Three Recent Greek Synopses," *NTS* 32 (1986) 572. Because it cites some 586 MSS, "this synopsis displays the evidence of a vaster array of gospel evidence than any other modern text" (p. 573). Elliott compares in much detail the synopses of Aland (Syn^A = through 8th ed.; Syn^B = 9th-12th ed.), Huck-Greeven (H-G), and Orchard. A survey of forty-one examples "tells us that H-G is a more reliable text than Syn^B; that Syn^B is more reliable than Syn^A; and that Orchard, often through an apparently mechanical application of a principle determined to avoid *brevior lectio potior*, has created parallels that are exactly the same" (p. 564; this evaluation assumes that unharmonized readings are more reliable).

IV. Major Projects

The most significant publication during the second half of the twentieth century is undoubtedly the two-volume edition of Luke by the IGNTP.[37] The story of this work is long and complicated. Lying behind it are the editions of Matthew and Mark by S. C. E. Legg, a project that represented the most extensive documentation of the Greek text of those Gospels to date but that drew extensive criticism for several reasons.[38] A reorganization of the project in the late 1940s involved the cooperation of British and American scholars. After some fits and starts, and through a succession of editors that included G. G. Willis, J. Neville Birdsall, and J. Keith Elliott, the work on Luke was brought to conclusion.

The format of this edition is unusual. Instead of the running text at the head of the page, with apparatus at the bottom, the text is printed one verse at a time, with the apparatus for that verse immediately following it. Rather than using a critically reconstructed text, the TR (1873 Clarendon edition) is the base. Each chapter begins with a list of witnesses that are defective for that entire chapter (so that the omission of those witnesses in the apparatus will not be interpreted as evidence of any kind), and for each verse are listed witnesses that are defective for that verse but not for the entire chapter. The evidence included under each verse begins with quotations from the Fathers (full citations, not simply references), followed by a fairly conventional apparatus.

The massive character of this edition can be gauged by noting that a full nine pages — and large pages at that — are needed to cover Luke 2:1-14. The first verse alone, for which most editions list no variants at all, includes an apparatus of nearly a dozen variations. The total number of variants for the passage must be close to two hundred. No previous edition has given such a full account of the patristic and lectionary evidence. In addition to the eight relevant papyri, this work gives the evidence of over 60 majuscules and almost 130 minuscules. Although it has not escaped criticism,[39] this remarkable edition will serve well as the basis for further work. Progress is already underway for an edition of the Gospel of John, with a volume on the Johannine papyri due to appear shortly.

The special problems raised by the text of Acts have always attracted the attention of biblical scholars. Boismard and Lamouille have produced a useful work that includes a substantive introduction, the Alexandrian and "Western" texts displayed in parallel columns, and (in the second volume) an extensive apparatus with

37. *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (2 vols.; The New Testament in Greek 3; ed. the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, 1987).

38. Cf. Metzger, *Text*, 145, and the references in n. 1 above.

39. In *JBL* 107 (1988) 758-62, W. L. Petersen, while congratulating the editors for the compact yet clear apparatus, finds "grave shortcomings" in the work (esp. the omission of some patristic material, p. 760) and states that "the retreat to the *TR* for a collation base is deplorable" (p. 761; curiously, he ignores some of the important reasons behind that decision). His uncharitable conclusion: "Like rearranging deck chairs on the *Titanic*, there is something tragic about this" (p. 762). More helpful and positive is J. H. Petzer, "The Oxford Greek New Testament: A Review Article," *Neot* 23 (1989) 83-92. The most detailed review is by Barbara Aland in *JTS* 42 (1991) 201-15 (in German).

annotations.[40] Moreover, a project to produce an exhaustive edition has recently been launched under the direction of C. D. Osburn and Thomas C. Geer, Jr.[41]

Finally, all NT students should be fully aware of the work being done in preparation for the *editio maior* undertaken at the Münster Institute. The project was originally under the joint direction of Kurt Aland, Jean Duplacy, and Bonifatius Fischer,[42] and is now headed by Barbara Aland. The Catholic epistles were chosen as the first books to be edited. Extensive collations and analyses have already been published. "The methods developed will now be further tested in the Pauline corpus, and then (financial support permitting) the full project will begin."[43]

V. Conclusion

Having canvassed the landscape, I may conclude with some general comments. Readers who are unfamiliar with this field, as well as students hoping for a more definitive picture of scholarly progress, possibly feel a little dizzy after being exposed to these facts. Why such a variety of projects apparently unrelated to each other? Are efforts being dissipated and thus wasted? How does one account for the fact that we still depend on the eighth edition of Tischendorf's text (1872) for much of our data?

There are undoubtedly grounds for complaints. At the same time, one needs to step back and appreciate how much better off we are today than were students a couple of generations ago. If scholars at the beginning of the century seemed more certain about various aspects of the field than we are now, we should remember that a sense of assurance is often the result of ignorance. The more facts become available, the harder it is to come up with quick answers.

In addition, we should realize that the very features that seem troublesome to us may well be signs of promise. The existence of various unfinished projects strikes us as evidence of fragmentation, but there is also reason to believe that we are in a period of fruitful transition. Readers will not be unduly optimistic if they decide that the present transitional stage is a harbinger of good things to come.

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40. M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Le texte occidental des Actes des apôtres: Reconstitution et réhabilitation* (2 vols.; "Synthèse" 17; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984).

41. Cf. Carroll D. Osburn, "The Search for the Original Text of Acts — The International Project on the Text of Acts," *JSNT* 44 (1991) 39-55.

42. See Aland, *"Novi Testamenti,"* 165; this article includes a sample of what the edition was intended to look like. Cf. also C.-B. Amphoux's revision of Léon Vaganay's *Introduction*, which states that the project died in 1978 because Aland "was unwilling to move beyond the Claremont Profile Method to incorporate Duplacy's new and conclusive ideas" (*An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* [trans. J. Heimerdinger; English ed. amplified and updated by Amphoux and Heimerdinger; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991] 165).

43. Aland, *Text*, 24.

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CHAPTER 19

THE MAJORITY TEXT THEORY: HISTORY, METHODS, AND CRITIQUE

Daniel B. Wallace

For the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, NT textual critics could speak with one accord: the TR had finally been laid to rest.[1] In 1899 Marvin Vincent referred to it as a "historical monument" that "has been summarily rejected as a basis for a correct text";[2] just three decades ago, in his *Text of the New Testament*, Professor Metzger could justifiably dismiss the contemporary defense of the Byzantine text in a mere footnote.[3]

The situation today is disturbingly different. Gone is the era when KJV/TR advocates could be found only in the backwaters of anti-intellectual American fundamentalism. A small but growing number of students of the NT in North America and, to a lesser degree, in Europe (in particular the Netherlands and Great Britain), are embracing a view left for dead over a century ago — that the original text is to be found in a majority of MSS.[4] The Majority text theory is also making inroads

1. In this essay, "Majority text" refers to the text found in the majority of extant Greek witnesses; *Majority Text* refers to the published text edited by Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad (*The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* [2d ed.; Nashville: Nelson, 1985]); TR, a name originating in an advertising blurb in the 2d edition (1633) of the Elzevirs' Greek NT, refers to any edition of the Greek NT that is based primarily on Erasmus's text; "traditional text," an intentionally ambiguous term, refers to that form of text that is found in either the TR or the *Majority Text* or a proximity of either of these — in other words, some form of the Byzantine text. Advocates of the "traditional text," then, would include strict TR proponents as well as Majority text proponents.

2. Marvin R. Vincent, *A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1899) 175.

3. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964) 136n.1. In the same year J. Harold Greenlee could speak of the work of Burgon and Miller as "the final defense of the Textus Receptus." He, too, found Hills's resurrection of Burgon's views "surprising," calling the work a "scholarly curiosity" (*Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964] 81-82).

4. The Majority Text Society (MTS) was established in 1988 in Dallas; after two years in existence it could boast a membership of 160 in 17 countries (Wilbur N. Pickering, "State of the Union — Year Two" [unpublished paper circulated from the president to members of the MTS, January 1991]). In 1989 a preliminary membership list of 121 included eight from Great Britain, three from the Netherlands, two from elsewhere in Europe (though none in Germany), and ten from third world countries (principally Brazil). Membership required the signing of the following credo:

into third-world missionary and translation endeavors.[5] As in the parallel case of Markan priority, proponents of a minority view are trying to reopen an issue once thought to be settled. Significantly, in the third edition of his *Text*, it was now necessary for Professor Metzger to devote five pages to a discussion of the resuscitation of Dean Burgon's views.[6]

This resuscitation is so multifaceted that a mere critique would be overly simplistic. Further, an essay such as this, which is intended to be panoramic, necessarily casts a broad net. Consequently, here I attempt three general objectives: (1) to survey the history of the resuscitation, (2) to examine briefly the various methods within the traditional text camp, and (3) to offer a critique of the various strands, as well as of the unifying presuppositions, of the Majority text theory.

I. A Brief History of the Modern Majority Text Movement

1. Its Antecedents

To understand the modern Majority text movement, one must begin with Dean Burgon. Although there was a hiatus of almost seven decades between Burgon and the next scholarly defender of the traditional text, virtually all such defenders today rely on Burgon for impetus and articulation. Hence, before looking at the modern period one must briefly examine Burgon's views.

The Majority text movement (if I may speak a bit hyperbolically) began immediately after the epoch-making publication of Westcott and Hort's *The New Testament in the Original Greek* and concomitantly the RV of the NT (1881). Inter alia, Westcott and Hort argued cogently for the inferiority and secondary nature of

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"I believe that the best approach to the original wording of the New Testament is through the Majority Text, or I wish to cooperate in testing that hypothesis." Consequently, not all the members embrace the Majority text theory.

Besides the MTS, two other societies support the traditional text. The Trinitarian Bible Society (Great Britain), in existence since 1831, has since 1958 vigorously supported the TR under Terence H. Brown's leadership; the Dean Burgon Society (U.S.A.), founded in Philadelphia on November 3-4, 1978, by D. A. Waite, D. O. Fuller, and E. L. Bynum, also staunchly defends the TR (David D. Shields, "Recent Attempts to Defend the Byzantine Text of the Greek New Testament" [Ph.D. dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, TX, 1985] 100-120, 42-66). The name is a curiosity, since Dean Burgon's views would disqualify him from membership in the society named after him (see below).

5. Cf. Eugene A. Nida, "The New Testament Greek Text in the Third World," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 375-80. Pickering, the first president of the MTS, may be partially responsible in that he is a missionary with Wycliffe Bible Translators in Brazil. Cf. also John Callow, a Wycliffe translator, who asks his colleagues to have an open mind about the Majority text ("An Open Letter Regarding Textual Criticism," *Notes on Translation* 90 [1982] 33-35).

6. Metzger, *Text* (3d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 283-84, 290-93 (all subsequent citations are of this edition). Remarkably, C.-B. Amphoux's "thoroughly updated" 1991 revision of Vaganay's *Introduction* simply echoes Vaganay's opinion that "this notorious text is now dead, it is to be hoped for ever" (Léon Vaganay and C.-B. Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* [2d ed.; trans. Jenny Heimerdinger; English ed. amplified and updated by Amphoux and Heimerdinger; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991] 152). None of the modern advocates of the Byzantine text is mentioned anywhere in the book.

the Syrian (Byzantine) text-type.[7] This provoked a reaction from many ecclesiastics who favored the traditional text; chief among them was John W. Burgon. With a vitriolic pen he marshaled several attacks against the dons of Cambridge.[8]

The bedrock of Burgon's text-critical views was a belief in verbal-plenary inspiration and the doctrine he inferred from it, providential preservation. On this foundation he constructed four arguments (which remain the main arguments of the Majority text theory to this day):[9] (1) a theological a priori that God has preserved the text — and that such a preserved text has been accessible to the church in every age; (2) an assumption that heretics have, on a large scale, corrupted the text; (3) an argument from statistical probability related to the corollary of accessibility (viz., that the majority is more likely to contain the original wording); and (4) a pronouncement that all early Byzantine MSS must have worn out. As well, a fifth point is inferred from these four: arguments based on internal evidence (e.g., canons such as preference for the harder and shorter readings) are invalid since determination of the text is based on the "objective" evidence of quantity of MSS.

Surprisingly, as much energy as he expended on a defense of the Byzantine text, Dean Burgon failed to distance himself from the TR. Although his writings included brief sections such as "Traditional Text not identical with the Received Text" and rare statements disavowing the TR,[10] he did not discuss well-known and theologically significant passages where the Majority text parts company with the TR (e.g., Acts 8:37, the *Comma Johanneum*, or the last six verses of Revelation). The far-reaching results of Burgon's failure have been two-pronged: to this day TR advocates claim, ironically, Burgon as their champion; and nontraditionalists confuse the TR with the Majority text.[11]

7. B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, [2,] *Introduction* [and] *Appendix* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881), 93-119.

8. Burgon published three articles in the *Quarterly Review* that were later incorporated and slightly revised in a book, *The Revision Revised* (London: John Murray, 1883), which has been reprinted in whole or in part several times. He also wrote *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to S. Mark* (Oxford: James Parker, 1871), and two volumes completed by Edward Miller: *The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels Vindicated and Established* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), and *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896). He articulated his method — essentially a defense of readings found in the majority of MSS — in *Traditional Text*, 28-29.

9. *Traditional Text*, 9, 11-12. Burgon's works have formed the basis for virtually every Majority text advocate's arguments in the 20th century, to the extent that almost nothing new has come from the Majority text quarters since Burgon. Further, such heavy dependence on Burgon explains why so many Majority text advocates argue against the Westcott-Hort theory per se rather than against the reasoned eclecticism of today. Wilbur Pickering's *The Identity of the New Testament Text* (rev. ed.; Nashville: Nelson, 1980) is typical: two chapters, comprising almost 70 pages of text, are dedicated to a critique of the Westcott-Hort theory, while chap. 7, "Determining the Identity of the Text," is merely a rehash of Burgon's seven tests of truth. Cf. further G. D. Fee, "A Critique of W. N. Pickering's *The Identity of the New Testament Text*: A Review Article," *WTJ* 41 (1978-79) 397-423.

10. For the section see *Traditional Text*, 5 (so titled in the table of contents, though not in the text proper). His clearest statement disavowing the TR is buried in a footnote, although he cites no specific references where the TR errs (*Revision Revised*, 21n.2).

11. As mentioned earlier, Dean Burgon's views would disqualify him from membership in the society named after him, since that society staunchly defends the TR. On confusion of TR and the Majority text, see later discussion.

After Burgon's death in 1888, no scholar took up the cause of the traditional text until 1956. Traditionalists, however, allege frequently that F. H. A. Scrivener and Herman C. Hoskier carried Burgon's torch through the first decades of the twentieth century.[12] (Inter alia, Scrivener was well known as Hort's staunchest critic on the RV committee, and Hoskier wrote a thorough critique of Codex B.)[13] There is no question of either Scrivener's or Hoskier's scholarship. Although it is true that neither Scrivener nor Hoskier embraced the Westcott-Hort theory, it is also true that neither of them embraced any of the basic elements of Burgon's views.[14]

2. The Modern Revival

Through the first half of the twentieth century, then, the traditional text was supported unequivocally by only one bona fide scholar, John W. Burgon. Almost seven decades elapsed before the traditional text found another scholarly advocate. The first (and to date only) textual critic to defend the TR per se in this century was Edward F. Hills.[15] Hills's credentials were unimpeachable: a bachelor's degree from Yale (1934), a Westminster Th.B. (1938), and a Th.D. from Harvard with a dissertation on textual criticism (1946).[16] How was it possible for a person with such credentials ultimately to embrace the TR? Even though he ascribed no value to the Byzantine text in his dissertation,[17] in reality he had never left the traditional text. His protégé, Theodore P. Letis, writes:

12. On Scrivener, cf. Alfred Martin, "A Critical Examination of the Westcott-Hort Textual Theory" (Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1951) 54-57; E. F. Hills, *The King James Version Defended!* (4th ed.; Des Moines: Christian Research, 1984) 192; D. A. Waite, *Defending the King James Bible* (Collingswood, NJ: Bible for Today, 1992) 45-46, 139, 298, 307. On Hoskier, cf. Pickering, *Identity*, 60, 145; Alfred Martin, "Examination of the Westcott-Hort Textual Theory," in *Which Bible?* (ed. D. O. Fuller; Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids International, 1970; 5th ed., 1975), 153, 164, 166. Other names (e.g., J.-P.-P. Martin in France) are sometimes mentioned on behalf of the traditional text, but their impact was minimal. For a Russian Orthodox view quite compatible with the traditional text see R. P. Casey, "A Russian Orthodox View of New Testament Textual Criticism," *Theology* 60 (1957) 50-54.

13. Hoskier, *Codex B and Its Allies* (2 vols.; London: Quaritch, 1910-11).

14. The use made of Scrivener and Hoskier by modern-day traditional text advocates reveals a disturbing twofold pattern: on the one hand, their perception of *results* determines allegiance. Questions of method rarely surface. All that matters is that the traditional text is affirmed. On the other hand, their *perception* of results is not based on an examination of a given scholar's writings. Typically, little more is known about a scholar's views than that he or she is theologically conservative, makes positive references to the TR, and criticizes Hort's favored MSS. Because of such shibboleths, Majority text proponents have been repeatedly misled into soliciting unwitting support from the dead voices of the past. This practice is not only intellectually dishonest but also raises questions as to what drives this need for champions.

15. Although others have defended the TR per se, they are either not acknowledged textual critics (e.g., Theodore Letis) or their works are not on a scholarly level (e.g., Terence H. Brown of the Trinitarian Bible Society or D. A. Waite of the Dean Burgon Society). As well, a few have defended the Majority text, but again they are not typically acknowledged as textual critics (e.g., Alfred Martin).

16. For a detailed and unabashedly sympathetic biography of Hills, see Theodore P. Letis, "Edward Freer Hills's Contribution to the Revival of the Ecclesiastical Text" (Th.M. thesis, Candler School of Theology, 1987).

17. Edward F. Hills, "The Caesarean Family of New Testament Manuscripts" (Th.D. dis-

> Hills realized that unless one accepted the dogma that the Byzantine text type was of late date, and hence unimportant, one could never gain credibility within the text criticism guild. . . . Whatever his compromises, by 1952, Hills was ready to return full circle to his historic Reformed roots and affirm, with the Westminster Confession, the priority of the Textus Receptus. Only now he would do so from fully within the inner *sanctum sanctorum* of the text criticism citadel.[18]

Hills's first and major volume in defense of the TR was *The King James Version Defended!* published originally in 1956. He argued even more strongly than did Burgon from providential preservation,[19] for in his view the TR and not the Byzantine MSS per se was the closest text to the autographs. His dogmatic convictions about providential preservation led him to conclude that Erasmus was divinely guided when he introduced Latin Vulgate readings into his Greek text![20]

Letis claims that Hills "left behind a legacy. Historians will be forced to regard him as the father of what is now regarded as the revived ecclesiastical text."[21] But this is an exaggeration: those who came after him, generally finding him too quirkish (because of his strong attachment to the TR), derived their impetus elsewhere. Even after Hills's book had circulated for nine years, G. D. Kilpatrick could say, "No theoretical [as opposed to theological] justification for the serious use of the *Textus Receptus* has been advanced."[22]

The situation changed, however, in 1970 because of an article written by Zane C. Hodges of Dallas Theological Seminary.[23] This essay was the only piece in David Fuller's *Which Bible?* to interact with the data. It alone made an impression on Gordon D. Fee sufficient for him to pen "Modern Textual Criticism and the Revival of the *Textus Receptus*" — an article that sparked a lively debate between Hodges and Fee within the pages of *JETS* and elsewhere.[24] Consequently, most regard Hodges, rather than Hills, as the real Burgon redivivus.[25]

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sertation, Harvard Divinity School, 1946). See esp. the final chapter, which explicitly affirms Westcott-Hort's view of the Byzantine text.

18. Letis, "Hills's Contribution," 150-51.

19. E. Hills, *King James Version Defended!* 2.

20. Ibid., 199-202; he even argued for the authenticity of the *Comma Johanneum* (209-13).

21. Letis, "Hills's Contribution," 7.

22. G. D. Kilpatrick, "The Greek New Testament Text of Today and the *Textus Receptus*," in *The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective* (ed. H. Anderson and W. Barclay; Oxford: Blackwell, 1965) 189.

23. Hodges, "The Greek Text of the King James Version," *BSac* 125 (1968) 334-45. Though originally published in his school's journal in 1968, it gained a much wider audience when reprinted in the 1st edition of *Which Bible?* (1970). All references are to the original article.

24. Fee, *JETS* 21 (1978) 19-33. Hodges responded to Fee's article with "Modern Textual Criticism and the Majority Text: A Response," *JETS* 21 (1978) 143-55; Fee then countered with "Modern Textual Criticism and the Majority Text: A Rejoinder," *JETS* 21 (1978) 157-60; to which Hodges responded with "Modern Textual Criticism and the Majority Text: A Surrejoinder," *JETS* 21 (1978) 161-64. Fee and Hodges continued to interact with each other's views outside *JETS* as well. Most notably, Hodges wrote "The Angel at Bethesda — John 5:4," *BSac* 136 (1979) 25-39, which Fee answered with "On the Inauthenticity of John 5:3b-4," *EvQ* 54 (1982) 207-18.

25. Contra Letis ("Hills's Contribution," 7), who conceded Hodges's influence to the point that he erroneously assumed Dallas Theological Seminary's confessional stance to include a belief

Hodges's article and subsequent interaction with Fee were accompanied by two other significant works: Jakob van Bruggen's *The Ancient Text of the New Testament* in 1976 — a slender volume considered "erudite" by one reviewer — and Wilbur N. Pickering's *The Identity of the New Testament Text*, a book that gives the most systematic defense of the Majority text yet in print (even though it is tarnished, inter alia, by a lack of interaction with the primary data).[26]

If the 1970s marked the rebirth of the Majority text theory, the 1980s were the decade of its rapid growth. Pickering's book was followed by a second edition in 1980 and the epoch-making *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text*, edited by Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad in 1982. Though marred by its entire reliance on printed editions of the Greek NT (primarily von Soden's) rather than on firsthand collations, this text was the first Greek NT based on the majority of Greek witnesses. Preliminary estimates on the textual differences between the TR and the Majority text had been as low as five hundred.[27] The final text, however, ended up with nearly quadruple that amount.[28] Thus the *Majority Text* revealed concretely that the Byzantine text-type had been poorly represented by the TR[29] and, because of this, became a catalyst for debates among traditional text proponents. But perhaps the most surprising feature of the *Majority Text* is the stemmatic reconstructions for the *pericope adulterae*

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in the traditional text (167-68). Hills's work did spawn at least one dissertation dedicated to a refutation of his views (Richard A. Taylor, "The Modern Debate Concerning the Greek Textus Receptus: A Critical Examination of the Textual Views of Edward F. Hills" [Ph.D. dissertation, Bob Jones University, Greenville, SC, 1973]), as well as one thesis in his defense (Letis, "Hills's Contribution").

26. Hodges has written other important essays in defense of the Majority text as well, e.g., "The Critical Text and the Alexandrian Family of Revelation," *BSac* 119 (1962) 129-38; "A Defense of the Majority-Text" (Dallas: Dallas Seminary Book Store, n.d.); "The Ecclesiastical Text of Revelation — Does It Exist?" *BSac* 118 (1961) 113-22; "Rationalism and Contemporary New Testament Textual Criticism," *BSac* 128 (1971) 27-35; "The Woman Taken in Adultery (John 7:53–8:11): The Text," *BSac* 136 (1979) 318-32. Here I do not include as "significant" the three volumes edited by D. O. Fuller (*Which Bible?* [1970]; *True or False?* [Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids International, 1973]; and *Counterfeit or Genuine: Mark 16? John 8?* [2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids International, 1978]), as these are for the most part either reprints of older works (such as Burgon's) or they do not deal with the data. For the review of van Bruggen see D. A. Carson, *The King James Version Debate: A Plea for Realism* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 40n.3. On Pickering see G. D. Fee, "Critique," 423n.43: "What is most noticeable in this book of 179 pages is the paucity of *examples* of the method at work. The few that are given . . . are fine examples of how *not* to do textual criticism, since Pickering simply ignores all the data (versional and patristic evidence, not to mention internal) that shoot down his theory."

27. Pickering, "An Evaluation of the Contribution of John William Burgon to New Testament Textual Criticism" (Th.M. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1968) 120.

28. By my count, 1,838 differences.

29. A point missed or ignored by some reviewers. The Alands apparently did not examine the *Majority Text* — even in a cursory manner — in their purported comparison of NA^{26} with the *Majority Text:* it includes four passages (Luke 17:36; Acts 8:37; 15:34; 24:6b-8a) that occur in the TR but are omitted by both NA^{26} and the *Majority Text* (K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* [trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1987; 2d ed., 1989] 297-305). Even in their 2d edition they fail to distinguish the TR from the *Majority Text:* "it offers the Textus Receptus" (223).

(John 7:53–8:11) and the entire book of Revelation, for in these places it has several *minority* readings, contrary to the title and wishes of the editors.[30]

Two years later one of the assistant editors of the *Majority Text*, Harry A. Sturz, published *The Byzantine Text-Type and New Testament Textual Criticism*. This volume was significant for two reasons. First, it claimed, on the basis of evidence from the papyri, that the Byzantine text was early.[31] Second, though Sturz was an editor of the *Majority Text* (in spite of not embracing the Majority text theory), he was critical of both the methods and results of his coeditors. In particular, he felt that their linking of preservation to inspiration was wrongheaded and that the Byzantine text was *primus inter pares* among the three main text-types, not the sole keeper of the autographs.[32]

Sturz's work set a precedent for a volume edited by Theodore P. Letis in 1987, *The Majority Text: Essays and Reviews in the Continuing Debate*. In spite of the title — which suggests interaction with mainstream textual critics — the authors all hold to the traditional text. Nevertheless, this "one-sided symposium" is significant in that it is the first tome from the traditional text camp to engage in in-house debate.[33]

30. The editors did not actually do primary stemmatic research themselves. Rather they relied on and manipulated the findings of H. von Soden for the *pericope adulterae* (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, part 1: *Untersuchungen* [3 vols.; Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1902-10; 2d ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911]; part 2: *Text mit Apparat* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913] 1.1.486-524; 1.2.717-65) and Josef Schmid for the Apocalypse (*Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes* [3 vols.; Munich: Karl Zink, 1955-56]). In 1978 I had the privilege of taking the course "New Testament Textual Criticism" from Hodges at Dallas Theological Seminary. In that course he indicated more than once his confident hope that his yet-to-be-completed stemmatic reconstructions would fully vindicate Majority text readings.

31. Sturz pointed to 150 distinctively Byzantine readings found in the papyri. This claim that the Byzantine text is early because it is found in the papyri (Sturz's central thesis) has become the basis for hyperbolic claims by Majority text advocates (cf. Hodges, "Defense," 14; Pickering, *Identity*, 76-77; Wisselink, *Assimilation as a Criterion for the Establishment of the Text: A Comparative Study on the Basis of Passages from Matthew, Mark and Luke* [Kampen: Kok, 1989] 32-34; William G. Pierpont and Maurice A. Robinson, *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine/Majority Textform* [Atlanta: Original Word, 1991] xxiv-xxvii). But the evidence that Sturz presents is subject to three criticisms: (1) many of his readings have substantial support from other text-types and are thus not distinctively Byzantine (cf. Fee's review of Sturz [240-41]; conceded by Sturz [personal conversation, 1987]); (2) the existence of a Byzantine *reading* in early papyri does not prove the existence of the Byzantine *text-type* in early papyri; (3) whether the agreements are genetically significant or accidental is overlooked (as even Wisselink admits [*Assimilation*, 33]). In my examination of Sturz's list, I found only eight Byzantine-papyrus alignments that seemed to be genetically significant; six were not distinctively Byzantine (Luke 10:21; 14:3, 34; 15:21; John 10:38; 19:11). Sturz's best case is Phil 1:14 (omission of τοῦ θεοῦ — a reading adopted in NA[26]/*UBSGNT*[3, 4]). When these factors are taken into account, the papyrus-Byzantine agreements become an insufficient base for the conclusions that either Sturz or the Majority text advocates build from it. For a balanced review of Sturz, see M. W. Holmes, *TrinJ* 6 (1985) 225-28.

32. Sturz, *Byzantine Text-Type*, 37-46. Though Sturz's resultant text looked much like the *Majority Text*, the method that produced it was different in several important points. He believed that all the text-types found their origins in second-century recensions. When a majority of *text-types* (not MSS) agreed, he adopted the reading. Since there is greater homogeneity in the Byzantine text than in either the Alexandrian or Western, such a "block vote" often became the deciding factor. Cf. Sturz, *Byzantine Text-Type*, 53-131; idem, *The Second Century Greek New Testament: Matthew* (La Mirada: Biola College Book Store, 1973).

33. Metzger, *Text*, 291n.1. But even the in-house debate is one-sided: the first part is an

As such, Letis's work marks a departure from Fuller's volumes, for the latter presented Majority text and TR advocates side by side without a hint of quarrel among themselves.[34] The impression given by Fuller's volumes was that Majority text and TR advocates were interested only in results, that such results could be distinguished only minimally, and that methodological questions were irrelevant as long as they ended up with virtually the same text. Letis's work altered this impression. In spite of the fact that his own views clone those of E. F. Hills, Letis can be credited with introducing into the traditional text camp some measure of critical self-examination. This is a refreshing development, though it is still motivated by results, not questions of method. That is, Letis condemns Majority text advocates precisely because their resultant text is not the TR.[35]

The year after Letis's *Continuing Debate* was published the Majority Text Society (MTS) was formed, with Wilbur Pickering as its first president. At the present time it has over 160 members, though not all espouse the Majority text position.[36] Two significant developments have occurred via the MTS: (1) a substantial increase in intra-Majority text debates,[37] and (2) a concomitant decrease in contact with non-Majority text advocates. This second development is as unhealthy as the first is healthy, for at the very time in which traditional text proponents are demonstrating that they are not "in lockstep together and virtual clones of . . . Zane C. Hodges,"[38] few on the outside realize this. The dialogue with outsiders has been largely cut off, apparently because the theological presuppositions of these traditional text advocates tend toward precluding dialogue.[39]

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apologia for the Majority text, written by others; parts two and three are defenses of the KJV and TR, respectively, almost entirely written by Letis and in reaction to the Majority text theory.

34. See n. 26 above. Indeed, the impression was so strong in the direction of unanimity that before the *Majority Text* was published no less a scholar than Gordon Fee apparently thought Hodges was resurrecting the TR in toto (Fee, "Revival," 23).

35. See esp. the introduction to *Continuing Debate*, 1-24.

36. Nor do all members have formal biblical training or a knowledge of Greek. The size of the organization, therefore, is not indicative of the minimal scholarly support behind it.

37. As evidenced by the papers written for the MTS by its members and distributed periodically. For example, Pickering takes on his former mentor, Zane Hodges, in the essay, "The Name of [Majority Text Theory] Is Blasphemed among the [Reviewers]" (unpublished paper circulated to MTS members, September 1988). One should note that the methodological critiques are still motivated and dictated by results.

38. "Under the 'Big Top,'" *Majority Text News* 2/2 (1992) 1.

39. Inerrancy and preservation are increasingly held in front of the members of the MTS as *vital* to the view. Is it mere coincidence that after fighting several battles in the arena of evidence (e.g., the debates between Hodges and Fee in *JETS*), Majority text proponents have stopped the dialogue and reasserted their faith stance? Cf. Pickering, "Mark 16:9-20 and the Doctrine of Inspiration" (unpublished paper circulated to MTS members, 1988), or an MTS brochure entitled "What Is the Majority Text Society" (n.d.); James Borland, "Re-examining New Testament Textual-Critical Principles and Practices Used to Negate Inerrancy," *JETS* 25 (1982) 499-506; in all three the basic pitch is theological. Letis complains that the argument from statistics used in the 1970s was a poor substitute for theological conviction (*Continuing Debate*, 192n.3). But in the Netherlands, there is still dialogue between Majority text proponents and others. Jakob van Bruggen and H. J. de Jonge are the major adversaries. Cf. their exchange of several articles in *Met andere Woorden: Kwartaalblad van het Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap* 7-8 (1988-89). These debates were followed up by T. van Lopik, who argued that liturgical influences helped to shape the Byzantine text form ("Tekskritik: telt het wegen of weegt het tellen?" *NedTTs* 45 ([1991] 101-6). (Thanks are due to Timothy J. Ralston of Dallas Seminary for bringing these references to my attention.)

While American traditional text advocates were engaged in debate, a Dutch scholar quietly produced what is probably the finest volume in defense of the Majority text position to date. W. F. Wisselink's Th.D. dissertation on *Assimilation as a Criterion for the Establishment of the Text*, done under the supervision of van Bruggen, deals with data in a sustained fashion without resorting to theological invective. His thesis is that harmonizations in the Gospels occur in the Alexandrian text as well as the Byzantine; he goes so far as to suggest that there are *more* harmonizations, at times, in some Alexandrian MSS than in the Majority text.[40] Wisselink parts company with the rest of the Majority text camp, however, in that he apparently allows for a Lucianic recension and concedes that there are secondary readings within the Byzantine text.[41]

One other significant volume from Majority text quarters concludes this historical survey.[42] Growing out of the in-house debates, a new Majority text NT was published in 1991. William G. Pierpont and Maurice A. Robinson's *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine/Majority Textform* is a conscious reaction to the Hodges-Farstad text, for it denies the validity of stemmatics on a large scale and thus reinstates majority readings in the *pericope adulterae* and in Revelation. The work is, in reality, a piece of nostalgia in that it canonizes Burgonian principles in reaction to the few advances made in Majority text quarters in this century.[43]

This brief historical survey reveals at least three important factors to consider in assessing the Majority text movement. First, this movement is extremely conservative, both theologically and methodologically. Second, the overarching concern of traditional text advocates has been to maintain the concept of providential preservation. The bulk of the intratraditional discussions has focused on whether the resultant text (i.e., the various forms of the traditional text produced by those within this camp) affirms this doctrine. There has been almost no critique of method for method's sake. Third, only a handful of bona fide textual critics are within the traditional camp. Burgon deserves this accolade because of his collation efforts. Hodges, Wisselink, and perhaps van Bruggen also belong here. Hills is the only TR advocate who qualifies. Thus the Majority text movement is not a movement among textual critics but a popular movement within conservative circles bolstered by an occasional scholar.

II. Present-Day Majority Text Approaches

Modern-day traditional text advocates agree on three premises: (1) textual criticism must begin with a theological a priori: verbal inspiration, with its corollary, provi-

40. Though he commits the same error of other Majority text advocates of comparing *individual* Alexandrian MSS with the Byzantine text-type *as a whole*.

41. On the former, see Wisselink, *Assimilation*, 43-52. So also his mentor, van Bruggen, who goes so far as to say that "we can establish that Lucian *added* to the New Testament" (*Ancient Text*, 18n.36). On the latter, see Wisselink, *Assimilation*, 87-90 and passim. Cf. also van Bruggen's similar concession (*Ancient Text*, 38). Unfortunately, no particulars are given.

42. The most recent volume by D. A. Waite (*Defending the King James Bible*) — 339 pages of anecdotes, guilt-by-association arguments, and theological invective — cannot be considered "significant."

43. *Original Greek*, xiv-xvi.

dential preservation; (2) Westcott and Hort have done the church a great disservice by emphasizing subjective elements in textual criticism (viz., internal criteria) to the neglect of the "objective" data (viz., the Greek MSS); and (3) the true text is to be found in the majority of MSS or Byzantine text-type.

Where they disagree with one another is in the extent to which they affirm the above points. One can distinguish two broad groups among traditionalists today: TR advocates and Majority text advocates. These two groups divide especially over the first (though rarely on a conscious level) and third premises. Many Majority text defenders argue for preservation just as strongly as do TR advocates,[44] without noticing that to grant to preservation the same doctrinal status as verbal inspiration is to deny their own claims for the Majority text and to affirm the TR.

TR advocates (Hills, Letis) are the only ones who can claim any kind of consistency in this regard, for they do, at least, advocate one *printed* text. For them, textual criticism does not exist. Rather, all their energy is expended in *apologia*, not *investigatio*. Majority text advocates are unwilling to make quite such a fideistic leap, recognizing (perhaps subconsciously) to one degree or another that a wholesale defense of the TR is stripped naked at the bar of logic and empiricism. At stake, too, are results: the TR and the Majority text differ in 1,838 places.[45] Consequently, the Majority text and TR groups differ in the degree to which they affirm the third premise: Majority text proponents are much more consistent in assigning value to the majority of MSS.[46]

The Majority text group has at present three subgroups. First, Hodges and Farstad hold to the double-edged method of statistics (probability of majority being right), presumably confirmed, at least in theory, by stemmatics: "(1) Any reading overwhelmingly attested by the manuscript tradition is more likely to be original than its rival(s). . . . (2) Final decisions about the readings ought to be made on the basis of a reconstruction of their history in the manuscript tradition."[47] In practice, however, the two legs of the method stand in tension. In the two portions of their text established on the basis of stemmatics, the resultant text has a significant number of minority readings. This phenomenon is at odds with their first theoretical presupposition and has been somewhat embarrassing to the editors, especially in view of the title of their edition.[48]

Second, the pure Burgonians (Pickering, Pierpont, Robinson) follow the majority of MSS virtually at all costs (apparently because any other view would

44. See, e.g., Jasper James Ray, *God Wrote Only One Bible* (Junction City, OR: Eye Opener, 1955) 104; Russell Hills, "A Defense of the Majority Text" (Ph.D. dissertation, California Graduate School of Theology, 1985) 88, 89, 114, 124; Pickering, "Mark 16:9-20," 1-2.

45. Specifically, between the 1st edition of *Majority Text* and the 1825 Oxford edition of the TR.

46. For a discussion of the differences between the TR and Majority text and the implications for testing textual consanguinity, see Daniel B. Wallace, "The *Majority Text:* A New Collating Base?" *NTS* 35 (1989) 609-18.

47. Hodges and Farstad, *Majority Text*, xi-xii.

48. Stemmatics were applied only in the *pericope adulterae* and Revelation. The result was that half of the readings in the *pericope adulterae* and over one hundred fifty in Revelation were minority readings.

be an affront to their theological presumption). Their efforts are in conscious reaction to Hodges and Farstad; their quarrel has to do with the stemmatic reconstructions done by the latter two. Pickering's essay, "The Name of [Majority text Theory] Is Blasphemed among the [Reviewers]," is targeted at his mentor, Zane Hodges. He reworks the stemmatics for the *pericope adulterae* with a staunchly embraced premise that "the true reading should have majority attestation at all levels," concluding the paper with the not-so-surprising verdict that "the original text is attested by a clear majority of MSS."[49] Pierpont and Robinson explicitly apply Burgonian principles in their edition of the NT text.[50] They, too, fault Hodges and Farstad for employing stemmatics — in fact, the only major differences between the two texts are in the passages for which Hodges and Farstad have worked up family trees.[51] Both Pickering and Pierpont-Robinson are addressing those already committed to the Majority text theory, without serious intention to engage in dialogue with outsiders.[52]

Third, the Dutch scholars, van Bruggen and Wisselink, would hold to Majority text priority but not Majority text exclusivity. Theirs is the most nuanced Majority text position. Although they do not explicitly argue against particular majority readings, they allow, at least in theory, for Byzantine harmonizations and corruptions. This last "group" has exhibited more desire to engage in irenic scholarly debate and has presented more of substance in defense of the Majority text theory than either of the first two. In particular, Wisselink has produced the only sustained defense of the Byzantine text on internal grounds.

III. A Critique of the Majority Text Theory

My critique of the Majority text theory focuses on three general points: (1) the doctrine of preservation as the theological presupposition behind the theory; (2) the value of the numerical superiority of the Byzantine MSS over the Alexandrian or Western; and (3) the alleged subjectivity of internal criteria in determining the text of the NT (which, again, results in falling back on the "objectivity" of numbers).[53]

49. Pickering, "Blasphemed," 8.

50. Pierpont and Robinson, *Original Greek*, ix, xiv, xvi.

51. Ibid., xiv, 494-95.

52. Pickering's essay, e.g., was circulated only to MTS members.

53. In recent years a rather extensive literature has been produced against the Majority text theory, both in its general tenets and in many particulars (addressing, e.g., various target passages, patristic and versional usage, individual MSS, or reviews of Majority text works). More general treatments include those by Taylor, Fee, Carson, Ehrman, Holmes, Omanson, Lewis, Scanlin, Shields, K. Aland, Wallace, and Ralston. My intention in this section is to rehearse only the main critiques. Thus I give almost no treatment of the TR view. For detailed interaction with E. Hills's views per se and/or his theological presumption, cf. Taylor ("Modern Debate"), Fee ("Revival," 21-24), Sturz (*Byzantine Text-Type*, 37-46), and Wallace ("Inspiration, Preservation, and New Testament Textual Criticism," *Grace Theological Journal* 12 [1992] 21-50).

1. The Doctrinal Underpinnings of the Traditional Text Theory

First, and most importantly, I must speak to the theological a priori. Majority text advocates need the dogma of preservation at all points where the evidence will not easily yield to their interpretation.[54] As one traditional text advocate admitted,

> When reviewing the defenses of the Majority Text, one dominating consideration emerges: a prior commitment to what the Bible has to say concerning itself with regard to inspiration and preservation. For the Majority Text apologists, this is an all-consuming consideration to which everything else must be subordinated. Their arguments, therefore, are not directed to some neutral bar of determination (as if such a thing existed) but are consciously directed to those who also have the same priority.[55]

To them, verbal inspiration necessitates preservation.[56] Pickering tells us that "the doctrine of Divine Preservation of the New Testament Text depends upon the interpretation of the evidence which recognizes the Traditional Text to be the continuation of the autographa."[57]

In order to make preservation support the Majority text, it must imply accessibility: "God *has* preserved the text of the New Testament in a very pure form and it has been readily available to His followers in every age throughout 1900 years."[58] Hence, the Majority text position is based on a corollary (accessibility) of a corollary (preservation) of a particular dogmatic stance (verbal inspiration).

I mention four observations in response. First, the driving force behind this theological formulation is an undifferentiated need for certainty. The traditional text literature is filled with assertions that "without a methodology that has for its agenda the determination of a continuous, obviously providentially preserved text . . . we are, in principle, left with maximum uncertainty . . . versus the maximum certainty afforded by the methodology that seeks a providentially preserved text."[59] Since historical inquiry is not black or white, the only way to achieve absolute certainty is through doctrinal certitude.

Second, ironically, as much effort as Majority text advocates expend against subjectivity and the use of human reason,[60] their entire doctrinal basis is founded on

54. Most recently, Wisselink denied the necessity of this conviction (*Assimilation*, 17). Although he alleges that Hodges, Pickering, and van Bruggen have no theological agenda, their own writings suggest otherwise; cf. Hodges ("Defense," 18; "Rationalism," 29-30), Pickering ("Evaluation," 86-91; "Mark 16:9-20," 1; *Identity*, 154), and van Bruggen (*Ancient Text*, 40). Besides, Wisselink tacitly admits that the Majority text theory is found only among conservatives (*Assimilation*, 15). If so, then more than mere text-critical arguments must have swayed them.

55. Letis, *Continuing Debate*, 192.

56. They are, perhaps, influenced by the Westminster Confession (1646), the first creedal statement to include the doctrine of preservation (followed shortly by the Helvetic Consensus Formula of 1675); both were intended apparently to canonize the TR in the face of Roman Catholic hostility. Cf. Letis, "Hills's Contribution," 22-24, 35-70.

57. Pickering, "Evaluation," 91.

58. Ibid., 90.

59. Letis, *Continuing Debate*, 200; cf. also Pickering, "Evaluation," 88; idem, "Mark 16:9-20," 1; and van Bruggen, *Ancient Text*, 9-16.

60. Cf. Hodges, "Rationalism," 27-35; van Bruggen, *Ancient Text*, 13, 40; Pickering, *Identity*,

what they think God *must* have done. Burgon set this in motion when he stated, "There exists no reason for supposing that the Divine Agent, who in the first instance thus gave to mankind the Scriptures of Truth, straightway abdicated His office; took no further care of His work; abandoned those precious writings to their fate."[61] Hills demanded that "God must have done this" — not because the Bible says so, but because logic dictates that this must be the case.[62] Such a stance is urged in the face of empirical and exegetical evidence to the contrary.

Third, this fideistic formula violates all known historical data. Such a dogmatic affirmation results in a procrusteanizing of the data on a massive scale in the name of orthodoxy. For example, the Byzantine text did not become a majority until the ninth century — and even then "majority" must be qualified: there are almost twice as many Latin MSS as there are Greek and, to my knowledge, none of them belongs to the Byzantine text.[63]

Fourth, this doctrinal stance also lacks a sound exegetical basis. To traditional text advocates, if empirical data do not naturally fit the theory, there is still a haven in the anchor of dogma. But if that anchor is loosed from its exegetical moorings, the entire doctrinal foundation collapses. In the light of this point, two lacunae from traditional text theorists are surprising: any exegesis of the relevant biblical texts on which they base their creedal convictions, and any discussion of how the doctrine squares with the OT text in its current state.[64] In the light of the empirical and exegetical evidence, traditional text champions and other evangelicals who affirm providential preservation need to reexamine their beliefs, for at present they are guilty of a bibliological double standard founded on an improbable exegesis of the relevant passages.[65]

In sum, a theological a priori has no place in textual criticism. Since this is the case, it is necessary to lay aside fideism in dealing with the evidence. The question, since we are dealing fundamentally with historical inquiry, is not what is possible but what is probable. With the faith stance of the traditionalists in place,

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77-93; R. Hills, "Majority Text," 83, 88-89, 113. Cf. my discussion on internal evidence regarding Majority text advocates' reticence to use human reason.

61. Burgon, *Traditional Text*, 11.

62. E. Hills, *King James Version Defended!* 8.

63. See the later discussion for evidence that the Majority text was in a minority in the first several centuries C.E. Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 359.

64. Five passages are typically adduced in support of the doctrine of preservation: Ps 119:89; Isa 40:8; Matt 5:17-18; John 10:35; and 1 Peter 1:23-25. The discussions of these passages are remarkably laconic — usually no more than a mere listing of the references, or a quotation of one of them somewhere in the introduction or at some prominent location. Traditionalists make the rather facile assumption that when "God's word" is mentioned the reference must be to the written text — specifically, the text of the NT. Yet neither the written text nor the NT per se is in view in these passages. For a critique see Wallace, "Inspiration," 42-43. It is demonstrable that the OT text does not meet the criteria of preservation by majority rule — nor, in fact, of preservation at all in some places. A number of readings that occur only in versions or are found only in one or two early Qumran MSS have indisputable claim to authenticity over against the errant majority. Moreover, in many places all the extant witnesses are so corrupt that conjectural emendation has to be employed. Cf. Wallace, "Inspiration," 40-41.

65. See further on the whole matter Wallace, "Inspiration," 21-50.

textual criticism becomes so intertwined with orthodoxy that the evidence cannot be objectively interpreted. But once dogma is evacuated from the discussion, no position can be comfortable merely with what is possible. Hence I now turn to two strands of evidence by which one must examine the Majority text theory — strands that render this theory highly improbable.

2. *External Evidence*

The strongest argument in the Majority text theory, as its name implies, is traditionally the case from numbers. In the words of Hodges and Farstad, "Any reading overwhelmingly attested by the manuscript tradition is more likely to be original than its rival(s)."[66] In other words, the reading supported by a majority of MSS is the original.[67] Hort is even brought to the witness stand in support of this contention: "A theoretical presumption indeed remains that a majority of extant documents is more likely to represent a majority of ancestral documents at each stage of transmission than *vice versa*."[68] This line is a favorite of Majority text advocates. For example, Hodges quotes it often, with the comment that "even this great opponent of the majority form had to admit" the presumption of the majority being right.[69] What Hodges fails to mention, however, is that Hort immediately adds, "But the presumption is too minute to weigh against the smallest tangible evidence of other kinds."[70] Furthermore, Burgon conceded the opposite presumption: "of two ancient documents the more ancient might not unreasonably have been expected to prove the more trustworthy . . . but the probabilities of the case at all events are not axiomatic."[71] When Burgon made this statement only one NT papyrus was known

66. Hodges and Farstad, *Majority Text*, xi.

67. Pickering has recently charged me with misunderstanding the Majority text theory. First, he asserted that the method is much "more complex than merely counting noses" (lecture, Dallas Seminary, 21 February 1990). Second, he points out that "the word 'overwhelming' is crucial" when speaking of majority. In other words, the Majority text theory does not rest on a mere majority but on an overwhelming majority ("More 'Second Thoughts on the Majority Text': A Review Article" [unpublished paper circulated to MTS members, n.d.] 3, 7).

In response, (1) Majority text advocates appeal constantly to numbers as the primary evidential (as opposed to theological) basis for their view (cf. Pickering, *Identity*, appendix C, 159-69 [essentially a duplication of Hodges, "Defense," 4-9]; van Bruggen, *Ancient Text*, 17-21; Pierpont and Robinson, *Original Greek*, xvii-xix; Borland, "Re-examining," 504, 506). In particular, if this is not Pickering's basic approach, why does he fault Hodges and Farstad in their stemmatic reconstructions precisely because the resultant text is not found in the majority of MSS? (Pickering, "More 'Second Thoughts,' " 2, 4; idem, "Blasphemed," 1). The rationale for the Majority text may be complex, but the method (for most Majority text defenders) is quite simple: count noses. (2) To defend the Majority text theory on the basis of *overwhelming* majority puts the theory on even shakier ground, for where there is not an overwhelming majority — as is true hundreds of times in the NT — Majority text champions must resort to internal evidence. Yet by their own admission, internal evidence is wholly subjective.

68. Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, 45.

69. Hodges, "Surrejoinder," 161; cf. idem, "Defense," 4; idem, "Response," 146; Wisselink, *Assimilation*, 18-19; Pierpont and Robinson, *Original Greek*, xx.

70. Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, 45. Fee forcefully pointed out this fact ("Rejoinder," 157-58).

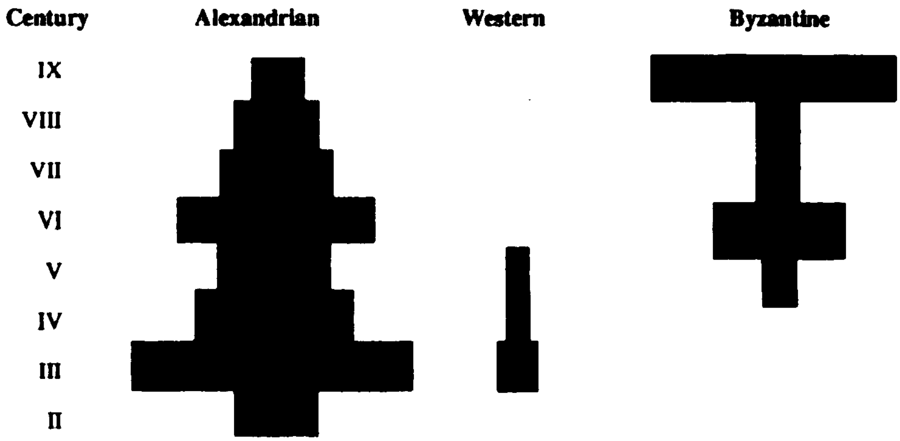
71. Burgon, *Traditional Text*, 8; cf. 40-41.

to exist; now, almost one hundred NT papyri have been discovered — none Byzantine. In the light of such evidence, if one were to argue for antecedent probability, one would have to say that dismissal of these early witnesses "constitutes nothing less than a wholesale rejection of probabilities on a sweeping scale!"[72]

In short, in historical investigation, statistical probability is worthless when based on flawed assumptions.[73] An ounce of evidence is worth a pound of presumption. If the Majority text view is to be entertained, the Byzantine text should be widely diffused in the earliest Greek MSS, versions, and Fathers. But the opposite situation obtains, as the following considerations make clear.

First, among the Greek MSS, what is today the majority did not become a majority until the ninth century. Indeed, as far as the extant witnesses reveal, the Majority text did not *exist* in the first four centuries. One can portray the evidence as in Chart 19.1.

Chart 19.1
DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK MSS BY CENTURY AND TEXT-TYPE



The monotonously typical response to this point by traditional text advocates is that the early Byzantine MSS must have been recognized for their value and worn out — an argument that goes back to Burgon.[74] They insist on this argument because there seems to be no other way to explain how 80 percent of the extant MSS could derive from the autographs yet leave behind no tangible evidence among the surviving witnesses of the first four centuries. But this argument raises several questions. If the Byzantine MSS wore out, what is to explain how they became the majority

72. Quoting Hodges ("Defense," 9), who uses this argument on behalf of the Majority text.

73. One of the assumptions of the statistical model is that a good reading is just as likely to come from a bad reading as the reverse (Hodges, "Defense," 5-7). If this is not the case, then the entire statistical model "does not apply" (David Hodges, the statistician, in ibid., 7). But the realities of a theological-literary document are fundamentally opposed to the process flowing in both directions. Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, "Recent Trends in the Textual Criticism of the Iliad and the Mahābhārata," in *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (NTTS 4; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963) 142-54.

74. Burgon, *Traditional Text,* 12; cf. Hodges, "Defense," 14-15; Pickering, *Identity,* 129-34; Wisselink, *Assimilation,* 35-36.

from the ninth century on? On Majority text reckoning, the real majority should never be found as an extant majority. Further, what is to explain their complete nonexistence before the late fourth century? Are we to suppose that every single "good" NT somehow wasted away — that no historical accident could have preserved even one from the first 350 years? The quaint analogy that a used Bible gets worn out might work in individual cases. But to argue this on a grand scale stretches the credibility of the theory far beyond the breaking point. Would one not expect to see at least some early papyri (let alone a majority of them) with a distinctively Byzantine text form? It will not do to say that all the early papyri represent the local text of Egypt, because every text-type is apparently found in the papyri — except the Byzantine.[75] This "vanishing" hypothesis is clearly a case of *petitio principii* and as such unmasks the fact that the Majority text theory is at bottom theologically motivated.[76]

The entire argument from statistical probability not only fails in the early centuries. When the actual Byzantine MSS are examined — not just counted — some disturbing facts surface. In a recent study of several Byzantine MSS in Luke, for example, Timothy J. Ralston concluded:

> Hodges' statistical model which lies at the heart of the *Majority Text* theory demands that a texttype becomes less homogeneous over time as the cumulative effect of scribal errors and emendations are transmitted in subsequent generations of manuscripts. This effect is observed among the Alexandrian manuscripts of this study. However, the case is reversed for the Byzantine manuscripts, which grow more homogeneous over time, denying Hodges' statistical presupposition.[77]

Ralston's and other studies suggest strongly that not only do the Hodges-Farstad and Pierpont-Robinson texts fail to represent the original, but they do not even represent the Byzantine text of the first millennium. Indeed, there is evidence that the specific text form found in these printed editions was not in a majority of Greek MSS until the fifteenth century.[78]

If the Greek MSS do not attest to the Majority text, what about the versions? The evidence amassed to date indicates that there are no versions of the Byzantine text-type until the Gothic at the end of the fourth century.[79] The Coptic, Ethiopic,

75. Majority text advocates repeatedly confuse geography with textual affinities, assuming that a MS found in Egypt must be Alexandrian in character (cf. Hodges and Farstad, *Majority Text*, ix-x). This bait-and-switch maneuver conceals the palpable weakness in the argument. The argument suffers at other levels too: e.g., if the early papyri represent one text-type, then why do they lack homogeneity (a point that Majority text proponents camp on)? One cannot have it both ways.

76. Cf., e.g., Wisselink's rather weak defense of this hypothesis (*Assimilation*, 36).

77. Ralston, "The *'Majority Text'* and Byzantine Origins," *NTS* 38 (1992) 133-34.

78. Von Soden notes that the K^r group, which was a *minority* among the Byzantine MSS in the 12th century, predominated by the 15th: "Denn in s. XIII mit 304 die Evv enthaltenden Handschriften bilden die K^r-Codd nur eben 1/10, in s. XIV mit 265 schon beinahe 1/3, in s. XV mit 126 beinahe 1/2 der Gesamtproduktion. In s. XII sind es nur 19 unter 306 Handschriften" (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2.763). (I was directed to von Soden's comment by Timothy Ralston, who also made the connection between the K^r group and the *Majority Text*.)

79. See further Wallace, "Majority Text and the Original Text," 160-62.

Latin, and Syriac versions — all non-Byzantine — antedate the fourth century and come from various regions around the Mediterranean. Even if one of these early versions had been based on the Byzantine text, this would only prove that this text *existed* before the fourth century. It is quite another thing to assume that it was in the *majority* before the fourth century.

Third, the evidence is similar in the Church Fathers.[80] Three brief points are in order regarding the patristic evidence. (1) So far as I am aware, in the last eighty years every critical study on patristic usage has concluded that the Majority text was never the text used by the Church Fathers in the first three centuries.[81] (2) Though some of the Fathers from the first three centuries had isolated Byzantine *readings*, the earliest Church Father to use the Byzantine *text* was Asterius, a fourth-century writer from Antioch.[82] (3) The patristic evidence is also valuable in another way. On several occasions patristic writers do more than quote the text. They also discuss textual variants, and their discussions demonstrate that the MSS known today do not accurately represent the state of affairs in earlier centuries. Variants once widely known are found today in only a few or even no witnesses, and vice versa; this rules out any effort to deal with textual matters by statistical means.[83]

The combined testimony of the external evidence — the only evidence that the Majority text defenders consider — is that the Byzantine text apparently did not exist in the first three centuries. The Greek MSS, the versions, and the Fathers provide a threefold cord not easily broken. Although isolated Byzantine readings have been located, the Byzantine text has not.[84] There is simply no shred of evidence that the Byzantine text-type existed prior to the fourth century.[85]

80. See further ibid., 162-66.

81. Fee, "Revival," 26, repeated in the recent revision of this article ("The Majority Text and the Original Text of the New Testament," in Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* [SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993] 183-208; here, 186n.8).

82. K. Aland, "The Text of the Church?" *TrinJ* 8 (1987) 141.

83. M. W. Holmes, "The 'Majority Text Debate': New Form of an Old Issue," *Themelios* 8 (1983) 17, with examples. For other examples, cf. Bruce M. Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1971-72) 379-400.

84. The difference between a reading and a text-type is the difference between a particular variant and a pattern of variation. For example, although both the NIV and KJV have identical wording in John 1:1, the pattern of variation of the NIV found over a whole paragraph differs from the KJV. The occurrence of isolated Byzantine *readings* before the 4th century is no argument that the Byzantine *text* existed before the 4th century.

85. The compelling nature of this evidence has caused some Majority text advocates to recognize that the Byzantine text-type was produced in a corner. As Holmes points out, "while it is true that about 90% of extant [Greek] manuscripts are of Byzantine character, it is also true that about 90% were written after the restriction of Greek to basically the confines of Byzantium" ("Debate," 17; see 16-17 for a succinct summary of the transmissional history that brought about the Majority text). Pierpont and Robinson (*Original Greek*, xxx-xxxi) agree with this assessment, as do Wisselink (*Assimilation*, 22) and Russell Hills ("Majority Text," 85-86). But all this is to deny normal transmission, as well as accessibility — two pillars of the Majority text theory. This recent concession also betrays an affinity these Majority text champions have with the TR view; but instead of Erasmus as the restorer of the original text, they have Constantine.

3. Internal Evidence

Majority text defenders are usually adamant about the wholesale subjectivity of internal evidence.[86] They argue that "all such generalizations [of scribal habits] tend to cancel each other out."[87] To say that internal criteria are subjective has a flip side: external evidence is allegedly objective. But in reality, all MSS are corrupt, although they are not equally so. Further, that internal evidence can be subjective does not mean that it is all equally subjective. Reasoned eclecticism maintains that several canons of internal evidence are "objectively verifiable," or virtually so.[88] Where they are, the Majority text almost always has an inferior reading.[89]

Traditionalists appeal to external evidence — specifically numbers — because this is the only basis on which they can find certainty. Many of them deny the legitimacy of internal criteria because such a method simultaneously elevates human reason and denies their doctrinal position.[90] In his recent dissertation defending the Majority text Russell Hills triumphantly and repeatedly asserts that "this view requires far fewer textual decisions on the part of the individual critic and thus less subjectivity and less dependence upon human reason."[91] Against this view Günther Zuntz points out what every reasoned eclectic recognizes: "at every stage the critic has to use his brains. Were it different, we could put a critical slide rule into the hands of any fool and leave it to him to settle the problems of the New Testament text."[92] Zuntz's point places in bold relief a number of (sometimes unstated) assumptions behind the Majority text theory: that the books of the NT were revered as Scripture as soon as they were penned and, hence, must have been copied carefully; that the sole motive of most scribes in copying the NT was to preserve what was originally written; and that, in order for statistical probabilities to work (and in order for internal evidence to be worthless), a good reading is just as likely to come from a bad reading as vice versa.[93] All such assumptions are demonstrably untrue,[94] making internal evidence a necessary part of responsible textual criticism.

86. See further Wallace, "Majority Text and the Original Text," 166-69.

87. Hodges, "Defense," 16; cf. also Pickering, *Identity*, 93.

88. Holmes, "Debate," 17.

89. Wisselink set out to prove that the credentials of the Byzantine text-type are just as good as those of the Alexandrian. In the end he conceded, "The degree of assimilations in B and P45 is strikingly small"; "the number of dissimilations in P75 is proportionately somewhat greater than the number of dissimilations in the Byzantine manuscripts" (*Assimilation*, 87, 89n.2).

90. I applaud two recent works that employ internal criteria on behalf of the Majority text: Wisselink, *Assimilation* (see n. 89 above, and passim); and John Paul Heil, "The Story of Jesus and the Adulteress (John 7,53–8,11) Reconsidered," *Bib* 72 (1991) 182-91 (see my critique, "Reconsidering 'The Story of Jesus and the Adulteress Reconsidered,'" *NTS* 39 [1993] 290-96). Although it is unclear whether Heil is a Majority text advocate, the only external "argument" he gives is an appeal to the Majority text (191).

91. R. Hills, "Majority Text," 113 (cf. 83, 125 and passim). So entrenched is Hills in his fideistic stance that he embraces the Majority text theory even though this view "imposes impossible strains on our imagination" (89).

92. Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (Schweich Lectures 1946; London: British Academy, 1953) 12.

93. See Pickering, *Identity*, 99-110; the second is urged in spite of the evidence that liturgical and other influences were at work; on the third see Hodges, "Defense," 6; cf. n. 73 above.

94. Cf., e.g., Fee, "Critique"; and Wallace, "Some Second Thoughts on the *Majority Text*," *BSac* 146 (1989) 280-82.

Ironically, although Majority text theorists want objectivity and certainty, even they cannot avoid making decisions on internal grounds, for the Byzantine text has hundreds of splits where no clear majority emerges. Aland found fifty-two variants within the Majority text in the space of two verses![95] In such cases how are Majority text advocates to decide what is original? It will not do to say that these splits are not exegetically significant; the Byzantine fracture over ἔχομεν/ἔχωμεν in Rom 5:1 is a case in point. If the canons of internal evidence are "demonstrably fallacious,"[96] then in several hundred places — many of them significant — this theory is without a solution and without certainty.

How do Majority text defenders proceed in such a case? "Where a majority reading does not exist we are obliged to use a minority reading, and defend our choice as best we may"; but without any guidelines, the effort becomes "wearisome and frustrating."[97] Majority text proponents' frustration in such cases is especially compounded both because they have rejected the standard canons of internal criticism and because whatever canons they use are, by their own admission, wholly subjective. That they have not developed anything that resembles internal canons is a tacit admission that they have not contemplated their own views beyond the horizon of a fideistic apologetic.[98]

Furthermore, if internal criteria are wholly subjective, then Majority text advocates should easily be able to defend Majority text readings and give plausible reasons for such readings seriatim. Although they do defend a reading here or there, they make no large-scale effort to interact with the intrinsic and transcriptional evidence. This lack, too, is a tacit admission that the traditional text is indefensible on internal grounds, which in turn is a concession that internal evidence is not altogether subjective.

In sum, the tenet of the Majority text theory that internal criteria are wholly subjective not only makes unwarranted assumptions about the objectivity of external evidence but also backfires in those places where there is no majority text. That little is written from Majority text quarters on textual problems involving a split in the Byzantine text unmasks the fundamentally dogmatic nature of their theory, for they have not grappled with the issues where doctrine is silent.

IV. Conclusion

In historical investigation, one looks for a *probable* reconstruction on the basis of available evidence — both external and internal. There is always a degree of doubt, an element of subjectivity. But this factor does not give one the right to replace the probable with the merely possible. Any approach that does so is operating within the constraints of an a priori. Yet, as we have seen, the doctrinal a priori of the traditionalists is both bibliologically schizophrenic (for it does not work for the OT) and without a decent exegetical basis. Stripped of this fideistic stance, the traditional text theory is left just barely within the realm of historical possibility.

95. Aland, "Text of the Church?" 136-37, commenting on 2 Cor 1:6-7a. Even Pickering admits the problem ("More 'Second Thoughts,'" 2; idem, *Identity*, 150).

96. Pickering, *Identity*, 137.

97. Pickering, "Blasphemed," 1, 8.

98. Hodges and Farstad are exceptions to this indictment. But, as we have seen, their application of internal canons resulted in scores of *minority* readings.

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CHAPTER 20

THOROUGHGOING ECLECTICISM IN NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

J. Keith Elliott

Modern editions of the Greek NT are products of an eclectic method of textual criticism. In editing the text most text critics claim to try to balance internal criteria or transcriptional probability with an assessment of the age, geographical spread, and reputation of the external (i.e., MS) evidence. Differences in the editions resulting from this balancing act are the cause of heated scholarly debate. Further differences would occur if the methodology and principles of thoroughgoing eclecticism were applied. Thoroughgoing text critics prefer to edit a text by solving textual variation with an appeal primarily to purely internal considerations.

"Thoroughgoing" is the adjective I prefer to use to describe this method, although other terms (e.g., "radical" and "reasoned") have also been used. G. D. Kilpatrick, a prominent defender of this method, described it as "rigorous" and "impartial."[1] B. M. Metzger uses the term "judicious criticism" and refers to the earlier description of it as "rational," following M.-J. Lagrange's *La Critique Rationnelle.*[2]

Thoroughgoing eclecticism is the method that allows internal considerations for a reading's originality to be given priority over documentary considerations. The thoroughgoing eclectic critic feels able to select freely from among the available fund of variants and choose the one that best fits her or his internal criteria. This critic is skeptical about the high claims made for the reliability of some MSS or about arguments favoring a particular group of MSS. For him or her no MS or group contains the monopoly of original readings. A thoroughgoing critic would not accept as reasonable the claim that the original text is located in the largest number of MSS — a claim that is sometimes supported by the astonishing statement that such a phenomenon is due to providential protection of Holy Writ. In many places the majority of MSS does preserve the original text. But that observation should not be a deciding factor when assessing variants. One should not be mesmerized by the

1. Respectively, Kilpatrick, "Western Text and Original Text in the Gospels and Acts," *JTS* 44 (1943) 24-36, esp. 36; idem, "Western Text and Original Text in the Epistles," *JTS* 45 (1944) 60-65, esp. 65.

2. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 178, 176; M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 2: *La critique rationelle* (2d ed.; Ebib; Paris: Gabalda, 1935).

sheer bulk of MS support for a reading. That the weight of MSS favors the Majority text-type is only to be expected: the later MSS, not surprisingly, have survived in greater numbers than earlier MSS, and it is these numerous later MSS that generally have a text which conforms to the ecclesiastical text of the Byzantine church.

Just as the number of MSS is not a relevant argument for thoroughgoing eclectic criticism, neither is the age of a MS of particular significance. Unless one can be sure how many stages exist between any MS and the original, and unless one knows what changes were made at each copying, then age alone is no help in recovering the original words. And no one has such information. The geographical spread of a reading is no guide to the originality of one reading over another either. The cross-fertilization of the NT MS tradition makes it difficult to pinpoint the provenance of readings or the history of a MS's text. Apart from all this, the sheer chance involved in the survival of documents has meant that, despite the large numbers of MSS in existence today, our present documents represent only a partial picture; antiquity sometimes reported the existence of well-supported readings now unknown or but scantily represented.[3]

On a positive note the thoroughgoing method of textual criticism assumes that the original reading has been preserved somewhere among the extant MSS and that conjectural emendations are unnecessary. Such an assumption obviously requires a careful analysis of all collations and a full critical apparatus. The method therefore encourages the reading and publication of as many MSS as practicable.[4]

When confronted by textual variants in the Greek NT, the thoroughgoing critic asks the following questions: Which reading best accounts for the rise of the other variants? Which reading is the likeliest to have suffered change at the hands of early copyists? Which reading is in keeping with the style and thought of the author and makes best sense in the context? These considerations, rather than a concern about the weight, provenance, and the alleged authority of the MSS supporting the variant, are the important ones.

Such a method has been associated with and applied (although not always justified or articulated) by several practitioners earlier this century, among whom F. C. Burkitt, C. H. Turner, B. H. Streeter, K. Lake, and H. J. Cadbury spring to mind, as does the name of A. E. Housman in the world of classical scholarship. In these scholars' various writings decisions about textual variation result from the

3. In this regard one may note Metzger's valuable articles giving an insight into antiquity's awareness of available MSS; see his "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thompson; Freiburg: Herder, 1967) 78-95; and "St. Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 179-90.

4. Thus K. Aland's series, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1987-), and Bonifatius Fischer's *Die Lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg: Herder, 1988-), as well as the efforts of the IGNTP to publish a full apparatus of Luke (*The Gospel According to St. Luke* [ed. the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project; 2 vols.; The New Testament in Greek 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984, 1987]) and John (in preparation) are encouraged.

intrinsic merit of the reading, not from the reputation of the MSS in which a reading occurs. G. D. Kilpatrick carried the torch of thoroughgoing eclecticism for the following generation of scholarship, and I will consider his contribution to the debate shortly. In more recent times the regular text-critical notes contributed to learned journals by J. M. Ross and J. O'Callaghan show examples of problems being resolved by an appeal to internal criteria, although neither would claim to be a fully fledged thoroughgoing text critic.[5] Even those not setting themselves up as text critics at all find themselves wrestling in commentaries or in theological works with textual problems; it is significant that many scholars writing on theologically sensitive verses such as Mark 1:1; Luke 22:19b-20; John 1:18; 1 Cor 15:51; 1 Peter 3:18; or Jude 22-23 try instinctively to locate the "correct" reading within the context of the author's language and theology. Seldom do commentators naturally veer toward solutions that are based on the reputation of allegedly "good" MSS. Professional text critics such as Kurt Aland and Bruce Metzger, while apprehensive of some of the assumptions of thoroughgoing criticism, acknowledge the appropriateness of applying criteria based on internal considerations, as one may see in the examples they give of the praxis of NT textual criticism in their handbooks, especially when external considerations yield no certainty because their favored MSS are divided.[6]

The most consistent demonstration of the validity of the principles and practice of this methodology is to found in the many articles and indeed many of the book reviews written over a fifty-year period beginning in the late 1930s by G. D. Kilpatrick, a former holder of the Dean Ireland Chair of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture in the University of Oxford.[7] His name most readily comes to mind as the major practitioner of this method of textual criticism. In his review of my edition of Kilpatrick's collected essays, I. A. Moir observed that Kilpatrick's methodology

5. See, e.g., the following by J. M. Ross: "The Rejected Words in Luke 9:54-56," *ExpTim* 84 (1972) 85-88; "Some Unnoticed Points in the Text of the New Testament," *NovT* 25 (1983) 59-72; "The 'Harder Reading' in Textual Criticism," *BT* 33 (1982) 138-39; "The Genuineness of Luke 24:12," *ExpTim* 98 (1987) 107-8; and by J. O'Callaghan: "La Variente 'Cielo, -os' en Mt. 18:18," *Faventia* 8 (1986) 67-68; "Probabile armonizzazione in Mt. 10:14," *RivB* 36 (1988) 79-80; "Dissentio critica in Mt. 10:42," *Eranos* 86 (1988) 163-64; "Examen critico de Mt. 19:24," *Bib* 69 (1988) 401-5; "Fluctuación textual en Mt. 20:21, 26, 27," *Bib* 71 (1990) 553-58. J. N. Birdsall gives a sympathetic but not uncritical view of thoroughgoing criticism in "Rational Criticism and the Oldest Manuscripts: a Comparative Study of the Bodmer and Chester Beatty Papyri of Luke," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1976) 39-51.

6. K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 283-316; and Metzger, *Text*, 219-46. Analyses and descriptions of thoroughgoing criticism are given in J. H. Petzer, *Die Teks van die Nuwe Testament* (Hervormde Teologiese Studies Supplement 2; Pretoria: Universiteit van Pretoria, 1990), esp. 160-61; idem, "Eclecticism and the Text of the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation: New Approaches in the Criticism of the New Testament* (ed. P. J. Hartin and J. H. Petzer; NTTS 15; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 47-67. See also the critical essay by D. Flatt, "Thoroughgoing Eclecticism as a Method of Textual Criticism," *ResQ* 18 (1975) 102-14.

7. Many of the articles have been collected together in *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G. D. Kilpatrick* (ed. J. K. Elliott; BETL 96; Louvain: Louvain University Press and Peeters, 1990).

followed a pattern.[8] First, Kilpatrick looked at all the appearances of a word or grammatical feature; he then sorted out all the "non-conformist" items with the help of a critical apparatus before producing a generalized statement covering the individual writer or problem involved. In that review Moir helpfully gathers together many of these generalizations, and he claims that they are often of lasting value, deserving consideration from those who would put forward theories as to particular readings. From that list the following may be profitably repeated here as symptomatic of the findings of this methodology:

1. Where there is evidence of widespread alteration of the text one finds little evidence of definite recensions rigorously and consistently elaborated.

2. Mark and John have much the same level of language, but their styles are clearly distinguishable.

3. Semitic idiom seems to have strongly influenced Ephesians.

4. If one is not happy about the Greek text presented in Western witnesses as in some ways more probable, this does not justify one at once returning to the printed text. Instead one should make the evidence of the versions the starting point.

5. The perfect was going out of use in ordinary Greek, and one way of improving the style in the direction of the older language was to introduce it here and there.

These and many other generalizations result from detailed examination of the relevant texts. The conclusions are then applied as appropriate to deal with variation in the MS tradition.

I have attempted to follow this example in various publications.[9] In the first *Festschrift* presented to Professor Metzger I contributed an article in which I attempted to show how one could apply thoroughgoing eclectic principles to a number of variants in Mark's Gospel.[10] In that article I tried to demonstrate how different principles needed to be applied to solve a variety of textual variants.

The objective criteria which I tried to demonstrate in that article and which I (and others) continue to apply in other writings concern, among other things, the style of the author, the language of NT Greek, the part played by Atticism, the role of assimilation (especially between parallels in the Synoptic Gospels),[11] issues regarding a longer or a shorter text, and paleographical considerations. This work is ongoing, requires elaboration and extension, and deserves the attention of potential laborers in the text-critical vineyard.

Among the benefits such an approach may bring is that readings are not studied in isolation from other readings. Variants are seen in the context not only of the history of the Greek language but also of the style of the individual author and indeed

8. Moir, *NovT* 34 (1992) 201-7.

9. See my *Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria 3; Cordoba: el Almendro, 1992).

10. See my "An Eclectic Textual Commentary on the Greek Text of Mark's Gospel," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 47-60.

11. See my "Textual Criticism, Assimilation and the Synoptic Problem," *NTS* 26 (1980) 231-42.

of the development of early Christianity. The validity of variants is debated: we need to be genuine *critics* applying our critical faculty in determining the original reading.

The criteria adopted by the thoroughgoing critics in a thorough way are in general the same principles accepted by those suspicious of thoroughgoing criticism. The *Commentary* by Bruce Metzger has in its introductory pages a list of internal criteria that, for the most part, could be and indeed are used in thoroughgoing criticism.[12] Where I have found grounds for criticism is that the editors of the *UBSGNT*^{3} or of the allied NA^{26} often jettison their own principles of internal criteria if they, or a majority of them, did not approve of the MS support for the reading that the internal criteria pointed to as original.[13] Compromises among the members of the committee reveal themselves in the *Commentary* with its talk of majority and minority voting. These often occur where a conflict developed between, on the one hand, a reading deemed original, using internal criteria, but supported only by a small number of MSS or by the "wrong" mixture of MSS; and, on the other hand, a reading supported by the favored combination of MSS. Compromises also reveal themselves in the signed dissentient appendices to many notes in the *Commentary*, in the cowardly overuse of brackets in the text, and in the vacillating rating letters applied in the apparatus to the *UBSGNT* text from the first edition (1966) through to the corrected third edition (1983). In any case I am not convinced that such a device, arbitrarily and inexplicably arrived at, is a helpful guide to the translators for whom these editions are intended and marketed: translators are not so naïve as to base their choice of a preferred alternative reading on the rating letter.

Another and different list of criteria set out in the Alands' textbook is more questionable: if their criteria were applied then one would certainly arrive at different results from those encouraged by the "rules" in the introduction to the *Commentary*.[14] Their "Twelve Golden Rules" contain some dubious and debatable criteria in the eyes of thoroughgoing eclecticism: Rule 4, for instance (external criteria should supersede internal), or Rule 7 (the original reading is to be found in a widely spread number of significant MSS).

Details of how thoroughgoing eclecticism approaches text-critical problems may be seen in a few examples briefly summarized now. At Matt 27:16 and 17, the name *Jesus* Barabbas should be in the text. One can understand why later scribes would avoid the sacred name, Jesus, allied to Barabbas of all people. It is more difficult to argue how the name was added later by scribes. At Mark 1:41 it is more

12. B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971; corr. ed., 1975) xxvi-xxviii. This invaluable companion to *UBSGNT*^{3} (hereafter *Commentary*) lays bare in a most revealing way the underlying tensions and decisions of the committee that produced that text. The changed membership of the committee responsible for the 4th edition is likely to have been more compliant and less independently minded than its predecessor. But we shall need to see a new companion volume to replace Metzger's *Commentary* before the extent of minority views is revealed.

13. For example, see my many reviews of the *UBSGNT* texts and the associated NA^{26}, as well as the *Commentary*, in *NovT* 15 (1973) 278-300; *NovT* 17 (1975) 130-50; *BT* 26 (1975) 325-32; *NovT* 20 (1978) 242-47; *BT* 30 (1979) 135-39; *Bib* 60 (1979) 575-77; *JTS* 32 (1981) 19-49; *Bib* 62 (1981) 401-5; and elsewhere.

14. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 279-82.

likely that the text describing Jesus as "angry" is original. Scribes attempted to soften this expression of humanity and therefore replaced the word with another; a change in the opposite direction is less likely given the history of Christian doctrine. As evidence that thoroughgoing critics are alert to matters historical (and I refer later to the charge made that this method is blind to the history of the text), I also note that those variants in the opening chapters of Luke's Gospel (e.g., Luke 2:33, 41) and in Mark 6:3 or Matt 1:16 that describe Joseph as Jesus' father are compatible with the likely aims of the first-century author; the variants denying Joseph's paternity are likely to be secondary, introduced by scribes determined to avoid readings that cast doubt on the virgin birth tradition.

An awareness of the development of Christian doctrine also encourages thoroughgoing eclectic critics in accepting the originality of the longer text at Luke 22:43-44. Increasing devotion to Jesus and higher christological claims would persuade scribes to delete these verses. Another motive in this particular case is that the parallels in the other Gospels do not have these details, and much textual activity centers on the changes introduced by scribes to assimilate parallel passages in the Synoptic Gospels. In a recent study I have shown how an awareness of assimilation by scribes can temper the way one reads different synopsis texts.[15] A rule of thumb that one should apply is that a variant that makes parallel texts dissimilar is more likely to be original than one that makes parallels agree. This rule applies particularly for work on the Gospels but can also apply to OT citations found in the NT; the rule then would state that variants which harmonize a quotation to the wording of, particularly, the Septuagint, are likely to be due to scribal emendation.

An appreciation of the Arian controversies and the effect these had on the text would doubtless encourage the acceptance of the reading οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός at Matt 24:36. The longer reading is likely to be original: the orthodox are unlikely to have added words to Holy Writ that imply a limitation on Jesus' knowledge and a subordinationist relationship to God. An awareness of another early Christian debate, this time Nestorianism, may be significant in assessing the statement found in some witnesses at Heb 2:9 that when Jesus died he was χωρὶς θεοῦ: the controversies centering on Nestorius's discussion of the nature of the person of the incarnate Christ may have influenced scribes opposed to Nestorianism to change the apparently difficult idea present in the original text of Hebrews that in death Jesus was "apart from God."

Another prominent historical emphasis that is used effectively in a thoroughgoing approach to textual criticism is the role and influence of Atticism. Developments in the Greek language in the centuries after the composition of the NT show that scribes, who were often the educated men of their day, are likely to have come under the influence of stylists and grammarians who advocated a return to the vocabulary and usage of classical standards as a reaction to the Hellenistic Greek of the first century. Some of these guides to grammar and usage have survived, and they are useful sources of information about what was and what was not considered

15. See my "Printed Editions of Greek Synopses and Their Influence on the Synoptic Problem," in *The Four Gospels, 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. van Segbroeck et al.; 3 vols.; BETL 100; Louvain: Louvain University Press and Peeters, 1992) 1.337-57.

to be "good" Greek. An awareness of the Atticist movement and its influence means that when one is confronted, as one often is, by a Koine variant and an Attic variant, the former is likely to be original, other things being equal. Gordon Fee states that the opposite principle seems to be as true, namely, that scribes may have preferred Koine and Septuagintal idioms to classical;[16] but such a move would go against the historical tradition that can be demonstrated from the grammars and manuals on style that have survived, such as those by Moeris and Phrynichus.

Just as one favors a Hellenistic reading rather than an Atticizing reading, so, when assessing variants, one favors a Semitic or non-Greek expression in preference to a good Greek expression, other things being equal. This again is a rule of thumb generally accepted as reasonable by text critics of different schools. Thoroughgoing critics, however, attempt to apply this principle, as they do other principles, in a consistent way. Given that several of the NT authors wrote Greek as a second language and that their mother tongue was a Semitic language, it is not surprising that non-Greek expressions and word order influenced their written Greek. We can see even in the NT itself how Matthew and Luke improved on the language and style they found in Mark. It is not surprising that scribes carried on in that tradition. Semitic word order in variants at Mark 1:27; John 7:8; and 8:51 is to be preferred to readings that obliterate such a feature. Other similar Semitic features occur throughout the critical apparatus of the NT, and these merit attention as potentially original readings.

Many of the alterations noted so far were introduced deliberately. Other variants in the NT MS tradition are likely to have come about accidentally. I now need to say a word about paleography. An awareness of the kinds of change likely to occur when long documents are copied by hand is helpful. The accidental shortening of a text, especially if one can demonstrate homoeoteleuton or the like, is a commonplace. The thoroughgoing critic is inclined to the maxim that the longer reading is likely to be the original, other things being equal. To shorten a text is frequently accidental and a fault to which a careless or tired scribe may be prone. To add to a text demands conscious mental effort. The longer texts at, among many other places, Matt 11:26 and Mark 15:28 thus commend themselves as original.

One may observe that in the previous paragraph, as elsewhere, I qualify many of the rules that a thoroughgoing critic ought to bear in mind with the catchall exclusion "other things being equal." Such cautiousness is characteristic of the approach. One cannot necessarily apply any one principle unthinkingly: differing, sometimes conflicting, evidence needs to be weighed critically. In the nature of the case, one cannot draw up a hierarchy of criteria to be applied seriatim; but if, for instance, in applying the criterion that the longer reading is likely to be the original, it becomes apparent that that text is uncharacteristic of the author, then one would not accept the longer text on that occasion. Thoroughgoing eclecticism has to adopt

16. Fee, "P^{75}, P^{66}, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* (ed. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 19-45, esp. 41; reprinted in E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 247-73, esp. 269.

a pragmatic approach to criteria; the methodology requires that principles be applied rationally, and, to that extent, the old name "rational criticism" may be preferable to and more realistic than the inflexible-sounding term "thoroughgoing criticism." In practice the "other things" I have in mind are the language, theology, and style of the individual authors.

Knowledge of the individual author's language and usage is thus a prerequisite in a thoroughgoing eclectic approach to textual criticism. For this reason I have attempted to encourage an appreciation of NT language in general and the usage of each of the writers.[17] Those not favorably disposed to this method of textual criticism recognize the validity of cataloging and detailing examples of usage but sometimes sound warning signals. For instance, Metzger does not see why a writer should not occasionally vary his style, nor does he see why an alert scribe should not sometimes impose a consistent usage on his author that was not there to begin with.[18] Such warnings need to be taken aboard, but I wonder if such changes really occurred. If, for example, one can show that Mark always and only thought of a large gathering of people as a singular group, "a crowd," as in fact is the case, with some forty firm instances of the singular of the noun ὄχλος, then a variant giving the plural in 10:1 will not commend itself as original. The reading ὄχλοι there is more likely to have been introduced by assimilation to the parallel in Matthew, who here, as at several other places, does use the plural. To argue for the originality of the plural at Mark 10:1 as Metzger's warning might encourage one to do, on the basis of an argument that Mark varies his usage and that here, and here only, he wished to convey the idea of different large groups of people converging on Jesus, is unconvincing. Such an argument would assume that the reading giving the singular noun and associated verb has been introduced to Mark by a scribe who, despite lacking our modern reference tools such as a concordance, recognized that the plural here was inconsistent with Markan usage elsewhere.

In assembling examples of authors' usage and style one is helped nowadays by reference works, concordances, grammars, and a full critical apparatus. To build up a picture of a stylistic or other feature one needs to collect all the firm instances of that feature (i.e., examples for which there are no known variants). Having done that, one then needs to assess those places where the feature is not firm (i.e., where there are variants) and resolve the uncertainties.[19] This method seems necessary and helpful. One needs, however, to be aware of warnings that have been made, stating that a so-called firm example of a given feature is really no more than a feature for which there is at present no known variant, and that at some point in the future a MS may come to light that destroys the previously unchallenged firmness of a particular feature by exposing a new alternative reading. What one should do in

17. See my "The Text and Language of the Endings of Mark's Gospel," *TZ* 27 (1971) 255-62; "The Language and Style of the Concluding Doxology to the Epistle to the Romans," *ZNW* 72 (1981) 124-30; and also my edition of C. H. Turner's seminal studies on Mark in *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark* (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1993).

18. In his review of my edition of Kilpatrick's essays in *TLZ* 117 (1992) 32-33.

19. As I tried to do in the articles: "Κηφᾶς, Σίμων Πέτρος, ὁ Πέτρος: An Examination of New Testament Usage," *NovT* 14 (1972) 241-86; "Jerusalem in Acts and the Gospels," *NTS* 23 (1977) 462-69; and elsewhere.

response is to assemble one's examples from as broadly based an apparatus as possible. In practice one seldom comes across many genuinely new variants — as opposed to merely orthographical variants — in newly published collations or even in an apparatus as exhaustive as those in, say, the *Text und Textwert* series. But the warning is well taken: thoroughgoing critics need to cast their nets as widely as possible before basing a text-critical decision on what is said to be a particular and invariable instance of an author's practice.

I now repeat four brief notes that show how one can apply internal criteria to textual problems.[20]

1. "The land of Egypt" in NT Greek normally has Αἴγυπτος without the article in apposition to γῆ as in the LXX, but sometimes variants omit γῆ and add the article before Αἴγυπτος. Variants are to be seen at Acts 7:11; 7:36; 7:40; 13:17; Heb 8:9; and Jude 5. Printed editions usually have γῆ + anarthrous Αἴγυπτος at all places except Acts 7:11. This is because there only the MSS E H P S and the Byzantine cursives have this formula. At other places the "strong" MSS read γῆ. If the arguments are true for those places, why not at Acts 7:11 also?

2. At Acts 7:56 θεοῦ should be read instead of ἀνθρώπου. Stylistically conscious scribes would have had good reasons to try to reduce the occurrences of θεοῦ in this context. But the reading ἀνθρώπου creates a unique occurrence of the term υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου outside the Gospels. It was obviously a popular title in the early church, but there are no theological reasons why Stephen should be the only character apart from Jesus to use the title. The reading θεοῦ is supported by few MSS and, as a consequence, is usually ignored by editors influenced by such considerations.

3. At Mark 6:41 Metzger's *Commentary* tells us that μαθητής is more likely to be followed by a dependent genitive than not, and that when variation occurs between the inclusion and omission of the possessive the former is likely to be original. With this reasoning I concur wholeheartedly, because various people and groups in the Gospels had their disciples, but later in the life of the church "disciples," unless further distinguished, tended to mean Jesus' disciples. Thus scribes sometimes felt able to omit what they considered to be redundant pronouns, a practice consistent with a general tendency to reduce the allegedly excessive use of possessive pronouns. Hence there is much variation. As far as αὐτοῦ with μαθητής is concerned, variants occur at, among other places, Matt 8:21; 15:36; 16:5; 17:10; 19:10; 20:17; Luke 12:22; 20:45; and John 20:30. Although the *Commentary* was prepared to apply its own principle at Mark 6:41, it does not do so at these other verses. There it omits or brackets the possessive, often because the characteristic brevity of the so-called Alexandrian text commended itself to the committee.

4. Principle II.B.1.a in Metzger's *Commentary* claims that author's style needs to be taken into account, and with this I also agree. In practice, however, only a thoroughgoing critic would apply this principle consistently. For example, Johannine usage seems to suggest that the author used ἀληθής only in the predicative position (3:33; 5:31, 32; 7:18; 8:13) and ἀληθινός only in the attributive position (1:9; 4:23, 37;

20. I used these examples first in "In Defence of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism," *ResQ* 21 (1978) 95-115, esp. 106-8; and "A Second Look at the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament," *BT* 26 (1975) 325-32.

6:32; 15:1; 17:3). Both are synonymous. But *UBSGNT* and NA[26] texts read ἀληθινός at John 7:28. This reading creates a unique occurrence of the predicative use of this adjective. Unsuspecting translators might think that a different meaning is required. Such is not the case, as ἀληθής should be read. One should also avoid ἀληθινός at John 4:37 and accept the variant ἀληθής as original. One should also read ἀληθής at John 19:35 and at 8:16, where the *Commentary* states that the external support for ἀληθινός influenced the editorial committee. The author's style should have been the decisive factor throughout in establishing a more accurate and consistent text.

Although the method I have been describing here emphasizes the cult of the best reading rather than the cult of the best MS(S), MSS in thoroughgoing eclecticism are more than mere carriers of readings, as some critics of this method have implied.[21] Knowledge of readings should precede a knowledge of MSS, but one should not apply that principle uncritically. For example, if a particular MS consistently expands the *nomina sacra* because of pious or liturgical influences, then one will view a variant involving the divine names in that MS with suspicion, even though on other grounds and in other MSS the variant may qualify for sympathetic consideration. Such an opinion of a MS would become apparent to the observant critic on the basis of work analyzing many variation-units. One would not judge a MS by a preconceived assessment of the MS based on its age, provenance, or background, but would arrive at an assessment by the individual MS's performance over a whole range of textual variation of differing types.

Those who criticize thoroughgoing criticism do so in part because the resultant text is sometimes (but not as often as claimed) supported by only a few MSS. Metzger objects to the many such readings printed as the text in Kilpatrick's diglot editions because they have "meagre external support."[22] These include a reading at John 19:35 read by ℵ 124, and a reading at Matt 22:7 read only by cursive 33. In many ways such criticisms strike home. One is obviously more content if one can find support for one's preferred reading in a fair number of MSS, but one has to admit that occasionally there is indeed only meager external support. This is because of the vagaries of textual transmission. One has to allow for the following possibility: a secondary reading will have occasionally been repeated in hundreds of MSS, the majority of which have chanced to survive, whereas the text deemed to be the original is now found in only a handful of surviving copies. Sometimes the survival of one particular form of the text was encouraged and unwelcome differences actively expunged or copies destroyed.

Another criticism of thoroughgoing methodology is that it is said to ignore the history of the textual tradition. Such is the tenor of the comments by Fee and by Epp.[23]

21. For example, E. C. Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship* (ed. J. C. Rylaarsdam; Essays in Divinity 6; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 131-56, esp. 137; reprinted in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 148-71, esp. 154.

22. Metzger, *Text*, 178.

23. Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism — Which?" in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text*, ed. Elliott, 174-97, esp. 178-79 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 124-40, esp. 126-27); E. J. Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symp-

Similar warnings can be found in the writing of K. Aland.[24] If one argues, as thoroughgoing text critics do, that the bulk of deliberate changes were made to the text prior to the acknowledgment of the canonical status of the NT, then one is not ignoring the history of the text. For instance, Kilpatrick regularly employs Vogels's theory that virtually all variants had been created by the year 200. Acceptance of this theory means that the date of the source for a given reading, be it a fourth-, seventh-, or eleventh-century MS, does not matter, because one may be convinced that the reading goes back beyond the year 200 and therefore into a period from which virtually no MSS survive. Thus external evidence as such is of little relevance. In any case, thoroughgoing critics recognize and comment on the interrelationship of MSS and the conventionally accepted MS groupings. Besides, it is one of the strengths of the method that it tries to find not only the original text amid the entire MS tradition but also an explanation of the origin and history of the development of the tradition. Thoroughgoing eclecticism, especially as practiced by Kilpatrick, maintains the place of the texts and their transmission within the longer history of the Greek language; many of the examples he adduces when assessing variants come from contemporary writers and grammarians rather than modern scholars.

But the criticisms of opponents of the method are less serious when one sees how they lead by example. Wikgren, one of the editors of *UBSGNT*[3], argues in Metzger's *Commentary* at Jas 5:20 for a reading on grounds of intrinsic probability. At Mark 10:2 he, and Metzger, prefer a reading consonant with the author's style. At Jude 5 the three non-American committee members argue for a reading that agrees with the author's style. In all these instances the alternatives have what is alleged to be "stronger" MS support. Metzger, again as revealed from statements ad loc. in his *Commentary*, is prepared to argue for readings being original on grounds other than purely documentary at Matt 23:4; John 1:3-4; Acts 2:38; 5:28; 10:17; and 1 Cor 6:11, among others. All this shows that from time to time some committee members were prepared to go along a thoroughgoing eclectic road. Sometimes the printed text itself betrays readings that do not have the support of the favored MSS; see, for example, the readings printed as original at Acts 4:33; Heb 7:1; 12:3; and Rev 18:3, the last with only little minuscule support. Acts 16:12 has as the text a conjectured reading. Even the most rigorous thoroughgoing critic balks at conjectural emendation.[25] Sometimes *UBSGNT*[3] and NA[26] print as the text the reading of only two MSS,

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tom?" *HTR* 69 (1976) 211-57, esp. 255 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 141-73, esp. 171-72); idem, "The Twentieth Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," *JBL* 93 (1974) 386-414, esp. 404-5 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 83-108, esp. 99).

24. K. Aland et al., eds., *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, II: *Die Paulinischen Briefe*, vol. 1 (ANTF 16; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1991) 166-67.

25. Fee's jibe that the logical conclusion of the pursuit of author's style should lead to emending the text to render the author consistent is made in *JBL* 89 (1970) 505-6 in a review of my analysis of all the variants in the Pastoral epistles (*The Greek Text of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus* [SD 36; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968]). It is ironic that twenty years later he offers to emend the text of 1 Cor 14:34-35 by suggesting in his commentary that the verses were not original to Paul (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987] 699-708). Thus he offers a conjecture that these two verses are secondary — even though all the MSS contain them.

admittedly the two favorites of Westcott and Hort, ℵ and B (e.g., at Mark 9:29). The printed text ending Mark at 16:8 is based principally on the testimony of these two MSS. In this instance modern scholarship is, in general, willing to accept this verdict on Mark's Gospel. Thoroughgoing eclecticism would be happy to accept the evidence not because it seems to have been the reading of these two particular MSS, but because the language, style, and theology of the longer text brand it as secondary to the original text of Mark. If the shorter text is in two MSS only, then so be it.

The resurgence of support in recent years for a return to the TR is significant. Advocates of the TR and, by extension, the KJV, castigate textual decisions favoring a Westcott-Hort approach. Similarly those favoring the Majority text,[26] such as many of the members of the Majority Text Society and other ginger groups, while no supporters of thoroughgoing eclecticism, serve nevertheless to provide some ammunition appropriate to thoroughgoing eclecticism in their often virulent attacks on the critical text, NA^{26}. These views, although often not couched in terms expected in contemporary academic debate, pinpoint perceived shortcomings in the text that results from the cult of the "best" MSS, or from the so-called local-genealogical method of textual criticism. Dissatisfaction with the widely distributed *UBSGNT* coming from whatever quarter serves to strengthen the hand of thoroughgoing textual critics, whose own methodology and agenda may often be diametrically opposed to those of the Majority Text Society, at least by drawing attention to the open character of many textual decisions. Even those responsible for the *UBSGNT* have quietly dropped references to it as the "standard" text. The preface to the fourth edition of the *UBSGNT* recognizes that the text it presents is now no longer inviolable. This is a healthy acknowledgment that work on the text of the NT is still continuing.

Thus, if editors can use the (perfectly proper) principles of internal probabilities when their favored MSS do not lead to conclusive results, and when they (inexplicably) allow themselves to be persuaded to print, occasionally, a brave reading that goes against their norm, why should we not urge a consistent application of the rules of thumb of internal considerations? If this were done, thoroughgoing eclecticism would be in operation. Those of us advocating such a policy are all too aware that this method does not solve every textual problem, but then neither does the application of internal and external criteria in what is frequently an uneasy alliance. A definitive and convincing evaluation cannot be found for every textual difficulty. But the criteria adopted by thoroughgoing critics are capable of offering adequate explanations for a high percentage of such problems, and this is perhaps as much as one ought to expect of any method.

A Greek NT resulting from this activity remains a desideratum. Kilpatrick's diglot texts were a step in the right direction, but they did not cover the whole of the NT and in any case were released only to a limited public. His long-awaited third edition of the British and Foreign Bible Society text was jettisoned by the Society. Kilpatrick continued work for a new edition of the text, and the raw materials of

26. The Majority text is available in the editions by Hodges and Farstad (2d ed., 1985), or Robinson and Pierpont (1991). See also the Trinitarian Bible Society's reissue of the *Textus Receptus* (London, 1976).

that research are in my possession. Should help, material and academic, and time be forthcoming then his project may eventually see the light of day. In the meantime more modest, but no less important, tasks await workers in the text-critical vineyard. Further research analyzing NT authors' language and style, tracing the history of the Greek of the early Christian centuries, as well as studies of particular textual variants, could profitably tap the energies of many postgraduates and offer doctoral theses of undeniable value — not only to the benefit of textual criticism in particular but of NT studies at large.[27]

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27. The tenor of much of this article is critical of a method of textual investigation applied in large measure by Bruce Metzger throughout his long and successful career. He will readily recognize that such criticism is in no way disrespectful. His constant help, encouragement, and friendship to me over many years are much appreciated. We beg to differ on some issues, but it is clear from the references here and in other of my writings that I find his many books and articles a constant source of information and inspiration.

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CHAPTER 21

REASONED ECLECTICISM IN NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Michael W. Holmes

I. Introduction

During the last fifty years "eclecticism" has undoubtedly been the dominant methodological approach within the discipline of NT textual criticism. The terminology employed to describe this approach, however, has been quite varied and inconsistently used; moreover, the same terms have been applied to substantially different approaches. In view of this terminological Babel, some preliminary remarks are in order.

1. Definitions

In his 1934 handbook, L. Vaganay described an evenhanded approach to textual criticism that he characterized as the "eclectic method."[1] At nearly the same time M.-J. Lagrange advocated a similar approach that he termed *la critique rationelle*, a phrase that came over into English as "rational criticism," often used synonymously with "eclecticism."[2] As used by Vaganay, Lagrange, and others, such as Colwell and Birdsall, the term designated an approach that sought to bring to bear on every textual decision *all* available evidence, internal and external, in a synergistic or complementary fashion.[3]

1. L. Vaganay, *Initiation à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1934); ET, *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, trans. B. V. Miller (St. Louis, MO: Herder, 1937) 91-92; cf. the recent revision by C.-B. Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* (trans. J. Heimerdinger; amplified and updated by Amphoux and Heimerdinger; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 86-88.

2. M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 2: *La critique rationelle* (2d ed.; Ebib; Paris: Gabalda, 1935), esp. 27-40. On "rational criticism" and "eclecticism" see E. C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its Limitations," *JBL* 66 (1947) 109-33 (reprinted in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* [NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969] 63-83) and J. N. Birdsall, "The New Testament Text," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 317.

3. With due allowances for his distinctive emphases (cf. Colwell, "Genealogical Method," 129-30 [reprinted in *Studies*, 80-81]), Lagrange is much closer in terms of method to Vaganay and Colwell, for example (see *La critique rationnelle*, 27-28), than he is to Kilpatrick, with whom he

But already in 1947 Colwell observed that "within this eclecticism internal evidence increasingly outweighs the external in the judgment of the critics."[4] This developing emphasis is most evident in the work of G. D. Kilpatrick, who used a number of terms — "rational criticism," or "thoroughgoing" or "consistent" or "rigorous eclecticism" — to describe an approach that relies almost exclusively on internal evidence as a basis for textual decisions. Thus Kilpatrick spawned a narrower and more restricted definition of the term.[5]

An influential essay by G. D. Fee brought some clarity and consistency to general usage; he labeled Kilpatrick's approach "rigorous eclecticism" and the broader usage of Lagrange and Colwell "reasoned eclecticism."[6] This usage has become somewhat standard.[7] But differences still remain: for example, Kilpatrick's student, J. K. Elliott, has used the terms "radical" or "thoroughgoing eclecticism," whereas the Alands, wishing to avoid any reference to "eclecticism," label their approach "the local-genealogical method," even though it exemplifies a reasoned eclecticism.[8] It would appear that uniformity or standardization of nomenclature will

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is sometimes associated; cf. B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 176n.1; and J. Neville Birdsall, "The Recent History of New Testament Textual Criticism (from Westcott and Hort, 1881, to the present)," *ANRW* 2.26.1 (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1992) 157-58.

4. Colwell, "Genealogical Method," 129 (reprinted in *Studies*, 80).

5. Cf. the usage in the 1st edition of Metzger, *Text*, 175-76.

6. G. D. Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism — Which?" in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. J. K. Elliott; NovTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1976) 174-97 (reprinted in Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* [SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993] 124-40). Neither question-begging term is particularly felicitous, and should not, as Metzger has noted (*Text*, 176), be taken to imply that other methods are less "rigorous" or "reasonable."

7. For example, Epp proposed (and employed) the more analytic terminology of "eclectic specialist" and "eclectic generalist" ("The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom?" *HTR* 69 [1976] 211-57 [reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 141-73]), but more recently has utilized Fee's terminology (Epp, "Textual Criticism," in *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters* [ed. E. J. Epp and G. W. MacRae, S.J.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989] 94-97, 101 [reprinted as "Decision Points in Past, Present, and Future New Testament Textual Criticism," in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 17-44]); cf. also M. W. Holmes, "New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Introducing New Testament Interpretation* (ed. S. McKnight; Guides to New Testament Exegesis 1; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989) 55.

8. See, e.g., J. K. Elliott, "Keeping up with Recent Studies XV: New Testament Textual Criticism," *ExpTim* 99 (1987) 43-44; idem, chap. 20 in the present volume. According to the Alands, "the label of 'eclecticism' . . . is not strictly appropriate, and suggests false associations" (K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* [trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1989] 34); cf. NA[26], 43*: "This method has been characterized as eclecticism, but wrongly so." By "eclecticism" they apparently mean a one-sided emphasis on internal criteria — what I label here as "rigorous eclecticism." In 1965 K. Aland was willing to accept the term, properly defined: "Every decision concerning the text has to be taken on its own. With regard to every group of variant readings, we are compelled to re-examine the whole internal and external evidence. If, then, we cannot avoid eclecticism, why do we not make it a principle? Of course, we could do that, but it will depend on what we understand by eclecticism" (K. Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri for Progress in New Testament Research," in *The Bible in Modern*

not happen any time soon. In the meantime I will use, following Fee and Epp, "rigorous eclectic" to refer to approaches that rely primarily on internal criteria, "historical documentary" for those that rely primarily (if not exclusively) upon external evidence, and "reasoned eclectic" for those that combine the two.[9]

2. The Scope of the Essay

Since "historical-documentary" and "rigorous eclectic" approaches are legitimate subsets of a "reasoned eclectic" approach, one could justifiably treat both within a discussion of reasoned eclecticism. In the present circumstances, however, that is neither feasible nor necessary. Although some scholars have called for the development of a historical-documentary approach, it is generally conceded that at present we lack the information and knowledge needed to develop one, and further acknowledged that nearly all critics today practice some form of eclecticism. An exception is the "Majority text" approach, which D. B. Wallace examines in chapter 19 of this volume.[10] Similarly

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Scholarship [ed. J. P. Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965] 340); cf. B. Aland, "Neutestamentliche Textkritik heute," *VF* 21 (1976) 5-7.

For the label "local-genealogical method," see Aland and Aland, *Text*, 34, 281; cf. NA[26], 43*. The term apparently was first put forward as "nur ein Vorschlag" in K. Aland, "The Twentieth-Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. E. Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 11. Their demurrals notwithstanding, that the Alands use reasoned eclecticism is beyond dispute. Cf. the concise description of their approach in the introduction to NA[26]: "After carefully establishing the variety of readings offered in a passage and the possibilities of their interpretation, it must always then be determined afresh on the basis of external and internal criteria which of these readings . . . is the original, from which the others may be regarded as derivative" (43*). Moreover, the "twelve basic rules for textual criticism" (*Text*, 280; actually at least thirteen, as two are included in number eleven, and an apparent fourteenth appears on p. 285) are basically a restatement of the classic criteria of reasoned eclecticism. Their preference for external evidence over internal reflects a difference of emphasis, not method.

9. For "historical documentary" see Epp, "Textual Criticism," 92-94 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 32-34). Recently yet another label has been put forward, "new eclecticism" (P. R. Rodgers, "The New Eclecticism," *NovT* 34 [1992] 388-97). Rodgers's claim that NT textual criticism is "headed toward . . . a *new eclecticism*," while rightly appreciative of Kilpatrick's important contributions, overlooks significant aspects of the history of the eclectic method (on which see Epp, "Eclectic Method," 212-13 [reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 142]) and overstates the methodological impact of his contributions. The description Rodgers gives (on p. 394) of this "new eclecticism" — "a method that considers both external and internal criteria as of equal importance in determining the original text" — appears to be almost identical to the method outlined by Vaganay in 1934 (*Introduction*, 91-92). To speak of a "*new* eclecticism" is therefore quite unwarranted.

10. Vinton Dearing, who works more with bibliographic (rather than textual) stemmata, might perhaps be included under the rubric of a historical-documentary approach; see, e.g., "Some Notes on Genealogical Methods in Textual Criticism," *NovT* 9 (1967) 278-97; for a discussion of his work see J. Duplacy, "Classification des états d'un texte, mathématiques et informatique: repères historiques et recherches méthodologiques," *RHT* 5 (1975) 260-68 (reprinted in Duplacy, *Études de critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament* [ed. J. Delobel; BETL 78; Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1987] 204-12); cf. also the perceptive analysis by Irving Alan Sparks quoted by Colwell (in the reprinted version of "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," in *Studies*, 149n.1]). In addition, the recent book by P. W. Comfort (*The Quest for the Original Text of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992]) appears to argue essentially for a documentary approach that relies heavily on the evidence of the early papyri (cf. pp. 126-27, 130).

the "rigorous eclectic" approach is discussed by J. K. Elliott in chapter 20 of this volume. Thus the present essay focuses on *reasoned eclecticism*. But even here there are some limitations. The various aspects that fall under the purview of external evidence (i.e., the MSS themselves, their groupings and relationships) are covered by several preceding contributions to this volume, and a key topic relevant to both internal and external evidence, scribal habits, is ably treated by James R. Royse in chapter 15. This discussion, therefore, will focus on recent contributions to (1) reasoned eclecticism as a method, (2) the criteria or canons of internal evidence, and (3) the closely related matter of the history of the transmission of the text.

II. Developments in Method Since 1946

1. Reasoned Eclecticism

The magisterial 1946 Schweich Lectures of Günther Zuntz provide a fitting point of departure for a survey of the period under consideration, and not simply in terms of chronology. His *Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Text of the* Corpus Paulinum (dealing primarily with 1 Corinthians and Hebrews) is one of the best extended examples of a genuinely balanced reasoned eclectic approach to textual criticism, and ought to be seen as paradigmatic for the discipline in at least three respects: in terms of practice, theory, and the history of transmission, especially as it relates to the particulars of the text. In many respects one may construe the rest of the period under review as efforts to carry out the implications and live up to the model of Zuntz's work.

With respect to practice, Zuntz's approach is invariant: he assembles all the data available for a particular passage, reconstructs the history of its transmission and corruption in order to isolate the oldest readings, and then subjects these to a detailed examination, utilizing a broad and instructive range of criteria[11] and a well-developed critical acumen. In regard to theory, he states, with a clarity and succinctness worthy of his teacher, Paul Maas, the fundamental considerations that necessitate an eclectic approach (about which I will say more later).[12] Finally, using the individual readings as stones dug from a quarry, he attempts to construct a comprehensive theory of the history of the text that is faithful to the accumulated data.[13]

In 1947, not long after Zuntz delivered his lectures, E. C. Colwell published the first of what would become a series of essays that together constitute a significant contribution to the development of the theory and practice of an eclectic approach.[14]

11. Including, e.g., a consideration of Atticistic tendencies, a point later emphasized by Kilpatrick.

12. See Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the* Corpus Paulinum (London: British Academy, 1953) 10-13. The English translation of the 3d edition of Maas's *Textkritik* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958) is a mere fifty-four pages; the 1st German edition (1927) was only eighteen.

13. Zuntz, *Text*, 263-83.

14. To the essays included in Colwell's *Studies* (see n. 3 above) may be added "External Evidence and New Testament Criticism," in *Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of Kenneth Willis Clark, Ph.D.* (ed. B. L. Daniels and M. J. Suggs; SD 29; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1967) 1-12.

In addition to the groundbreaking essays on the limits of the genealogical method, the quantitative analysis of MSS, and scribal habits, we may note especially the programmatic 1968 essay, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program."[15] Retracting some of his earlier criticism of Hort, Colwell pleaded for and laid out a model, patterned after the methodology of Hort,[16] of a balanced application of external and internal considerations (favoring, if anything, the external) as a corrective to the one-sided emphasis on internal considerations that he saw plaguing the discipline.

In many respects Colwell's program was anticipated by Bruce M. Metzger, who in 1964 published what was to become a widely influential handbook, *The Text of the New Testament.* In this introduction, Metzger laid out all the essentials of a genuinely balanced reasoned eclecticism; like Colwell, he favored external considerations somewhat over internal.[17] Metzger's influence was further extended by his authorship, on behalf of the UBS committee, of *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament,* which explained the reasoning behind many of its decisions. It is evident that the committee's approach generally exemplified that set forth in Metzger's handbook.

A third noteworthy statement on method from about the same time was given by J. N. Birdsall in the *Cambridge History of the Bible.*[18] In his carefully nuanced summary, one may discern the influence of Zuntz.[19]

15. Colwell, "Genealogical Method," 109-33 (reprinted in *Studies,* 63-83); idem, "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text," in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship* (ed. J. P. Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965) 370-89 (reprinted as "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits: A Study of P^{45}, P^{66}, P^{75}," in *Studies,* 106-24); idem, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship* (ed. J. C. Rylaarsdam; Essays in Divinity 6; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 131-55 (reprinted in *Studies,* 148-71); Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, "The Quantitive Relationships Between MS Text-Types," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg im Breisgau and New York: Herder, 1963) 25-32 (reprinted as "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships Between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," in *Studies,* 56-62).

16. While his method is patterned after Hort, his views of the history of the text are more influenced by Zuntz and Schmid; cf. "The Origin of Texttypes of New Testament Manuscripts," in *Early Christian Origins: Studies in Honor of Harold R. Willoughby* (ed. A. Wikgren; Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961) 128-38 (reprinted in *Studies,* 45-55).

17. On the essentials see Metzger, *Text,* 207-19. Nowhere, however, does he give any name or label to his approach; he would not, in any case, have labeled it "eclectic," as he reserved this term for the work of Kilpatrick. On external considerations: "The reading deemed original should be in harmony with the author's style and usage elsewhere. Since, however, it is conceivable that several variant readings may fulfil this requirement, the textual critic should be guided more by negative judgements delivered by intrinsic evidence than by positive judgments. The appropriate question to ask is whether intrinsic evidence *opposes* the conclusion commended by genealogical considerations, the geographical distribution of witnesses, and transcriptional probabilities" (*Text,* 217-18).

18. Birdsall, "New Testament Text," 311-18.

19. "Elucidation of the text of the New Testament must approach its goal from this twofold direction. All that can be known of the text by means of tracing the descent of manuscripts and of text-types is a prime requirement, but no genealogical method can lead us to the original text. An informed recensional activity must take place and a text provisionally established. Either aspect will influence the other and lead to a greater precision. Knowledge of manuscripts will suggest those which are more likely to preserve readings of value, and the acceptance of readings on 'rational' grounds will in its turn tell us something about the history of the documents in which those readings are found" (Birdsall, "New Testament Text," 317-18). Cf. also Birdsall, "Rational Eclecticism and

We now come to perhaps the most significant contribution since Zuntz, that of E. J. Epp. Like Colwell, Epp has set forth his views in a substantial series of extended essays.[20] Whereas he discusses eclecticism on several occasions, the 1976 essay on "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom?" calls for special mention.[21] With both care and precision Epp analyzes the inner dynamics of the method, identifies its strengths and weaknesses, and diagnoses the central tensions within it. He first traces the history of the use and development of the "canons of criticism," external and internal, employed by textual critics from the time of G. von Mastricht (1711) through Westcott and Hort. He then provides an analytic survey of the actual use of these canons in contemporary eclecticism by both "eclectic generalists" and "eclectic specialists." Epp notes that most textual critics today would claim to fall in the category of "generalists," who give equal weight to external and internal considerations. In practice, however, he observes that most tend to fall to one side or the other.[22] In all it is a most instructive article, not least for its important discussion of the synergistic relationship between the practice of eclecticism and the critic's view of the history of the text.[23]

J. H. Petzer has also given sustained attention to the matter of methodology in recent years.[24] At times echoing Epp and at times taking an independent approach,[25] Petzer treats many of the same questions as Epp and confirms his key observations, particularly with regard to the tensions inherent within the reasoned eclectic method. As Petzer notes, the

> attempt to solve the conflict between internal and external evidence, has in fact solved nothing, but may even have worsened the conflict. The fact that external evidence is applied in this method against its typical (diachronic) nature in an eclectic or synchronic way, makes it clear that internal evidence

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the Oldest Manuscripts: A Comparative Study of the Bodmer and Chester Beatty Papyri of the Gospel of Luke," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text*, ed. Elliott, 39-51, where he attempts for P^{45} and P^{75} in Luke what Zuntz did for P^{46} in the Paulines.

20. Many are now conveniently collected in Epp and Fee, *Studies*.

21. See, e.g., "The Twentieth Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," *JBL* 93 (1974) 403-5 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 98-99); "A Continuing Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism?" *HTR* 73 (1980) 140-42 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 115-16); and "Textual Criticism," 90-97, 100-103 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 31-36, 39-42); "Eclectic Method," *HTR* 69 (1976) 211-57 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 141-73).

22. For example, the UBS editorial committee tends to rely on external evidence, esp. the evidence of the Alexandrian witnesses, when other considerations fail to provide any clear guidance (Epp, "Eclectic Method," 246-48 [reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 166]).

23. Ibid., 238-42 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 160-63).

24. J. H. Petzer, "The Papyri and New Testament Textual Criticism — Clarity or Confusion?" in *A South African Perspective on the New Testament: Essays by South African New Testament Scholars Presented to Bruce Manning Metzger* (ed. J. H. Petzer and P. J. Hartin; Leiden: Brill, 1986) 18-32; idem, "Shifting Sands: The Changing Paradigm in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Paradigms and Progress in Theology* (ed. J. Mouton, A. G. Van Aarde, and W. S. Vorster; Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1988) 394-408; idem, "Eclecticism and the Text of the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation: New Approaches in the Criticism of the New Testament* (ed. P. J. Hartin and J. H. Petzer; NTTS 15; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 47-62.

25. A comparison of the differences in their respective interpretations of the history of the eclectic method, esp. with regard to Westcott and Hort, would be an instructive study.

> determines the nature of the method and dominates the method in a qualitative sense. In a quantitative sense, however, or in the practical application of the method to text-critical problems, external evidence still dominates the method, since the level of certainty of the results . . . often depends upon the quality of the external evidence, i.e. . . . the best manuscripts.[26]

Both Epp and Petzer think that new discoveries of additional MSS will prove to be key in solving this tension. Barring such good fortune, however, Epp contends that we need to make much better use of the resources that have been entrusted to us, especially the papyri.[27] By contrast, Petzer suggests that in the present circumstances the primary option is the further development of internal criteria.[28]

2. Internal Criteria

Significant contributions to the development or refinement of various critical canons employed by an eclectic approach during the period under review include the numerous articles by Kilpatrick and Elliott, whose work has focused on matters of style, usage, and Atticism.[29] One of the most important (and too little noticed) contributions is Royse's massive study of early scribal habits, a subject also studied by Colwell, Fee, and K. Junack.[30] J. Schmid's detailed analysis of the character and Greek idiom (in addition to his comprehensive delineation of the textual history) of Revelation also deserves particular mention.[31] Other topics receiving attention have included the "harder reading" *(lectio difficilior)*, the historic present, harmonization, and, with special regard to Acts, "Lucanisms."[32] But on the whole, apart from a brief but

26. Petzer, "Shifting Sands," 404; cf. Epp, "Eclectic Method," 236-42 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 158-63).

27. Epp, "Textual Criticism," 103-6 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 42-44); idem, "The New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts in Historical Perspective," in *To Touch the Text: Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.* (ed. M. P. Horgan and P. J. Kobelski; New York: Crossroad, 1989) 284-88.

28. Petzer, "Shifting Sands," 405-6.

29. See chap. 20 by Elliott in this volume.

30. Royse, "Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri" (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, 1981) and chap. 15 in this volume; Colwell, "Scribal Habits"; G. D. Fee, *Papyrus Bodmer II (P66): Its Textual Relationships and Scribal Characteristics* (SD 34; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968); K. Junack, "Abschreibpraktiken und Schreibergewohnheiten in ihrer Auswirkung auf die Textüberlieferung," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (ed. E. J. Epp and G. D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 277-95; Royse's conclusions, based on the major papyri, have been confirmed for fourteen other papyri by P. M. Head, "Observations on Early Papyri of the Synoptic Gospels, Especially on the 'Scribal Habits,'" *Bib* 71 (1990) 240-47. See also Moisés Silva, "The Text of Galatians: Evidence from the Earliest Greek Manuscripts," in *Scribes and Scripture: New Testament Essays in Honor of J. Harold Greenlee* (ed. David Alan Black; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 17-25.

31. Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes* (3 vols.; Munich: Karl Zink, 1955-56).

32. E. A. Nida, "The 'harder reading' in Textual Criticism: An Application of the Second Law of Thermodynamics," *BT* 32 (1981) 101-7; J. M. Ross, "The 'harder reading' in Textual Criticism," *BT* 33 (1982) 138-39; C. D. Osburn, "The Historical Present in Mark as a Text-Critical

insightful paper by Petzer, no one has undertaken a thorough analysis or evaluation of the entire set of criteria (with a view to ranking them, e.g., in terms of relative importance), something Epp highlighted as a major desideratum.[33]

The cumulative effect of many of these studies has been to weaken or require extensive modification of several of the traditional criteria. In the light of Royse's study the venerable canon of *lectio brevior potior* is now seen as relatively useless, at least for the early papyri. Petzer has persuasively challenged the very basis of the frequently used criterion of congruency with an author's style, while C. M. Martini (among others) has questioned the use of Atticistic tendencies, and B. D. Ehrman has demolished the still common assumption that only the "heretics" changed the text for doctrinal reasons.[34]

It would appear, therefore, that the primary effect of recent discussions of the various criteria, including the efforts to improve or refine them, has been to increase our skepticism.[35] We are less sure than ever that their use, no matter how sophisticated, will produce any certainty with regard to the results obtained. In addition, as Colwell once noted, "the more lore the scholar knows, the easier it is . . . to produce a reasonable defense" of or to "explain" almost any variant.[36] Possible outcomes of these circumstances could well be an increased sense of paralysis in the face of a decision (as critics are overwhelmed by too many possible criteria) or, alternatively, an emphasis on a select few criteria, which reduces the complexity faced by the critic but risks increasing the degree of subjectivity involved in reaching decisions. Subjectivity, however, may affect more than just the criteria; in the opinion of some, the method itself suffers the same debilitating problem.[37]

Criterion," *Bib* 64 (1983) 486-500; M. W. Holmes, "The Text of the Matthean Divorce Passages: A Comment on the Appeal to Harmonization in Textual Decisions," *JBL* 109 (1990) 651-64; M.-E. Boismard, "The Text of Acts: A Problem of Literary Criticism?" in *New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Epp and Fee, 147-57; R. S. MacKenzie, "The Western Text of Acts: Some Lucanisms in Selected Sermons," *JBL* 104 (1985) 637-50; R. F. Hull, " 'Lucanisms' in the Western Text of Acts? A Reappraisal," *JBL* 107 (1988) 695-707; T. C. Geer, "The Presence and Significance of Lucanisms in the 'Western' Text of Acts," *JSNT* 39 (1990) 59-76.

33. J. H. Petzer, "Internal Evidence: A Neglected Aspect of New Testament Textual Criticism," paper read at the New Testament Textual Criticism Section, 1987 SBL Annual Meeting, Boston; Epp, "Textual Criticism," 102 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 41). See also the trenchant essay by M. Silva that touches on the NT at several points: "Internal Evidence in the Text-Critical Use of the LXX," in *La Septuaginta en la investigacion contemporanea* (ed. N. Fernández Marcos; Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano" C.S.I.C., 1985) 151-67.

34. J. H. Petzer, "Author's Style and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *Neot* 24 (1990) 185-97; C. M. Martini, "Eclecticism and Atticism in the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament," in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida* (ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley; The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1974) 149-56; Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

35. Epp has even spoken of a "crisis of the criteria" ("Textual Criticism," 100-103 [reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 39-42]).

36. Colwell, "External Evidence," 4.

37. See further on this point the discussion under "Methodological Progress?" below. One should note as well that the view that decisions based on the external data are somehow more "objective" than those based on internal considerations rests largely on an illusion. It is misleading

3. A Methodological Consensus?

Despite this state of affairs with regard to the *criteria*, and the internal tensions noted by Epp and Petzer, one cannot help but notice, as one surveys the present scene, a remarkable degree of consensus with regard to *method* among reasoned eclectics today.[38] Whether one turns to the introductory discussions or chapters by Metzger, the Alands, Fee, Amphoux, or Holmes, or the more theoretical statements by Colwell, Birdsall, or Greeven, one finds, under the superficial differences of labels, categorization, or arrangement, a virtual unanimity regarding methodology, the key points and aspects of which can all be found in Zuntz.[39] All of these stress the need for a balanced approach that takes into account both external and internal evidence. This is not to say that there are no differences among these scholars, for there certainly are.[40] But these differences are largely a matter of emphasis rather than substance, involving nuances or subtle variations in how one is to apply the "basic rule" of reasoned eclecticism: the variant most likely to be original is the one that best

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to think that there is a meaningful difference between external and internal evidence with regard to the alleged "objectivity" or "subjectivity" of either. What counts as "data" is a theory-driven decision, and the choice of what data to follow is inescapably subjective (cf., e.g., Aland and Amphoux, both of whom stress in quite similar terms the importance of external evidence but follow quite different strands of it). Cf. Lee Patterson, "The Logic of Textual Criticism and the Way of Genius," in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation* (ed. J. J. McGann; Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985) 55-91, esp. 56-60.

38. Noted also by Birdsall, "Textual Criticism," 169, 176-77.

39. Metzger, *Text* (3d ed.), 207-46; Aland and Aland, *Text*, 280-316; earlier adumbrated in the introduction to NA^{26} (p. 43*); cf. K. Aland, "Twentieth-Century Interlude," 9-11; G. D. Fee, *New Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983) 51-60; Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 73-88; Holmes, "NT Textual Criticism," 56-63; cf. "Textual Criticism," *New Testament Criticism & Interpretation* (ed. D. A. Black and D. S. Dockery; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991) 112-16; Colwell, "Hort Redivivus," 143-55 (reprinted in *Studies*, 160-71); Birdsall, "New Testament Text," 311-18; cf. idem, "Recent History," 176; H. Greeven, "Text und Textkritik der Bibel. II. Neues Testament," *RGG* (3d ed., 1962) 6.721-23; cf. also A. Wikenhauser and J. Schmid, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (6th ed.; Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna: Herder, 1973) 184-86; H. Zimmermann, *Neutestamentliche Methodenlehre: Darstellung der historisch-kritischen Methode* (rev. Klaus Kliesch; 7th ed.; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1982) 41-50; W. Egger, *Methodenlehre zum Neuen Testament: Einführung in linguistische und historisch-kritische Methoden* (Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna: Herder, 1987) 52-53. In addition to Zuntz, though to a slightly lesser extent, these aspects can be found in Hort, a point the more remarkable in view of how, e.g., Colwell champions Hort with a vigor matched by K. Aland's attempt to distance himself from him.

40. Colwell (e.g., "Hort Redivivus," 147 [reprinted in *Studies*, 164]) and Fee have consistently stressed Hort's point that *"all trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history"* (B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, [2,] *Introduction* [and] *Appendix* [Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881] 40); Duplacy also has insisted on the need to give major attention to the historical *realia* of the MSS ("Histoire des manuscrits et histoire du texte du Nouveau Testament: Quelques réflexions méthodologiques," *NTS* 12 [1965-66] 125 [reprinted in *Études*, 40]). K. Aland places so much emphasis on the early papyri that one could almost view him (at least in practice, though not in theory) as approaching a historical-documentary approach. Other critics, either in theory or (more commonly) in practice, give considerably more emphasis to internal criteria (e.g., J. M. Ross, "Some Unnoticed Points in the Text of the New Testament," *NT* 25 [1983] 59-72).

accounts for the origin of all competing variants, in terms of both external and internal evidence.[41]

4. Methodological Progress?

This degree of consensus is as remarkable as it is unprecedented. But what does it signify, and at what price has it been purchased? Since Metzger's classic delineation of the reasoned eclectic approach, the focus of most critics (Epp and Petzer being the two notable exceptions) has largely been on using it, rather than analyzing or developing it. Thus the present consensus is potentially misleading in important respects; it may have been achieved by setting aside or looking past some key questions or problems, and hence could be viewed as a sign that recent decades have been little more than an interlude during which we have simply marked time with regard to methodology.[42]

As a consequence, one must ask: How are we to interpret this current methodological consensus? Does it represent progress toward our ultimate goal of recovering the original text? Has work during these decades produced lasting results with regard to method? Or have the past five decades been a period of stagnation? Is this consensus a passing moment in the larger scheme of things, an accident of history reflecting the circumstances of this particular moment in the discipline? Is it responsible for the confusion or even chaos some observe in the discipline at this time?[43] These questions bring to the fore the paradox of late twentieth-century NT textual criticism: the time of greatest apparent agreement about method is also marked by substantial disagreement about the lasting status of that method (as well as the results it has produced).

Several distinguished voices among us have argued that the method (to paraphrase Schweitzer) is only an *Interim-methode*. As long ago as 1956 K. W. Clark maintained that it was

> the only procedure available to us at this stage, but it is very important to recognize that it is a secondary and tentative method. It is not a new method nor a permanent one. The eclectic method cannot by itself create a text to displace Westcott-Hort and its offspring. It is suitable only for exploration and experimentation. . . . The eclectic method, by its very nature, belongs to an age like ours in which we know only that the traditional theory of the text is faulty but cannot yet see clearly to correct the fault.[44]

41. Holmes, "NT Textual Criticism," 56; cf. B. Aland, "Neutestamentliche Textkritik heute," 18; Aland and Aland, *Text*, 278, 280 ("Only the reading which best satisfies the requirements of both external and internal criteria can be original"); or Fee, *Exegesis*, 58.

42. So in particular Epp, "Interlude," 390-401 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 87-96); idem, "Textual Criticism," 95-97, 100-103 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 34-36, 39-42).

43. So, e.g., C. D. Osburn, "The Search for the Original Text of Acts — The International Project on the Text of Acts," *JSNT* 44 (1991) 53; cf. A. F. J. Klijn: "those who, by the way of the eclectic method, try to restore the original text have reached markedly disparate results. The eclectic method seems to be the only adequate method to regain the original text, but it also appears to lead us into complete chaos" ("In Search of the Original Text of Acts," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* [ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966] 104).

44. K. W. Clark, "The Effect of Recent Textual Criticism upon New Testament Studies," in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology* (ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube;

At about the same time Birdsall expressed a similar opinion:

> although for the present we must utilize these diverse criteria and establish a text by an eclectic method, it is impossible to stifle the hope that, at some future time, we shall find our methods and our resultant text justified by manuscript discoveries and by the classical methods . . . which Hort exemplified so brilliantly in his work.[45]

More recently Epp has voiced the "hope that the eclectic method can be replaced by something more permanent — a confidently reconstructed history and a persuasive theory of the text." This in turn would enable us to utilize "more objective methods (like the historical-documentary method)."[46] Furthermore, "only in this way can a solid foundation be laid for understanding the history of our NT text and . . . only in this way can we secure a large measure of confidence that we are genuinely in touch with the actual, historical origin of the NT writings."[47] Under these conditions, perhaps "difficulties in the eclectic method would disappear — and perhaps also the eclectic method as we know it would itself disappear!"[48] Even among those who appear to champion this approach, one finds statements that appear to leave open the possibility Epp envisioned: *"From the perspective of our present knowledge,"* say the Alands, "this local-genealogical method [i.e., reasoned eclecticism] . . . is the only one which meets the requirements of the . . . textual tradition."[49]

5. The State of the Question

In evaluating these various claims, we may readily agree that we stand in great need of a more soundly based and persuasively presented history of the text, that the reasoned eclecticism many of us currently practice must be refined and developed further, and that recent discoveries (esp. the papyri) contain much to instruct us in this regard.[50] At the same time, however, it is possible to disagree with the contention

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Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956) 37-38 (reprinted in K. W. Clark, *The Gentile Bias and Other Essays* [ed. J. L. Sharpe, III; NovTSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1980] 75-76); cf. idem, "Today's Problems with the Critical Text of the New Testament," in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship* (ed. J. C. Rylaarsdam; Essays in Divinity 6; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 165-67 (reprinted in *Gentile Bias*, 128-30), esp. 166 (129): "We cannot approve eclectic emendation as a permanent technique of criticism because it is by its very nature tentative."

45. J. N. Birdsall, "The Text of the Fourth Gospel: Some Current Questions," *EvQ* 29 (1957) 199.

46. Epp, "Textual Criticism," 102, 103 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 41, 42).

47. Ibid., 93 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 33).

48. Epp, "Eclectic Method," 249 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 168).

49. Aland and Aland, "Introduction," NA^{26}, 43* (emphasis added). As already indicated, the Alands do not label their method "reasoned eclecticism," but cf. n. 8 above.

50. In this regard cf. Epp, "Textual Criticism," 103-6 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 42-44); idem, "Papyrus Manuscripts," 287-88; idem, "The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission* (ed. W. L. Petersen; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989) 71-106 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 274-97). The last two essays are exemplary models of how one might better utilize the papyri.

that a reasoned eclecticism is at best a temporary approach. Indeed, quite to the contrary, one may suggest that a reasoned eclecticism not only is but will remain, for both theoretical and pragmatic reasons, our only option.

A fruitful discussion of these reasons may begin by examining the definition of the hoped-for "historical-documentary method" in the light of Paul Maas's description of the classical approach to textual criticism.[51] Epp defines the historical-documentary method as the attempt "to reconstruct the history of the NT text by tracing the lines of transmission back through our extant manuscripts to the very earliest stages and then choosing the reading that represents the earliest attainable level of the textual tradition."[52] In comparison, the classical approach to textual criticism, as Maas describes it, has four steps: *recensio, selectio, examinatio,* and *divinatio. Recensio* is an investigative and taxonomic process that examines the relationships among the extant MSS so as to discover (a) a surviving MS that is the source of all others, (b) a reconstructable archetype, or (c) a split tradition consisting of two or more MSS or archetypes. In the first two cases, one proceeds from *recensio* to *examinatio,* the testing of the earliest discernible stage of the textual tradition for soundness. Upon detecting an unsound point in the received tradition, one then proceeds to *divinatio,* the attempt to repair the corruption by emendation; often this involves a choice between competing conjectural proposals. In the third case, that of a split tradition, one must first choose between the competing variants — *selectio* — before proceeding to *examinatio.* What is particularly interesting is that the criteria employed in choosing among both variants and conjectures — Maas suggests that the difference between them at some point becomes almost immaterial — are exactly the kind of internal considerations employed by a reasoned eclecticism.[53]

If one overlays Maas's four stages on top of the "historical-documentary" method as defined above, it will be noticed that the latter deals only with the *recensio* and *selectio* stages. This observation, I contend, indicates the fundamental limitation of a "historical-documentary" approach: it can take us to the earliest surviving (or reconstructable) stage of the tradition, but it cannot take us any further, unless that earliest stage is the autograph. But if we had the autograph, we would have no need for textual criticism. So if textual criticism is needed, then a historical-documentary method can never lead us to our goal. It may bring us close, but it cannot take us all the way.

In effect, I am arguing from a different angle for a point made by Colwell regarding the limitations of any genealogical method: unless genealogy takes us all the way to the autograph, it cannot take us far enough.[54] Or, to quote Hort, the most that can be obtained by a purely documentary approach

> is the discovery of what is relatively original: whether the readings thus relatively original were also the readings of the autograph is another question, which can never be answered in the affirmative with absolute decision except

51. Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958).
52. Epp, "Textual Criticism," 92 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 32).
53. Cf. Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 13.
54. Colwell, "Genealogical Method," 109-33 (reprinted in *Studies*, 63-83).

> where the autograph itself is extant. . . . Even in a case in which it were possible to show that the extant documents can be traced back to two originals which diverged from the autograph itself without any intermediate common ancestor, we could never be quite sure that where they differed one or other must have the true reading, since they might independently introduce different changes in the same place, say owing to some obscurity in the writing of a particular word.[55]

Of all the various kinds of evidence, Hort goes on to argue, only *intrinsic* probability is concerned with absolute originality; other types of evidence are concerned only or predominantly with relative originality.[56] Thus no matter what documentary discoveries or advances in understanding may be made, we cannot escape the need to employ the intrinsic and transcriptional criteria that constitute a key part of a reasoned eclecticism. As Zuntz observes, documentary or external considerations can "throw a very considerable weight into the scales of probability," but will not, by themselves, "suffice to determine [a] choice between competing readings. . . . *Recensio* alone can no longer settle any really problematical point."[57]

Indeed, one may suggest that the current "crisis in method" is the result of a failure to carry through our method to its logical end. In practice and often in theory as well, the assumption is widespread that the original must have survived somewhere among the extant MS testimony. Some, such as K. Aland, assert this as a matter of principle;[58] others do so by default, by declining to take seriously, even if only theoretically, the possibility of the need to emend the text of the NT. In either case, the result is the same: Maas's four stages are truncated to only two, *recensio* and *selectio*, and the text obtained as the result of *selectio* is never seriously submitted to *examinatio* (and, as necessary, *divinatio*).

This failure amounts to a squandering of our resources, a neglect of evidence entrusted to us by the accidents of history that could, if properly used, enable us to penetrate beyond the limits of the extant tradition. That there is considerably less need for emendation of the NT text than of comparable documents is indeed true,[59] but we must not confuse *less* need with *no* need. For example, a survey of the UBS *Textual Commentary* reveals more than a few places where the committee found itself unsure that any of the surviving readings represented the original.[60] Westcott and Hort marked in their edition some sixty-five places where they suspected the

55. Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, 66.

56. Ibid., 67.

57. Zuntz, *Text*, 282-83. As a result of his work on the LXX and the Hebrew Bible, E. Tov has reached a similar conclusion: "external criteria are usually not valid in the case of the Hebrew Bible" (*Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* [Minneapolis: Fortress; Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1992] 302). Though he never uses the term, Tov's methodological approach is essentially that of a reasoned eclecticism (cf. 293-311, esp. 309-10).

58. Cf. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 291-95, and J. K. Elliott, in this volume, p. 322.

59. Cf. Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 84-86, for a well-considered statement.

60. The presence of phrases like "the least unsatisfactory reading" are dead giveaways in this regard. See, e.g., the final conclusion (on p. 400) to the extended discussion of Acts 12:25, or the discussion of 2 Peter 3:10.

presence of some primitive corruption antecedent to all extant witnesses, and recognized in these cases the need for emendation.[61]

It is instructive in this regard to recall J. B. Lightfoot's work on the text of the Apostolic Fathers, particularly *1 Clement*.[62] For his first edition Lightfoot had only one MS upon which to base his work, Codex Alexandrinus. The process of *examinatio* led him to conclude that the MS was defective in numerous places, and he attempted to repair the damage by *divinatio* (i.e., emendation). Remarkably, between the first and second editions new evidence, primarily the well-known MS discovered by Bryennios, turned up. What is striking is how often the new evidence provided documentary support for Lightfoot's earlier conjectures. That is, by an exacting *examinatio* and *divinatio*, he was able to anticipate the results of future discoveries.[63] Moreover — and this is particularly intriguing with regard to method — the kinds of evidence and lines of reasoning that led him to his proposed emendations were virtually identical to those he utilized, once the second MS turned up, to choose between the competing readings presented by the two MSS.[64]

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,[65] the human mind and its disobedient subjects, the fingers, hopes for a more objective method will remain an impossible dream. To quote Zuntz again, "There is no *règle de fer*, no divining-rod to save the critic from the strain of labour and thought."[66] The methodology known as reasoned eclecticism is no stopgap measure; it is, I suggest, our only option.[67]

III. The History of the Transmission of the Text

1. Method and History

If, therefore, reasoned eclecticism is not a makeshift expedient, if it is indeed the only route of progress, then why the current confusion? Why the uncertainty regard-

61. Cf. Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, 279-82. See further on this subject J. Strugnell, "A Plea for Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament, with a Coda on 1 Cor. 4:6," *CBQ* 36 (1974) 543-48; and the response by G. D. Kilpatrick, "Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament," in *New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Epp and Fee, 349-60 (reprinted in *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G. D. Kilpatrick* [ed. J. K. Elliott; BETL 96; Louvain: Louvain University Press and Peeters, 1990] 98-109).

62. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers, Part I: S. Clement of Rome* (2 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1869; 2d ed., 1890).

63. There were also, however, as Lightfoot makes clear, places where the original reading was unrecoverable on the basis of *divinatio* alone. See, e.g., on *1 Clem.* 5.4, where the true reading, preserved in the newly discovered MS, could not have been reasonably conjectured (*Apostolic Fathers* 1/2.26).

64. See Lightfoot's discussion of *1 Clem.* 45.4 for a particularly instructive example (*Apostolic Fathers* 1/2.137-38), or of *1 Clem.* 15.5 (1/2.56). Here we have a concrete illustration of Maas's suggestion that the difference between variants and conjectures at some point becomes almost immaterial (*Textual Criticism*, 13).

65. A. E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," in *Selected Prose* (ed. J. Carter; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) 132.

66. Zuntz, *Text*, 283.

67. Cf. Birdsall, "New Testament Text," 376.

ing the results (i.e., the texts) it has produced? Why is almost no one (other than perhaps K. Aland) willing to claim, at least with any substantial degree of confidence, that with our current critical texts we have recovered the NT in the original Greek? The problem, one may argue, is not with our method but with our history of the text and its transmission (or, more precisely, the inadequacy of our history). For there is an undeniable, though often unappreciated, synergistic relationship between methodology and textual history — a point that Zuntz made clearly, and that Epp, Petzer, and Amphoux repeated,[68] but whose implications have not always been fully appreciated.

Eclecticism does not work in a vacuum; it functions only in conjunction with a view of the history of the transmission of the text.[69] Zuntz has described the relationship between the two as a fruitful circle:

> Every variant whose quality and origin has . . . been established must serve as a stone in the mosaic picture of the history of the tradition, for there is next to no other material from which it could be built up. At the same time the evaluation of individual readings depends to a large extent upon their place within this picture. This is another instance of that circle which is typical of the critical process; it is a fruitful and not a vicious circle. The critic may, indeed he must, aim at a comprehensive picture of the whole tradition: he reaches this goal by an untiring dedication to detail.[70]

In short, the evaluation of individual readings depends greatly on how the critic views them in relation to the larger picture of the history of the text.

At the present time, however, there is no consensus on this crucial point, and this is the reason for the confusion experienced today. It is not the eclectic method itself that is at fault, but our lack of a coherent view of the transmission of the text. Here we find the explanation of why critics can express nearly identical views about method yet end up with such divergent results: the controlling factor is their different views of the history of the text.[71] A comparison of the Alands and Amphoux is revealing in this regard. Setting aside superficial differences in terminology, it is clear that they espouse a very similar method, yet their results are substantially different, the Alands following primarily the early Alexandrian papyri and Amphoux the "Western" textual tradition. The differences cannot be due to method, because it is essentially the same for both. Amphoux has put his finger on the key: it is "history which helps the exegete at each stage of his investigations. . . . in fact it governs the whole of textual criticism."[72]

68. E.g., Epp, "Eclectic Method," 238-42 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 160-63); Petzer, "Shifting Sands," 402-3; and esp. Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 88.

69. This is true even of "rigorous eclectics," such as Kilpatrick, as D. C. Parker has perceptively noted in his review of Kilpatrick's collected essays (in *JTS* 43 [1992] 212-13): Kilpatrick views virtually all variants as having come into existence before A.D. 200, a period from which virtually no MSS survive. "Thus . . . Kilpatrick has a reconstruction of the history of the text . . . one in which individual manuscripts have no role."

70. Zuntz, *Text*, 13.

71. Cf. also Petzer, "Eclecticism," 53.

72. Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 88.

2. The History of the Text in Current Research

It is precisely in the area of the history of the text that we find, unfortunately, one of the major lacunae of NT textual research during the period under review. While scholars have now largely abandoned key components of the once-dominant views of Westcott and Hort,[73] they have given relatively little attention to developing an alternative history of the text as a replacement.

Clark identified a basic reason for this lack of attention: we know too many new data to continue to accept the old view, but not enough to formulate a new one.[74] In these circumstances, only a few hardy souls have attempted more than a simple sketch of the history of the text.

Perhaps most successful, in part because he limited his focus to one part of the NT, was Zuntz's groundbreaking — and persuasive — description of the textual history of the Pauline corpus.[75] Besides Zuntz, Birdsall, the Alands, and Amphoux deserve notice. In 1970 Birdsall published a perceptive overview that offered a synchronic perspective of each of the earliest centuries, notable for its careful integration of MSS, patristic citations, and early versions.[76] In 1981, the Alands offered a comprehensive (though necessarily brief) description of the history of the text through the age of Constantine, notable for its confidence in the witness of the Egyptian papyri, its distinctive view of the so-called Western textual tradition, and its attempt to describe the surviving MSS from the earliest centuries in terms of scribal characteristics rather than text-types or textual traditions.[77] Easily the most idiosyncratic perspective, however, is offered by Amphoux in his 1986 revision of Vaganay. He views the "Western" text as a "pre-recensional text form," the closest surviving witness to the "first written text" of the NT. In the period following A.D. 135 "recensions proliferated," with textual diversity reaching a peak by A.D. 200;

73. Contra Petzer ("Eclecticism," 53), it does not appear that most reasoned eclectics today operate with the same view of the history of the text as Westcott and Hort. The papyri (however inadequately they have thus far been utilized) have enabled us to get a better picture of the early centuries than Westcott and Hort had, and we do have and operate with a different historical conception or framework of the 2d and 3d centuries. For example, ever since Zuntz's study of P^{46} demonstrated the antiquity of more than a few Byzantine readings (*Text*, 55-57, 150-51), it appears that we have quietly ignored Westcott and Hort's untenable view of the origins of the Byzantine textual tradition. Moreover, their understanding of the "Western" text (*Introduction*, 120, 126) is now largely discredited as well. Thus, however inadequate the reconstruction of the history of the text that underlies our current texts may be, our reconstruction does differ significantly from that of Westcott and Hort, and it does so in large part because of the papyri.

74. Clark, "Recent Textual Criticism," 37-38.

75. Cf. Birdsall: Zuntz's "attractive" thesis is "highly plausible" ("Textual Criticism," 171); Zuntz, *Text*, 262-83. Cf. also J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*.

76. Birdsall, "New Testament Text," 332-77.

77. Aland and Aland, *Text*, 48-71. Cf. Colwell's (somewhat overstated) observation that Aland "has in his actual practice followed Lachmann by a naïve acceptance of documents of early date. The clearest example of this lies in his deference to P^{75}" ("Hort Redivivus," 139 [reprinted in *Studies*, 156]). Cf. reviews of Aland and Aland, *Text*, by Epp (*HTR* 82 [1989] 213-29), Holmes (*JBL* 108 [1989] 139-44), and Birdsall (*BT* 39 [1988] 338-42). On their new classification system see B. D. Ehrman, "A Problem of Textual Circularity: The Alands on the Classification of New Testament Manuscripts," *Bib* 70 (1989) 377-88.

some degree of standardization began to occur only with the rise of the "great recensions" between about 250 and 313.[78]

In view of this diversity, there is clearly no consensus regarding the history of the text. One has reason, however, to think that change is afoot. A growing number of scholars have made probes into the history of the text that illuminate specific areas or problems and that contribute important data that will eventually enable the larger picture of the whole to be sketched. This number includes Epp, Parker, B. Aland, K. Aland, and Fee;[79] and, in a series of patristic analyses (which are particularly important with respect to historical reconstruction, as they offer a degree of geographic and chronological specificity otherwise unavailable), Ehrman, Fee, and Holmes.[80] At the present moment, studies such as these hold the most promise of enabling us to break out of our current straits and eventually to write a history of the text.

3. *Reprise: History and Method*

It is the writing of the history of the text, not the development of a new methodology, that will enable us to break out of our current methodological difficulties. To repeat what I argued earlier: the reason for the confusion experienced today is that there is no consensus regarding the history of the text. It is not the eclectic method itself that is at fault, but our lack of a coherent view of the transmission of the text.

Where a reasoned eclecticism is employed in conjunction with a fully developed view of the history of the text, as in Westcott and Hort, and Zuntz, we find a *synergism* between history and method. This does not mean that the results that are obtained are perfect; they are only as good as the history upon which the method is based and the skill with which it is practiced. But it does mean that there is a fruitful

78. Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 94, 98, 106.

79. Epp, "Significance"; idem, "Papyrus Manuscripts"; D. C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); B. Aland, "Entstehung, Charakter und Herkunft des sog. Westlichen Textes Untersucht an der Apostelgeschichte," *ETL* 62 (1986) 5-65; idem, "Die Münsteraner Arbeit am Text des Neuen Testaments und ihr Beitrag für die frühe Überlieferung des 2. Jahrhunderts: Eine methodologische Betrachtung," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century*, ed. Petersen, 55-70; idem, "Die Rezeption des neutestamentlichen Textes in den ersten Jahrhunderten," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (ed. J.-M. Sevrin; BETL 86; Louvain: Louvain University Press, 1989) 1-38; idem, "Neutestamentliche Textforschung und Textgeschichte: Erwägungen zu einem notwendigen Thema," *NTS* 36 (1990) 337-58; K. Aland, "Der Text des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert," in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments* (ed. W. Schrage; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986) 1-10; idem, "Alter und Entstehung des D-Textes im Neuen Testament: Betrachtungen zu P^{69} und 0171," in *Miscellània Papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig* (ed. S. Janeras; Barcelona: Fundacio Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1987) 37-61; G. D. Fee, "P^{75}, P^{66}, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study* (ed. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 19-45 (reprinted in Epp and Fee, *Studies*, 247-73).

80. B. D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (SBLNTGF 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), who makes some important observations and terminological suggestions regarding the history of the text in Alexandria (pp. 258-67); G. D. Fee, "Origen's Text of the New Testament and the Text of Egypt," *NTS* 28 (1982) 348-64; idem, chap. 12 in this volume; B. D. Ehrman, G. D. Fee, and M. W. Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen*, vol. 1 (SBLNTGF 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992). See also James A. Brooks, *The New Testament Text of Gregory of Nyssa* (SBLNTGF 2; Altanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

interaction between the two that contributes to the critic's goal, rather than working at cross-purposes to it. When, however, the method is used apart from or with only a truncated view of the textual history (as is often the case today), we encounter the *tension* delineated by Epp and Petzer. Epp was surely right to see this tension as symptomatic of a significant problem; he and I differ, however, regarding the identity of the problem to which the symptom points.

IV. Prospects for Further Research

I have already discussed the need for further work on methodology and on the history of the text. Beyond these points, one may raise two additional but closely related questions.

First, in the earliest period, what counts as evidence? B. Aland has suggested that the earliest patristic citations (i.e., anything before Irenaeus) are unusable as evidence for the transmission of the NT text.[81] Others, however, argue that these citations, which are generally seen as having connections with the "Western" textual tradition, are the earliest evidence we have, and suggest that the current reliance on largely Alexandrian witnesses is therefore historically inappropriate and misleading.[82]

Second, precisely what is it that we are attempting to recover? The traditional answer is "the autographs." But just what is meant by this term? It implies some sort of "fixed target," but that is a concept attended by a host of difficulties.[83] In the case of the NT, one may suggest that the ramifications of the possibility, for example, of two editions of Mark,[84] multiple copies of Romans or Ephesians, and, to a lesser degree, the relationship between original copies of Paul's letters and the editio princeps of the corpus have been insufficiently considered. Only in the case of Acts has the possibility of two editions received any extended attention, and even here nothing even approaching a consensus has been reached.[85] How do these possibilities affect what we mean by "autograph"?[86]

81. B. Aland, "Rezeption," 36-38. Cf. A. F. J. Klijn: "quotations in ecclesiastical writers with variant readings do not prove the existence of these variants in the MSS of the NT" ("Matthew 11:25//Luke 10:21," in *New Testament Textual Criticism* [Metzger *Festschrift*], ed. Epp and Fee, 14).

82. For example, H. Koester, "The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century*, ed. Petersen, 19-37; cf. the epilogue by Petersen (pp. 155-56).

83. For an illuminating discussion of the way Platonic, Idealistic, or Romantic preconceptions can color one's perception of the text-critical task, see Lee Patterson, "Logic of Textual Criticism," 55-91; and J. J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Tov offers a penetrating analysis of this issue with regard to the Hebrew Bible; many of his observations apply, mutatis mutandis, to the NT as well (*Textual Criticism*, 164-80).

84. Recent discussion of the relationship between canonical Mark and "Secret Mark" raises the issue rather clearly; cf. Philip Sellew, "*Secret Mark* and the History of Canonical Mark," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. B. A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 242-57.

85. W. A. Strange has recently suggested that the two major textual traditions in Acts derive from two postmortem editions of Acts, both based upon the author's heavily revised but unfinished — and at points ambiguous — unpublished last draft (*The Problem of the Text of Acts* [SNTSMS 71; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992] 185-89).

86. If textual criticism has paid insufficient attention to literary criticism and its implications,

Furthermore, even if the concept of "autograph" is a useful and definable term, what is the relationship between it and the earliest recoverable textual traditions? Was the transmission process relatively stable for the first century, or are we dealing with a stream subject to considerable alteration? Koester's opinion is quite clear: "whatever evidence there is indicates that not only minor, but also substantial revisions of the original texts have occurred during the first hundred years of the transmission."[87] Even Birdsall suggests that "the text itself is no autograph but a moving stream."[88] The former question regarding what counts as evidence clearly bears on how we answer this question, and and how we answer both will fundamentally affect the history of the text that remains to be written. Indeed, that history must be written, if we are ever to break out of our current methodological impasse and be able to claim, with a greater degree of certainty than we presently enjoy, to have recovered the NT in the original Greek.

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it is also evident that literary-critical hypotheses have, for the most part, paid even less attention to textual criticism and its implications. The result of this inattention to the historical realities of textual transmission is a host of improbable (if not impossible) hypotheses. For an illustrative instance, see W. Munro, *Authority in Paul and Peter: The Identification of a Pastoral Stratum in the Pauline Corpus and I Peter* (SNTSMS 45; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), and my review in *TrinJ* 5 (1984) 192-95.

87. Koester, "Text of the Synoptic Gospels," 37.

88. Birdsall, "New Testament Text," 377; from a slightly different direction, see Petzer, "Author's Style," 194-95.

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CHAPTER 22

THE TEXT AS WINDOW: NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS AND THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Bart D. Ehrman

The ultimate goal of textual criticism, in the judgment of most of its practitioners, is to reconstruct the original text of the NT.[1] As the other essays in this volume make abundantly clear, we need the discipline because we lack the autographs (and perfectly accurate reproductions of them); all surviving MSS are filled with mistakes, and it is the task of the critic to get behind these mistakes to reconstruct the text as it was originally written. This conception of the discipline is exemplified in the work of Fenton John Anthony Hort, one of the greatest minds to approach the task, who focused his labors on a solitary objective: "to present exactly the original words of the New Testament, so far as they can now be determined from surviving documents." Hort construed this task in entirely negative terms: "nothing more than the detection and rejection of error."[2]

No historian would deny the desirability of this objective; one must establish the words of an ancient author before they can be interpreted. At the same time, many textual critics have come to recognize that an exclusive concentration on the autographs can prove to be myopic, as it overlooks the value of variant forms of the text for historians interested in matters other than exegesis. Thus one of the significant breakthroughs of textual scholarship has been the recognition that the history of a text's transmission can contribute to the history of its interpretation: early Christian

1. I should emphasize at the outset that it is by no means self-evident that this *ought* to be the ultimate goal of the discipline, even though most critics have typically, and somewhat unreflectively, held it to be. In recent years, however, some scholars have recognized that it is important to know not only what an author wrote (i.e., in the autograph), but also what a reader read (i.e., in its later transcriptions). Indeed, the history of exegesis is the history of readers interpreting different forms of the text, since throughout this history, virtually no one read the NT in its original form. Thus it is important for the historian of Christianity to know *which* form of the text was available to Christians in different times and places. In addition, as I will argue throughout this essay, it is important for social historians and historians of doctrine to identify the social and theological movements that affected the texts, through the scribes who modified them. Given these historical concerns, there may indeed be scant reason to privilege the "original" text over forms of the text that developed subsequently.

2. B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, [2,] *Introduction* [and] *Appendix* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882; 2d ed., 1896; reprinted Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988) 1.4. Hort was responsible for writing the *Introduction*.

exegetes occasionally disagreed on the interpretation of a passage because they knew the text in different forms.[3]

Of yet greater interest to the present essay, some critics have come to recognize that variants in the textual tradition provide data for the social history of early Christianity, especially during the first three Christian centuries, when the majority of all textual corruptions were generated. Changes that scribes made in their texts frequently reflect their own sociohistorical contexts. By examining these changes, one can, theoretically, reconstruct the contexts within which they were created, contexts that are otherwise sparsely attested in our surviving sources. When viewed in this way, variant readings are not merely chaff to be discarded en route to the original text, as they were for Hort; they are instead valuable evidence for the history of the early Christian movement. The NT MSS can thus serve as a window into the social world of early Christianity.

I. Textual Variants and the Social History of Early Christianity

Recent study of textual variation has contributed to our understanding of a wide range of significant issues, including the ideological conflicts of early Christianity (i.e., struggles between "heresy" and "orthodoxy"), Jewish-Christian relations and the rise of anti-Semitism, and the early Christian suppression of women. Moreover, as we shall see, other peculiarities of our surviving MSS — for instance, their provenance, dates, and formal features — have deepened our knowledge of such diverse topics as the use of magic and fortune-telling among early Christians, the character and extent of the Christian mission in the empire, the extent and function of literacy in the early church, and the special role that texts played in this religion. Given the limitations of this essay, I cannot discuss any of these issues in great depth; I will, however, enumerate some of the more fruitful and interesting lines of research, and make some suggestions for further inquiry.

1. The Internecine Struggles of Early Christianity

Arguably the most significant study of early Christianity in modern times is Walter Bauer's 1934 classic, *Rechtglaübigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum.*[4] The book has forced a rethinking of the nature of ideological disputes in Christian antiquity, as even scholars not persuaded by Bauer's view have had to contend with it. Bauer's thesis is that, contrary to the traditional claims of Christian apologists, "orthodoxy" was not an original and universally dominant form of Christianity in the second and third centuries, with "heresy" (in its multiple configurations) a distant

3. See, e.g., my article "Heracleon, Origen, and the Text of the Fourth Gospel," *VC* 47 (1993) 105-18. For a methodological discussion of this issue, see my contribution to the Karlfried Froehlich *Festschrift*, "The Text of Mark in the Hands of the Orthodox," *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective* (ed. Mark Burrows and Paul Rorem; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991) 19-31.

4. Bauer, *Rechtlaübigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (BHT 10; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck]). ET of the 2d ed. (1964, ed. Georg Strecker): *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (trans. Paul J. Achtemeier et al.; ed. Robert Kraft and Gerhard Krodel; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971).

and derivative second. Instead, early Christianity comprised a number of competing forms of belief and practice, one of which eventually attained dominance for a variety of social, economic, and political reasons. The victorious "orthodoxy" then rewrote the history of the church in the light of its final triumph. This orthodoxy was the form of the religion embraced by the faithful in Rome.

While many of the details remain in serious dispute, and demurrals appear to be on the rise, Bauer's overarching conception continues to exert a wide influence, as does his insistence on the centrality of these ideological disputes to the early history of Christianity.[5] What, though, do they have to do with the MS tradition of the NT?

For many critics of the twentieth century the answer has been unequivocal: nothing at all. In part this view has been based on the authoritative pronouncement of Hort: "It will not be out of place to add here a distinct expression of our belief that even among the numerous unquestionably spurious readings of the New Testament there are no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes."[6] Consonant with this perception was A. Bludau's detailed study of the charge leveled against Christian heretics of intentionally falsifying the texts of Scripture, a charge that he traced from apostolic times to the Monophysite controversy.[7] Bludau argued that in many instances, the accusation was directed not against heretical alterations of the text but heretical misconstruals; moreover, he maintained, in most of the remaining instances, the charges cannot be sustained. He concluded that the MSS of the NT were not easily susceptible of deliberate falsification, given the vigilance exercised over their production by all concerned parties.[8]

Despite its popularity, this view has never held universal sway. Even before World War II, individual scholars had isolated and discussed instances of theologically motivated corruption, with such eminent names as Kirsopp Lake, J. Rendell Harris, Adolph von Harnack, Donald Riddle, and, most extensively, Walter Bauer himself (in another, less-read but equally impressive, monograph), topping the list.[9]

5. For a useful discussion of its initial reception, see Georg Strecker's essay, "Die Aufnahme des Buches," 288-306 in the 2d German ed., expanded and revised by Robert Kraft, "The Reception of the Book," Appendix 2, pp. 286-316. The discussion was updated by Daniel Harrington, "The Reception of Walter Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* During the Last Decade," *HTR* 73 (1980) 289-98. For additional bibliography, see the discussion in my book *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 33n.16.

6. Hort, *Introduction*, 282. Hort specifies Marcion as the one exception to this rule, and goes on to say that non-Marcionite instances of variation that appear to be doctrinally motivated are due to scribal carelessness or laxity, not to malicious intent.

7. Bludau, *Die Schriftfälschungen der Häretiker: Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik der Bibel* (NTAbh 11; Münster: Aschendorf, 1925).

8. For an assessment, see my *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 43n.100.

9. See, e.g., Kirsopp Lake, *The Influence of Textual Criticism on the Exegesis of the New Testament* (Oxford: Parker & Son, 1904); J. Rendel Harris, "New Points of View in Textual Criticism," *Expositor*, 8th ser., 7 (1914) 316-34; idem, "Was the Diatesseron Anti-Judaic?" *HTR* 18 (1925) 103-9; Adolph von Harnack, "Zur Textkritik und Christologie der Schriften Johannes," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche*, vol. 1: *Zur neutestamentlichen Textkritik* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1931) 115-27; idem, "Zwei alte dogmatische Korrekturen im He-

Nonetheless, only since the 1960s have scholars begun to recognize the full extent to which early ideological conflicts affected the NT text. By all accounts, the impetus was provided by Eldon Jay Epp's groundbreaking study, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, a study whose particular conclusions relate more to Jewish-Christian relations (discussed below) than to the internecine conflicts of the early Christian movement.[10] Nonetheless, Epp attacked the Hortian view head-on by pursuing the suggestion that some of the tendencies of the so-called Western text, as embedded in Codex Bezae, should be explained by the theological proclivities of its scribe.[11] Through a detailed and exhaustive analysis, Epp concluded that some 40 percent of Codex Bezae's variant readings in Acts point toward an anti-Judaic bias. The sensible inferrence is that the scribe himself, or his tradition, was anti-Jewish (in some way), and that this prejudice came to be embodied in the transcription of the text.[12]

Although Epp's study has been widely acclaimed and his conclusions widely accepted, his lead has been little followed.[13] Codex Bezae is singularly suited to this kind of study, given the extraordinary character of its text of Acts; most other MSS lack such distinctiveness.[14] Subsequent analyses of theological tendencies have therefore moved from the study of a specific MS to a panoramic view of the surviving witnesses. Among recent scholars to pursue such a line are Alexander Globe, Mark A. Plunkett, Mikeal Parsons, and Peter Head.[15] My own work in this area has eventuated in the first full-length analysis, entitled *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*.[16] The

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brüerbrief," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Neuen Testaments* 1.235-52; Donald Wayne Riddle, "Textual Criticism as a Historical Discipline," *ATR* 18 (1936) 220-33; and Walter Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1907; reprinted, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967).

10. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (SNTSMS 3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966). For Epp's predecessors, see his discussion on pp. 12-26.

11. A suggestion made earlier, for example, by P. H. Menoud, "The Western Text and the Theology of Acts," *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas Bulletin* 2 (1951) 27-28.

12. A conclusion that Epp himself does not draw, as pointed out below.

13. That is, for other MSS. On Codex Bezae itself, see, among the many studies, the unpublished dissertations by George E. Rice ("The Alteration of Luke's Tradition by the Textual Variants in Codex Bezae," Case Western Reserve University, 1974) and Michael W. Holmes ("Early Editorial Activity and the Text of Codex Bezae in Matthew," Princeton Theological Seminary, 1984). For a reappraisal of the matter with respect to Acts, see C. K. Barrett, "Is There a Theological Tendency in Codex Bezae?" in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black* (ed. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 15-27.

14. As is commonly observed, the text of Acts in Codex Bezae is approximately 8½% longer than that found among the Alexandrian witnesses.

15. Alexander Globe, "Some Doctrinal Variants in Matthew 1 and Luke 2 and the Authority of the Neutral Text," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 52-72; Bart D. Ehrman and Mark A. Plunkett, "The Angel and the Agony: The Textual Problem of Luke 22:43-44," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 401-16; Mikeal Parsons, "A Christological Tendency in P^{75}," *JBL* 105 (1986) 463-79; Peter M. Head, "Christology and Textual Transmission: Reverential Alterations in the Synoptic Gospels," *NovT* 35 (1993) 107-29.

16. See n. 5 above. Among my briefer studies of individual passages are the following: "1 John 4.3 and the Orthodox Corruption of Scripture," *ZNW* 79 (1988) 221-43; "The Cup, the Bread, and the Salvific Effect of Jesus' Death in Luke-Acts," SBLSP (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991)

study examines one area of ideological conflict — the christological controversies of the second and third centuries — and shows how it affected a number of textual witnesses produced in the period.[17] While no one would claim that theological controversies caused the majority of the hundreds of thousands of textual variants, they clearly engendered several hundred. Nor are these variant readings, taken as a whole, of little consequence. To the contrary, many prove to be critical for questions relating to NT exegesis and theology.[18]

Of yet greater significance for the present essay, the study raises a number of issues concerning the relation of the MSS to the social world of the scribes who produced them, a world about which we are poorly informed by the other surviving sources.[19] For one thing, the textual data reveal the doctrinal proclivities of these scribes: their tendencies are uniformly proto-orthodox[20] — suggesting that the victors not only write the history but also reproduce (and preserve) the texts. Moreover, the proto-orthodox modifications of these texts demonstrate that the doctrinal and ideological issues involved were of concern not only to a handful of Christian intellectuals, the heresiological literati whose works happen to have outlived antiquity. They affected others as well — at least the scribes, who, while themselves among the intellectually advantaged (to the extent that they could read and write, unlike the vast majority of Christians; see below), were by no means at the top of the social scale even within Christian circles. These debates appear to have affected the rank and file as well as the Christian elite.

In addition, the textual data confirm that these struggles were, in part, directly related to divergent interpretations of early Christian texts, in an age before there was a hard-and-fast canon of Scripture — a finding that is significant not only for the nature of the emerging religion *in se* but also in its relation to other religions of

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576-91; "Text of Mark"; and (with Mark A. Plunkett), "The Angel and the Agony." Of book-length treatments that take a slightly different tack, in addition to Bauer, *Leben Jesu*, reference should esp. be made to Eric Fascher, *Textgeschichte als hermeneutische Problem* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1953).

17. I did not, of course, restrict myself to *documents* produced in this period, of which few remain, but to *readings* that could be shown to have been generated then, even when these survive only in later witnesses. For my rationale, see *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 28-29.

18. The interpretation of significant passages is sometimes affected by the textual decision. Just within the Gospels, reference can be made to the prologue of John (e.g., 1:18), the birth narratives of Matthew and Luke (e.g., Matt 1:16, 18; Luke 1:35), the baptism accounts (e.g., Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22; John 1:34), and the various passion narratives (e.g., Mark 15:34; Luke 22:43-44; John 19:36). Moreover, a number of variants affect a range of issues that continue to interest historians and exegetes of the NT, including such questions as whether the Gospels could have been used to support either an "adoptionistic" Christology (e.g., Mark 1:1; Luke 3:22; John 1:34) or one that was "antidocetic" (e.g., the Western noninterpolations), whether Luke has a doctrine of the atonement (e.g., Luke 22:19-20), whether members of the Johannine community embraced a gnostic Christology (e.g., 1 John 4:3), and whether any of the authors of the NT characterizes Jesus as "God" (e.g., Heb 1:8).

19. See the fuller discussion in my *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 274-83.

20. I use the term "proto-orthodox" to designate Christians of the ante-Nicene age who advocated views similar to those that at a later period came to dominate Christendom at large. These second- and third-century Christians were embraced by the "orthodox" of the 4th century as their own theological forebears and as reliable tradents of the apostolic tradition. See my fuller discussion in *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 12-13.

the period: no other cult of the empire, with the partial exception of Judaism, shared this fixation on written texts and the doctrinal ideas they convey.[21] The theological modification of these documents thus further demonstrates the concern for literary texts that is attested generally throughout the second and third Christian centuries: "official" Christianity had already begun to attach special importance to the written word and to the propositional "truths" that it contains.

2. Jewish-Christian Relations and the Rise of Anti-Semitism

One particularly fruitful area of research since the 1940s has been the study of early Jewish-Christian relations and the rise of Christian anti-Semitism. Rooted in the solid researches of Jules Isaac and Marcel Simon, and motivated in no small measure by the provocative thesis of Rosemary Ruether — that Christianity has by its very nature always been anti-Jewish — scholars of both the NT and later Christianity have produced a voluminous outpouring of literature that discusses the relation of Christianity to its Jewish matrix.[22]

How did the conflicts with Judaism that are evident throughout the first three Christian centuries affect scribes who reproduced the texts of Scripture? The question has regrettably not received the extended study it deserves. To be sure, even before World War II scholars had observed that some MSS preserve textual variants that are related to the conflicts. Particularly worthy of mention are Heinrich Joseph Vogels and J. Rendell Harris, both of whom argued that the anti-Judaic tendencies of Tatian's Diatessaron had influenced several of the surviving witnesses.[23] For instance, the Curetonian Syriac modifies the announcement that Jesus will save "his people" from their sins (Matt 1:21) to say that he will save "the world." So too, some Syriac and Latin witnesses of the Fourth Gospel change Jesus' words to the Samaritan woman in John 4:22 to indicate that salvation comes "from Judea" rather than "from the Jews." Among the most intriguing of the nearly two dozen examples that these (and other) scholars have discussed is the omission in some MSS of Jesus' prayer from the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing" (Luke 23:34) — an omission that makes particularly good sense if Jesus is understood to be asking God to forgive the Jews responsible for his crucifixion.[24]

21. See my *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 279.

22. The literature is too extensive to detail here. For bibliography and informed discussion see John Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 11-34; and more briefly, idem, "Judaism as Seen by Outsiders," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg; Philadelphia: Fortress; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 99-116. The foundational works include Jules Isaac, *Jesus and Israel* (trans. Sally Gran; ed. Claire Hachet Bishop; New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971; French original, 1948); Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (135-425)* (trans. H. McKeating; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986; French original, 1964); and Rosemary Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Seabury, 1974).

23. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (2d ed.; Bonn: Hanstein, 1955; 1st ed., 1923) 178; Harris, "Was the Diatesseron Anti-Judaic?"

24. For recent discussion and bibliography, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (X–XXIV)* (AB 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985) 1503-4.

As already mentioned, the most significant study of anti-Jewish influences on the text of the NT has been Epp's evaluation of Codex Bezae in Acts. Following earlier suggestions that the Western tradition may preserve an "anti-Judaic" bias, Epp made a compelling case that many of the Bezan variants in Acts stand over against non-Christian Judaism.[25] Even though Epp did not pursue the question of *Sitz im Leben* for this kind of scribal activity, its social context in early Christian polemics against the Jews is nonetheless manifest. Future studies could profitably explore in greater detail the significance of this polemical milieu for the textual tradition of the NT.[26]

3. *The Suppression of Women in Early Christianity*

One of the most significant developments in NT studies since the 1970s has been the advent of feminist criticism. Most feminist historians have focused on the significant role that women played in the development of nascent Christianity and on how women, and their contributions, came to be suppressed early in the movement. Those who pursue the question are by no means unified in their methods or results; most notably, some have argued that the Christian tradition is so thoroughly and ineluctably patriarchalized that it must be jettisoned altogether, while others have sought to move beyond the biases of our sources to reclaim the tradition for themselves.[27]

For the historian concerned with the role of women in earliest Christianity, one of the perennial issues relates to the status of 1 Cor 14:34-35, a passage that requires women "to be silent in the churches" and to "be subordinate." Many scholars have claimed that the passage is not Pauline but represents an interpolation, made perhaps by the author of (the pseudepigraphic) 1 Timothy (cf. 2:1-10).[28] While one common objection to the interpolation theory has been the lack of MS attestation — the passage is present in all the witnesses — Gordon Fee has recently stressed the text-critical evidence in its support, observing that the verses in question occur

25. For his predecessors, see Epp, *Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae*, 21-26; in particular, one might mention the study of Menoud, "Western Text."

26. On the positive effects of Judaism on the MS tradition of the NT (seen, e.g., in the predisposition among early Christians to dispose of texts rather than destroy them), see Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Schweich Lectures 1977; London: Oxford University Press, 1979).

27. See, e.g., the provocative discussions of Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (2d ed.; Boston: Beacon, 1985); idem, *The Church and the Second Sex* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968). Most significantly, for the NT period, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983). A recent insightful example of feminist reconstruction is Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Polemic* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990). For the 2d century, see the more popular discussion, somewhat less rooted in feminist theory, of Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York: Random House, 1979).

28. Mary Daly rightly objects to those who pursue the status of this passage for the sake of exonerating the apostle Paul: whether he wrote it or not, the passage has been used to suppress women, and will continue to be used in this way (*Beyond God the Father*, 5). At the same time, the question of authorship is important for historians, because if Paul did not write the verses, then the suppression that they sanction represents a *later* feature of Pauline Christianity.

in a different location in some of the Western witnesses, giving the passage the appearance of a marginal note incorporated at more or less appropriate junctures.[29] If Fee is correct concerning its secondary character, the interpolation may show that women came to be suppressed more severely in a later period of Pauline Christianity (perhaps around the end of the 1st century) than at the outset.[30]

In an attempt to cast the net somewhat more broadly, Ben Witherington has summarized some of the evidence that suggests that the scribe of Codex Bezae was intent on de-emphasizing the prominent role that women played in the early church, as recorded in the narrative of Acts.[31] Labeling such alterations, somewhat inappropriately, as "anti-feminist" changes,[32] Witherington observes that in Bezae's text of Acts 17:4, Paul's Thessalonian converts are unambiguously "wives of prominent men" rather than "women of prominence," that the high profile of women is occasionally compromised by the insertion of references to their children (1:14) or to men of high profile (17:12), and that the regular transposition of "Aquila" to precede "Priscilla" may intimate the scribe's uneasiness with the woman's implicit priority. While other scholars have also discussed, briefly, the significance of textual problems for assessing the suppression of women in early Christianity, we still await an extensive and rigorous analysis.[33]

Space restrictions do not allow any consideration of the work that has been done — scant that it is — on the significance of other kinds of variation for assessing such issues as the influence of Christian apologetic concerns or of early ascetic movements on the textual tradition.[34] Suffice it to say that nothing in any way comprehensive has been published in these areas, even though the fields are white for harvest.

29. Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 699-708.

30. *More* severe because they were already treated differently from men in the early period; they were required, for example, to wear veils when praying or prophesying (11:2-10). Interestingly, Fee's arguments have not been accepted by Antoinette Wire, the most recent feminist historian to attempt a reconstruction of the situation in Corinth (*Corinthian Women Prophets*, 229-32). On other developments in the Pauline communities, see, e.g., Jouette M. Bassler, "The Widows' Tale: A Fresh Look at 1 Tim 5:3-16," *JBL* 103 (1984) 23-41.

31. Witherington, "The Anti-Feminist Tendencies of the 'Western' Text in Acts," *JBL* 103 (1984) 82-84.

32. The label is anachronistic and misleading, since these changes are not directed against "feminists" (a modern intellectual category).

33. See, e.g., Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 295-96.

34. On both, so far as I know, only scattered examples have been identified. With respect to apologetic concerns, see, e.g., the discussion of Luke 22:43-44 in Raymond Brown's *Death of the Messiah* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1994) 1.184, where he argues that the account of Jesus in agony was excised to forestall arguments, such as those leveled by the pagan critic Celsus, that Jesus could not have been the Son of God because he was so weak. A full discussion would also consider variants that appear to mollify an otherwise apparently harsh portrayal of Jesus (e.g., the modification of ὀργισθείς in Mark 1:41 and the omission of ἕτεροι in Luke 23:32) and that magnify both his popularity (e.g., "all the crowds" in some MSS of Matt 7:28 and 8:18) and his abilities to do miracles (e.g., MS 69 in Luke 6:18). For interesting examples of ascetically oriented alterations, see the earlier study of J. Rendel Harris, *Side-Lights on New Testament Research* (London: Kingsgate, 1908).

II. Other Features of the Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity

As already indicated, in addition to some kinds of textual variation, other peculiarities of the surviving NT MSS, such as their provenance, dates, and formal features, bear on the social history of early Christianity.[35] Here again, I can only mention several of the most fruitful and interesting areas of research.

1. The Use of Magic and Fortune-Telling in Early Christianity

The recent incursion of the social sciences into the study of early Christianity has produced as one of its salubrious results a resurgence of interest in the role of magic in the early church. Not everyone agrees even on the most basic of questions, such as the definitions of magic and religion and how, or whether, they can be neatly differentiated.[36] Nonetheless, a number of creative and insightful studies have been produced in recent years, some dealing with the role of magic in the life of Jesus, others with its portrayal in the NT narratives, yet others with its popularity among the early Christians.[37]

To my knowledge, none of the variant readings of our surviving MSS arose out of an interest in magic or a desire to portray it in a more positive light. This is not at all surprising, as magic was considered socially deviant (and theologically devilish) whereas the scribes of our surviving MSS, so far as we can tell, were by and large members of socially conservative (proto-) orthodox communities.[38] Nonetheless, textual evidence of the practice does survive, evidence that relates, however, less to the transcription of the words of the text per se than to the use of the texts once they were produced.

We know from literary sources of the fourth century and later that NT MSS were sometimes used for apotropaic magic — for example, worn around the neck or placed under a pillow to ward off evil spirits.[39] Among the papyri discovered and

35. For a serious argument that the physical features of a MS can themselves be used to demonstrate its date and provenance, and on these grounds to establish something of the history of the textual tradition in a particular Christian community, see the detailed and compelling analysis of David C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

36. For useful discussion, see David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* 2.23.2 (ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1980) 1506-16.

37. The best overview, with extensive bibliography, is Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity." For the role of magic in the life of Jesus, see esp. the provocative studies of Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978); and, more extensively, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973). For an interesting assessment of the portrayal of magic in the NT, see Susan R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989). Most recent studies have been inspired by the publication of magical texts from the Greco-Roman world. For English translations, see Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

38. On magic as socially deviant, see Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," 1510-16. On my characterization of scribes, see *Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 274-80.

39. For example, John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 19.4; see the discussion in R. Kaczynski, *Das Wort Gottes in Liturgie und Alltag der Gemeinden des Johannes Chrysostomus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1974).

analyzed since the 1940s are several that were beyond any doubt made and used as amulets: they are small in size, often a single sheet folded over, sometimes provided with or tied together with a string, and normally inscribed with texts that could prove useful for warding off evil spirits or for effecting healings — the Lord's Prayer, for instance, or a healing narrative.[40] A full discussion of these scriptural amulets awaits further study.[41]

Closely connected with the question of magic is the practice of fortune-telling in the ancient world, on which a number of interesting studies have been produced, particularly with respect to the *Sortes Astrampsychi* and others of the so-called Books of Fate.[42] Little, however, has been written about the use of fortune-telling in early Christianity, perhaps due to a dearth of evidence.[43] Indeed, some of the most intriguing evidence happens to derive from the MS tradition of the NT. In 1988 Bruce Metzger published an article that discussed a widely recognized, if wrongly construed, feature of the fifth-century Codex Bezae in its text of the Gospel according to Mark, which connects it closely to eight MSS of the Fourth Gospel ranging in date from about the third to the eighth century. Each of these MSS appears to have been used to tell fortunes.[44]

At the bottom of some pages of these MSS occurs the word ἑρμηνεία, followed by a brief fortune, such as "Expect a great miracle," "You will receive joy from God," and "What you seek will be found." That the "interpretation" (= ἑρμηνεία) does not relate directly to the passage on the top portion of the page is evident, Metzger claims, upon a careful comparison of their respective contents.[45] More likely, then, these MSS functioned like the non-Christian Books of Fate: one who had a question would roll a pair of dice and, by the use of a specially prepared table, be instructed to turn to a particular page of the text, on which would be provided the appropriate answer (fortune).

40. For arguments and examples, see E. A. Judge, "The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri," in *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. Edgar W. Conrad and Edward G. Newing; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987) 339-49; and Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief,* 82-83. In his original edition of the Greek magical papyri, K. Preisendanz classified 38 of the 107 available texts as Christian (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* [ed. A. Henrichs; 2d ed.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973]); according to Judge, 15 of these 38 "make conscious use of scriptural material" (p. 341).

41. See esp. Judge, "Magical Use of Scripture," and the bibliography cited there.

42. For a brief description, see T. C. Skeat, "An Early Mediaeval 'Book of Fate': The Sortes XII Patriarcharum. With a Note on 'Books of Fate' in General," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954) 41-54. On the *Sortes Astrampsychi,* see the overview of G. M. Browne, "The Composition of the *Sortes Astrampsychi,*" *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 17 (1970) 95-100; for basic bibliography, see idem, "The Sortes Astrampsychi and the Egyptian Oracle," in *Texte und Textkritik: Eine Aufsatzsammlung* (ed. Jürgen Dummer; TU 133; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987) 71.

43. On broader issues related to prophecy in early Christianity in conjunction with divination and oracles in the Greco-Roman world, see esp. David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983).

44. Metzger, "Greek Manuscripts of John's Gospel with 'Hermeneiai,'" in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn* (ed. T. Baarda et al.; Kampen: Kok, 1988) 162-69.

45. One might question, however, whether our "commonsense" evaluation of the passage can serve as a guide to what an ancient interpreter might have made of it.

Thus, while Metzger does not draw the conclusion, it is evident that some Christians ascribed special powers to the MSS of Scripture themselves: they could be used not only for purposes of apotropaic magic (the amulets) but also to influence, or at least predict, one's future. This then is a unique kind of evidence for the historian of the period: it can tell us about the role of sacred texts in the ordinary lives of Christians — as opposed, that is, to the lives of the Christian elite who produced our literary evidence. Here again, however, a full study of the phenomenon remains a desideratum.

2. *The Spread of Early Christianity*

Adolph von Harnack's classic treatment, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, continues to provide scholars with a wealth of data concerning the spread of Christianity.[46] A number of the issues he addressed, however, have never been satisfactorily resolved, and recent years have witnessed a renewal of interest in such questions as the extent of the Christian mission throughout the Mediterranean, the modus operandi of Christian "evangelists" and "missionaries" prior to the conversion of Constantine (were there any?), and the nature of their message to adherents of other Greco-Roman cults.[47] Any additional evidence is surely welcome.

The textual tradition of the NT does provide evidence of both the extent and character of the Christian mission. Above all, the discovery of the papyri has contributed to our knowledge of the spread of Christianity, at least in Egypt, where due to climatic conditions virtually all of the papyri have been found and for which reliable sources are otherwise, for the most part, nonexistent.[48] To be sure, in the excitement of discovery some extravagant claims have been made on the basis of our early papyri. In particular, the recognition that the earliest specimen, P^{52}, can be dated to the first half of the second century has led to sensational — or rather, sensationalistic — conclusions.[49] Fortunately, however, this small scrap does not

46. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (trans. and ed. James Moffatt; 2 vols.; New York: Williams and Norgate, 1908; German original, 1902).

47. For now-classic treatments, see Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933); and E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (New York: Norton, 1965) 102-38. Among the best of the recent (burgeoning) literature are Ramsey MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); and Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Knopf, 1987).

48. On the papyri, see Eldon Jay Epp, "The New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts in Historical Perspective," in *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.* (ed. M. P. Horgan and P. J. Kobelski; New York: Crossroad, 1989) 261-88; for a recent overview of our sources for Christianity in Egypt, and a proposed reconstruction, see C. Wilfred Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity: From Its Origins to 451 C.E.* (Leiden: Brill, 1990) 3-79.

49. The fragment was published by C. H. Roberts in a slim volume entitled *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935). Once it was recognized that this credit-card sized fragment of John could be paleographically dated to the first half of the 2d century, scholars had a field day with the possible implications, some claiming that it demonstrates that the Fourth Gospel must have been penned by the end of the 1st century, others asserting that it documents the presence of Christians in Middle Egypt by 125 C.E., and yet others arguing for their presence already by 100 C.E. A number of

stand in isolation, but is one of a number of NT MSS of the second and third centuries discovered in Middle and Upper Egypt. Were there but one or two such copies, one might argue that they had been brought to their final resting grounds — perhaps in later periods — from Alexandria or even from outside Egypt. Their sheer number, however, renders this view doubtful; these surviving remains, then, provide unique evidence that Christians spanned provincial Egypt at least by the end of the second century, and brought with them their sacred texts.[50]

At the same time, and perhaps paradoxically, the relative paucity of these Christian documents (in relation to the vast numbers of non-Christian papyri that have been unearthed)[51] has been used by other scholars to argue that Christians did not make extensive use of the written word in their attempts to propagate the faith. This at least is the view advanced by William V. Harris in his astute and much-acclaimed treatment of literacy in the ancient world.[52] Harris finds corroboration in the failure of early missionaries to translate the Greek NT into indigenous languages prior to the end of the second and the beginning of the third century; moreover, even then they made no concerted effort to render the Scriptures into any of the numerous local dialects spoken throughout Europe, Asia Minor, and Africa.[53]

Harris's controversial position on these questions is not meant to gainsay the widely acknowledged view that texts played a singular role for Christians once they had converted.[54] Indeed, Harris himself admits that some features of the surviving remains confirm early Christianity as a uniquely "textual" religion. These features can now be considered under the final rubric of this investigation.

3. *The Literary Character of Early Christianity*

In one of the most penetrating and influential studies devoted to the subject, the eminent papyrologist C. H. Roberts has demonstrated how some physical characteristics of the early Christian papyri, including those of the NT, have influenced our

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scholars, none of whom, so far as I know, has actually examined the papyrus, have pushed the date further and further back toward the turn of the century. These sanguine appraisals notwithstanding, the fact is that we can only approximate the date of this fragment's production within fifty years at best (it could as easily have been transcribed in 160 as 110). Moreover, we do not know exactly where the fragment was discovered, let alone where it was written, or how it came to be discarded, or when it was. As a result, all extravagant claims notwithstanding, the papyrus in itself reveals nothing definite about the early history of Christianity in Egypt. One can only conclude that scholars have construed it as evidence because, in lieu of other evidence, they have chosen to.

50. See esp. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief*, 4-6.

51. As indicated below, we know of 871 pagan texts from the 2d century, but only 11 of the Christian Bible.

52. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989) 299.

53. Harris's conclusion relates to his controversial claim that the vast majority of the inhabitants of the empire — up to 90% in this period, with higher numbers outside the major urban areas — were illiterate in any case; any attempt to spread the religion through written propaganda would therefore have had but little effect. One might ask, however, whether in drawing this conclusion Harris overlooks what he himself emphasizes throughout his study, that even the illiterate of the ancient world had regular access to the written word, insofar as it was read aloud to them.

54. Even though one could probably argue that it should. See Harris's discussion, ibid., 220-21, 300-306.

understanding of Egyptian Christianity. I can summarize several of his conclusions as follows.[55] The papyri provide some indications that copies of the NT were produced for private reading — that is, that these texts did not always serve a purely liturgical function. In particular, Roberts observes that some biblical texts appear as pocket-sized codices (perhaps, though, after our period, in the 4th century) "far too small for public use." Perhaps more significantly, others were written on "scrap paper" — for example, on the backs of discarded documents — suggesting their use as private copies.[56]

Nonetheless, most of the early Christian texts do appear to have been produced for public reading, as suggested, for instance, by their frequent employment of lectional aids: accents, breathing marks, and occasional separations of words. As another prominent palaeographer, E. G. Turner, has suggested, one may draw the same conclusion from the tendency of Christian scribes to produce fewer lines of text per page and fewer words per line than was customary.[57]

Despite the ostensibly public character of most of these papyri, palaeographic considerations make it clear that they were not published as "literature": as a rule, they were transcribed not in a "bookhand" but in a "reformed documentary" style.[58] Their copyists, therefore, appear to have construed the texts in pragmatic rather than aesthetic terms, and intended their reproductions to fulfill practical ends within their communities. Furthermore, the virtual absence of calligraphic skill indicates that these transcriptions were produced by private individuals rather than professionals; alternatively, if they *were* produced by professionals, we must conclude that their labors were personally, not professionally, motivated.[59]

Perhaps most significantly, Roberts has taken up the question of the presence of the *nomina sacra* in the Christian papyri — a feature of our MSS that continues to intrigue scholars — and draws from them some interesting, if controversial, conclusions.[60] The *nomina sacra* are fifteen words of special religious significance — chief among them "Jesus," "Christ," "God," and "Lord" — which from the second century on were typically written in contracted form by Christian, and only Christian, scribes. Regrettably, we have no firm evidence to suggest when this practice originated or why it was followed. Most scholars have thought that it somehow relates to the refusal among Jews to pronounce the tetragrammaton, the four-lettered name of God in Hebrew; but a variety of opinions has emerged. Roberts argues that the use of the *nomina sacra* must have originated among Jewish Christians who espoused

55. All of these are drawn from Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief,* 1-25.

56. Roberts acknowledges that this might equally be taken to suggest either a local shortage of writing materials or an impoverished church (ibid., 9).

57. The effect would be to make the texts easier to read in public. See Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977) 84-87. I owe this reference to Harry Gamble.

58. That is, the scribe did not copy the texts in the style reserved for books, but rather in the style employed for receipts, legal documents, bank accounts, and governmental paperwork.

59. That is, they were probably not paid for their work. Roberts does think it feasible, however, that already in the 2d century small scriptoria were in use for Christian communities in larger urban areas.

60. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief,* 25-48.

a theology of the "Name" (as found in other early Jewish-Christian circles) prior to the penning of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, which evidences some knowledge of the practice.[61] He postulates that the convention was promulgated in Jerusalem already in the first century, and that its presence in early second-century papyri shows that Christianity in Egypt was launched by missionaries from Jerusalem in the subapostolic age — a conclusion that he has reasons to believe on other grounds.[62] Based in part on such speculation, Roberts is able to reconstruct the history of a church for which otherwise we are altogether lacking in sources.

The point of this summary is not to affirm Roberts's view, but to indicate how scholars of the period may use the papyri as evidence of the social history of early Christianity. One other area in which Roberts has exerted particular influence is in the study of the Christian use of the codex (i.e., the bound book, written on both sides of the page), as opposed to the scroll (i.e., the roll, written on only one side).[63] The discovery of the papyri has made it virtually certain that even if Christians did not invent the physical form of the codex, they exploited its possibilities and popularized its use. As Bruce Metzger has recently observed, whereas only 14 of the 871 pagan texts that can be dated to the second century are in codex form, all 11 of the Christian texts of the Bible are; moreover, of the 172 Christian biblical texts that survive from before the fifth century, 158 derive from codices.[64]

Discussions of the Christians' preference of the codex to the roll are extensive, with most of the proposed explanations relating closely to questions of social history.[65] Some have suggested that the codex was used for reasons of economy: by allowing writing on both sides of the page, this form of book production proved less expensive.[66] If this does explain the practice, it may intimate something about the socioeconomic status of the early Christians. Others have argued that the codex made it less cumbersome to track down proof texts and to make cross-references, providing particular appeal for Christians who were accustomed to support their views from specific passages of Scripture. Yet others have urged that the codex differentiated Christian sacred books from those of the Jews, so that the change of format attests to the impact of Jewish-Christian polemic on scribal practices. Still others have pointed to the significant size advantage of the codex, and posited its special utility for Christians wanting a number of works within the same book (e.g., all of the Gospels or the letters of Paul). Above all, this format would facilitate the transpor-

61. The well-known *gematria* employed in Barnabas's christological exegesis of Abraham's 318 servants presupposes the abbreviated form of the name of Jesus, IH. It is somewhat unfortunate for Roberts's theory that, as he acknowledges (ibid., 35-36), the *nomen sacrum* for Jesus is a contraction, ΙΣ, rather than an abbreviation.

62. See his concluding sketch, ibid., 49-73.

63. See esp. Roberts's monograph, coauthored with T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983), a revised and expanded version of his influential discussion, "The Codex," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 50 (1954) 169-204.

64. In reliance on Roberts. See Metzger, *Text*, 260-61.

65. I am obliged to Harry Gamble for his discussion of these theories. See the fuller treatment in his forthcoming monograph, *Books and Readers in Early Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press). Also see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 294-97.

66. The cost advantages are calculated by T. C. Skeat in "The Length of the Standard Papyrus Roll and the Cost-Advantage of the Codex," *ZPE* 45 (1982) 169-75.

tation of such collections for missionaries and other Christian travelers. Finally, other scholars, including Roberts himself, have proposed historical reasons for the use of the codex: that some early authority figure (e.g., Mark, the author of the second Gospel), utilized the codex for his work, providing some kind of apostolic approbation of the practice.[67] Perhaps most scholars, however, would allow for a confluence of several of these, and possibly other, factors as ultimately decisive for the Christian use of the codex.

III. Conclusions

What, in conclusion, can one say about the utility of the MS tradition of the NT for the scholar of Christian antiquity? Textual scholars have enjoyed reasonable success at establishing, to the best of their abilities, the original text of the NT. Indeed, barring extraordinary new discoveries (e.g., the autographs!) or phenomenal alterations of method, it is virtually inconceivable that the physiognomy of our printed Greek New Testaments is ever going to change significantly. At the same time, critics have only begun to prove as assiduous in pursuing the history of the text's subsequent transmission. Scholars have already used some of the available data to unpack some aspects of Christian social history: the nature of the early theological controversies, the polemical relations between Christians and Jews, the suppression of women in the church, the use of magic and fortune-telling among ordinary Christians, the extent and character of the early Christian mission, the use of Christian Scripture in public worship and private devotion. Much more, however, is left to be done, both on these issues and on others, as we move beyond a narrow concern for the autographs to an interest in the history of their transmission, a history that can serve as a window into the social world of early Christianity.

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67. This was Roberts's earlier view ("The Codex," 187-91), one that he retracted in *Birth of the Codex*, 57-61. For an intriguing argument that the codex was introduced as a vehicle for the Pauline corpus, see Gamble's forthcoming monograph, *Books and Readers;* and idem, "The Pauline Corpus and the Early Christian Book," in *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (ed. W. J. Babcock; Dallas: SMU Press, 1990) 265-80.

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