

TEXTUAL DILEMMA

Studies in the Second-Century Text of the New Testament

Timo Flink



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Joensuun yliopiston teologisia julkaisuja
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Abstract

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The Greek text of the most recent Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* has established itself as the standard text for general NT scholarship. Despite this, several text-critical scholars (and works) have suggested numerous changes to it. Textual scholars have discussed almost every aspect of NT text-critical methodology and still disagree on how best to arrive at the second-century text of the NT. There is no consensus in sight, as the reconstructions of the NT text are textually disputed, and there are disagreements on what would constitute valid criteria for text-critical work. This present research deals with hundreds of individual textual problems, furthering the discussions on the second-century text of the NT.

First, I will study the text-critical problem in Jn 1,34 that is yet to achieve consensus. I will argue that John the Baptist declared of Jesus that he is δ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ on the basis that such a reading best explains the rival readings. Secondly, the text of Jude has been revised by two recent works that disagree on Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18. I will present my study of these textual locations and conclude that they should read ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς, ἀπαφρίζοντα, πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, and ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου, respectively.

The bulk of the research is devoted to the orthographic Koine/Attic variations in the NT textual tradition. I will study 712 textual locations of which 373 textual locations attest two morphologically rival forms of the same word, Koine and Attic. Based on the Greek usage in the extra-biblical non-literary and literary sources of the first two centuries, I will conclude that sometimes scribes Atticised the original Koine readings to their Attic equivalents, and at other times they modernised the spelling of the older Attic forms to their later Koine equivalents on the basis of the development of the Greek language. This research lays the foundation for further studies of early scribal habits in this respect. Based on my findings, I will present 94 textual changes, some probable, some tentative, to the critical text of the NT.

Together these three separate areas further the research into the second-century text of the NT, and present one hundred changes to the standard text of the NT. They are case studies that call for a reassessment of the text found in our current critical edition of the NT.

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I am greatly indebted to my family, relatives, and friends. I could not have finished this research without their loving support. They have carried the burdens with me. I extend my heartfelt thanks to my wife Minna, sons Henri and Teemu, parents Alpo and Liisa Flink, and parents-in-law Olavi and Anja Puustelli.

I wish to dedicate this research to Johan A. Japp of Helderberg College, my very first Seventh-day Adventist professor of Biblical Studies, now emeritus. He encouraged me to pursue doctoral studies in the field of New Testament, and taught me the meaning of τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα οἶδας, τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίσει εἰς σωτηρίαν διὰ πίστεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (2 Tim 3,15). I am forever in your debt.

Soli Deo Gloria.

Mikkeli, August 2009

Timo Flink

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1. Rethinking Aspects of the Text of the NT

1.1. Introduction

The current critical NT editions commonly used in NT scholarship are the result of decades of work by numerous scholars. Is there any need to rethink them textually, if not methodologically? How can the textual scholarship best approximate what the original NT authors wrote from the available textual evidence?

The Oxford Debate on NT textual criticism held at New College on May 6, 1897 was a watershed event. It was a debate between two rivals in NT textual criticism; those supporting the *Textus Receptus* (TR) as the original text of the Greek NT, and those opposing it.¹ The supporters of the TR were content with the idea that its text was a relatively pure copy of the NT autographs, despite being based on only a few late witnesses called minuscules.² They believed that scribes had preserved the text of the NT faithfully throughout the centuries by accurate copying. In their minds the few minuscules behind the TR were relatively free from errors and the text of the NT was settled.

By contrast, the opponents of the TR held the idea that those few minuscule manuscripts were bad copies filled with scribal corruptions. They favoured earlier, more ancient manuscripts as less corrupt, and argued for a qualitatively different way to reconstruct the NT text. Hence, the debated issue was not just the text of the TR. Rather, it dealt with the question how to do NT textual criticism. The debate concentrated on the history of the NT text, its transmission and preservation in the hands of the scribes throughout history. In short, it dealt

¹ The *TEXTUS RECEPTUS* was a work of Erasmus and his successors. It went through several revisions; first from 1516 to 1550 by Erasmus, then by Robert Estienne, and finally by Theodore Beza, who made nine editions from 1565 to 1604. The edition published 1550 (Estienne) was the most influential of them all. The *Textus Receptus* was based on a few late minuscules available to Erasmus at the university library in Basel (XII/XIII AD). Most famous of them are minuscules 1 and 2. Erasmus deferred to his own Greek translation of Latin sources when his Greek witnesses were defective. There were some earlier majuscules available in the library (D/05, D/06, E/08), but he did not consult them. The TR could be termed an eclectic edition in a limited scope (Aland and Aland 1989: 3-4).

² MINUSCULES are witnesses in which the writing is in running cursive, lower letters. The vast majority of them are witnesses from the second millennium.

with scribal tendencies and their impact on the text. The debate put an end to the TR as the generally accepted original text of the NT.³

The Oxford Debate did not happen in a historical vacuum. The German scholar Karl Lachmann had abandoned the TR long before the Oxford Debate. He discarded the later minuscule witnesses in favour of the earlier majuscules.⁴ Lachmann used genealogical methods taken from Classical Studies to establish what he believed to be the earliest attainable text of the NT. This meant that he often used only four majuscules in his work, sometimes even fewer, because he was convinced that their texts represented an early state of the text of the NT, as established by the genealogical method. His work culminated in a critical edition of the Greek NT in 1831. His intention was not to produce the original text of the NT. He thought such an enterprise impossible, a sentiment that some modern textual scholars would agree with.⁵ Rather, he aimed at a documentary edition to print a NT text used in the fourth century.⁶ His work was continued by B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, who produced another text of the Greek NT in 1881 to rival the TR. This led to the Oxford Debate, which in many ways was the beginning of modern NT textual criticism by its abandonment of the TR.⁷ Textual scholars have sought to establish a more authentic NT text even since the debate.

The work of Westcott and Hort was the pinnacle of the long period of thinking about text-critical issues. It reaches back centuries, to the time of the early church fathers, whose text-critical discussions exerted methodological and textual influences on subsequent works. This includes our current critical editions, the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum* (NA) and the United Bible Societies Greek New Testament (UBS), used in modern research of the NT.⁸ These editions have settled most disputes for most scholars. This is seen in many recent exegetical works. They follow the text of UBS/NA unwaiveringly.⁹

³ North 1999.

⁴ MAJUSCULES are witnesses in which the writing is in capital letters or uncials. With only a couple of exceptions (mss. 055, and 0299), all majuscule witnesses are from the first millennium.

⁵ Parker (1997: 203-13) has argued that there was no original text of the New Testament as a single text to begin with. Instead, according to Parker there was a living text that grew and was moulded by the scribes in their *Sitz im Leben* as they passed on the traditions of the church.

⁶ Metzger 1992b: 124-25.

⁷ Metzger 1992b: 135; North 1999: 1-5.

⁸ Karavidopoulos 2002 (one of the editors of the UBS/NA); Parsons 1986. By the time of writing this doctoral dissertation, the UBS/NA is supplanted by the *Novum Testamentum Editio Critica Maior* (the ECM) in the Catholic Letters.

⁹ A good example of this attitude is Karen Jobes's volume on 1 Peter in the Baker Exegetical Commentary of the New Testament Series (Jobes 2005). Jobes's work has 364 pages. Her text-critical notes take less than two pages, and she always follows the UBS/NA. Yet 1 Peter contains a number of textual difficulties not easily decided. The ECM makes seven changes to the actual text in comparison to the UBS/NA. It marks 28 textual locations with bold dots, indicating problems for deciding which

Despite this, attempts to reconstruct the earliest achievable text of the NT are still ongoing. Modern research of the text of the NT has been scrupulous and meticulous. While many issues on methodology are broadly agreed, there is no general consensus on the actual text of the NT. There are also disagreements over the methodological issues as well. Works in the field of NT textual criticism have been carried out with an ever increasing number of primary sources, suggestions on methodological issues, and proposals on textual problems. This has constantly shaped and re-shaped the matters involved in the attempts to reconstruct the earliest achievable text of the NT, now called the initial text.¹⁰ Current scholarly interests lie in the search for the second-century text, which many believe is the earliest attainable state of the text of the NT.¹¹ Yet there is no accord on the issues of the early history of the transmission of the NT text.¹² It is still disputed how carefully the scribes preserved what they copied, what scribal tendencies are detectable in the NT textual tradition, and how such tendencies should inform the process of reconstructing a critical edition of the NT text.

This doctoral dissertation joins various recent textual studies by solving, at least tentatively, the state of the second-century text of Jn 1,34; Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18; and the total of 373 textual locations containing orthographical Koine/Attic variations. In total, I suggest one hundred changes to the UBS/NA edition to further the research of the second-century text, and by doing so, to enhance our critical NT text. The case studies in this research have important methodological implications for the recent discussions on NT textual criticism (see section 1.2.4). This research complements text-critical studies in Nordic countries, where relatively little has been written on NT textual criticism. The works of Albin, Caragounis, Loimaranta, Kieffer, Riesenfeldt, and Wasserman are the most notable exceptions (see the bibliography).

variant should stand in the text. Some of these are significant readings. Even UBS⁴ lists eight variant readings with a “C” rating, indicating serious doubt over the textual decisions. Another eight variant readings have a “B” rating, indicating some doubt over them. Therefore, it is perhaps symptomatic of this view of the UBS/NA as the new standard text to see so little discussion on variant readings.

¹⁰ The difference is that the INITIAL TEXT refers to the text-critically reconstructed hypothetical text that is assumed to be the earliest achievable text from whence the NT textual tradition derives. This is not necessarily the same as the ORIGINAL TEXT penned by the biblical authors, or texts, if they wrote more than one version. Any major revision of the NT text very early on, to which we have no access due to the total lack of first-century witnesses, casts uncertainties over the relationship between the original text and the initial text.

¹¹ For discussions on the second-century text, see, e.g., K. Aland 1986; Amphoux 1999; Amphoux and Elliott 2003; Burton 2000; Parker and Amphoux 1996; Petersen 1989; Taylor 1999.

¹² Karavidopoulos 2002: 385.

1.2. An In-Depth Look at the Selected Issues

1.2.1 God's Chosen in John 1,34

The study of Jn 1,34 in chapter two is a significant revision of my previously published articles (Flink 2005, 2007a). The issue is how Jn 1,34 should read at the end of the verse, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ or ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ or possibly something else? This textual location is still disputed, and waits for a scholarly consensus. I will introduce the debate and previously proposed solutions for this particular textual location. I will also note some errors that relate to the reporting of what a few textual witnesses read in their lacunose parts. For this reason the study includes my reconstructions of readings for some early papyri in the disputed locations (cf. P^{5,116}). Lastly, I will deal with the individual textual variants in Jn 1,34 to explain the textual history of the variation, and I will argue that the initial reading was ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. This outcome is a departure from my previous attempts to solve the problem. They were based on the assumption that the papyrus P^{75*} reads ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός at Jn 1,34, as reported earlier by the INTF, Münster. They have now changed their verdict on the reading erased by its scribe and list P^{75*} as too doubtful to say anything about it.

This study demonstrates that the merits of rare readings with scant external evidence¹³ should be discussed in disputed textual locations (such as Jn 1,34), especially if they are found in the early papyri, despite the apparent tenacity of the textual tradition of the NT. The tradition may have suffered an early corruption, and the initial reading may have survived only in a handful of witnesses, even as a singular or a sub-singular reading, whose value as authentic readings is much debated.

Since there has been some confusion over the terminology in the past¹⁴, I will first define what constitutes singular and sub-singular readings in this research. A singular reading is a unique reading to one single textual witness, one that has no direct attestation anywhere else, including versions and fathers. There is one exception to this that I follow. Textual families *f*¹ and *f*¹³ constitute *singular* witnesses, because they are known to derive from a single archetype each. If

¹³ The EXTERNAL EVIDENCE deals with the date of the sources/witnesses (manuscripts, fathers, versions), their character (type of text, the perceived quality of the witness etc), and at times their geographical distribution. However, the emphasis is given to the genealogical relationships of witnesses and textual groups. An EXTERNAL CRITERION is a principle or a rule governing how to decide on matters pertaining to the external evidence.

By contrast, the INTERNAL EVIDENCE refers to what scribes were likely to do (transcriptional probabilities) and what the authors were likely to write (intrinsic probabilities), that is, to the two aspects of the actual text found in the manuscripts. INTERNAL CRITERION is a principle or a rule that refers to how to decide on such matters.

¹⁴ Epp and Fee 1993: 47-79.

these families break apart so that part of the family presents one reading and the other part its rival, the members of the family are noted individually, and are not counted as constituting a singular witness. Because of its uniqueness, the NT textual tradition needs to be searched carefully for the singular readings so that witnesses containing the same readings are not accidentally overlooked.¹⁵

The sub-singular reading is “a non-genetic, accidental agreement in variation between two MSS, which are not otherwise closely related” (Epp and Fee 1993: 54). This basic premise by Gordon D. Fee is a workable definition with a little modification. Any reading that appears in *exactly two* witnesses, whatever they may be, constitutes a sub-singular reading. Combinations that have three or more independent witnesses are *not* considered sub-singular readings. Here again families f^1 and f^{13} act as a single witness, so e.g. a combination like Θf^1 is sub-singular.

It is not a new methodological position that singular and sub-singular readings may be authentic, that is, part of the initial text. Some scholars have argued so in the past (see section 1.6.2.1). Even the UBS/NA occasionally contains some singular and sub-singular readings in the base text (e.g. $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\chi\alpha\nu$ in Rev 18,3 supported by mss. 1006^c 2329). Sometimes its sub-singular readings are supported by one papyrus and a single uncial, but apparently never by a papyrus and some Patristic evidence. In light of my studies on Jn 1,34 and the Koine/Attic orthographic variations (see below), I propose that the singular and sub-singular readings should be seriously considered, if the following conditions are met at least in part. (I) The reading is early, usually found within the NT papyri. (II) It occurs in a textually disputed location where it is difficult to find an acceptable solution. (III) It is an inherited reading from the now lost exemplar(s), not a scribal creation. (IV) The reading diverges from the established scribal habits of the textual witness(es) containing it. (V) It best explains other readings, often concurring with the principle *lectio difficilior*.¹⁶

It is to be understood that in the Koine/Attic orthographic variations conditions (II) and (V) are not applicable.

¹⁵ A possible example of this accidental oversight is found in a study by Head (2004). He argues that Jn 1,41 in P¹⁰⁶ presents a singular reading by omitting οὗτος. This is true only of the Greek witnesses. Old Latin e omits *hic*. Thus, two witnesses (P¹⁰⁶ e) have the same omission, and the reading should be classified as sub-singular.

¹⁶ *LECTIO DIFFICILIOR* is a critical principle that prefers harder, more difficult readings to easier, smoother ones.

1.2.2 The Text of Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18

The second study is found in chapter three. The *Novum Testamentum Editio Critica Maior* series (the ECM) and Tommy Wasserman's monograph¹⁷ have recently reconstructed the text of Jude afresh. They offer several changes to the text of the UBS/NA. My question is what did the author of Jude write in verses 5, 13, 15, and 18? These are disputed between the UBS/NA, the ECM, and Wasserman. I will deal with each textual location separately and in-depth.

This study is a revision of my article concerning these textual locations in Jude (Flink 2007b). It demonstrates the use of recent trends in reasoned eclecticism¹⁸ with an experimental methodology, which makes internal, rather than external, evidence the final arbiter. The method I use combines the genealogical data published in the the ECM for Jude with more traditional argumentations about the external and internal evidence. For an explanation of my method, see section 1.6.2.2.

I will argue that in Jude 13, 15 and 18 the text should read ἀπαφρίζοντα, πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, and ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου, respectively. These solutions differ from the UBS/NA and the ECM, and agree with Wasserman's reconstruction. I will suggest that the initial reading in Jude 5 was ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς. This differs slightly from the ECM reading, dropping the second ὑμᾶς just before ἅπαξ as a scribal blunder. My solution disagrees with both the UBS/NA and Wasserman.

1.2.3. Scribes with Attic Greek

Is Atticism a valid internal criterion? The Atticistic tendency is a scribal activity to rewrite Koine words with their Attic equivalents while making a manuscript copy. This was a common practice in the second century. When referring to a text-critical principle, Atticism is an internal criterion that seeks out Attic expressions in the NT and prefers their Koine equivalents, whenever both are found as *variae lectiones*, to counter the perceived changes brought by the Atticistic tendencies of the scribes (e.g. εἶπα for εἶπον). But to what extent, if any, did Atticistic tendencies affect the transmission of the NT text?

I offer a study of the Koine/Attic orthographic variations (morphological divergences in writing the same word) in chapter four, showing that the issue over Koine and Attic variations is more complex than previous studies have envisaged. I will demonstrate that Atticism is a valid principle for NT textual

¹⁷ ECM IV.4; Wasserman 2006.

¹⁸ REASONED ECLECTICISM is a methodological approach in which the different arguments over the external and internal evidence are kept in balance. In the past the last court of appeal has fallen to the external evidence in case of conflict between the different types of arguments. Recently this has shifted to the internal evidence because of the relative rarity of the second-century manuscripts.

criticism, but it has a limited scope. Scribes influenced by Atticistic tendencies replaced some Koine forms with their Attic equivalents in the NT textual tradition. At the same time there was an opposite tendency. In some textual locations some scribes rewrote the initial Attic words with their later Koine equivalents by using the Greek idiom of their own day (or locale). They essentially modernised the spelling of the text without changing its meaning. This offers another aspect for general discussions on scribal tendencies.

Both of these scribal tendencies show up in the same way in the textual tradition: as Koine/Attic variation. Scribes did not consider orthographical changes as textual corruption or perceive them as affecting the quality of the manuscript copy made.¹⁹ Hence, some of these changes were probably unintentional, but nevertheless altered the text copied. The real question then is which way the changes went in each textual location. This will be determined on the basis of the NT textual tradition, authorial usage of Greek, and the contemporary non-literary and literary Greek usage. This presents important groundwork for future studies in this area.

There is a corollary issue that flows out of my study of the orthographic Koine/Attic variations. Morphological divergences should not be considered just as orthographica but also as singular and sub-singular readings, when appropriate. Orthographical variations are distinct from other variant readings, because they are genealogically less significant. Hence, the Koine/Attic readings are an exceptional area, which might be kept separate from the general question of the merits of singular and sub-singular readings. Nevertheless, they *appear as* singular and sub-singular readings in their own right, just distinct from other such readings. They can be perceived as a special subset within the larger set of singular and sub-singular readings. This implies that they are not totally different from their non-orthographical counterparts, but care is needed to generalise the implications perceived from these orthographical readings. Thus, my study shows that some singular and sub-singular orthographic readings should be taken seriously, and even some conjectures²⁰ might be needed on some (very) rare occasions.

The Koine/Attic study is the biggest and most important part of this dissertation, because it deals with a rather neglected area of NT textual criticism. Thanks to computer technology and recent works on the NT textual witnesses, I

¹⁹ Mink 2004.

²⁰ A CONJECTURE or a CONJECTURAL READING is a hypothetical reading found in none of the existing sources from whence the existing readings are thought to derive. This hypothetical reading is the reconstructed initial reading that has been completely lost to us due to historical exigencies.

have had access to a vast number of primary sources.²¹ Many new witnesses have come to light (e.g. P¹¹⁶–P¹²⁴, 0307–0318). These witnesses were not known when the most recent editions of UBS/NA were published. Their testimony can now be added to the discussions on the external evidence. These new witnesses also add to our knowledge of the early scribal tendencies, in so far as they give evidence concerning them. Thus, I present some rethinking on the state of the second-century NT text using the vast databases now available, either in printed or in electronic form.²² My discussion on the orthographical Koine/Attic variations includes a methodological approach that hopefully can be used to solve similar problems in the future.

1.2.4. Implications

This entire research suggests one hundred textual changes to the UBS/NA text. It shows that the scribal tendencies have an important role in solving the text-critical issues relating to the second-century NT text. This is seen in each case study, and forms a unifying background theme for this research. Hence, this research supports the argumentation that the internal criteria, rather than the external evidence, should be the last court of appeal in text-critical choices. The early scribal tendencies make it virtually impossible to maintain that some individual manuscripts are so close to the initial text as to generally overrule the internal criteria or other external evidence. Previous reconstructions of the NT seem to suffer from such a distorted approach to the external evidence to a noticeable degree. Even though the perceived quality of the favoured manuscripts are based on their internal evidence, they have been used too generally in contradiction to other textual evidence. Such a step is seen in some inconsistencies this researcher has found in the UBS/NA edition.

This research has the following methodological implications. (1) When proper conditions are met, singular and sub-singular readings need to be studied to see if they present a viable option as initial readings. The answer to the question whether singular and sub-singular readings are always textual corruptions is clearly in the negative. (2) Atticism is a valid internal criterion with some limitations, and needs to be taken seriously in discussions on what the scribes most likely did with the text they copied. (3) There is a need for further studies in the actual development of Greek in conjunction with the NT textual

²¹ The following are examples of resources that have been particularly valuable in the course of this study: ECM IV.1; ECM IV.2; ECM IV.3; ECM IV.4; *Text und Textwert*; Burton *et al.* 2008; ENTGM; W.J. Elliott and Parker 1995, 2007; Lakmann *et al.* 2005; Swanson 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005; Willker 2008a, 2008b.

²² I here follow the lead of Epp (2002), who calls for rethinking on all major issues relating to New Testament textual criticism.

tradition and its transmission to evaluate whether some textual variations are scribal changes to the later Greek idiom or a result of Atticistic tendencies. A mere preference for Attic or Koine readings can no longer be maintained. It needs to be demonstrated on a word by word basis using philological studies.

1.3. Limitations and Delimitations

This research has some limitations and delimitations. First, the entire textual tradition of the NT has not been published anywhere. The ongoing work on the *Editio Critica Maior* will undoubtedly reveal information that has the potential to change some outcomes of this study, especially the ones dealing with the orthographic Attic/Koine variation, and singular/sub-singular readings. These two issues overlap partially in the NT textual tradition. New information not presently available may change the status of some variant readings. Some singular and sub-singular readings may no longer belong to those categories, if such readings are found in additional manuscripts. These kinds of changes necessitate re-evaluations of the variant readings in question, especially if they were deemed to be singular readings by the scribal aberrations.

Second, I have limited myself to the *orthographic* Koine/Attic variations. Some orthographic variations may have arisen accidentally, which makes them ideal for establishing the possible Atticistic tendencies. More generally, Atticism and/or a shift to Koine usage may have affected changes in the vocabulary and use of tenses in the NT textual tradition as well, but these features are not studied in this research. They are reserved for future studies.

Third, the study of the Greek usage vis-à-vis the orthographic Koine/Attic variation uses the Perseus Digital Library containing the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri as a reference point to the early Greek usage.²³ The information regarding the non-literary papyri is in a state of flux, as the Perseus library is an ongoing project. Further research may reveal sources that place Koine forms earlier in history than has been possible to find at present. This has the potential to upset some results of this study in so far as the orthographic Attic/Koine variation goes. In retrospect, the databank at Perseus is already a vast source of information and the general outcome is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. I have cross-referenced most of the material with the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG). In most cases the latter database does not reveal any new information unavailable in the Duke Databank.

Fourth, this research has not tackled every singular/sub-singular reading in the NT textual tradition. Instead, I have proceeded from test cases to hypothesise

²³ Crane 2008.

a general principle regarding such readings. This inductive method has its drawbacks, and further research is necessary to confirm principles I suggest help to establish those minority readings that have a claim for authenticity. Nevertheless, this research supports the position that on some rare cases only the (sub)-singular readings are left of the initial text, due to primitive corruptions.

Fifth, the external evidence used to evaluate the text of Jude is taken from the genealogical data, published in the ECM series on Jude. This evidence may change in the future when a revision being prepared at INTF, Münster will be published.²⁴ This applies mostly to the genealogical relationships between witnesses.

Sixth, I regard the second-century state of the NT text as the initial text of the now known NT textual tradition. Yet this may not be the same text that the original authors penned. This position is disputable, but in defence, there are no first-century witnesses for the NT text, and the second-century witnesses are rare. Most of the earliest witnesses come from the third and fourth centuries onward. Hence, there is only a limited possibility to see a given variant as a first-century reading. In light of the textual evidence, it seems plausible to reach the state of the text in the second century. Yet it is very complicated to go beyond it, because then one has to depend mainly on the intrinsic evidence, whose value cannot be guaranteed. If there were any major revisions in the very early history of the transmission of the NT text, when e.g. various writings were brought together as a collection, the intrinsic evidence becomes unstable. One cannot be certain that the text in such a collection would necessarily copy the original author's exact text. Instead, it might refer to what an editor or a collector published, because they might have introduced changes into the text. Therefore, I proceed from the position that the objective evidence, the NT textual tradition, can take textual scholarship back to the second century relatively safely, but not to the first century without reservations, because the relationship between the original text and the initial text remains blurred. Hence, my aim is to reach the second-century state of the text of the NT in the textual cases chosen. Incidentally, the Koine/Attic variation may be an area where the intrinsic evidence does take us back to the first century, but even here uncertainties remain, and many of my textual suggestions are tentative only.

1.4. The Text-Critical Method in History

In order to appreciate the modern debates and the complexities of reconstructing the second-century text of the NT, I will briefly look at some of the more

²⁴ A private communication with Gerd Mink, Jan 8, 2008.

important developments in NT textual criticism throughout history. Aspects covered affect this research and lay the foundation for my discussion on the text-critical methodology.²⁵ The “story” of NT textual criticism starts with some early patristic writers. They had access to different manuscripts containing variations in the text, and commented on these variant readings using some concepts that have parallels to modern methodological discussions. This group of people includes Eusebius, Irenaeus, Jerome, and Origen. Bruce M. Metzger notes that they are important sources for two reasons. (1) They enable a modern textual critic to assess the critical acumen of the patristic writer in choosing among the variant readings; (2) They provide important information for the history of the NT text in terms of the definite time and place where variant readings existed.²⁶ This second reason is useful in modern discussions on the merits of varied readings, because patristic usage can pinpoint those variants that by necessity are ancient, and should be discussed.

1.4.1. Patristic Writers

Irenaeus (d. ca. AD 202) acted as a textual critic as early as the end of the second century. He dealt with a textual problem regarding the number of the beast in the Apocalypse. Most manuscripts have it as 666, but a few known to Irenaeus read the number as 616 – as is seen today in P¹¹⁵ C *pc*. This illustrates that there was a textual corruption in the manuscripts of the Apocalypse already about a century after its original composition, commented upon by Irenaeus. He used four distinct criteria to make his text-critical choices. He preferred that variant reading which (1) is older, (2) is found in better manuscripts, (3) has the best appeal to internal probabilities, and (4) best accounts for the origin of other variant readings.²⁷ Irenaeus believed that a scribal blunder (ξ → ι) is the explanation why some manuscripts he considered inferior contained the number of the beast as 616 instead of 666 at Rev 13,18. He regarded the latter as the proper reading and told his readers that it is found ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις (“in all the conscientious and ancient copies”).²⁸ Irenaeus also took advantage of the textual variation. At least once he used two competing variant readings as if both were original. He chose that variant reading that best fitted his theological topic when commenting on Mk 1,2. When he was discussing the fulfilment of the OT referred to by Mark, he quoted the

²⁵ This is done partially for the benefit of readers not familiar with such developments, or NT textual criticism in general.

²⁶ Metzger 1980: 189-98.

²⁷ Metzger 1980: 190; M.C. Williams 2006: 50.

²⁸ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 5.30.1.

Markan text with ἐν τοῖς προφήταις (contra the UBS/NA).²⁹ By contrast, when he was discussing the need for four Gospel narratives, he quoted Mark with ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ (so the UBS/NA).³⁰ In other words, he found edifying truths in both rival readings.

Origen (d. AD 253/254) was another observer of variant readings, but he was arguably quite uncritical in his evaluation of their significance.³¹ Origen often noted the existence of variant readings in the manuscripts known to him without stating his preference or reasons for choosing one over the others (Epp 2007). At times Origen used different variant readings to suit his needs as if they were all written by the biblical authors.³² He used words like “few”, “other”, “certain”, “many”, “most”, or “almost all” in reference to manuscripts, when discussing the external evidence in favour of a given variant reading. He often accepted readings based on quantity of manuscripts, not quality. Most of his comments are found in commentaries on Matthew, John and Romans.

When citing the OT witnesses known to him, he used such expressions as “the (more) accurate”, “the ancient”, “the majority”, and “the common manuscripts”.³³ He employed text-critical criteria such as a reading’s suitability to its context, harmony with parallel passages, and preference for a shorter reading.³⁴ He preferred to disharmonise parallel accounts. Origen commented on several variant readings as heretical aberrations of the text (e.g. Βαραββᾶν, *v.l.* Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν at Mt 27,16-17). He lamented the amount of diversity among the manuscripts due to unintentional carelessness, intentional alterations,

²⁹ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 3.10.5.

³⁰ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 3.11.8. Origen did the same thing with competing variant readings in Heb 2,9. He accepted both χάριτι θεοῦ and χωρὶς θεοῦ as giving edifying truths (see *Comm. in Ioan.* 1.40). Likewise, Augustine accepted both ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in Jn 1,34 as original, depending on what he was arguing for. These fathers considered *both* rival readings as authoritative. This might imply that different textual streams were considered as deriving from the original author, or at least perceived to do so (Culley 2000; Niditsch 1996: 5).

³¹ Epp and Fee 1993: 17-44; Metzger 1968.

³² Epp (2002); Metzger 1980: 192. For example, on different occasions Origen made use of both variant readings found in Heb 2,9 (χάριτι θεοῦ, *v.l.* χωρὶς θεοῦ), which make a different theological point in their context. Origen was content to accept either reading as original. He has similarly undecided views elsewhere.

It is debatable whether Origen is the founder of textual criticism as Epp argues. Irenaeus is an earlier father using text-critical canons to comment on variant readings, though he does not explicitly state these canons. But he uses ideas expressed by such canons. If a father is to be seen as the founder of NT textual criticism, in my opinion, Irenaeus is a better choice, to a degree, though it is debatable whether such a concept as “the founder of textual criticism” is really a useful description of the works of these early fathers. In any case, NT textual criticism, as it is nowadays understood, does not find a direct counterpart in the early fathers despite some similarities in thinking.

³³ Metzger 1968; Pock 1948, 1960.

³⁴ Epp and Fee 1993: 18. M.C. Williams (2006: 50) notes that Origen preferred the lack of μετανοεῖτε seen in some witnesses of Mt 4,17b on the basis that the people had already repented at John the Baptist’s preaching and were in no need to do so again at the preaching of Jesus.

deletions, additions, and other such changes.³⁵ In other words, Origen observed some early scribal tendencies and their impact on the NT text. He chose variant readings based on his own investigations of geography (e.g. Βηθανία vs. Βηθαβαρά in Jn 1,28; Γαδαρηνῶν vs. Γεργεσηνῶν vs. Γερασηνῶν in Mt 8,28) or of history (ἐκλιπόντος vs. ἔσκοτίσθη in Lk 23,45), believing the rival readings to be scribal corruptions. He showed concern for a “correct” text, but his treatment of the NT variants is quite uncritical from the modern point of view.³⁶

Jerome (d. AD 419/420) is perhaps the best versed in principles and practices of NT textual criticism among the church fathers. While producing the Vulgate translation of the NT, he preferred older manuscripts and readings more in harmony with the grammar or context of their passages. Jerome noted how carefully scribes copied and corrected their texts, and how this affected the reliability of a given witness.³⁷ This includes many statements on copyists’ errors arising from faulty word-division, faulty punctuation, and confusion of number-signs, similar letters, and abbreviations, dittography, haplography³⁸, metathesis of letters, assimilation, omissions, transpositions, conscious emendations, and interpolations.³⁹ Jerome seldom gives the reasons for his choice of a certain variant reading. When he does so, the reasoning is quite valid from the modern text-critical perspective. In some cases he appealed to the antiquity of manuscripts or to their presumed excellence. Intrinsic or transcriptional probabilities tipped the scales for him at other times.

For example, Jerome argued that εἰκῆ (“without cause”) in Mt 5,22 is not found in the most ancient copies, but has been *added* to some manuscripts.⁴⁰ Jerome took it to be the result of early scribal tendencies. He stated that Mk 16,9 may be spurious, because it is found only in a few copies and in contradiction to the majority of them, and that the statement contradicts other evangelists. His position is likely based on Eusebius (d. AD 339), who had noted earlier that the text of Mark ended with ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ (Mk 16,8) in nearly all copies, and Mk 16,9-20 was found only in some copies. Eusebius concluded that the longer

³⁵ Vaganay and Amphoux 1991: 96.

³⁶ Epp 1997. By contrast, Law (2008) has criticised the theories that textual criticism was Origen’s primary motivation.

³⁷ Epp and Fee 1993: 18, 143-73; Hulley 1944; Lagrange 1935: 37; M.C. Williams 2006: 50.

³⁸ DITTOGRAPHY means doubling a letter, a syllable, a word or any block of text due to similarities in the text (e.g. like ΟΥΔΕΝ → ΟΥΔΕΕΝ, which turns οὐδέν to οὐδὲ ἓν). HAPLOGRAPHY is the opposite, omission of a letter, a syllable, a word or any block of text (e.g. like ΣΥΝΚΑΛΕΙΤΑΙΤΑΣ → ΣΥΝΚΑΛΕΙΤΑΣ, which turns συναλείται τάς to συναλεί τάς). These are unintentional errors that crept into the NT textual tradition usually by lapses of the eye, whether due to fatigue or otherwise.

³⁹ Arns 1953; Hulley 1944: 87-109; Metzger 1980: 199-210; M.H. Williams 2006.

⁴⁰ Metzger 1980: 192. Augustine and Pseudo-Athanasius both follow Jerome in stating that “without cause” does not belong to the text.

ending is superfluous and contradicts the testimony of the other Evangelists.⁴¹ The position for the shorter ending was later followed by Hesychius of Jerusalem and Severus of Antioch. The change came with Victor of Antioch. He considered Mk 16,9-20 authentic, because he found it in the copies of the Palestinian Gospel of Mark, which he considered (more) accurate.⁴² The implied assumption here is that Victor considered some scribes more faithful preservers of the text than others.

The extant textual tradition of the NT is quite distinct from that known to Jerome. He often declared that the majority of ancient manuscripts supported one reading, which reading is now known only from a handful of witnesses. Many times the minority reading known to Jerome is now known from most of the NT textual tradition.⁴³ Such disparity may be a result of the knowledge of witnesses known to Jerome, limited in scope in comparison to what is now known. But there is a possibility, unsettling perhaps, that in certain textual cases the extant textual tradition of the NT does not properly represent the tradition as it stood in the past. This is an important observation, for the partial nature of the evidence available presents problems in the search for the second-century text on the basis of the external evidence. Hence, there has been a shift to give more weight to the internal evidence.

What text-critical principles are then found in the patristic writers? To use the modern terminology, they were eclectics making use of both the external and internal evidence. Their principles included (1) the use of best manuscripts, often the oldest ones, (2) the use of textual groups by shared readings, (3) a preference for the readings that best explained the rise of other readings, (4) considerations of the scribal tendencies in their numerous forms, and (5) considerations of context and proper Greek grammar.

1.4.2. *The Modern Era*

While the aforementioned patristic writers made important text-critical comments, they were in the minority. Most early scholars were not interested in NT textual criticism. Instead, NT textual criticism is a relatively recent discipline, which began after the original publishing of the TR. Although Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir described their revision of the TR (1633) with the words *textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum* (“having therefore the text, received by all now”), scholars soon began to question the principles

⁴¹ Metzger 1980: 193.

⁴² Metzger 1980: 194, 200-206.

⁴³ Metzger 1980: 208.

and manuscripts upon which the TR was based.⁴⁴ Some of them are more important than others for the current research.

Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752) has made two significant contributions to the discussion on NT text-critical methodology. The first contribution is the idea that witnesses must be weighed, not counted. It is the quality of the external evidence, not the quantity that counts. Patristic writers had a similar concept, but Bengel refined and expressed it as a decisive criterion. Bengel's second contribution was that the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the easier readings (*lectio difficilior potior*).⁴⁵ He grouped manuscripts into the Asiatic text, and the African text. The former was the textual stream used in Constantinople and its surrounding districts, and the latter one the textual stream in two subdivisions, one in the Alexandrian area, and the other in the Latin-speaking West. This anticipated the grouping of the NT textual tradition into text-types and families. Although such a division is contestable, it was nevertheless a step forward. Johann Salomo Semler (1725-91) developed this concept further by arguing that there were three recensions: Alexandrian, Eastern and Western.⁴⁶ Bengel's first criterion is the basis for much of the work by Westcott and Hort more than a century later. They saw in Codex Vaticanus a superior witness to the text of the NT.

Johann Jacob Wettstein (1693-1754) advanced the canons of criticism further. He preferred harsher sounding variant readings as long as the context was not violated, shorter and more conscious readings except in cases of (un)intentional omissions (*lectio brevior potior*), and readings in harmony with the author's style.⁴⁷ Johann Jacob Griesbach (1745-1812) modified the canon preferring the shorter reading by formulating six instances where the criterion does not hold true. The shorter reading should be preferred when (1) it is at the same time the more difficult, more obscure, ambiguous, elliptical, Hebraising or solecistic reading, (2) the same thing is expressed with different phrases in various manuscripts, (3) the order of words varies, (4) it occurs at the beginning of the pericope, and (5) the longer reading favours a gloss, agrees with parallel texts, or seems to come from lectionaries. On the other hand, the longer reading should be preferred when (1) the omission is accidental, (2) the longer reading is obscure, harsh, superfluous, unusual, paradoxical, offensive, erroneous, or opposes parallel passages, (3) the omission does not affect the sense or structure of the

⁴⁴ M.C. Williams 2006: 50.

⁴⁵ M.C. Williams 2006: 51. Bengel worded his second principle with the quite pregnant words *proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua* ("before the easy reading, stands the difficult").

⁴⁶ Vaganay and Amphoux 1991: 140. Semler's nomenclature is misleading from the modern standpoint, but the principle of seeing three distinct textual streams was an important step ahead.

⁴⁷ M.C. Williams 2006: 51.

text, (4) the shorter reading is less in accord with author's style and vocabulary, (5) the shorter reading utterly lacks sense, and (6) the shorter reading is probably from the parallel passages.⁴⁸

While Westcott and Hort revised the method developed by others very little, their claim to fame rests mostly on the fact that they were the first to rigorously apply the principles to the then known NT textual tradition with discrimination. They were able to classify groups of manuscripts more precisely using the principles of Karl Lachmann's genealogical method, and formulate a distinction between what the scribes most likely did (transcriptional probability) and what the authors most likely wrote (intrinsic probability).⁴⁹ They also devised a principle that textual critics need to utilise the internal evidence of documents, that is, to collect information regarding the character of individual manuscripts to find witnesses that are normally credible and trustworthy. These are then used to make textual decisions when transcriptional and intrinsic probabilities are in conflict. Hence Hort's famous dictum: "knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings".⁵⁰

To move to modern canons of criticism, the following is a concise summary of the principles used by the UBS/NA editors.⁵¹ The external evidence deals with the date of the witnesses, their character and geographical distribution, but the emphasis is given to the genealogical relationships of witnesses and textual groups. Transcriptionally, the more difficult, the shorter, and the more disharmonious readings, unfamiliar words and grammatically less refined and less smooth expressions are generally preferred. Intrinsically, the preference is generally given for readings in harmony with the author's style, vocabulary, and Aramaic background. Contextual considerations and issues in the influence of the Christian community upon the formulation and transmission of the passage are common. In the Gospel parallels priority is given to Mark.

In short, many of today's text-critical criteria in NT textual criticism were devised two centuries ago, with many parallels with patristic writers, and stands behind the modern critical editions. Several aspects of such criteria have been increasingly criticised in recent decades, which necessitates a treatment of text-critical principles in section 1.6. Also, the detracting voices have become more common in their treatment of many variant readings and principles used to decide between them, deviating from some text-critical decisions made in

⁴⁸ Metzger 1992b: 120.

⁴⁹ M.C. Williams 2006: 52.

⁵⁰ Metzger 1992b: 130. This dictum is challenged by J.K. Elliott (1995), who does accept as valid a system of analysis of the scribal tendencies in a given manuscript. However, he differs whether this is the *initial* or the *final* step in the decision-making process.

⁵¹ TCGNT 11*-14*. Each criterion has exceptions listed.

preparing the UBS/NA edition. This necessitates a response to this criticism, found in the next section.

1.5. The Case Closed? Nestle-Aland and its Detractors

When the *Novum Testamentum Nestle-Aland* 26 (the NA²⁶) was published in 1979, the work of five international and inter-confessional scholars, it contained a text identical to the UBS³ (1975) in almost every respect. The biggest difference was the critical apparatus. Textually there were only a few minor differences between these two editions.⁵² Many believed that the task of NT textual criticism was over for all practical purposes. The text from previous editions (UBS¹, UBS² = NA²⁵) had been thoroughly revised with approximately 500 changes using text-critical principles discussed above.⁵³ More than a decade later, when the NA²⁷ edition came out (1993), it printed the exact same base text as the NA²⁶. Only the critical apparatus had changed, though its changes were numerous and significant. A few orthographical variants aside, the NA²⁷ and the UBS⁴ (1993) are identical.

Kurt Aland, one of the principal contributors to the NA editions, claimed that the baseline text of the NA^{26/27} has been confirmed to be “correct”, that is, to contain the original text.⁵⁴ Aland called it the new “standard text”, and it has been generally accepted as such. Many exegetical commentaries have said little about the text-critical problems ever since.⁵⁵ Scholars commenting on textual variants by departing from the UBS/NA text are nowadays in a minority. This has led David C. Parker to complain that those who are not textual critics show too much deference to the UBS/NA.⁵⁶ There is therefore some truth in the statement that the UBS/NA presents a new standard text. This has effectively cemented the centuries old text-critical criteria discussed above.

⁵² J.K. Elliott 1978, 1981a. Most of the changes between UBS³ (1975) and UBS^{3corr} (1983) = NA²⁶ (1979) relate to punctuation and critical apparatus, not to the base text. The textual differences relate mostly to orthographic variants like ἄρχις / ἄρχι. Each successive reprint has corrected many errors, typographical and otherwise, but the text has not changed (J.K. Elliott 1984).

⁵³ J.K. Elliott 1979a; 1981a: 403. See also the appendix III: *Editionum Differentiae* in the NA²⁷.

⁵⁴ K. Aland 1979, 1981. Aland softened his stance later. The preface to the latest NA considers the text as a working text, not as a definite work. Nevertheless, Aland maintains that the urge to change the NA should be resisted. By contrast, the latest UBS preface invited the reader to submit proposals and suggestions on how to improve the text (NA 45*; UBS vi; Aland and Aland 1989: 35-36).

⁵⁵ E.g. The Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament Series, for which volumes on Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Philippians, 1-3 John, 1 Peter, Jude & 2 Peter, and Revelation have been published. This applies to a lesser degree also to the New International Greek Testament Commentary Series, for which volumes on Matthew, Mark, Luke, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians & Philemon, Thessalonians, Pastorals, Hebrews, James, and Revelation have been published.

⁵⁶ Parker 1994.

However, the UBS/NA has its detractors. What follows is a look at some criticisms, both minor and major, towards the latest UBS/NA text, and implicitly, towards the text-critical methodology behind it. These criticisms lay the groundwork for my discussion on the NT text-critical methodology, because they bring up issues that need to be answered in an attempt to reach the state of the second-century text of the NT.

One of the most vocal critics of the UBS/NA editions has been J. Keith Elliott. First, he argues that too often its text-critical decisions were made based on the weight of the B¹ pair of manuscripts by default, while minimising or even neglecting the internal evidence that contradicts these manuscripts. This includes the effect of early scribal tendencies on the transmission of the NT text.⁵⁷ Secondly, Elliott perceives a critical problem with the use of the editors' own text-critical principles, which he believes were followed only when the editors' favourite manuscripts were in disagreement with each other. This inconsistency has produced a text with an incoherent selection of variant readings. Such an approach includes conflicting use of principles relating to the singular and sub-singular readings, and readings based on Atticism. Thirdly, Elliott (2002b) does not accept some of the editors' critical principles as valid. He is critical of the idea that scribes added pronouns to smooth the text. Elliott argues that the opposite is true, based on perceived early scribal tendencies. He also thinks that the preference for shorter readings is almost certainly wrong. This third criticism is based on a study of early scribal tendencies by Ernest C. Colwell (1969: 106-24), who seriously questioned whether scribes added to their texts and created longer readings. This change in perception constitutes a clear shift in text-critical methodology. The acceptance of these criticisms may require numerous changes to the UBS/NA text.

Colwell's study has been validated by Peter M. Head (1990, 2004), Klaus Junack (1981), and James R. Royse (1981, 1995, 2008). Their studies on early scribal tendencies make it arguable that scribes were more prone to omit than to add, creating shorter readings, not longer ones, in contradiction to the principle followed by the UBS/NA editors that prefers the shorter readings as authentic. While Griesbach gave six "regulations" when the longer reading is more likely the initial text, the findings of Colwell, Royse, and Head go a step further. The early scribal tendencies establish that the preference for the shorter reading is *inherently* a misleading view of the transmission of the text of the NT for the early papyri at least, even though occasionally the shorter reading is to be preferred. Instead, the longer reading should be preferred in general, because the scribes were not as diligent copyists as has been generally assumed. Not every

⁵⁷ J.K. Elliott (1978: 243; 1995: 322-28).

shorter reading is now invalid, but it forces a re-evaluation of the principle that prefers the shorter reading, no matter how many “exceptions” the rule allows.

In terms of individual textual selections, J.K. Elliott argues that e.g. in Mk 1,27 the author more likely wrote the Semitic τί ἐστὶν τοῦτο; τίς ἡ διδασχὴ ἡ καινὴ αὕτη; ὅτι κατ’ ἐξουσίαν καί (C K Δ Byz) instead of the UBS/NA selection of the better Greek τί ἐστὶν τοῦτο; διδασχὴ καινὴ κατ’ ἐξουσίαν καί (B L 33).⁵⁸ He accepts θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος (A C Θ f³ 33 157 579 700 1071 1424 Byz) on linguistic grounds at Mk 6,22 (Aramaism as Markan style).⁵⁹ These two examples hinge on the early scribal tendencies that are the reason for the existence of variations. The UBS/NA editors chose to follow the external evidence rather than the principles preferring Semitic readings, and variant readings which best accord with the author’s style⁶⁰, because their default manuscripts (B⁸) did not support the Semitic readings. Elliott’s criticism is not just about how the UBS/NA editors used their text-critical principles. Rather, it is a disagreement on how to reach such textual decisions, because the probable scribal activities were often overruled by the use of B⁸. It is this emphasis on these two manuscripts that Elliott ultimately finds disturbing.

Not satisfied with the UBS/NA text, Maurice A. Robinson (2003) argues similarly with J.K. Elliott that in numerous textual locations the UBS/NA editors have rejected the more likely longer readings, thus applying the research of Colwell, Head, Junack, and Royse. Robinson argues that numerous shorter readings found in the UBS/NA text are accidental scribal omissions due to *homoioarchton* and *homoiooteleuton*, and the longer readings should have been adopted instead.⁶¹ He lists more than two hundred such cases. Part of this disagreement stems from Robinson’s *a priori* documentary approach.⁶² Many of

⁵⁸ J.K. Elliott (2002b: 109; 2002a) has recently noted that many readings in the newly discovered papyri (P⁹⁹⁻¹¹⁶) and a majuscule (0308) have only occasionally been included in the apparatus of NA reprints, albeit these witnesses are listed in the manuscript section. Some witnesses are too fragmentary to be included in the apparatus, but several genuine variant readings worthy of note have not been listed. Currently the number of early papyri stands at 124, and the number of majuscules stands at 318 (as of April 2008).

There are numerous articles, which question some individual textual choices. For instance, Thrall (1976) argues for ἀγιότητι in place of ἀπλότητι in 2 Cor 1,12 chosen by the UBS/NA editors. Thrall notes that ἀγιότητι has superior external evidence and good internal reasons in its favour. The UBS/NA editors rejected it as a non-Pauline scribal slip.

⁵⁹ J.K. Elliott 1981b.

⁶⁰ TCGNT 13*-14*.

⁶¹ HOMOIOARCHTON and HOMOIOOTELEUTON refer to omissions that happened on the basis of similar beginnings and endings. A scribe’s eye simply skipped from one part of the text to another with identical letters, thus accidentally jumping over a part of the text.

⁶² The BYZANTINE PRIORITY position used by Robinson is a documentary approach to NT textual criticism which essentially argues that the original text (not just the earliest attainable one), is preserved

his examples are debatable, some may even be dubious, but his general criticism of the UBS/NA seems valid. He properly questions many of its textual decisions. Since omission was the more prevalent scribal tendency in the early history of the transmission of the NT than the reverse, Robinson argues that by and large the longer readings should have been accepted as initial, other things being equal.⁶³ His perspective affects the entire UBS/NA edition, and potentially discredits a large number of textual choices.

J.K. Elliott and M.A. Robinson are not the only textual scholars with misgivings with the UBS/NA. Not satisfied with it, Heinrich Greeven made his own critical edition of the Gospel texts by updating Albert Huck's synopsis of the Gospels (1981) after the publication of NA.²⁶ His edition departs from the UBS/NA some nine times per chapter (excluding orthographic variants and itacism), or about two and a half times per page.⁶⁴ This means there are approximately 800 differences between Greeven's text and that of the UBS/NA *in the Gospels*. Different text-critical decisions draw a different picture about the Synoptic relationships and the Synoptic Problem. It is a two-way street. The Synoptic problem is mirrored in the history of the NT text by the unremitting scribal tendencies to harmonise parallel passages. For this reason Greeven's work is not just another critical edition of the NT. It is a fundamentally different view of the history of the transmission of the NT text with implications for the Synoptic problem.

Some scholars have noted that there are several A-text readings that are shorter than the ones found in the B-text chosen by the UBS/NA. Ioannes Karavidopoulos (2002: 388) calls them "Eastern non-interpolations" and argues that they should have been chosen instead of the longer B-text variants, following the principle that many "Western non-interpolations" were considered more authentic. For example, he considers the following two readings as

in the witnesses of the Byzantine text-type. The advocates of this school of thought reconstruct the NT using the principles of the eclectic method, but use only A-text witnesses as the external evidence. They reject the other textual streams and families as inherently corrupt. Scholars of this persuasion reject the idea that the Byzantine text-type would be late, conflatory, harmonising, longer, and smoother. They argue that it is the other textual streams that are corrupt with no following in the history of the transmission beyond their local area. In terms of method, the following criteria are accepted as valid. Preference is given for (1) the reading giving rise to other readings, (2) the harder reading, (3) the reading in conformity with the author's style, syntax and vocabulary, (4) the reading which is disharmonious with parallel passages, and (5) readings not in harmony with the common piety of the scribes. The ultimate decision rests on the transmissional probability. Neither shorter nor longer reading is to be preferred. Conjectural emendations are to be rejected completely. Readings with sporadic appearance are suspect. Variety of testimony is highly regarded. Byzantine text-type is not homogenous and manuscripts need to be weighed, not counted. Readings with demonstrable antiquity are to be preferred (M.A. Robinson, 2002).

⁶³ J.K. Elliott 1987/88; Loimaranta 1997; M.A. Robinson 2003: 55; Royse 1981; 1995; 2008: 735.

⁶⁴ Aland and Aland, 1989: 223; Greeven 1981: x, 1.

inauthentic additions in the B-text stream, both omitted by the A-text stream. (1) οὖς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν in Mk 3,13 as a harmonisation of Lk 6,13; and (2) καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα in Mk 3,16 as dittography from verse 14.⁶⁵ Weiho John Wu has reached similar conclusions: he reads εἰς τὴν γῆν Γεννησαρέθ in Mt 14,34; omits οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός in Mt 24,36; reads αὐτῷ alone in Mt 27,44; omits ἐν/ἐπί before τῷ ὀνόματι in Mk 9,38; and omits ἀπό before μακρόθεν in Lk 23,49.⁶⁶

Similar to Greeven but to a lesser degree, the editors of *Today's New International Version* (TNIV) revised the UBS/NA by following an eclectic text originally edited by Edward Goodrick and John Kohlenberger III for the NIV translation, and later augmented by Gordon D. Fee among others.⁶⁷ This text deviates from the UBS/NA some 277 times (195 times in the Gospels and Acts). Many of the differences offer shorter readings. Some are longer or rival readings, and some changes are textually significant (e.g. ὀργισθεῖς in Mk 1,41; ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in Jn 1,34).

Not satisfied with the concepts of the history of the transmission of the NT accepted by the UBS/NA editors, several scholars of the “French school”, such as Marie-Émile Boismard, Arnaud Lamouille, and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, argue for the priority of the D-text over the B-text, the principal source of the UBS/NA text.⁶⁸ Most NT textual scholars accept the concept that there were two early NT textual streams in circulation in the second century. They were neither identical nor close to each other at some points. The “French school” has challenged many of the textual decisions found in the UBS/NA in favour of its early rival, especially in Acts where the rival texts often disagree.⁶⁹ The earliest papyri appear to offer partially mixed texts. Their variant readings are found later in rival text forms. Nevertheless, the large majority of the early papyri on the whole belong to the B-text with only four representing the D-text. It is, however, disputable whether the known B-text papyri present purely a local Egyptian text or a text representative of the NT throughout Christendom at that time.⁷⁰ Hence, there is a dispute over the hypothetical reconstructions of the

⁶⁵ Karavidopoulos 2002: 389-90.

⁶⁶ Wu 2002: 147, 151-52, 164, 184.

⁶⁷ Goodrick and Lukaszewski 2007: 9-10.

⁶⁸ Amphoux 1999, 2003; Boismard and Lamouille 1987. Regarding the textual streams, I follow the categories used by Epp (1989), because the older categories (Alexandrian, Western, Caesarean, Byzantine) are misleading. The A-text corresponds to the Byzantine text, the B-text is based on mss. P⁷⁵ and B with their allies, the C-text marks any free and/or mixed text, including the much debated Caesarean text-type, and the D-text is based on ms. D with its allies.

⁶⁹ Amphoux 1999, 2003; Boismard and Lamouille 1987.

⁷⁰ Birdsall 1989.

history of the transmission of the NT that may require a reassessment of the text of the critical edition.

Some criticism comes also from within the editors of the UBS/NA themselves. Bruce M. Metzger's textual commentary offers a window on the internal debates of the editorial board and the dissident views among them. There are numerous textual locations where the five editors were divided over the readings. Metzger argues that (i) Mt 23,4 should omit καὶ δυσβάστακτα; (ii) Mk 3,32 should omit καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαί σου; (iii) ὃ γέγονεν in Jn 1,3-4 should be punctuated with what precedes it; (iv) Acts 2,38 should omit φῆσιν; (v) Acts 5,28 should omit οὐ; (vi) Acts 10,17 should include καί; (vii) Rom 15,33 should probably exclude ἀμήν; (viii) 2 Cor 4,14 should omit κύριον; (ix) 2 Cor 5,3 should read ἐνδυσάμενοι; (x) Col 1,22 should read ἀποκατηλλάγητε; (xi) Jas 5,4 should read ἀφυστερήμενος; (xii) 1 Pet 5,10 should omit Ἰησοῦ; (xiii) 2 Pet 2,11 should probably exclude παρὰ κυρίου; and (xiv) Rev 19,11 should read πιστὸς καλούμενος.⁷¹ Metzger and Allen Wikgren together agreed against their fellow editors that (i) Mk 10,2 should omit προσελθόντες φαρισαῖοι; (ii) 1 Cor 10,2 should read ἐβαπτίζαντο; (iii) 2 Cor 4,6 should read χριστοῦ; (iv) Gal 1,15 should omit ὁ θεός; (v) 1 Thess 2,7 should read ἦπιοι; (vi) 1 Pet 1,12 should omit ἐν; and (vii) Jude 5 should read Ἰησοῦς and ἅπαξ positioned after εἰδότας.⁷² Wikgren himself argued for (i) ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός in Jn 1,18; (ii) τηλικούτων θανάτου in 2 Cor 1,10; and (iii) ἐκ θανάτου αὐτοῦ in Jas 5,20.⁷³ Likewise, Aland favoured reading ἐγνώκειτέ με in Jn 14,7. Metzger and Aland together argued in a minority vote for πρώτη τῆς μερίδος in Acts 16,12.⁷⁴ Other than these, numerous textual decisions are marked with C or D ratings, indicating that the UBS/NA editors had doubts about those readings they adopted into the base text.⁷⁵

Another aspect of the UBS/NA, which has received much criticism, is the use of brackets in the base text. J.K. Elliott (1979b) notes that they are confusing and often frustrating, especially to students and translators. Should the bracketed words or the brackets themselves be ignored? Even though Aland claimed that the new "standard text" restores the original text, the UBS/NA editions contain numerous words and phrases in brackets. The editors were divided what to do with them, and the text is *not* certain in many places. This lack of decisiveness

⁷¹ TCGNT 49, 70, 167-68, 261, 289, 327, 475, 510-11, 555, 614, 627, 633, 686.

⁷² TCGNT 88, 493, 510, 521-22, 562, 617, 657-58.

⁷³ TCGNT 170, 506, 615.

⁷⁴ TCGNT 207, 395.

⁷⁵ This system of ratings has been criticised as inappropriate, misleading, and too optimistic (Clarke 1997; J.K. Elliott 1973, 2003).

points to the lack of consensus over the explanations of how and why certain variations exist.

Following this line of thought, the ECM, for which the Catholic Letters have now been published (1997-2006), dispenses with brackets and textual ratings. The ECM editors have used a new text-critical methodology to reconstruct its text, the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (see below). The base text has been changed in twenty-four textual locations in comparison to the UBS/NA. J.K. Elliott (2003: 130) states that this is a modest number of changes. There are three adjustments in James, seven in 1 Peter, eight in 2 Peter, three in 1 John, and three in Jude.⁷⁶ Klaus Wachtel notes that the small number of differences is based on the perception that the UBS/NA text is generally reliable.⁷⁷ As J.K. Elliott (2003: 134) points out, whatever one's judgement on the changes introduced into the text, the most significant consequence is that the "standard text" of the UBS/NA is no longer seen as the inviolate, original text of the NT as it was once claimed to be. Its text is now open for restudy and some serious rethinking. This highlights the need to assess more closely the state of the NT text in the second century.

Modern debates over the UBS/NA have also moved on a somewhat new trajectory. A group of scholars offer markedly different reasonings as to why some textual variation exists in the NT textual tradition. While research has demonstrated a scribal preference for textual brevity in the early papyri that often shortened the text being copied, Bart D. Ehrman (1993) has written a ground-breaking discussion on *intentional* scribal alterations made on doctrinal grounds. He argues that the so-called "heretics" such as Marcion were not the only ones tampering with the NT text. The so-called "orthodox" scribes also changed the NT text in some places in an attempt to battle what they perceived as misinterpretations of christologically important texts. Although some of his arguments are not new, Ehrman (1993: 274-80) argues that the Christological controversies in the second and the third centuries affected the transmission of the NT text in ways that has not been entirely realised. He argues that the wide-

⁷⁶ The Catholic Letters now contain the following variant readings instead of their rivals chosen by the UBS/NA: Jas 1,22 ἀκραταὶ μόνον; Jas 2,3 ἢ κάθου ἐκεῖ; Jas 2,4 καὶ οὐ διεκρίθητε; 1 Pet 1,6 λυπηθέντας; 1 Pet 1,16 omits bracketed ὅτι and εἰμί; 1 Pet 2,25 ἀλλ'; 1 Pet 4,16 τῷ μέρει τούτῳ; 1 Pet 5,9 omits τῷ; 1 Pet 5,10 omits bracketed Ἰησοῦ; 2 Pet 2,6 ἀσεβεῖν; 2 Pet 2,11 παρὰ κυρίῳ; 2 Pet 2,15 καταλίποντες; 2 Pet 3,6 δι' ὄν; 2 Pet 3,10 οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται; 2 Pet 3,16 ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς and σπρεβλώσουσιν; 2 Pet 3,18 omits ἀμήν; 1 Jn 1,7 omits δέ; 1 Jn 5,10 ἐν αὐτῷ; 1 Jn 5,18 ἑαυτόν; Jude 5 ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς; Jude 18 omits bracketed ὅτι and ἐπ' ἑσχάτου χρόνου.

At least Jas 2,3; 1 Pet 4,16; 2 Pet 2,6.11; 3,6.10; Jude 5 constitute significant changes, because they alter the meaning of their respective sentences. Especially noteworthy is 2 Pet 3,10 which follows a non-Greek reading found only in part of the Coptic tradition and in some Syriac Philoxenianic manuscripts (K:SV^v S:Ph^{mss}).

⁷⁷ Noted in Foster 2006.

ranging diversity of early Christianity with its variegated social structures, practices, and beliefs was actually a theological battlefield. Scribes transmitting the NT text, faceless and nameless to us, acted as redactors of the NT text, not just copiers. They *rewrote* the text to say what it was believed to mean in defence of particular viewpoints in distinct Christological disputes such as adoptionistic, separationist, docetic, and patripassionistic controversies.⁷⁸ Although some scholars have grievances over Ehrman's stand,⁷⁹ he has brought to the centre of the discussion a scribal habit, admittedly a marginal one, that offers a different perspective on the transmission process.

Some of Ehrman's claims are arguably revisionist history,⁸⁰ based on Walter Bauer's concepts of "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy", but many of his actual textual examples are legitimate and compelling. A number of his discussions on merits of individual textual variants offer a challenge to variant readings adopted by the UBS/NA. For example, with a rather scrupulous analysis of both the external and internal evidences Ehrman is prepared to (I) read υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε in Lk 3,22 with D it Aug Cl Hil Meth Or *pc*; (II) omit Lk 22,43-44 with P^{69vid,75} A B T W 579 Cl Or *al*; (III) read ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός in Jn 1,18 with A C³ Θ Ψ *f*^{1,13} Byz lat syr^{c,h} Cl^{pt}; and (IV) read χωρὶς θεοῦ in Heb 2,9 with 0243 424^c 1739* vg^{ms} syr^p Ambr Ambst Diod Hier^{mss} Fulg Or^{pt} *pc*.⁸¹ In each case he argues that the reading adopted by the UBS/NA is actually a scribal rewriting, or as he puts it, "an orthodox corruption of Scripture". The

⁷⁸ These doctrinal alterations have to do with the nature of Christ. Ehrman argues that scribes subscribing to a position similar to that of the later Trinitarian position rewrote Scripture to make it say what they believed the passage meant in order to combat what they perceived as misapplications of such passages by groups they considered heretical. Such groups include the following: ADOPTIONISTS denied the divinity of Jesus by believing that he was an ordinary man adopted by God as His Son at baptism (or at resurrection), who *became* the Son of God instead of *being* one inherently as in the Trinitarian position. SEPARATIONISTS denied the humanity of Christ by separating Jesus (a human) from Christ (a divine spirit who entered Jesus according to them). SEPARATIONISTS supported a form of Christian Gnosticism that argued for a divine Christ being separated from a human Jesus before the crucifixion. DOCETISTS denied the *real* humanity of Jesus by making him a phantom that only appeared to have a body and bodily needs. PATRIPASSIONISTS held that Jesus and the Father are one and the same person. In each case the result is the same. The rewritten text by the "orthodox" scribes, so Ehrman argues, (1) supports the position later known as Trinitarianism, and (2) removes the ambiguity of the text used by the groups seen as heretical to defend their position.

⁷⁹ E.g. U. Schmid 2008.

⁸⁰ Ehrman (1993, 2003) builds his point of departure on Bauer's definition of "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy" with the concept that there was no uniformity in early Christianity until one party gained dominance through political means, and all but eradicated the other parties. This dominant party then rewrote Scripture to suit its own needs. Some studies have arguably shown that most of Bauer's claims are partially revisionist histories. While Bauer argued that many different forms of Christianity co-existed from the beginning, newer studies have convincingly demonstrated that the emergence of heretical/schismatic sects happened in settings where *prior* versions of Christianity existed, versions that eventually emerged as proto-orthodoxy (McCue 1970; T.A. Robinson 1988; Hurtado 2003. See also Ivo Tamm's thesis.)

⁸¹ Ehrman 1993: 62, 78-82, 146-50, 188-89.

changes were made on doctrinal grounds to make the text say explicitly what it was believed to mean. In principle, the UBS/NA editors accepted that scribes occasionally altered the NT text because of doctrinal controversies, but Ehrman's study posits a much higher number of such changes. His view is effectively yet another perspective on the history of the transmission of the NT, one in which the scribal tendencies play an enormous role in some textual choices, almost completely overruling the external evidence.

Kim Haines-Eitzen (2000: 43, 106) has argued that the reproduction of the NT texts by the early Christian scribes was not totally free or indisciplined but neither was it free from errors and alterations.⁸² Instead, such reproduction was bounded and constrained by the multifaceted and multilayered discursive practices of the second- and third-century church, in which environment scribes were not merely copyists. Haines-Eitzen argues that the copying and circulation of the NT text probably took place partially in private networks of friendships and associations, not just by professional scribes under centralised and institutionalised efforts. These efforts created a social milieu where textual changes may have occurred easily. Haines-Eitzen refers to Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* 9.4.39), who deplored *readers* of his time, not just the scribes, as apt to alter what they considered scribal blunders in the manuscript copies they read by introducing their own changes into their texts.⁸³ The question is: what if the *readers* of the NT acted as *proofreaders*? This could have introduced an unpredictable and non-systematic corruption into the NT textual tradition, such as the Koine/Attic variations.

Following the lead of Ehrman and Haines-Eitzen, Wayne C. Kannaday (2004) extended the research to cover the question of how the external social milieu led to different apologetic discourses. Ehrman had limited his research to the controversies within the Church⁸⁴, while Kannaday basically asks the same kind of questions from without; how did the opponents of Christianity affect the scribes transcribing the text to rewrite it in such a way as to deflect the criticism by the opponents of Christianity? This included disputations on the antiquity of the Christian religion, factual consistency and intellectual integrity of Scripture, the person and work of Jesus and his followers, the role of women and lower social strata, and the new faith versus the Roman Empire. Like Ehrman,

⁸² For a positive review of Haines-Eitzen's work, see Parker 2002. For a negative review, see U. Schmid (2002), whose critique is twofold: (1) Agents in early Christian churches, such as bishops, presbyters, deacons, and readers, played important roles in the care and transmission of the text. (2) Haines-Eitzen does not adequately distinguish the various roles of the different individuals, who are involved with a text after it has been authored.

⁸³ Haines-Eitzen 2000: 108.

⁸⁴ In a more recent article Ehrman (1995) notes research which argues for intentional alterations on the basis of Jewish-Christian relations, attitudes towards women, etc.

Kannaday offers a number of textual solutions that depart from the UBS/NA on the basis of the scribal tendencies vis-à-vis the controversies between Christians and non-Christians.

For example, based on a rather scrupulous analysis Kannaday is prepared to read e.g. (i) διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου in Mt 13,35 with \aleph^* \mathcal{A}^{13} 33 vg^{ms} pc; (ii) ἔξεστιν in Mt 15,26 with D Or; (iii) ὀργισθεῖς in Mk 1,41 with D Lvt.⁸⁵ Kannaday argues that the historical forces in general and not just the doctrinal controversies affected the transmission of the NT text, because such forces affected the scribes copying the text. He concludes with numerous examples to support his view that reconstructing the text no more consists of merely constructing stemmata, categorising family trees of manuscripts, and evaluating readings on the basis of external and literary evidence alone. Instead, transcriptional probabilities need to be determined and evaluated against the backdrop of the scribal *Sitz im Leben*.⁸⁶ While the UBS/NA editors accepted in principle that scribes had reasons to change the text based on doctrinal, liturgical, and ascetic beliefs and practices, not to mention literary reasons, they say nothing about opponents of Christianity and their influence on the scribes in shaping the text of the NT.⁸⁷ Kannaday's view is not just a different perspective on handling the internal evidence. He, Ehrman, and Haines-Eitzen dispute part of the theoretical framework upon which the UBS/NA editions are built.

The above discussion is brief and does not include every dispute over the UBS/NA.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, disagreements on the history of the transmission of the NT, the text-critical principles, and numerous variant readings raise questions. The misgivings over the UBS/NA stem largely from the lack of consensus on which text-critical criteria should take preference, when the textual evidence is disputed. Thus, the commitment to the UBS/NA as a new standard text has waned in recent years. Although no major changes are in sight, quite certainly nothing comparable to the abandonment of the TR, only a few textual scholars (if any) would argue that there is no need to rethink the UBS/NA textually, if not methodologically. Rather, what is to be expected are textual revisions with some

⁸⁵ Kannaday 2004: 70-71, 131-137.

⁸⁶ Kannaday 2004: 247.

⁸⁷ UBS 13*.

⁸⁸ A number of other discussions could be included in the main text, but those chosen already make the point: the text of the UBS/NA is disputed. See, e.g., Barrett 1979; D. Black 1985, 1988; Brown 1966: 133, 360; Bruce 1991: 27-39; Clivaz 2005; Duplacy 1981; Ehrman 1996; Ehrman and Plunkett 1983; J.K. Elliott 1972a; Epp 1996; Fiorenza 1983: 51-52; von Harnack 1931: 86-104; Kraemer 1992; J.E. Miller, 2003; Niccum 1997; O'Neill 1989: 223; Parker 1997: 32; Payne 1995, 2004; Payne and Canart 2000, 2009; Rice 1980a, 1980b; Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger 2004a; Ross 1992; Saunders 1952; Torjesen 1993; Tuckett 2002; U. Schmid 2008; Wallace 2007; Witherington 1979, 1984.

refinement of text-critical methodology. Hence, before proceeding to individual studies to reach the state of the early second-century text in Jn 1,34; Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18, and the Koine/Attic variation in the NT textual tradition, I will present a justification of the text-critical methodology used in this research.

1.6. Some Methodological Issues

NT textual criticism is both an art and a science.⁸⁹ It is making sense of the objective evidence, the textual witnesses and the variant readings they contain, with critical principles (the science) with the least amount of subjectivity in making textual decisions (the art). Since part of the problem is deciding which principles are valid as criteria, it is all down to a compromise; how much subjectivity is allowed, and in what way.

Scholarly research has fragmented into three distinct schools of thought with little agreed between in disputed issues.⁹⁰ The vast majority of reasoned eclectics attempt to strike a balance between the external and internal evidences, though often the external evidence is used as the final arbiter. Thoroughgoing eclectics, a minority position, minimise the value of the external evidence and base their decisions primarily on the internal evidence.⁹¹ Scholars of the Byzantine Priority position, another minority view, base their decisions primarily on the later NT textual witnesses from the Byzantine Period as an *a priori* documentary approach. Much of the text-critical criteria are actually the same for all of these schools, but they are used differently with diverse emphases. There are also serious disagreements over which text-critical criteria are actually valid for making decisions. Crucial to all these different approaches is the question of how to deal with detectable scribal tendencies. Such issues can turn into a tedious juggling between disagreeing parts of the evidence, but all agree they are vital in any attempt to reach the state of the second-century text of the NT, because the textual evidence from the second century is sparse.

⁸⁹ Epp 2002: 19.

⁹⁰ See, e.g., the book edited by D. Black (2002), in which three scholars, Michael W. Holmes, J. Keith Elliott, and Maurice A. Robinson, present their cases for three different schools of thought; Holmes for reasoned eclecticism, Elliott for thoroughgoing eclecticism, and Robinson for Byzantine Priority. All three are then critiqued by Moisés Silva.

⁹¹ THOROUGHGOING ECLECTICS do not accept as valid a criterion that prefers shorter readings used by the reasoned eclectics. Nor do they disregard readings with scant external evidence supporting them. They reject the criteria of age and geographical distribution of witnesses as misleading due to the partial nature of the evidence, and genealogical methods on the basis of cross-fertilization of the NT manuscript tradition as a whole. They assume that the original reading (not just the initial reading!) is found somewhere in the NT textual tradition and do away with conjectural emendations altogether. With regard to the internal criteria, such principles as preference for the dissimilarity of parallel passages, alterations for doctrinal or other reasons, the role of Atticism, Semitic usage, the longer readings, and consistency of author's style and theology tend to be the cornerstone of this method.

This fragmentation has led some scholars to deplore the situation and request for clarification of the issues involved. Chrys C. Caragounis (2006: 475) notes that recent discussions have questioned almost every aspect of NT textual criticism, despite some scholars attempting to defend the *status quo*. During the past decade textual critics have discussed almost every conceivable item that has any bearing on textual witnesses, which text-types if any existed, on methodology, terminology, principles, text-critical criteria, textual decisions and so on, largely because of changes in perception of what the early scribes copying the NT did and did not do. Eldon J. Epp (2002) lists five subject areas he believes are in need of urgent attention. (1) What should be the canons of criticism in choosing among variant readings and on which priority? (2) Can the manuscripts be grouped into textual clusters on the basis of shared characteristics, and can the history of the NT textual tradition be written using these clusters? (3) Do the current critical editions reflect a reasonable approximation of the text (or *a* text) that was extant in very early Christianity? (4) In what way did the church-historical, cultural, and intellectual contexts affect the scribes copying the NT manuscripts? (5) What exactly are the goals of NT textual criticism? What is meant by the “original text” (or the “initial text”)? How will the decisions on this last issue inform the future of the discipline as a whole? These are major questions affecting the discipline of NT textual criticism to its very core. Hence, Epp’s five categories are anything but rhetorical. Answers given to such questions directly affect how one approaches the search for the state of the NT text in the second century. The following is a description of what canons of criticism I use, how and why.

1.6.1. An Overview

Broadly speaking, I follow the principles of reasoned eclecticism. The central axiom of reasoned eclecticism is the fundamental guideline that the variant reading most likely to be initial is the one that best accounts for the origin of all competing variants in terms of both external and internal evidence.⁹² This does not reject any reading on an *a priori* basis, but attempts to establish the best explanation for the existence of all variant readings. Such an endeavour requires that the external evidence is presented as fully as practically possible, all known variants included. The transmission of the text and its corruption needs to be

⁹² B. Aland 1976; Aland and Aland 1989: 278, 280; Fee 1993: 89; Holmes 2002: 79. The caveat for this principle is that it is (1) subjective, (2) does not cope well with multiple “originals” in case more than one edition left the hand of the author, and (3) it is somewhat too general to the point of being superfluous (Tov 1982). Nevertheless, it is a good starting point for the investigation of any textual location (Shin 2004: 36-37).

explained (fully) in order to isolate the oldest readings among which one is taken as the initial reading by detailed examination.⁹³

However, I am leaning towards internal evidence as the decisive criterion. The earliest stages of the NT text seem to be achievable only by scrupulous analyses of the scribal tendencies and authorial intentions. The external evidence does not seem to take us far enough. Time and time again there are situations where the documentary evidence presents two or more competing readings in the earliest discernable stage of the NT text. In such circumstances the documentary evidence is powerless to decide between them. It can throw a considerable weight onto the scales of probability, but it is not sufficient by itself to determine the choice between competing readings.⁹⁴ To that end, I follow those scholars who argue that the primary evaluation of the variant readings should be based upon the transcriptional probabilities, when the earliest competing readings have been identified, closely followed by argumentations on the intrinsic probabilities.⁹⁵ This approach does not ignore the external evidence, but it avoids following some manuscripts by default. This is not to say that some witnesses are not qualitatively better than others, for some are. For example, the external evidence for Jude is grouped according to the genealogical findings taken from the ECM series. Such findings suggest a number of witnesses that are *potentially* closer to the initial text than others.

The following is a point-by-point discussion of the more detailed issues, with justification for my methodological approach in assessing the initial readings in Jn 1,34; Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18. Overall, none of the points discussed below can be used mechanically. They work only as probability factors. It is the sum total of all arguments for and against any variant reading that prepares the necessary probabilities for making textual decisions.

1.6.2. External Evidence

There are several principles regarding the external evidence I accept as valid. First, the number of witnesses in support of any variant reading counts for little. It may serve as a useful signpost, but the initial reading may be found in only a few scattered documents while the majority contain an early corruption.⁹⁶ Even a

⁹³ Holmes 1995.

⁹⁴ Holmes 2002; Zuntz 1953: 283.

⁹⁵ M.A. Robinson 2002: 131. The ECM editors used a similar kind of approach in the initial round of the genealogical analysis of the textual variation units, favouring the internal evidence over the external one (Wachtel and Parker 2005).

⁹⁶ Aland and Aland 1989: 280-81; Vaganay and Amphoux 1991: 62-63; contra M.A. Robinson (2002: 130), who claims that the original reading is found in the majority of witnesses (Byzantine witnesses) using eclectic reasoning. While it is true that the Byzantine witnesses are not a

singular witness may contain the initial reading on some rare occasions, the transcriptional probabilities permitting. One only needs to look at the ECM in the Catholic Letters. The editors accepted some readings with only a handful of witnesses supporting them. The decisions are based mostly on the internal probabilities. The following list contains examples where five witnesses at most have the reading accepted by the ECM editors. The list follows the ECM practice of presenting the variation units on the basis of the sense lines or chunks of texts. If a more atomistic approach to textual units were to be followed, the list would be different. However, the approach in the ECM series is an appropriate way to form textual variation units, though the critical apparatus does not always follow sense lines, but textual segmentations. Thus, the list is somewhat disparate, and the ECM segmentations cannot be used automatically for genealogical analysis. But the point is simply that the editors were occasionally willing to read the minority variants based on the internal probabilities, whether they are correct decisions or not.

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Sentence / Reading</i>	<i>Witnesses</i>
Jas 3,4	ὅπου ἡ ὁρμὴ τοῦ εὐθύνοντος βούλεται	ⲛ B
1 Pet 1,16	ἐγὼ ἅγιος	ⲛ A ⁷ B 1735 C1
1 Pet 1,21	δι' αὐτοῦ πιστούς	A B 307Z 398 1735
1 Pet 5,1	πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ	P ⁷² A B
1 Pet 5,11	αὐτῶ τὸ κράτος	A B Ψ ρ ¹¹²⁶ geo
2 Pet 1,4	τὴν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ φθορᾶς	A B
2 Pet 1,17	ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς μου οὗτός ἐστιν	P ⁷² B 1751 sa ^{ms}
1 Jn 3,21	ἡμῶν μὴ καταγνώσκη	C 442 1852 f ⁵⁹⁶ Or
3 Jn 12	ὑπό	ⲛ C 93 607Z f ⁵⁹⁶
Jude 4	χάριτα	P ⁷² A B 38
Jude 5	ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς	B
Jude 18	ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου ἔσονται	P ⁷² B C 1243

Secondly, I will at least occasionally note the temporal distribution of the variant readings as secondary evidence, although such an observation is disputed as a criterion. It is generally accepted that the age of witness is not a good guide in deciding on the variant readings, because a late witness may contain an early text (e.g. mss. 81 and 1739). As such, the age of a witness signifies no authority over other witnesses.⁹⁷ Unless one can be sure how many stages exist between any manuscript and the “original”, and unless one knows what changes were

homogeneous group and it may contain the initial reading (not necessarily the “original” reading), it does not follow that the minority of witnesses cannot contain the initial one.

⁹⁷ Vaganay and Amphoux 1991: 63. This criterion is rejected by the advocates of the Byzantine Priority model. For instance, on the basis of statistics, Hodges (1975, cited in Holmes 1983) argues that the older a text is than its rivals, the greater are its chances to survive in a plurality or a majority of the texts extant at any subsequent period. Holmes criticises this view by noting that in the case of the NT textual tradition, an abnormal process of transmission took place, which wrecks the statistics.

made at each copying, the age of witnesses alone is no help in recovering the initial text.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the age of a witness is not necessarily the same as the age of reading. Papyrological discoveries have demonstrated that some variants previously known only from late minuscules are now known from the early papyri.⁹⁹ Hence, late manuscripts may contain early readings. Correspondingly, it is the age of a reading that matters. The problem is to know which variant readings are early, and on this question the early witnesses present those readings that are early, by necessity.

It is, however, disputed whether the age of a reading means much either. Most (if not all) of the meaningful textual variations had probably already taken place before AD 200.¹⁰⁰ If this is so, and the point is still disputed, most of the meaningful variant readings are early, irrespective of the external evidence backing it. I accept this *a priori* position with some reservations. It has led to a conclusion that the age of a reading is (almost) a meaningless issue. The argument is that since only part of the NT textual tradition has come down to us, the meaningful variant readings must have crept into that tradition early on. The temporal distribution of variants does not imply that other variants did not exist at that time. Variant readings found in the late witnesses may also be early.¹⁰¹ This argumentation is true, but it is also an argument from silence in terms of an early objective evidence for those readings. The fact that some late variants have turned out to be early ones does not mean that *all* variant readings found in the later witnesses are necessarily early. There need to be compelling reasons to think that such variant readings are early, and that they have left a trace only in the later tradition.¹⁰² In some cases this may well be true due to the partial nature of the tradition preserved, but it cannot simply be assumed to be so. No reading ought to be accepted or rejected merely because it does or does not occur in some manuscripts or is or is not part of the textual tradition (early or otherwise). The mere occurrence of a reading does not give it equal status with all other readings, unless it can be demonstrated, not just assumed, that it could be an ancient survivor rather than a scribal correction or emendation.

Thus, the early witnesses give early variants that should always be studied. They offer a window to those historical and scribal exigencies that need to be taken into account in choosing the variant reading with best claims to be part of

⁹⁸ J.K. Elliott 1995: 322.

⁹⁹ Such is the case, e.g., with P¹⁰⁰ (III/IV) in Jas 3,17 where it reads the additional καί with Byz. Previously PsOec was the earliest witness for it.

¹⁰⁰ J.K. Elliott 1995: 331; M.A. Robinson 2002: 135.

¹⁰¹ The distigmai (earlier called “umlauts”) in Codex Vaticanus reveal that there existed a number of variant readings in the fourth century known to the scribes of Vaticanus for which we have no textual evidence at all (Payne 1995).

¹⁰² Holmes 2002: 82 n. 15.

the initial text. Such early readings cannot be easily bypassed, unless they can be shown to be scribal creations. The variant readings known from later witnesses cannot be ignored, but they need to be carefully weighted to take on only those that have a reasonable claim to be early readings *on transcriptional grounds*. This requires a careful analysis of the variants. Therefore, it is problematic to disregard completely the age of a reading, regardless of how subjective the decision on the matter may be in individual cases. Knowledge of witnesses and scribal tendencies are needed to separate readings likely to be early, each with a good possibility for being the earliest attainable reading, from those readings that are simply secondary developments in the hands of later scribes that can be ignored. This makes the age of a reading useful as secondary evidence. It serves as a signpost of a *possible* state of the early NT text.

In practice, the early readings form the starting point in my research for making a textual decision. They are found often in the early witnesses, sometimes in the later ones, based on compelling reasons. In the case of Jude, they are variant readings found in genealogically early witnesses, listed in the ECM series. I disregard those variant readings that have no external support in *genealogically* early witnesses within the first five generations of witnesses. Though theoretically possible, it is implausible to expect to find early readings in genealogically late witnesses, whose readings can be taken relatively safely as later scribal blunders. There are exceptions to this, but they are rare. This gives an initial list of variants from which to proceed with the investigation into the textually problematic passages.

Thirdly, I will rarely note the geographical distribution of the variant readings, since such an observation is among the highly disputed criteria. The geographical distribution of any given reading is no guide to its status as the initial reading. The cross-fertilization of the witnesses makes it difficult to pinpoint the provenance of any reading, or the history of the text of any particular witness, unless the reading is supported by patristic writers, whose date and locale is known.¹⁰³ Even then it is doubtful whether a reading is a “localised” phenomenon. Geographical distribution cannot decide between variant readings, because corrupted readings may have been copied widely, and the initial reading is found only in a more limited setting. The concurrence of witnesses e.g. in Antioch, Alexandria, and Gaul is no more significant than a variant’s existence in Rome alone, other things being equal.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, the same copying error may have arisen in more than one area, creating an agreement of texts that is coincidental. What may look like a “local” text, is in

¹⁰³ J.K. Elliott 1995: 322; Holmes 2002: 97.

¹⁰⁴ Pace TCGNT 12*.

fact a text that co-existed with other texts in the same area. Hence, care is needed in assessing whether a variant reading in the combination of witnesses actually points to a “local” text. Often it does not. However, its geographical distribution can be used as a secondary evidence for the reading’s antiquity, if it can be demonstrated.¹⁰⁵ Hence, I will note the geographical distribution only in passing, mostly in references to what older scholarship used to say, and it is not used as a criterion in the text-critical discussions.

Fourthly, I avoid conjectural emendations as unnecessary in individual textual variation units. They may be needed in some (very) rare occasions, but the vast number of witnesses makes it largely improbable that the initial readings have not survived anywhere in the NT textual tradition, including manuscripts, versions and fathers.¹⁰⁶ If they have not survived, it is difficult, if not impossible, to reach such readings by emendations. The NT text ought to be reconstructed from the available evidence without resorting to emendations, unless there are compelling reasons to do otherwise.¹⁰⁷

To recap, the number of witnesses and their temporal distribution in support of any variant reading counts for little. I will note temporal distribution and at times the geographical location of readings as secondary, supportive evidence which cannot decide between readings. The decisions will be made among the known readings, with no need for conjectural emendations. To that end, there are also special issues regarding the external evidence I will describe in detail: singular and sub-singular readings, and the use of genealogical data obtained by the ECM editors for the Catholic Letters.

1.6.2.1. Singular and Sub-Singular Readings

Is it plausible for a singular or a sub-singular to contain the initial reading? Every textual witness to the NT, irrespective of its claim to “antiquity” and “purity”, will exhibit its fair share of singular readings, some more, some less. Most often this is an irrefutable trace of the human capacity for error and

¹⁰⁵ Shin 2004: 60.

¹⁰⁶ J.K. Elliott 1995: 322.

¹⁰⁷ A conjectural emendation may be needed e.g. in Lk 1,41 that reads Μαριάς with every known witness. However, the Semitic Μαριάμ is found in every other textual location in Luke (1,27.30.34.38.39.46.56; 2,5.16.19.34; 8,2; 10,39.42; 24,10 [twice]) as *varia lectio*, often with a very strong or overwhelming external evidence. It is weaker only in Lk 8,2; 24,10 (twice). The immediate context in chapter one has Μαριάμ everywhere except in 1,41 with only a couple of witnesses testifying to the Greek Μαριά(ς). Therefore, it is almost certain that the author of Luke wrote Μαριάμ throughout his Gospel, which was lost due to scribal exigencies in Lk 1,41. This requires the emendation from Μαριάς to Μαριάμ. The UBS/NA reads the Greek forms in Lk 1,41; 8,2; 24,10 (twice). All of them need to be changed to the Semitic Μαριάμ. It is not plausible that a scribe would change a proper Greek word to its Semitic equivalent, but the reverse is natural for a scribe working in the Greco-Roman setting. The point here is that the conjectural emendation in Lk 1,41 would be in harmony with the authorial usage elsewhere, and hence, it has a compelling supporting reason.

corruption within the transcription process.¹⁰⁸ The same applies to situations where only two witnesses join hands against the rest of the tradition to form a sub-singular variant reading. Excluding nonsense readings, there are numerous examples in the NT textual tradition of a variant reading having the support of only one or two witnesses, frequently the oldest known. Some are found in the UBS/NA text.¹⁰⁹

Scholars, however, have differing opinions about what to do with these kinds of readings. The following is a representative look at the debate over the singular and sub-singular readings. It is not meant to be exhaustive but informative. Its purpose is to bring out reasons why some singular readings may have claim to be part of the initial text, and to formulate criteria, which such readings need to satisfy in order to be considered authentic and plausible candidates.

Hort and Westcott (1881: II, 230-32) distinguished those singular readings that are a scribe's own individualisms from those that a scribe only inherited from his exemplar. At times it is impossible to know whether a singular reading is a scribal creation or an inherited reading, but often it is possible to determine this. Only the inherited readings have any claim to originality, having survived historical exigencies purely by chance.¹¹⁰ Otherwise the singular reading can be ignored as a scribal creation. An inherited singular reading does not follow the known scribal tendencies of the witness containing it, in so far as they can be identified.¹¹¹ This criterion is vital and must be met. Hort adopted such singular readings which he did not consider solecisms, if they were found in the manuscripts he considered generally of "superior quality".¹¹²

By contrast, Kurt Aland argued that a reading that stands alone (singular) or almost alone (sub-singular or near so) in the NT textual tradition is original only theoretically. He argued that any form of eclecticism that accepts singular

¹⁰⁸ Hernández 2006: 97.

¹⁰⁹ I note the following examples: ἀπῆλθαν in Rev 21,4 (A); ἔβαλαν in Acts 16,37 (B D); εἶδαν in Acts 12,16 (A B); εἶπαν in Mt 2,5 (⊗ B); 9,3 (B); 26,66 (⊗* 33); Mk 16,8 (D); Lk 6,2 (W X); 9,12 (L Ξ); 11,15 (B R); Jn 4,52 (D); 6,60 (D); 9,22 (⊗); 11,37 (⊗); ἐξῆλθαν in Acts 16,40 (⊗ D); ἀνεῦραν in Lk 2,16 (B*); ἐώρακαν in Lk 9,36 (B 700); ἦλθαν in Jn 4,27 (B*); Acts 28,15 (⊗ B); προσῆλθαν in Mt 5,1 (⊗* B*); συνῆλθαν in Acts 10,45 (⊗ B).

¹¹⁰ Fee (1976; 1993: 62-79) notes that some singular readings found in Codex Vaticanus should not be dismissed. Instead, they should be noted in diagrammatic presentations. Hort often adopted singular readings of B (some are no longer singular) because of his evaluation of the general quality of Codex Vaticanus (Royse 2008: 43).

¹¹¹ This is the reason why Fee (1976: 129) regards singular readings in P⁶⁶, ⊗, D, and ms. 1241 as suspect in John, because these manuscripts abound in singular readings that Fee says are of "patently secondary character".

¹¹² Fee 1976: 129.

readings will hardly succeed in establishing the initial text of the NT.¹¹³ Earlier Colwell (1969) took an even harder line against singular readings. His view was that there is a high probability among such a richly evidenced tradition as the NT that the initial reading has survived in some group or type of text, not in the singular readings. He took *every* singular reading as a scribal creation, altogether peculiar and suspect, and relegated them to a class of “waste of time”.¹¹⁴ In his view this position merits the most rigorous observance. Instead, he used the singular readings for establishing scribal tendencies.¹¹⁵ Head (1990, 2004), Hernández (2006), and Royse (1981, 1995, 2008) have continued Colwell’s legacy in establishing general scribal tendencies by singular readings. Arguably the singular readings are well-suited for such a task, but it seems an extreme position deny them any chance of being authentic. Consequently, the positions of Aland and Colwell have not gone unchallenged.

Joël Delobel (1980) took issue with Colwell and posited that singular readings have a role in establishing the initial text of the Apocalypse.¹¹⁶ Its textual history differs markedly from the rest of the NT, but his general principle applies elsewhere. Delobel criticised Colwell for his idea that all singular readings are mere scribal inventions. Instead, he noted that when fewer witnesses are available for a particular NT book, there is a greater likelihood that one or more of its available witnesses will contain singular readings with credible claims to originality. Referring to Bernard Weiss’s study, Delobel noted that there are 210 singular readings in Codex Alexandrinus. He accepted sixty of them as original. However, these figures are misleading, as Royse (2008: 46-47) has demonstrated, but Delobel’s criticism is still valid on a theoretical level (pace Royse).

J.K. Elliott (1995: 322) argues similarly against Aland’s position. Some singular readings may be part of the initial text because each of them managed to survive historical and scribal exigencies by chance. This is based on his stance that our witnesses offer only a *partial* picture of the transmission of the NT text.

¹¹³ Aland and Aland 1989: 281. Similarly, Delobel (2002: 3-21) notes that to argue for any singular reading anywhere unjustly puts all manuscripts on the same footing. Such a stance is blind to their very different quality.

¹¹⁴ Colwell (1969: 96-105) follows von Tischendorf (1859). Fee (Epp and Fee 1993: 155-164) follows these same principles by noting that singular readings need to be excluded from text-critical decisions. He does not consider them textual variants in the proper sense. In other words, Fee is not willing to take singular readings as raw material for the actual determination of the most likely initial text of the NT.

¹¹⁵ Colwell 1969: 106-24, 161-62.

¹¹⁶ Delobel (1980) writes: “À cause de la pénurie relative de la documentation, on rencontre dans l’Apocalypse, plus souvent que dans les autres livres du NT, des leçons présentes dans un seul manuscrit grec, dont certaines ont une change réelle de rendre la leçon originale. D’après B. Weiss, des 210 *Sonderlesarten* qu’il trouve dans le codex A, 60 représenteraient la leçon originale.”

This allows leeway for singular and sub-singular readings to be part of the initial text, at least in theory.

By contrast, M.A. Robinson (2002: 130, 133) argues that the harder reading among those found in the majority of witnesses is to be accepted as the original. Sporadic readings such as singulars and sub-singulars are transmissionally suspect and must be rejected. Roysse (2008) admits that an authentic reading may be preserved in only one witness, or in none, but he nevertheless believes in contrast to Delobel and Elliott that the amount of witnesses, their nearness to the “autographs” and cross-fertilisation of readings in the NT textual tradition make it highly unlikely. Larry W. Hurtado (1981: 67) and Kyoung Shik Min (2005) regard singular readings as accidental or deliberate scribal creations but allow some leeway for exceptions. Similarly, Barbara Aland (1989, 1992) takes the position that the singular readings *in the papyri* are errors in general. However, this position leaves open their status in majuscules and minuscules.

Roysse (1981: 72) argues that there is a mathematical probability for a given number of singular readings to be authentic. The chance of exactly *auth* authentic singular readings occurring among *num* singulars, given that the probability of a singular reading being authentic is *prob*, the following mathematical formula applies for counting the probabilities. The *c* stands for the chance of *auth* singulars being authentic.¹¹⁷

$$c = \frac{\textit{num}! \cdot \textit{prob}^{\textit{auth}} \cdot (1 - \textit{prob})^{\textit{num} - \textit{auth}}}{\textit{auth}! \cdot (\textit{num} - \textit{auth})!}$$

To clarify, if there is a total of 100 singular readings (*num* = 100), and the probability for any singular reading to be authentic is taken as 1% (*prob* = 0.01, which is too optimistic), and we look at only one authentic singular reading among the one hundred (*auth*=1), then there is a 37.0% chance (*c* = 0.36973) that *one out of one hundred* singulars is authentic. To put it mathematically, it looks like this.

¹¹⁷ I have adapted the formula in order to render it more readable. Mathematically the formula consists of two parts. (1) *num!* divided by *auth!* · (*num-auth*)! gives the total amount of possible combinations of authentic and inauthentic readings that exist in a set of *num* variants with *auth* of them as authentic. (2) *prob^{auth}* · (1 – *prob*)^{*num-auth*} counts the probability value for such a set of combinations, when *auth* tells how many of *num* are taken as authentic theoretically with the probability of *prob*. Taken together these two values give the probability for *auth* singular readings to be authentic in a set of *num* such readings, when the probability for one authentic singular reading is marked as *prob*. For those not familiar with mathematics, *num!* means 1·2·3·4·...·(*num*-2)·(*num*-1)·*num*, that is, the number of permutations. I.e. 1! = 1 // 2! = 1·2 = 2 // 3! = 1·2·3 = 6 // 4! = 1·2·3·4 = 24 // 5! = 1·2·3·4·5 = 120 and so on.

$$c = \frac{100! \cdot 0.01^1 \cdot (1 - 0.01)^{100-1}}{1! \cdot (100-1)!} = 0.36973 \approx 37.0\%$$

The probability drops quickly. The chance for *two out of one hundred* singulars being authentic is only 18.5%. Mathematically presented as

$$c = \frac{100! \cdot 0.01^2 \cdot (1 - 0.01)^{100-2}}{2! \cdot (100-2)!} = 0.18486 \approx 18.5\%$$

It is 6.1% for three, 1.5% for four, and only 0.3% for five singular readings to be authentic among the total of 100 such readings. The probability diminishes rapidly after that. The probability for having more than five authentic singular readings among the total of 100 such readings is practically zero.¹¹⁸ This mathematical probability demonstrates that the vast majority of singular readings can *not* be part of the initial text. Only a few of them might qualify, because there are other considerations besides the mathematical probability. As Royse points out, 1% chance (*prob* = 0.01) is not a realistic expectation for any singular reading to be authentic. It is far too optimistic. The probability is very likely far less than that, which means it takes hundreds of singular readings to find just one that has any credible claims to be part of the initial text. Nevertheless, they may exist.

In a recent work on the text of the Apocalypse, Juan Hernández (2006: 97) takes a mediating position. He states that singular readings are rightfully to be discarded in attempts to demonstrate consanguinity between witnesses. He relegates most of them to the role of providing useful information to reconstruct the scribal tendencies instead. There are, however, some singular readings Hernández is willing to admit as having legitimate claims to represent the initial text. This is a shift in thinking from Colwell and Royse, who see *all* singular readings as scribal aberrations. This shift draws a somewhat different picture concerning the early transmission of the NT text than those envisaged by Colwell and Royse.

Hernández (2006: 99) gives two principles on which to identify singular readings with legitimate claim to originality. The reading (1) cannot fit too easily to the scribal tendencies as evidenced by other singular readings in the same witness and by other means, and (2) it should be *lectio difficilior* that gave rise to the other variant readings. A singular reading must fulfil at least one of these criteria, preferably both, in order to have any credible claim to authenticity. Such

¹¹⁸ Counting, for example, for six occurrences, $c = [100! \times 0.01^6 \times (1 - 0.01)^{100-6}] / [6! \times (100 - 6)!] = 0.000463 \approx 0.05\%$. In other words, there is a 99.95% chance that 100 singulars do *not* give six authentic singulars. This means that only a few singular readings might be part of the initial text.

a case would simply be an accident of history, but some may exist. The likelihood is greater when a given text has fewer surviving witnesses (Delobel 1980).

These scholarly disputes show that the singular readings bristle with problems. Some are nonsense readings that need not be considered when establishing the initial text. Other such readings make sense and they fall into two categories: (1) scribal inventions, and (2) inherited readings. Future collations of witnesses and new findings may eliminate the “singular” status of a reading, which may require a rethinking about the respective textual location. Singular readings are important for establishing scribal tendencies, but they need to be limited to scribal creations. Inherited readings do *not* reveal anything about scribal tendencies. It is at times difficult, if not impossible, to determine which one is an inherited reading rather than a scribal alteration. Inherited singular readings cannot be excluded. Many important D-text readings are singular or sub-singular due to the fact that only a handful of witnesses are currently known to reflect the D-text. The same appears to be relatively true for the C-text, and occasionally even for the B-text (see the tables in chapter 4).

In light of such disputes, this research proceeds with the concept that a singular or a sub-singular reading has a credible claim for authenticity if it fulfils the following criteria. (i) It is an early reading, usually found within the NT papyri. (ii) It occurs in a textually disputed location where it is difficult to find an acceptable solution. (iii) It is an inherited reading from the now lost exemplar(s), not a scribal creation. (iv) The reading diverges from the established scribal habits of the textual witness(es) containing it. (v) It best explains other readings. Often the reading concurs with the principle *lectio difficilior*.¹¹⁹

1.6.2.2. *The Use of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method*

The ECM volume on Jude employs a new text-critical method in dealing with the external evidence called the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (the CBGM). I use the information gathered by this method in Jude in an experimental way by introducing into the discussions of the external evidence a grouping of textual witnesses based on their genealogical closeness to the hypothetical initial text. I will first explain why this new genealogical method was developed and how it works, and then offer a justification for why I split the external evidence into genealogical groups.

Like any methodological development, the CBGM has prehistory. Karl Lachmann (1831) used a stemmatological approach to group NT witnesses to

¹¹⁹ J.K. Elliott (1968: 10-11) argues that when a weakly attested reading is accepted as part of the initial text, it needs to be shown why and how other variants came about. My study of Jn 1,34 attempts to give a reasonable hypothesis for such questions.

build a genealogical tree of relationships between them in the hope of establishing the transmissional history of the NT text. This tree presented which witnesses predated others, moving backwards from witnesses to what he believed to be their archetypes, and all the way back to as few archetypes as possible, upon which the textual decisions were then made. This method rested on two principles. (1) Some textual variants betray kinship between witnesses. If two or more witnesses contain similar textual characteristics, preferably not found in any other witness, they are genealogically related in some ways. (2) Only common errors as directional variants can be used to build genealogical trees, since witnesses with common errors necessarily derive from an anterior archetype.¹²⁰

There were reactions against this method after Westcott and Hort's use of it. Albert E. Housman (1926) pointed out that there are five major manuscripts in Luke which textual critics relied on that cannot be divided and united into families or even classes. Housman then argued that the true dividing line of divisions is between the variant readings themselves instead of the witnesses. Joseph Bédier (1928: 161-96, 321-56) contested the two principles as they ultimately result in a tree with two branches, but problematically one can often argue for several different two-branch solutions.¹²¹ Paul Collomp (1931: 107) retorted that Lachmann's system had never been legitimately used on any textual tradition. Léon Vaganay (1937: 71) argued that the system was too subjective and useless in NT studies: which two-branch solution was to be used from all the possible ones? Vaganay accepted the method as a tool to determine the connection between some particular copies, but no more. He argued that there is no such thing as a genealogical tree to be set up, even within the restricted circle of one family.

Colwell (1969: 66-67) was more cautious, but also argued against the genealogical method on the basis of the following arguments. (1) Such a method can often trace the genealogical tree down to the last two branches, but it cannot unite these last two in the main trunk. When the two ultimate witnesses differ, the genealogical method ceases to be applicable, because it cannot make a decision between the two different readings. It has only revealed which two witnesses contain them. (2) Mixed ancestry for any witness spreads havoc in the genealogies, because it crosses the dividing lines between different branches and confuses the genealogical ancestry by turning the ancestor-descendant

¹²⁰ van Reenen and van Mulken 1996: x.

¹²¹ Bédier 1928: 161-96, 321-56. On page 338 he retorts "le schéma reste malléable comme le plomb". Paul Maas (1958: 48) critiqued Bédier's position on the grounds that the situation of having three branches does not arise as commonly as Bédier claims. Metzger (1992b: 160-61) takes a mediating position. He accepts some validity for the genealogical method without a rigid following of it. This is my position as well.

transmission upside down. More recently, Parker (1977/78) argued that the NT stemma can be composed only in the most general way because of mixture of texts. Any mixture of witnesses that crosses the branch-lines results in a witness that has no direct archetype. Instead, it is a combination of archetypes and results in a text not found in any of the branches being joined. Such a text has relatively little genealogical relationship with any single branch in the genealogical tree.

For these reasons recent stemmatological approaches have introduced new ideas to overcome the noted deficiencies by using *cladistics*, a system used in biology to construct an evolutionary ancestry.¹²² Cladistics is a philosophy of classification that arranges organisms only by their order of branching in an evolutionary tree instead of their morphological similarity.¹²³ In textual criticism texts from different witnesses are entered into a computer that records all the differences between them. The witnesses are then grouped according to their shared characteristics. Rather than simply arranging the witnesses into rough groupings according to their overall similarity, they are assumed to be part of a branching family tree. Cladistics is used to discover the simplest genealogical tree of all the possible ones.¹²⁴ It is then usually *assumed* that the simplest tree reveals the witnesses and texts that are the closest to the hypothetical initial text.

There is one major theoretical problem with applying cladistics to NT textual criticism. Cladistics assumes that once a branching has occurred in the family tree, the two branches cannot rejoin. All similarities are taken as evidence of a common ancestry. This assumption is not always true of textual traditions, since scribes may at times work from more than one manuscript at once, producing a new copy with characteristics of all of them. This effectively crosses the dividing line of branches and rejoins them, creating mixed ancestry. In other words, like its predecessor, this method suffers from the same problem: mixture of texts.

The CBGM is a new method that attempts to avoid these problems by two design choices. It proceeds from local stemmata of variant readings instead of trying to construct overall structures of relations between witnesses.¹²⁵ The contamination of the NT textual tradition is viewed as a process. The method is based on several assumptions. (1) It is assumed that in a dense textual tradition contamination is the result of small steps. Close relatives differ only slightly from each other. When deviations occur between two closely related witnesses,

¹²² Salemans 1996.

¹²³ [<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cladistics>], accessed 9 Sep 2007.

¹²⁴ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Textual_criticism#Cladistics], accessed 9 Sep 2007.

¹²⁵ Nomenclature: in the CBGM method VARIANTS are readings that are grammatically correct and logically possible. This excludes errors. A LOCAL STEMMA is a stemma representing the presumed genealogical relationship between variants at one place of variation. A GLOBAL STEMMA is a stemma representing the genealogical relationships between witnesses, which mean the *texts* found in the manuscripts, not the manuscripts themselves.

the variants can be found in other genealogically close relatives, that is, in other witnesses textually close to each of the two.¹²⁶ (2) Most early witnesses have been lost, but variants found in the later witnesses are a reflection of older variants. They have just not been preserved in the surviving witnesses of the first millennium.¹²⁷ Their ancestry goes back to the earliest era of the copying process due to small steps of contamination. (3) The nearest preserved relatives of the early witnesses have lower agreement values than the later witnesses, and the contamination looks more radical. Nevertheless, the copying process was still normal: the witnesses of a given copying process must have been among the most closely related ones.¹²⁸ (4) The following regulations are believed to apply without excluding the possibility that the contrary might happen at some points: (I) scribes copied with fidelity, without a desire to create new readings, (II) intentional variation comes from the use of other sources (normally a manuscript), (III) in the case of multiple sources, few rather than many were used by a scribe, and (IV) the source copies have closely related texts rather than less related ones.¹²⁹ (5) The textual tradition is a system with non-independent constituents that cohere in a definable manner.¹³⁰ There is yet no critical and comprehensive examination available whether these assumptions work for the entire NT textual tradition, but in case of Jude the CBGM appears to be a viable method since the textual tradition in Jude is relatively coherent.¹³¹

The CBGM infers the genealogy of states of a text from genealogical assessments of variants in every textual variation unit. It takes notice of the contamination of witnesses and the coincidental repeated emergence of variants to arrive at a meaningful history of textual transmission of the NT text.¹³² The complete global NT stemma cannot be constructed because of two main reasons: (1) the contamination in the tradition, and (2) many witnesses have been lost.¹³³ Notwithstanding, the method seeks to build a stemma (or stemmata) to represent the relationships between textual ancestors and their respective descendants in so

¹²⁶ Mink 2004: 22.

¹²⁷ Mink 2004: 23.

¹²⁸ Mink 2004: 23.

¹²⁹ Mink 2004: 25.

¹³⁰ Mink 2004: 79 n. 42.

¹³¹ I have some reservations about whether these assumptions work everywhere equally well. In the Gospels the early textual tradition may be difficult to place in any genealogical tree because of two reasons: (1) the relative rarity of textual witnesses from the earliest period of transmission, and (2) the number of changes and/or variations in the early papyri that arguably indicates a partial state of flux in the textual tradition of the Gospels. The system undoubtedly finds a place for any witness (text) in the genealogical tree, but whether that is its proper place is a matter of some dispute. Further research is needed in this area.

¹³² Mink 2000, 2003, 2004, 2007; Wachtel and Parker 2005.

¹³³ Foster 2006.

far as it is possible. The focus is on *texts*, not on witnesses containing them. The end result is a creation of genealogical chains of coherence (textual closeness) that are related to the now no longer recoverable global NT stemma. The articulated axiom states that all surviving witnesses are related to each other, there is coherence in the tradition, and the contamination did not take the form of radical eclecticism.¹³⁴ This is a search for structures within the development of the texts found in the witnesses. The following is a description of how this is done.

Textual variation units are evaluated using philological criteria a critic deems fit to create local stemmata of variants.¹³⁵ These local stemmata represent how variants potentially derive from prior variants in each unit. One variant is assumed to be the initial one for each unit if it cannot be determined at this stage. Combining all initial variants creates the first round initial text. If it is not possible to establish a local stemma, that particular textual variation unit does not qualify for further evaluation until a solution has been found. It is not necessary to enter all the variants into the local stemma at all costs. If a variant cannot be placed into the stemma, its origin is uncertain. It will not be evaluated further at this stage.¹³⁶

When these local stemmata are created, pre-genealogical coherences of witnesses within an attestation or between attestations must be verified. The pre-genealogical coherence means the similarity of the texts of two witnesses compared to each other. In numerical terms it is the percentage of agreement between the texts. It does not provide genealogical information, but it is an important means of establishing provisional local stemmata of variants. When two witnesses have a high degree of textual conformity to each other, they are genealogically related, despite the age and geographical distribution of the witnesses containing the texts. When genealogically unrelated witnesses agree on the reading, the lack of genealogical conformity *may* point to a coincidental multiple emergence of the variant reading.¹³⁷

By contrast, genealogical coherence means the genealogical relationship of witnesses arrived at by summarising instances for each local genealogy of readings where they disagree and attest prior or posterior readings within the

¹³⁴ Foster 2006: 230.

¹³⁵ STEMMA is a genealogical tree. SUBSTEMMA is a particular part of it that deals with *one* descendant and its ancestors.

¹³⁶ Mink 2004: 35.

¹³⁷ Mink 2004: 40. This kind of textual contamination does not equal textual corruption. Dearing (1967: 281) notes that scribes unaware of each other could have restored a more ancient reading back to the tradition by consulting other manuscripts, by memory, by emendation or by some characteristic in the witness or witnesses that has made a scribe to blunder, effectively de-contaminating or re-contaminating the tradition.

local stemmata. The witness with more prior readings is potentially genealogically more ancient than the one with more posterior readings. This comparison is done for each witness against the entire NT textual tradition. The preference is given to those textual variation units that do not pose text-critical problems. Such evaluations are used to collect evidence that the assessment of genealogical coherence can build on. This way the critic arrives at an initial evaluation of the genealogical coherence that is reasonable but not necessarily undisputed. When the genealogical relationships of readings remain unclear, they are marked as fragmented (disputed), not as attesting prior/posterior readings in the local stemmata.

There is a textual flow connecting the witnesses in the local stemmata. The general textual flow leads from earlier to later textual states. A particular textual flow exists between witnesses in the relative positions of potential ancestor and descendant. This latter aspect has a direction. It becomes part of the global textual flow when ancestors and descendant in a substemma are part of a global stemma. The genealogical relationships between witnesses are a reflection of the development of the text throughout its history. This textual flow emerges by placing witnesses with the greater number of initial readings into the stemma prior to witnesses with more posterior readings. This results in a tree which has a number of witnesses closest to the initial text. The tree marks potentially the textual flow in the transmissional history from the initial text to a given witness. This textual flow is a hypothetical, logical consequence of chains of close genealogical relations. Once the textual flow for each local stemmata is done, the genealogical coherencies within one attestation and between attestations is possible. The more a potential ancestor agrees with its potential descendant, the more probable is a direct genealogical relationship in the global stemma. If close genealogical coherencies connect the totality of the witnesses without any break, the supposed coherency of an attestation is perfect. If not, the coherence is imperfect, and the variant emerged more than once, independently and does not imply genealogical relationship.¹³⁸

A substemma presents how a textual descendant links with its hypothetical ancestor or ancestors, i.e. which texts are the potential ancestors of a given text. Any substemma is optimal when the smallest possible number of ancestors can explain all variants of a descendant. The hypothetical global stemma is then built using these optimal substemmata. It is a superset comprising all the optimal substemmata as subsets, including the intermediate nodes incorporated into them or the corresponding connections.¹³⁹ The resulting *global* genealogical tree

¹³⁸ Mink 2004: 36-42.

¹³⁹ Mink 2004: 30, 74. INTERMEDIATE NODES are subsets of variants between two witnesses or hypothetical middle forms of the texts, often hyperarchetypes.

proposes those witnesses (texts) which have the initial text as their closest related potential ancestor, then those witnesses which have the initial text as the next most closely related potential ancestor, and so on. This information is then used to re-evaluate every textual variation unit again in an iterative process that may shape the initial text, including those textual variation units that were initially marked as fragmented (disputed). The internal criteria permitting, local stemmata of variants supported by the strong genealogical coherence of the witnesses are favoured in the iterative process. The respective position of any witness in the global genealogical tree may change as a result of this renewed initial text, which in turn would change the probability judgements on every individual textual variation unit. This iterative process can be repeated theoretically as many times as the global tree has a potential change in sight.¹⁴⁰ Ultimately a critic leans towards equilibrium, where the global tree remains relatively constant. This reveals an image of the tradition on the basis of a text-critical philological study of all the variants, but does not make textual decisions. The iterative process is helpful in confirming the plausibility of the text-critical hypothesis constructed.¹⁴¹

It is the witnesses potentially closest to the initial text that I work with in the experimental and somewhat anachronistic methodology in my study on the textual problems in Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18. The study reveals how the NT textual tradition has transmitted the variant readings in these specific locations. The presentation of the external evidence shows which witnesses potentially closest to the initial text carry the variant readings. For instance, the external evidence for ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς in Jude 5 is presented as A 81 // 33^c // 2344 // L:V Æ Cyr. This marks mss. A and 81 as the first, ms. 33^c the second, and ms. 2344 the third-to-fifth genealogical generations of witnesses attesting this variant reading, supported by L:V Æ Cyr that have not been genealogically studied. Hence, there is a direct textual trajectory from the earliest genealogical states for this variant reading.

The external evidence is evaluated *in part* by noting which genealogical states support the variant under study as they reveal genealogical trajectories in the NT textual tradition. The higher probabilities are awarded to such variant readings that have witnesses potentially closer to the initial text than others. This does not mean that variant readings found in witnesses with a less direct genealogical relationship with the initial text or less direct genealogical trajectories cannot be part of the initial text. Such readings only receive lower probabilities in the initial phase of the evaluation. Nevertheless, once the genealogy of witnesses has

¹⁴⁰ Wachtel and Parker 2005: 9.

¹⁴¹ Mink 2007.

been achieved with an adequately low marking for error, it is likely, at least generally, that the initial reading is probably found somewhere within the first five generations of witnesses, as presented in the ECM series.

Unless there are compelling reasons to the contrary, a variant reading that appears in later generations without any support in fathers or versions, though possible, is improbable as the initial reading. Hence, for the sake of the experiment in methodology, it is assumed that the initial reading is found somewhere within the first five generations of witnesses and/or fathers and versions. This reduces the amount of variant readings that need to be studied. For instance, in the case of Jude 5, the number of phrases as variant readings with any reasonable claim to authenticity reduces from 31 to 17. The rest are assumed to be later scribal blunders. Hence, the earliest generations of witnesses will form the nucleus of the external evidence. This is not the same as “the favourite manuscripts” approach, although it has similarities to it. This approach works with a wide selection of witnesses that are demonstrably less corrupt than the rest of the textual tradition, at least potentially, without selecting a few favourite manuscripts to overrule other considerations. It is possible, sometimes even inevitable, to find genealogically later witnesses which depart very little from the first five generations of witnesses, but they would then be relatively good copies of the earlier states of the text, continuing the textual trajectory from the earlier periods of transmission. This is the reason why later states of the text do not need to be considered in my experimental method. This experiment uses the published genealogical information of Jude differently than the authors of the ECM series envisioned, but the textual decisions are not made primarily based on the external evidence, but on internal grounds.

1.6.3. Transcriptional Probabilities

First, the scribal tendencies are noted and used in evaluating the variant readings, but the general character of a given witness is not a decisive criterion. A high quality manuscript may present an error by simply transmitting an error from its exemplar, full of tendentious alterations. A novice scribe may produce numerous faults of detail and yet present an excellent text.¹⁴² Unintentional alterations should be studied first to isolate those variant readings that arose due to faulty eyesight, mishearing, or misspelling, or due to dittography and haplography.¹⁴³ These kinds of readings are found in genealogically early witnesses, and they should be omitted from consideration, unless they make sense in their context

¹⁴² Vaganay and Amphoux 1991: 64.

¹⁴³ Dearing 1974: 45-46; Metzger 1992b: 189; Shin 2004: 43-44.

(like ἔχομεν vs. ἔχομεν in Rom 5,1). In this, knowledge of individual scribes is needed.

Secondly, in general, the preference is for a harder reading (*lectio difficilior potior*), that is, a harder reading *for scribes* and thus prone to be altered one way or another.¹⁴⁴ However, readings that are deemed too hard (*lectio difficilima*) are often scribal blunders and not part of the initial text.¹⁴⁵ There are caveats for this principle, though. It is often subjective which of the variant readings is *lectio difficilior*. Also, a mechanical process of transmission gradually produces more disordered readings.¹⁴⁶ A harder reading that makes no sense in its context is questionable.¹⁴⁷ Thus, this principle needs to be qualified by the known scribal tendencies. This principle may be better expressed, as Hyeon Woo Shin does (2004: 69), as a preference for a reading that gives more information, a reading that is more difficult to understand, which in the process of textual transmission loses information.

Thirdly, the preference for the shorter readings (*lectio brevior potior*) has enjoyed much support in the past, being preferred in reasoned eclecticism.¹⁴⁸ However, as noted above, studies have demonstrated that the general tendency was to omit rather than to add during the early period of textual transmission, because in general the omissions happened by accident.¹⁴⁹ This tendency is seen not only in the early papyri but also in the early majuscules.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, other things being equal, the longer reading is more likely the initial state of the text, unless the reading can be shown to be a conflation.¹⁵¹ When the longer reading is consistent with the language, style, and theology of the context, it should be generally accepted as authentic, unless there are weighty arguments for the rival shorter reading. While the editors of the UBS/NA have stated that scribes sometimes added pronouns to make a smoother text, this principle cannot be accepted as valid, for the opposite seems to be true of certain apparently redundant pronouns or postpositional pronouns.¹⁵² Thus, Royse has recently formulated this criterion for the transcriptional probability:

¹⁴⁴ Nida 1981: 101.

¹⁴⁵ TCGNT 13*.

¹⁴⁶ Albrektson 1981; Shin 2004: 47; Tov 1981a: 261; 1982: 440.

¹⁴⁷ Ross 1982.

¹⁴⁸ Aland and Aland 1989: 281, 308-309; Boismard 1951; Clarke 1997: 48; Royse 2008: 709; TCGNT 13*.

¹⁴⁹ J.K. Elliott 1992: 40.

¹⁵⁰ Hernández 2006: 74-75, 113-114, 148-149; Royse 2008: 725-32; Silva 1985, 1992.

¹⁵¹ Royse 1995: 246.

¹⁵² J.K. Elliott 2002b: 107.

In general the longer reading is to be preferred, except where:

- a) the longer reading appears, on external grounds, to be late; or
- b) the longer reading may have arisen from harmonization to the immediate context, to parallels, or to general usage; or
- c) the longer reading may have arisen from an attempt at grammatical improvement.

The frequency of omissions by scribal leaps and of omissions of certain inessential words such as pronouns must be kept in mind, and when such omissions may have occurred the longer reading should be viewed as even more likely.¹⁵³

I accept this formulation, as it copes better with the early papyrological evidence than the formulations preferring the shorter readings. However, a remaining issue is that scribal tendencies to omit rather than to add does not explain the 7%-8% greater length of the D-text of Acts over against the B-text, so there is a limit to the use of argumentation for the shorter/longer reading.¹⁵⁴ Other scribal tendencies and historical exigencies may overrule decisions about the *lectio brevior/longior potior* in a given textual location. In general, however, longer texts in the B-text, and the shorter texts in the A-text, tend to be more likely part of the initial text, because the reverse in the respective texts is often the result of scribal tendencies, except in cases of haplography/dittography.¹⁵⁵ Any decision needs to note what sort of an omission/addition is in view before making final decisions about the textual variants.¹⁵⁶

Fourthly, scribes would frequently bring divergent passages into verbal harmony and verbal dissidence should therefore be preferred.¹⁵⁷ Such changes often increase the textual coherence,¹⁵⁸ which may have implications for the criterion that seeks harmony in an author's style. Conversely, this preference for verbal dissidence does not hold true in immediate contexts if the dissidence does not fit the context or is doctrinally or similarly suspect. In such cases verbal accordance should be preferred, because a view that one should choose a variant reading not found elsewhere is partially based on an argument from silence.¹⁵⁹ The appropriateness of the variant reading to its context must be kept in view.¹⁶⁰ Septuagintal expressions are usually the results of harmonisations unless the

¹⁵³ Royse 2008: 735. The point (a) was made by Griesbach as well.

¹⁵⁴ Epp 2002: 28.

¹⁵⁵ Shin 2004: 64. Similarly, Wu (2002: 147) has argued for the originality of several shorter readings found in the A-text.

¹⁵⁶ Hurtado 1999; Silva 1985: 157-61; 1992: 23.

¹⁵⁷ Ehrman 1993; Kannaday 2004; Nida 1981; TCGNT 13*.

¹⁵⁸ Barthélemy 1982: I, *72.

¹⁵⁹ Landon 1996: 41.

¹⁶⁰ Metzger 1992b: 192; Shin 2004: 57-58; Tov 1981b: 288.

author originally used Septuagintal style (e.g. Luke), in which case verbal dissidence does not reveal the proper variant for the reconstructed text.¹⁶¹

Fifthly, scribes made all kinds of deliberate changes based on various reasons like the role of women, doctrinal considerations, and criticism by pagan opponents, liturgical usage, asceticism etc. These were done to suit their needs in their *Sitz im Leben*.¹⁶² Variants that are pregnant doctrinally or otherwise usually favour the less “orthodox”, less “clear” reading. Caution is needed, however, when preferring the less “orthodox”, less “clear” readings, as some such readings may also have crept into the text from “heretical” corruption of Scripture. Variant readings prone to multiple interpretations and misuse are not always part of the initial text, though generally they tend to be so.¹⁶³ The problem at times is that paradoxically these “orthodox” alterations may point in opposite directions, and the textual landscape can become too subjective a territory to march through with this criterion.¹⁶⁴

Sixthly, often scribes would replace unfamiliar words with more familiar synonyms, alter less refined grammatical expressions by improving grammar and style, and at times, tend to smooth the text. This is an application of *lectio difficilior potior*.¹⁶⁵ However, if the smoother text is also *lectio brevior*, it may not be part of the initial text. At times a less polished textual variant is a result of a scribal blunder. Some copyists improved the grammar and style of their sources, while others spoiled them.¹⁶⁶ The preference for the less polished expressions appears to be valid, when such expressions cannot be explained as scribal mistakes. This is true when the author’s own style is demonstrably unpolished.¹⁶⁷

Finally, in general, the Semitic expression rather than the Greek one is to be preferred, whether in grammatical construction, syntax or elsewhere.¹⁶⁸ However, the mechanical following of this principle can lead to mistaken choices. The non-Septuagintal Semitic reading is preferable when the author’s style is discernibly Semitic but *not* Septuagintal.¹⁶⁹ Otherwise it needs to be

¹⁶¹ Shin 2004: 69.

¹⁶² Ehrman 1993; Kannaday 2004; Nida 1981; TCGNT 13*.

¹⁶³ K. Clark 1953: 51-65.

¹⁶⁴ Landon 1996: 44.

¹⁶⁵ Ehrman 1993; Kannaday 2004; Nida (1981); TCGNT 13*;

¹⁶⁶ Farmer 1964: 230.

¹⁶⁷ Shin 2004: 69.

¹⁶⁸ J.K. Elliott 1992: 32; TCGNT 13*. This principle has provoked sharply divided opinions, as noted by Landon 1996: 39.

¹⁶⁹ Shin 2004: 41.

established that the Semitic expression itself is not a scribal alteration to the Septuagintal idiom.

1.6.4. *Intrinsic Probabilities*

There is no consensus about the principle that prefers consistency in the style, grammar or theology of the author. Michael W. Holmes (2002: 81) argues that scribal tendencies and proclivities, and authorial style and theology are insufficient to solve textual problems. Authors are not always grammatically correct, clear, consistent, or felicitous. Jacobus H. Petzer (1990) maintains that language employed by an author cannot be expected or presupposed to be consistent but varies. Fee asks whether a textual variant in conformity with an author's expression is original, or whether a scribe made the text conform to the author's perceived style.¹⁷⁰ The idea is that there is no reason why the author should not occasionally vary his/her style, with the implication that scribes sometimes imposed a consistent usage on the text that was not there to begin with.¹⁷¹ Hence, dissimilarity rather than similarity should be preferred when dealing with fixed expressions and their variant readings. Yet this is not without problems either. Authors are not necessarily consistent, but the problem is that neither are the scribes (or readers as proofreaders). It is at times difficult to know whether the grammatical mistakes and inconsistencies are authorial or scribal features. Scribes may have improved the author's text and authors may have written a better text than the scribes copying it. Also, for the most part, it should be expected that within a given book, a NT author will *generally* conform to a certain style, syntax, and vocabulary.¹⁷² The consistency should be maintained if it fits the Semitic and/or Septuagintal style of the author and transcriptional reasons would then explain the disharmonious readings. The consistency cannot be maintained if the transcriptional probability points toward a harmonisation, whether the immediate context or parallel passages.

If an author uses a certain fixed expression a number of times, how likely is it that (s)he is willing to depart from it in one or two textual locations if those locations also testify to the fixed expression as *varia lectio*? For instance, the author of Mark thought of a large gathering of people as a singular group with the singular ὄχλος some forty times in his Gospel. Therefore the plural ὄχλοι in Mk 10,1 is hardly the initial reading in place of *varia lectio* ὄχλος, when it can be explained as an assimilation to the Matthean parallel.¹⁷³ It is somewhat

¹⁷⁰ Epp and Fee 1993: 174-82.

¹⁷¹ Metzger 1992a.

¹⁷² J.K. Elliott 2002b: 109; M.A. Robinson 2002: 131.

¹⁷³ J.K. Elliott 1995: 328.

precarious to argue for the consistency of the author's style or the lack of it without taking into account scribal tendencies. The same problems relate to the author's theology. It is equally problematic to choose a variant in conformity with the perceived theology or ideology of the author over the other variant readings and vice versa.¹⁷⁴ Scribes may have had their hands on them. Hence, transcriptional probability should outweigh the intrinsic one in these cases. Nevertheless, conformity and non-conformity of a variant reading to an author's style, grammar and theology should be noted, and other things being equal, consistency maintained.

1.6.5. Koine and Attic Variant Readings

One of the debated issues in the methodology of NT textual criticism has been the question of Atticism. To what extent, if any, did Atticism affect the transmission of the NT text? The UBS/NA editors accepted in principle that scribes would sometimes alter a less refined grammatical form or less elegant lexical expression in accord with contemporary Atticising tendencies.¹⁷⁵ Hence, the principle features in their list of internal criteria. The committee's actual use of it is seen to some extent in Metzger's textual commentary, though remarks pertinent to Atticism are few. Thus, Metzger notes that ἐγγένοι in place of γεγόνει in Acts 4,22 is probably an Atticism, which the committee then rejected as a secondary development of the text. Likewise, the omission of the definite article before Ἰησοῦς in Acts 1,1 was probably made on the basis of Attic Greek.¹⁷⁶ At times the committee was thus relatively certain what had happened in the transmission of the text, and the textual decisions were made accordingly.

However, the question of Atticism is not always, if ever, this simple. Metzger's commentary also reveals that the committee was not unanimous as to what extent Atticism is responsible for the textual variation. Some members offered alternative explanations when others were content with it. Metzger notes that it is difficult to decide whether σου in Acts 4,30 was deleted because of Atticistic tendencies or added because of tendencies to harmonize the text to its immediate context (verses 27 and 29 have σου). Likewise, the committee was uncertain whether to print ἄχρη or ἄχρης in Acts 11,5 because of uncertainty about whether an Atticistic or anti-Atticistic tendency was operative here.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Petzer 1991.

¹⁷⁵ TCGNT 13*. Similarly, Epp has Atticism in the list of internal criteria as one possible reason for variation, but he nevertheless takes a cautious approach to it, citing Fee's and Martini's objections. Hence, he formulates it as "a variant's conformity to Koine (rather than Attic) Greek" (Epp and Fee 1993: 163-64).

¹⁷⁶ TCGNT 236, 278-79.

¹⁷⁷ TCGNT 282, 339.

These two examples summarise succinctly what the debate on Atticism is about. When is the variation a result of Atticism and how does one know that? The matter is complicated, because there is no consensus on whether Atticism was operative in the early period and if so, to what extent. There is a general acceptance that Atticistic tendencies have taken place in the later A-text tradition.¹⁷⁸ This is not surprising. During the era from AD 600 to 1500 texts would generally be written with Atticistic Greek while the spoken language was Koine.¹⁷⁹ The disagreement is on whether Atticism was operative in the NT textual tradition during the second and third centuries, and if it was, to what extent did it affect the transmissional process, because part of the NT follows Attic diction *against* then current Koine.¹⁸⁰

The following dispute on the reading in Acts 17,15 is a typical example of the debate of the main strands of opinion on Atticism. George D. Kilpatrick (1963b) used the variation of ἐν τάχει (D g cop syr^p) and ὡς τάχιστα (P⁷⁴ ⋈ A B L Ψ 33 *pm*) as an example of Atticism to make his case. Both expressions mean more or less the same thing. Kilpatrick contended that by the first century AD the latter Attic idiom was no longer part of the ordinary use. Although it is read by the majority of early, excellent witnesses, it should nevertheless be rejected as an Atticistic alteration in favour of the former reading, which appears unchallenged in Acts 12,7; 22,18; 25,4.

Carlo M. Martini (1974: 152-53) disputed Kilpatrick's argumentation. He argued that ἐν τάχει is not a typical Koine expression. It is Classical. He complained that if an Atticistic scribe altered Acts 17,15, then why did he not do so also in Acts 12,7; 22,18; 25,4 as well? Why did the alteration influence the tradition so strongly, to the extent that only a handful of witnesses have ἐν τάχει in Acts 17,15? Martini added that PSI VII 792.10 (AD 136) reads ὡς τάχιστα. This is part of a register of a public official, who is not likely to write Attic according to Martini. He then commented that Kilpatrick's explanation of Acts 17,15 becomes improbable. Martini conceded that some kind of Atticistic rewriting has been operative in the NT textual tradition, but he disputed that it has affected second- and third-century Alexandrian witnesses.¹⁸¹

Kilpatrick (1977) answered these objections by noting that (1) some decisions in the UBS³ can claim only a handful of witnesses in their support, (2) scribes

¹⁷⁸ Birdsall 1976; Martini 1974.

¹⁷⁹ Caragounis 2006: 45.

¹⁸⁰ Caragounis 2006: 570.

¹⁸¹ For some reason he incorrectly argues that *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59427.4-5 is a first-century letter containing ὡς τάχιστα. The letter is actually a third-century BC text (256-54 BC). Martini probably did not notice that the date "28th/29th year" in the *editio princeps* relate to Ptolemaic rulers, not absolute dates as he may have taken them.

did not work with systematic aids at their disposal, (3) Roman officials were educated men prone to writing something akin to Attic, especially because the education was limited largely to learning literary texts, (4) not all Classical expressions are Attic, and (5) it is not known why some expressions have survived in only a handful of witnesses other than sheer change.

A similar dispute has taken place between J. Keith Elliott and Gordon D. Fee. Elliott (1970; 1995: 326) argues that Atticism affected the transmission of the diminutive forms by attempting to eliminate them. Hence, e.g., *νεανίσκος* should be preferred to *νεανίας* everywhere where variation exists. Elliott's position is based on the concept that the developments in the Greek language in the centuries after the composition of the NT show that the scribes were likely to have come under the influence of Atticist stylists and grammarians. This in turn would have affected their work as copyists. Fee (1976: 130) took issue with Elliott's choice of variant. He argued that the variant reading *νεανίας* in Acts 23,18 (B D Ψ Byz) and 23,22 (D Ψ Byz) is indeed secondary, but that Acts 23,17 almost certainly reads *νεανίας*. Only one minuscule copy supports reading *νεανίσκος*. Fee contends that the text initially had a *νεανίας-νεανίσκος-νεανίσκος* pattern (so the UBS/NA). He is not willing to accept Elliott's paradigm here, because it would mean the improbable case that only one late witness supports the initial text, while the rest of the NT textual tradition gives the Atticistic reading. Fee argued that the *varia lectio* *νεανίας* is no Atticism in Acts 23,18.22, but an assimilation of the text to the usage in Acts 23,17 instead. Here is the crux of the matter. Both argued that the diminutive *νεανίσκος* is the initial text of Acts 23,18.22. They differ sharply as to why and how the Attic variant *νεανίας* arose. Elliott argues for Atticism, Fee for a contextual harmonisation.

Fee offers other similar examples to show that Atticism is not the only possible explanation in many cases of the Koine/Attic variation. He admits that some variation may in fact be a result of Atticism during the second century. Nevertheless, Fee thinks that in most cases it is more probable historically that a Christian scribe altered a less common Attic form to its more common Koine equivalent (a reverse of Atticism), especially if the more common form is also Septuagintal.

Fee's (1976: 131) proposition makes the scribes responsible for the Koine over the Attic variants by imitation of the LXX style. Such a proposition has not gone unchallenged either. There is some evidence that some of the authors themselves used the LXX style, especially Luke. Consequently Elliott's basic premise may be valid despite problems in some of his examples. In the reconstruction of the initial text Septuagintal idiom is secondary for the works

not composed in Septuagintal style, but the reverse is true e.g. in Luke.¹⁸² Hence, the question is not always clear whether any given variant is the result of Atticism or Septuagintalism or due to some other scribal tendency. The debates have not solved these problems to the satisfaction of all parties involved.

These disputes over Atticism serve to illustrate the methodological dilemma. When is the Koine/Attic variation a result of Atticism and when of something else? This dilemma has led Metzger (1992b: 179) to argue that a rigorous following of the criterion to prefer the Koine form over the Attic one is in danger of disregarding the operation of other literary and stylistic tendencies that would move the text the opposite way, from the Attic to the Koine. This deliberate anti-Atticistic tendency would show up in the tradition as Koine/Attic variation, but the reason for the appearance of the variant readings is obviously different from Atticistic tendencies. Metzger points out that undue reliance upon statistical considerations should be avoided in judging the literary style of an author in a period when quite opposite influences cut across one another.

Underlying the whole question of the Koine/Attic variation is the debate on the history of the NT textual transmission. Some claim that much of the work on Atticism is based on a faulty theory of textual corruption and transmission, and an unhistorical attitude towards the various textual witnesses.¹⁸³ Elliott (1995: 331) counters these statements by arguing that the bulk of deliberate changes in the text of the NT were made prior to AD 200. This timeframe has only a few manuscripts that have survived to us, making the external evidence of little relevance. Many variant readings found in later manuscripts have their origin in the second century. This implies that arguments for Atticism are not based on faulty theories of transmission. The attitude of Colwell and Fee against the use of Atticism as a valid criterion is based on the assumption that the B-text, presented mainly by P⁷⁵B, carefully preserves the initial text, and many of the Koine variants are found in the D-text. This concept derives from Westcott and Hort. Yet there is no consensus that the B-text as a whole is closer to the initial text than its early rival, the D-text in its earliest form, though much of the text-critical scholarship is based on such an *a priori* position. What is undisputed is that Codex Vaticanus reproduces an early text akin to that of P⁷⁵ but its status as a copy with relatively little variation from the autographs is not only disputed but also speculative. Several studies have argued that Codex Vaticanus as well as the B-text in general is a redacted text that suffers from Alexandrian philological editing of the text,¹⁸⁴ though this issue is disputed as well. If it does, its text might be Atticistic by Alexandrian design.

¹⁸² Horton 1978; Most 1982; Shin 2004: 39; Sparks 1943.

¹⁸³ E.g. Delobel 2002: 5-9; Epp 2002: 26; Fee 1976: 125; Petzer 1986.

¹⁸⁴ J.E. Miller 2003; O'Neill 1989; Payne 1995, 2004; Payne and Canart 2000, 2009.

Christian-Bernard Amphoux (1999, 2003) argues that the D-text, represented mainly by Codex Bezae and its allies (Latin, Syriac in part, many early fathers), best represents the initial text, for which the B-text is a later revision. He argues that the Markan text in Codex Vaticanus is a redactional work done in Alexandria around 340 CE,¹⁸⁵ that there is an earlier recensional work in Alexandria, around 175 CE, witnessed by P⁴⁵ and other early papyri, and that Codex Bezae witnesses to a redactional work done in Smyrna (120 CE), Sinaiticus (Ⲛ) to a similar work in Caesarea (330 CE), Koridethi (Θ) with its allies to a first phase redactional work done in Antioch (around 200 CE) and Alexandrinus (A) to its second phase in Antioch at the end of the fourth century. Amphoux regards the D-text as a kind of pre-recensional text that was not subjected to revisions. This text was then used and adapted to new circumstances as Christianity spread wider. One aspect of this theory is that the D-text went through Atticistic tendencies to produce the B-text. Amphoux bases his reconstruction of this hypothetical recensional history on the comparison of the texts between the Greek codices and early church fathers.

Marie-Émile Boismard and Arnaud Lamouille (1987) have argued yet another concept in relation to Acts. They have suggested that both the B-text and the D-text reflect Lucan characteristics and hence are two versions written by the original author. This took place gradually. They posit that there was a precursor to the D-text that gave rise to two derivative forms of the D-text, not just one. These two derivatives are reflected in the D-text tradition known to us and the underlying text-critical harmony (excluding paraphrastic rewritings in the known witnesses etc) is the actual D-type text that Luke wrote first. Then, years later, Luke radically altered his initial work, stylistically and from the point of view of its content, and these redactions were fused into one, which has been preserved in the B-text. Both textual streams, the B- and D-texts, then had a circulation independent of the other. This theory shares the priority of the D-text position presented by Amphoux, but makes the original author himself the reviser of the text.¹⁸⁶

The position of Boismard and Lamouille has been criticised on several grounds.¹⁸⁷ It is questionable whether their assumption of an earlier, “pure” form of the D-text is justified in view of the evidence of the early papyri P^{29,38,48}, which belong to the D-text tradition. The main reason for the choice of an

¹⁸⁵ Zuntz (1953: 271) argued already in 1946 that B^Ⲛ represents Alexandrian philological traditions and that the work of the Alexandrian scribes on the text of the Scriptures was a long process rather than a single act.

¹⁸⁶ At this point one might ask what then is the initial text, and should the reconstructed NT text reflect one (which?) or both of the texts (a sort of harmony)?

¹⁸⁷ B. Aland 1986; Birdsall 1988; J.K. Elliott 1987; Geer 1990; Head 1993.

occidental reading as initial is often its proximity to Lucan style, which creates a degree of circularity in the structure of the whole argument. By limiting the comparison with the style and vocabulary of the NT, Boismard and Lamouille establish only that of all the NT writers the Western variants most closely resemble Luke. This neglects the scribal tendencies to harmonise and assimilate. It is intrinsically possible (or probable) that a secondary recension will stylistically resemble the *Vorlage*. The conformity of various disputed passages to Lucan statements elsewhere makes a later reviser look as if he is Luke by using Lucan style.

Irrespective of whether the B-text or the D-text (or neither) better represents the initial text, the following statistics are indisputable. Codex Bezae has Koine variant readings in textual locations where Codex Vaticanus gives their Attic equivalents (56 hits in the tables of chapter 4), while Codex Vaticanus reads Koine variant readings where Codex Bezae has Attic equivalents or other Attic expressions (58 hits). Elsewhere they both read either Koine or Attic readings. Using the tables of chapter 4, the statistical fact is that in 477 textual locations shared by Codices Vaticanus and Bezae, they disagree 114 times over the Koine/Attic variation. This presents a dilemma for the theories of transmission. The NT textual tradition has two early streams of texts that have contradictory variation in diverse places. The variation is too random to be a result of deliberate, systematic overhaul of the text in either cluster, but it could indicate an occasional scribal tampering with the text. Most of the variation must have taken place in the early history of transmission that predates the *texts* found in Codices Vaticanus and Bezae. The question then is what sort of scribal tendencies affected the transmission in the early period.¹⁸⁸

Hence, the debate has not reached a consensus, neither in terms of the usability of the criterion on Atticism itself nor in terms of the history of the transmission of the text of the NT. Landon (1996: 38) calls attention to the fact that stalemate still exists. M.C. Williams (2006: 61) has noted that the issue is still debated and the criterion is of a limited use.¹⁸⁹ Epp (2002: 26) believes that it is difficult to assess whether Atticism had any impact prior to AD 400. Caragounis (2006) has even called it “a notorious problem”. He then argues that

¹⁸⁸ Zuntz 1953: 271. Epp (2002: 26), argues that if Atticism operated in the early period, it did not function well statistically. This position supposes that scribes made a systematic attempt to improve the text, which on the basis of statistics is then unlikely. Epp’s position does not take into account the possibility that the changes may have been subconscious (unintentional) and gradual.

¹⁸⁹ M.C. Williams modifies Metzger’s criterion on Atticism so that it removes the reference to Atticistic tendencies altogether. This makes the criterion prefer a less refined grammatical form or less elegant expression, which concept he then includes under the criterion of *lectio difficilior*. By contrast, Parker in his review of J.K. Elliott’s “Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism” argues that Elliott has made a strong case for Atticism.

Atticism can only be part of a broader investigation of the kind of Greek prevalent in the first century and its influence on the history of Greek since then. As Atticists never took any account of the NT, its possible early impingement on the NT is only indirect.¹⁹⁰ The NT textual tradition and the Koine/Attic variation therein will be analysed by using the Greek usage as found in the documentary papyri. If a Koine form found in the NT textual tradition does not appear in the first-century Greek papyri, it is suspect as a scribal alteration to later idiom. Second-century papyri may indicate that the biblical author used the Koine form, even though it has not been found in the first-century papyri, but this depends on the external backing of the variant in question. Koine forms in the NT textual tradition that have no earlier parallels in extra biblical papyri than the third century are assumed to be secondary variants because of developments of the Greek. I will also note the textual picture in the early biblical papyri and majuscules and their textual trajectories vis-à-vis Koine/Attic variation.

This theoretical observation serves as a stepping stone for my study in chapter 4. It goes through a list of verbs that appear in both Koine and Attic variants in the textual tradition of the NT to demonstrate that Atticism indeed is responsible for a certain number of alterations but that there is another viewpoint, which has not often been considered. I will argue that (1) Atticism was operative in the early period, and its influence is seen in the early papyri and the later majuscules, and (2) the development of Greek itself influenced scribes to move also in the opposite direction during the early period of transmission, from Attic to Koine. This has nothing or little to do with the Septuagintal idioms per se, unless those idioms themselves influenced the development of Greek. This is not to say that the Septuagintal idioms did not have an influence on the transmission of the NT. They did. My study only shows that there is another perspective that is often lacking in the discussions on Atticism, namely, a scribal desire to modernise the text to then current literary usage. In other words, the copyists did not work in a socio-cultural vacuum, but were at times influenced by the developments of Greek itself. This encompasses Atticism, but is not limited to it.

Thus, chapter 4 fills some gaps in the history of transmission of the NT text by presenting textual evidence and corresponding argumentation as to why and how certain word forms crept into its textual history. The study offers information that can assist in reconstructing the initial text in a total of 373 textual locations. I will also give reasons why the rival forms crept into the tradition.¹⁹¹ Methodologically, this study advances the position that knowledge of Greek usage in the first and second centuries is a key component in arriving at

¹⁹⁰ Caragounis 2006: 480 n. 39.

¹⁹¹ See, e.g., J.K. Elliott 1969, 1970, 1977, 1980; Jordaan 1980 for studies in Atticism.

a meaningful text-critical choice for Koine/Attic variations. This comparative linguistic study needs to be repeated for *all* Koine/Attic variation known from the NT textual tradition, if the dilemma of Atticism as a criterion is ever to reach a working consensus, or the history of transmission of the text of the NT to be written involving the second-century milieu and early scribes.

2. Son or Chosen in John 1,34?

Jn 1,34 contains a perennial textual problem. Is Jesus depicted as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, or something else? Previous studies have not been able to solve this problem to the satisfaction of all textual critics. This study is an attempt to resolve the issue. I will argue that ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is the most likely initial reading. All other variant readings are derived from this due to second-century scribal tendencies. Thus, Jn 1,34 should read “The Chosen One of God”. This affects the perceived Johannine theology.¹⁹²

2.1. Introduction

The Greek text of Jn 1,34 has puzzled scholars because of a difficult textual variant. What did the author of John write about Jesus? In his text, did John the Baptist say that Jesus is ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ or ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ or possibly something else? The UBS/NA supports the first reading. Numerous exegetical works are based on the assumption that this is the initial reading and several commentaries make no mention of any textual variant.¹⁹³ Scholars dealing with textual considerations most often mention two variants, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, and argue for one of them. Translations follow suit. ESV, HCSB, NASB, NIV, and NRSV read “the Son of God”. Others like NAB, NET, NLT, TNIV, and REB read “the Chosen One of God”.

In reality the issue is not as clear-cut as this. There are seven variant readings in this textual location that lies at a rather crucial position at the beginning of John. The selection of the variant reading is of no little consequence. It shapes the reader’s understanding of the theology of the author of John.¹⁹⁴ It may also cause a re-evaluation of the perceived intrinsic probabilities in other textual locations in John.

There is an additional problem noted recently. It is now contested and unclear what P⁷⁵ original read. Its corrected reading supports the majority reading ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, but this reading was written into the papyrus after the original reading was erased. Due to uncertainties that now affect the evaluation of whatever was

¹⁹² This chapter is a clear departure from my previous studies, because the information of the reading in P⁷⁵ has changed on the basis of new photographs. For references, see Flink 2005, 2007a.

¹⁹³ Bruce 1983: 55; Drewermann 2003: 1, 66; Edwards 2004: 29; Wengst 2000: 86.

¹⁹⁴ So, e.g., Ehrman 1995: 365.

in P^{75*}, I will argue that ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is the most likely initial reading. Hence, the variant reading chosen for the UBS/NA is probably not what the author of John originally wrote. This would make the end of Jn 1,34 read ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. This variant reading best explains the rise of rival textual variants on the basis of various scribal tendencies, such as harmonisations to parallel passages and doctrinal considerations.

2.2. Rival Proposals

I will give a brief description of the competing proposals. What follows is not an exhaustive but a representative treatment of scholarly opinions. Numerous scholars argue for ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ as the initial reading for several reasons.¹⁹⁵ It has wide external support across all early textual streams. Manuscript evidence for this variant reading in scholarly discussions includes P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵ A B D Θ Byz vg syr^h cop^{bo} Or. This list is no longer entirely correct, but the combination has been decisive for many exegetes. The internal evidence is also strong. The phrase appears elsewhere in John as the author's favourite designation of Jesus (1,49; 3,18; 5,25; 10,36; 11,4.27; 19,7; 20,31). It conforms to his style. Many exegetes believe that ὁ υἱός is the primary theological concept for the author of John. It has a messianic background in Ps 2,7. The phrase ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is arguably part of the Christian tradition connected with the baptismal confession and could have naturally been followed by the author of John. Previously, doctrinal controversies had little consequence on this variant reading, because it is found in the early papyri, and most scholars argued that they do not suffer from theological alterations. This last reason is no longer accepted as valid, and it is not used by recent advocates of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The editorial committee behind the UBS/NA accepted this reading and gave it a "B" rating, indicating that in their view the reading is almost certain. The rival reading ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is considered to be a scribal harmonisation in one of two ways. A scribe altered ὁ υἱός to ὁ ἐκλεκτός either because of the Markan phrase ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mk 1,11), which is a parallel text to Jn 1,34 with a similar kind of meaning as ὁ ἐκλεκτός, or because of Isa 42,1 LXX, which speaks of Israel as ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου. In the latter case it is possible to argue that the scribes would liken the descent of the Spirit on Israel to the descent of the Spirit on Jesus and alter the text accordingly. The external evidence for ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is measured as too weak to overthrow ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, because most of its early witnesses present the D-text, evaluated as inferior to the B-text. A more inventive argument in

¹⁹⁵ See, e.g., B. Aland 2003: 34; Beasley-Murray 1999: 21; Bernard 1928: I, 52; Braun 1964: 71-73; Bultmann 1978: 64; Dodd 1963: 260; Haenchen 1980: 168-69; Keener 2003: I, 464-65; Moloney 1998: 59; Ridderbos 1997: 77; TCGNT 172; Thyen 2005: 125-26.

favour of ὁ υἱός is a use of a chiasmic structure by P.F. Ellis, which parallels verse 34 with verse 49, where the text unquestionably reads ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.¹⁹⁶ Other variant readings are usually ignored or they are seen as being too weak externally for serious consideration.

Other scholars have argued for the reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ for several reasons.¹⁹⁷ They note that it has a wide enough external attestation to be considered, being found in Egypt, Syria and the Latin speaking west. The list of supporting external evidence in the scholarly discussions includes P^{Svid} P^{106vid} **Σ*** 77 218 b e ff² syr^{sc} Ambr. This list also has its problems (see below). The external evidence is seen as being divided enough so that the decision should be made on the basis of the internal evidence, which includes several observations. There are seven honorific designations in the first chapter for Jesus, each different, if ὁ ἐκλεκτός is permitted: (1) the Lamb of God in v. 29, (2) the Elect in v. 34, (3) Rabbi in v. 38, (4) the Messiah in v. 41, (5) the Son of God in v. 49, (6) the King of Israel in v. 49, and (7) the Son of Man in v. 51.¹⁹⁸ The ὁ ἐκλεκτός would fit the theology of the first chapter of John with its different aspects of Christology. There are three other titles that are not characteristic to this Gospel, namely, “the Lamb of God” (1,29.36) which occurs nowhere else in John, “the Messiah” (1,41) which predates the author’s usage in Jn 4,25, and “the King of Israel” (1,49) which predates the author’s usage in Jn 12,13. The first chapter appears to be a conflation of titles not specifically those by the author of John. Transcriptionally, it is more likely that scribes would change ὁ ἐκλεκτός to ὁ υἱός than vice versa in an adoptionistic environment. Doctrinal reasoning against Adoptionism offers an incentive for an early scribe to diffuse the text of “heterodoxical” interpretations. One may see this in the corrector activity of Sinaiticus. The original hand wrote ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ. The first corrector (**Σ**¹) added ὁ υἱός to the text and then the second corrector (**Σ**²) dropped out ὁ ἐκλεκτός altogether. This effectively changes ὁ ἐκλεκτός to ὁ υἱός. The longer reading better fits the lamb motif (1,29) for the reason that Jesus is the Elect *par excellence*, who in turn chooses others. Such a reading should be seen as a conscious authorial reference to Isa 42,1 LXX and to parallel

¹⁹⁶ The chiasmic structure offered by Ellis (1984: 30, 34) looks like this: (a) The Baptist witnesses to Jesus (1,19-39), (b) Andrew finds Simon (1,40-41), (c) Jesus changes Simon’s name to Peter (1,42), (b’) Philip finds Nathanael (1,43-45), (a’) Nathanael witnesses to Jesus (1,46-51).

¹⁹⁷ See, e.g., Barrett 1978: 178; Becker 1979-81: I, 116; Boismard 1956: 47; Brown 1966: 57, 78; Carson 1991: 147-52; Ehrman 1993: 69-70; Fee 1978; von Harnack 1931: 127-32; Morris 1995: 134; NET 835-36; Quek 2009; Schnackenburg 1967: I, 305; Tasker 1964: 425; *TDNT* V, 701-702; J. Williams 1974; Zahn 1908: 124-25.

¹⁹⁸ Hahn (1976) notes that reading ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in verse 34 would also fit the structure. Then, however, the text would have only six titles with one repeated twice. Hahn prefers reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός instead of ὁ υἱός on the basis that such a reading explains Old Latin witnesses most easily.

passages about the baptism in the Synoptic Gospels. Additionally, it was perhaps a messianic title used in Qumran. 4Q534 speaks of God's chosen one, who has a special role in God's providential plan. It is also in harmony with the early traditions of the heavenly voice (the author's version for "the beloved" found in Mt 3,17; Mk 1,11; Lk 9,35). The reading is also in disharmony with the typical usage of the author of John (it is unique) and therefore more likely to be the initial reading.¹⁹⁹

These two different positions can be summarised as follows, including the geographical distribution, which is now considered a disputed criterion.

<i>Arguments for ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ</i>	<i>Arguments for ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ</i>
EXTERNAL EVIDENCE	
Witnesses include P ⁶⁶ P ⁷⁵ A B D Θ Byz vg syr ^h cop ^{bo} Origen	Witnesses include P ^{5vid} P ^{106vid} ⳨* 77 218 b e ff ² syr ^{sc} Ambrose
Wide geographical distribution: Rome, Egypt, Syria	Wide geographical distribution: Rome, Egypt, Syria
Second-century reading	Second-century reading
Text-types: A, B, C, D	Text-types: A, B, D
INTRINSIC PROBABILITIES	
Typical expression in John	Unique expression in John
Typical theological term in John	Unique theological term in John
TRANSCRIPTIONAL PROBABILITIES	
Has OT background in Ps 2,7	Has OT background in Isa 42,1 LXX
Theological harmony with the Synoptic baptismal confession	Theological harmony with Synoptic accounts of the heavenly voice
Fits the chiasmic structure	Fits the list of designations and context
Messianic title in Scripture	An honorific designation in Scripture, and possibly a messianic title in Qumran

¹⁹⁹ The concept of "the Chosen One" was important in Judaism. Jews considered themselves as God's chosen people on the basis of Scriptural passages (e.g. Ex 19,5-6; Dt 7,7-8; 14,2). As such the application of ὁ ἐκλεκτός to Jesus would not be a problematic statement *per se* in early Christianity. There is, however, a reason for the desire to change the Scriptural passage during the early second century. There were ideas in circulation, which some scribes considered *misconceptions*, regarding the term's *implications* for the nature of Christ. It was not the term itself but what some groups deduced from the term that was seen as a problematic concept: Jesus as ὁ ἐκλεκτός is human but not divine (this was the problematic deduction). Hence, there was a desire to remove the term itself by substituting another term less likely to be misconstrued. There is, however, a caveat to this anti-Adoptionistic argument. Is "the Son of God" any less perceptible to misapplications than "the Chosen One of God"? Hebrew Scriptures use the term "Son of God" to refer to humans (Ps 2,7) as well as to non-human beings (Job 1,6). Thus, substituting ὁ υἱὸς for ὁ ἐκλεκτός does not necessarily solve the problem perceived by some scribes. Perhaps the substitution has more to do with a desire to harmonise the text to the known usage of the Fourth Evangelist rather than with doctrinal bias.

<i>Arguments against ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ</i>	<i>Arguments against ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ</i>
EXTERNAL EVIDENCE	
N/A	Most of the early witnesses are of the D-text.
TRANSCRIPTIONAL PROBABILITIES	
Deliberate anti-adoptionistic change or harmonisation to context	Harmonisation to Mark (synonym) or to Septuagint (verbal)
INTRINSIC PROBABILITIES	
Typical expression in John	Unique expression in John
Typical theological term in John	Unique theological term in John

The two positions listed above are like opposite poles of a magnet. Each argument has its counter-argument that seems to cancel it out.²⁰⁰ Is there a way out of this dilemma? It appears that the external evidence is inconclusive. It is too similar in both cases, unless one wants to emphasise certain manuscripts at the expense of others. Both readings find support in early textual streams, and have second-century roots. Hence, the decision needs to be made on the basis of the internal evidence.

The intrinsic probabilities present problems. Is any author consistent with his/her language, which favours ὁ υἱός, or should variance be allowed, making ὁ ἐκλεκτός more probable? How many times does any author have to write the same expression before it can be said to be a tendency from which the author does not deviate? This question is still ardently debated.²⁰¹ The problem with intrinsic probabilities is that the variants affect the perception of the theology, style and language of the author of John, i.e. the intrinsic probabilities themselves. Therefore, it is too much of a circular argument to contend for either one on the basis of the intrinsic probabilities. The decision should be based more on the transcriptional probabilities.²⁰² But which criterion, if any, takes preference: contextual (divided), inter-textual (divided), or doctrinal harmonisations (favours ὁ ἐκλεκτός)? What is faced is a stalemate, unless one selects a text-critical criterion or criteria favouring certain outcomes on an *a priori* basis (best manuscripts, best readings etc).²⁰³ The uncertainty has led

²⁰⁰ B. Aland (2003: 34) notes that the transcriptional probabilities may go either way.

²⁰¹ See, e.g., the contrasting views of Metzger (1992a: 32-33), who believes any author varies his/her style occasionally, and J.K. Elliott (1995: 328), who believes that when an author writes the same expression numerous times, it becomes a tendency and (s)he is unlikely to depart from it.

²⁰² Fee 1978.

²⁰³ This “best manuscript” approach is best known from the works of reasoned eclectics like B.F. Westcott, F.J.A. Hort, and K. Aland. The “best readings” is an approach usually found within the thoroughgoing eclectic school best presented by G.D. Kilpatrick and J.K. Elliott. The “best manuscript” approach places the emphasis on external evidence while the “best readings” places the emphasis on internal evidence.

some commentators like Barnabas Lindars to resist pronouncing a definitive verdict on this textual problem.²⁰⁴ By contrast, Augustine accepted both rival readings as original to the author of John.

This begs a question regarding the “B” rating in the UBS⁴. The editorial committee seems to have been too optimistic about the certainty of their decision. This *impasse* demands a fresh look at this textual dilemma with an eye on the criteria of textual criticism.

2.3. An All-Inclusive Proposal

Dissatisfied with these results Peter R. Rodgers (1999) has offered a completely different approach to this *crux interpretum*. He argues that second-century scribal tendencies for harmonisations split the initial text into smaller chunks. This splitting is the cause for different variants. Each chunk was made to harmonise the text to some Old Testament and/or Synoptic parallel. He notes that some manuscripts read ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ without specifying which ones do so, and argues against a notion that such a reading is a Byzantine harmonisation. Rodgers notes that some manuscripts of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries read the Greek equivalent of ὁ μονογενῆς υἱός, though he admits it is a conjecture. The lectionary reading in question is ܡܢܘܓܝܢܗܝܫ. It may not represent μονογενῆς (ܡܢܘܓܝܢܗܝܫ in Peshitta). Still, he proceeds with this understanding in mind. Rodgers correctly notes that μονογενῆς is an important word for the author of John. With it Jn 1,34 corresponds to a third Old Testament echo in the Synoptic Gospels, namely Gen 22,2. He calls attention to the fact that Greek ἀγαπητός meant “only”, not “beloved”, in Classical, Septuagintal, and Hellenistic Greek.²⁰⁵ Aquila and Symmachus use μονογενῆς in place of ἀγαπητός in Gen 22,2, as do some Septuagintal manuscripts. They appear to be synonyms. Rodgers argues that the scribal tendencies akin to those that produced Tatian’s *Diatessaron* resulted in a dropping out of ὁ μονογενῆς from the Greek manuscript tradition, because the second-century scribes could not find a discernible parallel to it in the Synoptic Gospels. It survived only in the Syriac tradition. He explains the omission of ὁ υἱός as accidental haplography in part of the Greek manuscript tradition, because it was written as ὪϚ followed by ΘϚ. He argues that the author of John originally wrote something like the phrase οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ μονογενῆς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. This reading makes the baptism mean sonship (Ps 2,7), service (Isa 42,1), and sacrifice (Gen 22,2).

²⁰⁴ Lindars 1972: 111-12; Köstenberger 2004: 88.

²⁰⁵ For the meaning of ἀγαπητός in literary Greek (and in Mark 1,11), see BDAG, ἀγαπητός; Pendrick 1995; C.H. Turner 1926.

Methodologically his approach is quite a radical departure from that employed by the editorial committee of the UBS/NA. It is a conjectural emendation built from information in different variant readings.²⁰⁶ Although Rodgers argues only for this one verse, not for general text-critical principles, it would seem that in this case, for him, the manuscript traditions are simply repositories of different readings produced by scribal tendencies. In effect, such an approach seems like a radical thoroughgoing eclecticism, in which the external evidence has little bearing on the decision over the variant readings. In my view, he does not adequately explain how the harmonisation process would create the known variants (listed below). For instance, the omission of ὁ ἐκλεκτός is understandable in an anti-adoptionistic environment, but why would any scribe omit τοῦ θεοῦ from the phrase? Such an omission is necessary since P^{75*} does not have it (see below). Such an omission is not unheard of, but it is extremely rare. The scribe of P⁶⁶ omitted the second occurrence of τοῦ θεοῦ in Jn 11,4. This, however, does not change the meaning of the sentence, because it retains the first occurrence of the same. This is not so in Jn 1,34. It does not appear likely that a scribe would omit τοῦ θεοῦ here. Granted, Rodgers was probable not aware that the reading in P^{75*} was erased and is now disputable, as this has been noted just recently. Nevertheless, his scenario is unlikely. In my opinion, his argumentation does not adequately explain the omission of ὁ υἱός, which is required to produce ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ.

Scribes harmonised the readings to their immediate contexts quite often.²⁰⁷ Thus, the idea that a deliberate omission of ὁ υἱός would produce ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ begs the question, since ὁ υἱός is found in Jn 1,49. Scribes would naturally and intentionally harmonise the parallel passages, not vice versa.²⁰⁸ It does not seem likely that scribes would omit ὁ υἱός in verse 34. It is equally unlikely that an accidental gloss would affect such a large number of manuscripts, many of which are genealogically unrelated. As a note, Rodgers does not explain the variant ὁ χριστός ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ found in ms. 2680

²⁰⁶ This outcome is quite unconventional, because several scholars demur against conjectural emendations for various reasons. For example, Kurt Aland (Aland and Aland 1989: 280) maintains that any scholar using conjectural emendations has simply capitulated before the textual difficulties, and J.K. Elliott (1995: 322) argues that the original reading is always found somewhere within the manuscript tradition. On a more cautious note, Kilpatrick (1981) admits that conjectural emendations should not be seen as inadmissible on an *a priori* basis, but maintains that such corrections are only one way to deal with textual problems. Other solutions are more plausible. Metzger (1992b: 185) allows conjectural emendations, but notes that the vast manuscript tradition means that the need for them is reduced to the smallest dimensions. Similarly, Amphoux (Vaganay and Amphoux 1991: 85) accepts the concept, but urges for caution.

²⁰⁷ Royse 1995: 239-52.

²⁰⁸ This kind of scribal habit takes away some of the force from the “chiastic structure” argument by Ellis.

either. Would he be ready to add ὁ χριστός to his all-inclusive proposal? That would create something like ὁ μονογενῆς ὁ χριστὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The probability for such a reading is practically zero. On the whole, I do not find his proposal convincing, though in all fairness it is intriguing. There are other possibilities to explain the variants.

2.4. Notes on Early Papyri

There are some issues in early papyri that need to be addressed before turning to the evaluation of different variant readings. First, it is debated what exactly does P^{5vid} read in Jn 1,34. Does it support ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ as earlier studies presuppose, or ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ as some recent scholars have argued? The problem is that there are lacunae in P⁵, which demand conjectures as to what the papyrus read in Jn 1,34. A number of scholars are of the opinion that P^{5vid} supports ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ for two reasons.²⁰⁹ (1) ὁ υἱός is too short for the gap in the text, and (2) P⁵ has some affinities with **Ⲛ**, which reads ὁ ἐκλεκτός. On a contrary note, scholars working for the International Greek New Testament Project on John (IGNTP) support ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ on the basis that ὁ ἐκλεκτός is too long for the gap, despite the affinities with Sinaiticus.²¹⁰ Some scholars consider the matter too doubtful to be solved and do not support either reading. Reuben J. Swanson prints dots in his text indicating the lacunae and Aland cautions against too certain views on what P⁵ reads. The recent “*Text und Textwert* on John 1–10” does not list P⁵ at all in this textual variation unit.²¹¹

Secondly, there is new information available. Earlier scholarship did not have access to the recently found early papyrus P^{106vid}, which supports ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, or to P¹²⁰ which reads ὁ υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, a singular reading. The reading in P¹⁰⁶ is certain despite a lacuna, as part of ἐκλεκτός is still visible.²¹² Also, P⁷⁵ has been restudied at the INTF, Münster. It is now listed as blank for P^{75*}. The variant ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is the reading of its corrector.²¹³ It is contested and unclear what the papyrus originally read, though earlier they reported the now abandoned conjecture that P^{75*} read ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός.

With these notes in mind I will take a closer look at the early papyri as the knowledge of the manuscripts *in conjunction with* the knowledge of the scribal

²⁰⁹ Comfort 1990: 107-108; 2005: 337; ENTGM 73-75; Schnackenburg 1967: 305; NET 835-36.

²¹⁰ W.J. Elliott and Parker 1995: 29; Also, it seems that J.K. Elliott (1999) implicitly supports this contention as well since he argues that probably just **Ⲛ** and P¹⁰⁶ with a few minuscules attest this variant reading. He does not note the Latin witnesses.

²¹¹ B. Aland 2003: 24-26; Swanson 1995d: 13; *Text und Textwert* 13.

²¹² ENTGM 646.

²¹³ See [<http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de/AnaServer?NTtranscripts+0+start.avv>]

tendencies – their impact on the manuscripts – should precede the discussion on the merits of each textual variant.²¹⁴

2.4.1. Papyrus P⁵

P⁵ has lacunae in this verse, but it has $\zeta\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\theta}\bar{\gamma}$ visible for the end of v. 34. It is difficult to know what the reading in this papyrus manuscript was. It has to be reconstructed on the basis of the average length of lines in P⁵, which appears to be 25-27 letters in the leaf containing the verse. If P⁵ supported $\delta\ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ with *nomina sacra*, the line appears to be slightly short. This could indicate that the papyrus read $\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, as many scholars have argued, including *editio princeps*. However, I looked at a photograph of P⁵ and came to the conclusion that the selection of $\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is problematic. If P⁵ supported the longer reading, $\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ would have been written in full. As such the line appears to be rather too long to fit. The lines are of relatively equal length. The editors of the IGNTP have reconstructed the line to read $\omicron\gamma\iota\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\theta}\bar{\gamma}$, the best match lengthwise. This creates a reading with only $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ written with *nomen sacrum*, but it is not impossible. P¹²⁰ has this kind of feature, for it reads $\omicron\gamma\iota\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\theta}\bar{\gamma}$ (see below). Since P⁵ preserves only Jn 1.23-31.33-40; 16,14-30; 20,11-17.19-20.22-25, there is no way to know how its scribe used *nomen sacrum* for $\delta\ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma$. However, it seems unlikely that the scribe would use it only for $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, because he uses *nomen sacrum* for “Jesus”, “Christ”, and “Spirit” also.

There is an empty space visible between $\zeta\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\theta}\bar{\gamma}$ in P⁵ and the next three letters TH ϵ , which ends the line. This empty space serves as a paragraph marker. It can contain up to two letters, as the letters $\delta\iota$ in the next line of the manuscript show. With this kind of gap the line is close to the average length of the other lines, assuming the shorter reading with *nomina sacra* is what the papyrus read (i.e. $\omicron\bar{\gamma}\bar{\zeta}\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\theta}\bar{\gamma}$). With such a gap it is unlikely that $\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ could fit the line. What follows is my adaptation of the reconstruction of P⁵ taken from the IGNTP and checked against Philip W. Comfort’s reconstruction.²¹⁵ I have supplied the same reconstruction with $\delta\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ to show that the length of the lines slightly favours $\omicron\bar{\gamma}\bar{\zeta}\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\theta}\bar{\gamma}$.

²¹⁴ Kannaday 2004: 242.

²¹⁵ W.J. Elliott and Parker 1995: 13; ENTGM 75. Comfort (2005: 119, 337) disagrees with the editors of IGNTP in his recent publication. He argues that the decision to print $\omicron\gamma\iota\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\gamma\bar{\theta}\bar{\gamma}$ is wrong. I agree with this estimation, but I also disagree with Comfort’s own reconstruction. It should be noted that the IGNTP’s reconstruction is possible, because some scribes were not consistent with the use of *nomen sacrum*. For example, the scribes of P⁴⁶, P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ wrote $\delta\ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma$ both with and without *nomen sacrum*. I disagree with the IGNTP on the grounds that this was a passing phenomenon and most of the biblical manuscripts exhibit a consistency in the use of *nomen sacrum*.

<i>The Son of God</i>	<i>length</i>
καταβαινονκαμεν]ΟΝΕΠΔΥ[τον	25
ουτοσεστινοβαπτις]ΩΝΕΝΠ[νιαγ	26
ιωκαγωεωρακακαμεμ]ΔΡΤΥΡΗΚΔΟ	27
τιουτοσεστινου]ῚΤΟΥΘΥ ΤΗΞ	23 (+2 gap = 25)
παυριονειστηκειοιων]ΗΚΚΔΙΕΚ	28
<i>The Chosen One of God</i>	<i>length</i>
καταβαινονκαμεν]ΟΝΕΠΔΥ[τον	25
ουτοσεστινοβαπτις]ΩΝΕΝΠ[νιαγ	26
ιωκαγωεωρακακαμεμ]ΔΡΤΥΡΗΚΔΟ	27
τιουτοσεστινοεκλεκτο]ῚΤΟΥΘΥ ΤΗΞ	29 (+2 gap = 31)
παυριονειστηκειοιων]ΗΚΚΔΙΕΚ	28

A brief explanation is in order. My reconstruction, based on the text of the UBS/NA, differs slightly from the ones found in the IGNTP and Comfort. I have reconstructed the end of line two as ΠΝΙΔΓ while the IGNTP has it as ΠΝΙΔ and Comfort has it as ΠΝΙΔΓΙΩ. The reconstruction in the IGNTP is possible. Yet there seems to be room for one more letter, though a lacuna prevents certainty. Comfort's reading is too long. There is no room for at least the last omega, unless the scribe wrote past the right margin. This is unlikely. There is a lacuna visible before the right margin in the few lines below the one under consideration. After measuring its width, and after checking the scribe's handwriting style, I came to the conclusion that the line under consideration originally had ΠΝΙΔΓ. Hence, the line is of the average length, which seems to be 25-27 letters on the recto side of the first leaf. With the exception of one line, no line appears to be over 28 letters (pace Comfort). The one exception may have 29 letters, but a lacuna prevents certainty. Lines with 28 letters are not numerous on the recto side. Some lines appear to be only 23-24 letters. Thus, it looks like the reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός requires too much space to fit the line (29 letters + 2 for the gap, that is, 31 letters). Therefore, I submit that P^{5vid} more likely supports ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ with *nomina sacra* (pace *editio princeps*, Comfort, the IGNTP).²¹⁶ The recent INTF, Münster transcriptions' update (Feb 2009) has P^{5vid} reading ΟΥῚΤΟΥΘΥ. Since uncertainties remain, I will list it in brackets. However, it should be understood that it does not support ὁ ἐκλεκτός, whatever its reading was.

²¹⁶ I reached this conclusion in my article (Flink 2005: 96), but chose not to use P⁵ as a witness. I will tentatively do so now.

2.4.2. Papyrus P⁶⁶

The papyrus manuscript P⁶⁶ is one of the earliest manuscripts of John. It has been variously dated to the early third century,²¹⁷ to the turn of the second/third century,²¹⁸ and to the middle of the second century.²¹⁹ Be that as it may, this papyrus offers early support for $\acute{\omicron} \nu\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. Studies of the textual affinities of P⁶⁶ have shown it to be a mixed text with A-text, B-text, and D-text readings. P⁶⁶ has some striking relationships with Codex Sinaiticus, though they part ways in Jn 1,34. Royse notes that the most striking feature of P⁶⁶ is the quantity of corrections, most of which the original scribe himself made.²²⁰ Most of the 49 *in scribendo* changes are corrections of writing errors towards the scribe's *Vorlage*, though Royse lists one case of textual harmonisation to a parallel account, four cases of textual harmonisation to the context (plus another potential one), and four general harmonisations. Twice the scribe has spontaneously created variant readings found in other manuscripts without them being corrections towards another *Vorlage*. The agreements are likely coincidental.²²¹ Moreover, there are "obvious" slips in P⁶⁶, which include 61 cases of orthographic confusions, and 105 nonsense readings. All these have been corrected.²²² All of these are insignificant changes.

There are, however, 126 examples of significant corrections according to Royse's count. These consist of 12 additions of one word, 48 omissions of one word, 13 omissions of more than one word, 9 transpositions, 41 substitutions, and 3 confluents. Royse notes that in six cases of omissions longer than one word the scribe may have deliberately shortened his text, unless these were accidental omissions of entire lines of text. Four of these changes (in Jn 2,13; 7,46b; 8,33; 16,19a) appear to demonstrate that a sort of scholarly apparatus was present in the scribe's *Vorlage*. The body of text had a variant reading presenting one textual tradition while the margin or the space between the lines had another variant reading presenting a different one. Several of the additions appear to be

²¹⁷ Ehrman 1993: 57; E.G. Turner 1987: 108 n. 63.

²¹⁸ *Editio princeps* (Martin 1956); UBS/NA.

²¹⁹ Cavallo 1967: 23; ENTGM 65-66; Seider 1967-90: II, 121.

²²⁰ Royse 2008: 401-402, 409, 413-21. Royse also notes that there are some differences in comparison to other editors and commentators in how he has judged what is a correction and what is not. This is mostly because it is difficult to decipher at times what the papyrus actually has due to matters of preservation and erasure. Comfort (ENTGM 386), however, argues that a good number of corrections are in fact a result of paginator activity and another corrector rather than by the original scribe.

²²¹ Royse 2008: 433-35.

²²² Royse 2008: 436-43.

harmonisations.²²³ Approximately 73,5% of the corrections found in P⁶⁶ transmit the reading of the scribe's *Vorlage*.

There are 107 locations where the original readings and corresponding readings by correctors (P^{66*} vs. P^{66c}) present different *Vorlagen*.²²⁴ P^{66*} has a D-text reading corrected to a B-text reading in twenty-eight cases. The opposite has taken place in five cases, which indicates that there was no general tendency to correct the text towards a D-text stream. In twenty-five cases a B-text reading has been corrected to what is later found in the A-text stream. In thirteen cases the corrected reading conforms to that of a B-text against the rest of the textual tradition. In thirty-six cases the corrections are not distinctively of a B-text or a D-text and the early tradition is divided.²²⁵ There are also thirty-four cases where the support for the corrected readings are sporadic, late, or (usually) both. Royse (2008: 470) takes them as probable errors instead of being the use of a different *Vorlage*, and coincidentally made by later scribes. Hence, P⁶⁶ has a mixed textual stream both in its uncorrected and corrected form.

What is significant for this study is the general move away from D-text streams, which support various variant readings each containing ἐκλεκτός. It is prudent to recall Klijn's (1969: 41-42) observation that "we only know a small number of the readings in this second copy, because we may be sure that not all the differences between the original and the second copy have been noted in the manuscript." In other words, although ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is found in this early witness, it is not unreasonable to question whether that was the reading in the scribe's *Vorlage*. The A-text and B-text streams all have ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. Only the D-text streams support ἐκλεκτός in various ways. Hence, Jn 1,34 is suspect in P⁶⁶, though it is possible (even probable) that "the Son of God" is found in its *Vorlage*.

If, on the other hand, the reading ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is a move away from one of the D-text streams, how should its presence in the text of P⁶⁶ then be explained? The scribe of P⁶⁶ made several doctrinally and apologetically meaningful changes to his text. If it can be shown that the scribe of P⁶⁶ altered texts elsewhere in John, it is possible that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in Jn 1,34 is an intentional alteration based perhaps on anti-adoptionistic tendencies.

Ehrman wrote a study of the effect of the early Christological controversies on the text of the NT, in which he has shown, arguably convincingly, that several textual locations of John in P⁶⁶ suffer from intentional alterations. Ehrman argues that in Jn 1,18 the scribe changed ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς to μονογενὴς θεὸς to

²²³ Royse 2008: 444-57.

²²⁴ Fee 1965a; Klijn 1956/57; Royse 2008: 462.

²²⁵ Royse 2008: 463-69.

combat the idea that Jesus was merely a man adopted by God, and by dropping the article, to combat potentially patripassionistic ideas. In Jn 1,49 the scribe added ἀληθῶς to make Nathaniel say “Rabbi, you are *truly* the Son of God” in order to combat potentially separationistic concepts. In Jn 6,42 the scribe altered a question οὐχ οὗτος ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ by changing οὐχ to ὅτι. This changes the question into a statement that heightens the irony of an unbeliever’s misconception of Jesus’ origins. In Jn 10,33 the scribe may have added τὸν to θεόν to make sure that the crowd says Jesus makes himself God, not just a god (this may also be a case of dittography). In Jn 19,5 the scribe dropped καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος altogether. This is supported by Old Latin manuscript e. Pilate no longer says that Jesus is a human being or mere mortal. These three changes (6,42; 10,33; 19,5) were likely directed against the Adoptionists. In Jn 19,28 the scribe omitted ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γρᾶφή to combat Docetists by making Jesus plain thirsty, not only *apparently* thirsty to fulfil Scripture, as Docetists claimed.²²⁶

One might argue that the significant omission of the second τοῦ θεοῦ in Jn 11,4 challenges the concept of anti-adoptionistic changes, as with the omission the text speaks about “the Son” instead of “the Son of God”, which leaves the text open for an adoptionistic understanding. Interestingly, P⁴⁵ has αὐτοῦ for the second τοῦ θεοῦ, supported by Old Latin manuscripts c, ff², and l. This might be a case of textual brevity.²²⁷

The omission in P⁶⁶ may have been a scribal oversight while making his changes, but other possibilities exist. Brown has argued that it is a harmonisation to the general Johannine usage, though Birdsall sees this reading as potentially the initial reading, because the omission is supported by Sinaitic Syriac. It is also supported by Old Latin manuscript Codex Sangallensis 60 (ms. 47 in the *Vetus Latina Iohannes* series). Fee takes it as “nothing more than an omission of an unnecessary redundancy.”²²⁸ Hence, the lack of τοῦ θεοῦ might not indicate that there were no anti-adoptionistic tendencies in P⁶⁶.

Kannaday has argued that apologetic discourse affected the copying process as well. In Jn 4,25 there is a change from οἶδα to οἶδαμεν by the first διορθωτῆς of P⁶⁶ – a contemporary to the original scribe – which downplays the role of women in Scripture in order to mirror the social conventions of the

²²⁶ Ehrman 1993: 57, 79, 84, 94, 160, 194; Royse 2008: 459. The variant reading in Jn 1,18 is disputed, but I have opted to follow Ehrman, because the transcriptional probability probably favours his choice of a variant reading. The variant reading in Jn 1,49 could also be a harmonisation to the immediate context, but it seems that a better case can be made for an alteration based on doctrinal considerations.

²²⁷ B. Aland 2003: 28; Colwell 1969: 119; Royse 2008: 175.

²²⁸ Birdsall 1960: 17; Brown 1966: 134; Fee 1965b.

apologetic era. In Jn 7,8 there is a change from οὐκ to οὐπω to circumvent the problematic statement by Jesus that he is not going to the feast in Jerusalem when in fact he does so.²²⁹

None of these changes, doctrinal or apologetic, mean that Jn 1,34 has to suffer from corruption. It is entirely possible that Jn 1,34 transmits faithfully the reading found also in the exemplar of P⁶⁶. Nevertheless, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is suspect as an alteration because of the marked tendency to move away from the D-text stream that usually supports ἐκλεκτός one way or another, and because of some indication that the scribe of P⁶⁶ was willing to alter his text on the basis of doctrinal and apologetical reasons.

2.4.3. Papyrus P⁷⁵

Traditionally P⁷⁵ has been listed as supporting ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. This is now known to be its corrected reading. But what was in the papyrus originally? Marie-Luise Lakmann suggested earlier in a private communication with the author that the original scribe of P⁷⁵ wrote ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός with *nomen sacrum* (ΟΥ̅C̅O̅E̅K̅Λ̅E̅K̅T̅O̅C). Then the scribe erased ὁ ἐκλεκτός and wrote τοῦ θεοῦ with *nomen sacrum* instead, resulting in the reading ΟΥ̅C̅T̅O̅Υ̅Θ̅Υ̅. Letters TOC are perhaps still faintly visible before the initial letters of the next words, τῆ ἐπαύριον, and there are possible traces of the two epsilons.²³⁰ However, this is a conjecture, and it has now been abandoned. The INTF, Münster, indicates in a recent status update on their NT transcriptions (Feb 2009) that it is almost impossible to tell what the original reading was. Consequently, the newest transcription lists a blank.²³¹ Hence, I follow suit and do not list P^{75*} at all. Lakmann informed the author that the scholars at the INTF, Münster, now think that TOY is not part of the correction. Lakmann also believes that Υ̅ in Θ̅Υ̅ is not one either,²³² though this is disputable. Hence, the recent update on the transcriptions note the reading as ΟΥ̅C̅T̅O̅Υ̅, followed by four or five unknown letters. They refrain from pronouncing what they might have been. The following is simply a speculative guess of what may or may not have been in P⁷⁵ originally.

The corrected reading TOYΘ̅Υ̅ is shorter than whatever was in P⁷⁵ originally. This has produced the gap with three letters faintly visible. They might read

²²⁹ Kannaday 2004: 91, 186-87. The first διορθωτής made the change in John 4,25. I have based this identification on Comfort's work on the scribes of P⁶⁶ (Comfort 1996; ENTGM 381-91).

²³⁰ A private communication with Dr Marie-Luise Lakmann of Münster regarding the reading and the corrector activity found in P⁷⁵ in Jn 1,34 (January 2005).

²³¹ Private communications with Tommy Wasserman and Marie-Luise Lakmann (Feb 16, 2009). See [<http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de/>], and select P⁷⁵ on Jn 1,34.

²³² A private communication with Marie-Luise Lakmann (Feb 17, 2009).

TOC. If so, there is room for reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός or ὁ ἀγαπητός, both possible readings in context, if one argues that ΤΟΥ is a correction after all. The former reading would go with those witnesses that have ὁ ἐκλεκτός one way or another. If this is what the papyrus originally read, it might be an accidentally shortened form of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός found in some Sahidic witnesses, with which P⁷⁵ has some affinities. Or it might be an inherited singular reading, as I have previously argued elsewhere.²³³ The ὁ ἀγαπητός would probably be a harmonisation to Mt 3,17. This possibility is enhanced by the fact that P^{75c} adds καὶ πρὸς from Mt 3,11 to the text in Jn 1,33. But which is the more likely reading in light of the scribal tendencies in P⁷⁵?

Royse's recent study (2008) sheds light on the scribal tendencies in P⁷⁵. The papyrus has a fair number of orthographic errors, but no signs of tendencies to make grammatical or stylistic improvements overall. There are three times as many omissions as additions.²³⁴ There are twice as many singular readings by omissions as P⁶⁶, even though P⁶⁶ is a product of a generally careless scribe.²³⁵ Royse counts a total of 116 corrections in P⁷⁵ on the basis of singular readings. Only nine of these corrections are *in scribendo*. The insignificant corrections include 20 orthographical, and 26 nonsensical-to-sensical scribal emendations. The significant corrections include 2 additions, 7 omissions, 1 transposition, 3 substitutions, and 1 emendation on a proper name. The corrections bring the text of P⁷⁵ in harmony with the text found in Codex Vaticanus. Most of these corrections are orthographic in nature. Royse postulates 15 corrections that might infer a second exemplar, but after a meticulous analysis ends up arguing that they are towards the original exemplar, not a second one.²³⁶ Three times the scribe of P⁷⁵ has unsuccessfully attempted to correct singular readings of his exemplar. He attempted to emend his *Vorlage*, but ended up with incomplete corrections. Five times he first followed his *Vorlage* but then emended his text. This has created what now are singular readings. Once he has produced a conflation that is now singular.²³⁷ There are no clear theological *Tendenz*.²³⁸ However, Comfort has noted three harmonisations to Matthew: Lk 8,21 to Mt 12,46-50, Lk 10,24 to Mt 13,17 and Jn 6,5 to Mt 14,15 (and/or Mk 6,36). The

²³³ Flink 2005: 98-100.

²³⁴ Royse 2008: 197, 358, 398, 544, 614, 704.

²³⁵ ENTGM 382; Royse 1995: 246.

²³⁶ Royse 2008: 625, 634-42.

²³⁷ Royse 2008: 642-43.

²³⁸ Royse 2008: 698-703. Parsons (1986) has argued for cross-harmonisations between the texts of Luke and John in resurrection narratives to combat Adoptionistic views, but Royse disputes this in his study.

καὶ πυρί in P^{75c} at Jn 1,33 should be added to the list as a fourth harmonisation to Matthew (Mt 3,11).

In light of the above, it seems more likely that P⁷⁵ read originally ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός as a harmonisation to Mt 3,17 than ὁ ἐκλεκτός as a copying error or a genuine singular reading. It was then erased and the reading of the *exemplar*, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, was copied back to the text. Be that as it may, the final verdict if any on P^{75*} must wait for a multispectral analysis on P⁷⁵. Hence, I refrain from using P^{75*} in this study and list only P^{75c}.

2.4.4. Papyrus P¹⁰⁶

The *editio princeps*, followed by Comfort, lists P¹⁰⁶ supporting ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ.²³⁹ This is now in dispute as the recent INTF, Münster, update (Feb 2009) on papyri transcriptions reads P^{106vid} as supporting ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ instead. Although certainty is not possible due to lacunae, it seems that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is too short for the line.²⁴⁰ Hence, I follow *editio princeps*, but list P¹⁰⁶ in brackets.

Assuming that P¹⁰⁶ reads ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ, there is no question that P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ are B-text witnesses but what about P¹⁰⁶? Comfort states that it usually aligns with P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵, **ℵ** and B.²⁴¹ Aland has listed some of the variant readings found in P¹⁰⁶. What follows is a detailed comparison with other witnesses to find out its textual affinities.²⁴² I have selected P^{66,75} B C to present the B-text; **ℵ** b e the D-text²⁴³; W^{sup} Θ f^{1,13} the C-text; and Byz the A-text. The following table contains all the variant readings against the selected manuscripts. Since P¹⁰⁶ contains only Jn 1,29-35a and 1,40b-1,46a with lacunae, this analysis gives just clues to its textual type, not absolutely definite answers.²⁴⁴ In the following table the abbreviation *rell* means “the rest of the studied manuscripts”. In the case of the name Joseph in Jn 1,45 in P⁶⁶, the in-process correction made by the original scribe is counted as P^{66*}, not as P^{66c}. Since Latin does not have the definite

²³⁹ Cockle 1998: 13-17; ENTGM 646;

²⁴⁰ See the digital image at [<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>] by selection *P.Oxy.* 4445.

²⁴¹ ENTGM 645. Comfort (2005: 312) argues that P¹⁰⁶ concurs 8 out of 10 times with P⁶⁶, P⁷⁵ and Codex Sinaiticus. The same figure is 9 out of 10 times for Codex Vaticanus, making it the closest ally to P¹⁰⁶. It is difficult to know what Comfort measured. He does not give any details, except the numbers, but his results seem a bit misleading. In any case, I offer a more detailed analysis.

²⁴² B. Aland (2002). The problem of establishing the text-type is related to the relatively short length of the text available.

²⁴³ Ms. b (Codex Veronensis) presents European Old Latin text, and ms. e (Codex Palatinus) African Old Latin text.

²⁴⁴ Codex Sinaiticus belongs to the D-text witnesses in John 1-8. It is a B-text witness elsewhere (Fee 1968/69).

article, its absence is not counted against the coherence between P¹⁰⁶ and Old Latin witnesses.

<i>verse</i>	<i>reading</i>	<i>for P¹⁰⁶</i>	<i>against P¹⁰⁶</i>
1,29	τὴν ἀμαρτίαν	<i>rell</i>	W ^s e
1,30	ὑπέρ omit ὑμῖν (ὅτι)	<i>rell</i> <i>rell</i>	Θ <i>f</i> ¹ Byz W ^s <i>f</i> ¹³
1,31	ἐγὼ ἦλθον omit τῷ before ὕδατι	C* b <i>rell</i>	<i>rell</i> <i>f</i> ¹³ Byz
1,32	omit ὁ before "John" Ἰωάννης omit λέγων καταβαῖνον ὡς περισσεῶν ἐξ ἔμεινεν	<i>rell</i> <i>rell</i> N* e <i>rell</i> <i>rell</i>	<i>f</i> ¹³ B <i>rell</i> P ⁶⁶ N <i>f</i> ^{1,13} a b e N W ^s b e
1,33	κἀγὼ add τῷ before ὕδατι (P ^{106vid}) ἐάν αὐτόν omit καὶ πυρί	<i>rell</i> P ⁶⁶ N <i>f</i> ¹ (singular) <i>rell</i> <i>rell</i>	N <i>rell</i> <i>rell</i> W ^s C*
1,34	ἐόρακα ἐκλεκτός	P ⁷⁵ W ^{sup} Θ Byz N b e	<i>rell</i> <i>rell</i>
1,40	τῶν with ἀκουσάντων Ἰωάννης ἠκολούθησαν	<i>rell</i> <i>rell</i> (singular)	N* C B <i>rell</i>
1,41	omit οὗτος πρῶτον/ πρῶτος (lacuna) μεσσίαν	b e <i>rell</i> <i>rell</i>	<i>rell</i> b e Byz
1,42	omit οὗτος / καί omit τόν omit δέ / καί ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου	<i>rell</i> (singular) <i>rell</i> <i>rell</i>	W ^s Θ <i>f</i> ¹³ Byz e <i>rell</i> P ⁷⁵ W ^s Θ <i>f</i> ¹³ e B Θ <i>f</i> ¹³ Byz e
1,43	omit ὁ Ἰησοῦς	<i>rell</i>	<i>f</i> ¹³
1,44	βηθσαῖδά ἐκ	<i>rell</i> <i>rell</i>	P ⁶⁶ P ⁷⁵ N* Θ* <i>f</i> ¹³ N*
1,45	Μωϋσῆς υἶδον τοῦ Ἰωσήφ Ναζαρέτ	<i>rell</i> <i>rell</i> <i>rell</i>	N Θ <i>f</i> ¹ Byz W ^s Θ <i>f</i> ^{1,13} Byz P ⁷⁵ W ^s <i>f</i> ¹³ Byz
1,46	καί	<i>rell</i>	N b e

Codex Ephraemi (C) has lacunae from Jn 1,40 onwards, so the affinities are based on variants until the first one in Jn 1,40. Its results are not entirely comparable to the rest of the witnesses. This portion of the text in Codex Bezae (D) has been completely lost due to lacunae, so the principal representative of the D-text is unusable here. Its place is taken by Codex Sinaiticus. This kind of atomistic study on individual textual variants has limitations that do not answer the question of unique patterns of readings found in the witnesses, but it does give indications of textual affinities.²⁴⁵ The following table lists the agreement

²⁴⁵ For a more thorough method, see, e.g., Wisse 1982.

percentages based on the studied variants for each witness in comparison to P^{106vid}.

P ⁶⁶	P ⁷⁵	B	C	⌘	b	e	W ^s	Θ	f ^l	f ³	Byz
24/34	23/34	22/34	11/18	21/34	24/34	20/34	18/34	19/34	22/34	14/34	18/34
71%	68%	65%	61%	62%	71%	59%	53%	56%	65%	41%	53%

When singular readings in P¹⁰⁶ are removed from the comparison, the results are as follows.

P ⁶⁶	P ⁷⁵	B	C	⌘	b	e	W ^s	Θ	f ^l	f ³	Byz
24/31	23/31	22/31	11/17	21/31	24/31	20/31	18/31	19/31	22/31	14/31	18/31
77%	74%	71%	65%	68%	77%	65%	58%	61%	71%	45%	58%

This demonstrates that P¹⁰⁶ is closest to the early B-text representative P⁶⁶, and to the D-text representative Old Latin b (Codex Veronensis). The next most closely associated text is found in P⁷⁵ and Codex Vaticanus. The affinities with Codex Sinaiticus, the chief representative of the later D-text here, are not as common. This papyrus is probably not a representative of the A-, C- or D-texts for the portion it contains. Old Latin Veronensis casts some doubt on the question of whether P¹⁰⁶ is a representative of any of the B-text streams. Since the choice between υἰός and ἐκλεκτός is the most significant variation in Jn 1,29-46, one might argue that P¹⁰⁶ is a witness to a D-text stream in Egypt. However, Old Latin witnesses differ among themselves whether they read *electus* (e, ff^{2*}), *electus filius* (a*), *filius electus* (μ, 48), or *filius* (a^c, c, ff^{2c}, f, l, q, δ, g², gat, 33, 47), so there is no consensus over the variant reading in Old Latin manuscripts either. One is forced to ask what exactly would the D-text be in this instance, when most of the Old Latin witnesses support “Son of God”. Hence, I will take P¹⁰⁶ as a witness to an early B-text (Alexandrian) that has affinities with one stream of the D-text, presented in Veronensis. This has repercussions for the textual variant in Jn 1,34. The reading ἐκλεκτός is not limited to the witnesses presenting purely different forms of the D-text, though ἐκλεκτός as a variant reading might be a D-text reading that found its way into the B-text stream (or vice versa).

2.4.5. Papyrus P¹²⁰

The recently published fourth-century papyri P¹²⁰ (*P.Oxy.* 4804) supports reading ὁ υἰός τοῦ θεοῦ.²⁴⁶ The recto side has a rather faint ὁ υἰός at the bottom of the page, while the text continues with τοῦ θεοῦ on the verso side. However,

²⁴⁶ Gonis *et al.* 2007: 2-9 (plates I and II).

there is a small anomaly. The papyrus apparently reads ΟΥΙΟCΟΤΟΥΘ̄Ῡ. The recto side reads ὁ υἱός in full, and after that has a small portion of one letter visible that very likely is Ο. The right margin is too close for anything else to appear in the papyrus. The text continues on the verso side with the *nomen sacrum* of τοῦ θεοῦ.

The additional definite article is probably just a stylistic improvement, but in theory it might indicate that ἐκλεκτός had dropped out accidentally at some point in the transmissional history (or here in P¹²⁰). This would make P¹²⁰ supportive of ὁ υἱός ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ. However, that is speculative. Hence, this papyrus joins the vast majority of other witnesses in support of ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ. I will list it in parenthesis because of the additional article.

Another noteworthy feature in this papyrus is a gap between τοῦ θεοῦ and the following τῆ ἐπαύριον. This is another indication that at least some early scribes marked the paragraphs this way. This affects the evaluation of P⁵ for giving some credibility for the IGNTP reconstruction of its text, though I have opted to read ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ with *nomen sacrum* for P⁵.

2.5. Evaluation of Variant Readings

The number of different textual variants now amounts to eight for Jn 1,34. The external evidence can be listed as follows, excluding P^{5,119,120} and dividing P⁷⁵ with its original and corrected readings.²⁴⁷ I include ms. 77 with some reservations, because it has been dropped from *Text und Textwert*.

(1) ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ	P ^{66,75c} (P ^{5vid,120}) N ² A B C L W ^s Δ Θ Ψ 083 0141 0233 ^{vid} f ¹ f ¹³ Byz 33 579 732 ^c 1071 1424 pm OL(aur a ^c c ff ^{2c} f l q δ g ² gat r ¹ 33 47) vg syr ^{p,h,pal-mss} cop ^{bo} arm eth geo slav Or AstS Chrys Cyr IohDam Aug ^{3/4}
(2) ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ	(P ^{106vid}) N [*] (77) 187 218 228 1784 OL(b [*] e ff ^{2*}) syr ^{s,c} Ambr Aug ^{1/4}
(3) ὁ ἐκλεκτός υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ ²⁴⁸	N ¹ OL(a [*] b ^c μ 48) vg ^{mss} syr ^{pal-mss} cop ^{sa}
(4) ὁ χριστός ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ	2680
(5) ὁ μονογενής υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ	syr ^{pal-ms}
(6) omit ὅτι ... τοῦ θεοῦ	732 [*]
(7) omit v. 34 altogether	2718

²⁴⁷ The recently published Johannine papyri P¹¹⁹ (AD III; Jn 1,21-28.38-44) has lacunae. It does not contain Jn 1,34 (Gonis *et al.* 2007: 2-9). Minuscule 77 is not listed in support of ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ in *Text und Textwert* 13.

²⁴⁸ There are some variations within the Latin witnesses: *electus filius dei* (a), *dei filius electus* (b^c), *filius electus dei* (ff^{2c}). In other words, the form varies between ὁ υἱός ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἐκλεκτός υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ, and ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός. The word order is not a major issue, since it may derive from the translation process instead of Greek exemplars (Parker 1997: 15). Sinaiticus reads ὁ ἐκλεκτός υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ.

The following is a detailed analysis of the variant readings.

2.5.1. Singular Omissions in Minuscules 732 and 2718

The variant reading (6) omits the latter part of the verse beginning with ὅτι (ms. 732*). The variant reading (7) omits the whole verse (ms. 2718). In the case of ms. 732, the omission could be accidental, because the words οὗτος ἐστὶν are found in the previous verse. The original scribe's eye could have slipped to the wrong line and he could have thought he already wrote the phrase, especially if he was interrupted for some reason. The corrector added the missing clause in ms. 732^c. The omission of the whole verse in ms. 2718 is more likely a deliberate attempt to circumvent the text-critical problem. It is unlikely that the previous κἀγώ in Jn 1,33 caused such a long haplography. These variant readings need not be considered further, because they do not fulfil the threefold criteria for authentic singular readings. They are scribal creations.

2.5.2. The Singular Reading ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ

The reading (4), ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, is a singular reading supported only by a minuscule 2680. This reading is found elsewhere in the Gospels, in Mt 16,16; 26,63; Jn 11,27; 20,31. It is furthermore found as one of the variant readings in Jn 6,69 (with or without τοῦ ζῶντος) supported by C³ Δ Θ Ψ 0250 f^{1,13} 33 565 1010 Byz it^{mss} vg syr cop^{bo-mss} arm eth^{mss} geo^{mss} Tertullian. It fits the style of the author of John.

There seems to be only one way by which this reading could be the initial reading. It is possible only if a scribe altered ὁ χριστός to ὁ ἐκλεκτός during the very early period of transmission, producing the reading (3), and then that reading was the basis for other readings by various second-century scribal harmonisations. This is highly improbable. Its presence here in Jn 1,34 is almost certainly a harmonisation to a confessional expression used elsewhere, which makes it a secondary variant without a good enough claim to originality. It presents a singular reading that is a scribal creation.

Incidentally, Jn 6,69 demonstrates that some scribes were prone to harmonise readings within John. The phrase ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ, a unique expression for the author of John, was changed to ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. One might also argue that ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ in Jn 1,34 is a rewritten version of the reading (3), but this is less likely.

This variant reading need not be considered further, because it does not fulfil the threefold criteria for an authentic singular reading. It is a scribal creation.

2.5.3. *The Syriac Reading ὁ μονογενῆς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*

The reading ὁ μονογενῆς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is another singular supported by one syr^{pal-ms} alone. Other Syriac witnesses read the equivalent of either ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ or ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The variant reading (5) is a unique expression in Scripture, but there is a close expression in Jn 1,18. It is ὁ μονογενῆς υἱὸς read by A C³ K X W^{sup} Δ Θ Π Ψ 063 0141 *f*¹ *f*¹³ 565 700 892 1241 *Byz* it vg syr^{c,h,pal} cop^{sa} arm eth^{pp} geo and most fathers. Some witnesses (q cop^{sa} Ir^{lat 1/3} Ambr^{1/11vid}) even add θεοῦ.²⁴⁹ Thus, the variant reading (5) could be a harmonisation to the variant reading found in Jn 1,18. It not only matches the texts, they also appear in the same immediate context and it is known that scribes often harmonised the text to its immediate context.²⁵⁰ It is possible that the scribe changed the better attested ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς to ὁ μονογενῆς instead of copying it, because there is no ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς elsewhere in John. It also avoids the problematic Christological questions posed by the reading (3), which reading appears to be its closest relative among the variants, and perhaps its predecessor. The reading is surely a secondary corruption.²⁵¹ It is virtually certain that this variant reading is not part of the initial text, because it requires a similar transcriptional history as the variant reading (5) in order to be authentic. The probability is too remote for that.

This variant reading need not be considered either, because it too does not fulfil the threefold criteria for an authentic singular reading. It is yet another scribal creation.

2.5.4. *The Majority Reading ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*

The variant reading ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ has by far the widest manuscript support. It is found across all the textual streams. It has second-century roots, being attested by the early papyri. It is in harmony with the style and the theology of the author of John with a clear Old Testament background. It is not liable to heterodox teachings and fits the context. But if this is the initial reading, how does one explain the variant readings (2) and (3)? In theory, ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ could be a harmonisation to Isa 42,1 or to parallel texts in the Synoptics. The longer reading, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (with variation in the word order), could then be taken as a conflation of these readings (clearly so in ff^{2c}). The scribe of P⁷⁵ may have conformed Jn 1,34 to Lk 9,35.²⁵² Luke reads ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ

²⁴⁹ See McReynolds (1981) for a list of witnesses supporting ὁ μονογενῆς υἱὸς in John 1,18 - including an extensive treatment of the fathers.

²⁵⁰ Colwell 1969: 112-14; Royse 1995: 246.

²⁵¹ Morris 1995: 134.

²⁵² B. Aland 2003: 34.

ἐκλελεκμένος (P⁴⁵ P⁷⁵ Ⲛ B L Ξ 579 892 1241 *pc* lat^{mss} syr^{s,h-mss} cop), or ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλεκτός (Θ f¹ 22* *pc*). This is the closest parallel in the entire NT to the variant reading ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ found in Jn 1,34. The reading in Lk 23,35 – ὁ χριστός τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός – is not close enough. Neither is the reading ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός found in Synoptic parallels (Mk 1,11; Mt 3,17; Lk 3,22), because its meaning is different, and it is God who speaks such words, not John the Baptist.

However, there are problems in reading ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ. Lk 9,35 is about the event on the mount of transfiguration, not about the testimony of John the Baptist as is Jn 1,34.²⁵³ Why rewrite only this instance of ὁ υἱός in John? Also, Synoptic harmonisations in P⁷⁵ appear to be to Matthew, not so much to Luke. Royse has demonstrated that many of the changes are actually harmonisations to the context and *in context* Jn 1,34 could have easily been harmonised to Jn 1,49 that reads unquestionably ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ. Thus, it does not seem probable that the scribe harmonised Jn 1,34 to Lk 9,35. Secondly, it makes no sense in the second-century anti-adoptionistic environment to change ὁ υἱός to ὁ ἐκλεκτός against the Johannine style, even if the anti-adoptionistic tendencies are not behind the rival readings. Also, there is evidence for a reversed change. The ὁ ἐκλεκτός is changed to ὁ υἱός in Codex Sinaiticus with its corrector activity, whatever the reason was for this change. This demonstrates a scribal desire to suppress such readings that could be used to support heterodox ideas (*pace* Haenchen) or would be perceived as somehow unfit for the context in terms of the Synoptic parallels. Therefore, the transcriptional probabilities appear to argue more against the reading ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ than for it.

The ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ is problematic intrinsically as well. If this variant is chosen, the seven honorific titles would not be unique, whereas the author of John has a detectable predilection for a range of titles here.²⁵⁴ A variant reading with ἐκλεκτός embedded one way or another would be consistent with traditions of the Second Temple period, because *1 Enoch* 39,6; 40,5; 45,3-4; 48,6; 49,2.4 etc; 4Q534 I, 10; 4Q174; *Mart. Asc. Isa* 8,7; *Tg Isa* 42,1 link the concept of the Elect One with Ps 2,2 to describe the messianic figure to come.²⁵⁵ Secondly, ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ breaks down the rhetorical force of the climax of the series of titles, because ὁ υἱός τοῦ θεοῦ is the most far-reaching of the messianic titles.²⁵⁶ The rival variants with ἐκλεκτός fit the possible allusion to Isa 42,1. This is in harmony with Jn 1,23 that cites Isa 40,3. It is also in harmony with ὁ ἄμνός τοῦ

²⁵³ Quek 2009: 27.

²⁵⁴ Ross 1974.

²⁵⁵ Quek 2009: 29.

²⁵⁶ Lindars 1972: 119.

θεοῦ in Jn 1,29.36 that fits the Isaianic Servant passage Isa 53,7 LXX (with 52,13). This creates a symmetry of titles and allusions in the first chapter of John, if ἐκλεκτός is accepted one way or another.²⁵⁷ This does not happen with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. Hence, the UBS/NA reading should be abandoned. This leaves the minority reading with variants.

2.5.5. The Minority Reading ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς (υἱὸς) τοῦ θεοῦ

The variant reading ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is found in the D-text witnesses (Ⲛ* b e ff^{2*} syr^{s,c} Ambrose Augustine^{1/4}) supported by one B-text like papyrus (P^{106vid}) and four or five A-text minuscules ([77] 187 218 228 1784). Hence, the external evidence does not easily cohere genealogically. The ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is a second-century reading. It is in disharmony with John's style and liable to heterodox ideas. The term ὁ ἐκλεκτός appears also in other D-text (a vg^{mss} syr^{pal-mss}) and B-text (cop^{sa}) witnesses,²⁵⁸ albeit for different variants. It is almost certain that one way or another such a term was found in the initial text. The question is which one? Two rival readings exist.

The reading ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and the translations of the Greek equivalent ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ / ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός are found in the D-text witnesses Ⲛ¹ a b^c ff^{2c} vg^{mss} syr^{pal-mss}, and in the Sahidic. The actual reading varies from witness to witness. This variant is a late second or an early third-century reading with roots in the second century. It is in disharmony with the usage of the author of John, but not as much as is ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ. It is less liable to heterodox ideas than ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ because of its sonship concept.

The solution might lie in the wandering ὁ υἱός, although it is probably partially a result of translational issues. The longer reading diversifies into smaller variant readings depending on the position of ὁ υἱός and the exclusion/inclusion of its definite article. However, Sinaiticus appears to be the key here. The first corrector adds υἱός (Ⲛ¹) and the second drops out ἐκλεκτός (Ⲛ²). This gives hard evidence of scribal tendencies in this case. The simplest explanation is that the first corrector has conflated ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ together. This same thing probably took place independently elsewhere as several of the early versions attest to similar conflated readings. Hence, it seems that ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is the best option currently available. Its Isaianic overtones fit the context, as Isa 42,1 LXX reads ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου.

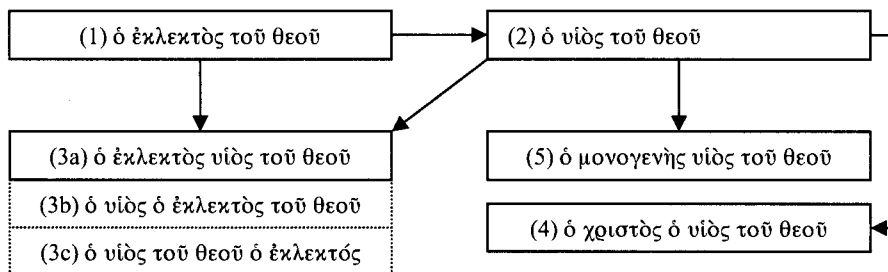
²⁵⁷ C.H. Williams 2005.

²⁵⁸ I assume in this study that cop^{sa} is in basic agreement with the B-text witnesses Ⲛ, although there are also D-text variants in it. The work on textual affinities between Coptic and Greek witnesses is still largely undone (so Wisse 1995).

Anti-adoptionism, an inter-textual harmonisation to Ps 2,7, a contextual harmonisation to Jn 1,49, or a general harmonisation to the authorial usage elsewhere can explain the rise of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, which in time influenced other scribes to add ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ at different positions. Hence, the initial reading in Jn 1,34 was likely ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, despite its slim external support.²⁵⁹

This outcome fits the context well by allowing seven unique honorific titles for Jesus: (1) ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, (2) ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, (3) ῥαββί, (4) ὁ μεσσίας, (5) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, (6) ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, and (7) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. It satisfies the chiasmic structure suggested by Ellis, balancing ὁ ἐκλεκτός with ὁ υἱός. This combines *two* OT backgrounds: the sonship motif from Ps 2,7 with the servant motif in Isa 42,1. It also contains a reference to the “chosen one” motif in Ex 4,22; 19,5-6; Dt 7,7-8. The latter passage is especially interesting, because Israel is likened to God’s beloved, which motif recurs in the baptism of Jesus. This outcome appears to defuse the apparent stalemate seen in the arguments of previous proposals. The variant ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is *lectio difficilior* and liable to heterodox interpretations. It is not the only unique expression in John. The phrase ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ in Jn 6,69 is another one. Its uniqueness is not a good argument against it.

Thus, I agree with Rodgers’ approach that scribal activity has produced the plethora of readings, but I disagree with his solution. It is my view – based on the findings of this study – that Jn 1,34 initially read *καὶ γὰρ ἐώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*.²⁶⁰ With this in mind, I propose the following hypothesis to explain the transmission of the text.²⁶¹



ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is the initial reading that was changed to ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. These were conflated to ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The variant readings

²⁵⁹ Quek 2009.

²⁶⁰ This chapter does not deal with whether the verse should read *ἐώρακα* or *έώρακα*. I follow the UBS/NA at the beginning of the verse for the sake of convenience. However, I argue for *ἐώρακα* in the chapter dealing with the Koine/Attic variations.

²⁶¹ I have previously argued a completely different scenario (Flink 2007a), based on the now abandoned reading ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός in P^{75*}.

ὁ μονογενῆς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ arose independently from ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ because of scribal attempts to harmonise the text to Synoptic parallels.

2.6. Implications and Conclusions

I start with a methodological note. Scribal tendencies have created a plethora of rival readings. This implies that the external evidence cannot decide the matter but the final court of appeal rests with the internal evidence, with transcriptional probabilities given primacy over the intrinsic probabilities.

The initial reading of Jn 1,34 was very likely ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. What does this mean for the perceived theology of the author of John? George Eldon Ladd points out that “the Son of God” is the most important messianic phrase in the study of the self-disclosure of Jesus. Generally speaking, this term’s nativistic use refers to Adam (Lk 3,28), and its moral-religious use to Israel as a chosen people of God, an object of God’s love and purpose (Ex 4,22). The term’s messianic use refers to the Davidic king (2 Sam 7,14), and its theological use to the deity of Jesus. The last one is a special emphasis in John.²⁶² Therefore, its existence in the NT textual tradition is not a surprise. If accepted, ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ supplements this theme and places the emphasis on Jesus as the new Israel, the new object of God’s love and purpose. It carries with it the theme of Israel’s election as God’s son and supplements those statements in John that speak about the close relationship between the Father and the Son. Election itself is not a major theme in John – it appears almost like an explanatory footnote, yet it does exist. It is *one* of the motifs introduced in the first chapter and developed elsewhere in John in the form of the Father – the Son relationship statement by Jesus.

To conclude, the text in Jn 1,34 has suffered an early corruption that has produced several variant readings. Previous proposals have not yielded generally accepted results and opinions have been polarised into two main camps over which variant reading is part of the initial text: ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ or ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The alternative approach by Rodgers has abandoned the results of both camps and produced a conjectural emendation ὁ μονογενῆς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. I have attempted a fresh look at the text-critical crux in Jn 1,34 based on the information now available. Although uncertainties remain, it is preferable to accept the minority reading ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ as the initial reading, as it best explains the rise of other variant readings.

²⁶² Beasley-Murray 1999: LXXXI-LXXXIV; Ladd 1993: 158-60.

3. Reconsidering the Text of Jude 5, 13, 15 and 18

The ECM and a monograph by Tommy Wasserman offer several changes to the UBS/NA text. I evaluate these changes by using a methodological approach that combines the results of the published CBGM analysis of the text of Jude (ECM) and the principles of reasoned eclecticism. Scribal tendencies play a key role in determining the initial text, when the external evidence is found to be inconclusive.

I will argue that in Jude 13, 15 and 18 the text should read ἀπαφροζοντα, πάντα τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, and ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου, respectively. These solutions differ from both the UBS/NA and the ECM, and agree with Wasserman's reconstruction. I suggest that the initial reading in Jude 5 was ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς.²⁶³

3.1. Introduction

The letter of Jude has recently received a renewed interest. Its message and structure are debated, including the issue of the priority of Jude vs. 2 Peter.²⁶⁴ Beyond that, the initial text of the letter of Jude has been freshly reworked by two publications: the ECM for Jude, and a monograph on the text and transmission of the letter of Jude by Tommy Wasserman, though these are not the only works to do so.²⁶⁵ Both the ECM (2005) and Wasserman's work (2006) are new reconstructions of the initial text of the epistle of Jude. They deviate in a few textual variation units from the UBS/NA (1979).²⁶⁶ They disagree with each other a couple of times as well. There are three changes to the UBS/NA in the

²⁶³ This chapter is a further development of my article (Flink 2007b). The argumentation has been revised, corrected, and adjusted for this dissertation.

²⁶⁴ For numerous recent articles dealing with many aspects of the text of Jude and its meaning, see, e.g., Brosend 2006; Callan 2004; Charles 2005; D. Clark 2004; Jones 2006; Joubert 2002; Mazich 2003; Pittman 2004; Smith 2001, 2004; Spitaler 2006; Thurén 1997, 2004; Watson 2002; Webb 2008; Witherington 2005. For recent commentaries, see, e.g., Brosend 2004; Green 2008; Kraftchick 2002; Lightner 2002; Saarinen 2008; Schreiner 2003; Senior and Harrington 2003; Skaggs 2004; Witherington 2007.

²⁶⁵ ECM IV; Landon 1996; Wasserman 2006.

²⁶⁶ The NA²⁷ (so also UBS⁴) reproduces the text of the NA²⁶ unchanged. This is why the *text* dates back to 1979. See NA 46*.

ECM, and five in Wasserman's work. Elliott believes this is a modest number of changes.²⁶⁷

The ECM reads ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς in Jude 5, which means that the ECM has returned to the reading found in the UBS². Wasserman has ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι κύριος. These rival constructions are replacements for ὑμᾶς πάντα ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἅπαξ read by the UBS/NA. Wasserman's reading as a whole is a conjectural emendation, despite the fact that its individual parts are found in the NT textual tradition.²⁶⁸ The change introduced by the ECM into the critical text is not a minor issue. It has Christological implications, affecting the perceived theology of Jude.

The ECM retains ἐπαφρίζοντα in Jude 13, and πᾶσαν ψυχὴν in Jude 15, agreeing with the UBS/NA in both cases. On the other hand, Wasserman changes these two textual locations to read ἀπαφρίζοντα and πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, respectively. The latter one is a somewhat significant change, because it brings the text of Jude in line with the later A-text stream (Byzantine), and concurs with the reconstructed Ethiopian text of 1 Enoch, arguably a possible source for the citation found in the text of Jude.

There are two omissions in the ECM. The first disputed textual location, Jude 18, now reads ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν instead of ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν [ὅτι] (Jude 18a), and the second one reads ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου instead of ἐπ' ἐσχάτου [τοῦ] χρόνου (Jude 18b). Wasserman accepts the bracketed words as initial and reads ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι and ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου (contra the ECM).²⁶⁹

These two rival reconstructions, the ECM and Wasserman's monograph, provide a reason to evaluate the suggested changes to the text of the UBS/NA. Such an evaluation will be conducted using the experimental hybrid method described in chapter one. In each case studied (Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18) the external evidence cannot alone decide the matter, and the decisions rest primarily on internal grounds.²⁷⁰ As far as the discussions on variant readings' pros and cons are concerned, the scribal tendencies are shown to be the key to unlock the initial text. Hence, it is the transcriptional probabilities that ultimately tip the balance one way or another.

²⁶⁷ J.K. Elliott (2003: 130) has noted the small number of changes and argues that the ECM still reproduces an approximation of a text that was used during the 4th century, but not necessarily during the earlier period. Landon (1996: 142-45) has 21 changes to the text of the UBS/NA, albeit he worked with a different methodological approach than the others. As a thoroughgoing eclectic, Landon gave preference to the internal evidence.

²⁶⁸ Osburn 1981; Wasserman 2006: 255.

²⁶⁹ ECM IV.4 410, 426; Wasserman 2006: 255-66, 291-94, 301-304, 311-14.

²⁷⁰ M.A. Robinson (2002: 130-31) points out that the primary focus should be the scribal tendencies in general.

The following table offers a summary of different opinions regarding Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18. The table lists the textual variants chosen in the UBS/NA, the ECM, and the work of Wasserman. It also includes variant readings from the Westcott-Hort edition (WH), Tischendorf 8th edition (1872), Charles Landon's work (1996),²⁷¹ and the Robinson-Pierpont Byzantine Textform (2005) for comparative reference.²⁷²

Jude 5	UBS/NA	[ὕμᾱς]	πάντα	ὅτι	[ὁ] κύριος	ἄπαξ
	ECM	ὕμᾱς	ἄπαξ	πάντα	ὅτι	Ἰησοῦς
	WH		ἄπαξ	πάντα	ὅτι	κύριος
	BYZ	ὕμᾱς	ἄπαξ	τοῦτο	ὅτι	ὁ κύριος
	Tischendorf		ἄπαξ	πάντα	ὅτι	κύριος
	Landon Wasserman	ὕμᾱς	ἄπαξ	πάντα	ὅτι	κύριος
Jude 13	UBS/NA	ἐπαφρίζοντα				
	ECM	ἐπαφρίζοντα				
	WH	ἐπαφρίζοντα				
	BYZ	ἐπαφρίζοντα				
	Tischendorf	ἐπαφρίζοντα				
	Landon Wasserman	ἄπαφρίζοντα				
Jude 15	UBS/NA	πᾶσαν ψυχὴν				
	ECM	πᾶσαν ψυχὴν				
	WH	πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς				
	BYZ	πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς				
	Tischendorf	πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς				
	Landon Wasserman	πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς				
Jude 18	UBS/NA	ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν	[ὅτι]	ἐπ' ἐσχάτου	[τοῦ]	χρόνου
	ECM	ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν		ἐπ' ἐσχάτου		χρόνου
	WH	ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν		ἐπ' ἐσχάτου		χρόνου
	BYZ	ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν	ὅτι	ἐν ἐσχάτῳ		χρόνω
	Tischendorf	ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν		ἐπ' ἐσχάτου	τοῦ	χρόνου
	Landon Wasserman	ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν	ὅτι	ἐπ' ἐσχάτου	τοῦ	χρόνου

Such widely differing opinions justify a fresh look at the textual variation units in Jude 5, 13, 15 and 18 in the search for the second-century text of these textual locations.

²⁷¹ Landon 1996: 145-47. Landon subjected the manuscript tradition of Jude to thoroughgoing eclecticism. His results differ from the UBS/NA in 21 textual variation locations.

²⁷² Robinson and Pierpont 2005.

3.2. Preliminary Remarks on the Text of Jude

The CBGM has produced a new view of the transmissional history of the text of Jude in terms of which witnesses are potentially closest to the initial text.²⁷³ With it there is a renewed interest in some Byzantine witnesses. Wasserman includes his own study of 560 Greek witnesses for Jude, uses a more traditional text-critical method, and gives attention to the results of the CBGM analysis.²⁷⁴ The findings of the CBGM method concerning the external evidence – as published in the ECM series – will be used as described in chapter one. The editors of the ECM list the following findings of the CBGM for the epistle of Jude.²⁷⁵

1. The primary witnesses that were considered to have the initial text as their closest related potential ancestor are P⁷² Ⓝ A B C L Ψ 81 88 307 326 431 436 442 453 808 1739 2200.
2. The secondary witnesses that were considered to have the initial text as their next most closely related potential ancestor are 18 33 35 323 621 623 630 665 915 1067 1409 1836 1837 1845 1852 1875 2374.
3. The tertiary witnesses having the initial text as the third to fifth most closely related potential ancestor are 5 6 61 93 254 468 1243 1292 1735 1846 1881 2186 2298 2344 2805 2818.

By primary, secondary and tertiary witnesses I do not mean that primary witnesses are inherently better than secondary ones and so on, but that they appear in a prior position in the genealogical tree. Some secondary witnesses may be closer to the initial text than some primary ones due to their genealogical relationships. This naming concept is a simple convention to differentiate the genealogical closeness of the witness to the initial text, not a value judgement on the manuscripts. The editors of the ECM consider codex 81 as the “best” single manuscript for the letter of Jude.

Discussion of the merits of different textual variants is not exhaustive. It is meant to be representative in order to establish parameters to analyse the pros and cons of the textual decisions. It can be debated, but I consider the text of Jude as established in textual locations other than those under study, including

²⁷³ I need to add a disclaimer. Since the method is still under further development at Münster, some results of this chapter apply only in so far as the ECM text of Jude stands at its initial publication. Possible future changes may alter or invalidate the results of this study. The results used are from the initial phase of the method, as published in the ECM, which is now under review at Münster.

²⁷⁴ Wasserman 2006: 105, 124.

²⁷⁵ ECM IV.4 36*. Please note that these results are taken from the initial publication. The list may change in the future, when the editors finish their re-examination of the entire Catholic corpus, and update the text and the findings in the forthcoming Supplement to the ECM IV. I am grateful for Dr Gert Mink, one of the editors, for this information (a private communication, June 26, 2007).

the text of Jude 22-23. The nucleus of external evidence is based on the primary, secondary and tertiary witnesses with other supporting evidence added. The format is as follows: primary // secondary // tertiary // other. This does not mean a value assessment on the witnesses but a grouping of them on the basis of the potential genealogical closeness to the initial text. This formula helps to note textual trajectories from earlier generations to later ones. If, e.g., a variant appears only in the primary witnesses, it has not been copied in later witnesses known to us, and therefore its trajectory ends. This information can be used for probability assessments of the readings. Variant readings with trajectories in later genealogical generations are initially taken as more likely cases of potentially initial readings rather than those with no trajectories. The scribal tendencies may overrule this in the final analysis, but readings with trajectories offer externally a plausible starting point. In each case studied (Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18) the variant most likely to be the initial reading has trajectories in later textual generations. None are readings that appear in one particular generation alone. This particular aspect of the CBGM might be useful on any future work on NT textual criticism. Versions and fathers are not to be taken as later generations or even trajectories, but supportive evidence. Minuscules noted in the section called “other” are later than five generations removed from the initial text. Their testimony is meaningful, albeit limited, in that they point out textual trajectories.

The text of Jude appears to follow a carefully constructed outline. The verses under study fall under two poetic structures in Jude. Verses 4-15 form a chiasmic structure and verses 14-21 follow a parallel structure. The combination of these structures is presented below.²⁷⁶

- (A) 4 – The Lord’s judgement
- (B) 5-7 – examples of negative behaviour
- (C) 8 – application to the infiltrators
- (D) 9 – Michael defers judgement to the Lord
- (C’) 10 – application to the infiltrators
- (B’) 11-13 – polemics against negative behaviour
- (A’) 14-15 – Enoch’s prophecy of the Lord’s judgement
- (B’) 16 – reference to the infiltrators
- (C’) 17a – address to the community
- (A’’) 17b-18 – apostle’s prophecy
- (B’’) 19 – reference to the infiltrators
- (C’’) 20-21 – address to the community

²⁷⁶ This is an adaptation from Spitaler (2006). There are other suggestions for the outline, but I accept the one offered by Spitaler. For the other suggestions, see, e.g., Bauckham 1983: 5-6; Harm 1987; Schreiner 2003: 419-26; Smith 2004; Vögtle 1994: 4; Watson 1988; Wendland 1994.

The two structures are linked with verses 14-15, which serve both as the end of the first structure and as the start of the second one. This structure needs to be taken into account in evaluation of the internal evidence. With this in mind, I now turn to those textual variation units, where the ECM and/or Wasserman disagree with the UBS/NA and with each other.

3.3. Jude 5

This textual variation unit is a *crux interpretum* in the letter of Jude, principally because of the problematic question of the subject of the clause.²⁷⁷ Variants abound for this textual variation unit. The ECM lists no less than 31 different variant readings, although not all of them are of equal value on the basis of the external evidence. Should the text read ὑμᾶς πάντα ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἅπαξ (the UBS/NA), ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς (the ECM), ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι κύριος (Wasserman) or something else? There are several problematic questions on a more atomic scale that need to be answered in any attempt to reconstruct this textual variation unit.²⁷⁸ (1) Does the second ὑμᾶς belong to the text following ὑπονηῆσαι δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι εἰδότας or not? (2) What is the meaning and position of ἅπαξ, especially in relationship, if any, to τὸ δεύτερον? (3) Should the reconstructed text read πάντα, πάντας or τοῦτο? (4) Who is the subject of the verb ἀπόλεσεν? Was it (ὁ) Ἰησοῦς, (ὁ) κύριος, (ὁ) θεός, or θεὸς χριστός?

This textual variation unit has a text-critical distigme in Codex Vaticanus.²⁷⁹ Wasserman states that it may apply to any or all of the above questions.²⁸⁰ I disagree with his statement. The distigme marks the line reading ΠΔΝΤΔΟΤΙ Ἰ̅̅ΧΔΟΝΕΚ. It applies most naturally to two questions. The first one deals with the attribute of εἰδότας, for which Vaticanus reads ΠΔΝΤΔ. Variant readings are πάντα, πάντας, and τοῦτο. The second possibility relates to the subject of the verb ἀπόλεσεν, for which Vaticanus reads the *nomen sacrum* Ἰ̅̅. Variant readings are Ἰησοῦς, κύριος, θεός, and θεὸς χριστός (excluding the article). The distigme cannot apply to the issue of the inclusion/exclusion of the

²⁷⁷ Osburn 1981: 111. M. Black (1964) argues that this textual variation unit does not need to be a *crux interpretum*, unless readings are adopted which gave rise to other readings. Others call this textual variation unit a *crux interpretum*, because it is disputed which variant reading gave rise to rival forms and how.

²⁷⁸ I am here following the lead of Wachtel (1995: 349-50) and Wasserman (2006: 256-66), who also split the textual variation units into these four sub-units.

²⁷⁹ The DISTIGME (plural DISTIGMAI) is a recently accepted technical term for a pair of dots or umlaut, as it was earlier called, that probably marks a location of textual variation known to a scribe without stating anything specific about the variation itself (except that it exists).

²⁸⁰ Wasserman 2006: 266.

second ὑμᾶς. That appears on the previous line. It is possible but not likely that the distigme applies to the question of the position of ἄπαξ, because it appears in the post-ὅτι position in part of the NT textual tradition. Ultimately this matter remains open and awaits an exhaustive study of the nature of these distigmai in Vaticanus. Nevertheless, I proceed with the idea that the distigme refers either to ΠΔΝΤΔ or $\overline{\Gamma\bar{C}}$. Although it cannot be proven beyond doubt, it seems more likely that the scribe had his eyes on $\overline{\Gamma\bar{C}}$ rather than on ΠΔΝΤΔ. The subject of the verb ἀπώλεσεν is naturally more likely to draw a scribe's eyes to the rival readings, as it is a theologically significant reading.

The following list of external evidence contains those variants that are supported by at least one primary, secondary or tertiary witness. I regard other variant readings as secondary corruptions because of the improbability that the initial reading is not found in any of the genealogically most important witnesses. A genealogically late reading is plausible only if it is supported by early fathers and/or versions, and even then only tentatively.²⁸¹ The relevant external information looks like this.

ὑμᾶς ἄπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς B // - // - // -	ὑμᾶς πάντα ὅτι κύριος ἄπαξ N // - // - // -
ἄπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς A 81 // 33° // 2344 // L:V Å Cyr	πάντα ὅτι κύριος ἄπαξ Ψ // - // - // -
ἡμᾶς πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἄπαξ - // - // 2298 // -	ὑμᾶς τοῦτο ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἄπαξ L 326 431 // 18 35 1836 1837 2374 // 254 1292 // al
πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἄπαξ 1739* // 323 665 // 6 93 1881 // pc	πάντα ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἄπαξ 2200 // 630 // - // pc
πάντα ὅτι ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄπαξ 88 // 915 // - // -	ὑμᾶς ἄπαξ τοῦτο ὅτι κύριος - // 1875 // 468 // pm PsOec
	ἄπαξ τοῦτο ὅτι ὁ κύριος 307 436 453 808 // 1067 // 61 2186 2818 // pc
	ἄπαξ ὅτι ὁ κύριος - // 1409 // - // -
ἄπαξ τοῦτο ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς - // - // 1735 // -	
ἄπαξ πάντα ὅτι ὁ θεός C ² // 623* // 2805 // pc L:V ^{mss}	πάντα ὅτι ὁ θεός ἄπαξ 442 // 621 1845 // 1243 1846 // pc L:T S:Ph
ἄπαξ πάντα(ς) ὅτι θεός χριστός P ^{72c} (P ^{72*})	
ἄπαξ τοῦτο ὅτι ὁ θεός - // - // 5 // pc A	

²⁸¹ It is possible that such is the case, no matter how small a change, but one aspect of this study is to test the results from the CBGM method used in the ECM, which in turn removes the need to go through every possible variant reading in any given witness. Singular and sub-singular readings are possible if they are found in genealogically early witnesses.

The table above shows that the textual history is highly contaminated. No reading seems superior to any of the rest on the basis of the external evidence alone, though it could be argued that ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς looks like a promising candidate (see below). It has a textual trajectory that covers the primary, secondary and tertiary generations with the support of two early versions and a father. I will deal with each four aforementioned questions separately.

(1) Should the second ὑμᾶς be included or excluded? The external evidence is as follows. The second ὑμᾶς appears in **¶** B L 326 431 // 18 35 1836 1837 1875 2374 // 254 468 1292 (2298) // *al* PsOec.²⁸² This reading could go back to the second century, because it is found in Codex Vaticanus that often retains early readings. By contrast, the second ὑμᾶς is omitted by P⁷² A C² Ψ 81 88 307 436 442 453 808 1739* 2200 // 33^c 323 621 623* 630 665 915 1067 1409 1845 // 5 6 61 93 1243 1735 1846 1881 2186 2805 2818 2344 // *al* L:VT K:SB S:HPh \ddot{A} Cyr Ephr Hier. It is very likely that the omission goes back to the second century, because it is found in P⁷² and K:S. Both the earliest (P⁷²) and the “best” (codex 81) witnesses omit the second occurrence of ὑμᾶς. For these reasons the external evidence seems to favour the omission, but because the second ὑμᾶς is included in Codex Vaticanus, the decision needs to be backed up with the internal evidence. The ἡμᾶς in some witnesses needs to be rejected on the basis that it is an itacism (ὑμᾶς → ἡμᾶς), and because it is inappropriate to the context.²⁸³ The ECM does not have bold dots for this word, so the editors probably considered their decision to include the second ὑμᾶς as beyond reasonable doubt. Such a decision seems questionable.

The internal evidence is complex. Several points should be noted. First, the words εἰδῶς and εἰδότας often stand alone in Greek literature without an expressed subject or object. The subject is taken from the main clause, which already has ὑμᾶς. Hence, the second ὑμᾶς is superfluous and arguably *lectio difficilior*, prone to be omitted for stylistic reasons.²⁸⁴ It could be the initial reading. Yet a scribe could have also added the second ὑμᾶς on the analogy of a genitive absolute to explicate the subject for εἰδότας.²⁸⁵ This would conform to the usage found in the Septuagint, where εἰδότας always takes an explicit subject (1 Kgs 9,27; 2 Chr 8,18; 4 Macc 16,23; Amos 5,16). Thus, the argument

²⁸² Landon 1996: 68, oddly prints the reading of P⁷⁸ as βούλομε ἀδελφοί εἰδότας ὑμᾶς. This papyrus reads only ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΔΔΕΛΦ due to lacunae. It is of no help to determine the existence of the second ὑμᾶς in the text.

²⁸³ Wasserman 2006: 257.

²⁸⁴ M. Black 1964: 44; Royse 1995: 244; TCGNT 13*; Wikgren 1967: 149.

²⁸⁵ Kubo 1965: 58.

for *lectio difficilior* is inconclusive, although the inclusion seems to be a bit more probable. Then again, the exclusion conforms to *lectio brevior potior*.

Secondly, the second ὑμᾶς could have dropped accidentally due to homoioteleuton (ΕΙΔΟΤΔCΥΜΔC).²⁸⁶ This would fit the scribal tendencies in P⁷². Its scribe has 29 omissions in comparison to just 16 additions. If the word dropped out accidentally, it had to happen in a very early stage of transmission to affect such a vast amount of manuscripts in diverse places. Statistically that seems unlikely. In any case, P⁷² is likely the earliest known witness for the omission.²⁸⁷

Thirdly, a scribe could have intentionally omitted the second ὑμᾶς by harmonising the text to a parallel account in 2 Pet 1,12. The passage lacks the second occurrence of ὑμᾶς. However, 2 Pet 1,12 is not a close verbal parallel, but a thematic one, which makes the harmonisation unlikely. Hence, the Petrine passage is not an argument either for the inclusion or the exclusion of the second ὑμᾶς. It is simply *non sequitur*.

Fourthly, the second ὑμᾶς explicitly differentiates the addressees from the ungodly (ἄσεβεῖς) in verse 4 by way of a repetition of emphasis, a pleonasm. The author of Jude used a polished precision, which generally lacks pleonasms.²⁸⁸ Hence, it is unlikely that a scribe would be motivated to add the second ὑμᾶς against the authorial usage.²⁸⁹ However, the author used a double ὑμᾶς in v. 3 (γράφειν ὑμῖν – γράψαι ὑμῖν), so its usage here (ὑπονοῦσαι ὑμᾶς – εἰδότης ὑμᾶς) would parallel it.²⁹⁰ But is it the author of Jude or a scribe who wrote the second ὑμᾶς as a double reference? It is questionable whether the author of Jude was trying to create a parallel structure, since the structure of verse 3 (infinitive-infinitive) is not an exact match with that of verse 5 (infinitive-participle). Furthermore, the author of Jude composed the wording with exquisite care. He seems to have been fond of *triadic* illustrations as part of his style. This feature is seen in the immediate context of Jude 5. Verses 2-3 have a triadic ὑμῖν πληθυνθείη – γράφειν ὑμῖν – γράψαι ὑμῖν, not just a double occurrence of ὑμῖν. Similarly verses 3-4 have a triadic τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν

²⁸⁶ Wachtel 1995: 350.

²⁸⁷ Royse 1995: 246.

²⁸⁸ Bauckham 1983: 142. The argument for the authorial style against pleonasms is dependent on textual choices, so the argument is somewhat circular, even when the general tenor of the author's style is to avoid pleonasms. This argument should be taken only as auxiliary.

²⁸⁹ Albin 1962: 599; M. Black 1964: 44; Osburn 1981: 111; Wachtel 1995: 350; Wasserman 2006: 257; Wikgren 1967: 149; Pleonasm is a figure of speech and a stylistic fault. As a fault, it is a redundant repetition of words. As a figure of speech, it is a rhetorical device for emphasis. See Watson (1988: 65-66), who cites Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 8.3.53 and 9.3.46-55.

²⁹⁰ Albin 1962: 599; Mayor 1907: CLXXXIII; Wasserman 2006: 257.

– τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν – τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν.²⁹¹ Yet there is no third occurrence of ὑμᾶς in the immediate context of Jude 5 to create a similar triadic illustration, which may indicate that the second ὑμᾶς was not original to the author of Jude. Consequently, the second ὑμᾶς looks more likely to be a scribal attempt for a double reference.²⁹²

Even though the early scribes were prone to omit what they considered superfluous, it is difficult to explain the omission in so many versions and fathers if it was not the initial reading. Both Cyril and Ephraim²⁹³ quote the text *verbatim* and neither has the second ὑμᾶς, though they may have used a text that already suffered from a corruption.²⁹⁴ The intrinsic probability is quite certainly against the second ὑμᾶς and favours the omission, because a double reference constitutes a break in the author’s usage within the letter. He either has a single reference or a triadic one. Therefore, I regard the second ὑμᾶς as a scribal addition for textual clarity.²⁹⁵

(2) What is the meaning and the position of ἅπαξ, especially in relationship if any to τὸ δεύτερον? The ἅπαξ appears in both pre-ὅτι and post-ὅτι positions. The ἅπαξ appears in the pre-ὅτι position in the following witnesses: P⁷² A B C² 81 307 436 453 808 // 33^c 623* 1067 1409 1875 // 5 61 468 1735 2186 2344 2805 2818 // *al* L:V Ä Cyr^{1/2} Ephr Hier Hil Thphyl PsOec. Hence, it is a widely appearing reading with probably second-century roots. In this case ἅπαξ means “once for all”. On the other hand, ἅπαξ appears also in the post-ὅτι position in the following witnesses: ⚭ L Ψ 88 326 431 442 1739* 2200 // 18 35 323 621 630 665 915 1836 1837 1845 2374 // 6 93 254 1243 1292 1846 1881 // *al* L:T K:SB S:HPh A Clem Did Or. This is also a widely appearing reading with probable second-century roots. In this case ἅπαξ carries a rather rare meaning “first time” in conjunction with τὸ δεύτερον. Such a split of the external evidence makes it inconclusive. The decision needs to be made on internal grounds.

²⁹¹ Landon 1996: 69-70.

²⁹² Landon 1996: 69; Mayor 1907: CLXXXIII.

²⁹³ The reference here might actually be Pseudo-Ephraim as it is not certain that the Greek citations from Jude ascribed to Ephraem are genuine to him. Tommy Wasserman notes that the edition containing the text of Ephraim is of bad quality (private communication in November 2008). Nevertheless, I have opted to use Ephraem as the reference, since the matter remains open for a comprehensive treatment.

²⁹⁴ Concilia Oecumenica (CnOec), *Concilium universale Ephesenum anno 431* 1.1.7.20.37, reads εἰδότας ἅπαξ ἅπαντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς. This might be a miswritten form of εἰδότας ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς found in A 81 33^c 2344 L:V Ä Cyr.

²⁹⁵ Bauckham (1983: 48) accepts this reading without a discussion of its merits. Bigg (1902: 328) sees the second ὑμᾶς as a scribal slip. Landon (1996: 69-70) argues for the omission on internal grounds. Wikgren (1967: 150) reconstructs the text without the second ὑμᾶς.

The internal evidence includes the following considerations. First, if ἅπαξ originally appeared after ὅτι, it needs to be understood as an adverbial adjective with the meaning “first time” in order to go with τὸ δεύτερον, which lacks the preceding πρῶτον. There are some examples where ἅπαξ appears to have a sense of “first”.²⁹⁶ The ἅπαξ would then modify σώσας. Such a reconstruction seemingly makes more sense than to take ἅπαξ as an adverb of manner with εἰδότας, because it provides an antecedent for τὸ δεύτερον. As such the subject first saved his people out of Egypt but later destroyed them. This would be quite an elegant statement. The pre-ὅτι position makes the text say that the readers “know everything once and for all”, which is clumsy.²⁹⁷ Nonetheless, “first time” as a meaning for ἅπαξ is questionable in Jude 5, because the context speaks about an apostasy from an earlier state and not of a sequence of events associated with that apostasy.²⁹⁸ Taking ἅπαξ with εἰδότας is *lectio difficilior*, because the sense of the verse flows more naturally when ἅπαξ goes with τὸ δεύτερον. Linked with this is the fact that the author has already used ἅπαξ in verse 3 with its regular meaning “once for all”.²⁹⁹ It seems unlikely that he would alter his usage. Secondly, the τὸ δεύτερον does not necessarily require πρῶτον or its equivalent, because τὸ δεύτερον can mean “afterwards”.³⁰⁰ Transcriptionally, the lack of πρῶτον would provide a clear motivation to move ἅπαξ to a post-ὅτι position. Thirdly, the post-ὅτι position may well be due to patristic conventions. Clement, Didymus and Origen quoted the text only partially and quite freely. They extracted and reshaped the text. This naturally called for ἅπαξ to be relocated to go with τὸ δεύτερον, because these authors lacked the εἰδότας-clause or portion of it altogether.³⁰¹ Fourthly, the pre-ὅτι position is more difficult, because it creates linguistic difficulties for the ὅτι-clause. There are no such difficulties if the post-ὅτι position is accepted. That is to say, an independent τὸ δεύτερον and an awkward fit with the present aspect of εἰδότας are more difficult than joining ἅπαξ with the punctiliar aspect of σώσας.³⁰² This could have given a scribe an incentive to move ἅπαξ to go with σώσας. Thus, both transcriptional and intrinsic probabilities favour ἅπαξ with εἰδότας.³⁰³

²⁹⁶ Bauckham 1983: 43; Mayor 1907: 29.

²⁹⁷ Bigg 1902: 328; M. Black 1964: 44; Wasserman 2006: 258.

²⁹⁸ Klijn 1984: I, 237-44; Wikgren 1967: 147;

²⁹⁹ Albin 1962: 599; Wikgren 1967: 147;

³⁰⁰ Bauckham 1983: 43; Kelly 1969: 254; Lenski 1966: 617; Wikgren 1967: 147;

³⁰¹ Osburn 1981: 109-110.

³⁰² Wachtel 1995: 351; Wasserman 2006: 259.

³⁰³ Contra Landon (1996: 76-77), who argues for the post-ὅτι position by choosing the subject as anarthrous κύριος with Codex Sinaiticus.

(3) Should the reconstructed text read πάντα, πάντας or τοῦτο? This question is rather straightforwardly answered and does not impose a problem. The πάντας is read by P^{72*} S:Ph^{mss} arab^{gib}, so this might not be a singular reading. However, there are some connections between S:Ph^{mss} and P^{72*}. They may not offer independent witnesses, but rather two branches of an earlier archetype, though it is possible that they are not related and the connection is accidental.³⁰⁴ The πάντα is read by P^{72c} ⚭ A B C² Ψ 81 88 442 1739* 2200 // 33^c 323 621 623* 630 665 915 1845 // 6 93 1243 1846 1881 2298 2344 2805 // *al* L:VTR K:S^{mss}>B S:HPH Ä Cyr Ephr Hier Lcf Or. The rival τοῦτο is read by L 307 326 431 436 453 808 // 18 35 1067 1409 1836 1837 1875 2374 // 5 61 254 468 1292 1735 2186 2818 // *al* K:S^{mss} A. The external evidence is quite decisively on the side of reading πάντα. It has second-century roots, and the support of the corrector of P⁷², and the two “best” manuscripts (B 81) from the CBGM analysis. Most witnesses supporting the singular τοῦτο are of the A-text (Byzantine), though L is a later witness to the B-text (Alexandrian). The Armenian text perhaps relates to the D-text, though it could also be a witness to the A-text.³⁰⁵ The existence of the equivalent of τοῦτο in a single Sahidic manuscript may be accidental. In any case, πάντα should be preferred on external grounds.

The internal evidence also favours reading πάντα, because both readings πάντας and τοῦτο appear to be stylistic embellishments. Transcriptionally, πάντας harmonises with εἰδότας.³⁰⁶ Since P⁷² lacks ὑμᾶς, the change takes πάντας as the subject of εἰδότας with the text meaning “all of you know once and for all”. With πάντα the text reads “you know everything once and for all”. Mayor points out that it is hardly expected that every reader knew the examples the author turns to in his argumentation. This makes πάντας contextually unsound. By contrast, there are statements about addressees knowing all things elsewhere in the NT, which gives a secondary support for reading πάντα (Rom 5,14; 1 Jn 2,20 *v.l.*; 27).³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Albin 1962: 493; Birdsall 1963; Wasserman 2006: 260.

³⁰⁵ Metzger (1992b: 82-83) notes that the question of whether the Armenian text relates to the C-text is still not settled. If it does, it is a distant relative to the D-text. Alexanian (1995) divides the Armenian text into two subgroups. He states that Arm 1 relates to the Old Syriac. Its revision Arm 2 relates more to Latin Vulgate and the Byzantine Greek text. If so, it could be a distant relative to the D-text. However, in this case it is also possible that the Armenian reading was taken directly from an A-text source used in the revision, so it may not carry an independent value.

³⁰⁶ Wikgren 1967: 149. By contrast, Kubo (1965: 85-86, 141) argues for the “originality” of πάντας on the basis that the final C could have easily dropped out accidentally. He finds support in 1 Joh 2,20 where many witnesses read πάντα instead of πάντες. This is possible transcriptionally, but the external evidence is too strongly against reading πάντας.

³⁰⁷ Mayor 1907: CLXXXIV. Bauckham (1983: 48) argues that the apostolic faith the addressees had received at the time of their conversion was complete. It was not in need of new information.

τοῦτο is common in Greek literature in collocations of εἰδώς with the demonstrative pronoun plus ὅτι-clause that has an argumentative context. πάντα would be ambiguous in such a context,³⁰⁸ for which reason it is *lectio difficilior*. Another possibility is that τοῦτο is an *interpretation* of the collective sense of the author's remarks on judgement and thus a later scribal harmonisation.³⁰⁹ Be that as it may, τοῦτο nevertheless violates the sentence structure by creating clauses void of an object. The subordinate clause depends on ὑπονοῆσαι, not on εἰδότης.³¹⁰ Intrinsically, the author of Jude positions πᾶς before its agreeing substantive (v. 3, 15, and 25). Here πᾶς is substantive itself but that is not significant, because the word order involving πᾶς is flexible.³¹¹ As a result the intrinsic evidence is inconclusive but the transcriptional probability favours πάντα, which should be taken as the initial reading.

(4) The last but not the least of the questions is who is the subject of the verb ἀπώλεσεν? This is the most difficult aspect of this textual variation unit to decide. The external evidence is divided between five readings.

(ὁ) κύριος	Ⲛ C* L Ψ 307 326 431 436 453 808 2200 // 18 35 630 1067 1409 1836 1837 1875 2374 // 61 254 468 1292 2186 2818 // pm S:H Dam Ephr PsAth PsOec ThphAl
(ὁ) Ἰησοῦς	A B 81 88 1739 // 33 ^c 323 665 915 // 6 93 1881 2298 2344 // pc L:V K:SB Å CnOec Bede Cyr Did ^{1/2} Hier Isid IonCas Or ^{1739mg}
(ὁ) κύριος Ἰησοῦς	- // - // 1735 // l ²⁴¹ l ⁵⁹¹ l ¹¹⁷⁸ Did ^{1/2}
(ὁ) θεός	C ² 442 // 621 623 1845 // 5 1243 1846 2805 // al L:V ^{mss} TR S:Ph A Clem Lcf
θεὸς χριστός	P ⁷²

The external evidence faces a problematic assessment. Two readings are secondary in terms of their supporting witnesses, namely, a minority reading (ὁ) κύριος Ἰησοῦς, and a singular reading θεὸς χριστός found in P⁷², but the other three readings present a problem.³¹² A good number of the manuscripts deemed closest to the initial text read (ὁ) κύριος. This may well be a second-century reading, but there is no external evidence that would place it there without a doubt. There appears to be no D-text witnesses supporting it, but it commands the respect of some church fathers and the Syriac (Harclean). The amount of

Wasserman (2006: 261) notes that 1 Jn 2 is particularly interesting, because it also has opponents, who do not know the truth.

³⁰⁸ Wasserman 2006: 261; Wikgren 1967: 149.

³⁰⁹ Osburn 1981: 111.

³¹⁰ Wachtel 1995: 353; Wasserman 2006: 262; Wikgren 1967: 149.

³¹¹ BDF §292.

³¹² CnOec refers to Concilia Oecumenica, and IonCas to Iohannes Cassianus.

primary, secondary, and tertiary witnesses makes it a good candidate for the initial text. Some witnesses add the definite article.

By contrast, the “best” manuscript by the CBGM analysis, codex 81, supports Ἰησοῦς, which reading very likely has second-century roots, as it appears in B, K:S and Or^{1739mg} as well. Some witnesses add the definite article. There are only a couple of A-text witnesses in its support (424^c ^l596), and the corrections in ms. 424 are generally not of the A-text character. Thus, it is doubtful whether this reading exists in other textual clusters than the B-text, except by coincidence.

What complicates matters is that the third reading, ὁ θεός, is found in some important manuscripts, and it has a rather wide distribution, especially among the versions, though by and large it is found only in the later Greek witnesses. This reading may go back to the second century, because it is found in Clement (before AD 215), and L:TR. Clement of Alexandria is the earliest Greek reference to this reading, perhaps earliest of all witnesses, because the evidence of Old Latin witnesses may not go back to earlier times. Clement is problematic, for it is not certain that the reading in Clement represents the text known to him. Clement’s citation is somewhat free, which might make this reading a patristic adaptation.³¹³ However, P⁷² gives a secondary support for θεός.

The external evidence appears to give a slight edge for Ἰησοῦς genealogically over the rival readings. It is both an early and widespread reading, but this is not decisive.³¹⁴ The rival κύριος has most of the important manuscripts in its favour. The third reading θεός appears as early as Ἰησοῦς, but it is uncertain whether it is truly a variant reading, or just an early patristic and/or scribal corruption. Thus, the matter cannot be decided by the external evidence.

The internal evidence is also complex. The reading κύριος Ἰησοῦς is likely a conflation of the two separate readings. It could also be a harmonisation of one of the components to the immediate context, as Jude 4 already has both. If so, either κύριος or Ἰησοῦς lies behind this reading. There are no good transcriptional reasons to drop either κύριος or Ἰησοῦς in light of the author’s usage of the terms. The author of Jude speaks of Jesus as the Lord without *variae lectiones* in verses 4, 17 and 25, and in verse 21 with all witnesses except L:V, which omits the clause. These references would offer a reason for a scribe to harmonise the texts. It is not likely that the conflated reading would be fragmented and only the pieces survive in the manuscript tradition with an

³¹³ Osburn 1981: 109.

³¹⁴ Bartholomä (2008) argues that the external evidence favours Ἰησοῦς. I find this to be slightly too optimistic. Wasserman (2006: 263) is more cautious by stating that Ἰησοῦς has the strongest support. I concur with Wasserman. The external evidence is strong for Ἰησοῦς, but not decisively so. The decision rests on the internal evidence, because the external support is also strong for the reading κύριος.

almost total disappearance of the fuller reading. It is more likely that either Didymus or a scribe before him created the reading. Didymus also cites the text reading Ἰησοῦς only. The reading κύριος Ἰησοῦς is therefore hardly the initial reading.

The singular reading θεὸς χριστός in P⁷² should be rejected as a possible anti-adoptionistic corruption. It is too hard a reading. The scribe apparently conflated two readings, θεός and Ἰησοῦς (unless an earlier scribe did it, which is less likely) as a Christological harmonisation to the Pauline concept, in which Christ is active in the Old Testament (1 Cor 10,4). If so, this reading is an interpretation of the reading θεός within the Pauline line of thought,³¹⁵ but adjusted to serve a theological agenda. This possibility is strengthened by the observation that P⁷² omits καί in 2 Pet 1,2. This omission equates God with Christ.³¹⁶ As such it cannot be the initial reading. One other possibility for the rise of θεὸς χριστός is a scribal blunder. Albin suggests that the exemplar of P⁷² read $\overline{\Gamma\text{C}\overline{\text{X}\text{P}\text{C}}}$, which a scribe inadvertently changed to $\overline{\Theta\text{C}\overline{\text{X}\text{P}\text{C}}}$. If so, the reading probably derives from the variant reading Ἰησοῦς harmonised to the author's usage (elsewhere he always has Jesus Christ).³¹⁷ Metzger has suggested that the scribe may even have attempted to write θεοῦ χριστός, which he garbled, though I do not find this convincing.³¹⁸ If θεὸς χριστός was the initial reading, it is possible that it was changed to Ἰησοῦς as a simplification of the text, but there are no good reasons why θεὸς χριστός would be changed to κύριος. The reversal with Christological interpretation is more plausible. All in all, it is unlikely that the other variants derive from θεὸς χριστός. Thus, we are left with the same three readings as with the external evidence, namely, κύριος, Ἰησοῦς and θεός. But which one is the likeliest one?

ὁ θεός could be a harmonisation to 2 Pet 2,4. The Petrine passage speaks of God, who did not spare angels. This parallels the context of Jude. A scribe harmonising these two parallel passages would more likely have changed κύριος or Ἰησοῦς to θεός than vice versa, irrespective of whether Jude or 2 Peter is an earlier work.³¹⁹ ὁ θεός might also be a harmonisation to the LXX usage found in

³¹⁵ Wachtel 1995: 356. By contrast, Kubo (1965: 86, 141) argued for a Patripassionistic corruption, but such is less likely the case.

³¹⁶ Ehrman 1993: 87-88; Kelly 1969: 255.

³¹⁷ Albin 1962: 600; Wikgren (1967) notes that these two variant readings, Ἰησοῦς and θεὸς χριστός, are related with preference to Ἰησοῦς as more likely the "original" whence the other derives.

³¹⁸ TCGNT 657.

³¹⁹ I find arguments over the priority of 2 Peter vs. Jude non-binding on this issue, because this kind of harmonisation requires that both texts were available to a scribe. It does not matter which one was originally written first. The question is which reading is more likely to be subdued. There is no *varia lectio* in 2 Pet 2,4.

Num 23,22; Dt 4,20, which texts speak about God bringing his people out of Egypt.³²⁰

Another possibility is that ὁ θεός is a scribal interpretation of an earlier anarthrous κύριος, which is ambiguous.³²¹ It could refer to Jesus or to God. A scribe could have made the statement unambiguous by altering the reading to that of 2 Pet 2,4. Yet some scholars are sympathetic to the authenticity of θεός in Jude 5. The idea is that a scribe read $\overline{\Theta\bar{C}}$ but wrote accidentally either $\overline{\Gamma\bar{C}}$ or $\overline{\bar{K}C}$ because of an indistinctly written theta. This requires the priority of Second Peter, which the author of Jude used as a source for his own letter. It also requires a transcriptional blunder, which itself is revised either unintentionally or intentionally. The probability for this suggestion seems too remote. Current scholarship generally argues for the priority of Jude, though the matter is still open for debate.³²² Transcriptionally it is quite unlikely that Ἰησοῦς would be written in place of θεός in witnesses that do not attempt Christological “improvements”, but the opposite makes sense in light of 2 Pet 2,4. Thus, it is unlikely that ὁ θεός is the initial reading. This leaves two textual variants to contend for authenticity: (δ) Ἰησοῦς and (δ) κύριος.³²³

Intrinsically, κύριος appears by itself elsewhere in Jude (vv. 9 and 14), while Ἰησοῦς is always found as part of the fuller construction Ἰησοῦς χριστός (vv. 1, 4, 17, 21, and 25). It would be an exception to the author’s style to find Ἰησοῦς alone in verse 5. Hence, κύριος fits the author’s style and is more likely the initial reading.³²⁴ However, the letter of Jude is short and offers a minimal database to study the author’s stylistic features. This means that there is room for a possibility of variance in his style, though it cannot be demonstrated from a text this short.

The transcriptional probability, on the other hand, is more complex. Both κύριος and Ἰησοῦς were written as the *nomen sacrum*, $\overline{\bar{K}C}$ and $\overline{\Gamma\bar{C}}$ respectively.

³²⁰ Green 2008: 64.

³²¹ Bauckham 1983: 49; M. Black 1964.

³²² Bauckham 1983: 157; Grundmann 1974: 33 n. 30; Spitta 1885: 324.

³²³ Hort and Westcott (1881: II, 106) conjectured that the original reading was simply $\overline{\Theta\Gamma\bar{O}}$, which was then read inadvertently as $\overline{\Theta\Gamma\bar{\Gamma}\bar{C}}$, or perhaps even $\overline{\Theta\Gamma\bar{\bar{K}C}}$. Metzger and Wikgren (TCGNT 657) noted favourably this possibility in a minority vote. It was adopted into the RSV. Howard (1976) conjectured a highly speculative idea that the author of Jude originally wrote $\overline{\eta\eta\eta}$, which then gave rise to the various Greek nouns, because scribes attempted to rewrite the text to say what it was taken to mean. I do not consider either conjecture as a real possibility for several reasons. (1) Conjectures are to be dismissed if a variant reading exists that can be given a reasonable meaning in its context. (2) Conjectures may obscure an author’s stylistic peculiarities. (3) Conjectures are like scribal emendations i.e. improvements of the text in themselves (Fossum 1987; Landon 1996: 18; Kilpatrick 1981; Wikgren 1967).

³²⁴ Landon 1996: 73; Wachtel 1995: 355-56. It is possible that verse 25 does not apply, because there is a textual variant that omits the phrase altogether, but this does not change the fact that Ἰησοῦς would be unique within Jude.

A scribe could have accidentally confused them due to a common vertical stroke. It could go both ways, not just from $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$ to $\overline{\tau\zeta}$.³²⁵ If the change was accidental, there is no certainty which way it went. There are, however, reasons to believe that the change was not accidental. The second corrector of codex C felt uncomfortable with $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and intentionally changed it to $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, so there needed to be a reason to do so. As I pointed out, $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is likely a harmonisation to the Petrine parallel, as the LXX usage is less likely, given the close parallelism of the Petrine text. This does not affect the question of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ vs. Ἰησοῦς , but it does provide an incentive for the change, namely, an explication of the subject.

There is another possible reason for the above change. Since the anarthrous $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is ambiguous (God or Jesus?), it is possible that an early second-century scribe interpreted $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ as $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Another scribe interpreted it as Ἰησοῦς in light of the previous verse and perhaps due to Logos-Christology. Thus, the text of Jude 5 was changed either to $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ or to Ἰησοῦς to explicate the meaning of the text. The latter case is strengthened by the fact that the author of Jude uses $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ for Jesus elsewhere (vv. 4, 17, 21, and 25). This interpretation was rather popular, testified in the writings of several church fathers. Such an alteration created a statement for the high Christology and would have provided ammunition to be used against those with leanings toward a low Christology. The change was perhaps based on the popular Joshua-Jesus typology. However, such a typology does not fit the context of Jude 5, because Joshua did not destroy unbelievers or imprison angels, but Bauckham thinks a scribe could have missed its pitfalls.³²⁶ Nowhere is it said specifically that Jesus imprisoned angels either, unless this is the only such reference (v. 6). This makes the reading Ἰησοῦς suspect as an alteration. If so, the initial reading was $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Likewise, Christological motivations for attributing divine characteristics to Jesus may have turned $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ to Ἰησοῦς .

The $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ hypothesis (or hypotheses), however, has a problem. The variant reading Ἰησοῦς has no parallel anywhere in similar contexts, not even in Jude. The text of Jude does not mention Joshua, so a possible reference to Jesus does not imply Joshua-Jesus typology, no matter how famous it may have been among the early church fathers. Hence, a scribe would have been unlikely to have created Ἰησοῦς as a substitute reading for $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, even on the Joshua-Jesus typology, because it was not only out of harmony with the style of the author of Jude, but would also have created an unnecessary *lectio difficilior* with its idea that Jesus destroyed both unbelievers and imprisoned angels, a concept

³²⁵ Bartholomä (2008: 149) indicates that both have a common vertical stroke, which could have confused the scribe.

³²⁶ Bauckham 1983: 43; Wachtel 1995: 356.

with no parallels anywhere (contra Bauckham). Thus, the probability is the reverse. It is easier for a scribe to change Ἰησοῦς to κύριος, if he wanted to harmonise the text to its immediate context, or for some reason remove a destroying activity ascribed to Jesus instead of to God or the Lord, or simply to harmonise the text to a LXX usage in Ex 7,5; 12,51; 13,3.9.14.16; 16,6; 18,1; Dt 1,27; 26,8.³²⁷ Philipp F. Bartholomä (2008: 150) has suggested that a scribe could have made such a change, because the human name Jesus might appear too bold and/or improper a designation for a pre-existent Christ.

Secondly, Jude stands somewhat apart from most of the first-century Christian literature in that there appears to be a high respect for Jewish apocalyptic texts, namely, 1 Enoch and *T. Mos.* Jude apparently belongs to that section of early Christianity in which the Jewish apocalyptic outlook was reinterpreted to apply to Jesus. In such circles apocalypticism was the dominant vehicle through which the faith of Jesus found its expression. This apocalypticism died out later in the second century,³²⁸ which appears to be the general timeframe when the textual corruption took place. There was also a distancing of Christianity from Judaism in the early second century.³²⁹ To read from the letter of Jude that Jesus is Yahweh of the Hebrew Scriptures could have been too much for some scribes in their second-century social setting, as Roman society had become anti-Judaic because of the Jewish rebellion. Christian communities were seen as Jewish sects by society at large. Hence, apologetic reasons could have compelled a scribe to tone down the Jewish aspects of the NT writings.³³⁰ This offers an alternative explanation for the often repeated theological reasoning that Ἰησοῦς arose as an interpretation of κύριος, one way or another. It seems reasonable to assume that the author of Jude wrote Ἰησοῦς and a later scribe changed it to κύριος in order to distance his local Christian community from Judaism by removing from the text the idea that Christianity's primary person was none other than the Jewish God. Such an alteration on the basis of social setting would not be unique.³³¹ Bartolomä's suggestion – a change from Ἰησοῦς to θεός due to Christological reasons – is a plausible hypothesis.

³²⁷ Green 2008: 64.

³²⁸ Bauckham 1983: 10.

³²⁹ See, e.g., Dunn 1989.

³³⁰ Codex Bezae has long been held to contain some anti-Judaic features in its text, both additions and omissions. Parker (1997: 32) has argued that this Greek-Latin bilingual majuscule was in fact prepared in Berytus (Beirut), which was an important centre of Latin studies in the *Eastern* Roman Empire. If so, it would testify to some kind of rewriting of the New Testament texts in the eastern part of the Roman Empire at the time when Christianity and Judaism were clashing theologically. Epp (1996) and Rice (1980a, 1980b) have also argued for anti-Judaic alterations in Bezae. Some of Epp's results are questionable, but there appear to be tendencies to smooth out Jewish aspects from the text. For a criticism of Epp's and Parker's positions, see Read-Heimerdinger 1994.

³³¹ Kannaday 2004.

The same kind of change to κύριος as a scribal attempt to avoid attributing OT events to the pre-existent Son instead of God the Father seems equally plausible.³³²

These suggestions show that the transcriptional probability may go both ways with intentional changes, whatever the reasons were for the changes. There appears to be nothing inherently implausible for accepting either κύριος or Ἰησοῦς as the initial reading. This means that transcriptional probability turns out to be quite inconclusive for Jude 5. Intrinsic probability would favour reading κύριος if the author kept to his style consistently, but the external evidence is in my opinion strong enough to overrule this. Thus, I accept Ἰησοῦς as the initial reading.

Putting all of the above together, my reconstruction for Jude 5 reads ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς, which is the reading found in A 81 // 33^c // 2344 // L:V Ä Cyr. This reading has been suggested by Wikgren (1967), and Grundmann (1974). Metzger notes that this suggestion was rejected by the other UBS/NA editors.³³³ It is a widespread and early reading, found in A, L:V, and Cyril. It has second-century roots, because of its existence in Codex Vaticanus (which adds ὑμᾶς). It is found in the genealogically “best” manuscript (codex 81), and it is neither a singular reading nor a conjectural emendation. Part of it is also *lectio difficilior*.

3.4. Jude 13

This textual location contains a text-critical problem that concerns whether the text should read ἐπαφρίζοντα (the UBS/NA/ECM) or ἀπαφρίζοντα (Wasserman) followed by τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχύνας.³³⁴ There are no bold dots in the ECM. Apparently the editors believed their choice is beyond reasonable doubt. There is no distigme for this textual variation unit in Codex Vaticanus, which probably indicates that its scribe did not know the rival reading. The external evidence is as follows.

ἐπαφρίζοντα	ἀπαφρίζοντα
Ⓝ A B L Ψ 88 307 436 453 808 // 18 35 915	P ⁷² C 81 326 431 442 1739 2200 // 33 323 621
1067 1409 1836 1845 1875 2374 // 6 61 ^c 468	623 630 665 1837 1852 // 5 61* 93 254 1243

³³² Bartholomä 2008: 151.

³³³ Grundmann 1974: 80; Wikgren 1967: 149. Metzger’s commentary (TCGNT 657-58) does not note what he (or Wikgren) thinks of the second ὑμᾶς.

³³⁴ Kubo 1965: 87. Landon (1996: 109) suggest a third variant reading, μεταφρίζοντα, presumably supported by ms. 429. However, ms. 429 reads ἐπαφρίζοντα. This is noted by Wasserman.

1846 2186 2818 // <i>pm</i> BasRt Ephr Pall Phot PsOec ThdSt ³³⁵	1292 1735 1881 2298 2344 2805 // <i>pc</i> CnOec ³³⁶ Isid
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The external evidence looks quite evenly divided. Though both the earliest witness (P⁷²) and the “best” witness (codex 81) support ἀπαφρίζοντα (“to skim”, “to scum”), the rival reading ἐπαφρίζοντα (“to foam”) is also attested by early witnesses (Ⲛ A B Ephr). Both readings likely have second-century roots. It is possible that this is a case of phonetic confusion. Only the initial letter needs to change, but that does not tell which way it went. P⁷² has such irregularities, though in none is α taken for ε (unless this is the only exception), though the opposite has taken place once in 2 Pet 3,14.³³⁷ Consequently, the external evidence is quite inconclusive, giving only a tiny edge for ἀπαφρίζοντα on the basis of P⁷² and ms. 81 against B.

Gerd Mink argues that ἐπαφρίζοντα has a perfect genealogical coherence in the known NT textual tradition, while ἀπαφρίζοντα emerged repeatedly by coincidence. Mink doubts whether there is an average connectivity between the genealogical states among the textual witnesses for ἀπαφρίζοντα, and prefers ἐπαφρίζοντα even if there would be one.³³⁸ However, this lack of genealogical coherence between witnesses supporting ἀπαφρίζοντα could simply be a matter of now lost intervening witnesses.

The internal evidence faces a difficult assessment. Both variants are *hapax legomena*. From the language point of view ἐπαφρίζω predates Jude. It is found in Greek poetry, and offers a common verbal milieu for the author of Jude to use.³³⁹ By contrast, ἀπαφρίζω is a very rare, closely associated word. Previous scholarship has maintained that it did not exist in the first century, but I have found it in one first-century author, Pedanius Dioscorides (ca. AD 60).³⁴⁰ This evens the odds between the rival readings. Arguments that ἀπαφρίζω is not found in first-century Greek and could not have been used by the author of Jude must now be abandoned. Transcriptionally, both readings are equally difficult

³³⁵ Theodorus Studites, *Parva Catechesis* 25.28, reads ἐπαφρίζοντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχύναις.

³³⁶ Concilia Oecumenica, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum* 6.406.25, reads ἀπαφρίζοντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχύναις.

³³⁷ Albin 1962: 611. Roysse (1981: 473-74; 2008: 562-64, 572-76) lists every orthographic mistake in P⁷². His study confirms that only 2 Pet 3,14 has an error that goes from α to ε.

³³⁸ Gert Mink, private communications with the author, July 26, 2007. I remain sceptical about this, because too many early witnesses have been lost. It is possible that the witnesses supporting ἀπαφρίζοντα cohere perfectly if the now lost intervening witnesses had a genealogical link.

³³⁹ Bigg 1902: 335.

³⁴⁰ Pedanius Dioscorides, *De materia medica* 5.23, noted by Sophocles (1914: 204), though listed as 5.31. Witnesses for the *De materia medica* are all from the later centuries, so absolute certainty is not possible, but they read uniformly ἀπαφρίζω. Wasserman (2006: 292) notes a second-century author Galen, who also used this word, but is unaware of the entry in Dioscorides.

with no parallels anywhere (contra Landon).³⁴¹ Neither word is found in the Septuagint, so there is no direct link to the Hebrew text in light of the possible textual background in Isa 57,20, which has a similar theme of comparing the wicked to a tossing sea. Another possible background is an echo of Isa 57,15. In Qumranic texts 1QH 2,27-28; 8,15 such an Isaianic echo is used of the ungodly spitting out their shame upon others, like the waves of the sea.³⁴² Thus, both external and internal evidence are quite inconclusive in solving the matter. This textual variation unit needs to be solved by exegesis of the passage.

The verb is not the only problematic issue. The meaning of τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχύνας is debated.³⁴³ Does it refer to deeds or words or perhaps teachings? The immediate context speaks of the opponents, men like Balaam, who shepherd themselves, who are clouds without rain, blown along by the wind, men who are fruitless and uprooted late autumn trees, twice dead. These descriptions find parallels elsewhere in Scripture. The author of 2 Peter speaks of ungodly men as waterless springs in the context of Balaam's error (2 Pet 2,15-17). The author of Ephesians warns his readers not to be tossed to and fro by waves, or be carried by every wind of doctrine, by deceitful schemes (Eph 4,14). The author of Titus speaks of a need for good deeds in order for one not to be found fruitless (Tit 3,14). Hence, the descriptions are about actions. In the larger context, however, the author of Jude appears to be particularly interested in the quality of the opponent's speech. They slander (v. 9). God will punish them for their remarks (v. 15). They murmur in discontent and utter arrogant words (v. 16). They are scoffers (v. 8), who categorise people (v. 19).³⁴⁴

These descriptions would identify the opponents as false teachers, whose deeds *and* words are likened to the way of Cain and the rebellion of Korah. The chiasmic structure links verses 5-7 and 12-13 to identify these men with the ungodly (ἄσεβεῖς). Their ungodliness is of the same nature by thwarting the grace of God into a licentious immorality in deeds *and* words. Thus, it seems best to take τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχύνας as "their abominations", a reference to a lifestyle. These abominations are deeds and words that flow out of false teachings. Do they spill over their abominations? The author of Jude also describes these men as dangerous reefs (σπιλάδες), which points to the fact that

³⁴¹ Landon (1996: 110) argues that ἐπαφρίζοντα, which is a *hapax legomenon*, was changed to ἀπαφρίζοντα. However, ἀπαφρίζοντα is also a *hapax legomenon*, so the change may go the other way around as well.

³⁴² Bauckham 1983: 88.

³⁴³ For an argument for "deeds", see, e.g., Schreiner 2003: 462-68. For an argument for "words", see, e.g., Reicke 1964: 207. Bauckham (1983: 89) takes a neutral stance. He translates "abominations".

³⁴⁴ Thurén 1997: 463.

in context these are men who can shipwreck one's faith. Is there a parallel in ἐπαφρίζω vs. ἀπαφρίζω?

In anatomical works both ἐπαφρίζω and ἀπαφρίζω refer to the froth of the mouth, but there is a small difference in nuance. The use of ἐπαφρίζω would imply that a person is simply foaming, but ἀπαφρίζω implies that this foam is also cast off upon those around the one foaming.³⁴⁵ Landon has argued that if it is cast off, it no longer remains on the ungodly men in Jude and thus ἀπαφρίζοντα should be rejected as a non-fit for the context.³⁴⁶ Yet this is not the nuance ἀπαφρίζω has in anatomical texts. It is more to do with spilling over than removing the filth.³⁴⁷ Also, in the context of Jude it is the waves of the sea that foam. This is a picture of a constant stream, not a one time event.

If the initial reading was ἐπαφρίζοντα, the text means that the ungodly men were foaming their own shameful abominations with which the readers of Jude had no part, but if the initial reading was ἀπαφρίζοντα, there was a real or perceived danger that these shameful abominations were spilling over to the recipients of the letter of Jude. This may explain the perceived urgency as to why the author wrote his letter (cp. σπουδή in verse 3).³⁴⁸ Thus, in my opinion, ἀπαφρίζοντα fits the context better (contra the UBS/NA/ECM).³⁴⁹

3.5. Jude 15

This textual location contains a text-critical problem that has to do with whether the text should read πᾶσαν ψυχὴν (the UBS/NA/ECM) or πάντας τοὺς ἄσεβεις (Wasserman). There are no bold dots in the ECM, which may indicate that the editors believed their choice is beyond reasonable doubt. Mink believes that if πᾶσαν ψυχὴν is not the initial text, it needed to emerge coincidentally three separate times in the NT textual tradition. He doubts this, because P⁷², **ℵ** and 1852 are not genealogically closely related witnesses.³⁵⁰ Again, the problem with such an argument is the lack of the early witnesses. It is not possible to know for sure which witnesses are and are not related. There might have been now lost intervening witnesses, which would make P⁷², **ℵ**, and 1852 related to

³⁴⁵ Wasserman 2006: 292.

³⁴⁶ Landon 1996: 110.

³⁴⁷ Wasserman 2006: 293 n. 250.

³⁴⁸ Koskeniemi (1956: 67-87) has shown that words like κοινὴ σωτηρία and ἀνάγκη (both used by the author of Jude) do not necessarily mean a hasty reason to write something. They are typical of an apologia for not writing before. Yet σπουδή appears to add some kind of urgency to whatever the historical situation was behind the letter, whether real, perceived or fictitious. See also Thurén 1997.

³⁴⁹ Those in favour of ἀπαφρίζοντα include Kubo 1965: 87; Wasserman 2006: 293.

³⁵⁰ Gerd Mink, private communication with the author, July 26, 2007.

each other, while this relationship has been lost due to historical exigencies. Even if further findings regarding textual evidence in the future would still point to coincidental agreement, such a historical circumstance is not impossible due to scribal tendencies to occasionally distort the transmission of the text by creative thinking (see internal evidence below). Thus, the question remains open for debate. The external evidence is as follows.

<p>πᾶσαν ψυχὴν P⁷² N // 1852 // – // K:SB^{mss} S:Ph^{mss}</p>	<p>πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς A B C Ψ 81 307 326 431 436 453 808 2200 // 33 623 630 665 1067 1409 1837 1845 2374 // 5 61 93 468 1243 1292 1735 1846 2186 2344 2805 2818 // <i>pm</i> Ephr NicSeid Phot A G:A1 SI:M</p>
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The external evidence is divided. The earliest witness (P⁷²) reads πᾶσαν ψυχὴν, but the “best” witness (codex 81) has πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. The latter reading has the secondary support of the following witnesses containing variations of it (adding αὐτῶν or dropping τοὺς): 1739 // 18 35 323 915 1836 1875 // 5 6 254 1881 2298 // *pm*. Vulgate, Bohairic, Harclean and some Philoxenian manuscripts support reading πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς with or without the article.³⁵¹ Hence, the latter reading is widespread. The ECM reading has a relatively weak attestation,³⁵² though this in itself is not necessarily an argument against it. The scribe of P⁷² was probably a Christian Coptic, because the papyrus has a number of notes in haphazard Greek, much orthographic confusion indicative of a Coptic ear, and some Coptic glosses.³⁵³ For these reasons P⁷² and K:S may be related to each other, and do not necessarily yield an independent testimony, despite the fact that P⁷² has an uncontrolled text in Jude.³⁵⁴ If this is so, the external attestation is further weakened in comparison to that of πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. There is no distigme for this textual variation unit in Codex Vaticanus, which may indicate that its scribe did not know the rival reading πᾶσαν ψυχὴν.

The internal evidence is more complex. The known sources of 1 Enoch, a probable textual source used by the author of Jude, contain a text close or related to πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. In none of them is πᾶσαν ψυχὴν found. This could give scribes ample reason to harmonise the text of Jude 15 with that of 1 Enoch 1,9. The incongruence between the texts of Jude and Enoch are explicable as modifications that the author of Jude has introduced into the text of his

³⁵¹ Wasserman 2006: 302.

³⁵² Wachtel (1995: 359) admits this, though genealogically the case is stronger as it may look, because the witnesses are not genealogically related.

³⁵³ Kilpatrick 1963a: 34; Testuz 1959: 9-10; Wasserman 2005: 31-32.

³⁵⁴ ENTGM 479.

source(s).³⁵⁵ He has omitted a reference to the destruction, and the object of the second clause, joined the remaining clauses into one, and applied the resulting text to his opponents.³⁵⁶ As a result, *πάσαν ψυχὴν* could be just another modification by the author of Jude. Since Jude 4 has *ἀσεβεῖς*, it is possible that a scribe at some point in the transmission of the text harmonised Jude 15 to it. These reasons favour *πάσαν ψυχὴν* as the initial reading.

By contrast, *πάσαν ψυχὴν* could be a scribal emendation due to the influence of Rom 2,9 to avoid repeating *ἀσεβεῖς*. Paul speaks about affliction to those who do evil and reads *πάσαν ψυχὴν*.³⁵⁷ It could also be a reading in conformity with *κατὰ πάντων* in the same verse to avoid repeating the *ἀσεβ-* word group four times in a single verse.³⁵⁸ Another reason in favour of the longer reading is that *πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς* appears in a triadic expression. The author of Jude often has *πᾶς* + definite article + an adjective or a substantive, three times in Jude 14-15 if the longer reading is accepted. This creates a triad of triadic expressions, *πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς – πάντων τῶν ἔργων – πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν*, a stylistically polished formula, which is broken if *πάσαν ψυχὴν* is chosen. Such a triplet is a common feature in the author's Greek and fits well with his terse, picturesque and impassioned style.³⁵⁹ The chiasmic structure supports the longer reading, because Jude 4 and Jude 14-15 constitute a parallel pair, both reading *ἀσεβεῖς*, if the longer reading is accepted.

To conclude, the external evidence favours only slightly (if at all) the longer reading, but the internal evidence makes better sense with it. Thus, Jude 15 should read *πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς* (contra the UBS/NA/ECM). This brings the text in harmony with the later Majority text and the Ethiopian tradition of 1 Enoch, irrespective of whether this tradition tells us anything about the source(s) used by the author of Jude.

³⁵⁵ Kelly (1969: 276) argues that the author of Jude quoted from memory, but this seems unlikely. Mazich (2003) argues that not all sources known to us could have been used by the author of Jude, because Ethiopian sources are later than Jude. Syriac sources are no help either, because they derive from the known Greek sources. Mazich believes the author of Jude used an Aramaic source, which he perhaps paraphrased, or combined an Aramaic and Greek source together. Osburn (1977) argues that the author of Jude used a text similar to that of the Ethiopian text. Wasserman (2006: 302) lists the readings from the Aramaic source 4Q204 (known as Codex Panopolitanus), an Ethiopic source, Ps.-Cyprian, and Ps.-Vigilius. Whatever the source(s) may have been, it is not so much an issue, as the reading *πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς* may in any case derive from an early source or sources known to the author of Jude.

³⁵⁶ Osburn 1977: 338.

³⁵⁷ Kubo 1965: 88.

³⁵⁸ Albin 1962: 615.

³⁵⁹ Charles 1991: 111; Landon 1996: 117-18. D. Clark (2004: 137) has questioned whether four occurrences in a row of the same word really is a polished style, but his remarks do not change the thrust of the argument in favour of the longer reading.

3.6. Jude 18a

There are two minor text-critical issues in Jude 18. The first one deals with the second occurrence of ὅτι in the sentence ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν [ὅτι]. Should it be included (Wasserman) or excluded (the ECM)? The editors of the UBS/NA did not make a clear decision on this issue, but placed the word in brackets. The ECM editors indicate by a bold dot that the inclusion of the second ὅτι (henceforth ὅτι²) is either of equal value or that the exclusion was made without complete confidence.³⁶⁰ The external evidence is as follows.

omit ὅτι ² ⳨ B L* Ψ // – // 61 2344 // L:R Lcf	ὅτι ² P ⁷² A C 81 88 307 326 431 436 442 453 808 1739 2200 // 18 33 35 323 621 623 630 665 915 1067 1409 1836 1837 1845 1852 1875 2374 // 5 6 93 254 468 1243 1292 1735 1846 1881 2186 2298 2805 2818 // <i>pm</i> L:V S:HPh Cyr Ephr
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The external evidence appears to be on the side of inclusion of ὅτι² in terms of the number of primary, secondary, tertiary and other witnesses, though this is not decisive, because they may simply contain an early corruption. Syriac witnesses may suffer from a translational issue in accordance with the Syriac usage of introducing a quotation with **ⲁ**. Therefore, Syriac witnesses may not necessarily give evidence for the underlying Greek reading.³⁶¹ However, two important witnesses (P⁷² and ms. 81) support the inclusion. It is an early, widespread reading.³⁶²

By contrast, the exclusion of ὅτι² is found in a handful of witnesses, most notably in **⳨**. The Latin witness L:R refers to the Latin text of Codex Bezae as taken from Lucifer of Calaris, so L:R and Lcf are not independent witnesses. Also, the absence of ὅτι² in Latin witnesses may have arisen due to a translational process, so the Latin witnesses may not present their underlying Greek *Vorlage*.

Codex Vaticanus contains no distigme, so its scribe apparently did not know the rival reading or did not consider it worth noting with a distigme. The correctors of L and P inserted ὅτι² into the respective manuscripts, but this may only tentatively support the exclusion of ὅτι². The correctors may have also re-introduced an earlier reading back into their respective manuscripts. Thus, though the inclusion is more persuasive among the genealogically early

³⁶⁰ ECM IV.4 426. The bold dots are not used with a single meaning. It is difficult to know what they mean in any particular textual location.

³⁶¹ Mayor 1907: CLXXXV; Wasserman 2006: 311.

³⁶² Comfort (ENTGM 479) notes that in Jude the text of P⁷² is more Western than Alexandrian.

witnesses, the matter needs to be solved in conjunction with the internal evidence, because both readings are early with probable second-century roots.³⁶³

The internal evidence is more complex, but perhaps not ambiguous.³⁶⁴ The existence of the second ὅτι may be a straightforward introduction of an indirect statement or a recitative introduction to a ‘quotation’ that follows. Its inclusion makes sense. Its absence could then be a scribal harmonisation to Jude 14, which has λέγων without ὅτι. Alternatively, it may be a simplification of the clause, since the first ὅτι seemingly makes the second ὅτι redundant. A scribe could have perceived the second ὅτι as superfluous and dropped it as a stylistic improvement.³⁶⁵ In comparison, the phrase λέγων ὅτι is rare in the NT with only 10 hits (the UBS/NA), out of which only 5 occurrences are textually undisputed. The rest have *variae lectiones*.³⁶⁶ The preponderant usage is λέγων without ὅτι (160 hits in the UBS/NA) as in Jude 14. In light of this, the absence of ὅτι in Jude 14 is a typical NT usage. Similarly, the phrase ἔλεγον ὅτι appears only 13 times elsewhere, of which only 8 occurrences are textually undisputed.³⁶⁷ Again, the usage without ὅτι is preponderant, with 65 hits (the UBS/NA).

Though the author of Jude had his own idiosyncrasies, which may or may not conform to the general tendency of different authors elsewhere, the inclusion is a rare phenomenon and cannot be dismissed lightly. If the second ὅτι was absent from the initial text, it needs to be explained why a scribe added it here but not in Jude 14. Such an addition is against the preponderant usage in a passage, which includes a direct “quotation” from 1 Enoch. The absence of ὅτι is more Classical than Hellenistic Greek.³⁶⁸ Though the inclusion of the second ὅτι may be a scribal emendation,³⁶⁹ there exists no good reason why early scribes would make a perfectly sensible clause cumbersome by adding another ὅτι. Such an addition would deviate from the common literary usage. The only possible explanation in such a case is a harmonisation to the parallel passage in 2 Pet 3,3. This is,

³⁶³ Albin (1962: 618) argued that the decision needs to be made on internal grounds because the external evidence is divided. True, but he made his comments long before the existence of CBGM that could be used to reconstruct the hypothetical transmissional history. Though the decision needs input from internal evidence, which is not so ambiguous as to be of no help, the external evidence does suggest the inclusion as more likely the “original”.

³⁶⁴ Wasserman (2006: 311) thinks that the internal evidence is ambiguous.

³⁶⁵ Landon 1996: 123; Wasserman 2006: 312. For a general treatment of the scribal tendencies, see Colwell 1969: 107-24; Head 1990, 2004; Royse 1981, 1995, 2008.

³⁶⁶ Mt. 9.18, Mk 1.15, 5.23, 12.6, Lk. 8.49, 19.42, Jn 1.32, Acts 19.26, Heb. 10.8, and 1 Jn 2.4. Textually undisputed occurrences are underlined.

³⁶⁷ Mt. 27.47, Mk 3.21, 22, 6.14*, 15 (twice), 35, Jn 4.42, 6.14, 7.12, 9.9, 10.41, and Acts 2.13. Textually undisputed occurrences are underlined. It should be noted that there is a minor variation of ἔλεγον vs. ἔλεγεν in Mk 6.14, but this does not change the general formula of λέγω plus ὅτι.

³⁶⁸ BDF §397:3.

³⁶⁹ Albin 1962: 618.

however, unlikely because there is no close verbal correspondence between Jude 18a and 2 Pet 3,3.³⁷⁰ It is more likely that the scribes omitted the second $\delta\tau\iota$ for better readability, so as to emulate Classical Greek. Therefore, the $\delta\tau\iota^2$ in Jude 18 is transcriptionally more difficult and thus likely the initial reading.³⁷¹

Intrinsic probability apparently contradicts the transcriptional one. The text in Jude 14 is not in dispute and it lacks $\delta\tau\iota$. This may set the style of the author, when $\delta\tau\iota$ is taken as a recitative. However, a single example is insufficient to say much concerning the author's style.³⁷² On the other hand, the literary skills of Jude seem to favour the absence of $\delta\tau\iota^2$. Bauckham describes Jude's style as 'lively and vigorous'. The vocabulary is rich and varied with numerous *hapax legomena*, yet the sentence construction is relatively simple, though parataxis is rare. The author of Jude used great economy of expression.³⁷³ This increases the likelihood that the absence of $\delta\tau\iota^2$ is the initial reading, because the second $\delta\tau\iota$ makes the clause cumbersome. Thus, the absence of $\delta\tau\iota^2$ is possible but not probable enough. The reasons for the absence of $\delta\tau\iota^2$ are not strong enough to offset the external evidence or the transcriptional probabilities. Therefore, the second $\delta\tau\iota$ should be included in the text (contra the ECM).³⁷⁴

3.7. Jude 18b

The second issue in Jude 18 has to do with the prepositional phrase with or without the definite article. Should the text read $\acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (the ECM), $\acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ (Wasserman), or something else? This textual variation unit includes numerous different phrases, not all of equal value.³⁷⁵ The UBS/NA reads $\tau\omicron\upsilon\theta$ in brackets. The ECM editors indicate by bold dots that there are other variant readings of equal value or that the printed text is not absolutely certain in the minds of the authors, but it is not possible to tell which readings they are referring to and how to interpret the meaning of these dots.³⁷⁶ I assume that only the prepositional phrase is in dispute, not the

³⁷⁰ Wasserman (2006: 311) notes as a possibility that there may be a syntactical, structural parallelism between 2 Peter $\mu\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota \dots \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu \gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \delta\tau\iota$ and Jude $\mu\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\tau\epsilon \dots \delta\tau\iota \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu \delta\tau\iota$. I find this unconvincing due to a lack of verbal coherence as a whole.

³⁷¹ Kubo 1965: 48.

³⁷² Wasserman 2006: 311.

³⁷³ Bauckham 1983: 6.

³⁷⁴ Landon 1996: 123; Wasserman 2006: 312.

³⁷⁵ Wasserman 2006: 189-90.

³⁷⁶ ECM IV.4 426. J.K. Elliott (2003: 138) has already noted this unfortunate setback in his review. The fact that dots are not used with a consistent meaning casts doubt on their usefulness. Gerd Mink told me in a private communication (July 26, 2007) that the bold dots are only hints. Some find them useful, others do not.

following verb. This is based on the assumption that ἐλεύσονται for ἔσονται is a harmonisation to 2 Pet 3,3 and the singular ἀναστήσονται (Ψ) may reflect Synoptic influence.³⁷⁷ The external evidence is as follows, when those variant readings are included that have a reasonable claim to authenticity. I have not included readings, which have no support in the primary or secondary witnesses. They all appear to be secondary corruptions.

ἐπ' ἑσχάτου χρόνου P ⁷² B C Ψ // 623 // 5 1243 // -	ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου Ⲛ A 431 436 2200 // 33 630 1067 1409 1837 1845 1852 // 254 1292 1846 // <i>pc</i> Cyr ^{1/2} Did Ephr
	ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τῶν χρόνων 81 307 453 1739 // 323 // 6 2186 2298 2805 2818 // <i>pc</i> Cyr ^{1/2} K:SBA
ἐν ἑσχατῷ χρόνῳ L 88 808 // 18 35 915 1836 1875 2374 // 468 // <i>pm</i> PsOec	ἐπ' ἑσχατῷ τοῦ χρόνου 326 // - // - // -
	ἐπ' ἑσχάτων τῶν χρόνων 442 // 665 // 93 2344 // <i>al</i> K:B ^{mss}
	ἐπ' ἑσχάτων τοῦ χρόνου - // 621 // 1735 // L596

Two old manuscripts (P⁷² and B) support the variant reading ἐπ' ἑσχάτου χρόνου.³⁷⁸ This likely places the reading in the second century. However, the amount of witnesses is small, seven in number, though this does not exclude it as a good candidate for the initial text. The “best” manuscript (codex 81) reads ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τῶν χρόνων with the support of the Coptic tradition. It is possibly a second-century reading, as it appears in the Sahidic witnesses. The third reading ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου is not found in witnesses that would absolutely place it in the second century, although this is possible. Variant readings ἐπ' ἑσχατῷ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπ' ἑσχάτων τοῦ χρόνου and ἐπ' ἑσχάτων τῶν χρόνων are poorly attested. They should be taken as secondary readings. I agree with Wachtel and Wasserman that the Majority text reading ἐν ἑσχατῷ χρόνῳ is a later normalisation of the text, and should be dropped from consideration.³⁷⁹ This leaves three readings, (1) ἐπ' ἑσχάτου χρόνου, (2) ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου, and (3) ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τῶν χρόνων, which enjoy the best external evidence and can contend for the most likely initial reading. The articular forms are better attested, so the external evidence may slightly favour the inclusion of the article.³⁸⁰ It is conceivable that the difference between the exclusion and

³⁷⁷ Wasserman 2006: 314.

³⁷⁸ Grundmann (1974: 45) accepts this reading as initial on the basis of P⁷². The reading is not found in Rome.

³⁷⁹ Wachtel 1995: 361; Wasserman 2006: 313. For a contrary view, see Kubo 1965: 144.

³⁸⁰ Wasserman (2006: 314) states that the external evidence is ambiguous. This might be a slight overstatement, but it is essentially correct.

inclusion of the article goes back to the second century, and the external evidence is thus quite inconclusive. There is no distigme for this textual variation unit in Codex Vaticanus. The omission of the article has the secondary support of the Majority text, while τῶν gives secondary support for τοῦ (and vice versa).³⁸¹ The question is whether to exclude or include the article, and if it is included, whether to include the singular or the plural form. In case of the inclusion, the external evidence is too closely divided between the singular and plural forms. For such reasons the decision needs to be made on internal grounds.

The internal evidence is complex. The reading ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων is likely a harmonisation, as it is found in 2 Pet 3,3.³⁸² The author of Jude may have had the Hebrew phrase עֵשְׂרֵת יְמֵי הַיָּמִים in mind, when he wrote ἐπ' ἐσχάτου [τοῦ] χρόνου. He was fond of set expressions, and the Hebrew phrase would have provided him with a well-known OT literary unit.³⁸³ It has been variously translated in the Septuagint as ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν (Num 24,14; Jer 23,20; 49,39; Dan 10,14; only in Heb 1,2 in the NT), as ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν (Gen 49,1; Jer 30,24; Eze 38,16; Hos 3,5; Mic 4,1; only in 2 Pet 3,3 in the NT), as ἐπ' ἐσχάτω τῶν ἡμερῶν (Deut 4,30), as ἔσχατον τῶν ἡμερῶν (Deut 31,29), and as ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμεραῖς (Isa 2,2). Theodotion's version has ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν in Dan 10,14.³⁸⁴ Although the same Hebrew expression has five different Greek "equivalents", they all have the article just like the Hebrew phrase itself.

On the other hand, the Aramaic phrase עֵשְׂרֵת יְמֵי הַיָּמִים, similar to the Hebrew expression, may have been what the author had in mind, because it is found in the eschatological context of Dan 2,28. It has been translated as ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν in the Septuagint.³⁸⁵ If so, it is more likely to appear as ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου in Jude rather than as ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου, because the Aramaic expression has the definitive article. The text in Jude has the singular χρόνος instead of the plural ἡμερῶν, but this is not a major obstacle. The author

³⁸¹ One might write out this problem as P⁷² B C (L) Ψ (88 808) *al* (Byz) against Ⲛ A (81 307) 431 436 (453 1739) 2200 *al* Cyr Did Eph Thph (K:SBA).

³⁸² Kubo 1965: 144; Landon 1996: 124.

³⁸³ Kelly 1969: 282; Landon 1996: 32; Wasserman 2006: 313. Bauckham (1983: 6, 104) notes the Hebrew phrase, and argues that the author of Jude translated the Semitic expression relatively freely. I am assuming that the author had Semitic expressions in mind. This of course is not certain. The matter is debated how much Semitic ideas and expressions dictated the author's Greek.

³⁸⁴ The list given by Wasserman (2006: 312) should be augmented with Theodotion Dan 10,14. Interestingly, neither Jos 24,27 nor Dan 11,20 has "in the last days" in the Hebrew text. They exist only in the Septuagint. Additionally, Prov 31,25 reads עֵשְׂרֵת יְמֵי הַיָּמִים / ἐν ἡμεραῖς ἐσχάταις, which is not a close parallel to Jude 18. Hence, it might not apply to the discussion on Jude 18.

³⁸⁵ Wasserman (2006: 312) notes the reference, but does not explain the Aramaic phrase itself.

of Jude may have given his own rendition of **בְּאַחֲרֵית יוֹמָיו** instead of following the LXX. The Hebrew **אֶרְבֵּי** has been translated as *χρόνος* in various phrases in the Septuagint (Gen 26,1,15; Deut 12,19; 22,19,29; Jos 4,14,24; 24,29; Est 9,28; Job 10,20; 12,12; 29,18; 32,6; 32,7; Prov 9,11; 15,15; 28,16; Isa 23,15; 38,5; 65,20; Jer 45,28), though **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיּוֹמִים** is never translated as *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου* or *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων* in the LXX. But the plural **אֶרְבֵּי** appears as the singular *χρόνος* in the LXX Job 32,7. In other words, the author of Jude might have translated **אֶרְבֵּי** (freely) as *τῶν χρόνων* or *τοῦ χρόνου* on the basis of the Septuagint usage.

Intrinsically, the absence of the article is better Greek, while the inclusion is more Semitic. It seems unlikely that any scribe would change a Greek expression to a more Semitic type of expression rather than vice versa.³⁸⁶ The scribe of P⁷² could have omitted the article because of his tendency to shorten the text (41 omissions), though most of his omissions are not related to the definite articles.³⁸⁷ The plural *τῶν χρόνων* found in some witnesses, including codex 81, is likely a scribal harmonisation to 1 Pet 1,20. Interestingly, the Petrine passage has a secondary textual variant reading *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου* read by **Ν Ψ**, which may have been taken from Jude (or vice versa). Albin has argued that homoioteleuton can explain the omission (*ΕCΧΔΤΟΥΤΟΥ* → *ΕCΧΔΤΟΥ*).³⁸⁸ These observations support reading *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου*.³⁸⁹

By contrast, the ECM reading *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου* can be argued on the basis that the author of Jude composed his letter with exquisite care and adding the article would be awkward. Without the article the expression is ambiguous; it can mean “in the last time” and “in the last of time”. Adding the article makes the phrase less ambiguous.³⁹⁰ As such the inclusion is suspect as a scribal emendation. Another possibility is a partial harmonisation to 1 Pet 1,20. The article may have risen accidentally by dittography, the reason perhaps being fatigue (*ΕCΧΔΤΟΥ* → *ΕCΧΔΤΟΥΤΟΥ*). The author of Jude has both articular and anarthrous genitive constructions in his letter, but it is of some note that *μεγάλης ἡμέρας*, the only other temporal reference in the genitive case, is anarthrous. That may give some stylistic support to the omission of the article in Jude 18.

³⁸⁶ Albin 1962: 618; Bigg (1902: 338) notes that *ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου* is better Greek and less Hebraistic. Paulsen (1992: 80) regards the anarthrous expression *die seltene Formulierung*.

³⁸⁷ Royse 1981: 455-58.

³⁸⁸ Albin 1962: 618.

³⁸⁹ Bauckham 1983: 104; Wasserman 2006: 312-14.

³⁹⁰ Kubo 1965: 144-46; Landon 1996: 124.

To conclude, the external evidence slightly favours the inclusion. Transcriptional probability is equally balanced, perhaps slightly supporting the inclusion. Intrinsic probability slightly favours the omission. However, if the article was originally absent, it is difficult to explain why so many early Greek fathers and the Sahidic text have it. Thus, it seems best to accept the article as initial, with some reservations.

3.8. Conclusions

I conclude that the text of Jude should read ἀπαφρίζοντα (Jude 13), πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς (Jude 15), ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι (Jude 18a), and ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου (Jude 18b). These conclusions are the same as found in the work of Wasserman. I suggest that the reading ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς found in A 81 33° 2344 L:V Å Cyr is the initial reading for Jude 5. It seems that the ECM editors have not given enough weight to the external evidence proposed by the CBGM method. This applies to Jude 15 and 18a and to a lesser degree to Jude 13 and 18b. Jude 5 continues to be a *crux interpretum*. There are also important internal arguments in support of variant readings other than those chosen by the ECM editors. Wasserman appears to have a more balanced treatment of the external and internal evidence, but I disagree with him on Jude 5. I suggest that the critical text of Jude should still be reconsidered. The solution of the ECM and of this study both support high Christology, which implies that the author of Jude was one of those who very early on argued for a pre-existence of Jesus of Nazareth.

Transcriptional probabilities had a key role in determining the most likely initial reading as a whole in Jude 5, where the external evidence reached only the conclusion that several readings of (almost) equal validity existed in the second century. The external and internal evidence for Jude 13 were too evenly weighted without a proper exegesis of the passage. Once that took place, a scribal habit to conform a rare ἀπαφρίζοντα to a better known ἐπαφρίζοντα is the likeliest reason for the rival variant reading, which became much better attested in the NT textual tradition. The internal evidence as a whole tipped the scales in Jude 15. The transcriptional probability coupled with the external evidence overruled the intrinsic probability in Jude 18a, whereas Jude 18b suffers from a “chronic case of stalemate” of evidence at the present time with only tentative results. The decision here rests on transcriptional probability.

The implications for text-critical methodology appear relatively clear. The further back in time NT textual criticism is able to reach – currently the second century – the relative importance of the internal evidence increases with the external evidence becoming increasingly less important. The early scribal tendencies are one of the keys to solve many textual problems, and at times offer

quite a different picture of the early transmission of the text of the NT than is perhaps the case with just the external evidence. Thus, I conclude that the second-century text is achieved only if the internal evidence has the final say. This leaves ample room for subjectivity, but the genealogical methods take us only so far. They can reveal those variant readings that are early, but only the internal evidence appears to be able to take the final step of deciding which one is likely to be the initial reading. At times the decision needs an exegesis of the passage and some decisions are still only tentative.

3.9. Excursus: A Reconstructed Text of Jude

The critical apparatus in the ECM of Jude reveals that the initial text of Jude in the ECM series is a critical edition based on texts found in three manuscripts alone in terms of chosen readings as they exist in the manuscript tradition of Jude. All the chosen readings are found variably in mss. P⁷², B and 81. Although the edition lists a large number of witnesses, the ECM reconstruction of the text of Jude is possible with no more than these three manuscripts.³⁹¹

The preface of the ECM edition notes that ms. 81 has the closest agreement with the reconstructed text (96.9%) with Codex Vaticanus as a close second (95.4%).³⁹² There are two hundred and four textual variation locations in Jude. Codex Vaticanus and ms. 81 need to be augmented with P⁷² only twice. Elsewhere the initial reading chosen is found in Codex Vaticanus and/or in ms. 81. In a sense, other witnesses are inconsequential. Jude 15 and 16 are the two textual locations where the ECM departs from both mss. B and 81; in Jude 15 with variant reading $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\acute{\nu}$ (P⁷²), and in Jude 16 with variant reading $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ (P^{72c}).³⁹³ Since Codex Vaticanus and/or ms. 81 cover 202/204 textual locations in the ECM, the text of Jude does not change much if a critical edition would be constructed using only those two witnesses. When they depart from each other, textual decisions would be made on internal grounds.

This excursus presents a text of Jude based on just two witnesses: mss. B and 81. It shows the possibility of reconstructing a working text using only a minimal amount of external evidence because, on the whole, the NT tradition of Jude is quite coherent despite numerous textual problems.³⁹⁴ The text includes a

³⁹¹ Here is the crux of the matter for some textual scholars. A scholar using thoroughgoing eclecticism might produce exactly the same text or something very similar to the one found in the ECM, because the textual tradition in Jude, despite a high degree of contamination, is still relatively unified.

³⁹² ECM IV.4 36*.

³⁹³ P^{72*} accidentally omits the phrase, but the scribe has restored it into the text.

³⁹⁴ ECM IV.4 35*.

minimal critical apparatus. It is based on the ECM text elsewhere except in Jude 5, 13, 15 and 18, where the text follows my reconstruction as discussed above. Since I am arguing that Jude 15 should read πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, the only textual location where B or 81 does not perhaps give the earliest achievable reading is in Jude 16. That location offers a minor variation (ἐαυτῶν vs. αὐτῶν) that does not affect the overall meaning of the sentence. There is one variant location (τοῦ in 18b), which could be reconstructed as a conjectural emendation from τῶν found in ms. 81 combined with χρόνου found in Codex Vaticanus.

Although based on only two witnesses, albeit excellent ones for Jude, the excursus presents a text very close to the initial text, or identical with it if one accepts my reconstructions, the ECM choices elsewhere, and αὐτῶν in Jude 16.

The Letter of Jude

¹Ἰούδας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου, τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἠγαπημένοις καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τετηρημένοις κλητοῖς· ²ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη.

³Ἀγαπητοί, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος γράφειν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας ἀνάγκην ἔσχον γράψαι ὑμῖν παρακαλῶν ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει. ⁴παρεισέδυσαν γάρ τινες ἄνθρωποι, οἱ πάλοι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα, ἀσεβεῖς, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέραν χάριτα μετατιθέντες εἰς ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι.

⁵Υπομνήσαι δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, εἰδόμενος ὅτι ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς λαὸν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σώσας τὸ δεύτερον τοὺς μὴ πιστεύσαντας ἀπώλεσεν, ⁶ἄγγελους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς αἰδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν, ⁷ὡς Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὰς πόλεις τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τοῦτοις ἐκπορευέσασαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ὅπισθ' ἀποδοῦσαι σαρκοῦς ἐτέρας, πρόκειται δὲ ἕνα πύργου πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι.

⁸Ὁμοίως μέντοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι σάρκα μὲν μαινοῦσιν κυριότητα δὲ ἀθετοῦσιν δόξας δὲ βλασφημοῦσιν. ⁹Ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωϋσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν κρίσιν ἐπιτελεῖν βλασφημίας ἀλλὰ εἶπεν· ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι κύριος. ¹⁰Οὗτοι δὲ ὅσα μὲν οὐκ οἶδασιν βλασφημοῦσιν, ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα ἐπίστανται, ἐν τοῦτοις φθείρονται. ¹¹οὐαὶ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Κάϊν ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ Βαλαὰμ μισθοῦ ἐξεχύθησαν καὶ τῇ ἀντιλογίᾳ τοῦ Κόρε ἀπώλοντο. ¹²Οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες συνευχόμενοι ἀφόβως, ἐαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες, νεφέλαι ἄνυδροι ὑπὸ ἀνέμων παραφερόμεναι, δένδρα φθινοπωρινὰ ἄκαρπα δις ἀποθανόντα ἐκρίζωθέντα, ¹³κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης ἀπαφρίζοντα τὰς ἐαυτῶν αἰσχύναις, ἀστέραις ἵπτανται οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται.

¹⁴Προεφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ Ἐνώχ λέγων· ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν κύριος ἐν ἀγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ ¹⁵ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων καὶ ἐλέγξει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ἃ ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς. ¹⁶Οὗτοί εἰσιν γογγυσταὶ μεμψίμοιροι κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα, θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα ὠφελείας χάριν.

¹⁷Ἑμεῖς δέ, ἀγαπητοί, μνήσθητε τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ¹⁸ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν· Ὅτι ἐπ' ἔσχάτου (του χρόνου) ἔσονται ἐμπαῖκται κατὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι τῶν ἀσεβειῶν. ¹⁹Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες, ψυχικοὶ, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες.

²⁰Ἑμεῖς δέ, ἀγαπητοί, ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ ὑμῶν πίστει, ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ προσευχόμενοι, ²¹ἑαυτοὺς ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ ἑτηρήσατε προσδεχόμενοι τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. ²²Καὶ οὐς μὲν ἔλεατε διακρινομένους, ²³οὐς δὲ σῶζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἀρπάζοντες, οὐς δὲ ἐλεατε ἐν φόβῳ μισοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐσπιλωμένον χιτῶνα.

²⁴Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ φυλάξαι ὑμᾶς ἀπταιστούς καὶ στήσαι κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἁμώμους ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, ²⁵μόνῳ θεῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν δόξα μεγαλωσύνη κράτος καὶ ἐξουσία πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

4 ἡ χάριταν 81 | 5 ἡ ὑμᾶς B | 12 ἡ παραφερόμενοι B | 13 ἡ ἐπαφρίζοντα B / ἡ πλανῆτες B / ἡ ζόφος σκότους B | 14 ἡ προεφήτευσεν B | 15 ἡ λόγων 81 | 18 ὁ B / ἡ τῶν χρόνων 81; χρόνου B; *txi cj.* | 21 ἡ τηρήσωμεν B | 22 ἡ ἐλέγχετε 81 | 23 ὁ B

4. Scribes and Attic Greek

This chapter studies the NT textual tradition in terms of Koine and Attic variant readings in order to establish two complementary but opposite scribal tendencies. I will show that Atticism, a scribal habit to conform Koine forms to their Attic equivalents, affected the transmission of the text of the NT to a certain degree. Secondly, a complementary but opposite affect is seen in a scribal habit to conform the Attic forms to their Koine equivalents on the basis of the development of the Greek language itself. These two opposite phenomena are seen in 712 textual variation locations studied. The style of Greek used by the biblical authors apparently had little impact for the scribes, who copied their work.

4.1. Introduction

Greek texts of the first century vary considerably in their literary styles and stylistic features, as a consequence of their authors' social conditions.³⁹⁵ Some authors wrote non-literary Koine ranging from vernacular (e.g. papyri, ostraca) to conversational style (some papyri). Some authors used polished literary Koine (e.g. Polybius, Josephus, Philo), while others worked in a literary style known as Atticistic Greek (e.g., Lucian, Aristides, Phrynichus, Moeris). This latter style was an artificial reshaping of first-century Koine Greek towards the classical Attic by Atticist grammarians. This type of Greek was used in written texts by authors wanting to imitate Attic style.³⁹⁶

The vernacular was the language of the streets – colloquial, popular speech. It is found principally in the papyri excavated from Egypt. This was the *lingua franca* of the day for most people living in the Greco-Roman setting. The conversational style was its higher level cousin, the spoken language of the educated classes. It was for the most part a grammatically correct Greek, often used in sermons and letters meant to be read aloud.³⁹⁷ It is neither vernacular nor

³⁹⁵ Frösén 1973: 100-101.

³⁹⁶ Wallace 1996: p. 23. See also Porter (2006), who notes that the vulgar (vernacular) is found in many papyri. By contrast, the non-literary usage (conversational) is found in the official and documentary papyri, scientific and related texts, inscriptions, and some popular philosophers; and the literary usage is found in historians and philosophers of the Greco-Roman era in general; Atticism is found in Plutarch and Lucian, among others.

³⁹⁷ Wallace 1996: 20-23.

literary language, but stands in between them. On the other hand, literary Koine was a more polished form of the common language by those with higher education. It shared some vocabulary with Attic, but was not necessarily prone to follow Attic literary conventions. All three categories are found in the texts of the NT.

By contrast, Atticistic Greek was a brainchild of Atticism, a multifaceted movement with cultural, linguistic and political agenda.³⁹⁸ The movement started during the first century BC. Its goal was to uphold Attic literary conventions against what the Atticists perceived as a rapid decline of the “good old” Greek towards the vernacular in the hands of “barbarians”. Atticism had its representatives among Christian authors such as Basil, Origen and Chrysostom. It was the *lingua franca* of the educated classes.³⁹⁹ The Atticistic tendencies influenced primarily the language of literature with return to Attic stylistic features. These literary sophistications were mostly lacking in non-literary writings. Scribes influenced by Atticism often attempted to re-Atticise the texts they were copying by mimicking Attic vocabulary and literary conventions.

Different NT authors generally wrote using different styles of Koine. The Gospels of Mark and John, 2 Peter, the Letters of John and Revelation were written mostly with the Semitised vernacular. Matthew and most of the Pauline corpus use the conversational style. Hebrews, Luke-Acts, James, Pastorals, 1 Peter, and Jude represent the literary Koine in varying degrees. None were written with Atticistic Greek, although literary Koine had much in common with Attic.⁴⁰⁰ Every biblical author was influenced by Semitic thought patterns. This distinction of style in their Greek usage needs to be noted as it *may* point to their usage of Koine vs. Attic forms. The vernacular texts may be more prone to use the Koine readings while the literary texts may be prone to do just the opposite by using Attic forms. This is not a hard-and-fast rule. It is only an initial assumption of the authorial usage. It is helpful in situations when text-critical reasoning cannot establish a preference for either the Koine or the Attic form i.e. when the external and the internal evidences hang in the balance.

The Atticist grammarians had a list of words in which they rejected the Koine forms of those words for various reasons, and advocated the use of their Attic equivalents. Some of these words appear in the NT, and approximately 31% of

³⁹⁸ Caragounis 2006: 121.

³⁹⁹ Browning 1983: 50.

⁴⁰⁰ LaSor 1973: II, B-3; Wallace 1996: 28-30. Furthermore, Horrocks (1997: 48) notes that although some authors do not accept the concept of literary Koine, the inscriptions and some non-biblical authors exhibit such a polished form of Koine, which is yet different from Atticistic Greek, that the debate is more over what to call it than the evidence itself.

them are in Attic instead of Koine.⁴⁰¹ The percentage is lower within the total literary output of the NT, which means that the texts of the NT fit well with different styles of Koine.

At the same time there are many NT manuscripts with textual variations which are by nature orthographical. Both Koine and Attic forms of certain words appear in the NT textual tradition. Since these variations are the results of scribal activities in some sense, the question that I deal with is what sorts of changes are found in the NT textual tradition in terms of Koine/Attic variations and what scribal activities can be deduced from such variations. This study has implications for studies in NT orthographica, the Greek usage and literary styles of the biblical authors, and the likelihood for singular and sub-singular readings being part of the initial text of the NT. What would scribes do with the texts of the NT? Would they try to “improve” their perceived literary qualities, perhaps moving from Koine to Attic? What impact would the natural development of Greek have on the transmission of the NT in terms of Koine/Attic variation? Were the scribes influenced by Atticism? These questions still wait for adequate answers.

This study sheds light on these questions by going through 712 textual locations throughout the NT. These locations show a selected group of words that have both the Koine and the Attic forms as variant readings. I will present evidence using these textual variations to argue that at times scribes acted like Atticist correctors by replacing the initial Koine readings with their Attic equivalents. At other times scribes were influenced by the natural development of Greek itself to replace older forms used in earlier centuries with more contemporary ones. Thus, the initial Attic forms turned into their Koine equivalents in later centuries. These bi-directional changes take place mostly in John and Luke-Acts, the two opposite poles in terms of literary style, the vernacular and the literary Koine, respectively.

4.2. The Debate on Atticism

It has been a source of debates since the 1960’s whether or not some scribes rewrote the Koine texts to their Attic equivalents based on Atticistic tendencies. It is not my intention to duplicate the debate in full. Instead, briefly stated, the debate is as follows. On the one hand, scholars like George D. Kilpatrick and J.

⁴⁰¹ Caragounis 2006: 137; Wallace 1996: 30. I have some reservations for the figure provided by Caragounis. He seems to ignore textual variations. I have found that in many cases both the Attic and the Koine forms appear in the NT textual tradition, while Caragounis seems to count his figures on the basis of the forms accepted into the UBS/NA. Nevertheless, he is correct in saying that Attic forms were used by the biblical authors on many occasions. The true figure, however, is below 30% (an estimate).

Keith Elliott have defended a methodological concept which prefers Koine forms over their Attic equivalents whenever both forms appear as *variae lectiones* in the NT textual tradition. Elliott has argued that this should be done when other matters are equal, but this methodological choice is tied to their system of textual criticism (thoroughgoing eclecticism). Elliott reasons his preference for Koine from the fact that scribes were educated men influenced by the Atticist grammarians.⁴⁰² On the other hand, Colwell, Fee and Carlo M. Martini have disputed their arguments. They have maintained that although Atticism may explain some variants, there are other factors that often overrule the arguments for Atticistic tendencies (such as the LXX usage, external evidence and so on).⁴⁰³ Colwell went so far as to accuse Kilpatrick of falsely relegating the manuscripts to the role of supplier of readings in disregard of the history of the transmission of the NT text.

The basic difference between these two groups of scholars is their view of the history of the transmission of the NT. One group sees Atticism affecting the transmission of the text to such a degree that the “original” readings may have survived only in a handful of witnesses. Such witnesses may even derive from later centuries. The other group takes a more cautious approach and argues for a less decisive role for Atticistic tendencies. Some are close to ignoring the possibility of Atticism altogether. Decades later the debate is still in process. Atticism features in the list of internal criteria in Bruce M. Metzger’s textual commentary (1994). Yet Charles Landon notes (1996) that scholars do not agree on the extent to which the preference for Koine forms may be invoked.⁴⁰⁴ Eldon J. Epp gives only cautious support for such a principle (1997)⁴⁰⁵ and Matthew C. Williams is very guarded about it and argues the principle has little value (2006).⁴⁰⁶

This very brief look at the debate means that there is still no consensus on whether Atticism as a criterion has merit or not. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to take a closer look at the NT textual tradition with an eye for Koine/Attic variations in certain words such as εἶπον-εἶπα. Such words appear both as Koine and their Attic equivalents in the NT textual tradition. These morphological divergences are practically equivalent to orthographica, which in the minds of scribes were interchangeable. The scribes did not think that the perceived quality of the copies was weakened by such changes from their

⁴⁰² J.K. Elliott 1995: 321-35; Kilpatrick 1963b, 1977.

⁴⁰³ Colwell 1969: 148-71; Fee 1976; Martini 1974.

⁴⁰⁴ Landon 1996: 36. Vaganay and Amphoux (1991: 57) hold a similar concept. They argue that the Hellenistic εἶπαν and ἦλθαν were changed to the Attic εἶπον and ἦλθον.

⁴⁰⁵ Epp 1997; TCGNT 13*.

⁴⁰⁶ M.C. Williams 2006: 58.

exemplars.⁴⁰⁷ These changes reveal something about scribal tendencies, albeit only to a limited degree. But what exactly did the scribes of the NT do? This is still partially an unanswered question relating to the history of the transmission of the NT.⁴⁰⁸

I will argue that some textual variations were the result of Atticistic tendencies, while others were the results of inconsistent and perhaps subconscious moves towards Koine Greek of the later era on the basis of the development of Greek. The scribal changes moved the text not only towards Attic at times, but also towards later Koine at other times. Both of these movements need to be screened out in any attempt to reconstruct the earliest achievable NT text. This screening needs to take into account the literary style of each individual author and to investigate the development of Greek vis-à-vis the NT textual tradition.

4.3. The Development of Greek

The development of the Greek language during the Ptolemaic and Roman period saw an intrusion of first aorist endings into the inflexion of the second aorist to smooth out possibly confusing verbal endings.⁴⁰⁹ This feature was very frequent during the Roman period. The evidence of the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods indicates that first aorist endings are substituted for second aorist endings mostly in first person singular and first and third person plural.⁴¹⁰ Attic had already some heteroclitite forms like the εἶπον-εἶπα variation, which gave a starting point to alter the conjugation of the second aorist verbs to that of the first aorist. This tendency broadened throughout Koine. Dialects, especially Ionic, were largely responsible for this gradual increase in the frequency of the first aorist endings in place of the second aorist ones. Thus, one would expect to find these thematic forms throughout the NT. They are indeed found, but the textual evidence seems to be mixed (see the tables at the end of this chapter). It testifies to both the Attic and the Koine forms in different manuscripts and at different textual locations. The evidence is partially inconsistent and contradictory, both within a single manuscript and in comparison with other manuscripts. It is not always clear which form was used by the biblical author,

⁴⁰⁷ Mink 2004.

⁴⁰⁸ There are several studies on individual scribal tendencies, but the overall literary level and scribal improvements relating to that level of language has received relatively little attention. For studies on scribal tendencies, see, e.g., Colwell 1969: 106-24; Head 1990, 2004; Royse 1981, 1995, 2008.

⁴⁰⁹ Mandilaras 1973: 148-56; Gignac 1981: 335.

⁴¹⁰ Gignac 1981: 336.

which form is the result of scribal activity in the copying process, nor how. The currently known NT textual evidence does not permit a direct investigation of first-century usage,⁴¹¹ but the quest for the state of the NT text during the second century is possible. What would the second-century NT text have looked like?

Chrys C. Caragounis has estimated that quite a number of post-Classical Greek words rejected by the Atticist grammarians like Phrynichus and Moeris were used by the biblical authors.⁴¹² Phrynichus discussed a range of Koine words he rejected as spurious diction or for other reasons. Over fifty-four percent (54,4%) of such Koine words appear in the UBS/NA text. At the same time, more than thirty-one percent (31,8%) of the Attic forms approved by Phrynichus against their Koine equivalents appear in the UBS/NA text. The rest of the words discussed by Phrynichus do not appear in the NT. Thus, the Greek of the NT was apparently a mixture of Koine and Attic, or more precisely, Koine in common with Attic. The degree of mixture in individual parts of the NT is related to the literary style of each biblical author.

Caragounis, who calculated the figures, does not discuss textual variants or distinguish between the different literary styles of biblical authors. Nevertheless, his general outcome appears to be valid, because textual variations in the NT do not alter the percentages significantly. This is in contrast to the development of Greek to its modern Neohellenic form. Now only 35,6% of the words rejected by Phrynichus are used. Modern Greek has 48,4% of the words discussed by Phrynichus in common with Attic. This demonstrates that while the NT was written mainly in Koine, in conjunction with some Attic (or Attic-like Koine), the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction, back towards more Attic vocabulary and spelling.

This same pendulum swing is seen in the NT textual tradition. While many Koine forms are regularly found in the witnesses from the second to the fifth centuries, they mostly disappear from the later tradition, being replaced by their Attic equivalents. I have studied 712 textual locations (716 for Codex Bezae with its longer text in Acts), of which 373 locations contain both the Koine and Attic forms as *variae lectiones* in the early witnesses (see the tables at the end of this chapter). Most of these locations pertain to the four Gospels (445 out of 712). Whenever a verb is concerned, I have included only aorist indicatives, or in the case of ὁράω, only perfect indicatives and one pluperfect indicative.

The later Byzantine Majority text has only 47 forms in common with the Koine variants (EQPAK* and EIIIA*), except in some Byz^{mss} where ἄρχους is

⁴¹¹ Although Kim (1988) has argued that P⁴⁶ goes back to the end of the first century, his conclusion has been generally rejected. I agree with Comfort (ENTGM 204-206) that P⁴⁶ is a second century manuscript.

⁴¹² Caragounis 2006: 137.

found. As such, the Majority text is Atticistic in comparison to the early witnesses. This alone shows that there is a shift from Koine to Attic in the NT textual tradition, paralleling the development of Greek back towards Attic, but it does not answer the question regarding what took place in the early history of textual transmission. It applies only to the later period.

This pendulum swing from Koine to Attic implies that there may be Koine forms that were lost or almost lost in the NT textual tradition due to scribal tendencies. These forms may be the initial readings. The opposite may also be true. Some Koine forms in themselves may be the results of scribal changes. Hence, these scribal activities need clarification. In order to find out what kind of changes the scribes introduced into the NT textual tradition, I have selected a group of words that have both the Koine and Attic forms in the NT textual tradition. They are ἀπεθαν*, ἄχρ(ις), ἐβαλ* with its compounds, εἶδ*, εἶπ*, εἶχ* with its compounds, ἐλαβ*, ἔλεγαν/ἔλεγον, ἐμαθ*, εὗρ*, ἔφυγαν/ἔφυγον, ἔωρακ*/ἔορακ*, ἦλθ* with its compounds, and μέχρ(ις).

The reason why these words have been selected is that they appear outside the NT both as Attic and Koine forms in the non-literary Greek papyri.⁴¹³ They form a point of reference for the development of Greek usage during the first centuries after the original penning of the NT. There are other such words, but the selection is sufficient to demonstrate the scribal tendencies of Atticism and of what I would call “a modernisation to the current Greek idiom”.

Methodologically speaking, any Koine/Attic form found as *varia lectio* in the NT textual tradition with no parallels in the non-literary papyri and/or literary Greek of the first century, or the second century at the latest, is suspect of being a later scribal change. Such forms would require an extensive external evidence in their support in the NT textual tradition in order to qualify as part of the initial NT text, and even then only tentatively. The extra-biblical material acts as “a measuring rod” which is needed to balance the checks on the possible scribal tendencies on the NT text. This approach has one drawback. It relies on the currently known Greek textual evidence at large from antiquity. Such evidence, by its very nature, is only a partial window onto the past but it offers a relatively objective category to test the possible scribal tendencies in each textual case.

4.4. Observations on the State of Text in the NT Textual Tradition

Tables at the end of this chapter give a list of the external evidence for the occurrences of Koine/Attic variation for words selected for this study. The study

⁴¹³ Mandilaras 1973: 148-54; Gignac 1981: 335-45.

limits itself to indicative mood when dealing with verbs. The following table summarises the overall results from the NT textual tradition.

	<i>Koine/Attic variation</i>		<i>only Attic, no variation</i>		<i>Style</i>
Matthew	56/113	49,6%	57/113	50,4%	Conversational
Mark	32/77	41,6%	45/77	58,4%	Vernacular
Luke-Acts	139/220	63,2%	81/220	36,8%	Literary
John	90/156	57,7%	66/156	42,3%	Vernacular
Pauline Corpus	27/70	38,6%	43/70	61,4%	Conversational/Literary
Catholic Letters	13/15	86,7%	2/15	13,3%	Vernacular/Literary
Revelation	15/61	24,6%	46/61	75,4%	Vernacular

Works written in the vernacular style (Mark, John, the Letters of John, and Revelation) have 142 Koine hits. Works written in the conversational style (Matthew, Pauline corpus, excluding Pastorals and Hebrews) have only 76 hits, and the works with literary Koine (Luke-Acts, Pastorals, Hebrews, James) have 147 hits. The authors of Mark and Revelation used vernacular, and yet the NT textual tradition suggests that they generally used Attic forms rather than their Koine equivalents. When it comes to Mark, scribes might have tried to improve its quality, perhaps due to Atticistic tendencies, or the opposite might be true, with partial modernisation of its language to later Koine. When it comes to Revelation, the majority of readings are in Attic with no variation, though this is largely based on a couple of Attic words appearing regularly. Other words vacillate between Koine and Attic forms, but they are distinctly rarer. The other vernacular works, John and the Letters of John, are distinctively Koine in their orientation with a lot of Attic variation in John. Their textual tradition therefore might suffer from Atticistic tendencies.

The Pauline corpus is understandable as Attic. Paul and his literary assistants (and the possible pseudo-Pauline authors) might have attempted to use the Attic forms instead of the Koine ones because of Greco-Roman rhetorics. Matthew is almost evenly weighted between the two, so not much can be said about it at this stage. The large number of Koine forms in the narratives of Luke-Acts probably conforms to Koine literary usage, but it is nevertheless surprising. Luke-Acts offers some of the most sophisticated Greek in the entire NT, and one would expect Attic forms to dominate in light of the fact that the NT works written in the vernacular seem to do so.

For whatever reasons, many (if not all) Koine/Attic variations are due to scribal activity, but how can one explain what happened and why? Are we looking at the possibility that large numbers of Koine variants have been completely lost from the NT textual tradition? Or did the biblical authors write Attic and some Attic words were modernised to later Koine? Is it possible that a

biblical author's overall literary style has little affect on his choice of verbal forms, whether Koine or Attic, which could vary from one passage to another with no consistent tendencies? What about the scribes? What did they do? A closer look at the early textual evidence reveals a mixture and general confusion of such forms in the NT text, not only in the papyri, mostly early ones, but also in the early uncials.

4.4.1. Papyri

The extant NT papyri tend to reflect a generally mixed text rather than the major textual streams like the B-text for the early period of the transmission of the text of the NT.⁴¹⁴ The papyri testify to both Attic and Koine forms in words studied in this chapter, where extant (see the tables). How much mixture exists and what does it reveal about the transmission of the text?

First, I note the Greek usage in the papyri. This is an important observation. When a given papyrus has a form associated with Koine/Attic Greek that goes against its general tendency, the likelihood for the originality of such a form is increased. The following list contains information relating to the following dated papyri (centuries AD⁴¹⁵): P⁵ (III), P¹³ (III/IV), P²⁸ (III), P³⁴ (VII), P³⁷ (III/IV), P⁴¹ (VIII), P⁴⁵ (III), P⁴⁶ (II/III), P⁴⁷ (III), P⁵⁰ (IV/V), P⁵¹ (V/VI), P⁵³ (III), P⁵⁹ (VII), P⁶⁰ (VII), P⁶⁶ (II/III), P⁷² (III/IV), P⁷⁴ (VII), P⁷⁵ (III), P⁸⁵ (IV/V), P¹⁰⁶ (III), and P¹¹⁵ (III/IV). Hence, not every papyrus is necessarily early in the traditional sense, but nevertheless contains information pertinent for this study that may reveal early readings.

	<i>Koine</i>	<i>Koine%</i>	<i>Attic</i>	<i>Attic%</i>
P⁵	1/2	50%	1/2	50%
P¹³	0/9	0%	9/9	100%
P²⁸	0/1	0%	1/1	100%
P³⁴	0/4	0%	4/4	100%
P³⁷	1/3	33%	2/3	67%
P⁴¹	0/3	0%	3/3	100%
P⁴⁵	6/32	19%	25/32	81%
P⁴⁶	6/52	12%	46/52	88%
P⁴⁷	1/13	8%	12/13	92%
P⁴⁸	1/1	100%	0/1	0%
P⁵⁰	0/1	0%	1/1	100%
P⁵¹	0/3	0%	3/3	100%
P⁵³	0/1	0%	1/1	100%
P⁵⁹	0/1	0%	1/1	100%

⁴¹⁴ Petzer 1986: 21; M.A. Robinson 2003: 45-67.

⁴¹⁵ Some dates are debated and might be earlier. Comfort (ENTGM 141, 203, 362, 376, 501, 665) argues that P³⁷ belongs to the middle of the third century, P⁴⁶ to the middle of the second century, P⁵⁰ to ca. 300 AD, P⁶⁶ to the middle of the second century, P⁷⁵ to the late second or early third century, and P¹¹⁵ to the middle or late third century.

P⁶⁰	0/2	0%	2/2	100%
P⁶⁶	45/121	37%	76/121	63%
P⁷²	0/1	0%	1/1	100%
P⁷⁴	23/82	28%	57/82	72%
P⁷⁵	45/140	32%	95/140	68%
P⁸⁵	1/1	100%	0/1	0%
P¹⁰⁶	0/1	0%	1/1	100%
P¹¹⁵	0/3	25%	3/3	100%

The above table has been constructed using every occurrence of every word found in the tables at the end of this chapter. For this reason only some papyri are valid for this study, because other papyri do not have the verses that contain the words studied. The “Koine” and “Attic” columns give the ratio of those textual places where the form is certain, discounting any lacunae, while the “Koine%” and “Attic%” columns give the same in percentages. Corrector activities are ignored. Only the original readings are counted. Thus, e.g. P⁶⁶ has in its 121 occurrences of words related to this study 45 Koine forms and 76 Attic ones. Most papyri are too short for general observations other than to note that P^{48,85} support the Koine, P^{13,28,34,41,50,51,53,59,60,72,106,115} the Attic, and P^{5,37} are mixed in the extant text. One thing may be deduced from this observation. Koine forms are found in the B-text *and* the D-text. This same situation applies to the Attic forms. Thus, the affinities with the textual streams are not much of a concern. The more extensive papyri, which give a more realistic picture of the textual state, vary considerably against each other. P⁴⁵ (81%), P⁴⁶ (88%), and P⁴⁷ (92%) are mostly written with good literary level Greek resembling Attic, in so far as the selected words are concerned. P⁶⁶ (63%), P⁷⁴ (72%), and P⁷⁵ (68%) are more mixed. All of these papyri offer some Koine forms, but this latter group has a considerable amount of them (37%, 28%, 32%, respectively).

The papyrological testimony for the Koine and Attic forms is not uniform and it is often mutually contradictory.⁴¹⁶ This is seen in many instances. For example, P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ overlap in John. P⁶⁶ reads ἤλασαν in Jn 1,39; 7,45; but ἤλαθον in Jn 3,26. P⁷⁵ gives contradictory information by reading ἤλασαν in Jn 1,39; 3,26; but not in Jn 7,45. In other words, they agree only in Jn 1,39 and disagree with each other in Jn 3,26; 7,45. This same phenomenon applies to other words as well. P⁶⁶ reads εἶπαν in place of εἶπον in Jn 1,22.25.38; 2,18.20; 3.26; 7,3.35.52; 8,39.41; 9,10.12.20.24.28.34; 11,12.46; but not in Jn 8,48; 9,23. On the other hand, P⁷⁵ reads εἶπαν in Jn 1,22.25.38; 2,18.20; 3.26; 7,52; 8,39.48;

⁴¹⁶ BDF §80-81 notes several instances of confusion over first and second aorists. My study supplements the list considerably. For instance, Martini (1966: 121) notes that P⁷⁵ has alpha forms for ἤλαθον and its compounds 10 out of 20 times in Luke alone, the highest percentage of any witness he examined. I have listed all the references, so the percentage is 10 out of 26 textual locations. See also Birdsall 1976.

9,20.23.24.34 but not in Jn 7,3.35; 8,41; 9,10.12.28; 11,12.46. These two early papyri agree 10 times and disagree 11 times. This is hardly a consensus on the variant readings. In comparison, P⁴⁵ reads εἶπον in Jn 11,46, agreeing with P⁷⁵ against P⁶⁶. Similarly, P⁶⁶ reads the Koine ἑώρακ* in Jn 1,18.34; 5,37; 6,36; 6,46; 8,38; 14,7; but Attic ἑώρακ* in Jn 14,9; 15,24; 20,18. On the other hand, P⁷⁵ reads ἑώρακ* in Jn 6,36; 14,9 but not in Jn 1,18.34; 5,37; 8,38. P⁷⁵ is not extant in 4 cases for comparison, so in this case they agree once and disagree 5 times. Both P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵ read εἶδαν in Jn 1,29. This reveals an inconsistency of usage within a single papyrus and in contradiction to other papyri. All of the above means that the second century saw an intrusion of scribal changes into the text, but the discrepancies do not reveal the specific trend.

This appears to be a general phenomenon, because the other papyri follow suit. P⁷⁵ reads ἀπῆλθαν in Lk 10,30. P⁴⁵ contradicts it by reading ἀπῆλθον. Both P⁴⁵ and P⁷⁵ read εἶπαν in Lk 9,54. P⁴⁵ reads ἦλθαν in Acts 17,13; but a much later P⁷⁴ contradicts it by reading ἦλθον. Furthermore, the usage in P⁷⁴ is not uniform as it reads ἦλθαν in Acts 28,23. Likewise, there is another contradiction among the papyri. P⁷⁴ reads εἶπαν in Acts 12,15; but much earlier P⁴⁵ has εἶπον. Similarly, P⁷⁴ reads εἶπαν in Acts 19,3; the much earlier P³⁸ has ἔλεγον and the near-contemporary P⁴¹ has εἶπον.⁴¹⁷ Both P⁴⁸ and P⁷⁴ read εἶπαν in Acts 23,14, even though four hundred years separates these two papyri. Moving to the Pauline corpus, P⁴⁶ reads ἄχρως in Gal 3,19; Heb 3,13; but ἄχρῳ elsewhere.⁴¹⁸ In Luke, P⁷⁵ reads ἦλθαν in 8,35; 24,1.33; but ἦλθον in 5,7; 23,33. These examples could be multiplied.

Another aspect to note is that Attic texts tended towards brevity, spareness and frugality.⁴¹⁹ Royse has noted that generally the early papyri tend to shorten the text. The following table is an adaptation from Royse's study.⁴²⁰ It lists the early papyri on the basis of how the scribal tendencies have added/omitted words/phrases. This is seen in the singular readings found in these witnesses. I have added the level of Koine and Attic variation on the basis of the study in this chapter.

	<i>add</i>	<i>omit</i>	<i>net loss</i>	<i>singulars</i>	<i>loss/singulars</i>	<i>Koine%</i>	<i>Attic%</i>
P ⁴⁵	28	63	102	222	0.46	19%	81%

⁴¹⁷ This is an interesting test case, because P⁷⁴ Ⓝ A B (εἶπαν) contradicts P³⁸ D (ἔλεγον) and P⁴¹ H L P Ψ (εἶπον). It shows that at least the first two variants are found already in the early witnesses. P³⁸ (III/IV) is the earliest of these witnesses with P⁴¹ (VIII) and P⁷⁴ (VII) clearly later manuscripts, but it stands to reason that the variation goes back to the second century exemplars, at least in the case of P³⁸ and P⁷⁴.

⁴¹⁸ Rom 8,22; 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; 2 Cor 3,14; 10,13.14; Gal 4,2; Phil 1,5.6; Heb 4,12; 6,11.

⁴¹⁹ Kilpatrick 1963b: 18.

⁴²⁰ Royse 1995: 246.

P ⁴⁶	55	167	283	471	0.60	12%	88%
P ⁴⁷	5	18	43	51	0.84	8%	92%
P ⁶⁶	14	19	22	107	0.21	37%	63%
P ⁷⁵	12	41	53	119	0.45	32%	68%

This comparison of general scribal tendencies and the Koine/Attic variation in these same papyri allows one particularly interesting observation. The bigger the rating signifying the words lost per significant singular reading (column six), the higher the Attic percentage as a whole. In other words, the more scribal tendencies affect the transmission of the text, the closer the text is to Attic in the early period. Apparently many of the singular readings are intentional changes. P⁶⁶ has the lowest loss/singular rating (0.21) and the highest level of Koine variants (37%). By contrast, P⁴⁷ has the highest loss/singular rating (0.84) and the lowest level of Koine variants (8%). The middle ground is more unpredictable, though still follows the trend. P⁷⁵ has the loss/singular rating of 0.45 and the second highest level of Koine variants (32%), while P⁴⁵ has almost the same rating (0.46) but a significantly lower level of Koine variants (19%). Since Head has shown that *spelling* is the chief cause of singular readings,⁴²¹ I suggest that Atticism was indeed operative in the early period of transmission of the NT text. It affected the transmission of the NT text in these early papyri to a measurable degree.⁴²²

The above discussion means that several early papyri give evidence of the state of the text during the transmissionally important second century, which is not a uniform picture of the text,⁴²³ and the differences mentioned are not the only divergences with the known papyri. This indicates that the early scribes are responsible for the alterations, but *it was likely a gradual process that introduced alterations as scribe after scribe copied the text, changing one textual location here and there, but never did all of them do so consistently.*⁴²⁴ I include the *readers as proofreaders* to this group of scribes changing the text gradually, since Hainen-Eitzen's study shows that such a phenomenon existed in Antiquity. This is supported by the fact that there are no detectable patterns in the variation. There is no direct indication which way the change went in each case either. That has to be determined using text-critical probabilities. The variation does show that the second century is the era when the scribes attempted to improve their text, whatever they regarded as an improvement. Since the scribes were

⁴²¹ Head 1990: 246.

⁴²² I agree in principle with Kilpatrick (1963b: 31), who suggested that the early papyri have not escaped the influence of Atticism.

⁴²³ Kilpatrick 1977: 110.

⁴²⁴ The same kind of position was taken by Zuntz (1953: 271) concerning the Alexandrian text in \aleph and B, which he saw as a result of a gradual process of the scribal tendencies.

generally educated men, it is more likely that linguistically they moved the text from non-literary Koine towards literary Attic due to Atticistic tendencies, which was a powerful social and cultural force during the second century, unless other motives can be shown, such as an assimilation to the LXX usage, a harmonisation with other texts, the development of Greek in later periods etc.

These observations also show that the early papyri do not follow a uniform pattern internally. Both forms are often found within a given witness and often contrary to the reading in other early witnesses. This means that scribes “improved” spasmodically the text here and there without being consistent with what they were doing. Thus, there appears to be a general confusion in the text during the earliest period of transmission. These observations are supported by Royse’s recent study. He notes that P⁴⁵ has occasional stylistic and grammatical improvements towards Attic/Classical standards; corrections in P⁴⁶ betray a deliberate attempt to improve the text of its *Vorlage*; P⁴⁷ contains a clear attempt to improve style and grammar; P⁶⁶ has a high density of corrections, sometimes to a different exemplar, but overall there is an attempt at accurate copying with tendencies to smooth the text; P⁷² has a high density of spelling inconsistencies (orthographic) and theological tendencies; P⁷⁵ has a fair number of orthographic errors with no signs of tendencies to make grammatical or stylistic improvements.⁴²⁵ These general tendencies would create a mess of Koine/Attic variation in the textual tradition. Does this confusion of Koine/Attic variant readings apply to the early majuscules?

4.4.2. Early Majuscules

The early majuscules give a somewhat different picture to that of the early papyri. The following table contains the same information for the early majuscules as the previous table for the early papyri. They are not extant for every textual location, though Sinaiticus comes very close. The values exclude corrector activities, which explains why even Sinaiticus is defective, as there are 712 textual locations in total.

	<i>N</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D/05</i>	<i>E/08</i>	<i>W</i>
Koine	172/709	97/607	172/631	76/428	135/477	16/76	80/430
Koine%	24%	16%	27%	18%	28%	21%	19%
Attic	537/709	510/607	459/631	352/428	342/477	60/76	350/430
Attic%	76%	84%	77%	82%	72%	79%	81%

The Koine forms are more common in the early majuscules than they are in the early papyri. Each majuscule is also more extensive in comparison to the

⁴²⁵ Royse 2008: 197, 358, 398, 544, 614, 704.

papyri. The fifth-century⁴²⁶ Codex Alexandrinus has the least Koine forms (A, 16%) and another fifth-century Codex Bezae has the most (D, 28%). Fourth-century Codices Sinaiticus (Ⲛ, 24%) and Vaticanus (B, 27%) have more Koine forms than the fifth-century Codices Ephraemi (C, 18%) and Washingtonensis (W, 19%) or the sixth-century Codex Laudianus (E, 21%). Only B and D, and Ⲛ to a lesser degree, have a comparable amount of Koine forms to that of P⁷⁴ and P⁷⁵, while P⁶⁶ has noticeably more Koine forms than any other witness. In other words, there is an eventual decrease in Koine forms. The later NT textual tradition has only a few (48/712, 7%). Even non-Byzantine witnesses show a decrease. For instance, the ninth century Codex Koridethi (Θ), an important witness to the C-text type (mixed), has 60/453 (13%) Koine forms. All this means that many Koine forms found in the early NT textual tradition disappear from the later tradition almost totally.

Using the same words as references as for the early papyri – εἶπαν, εἶδαν, ἐώρακ* and ἤλθαν – the following applies. Codex Alexandrinus is missing most of Matthew, Codex Bezae does not have the Catholic Letters, and Codex Washingtonensis applies only to the Gospels. For this reason I have counted textual locations only in Mark, Luke, and John in order to make sure that *all* codices have comparable results. The following table summarises the results to show that there is no consensus on what the initial reading in many textual locations was. Each entry shows how many times the Koine is found out of the total number of textual locations containing *Koine* variant readings. The list thus excludes Attic variants entirely. For example, there are seven textual locations where the Koine εἶδαν is found in Mark, Luke, and John overall as *varia lectio* within the totality of the NT textual tradition. Sinaiticus has the Koine form only three times. Hence, four times it reads the Attic variant reading against the Koine one found in some other witnesses. Here are the results.

	Ⲛ		A		B		D		W	
εἶδαν	3/7	43%	0/7	0%	4/7	57%	2/6	33%	1/7	14%
εἶπαν	47/75	63%	2/67	3%	48/76	63%	38/66	58%	26/73	36%
ἐώρακ*	20/20	100%	18/18	100%	13/20	65%	15/16	94%	9/17	53%
ἤλθαν	1/21	5%	0/19	0%	8/21	38%	5/20	25%	4/20	20%

The codices thus often disagree on the variant readings, even when the percentage is comparable to each other. Generally the same confusion over the form is found in the early majuscules as is the case with the early papyri. For example, Codex Vaticanus reads ἤλθαν in Mk 6,29; Lk 2,16; 8,35; 24,1.23; Jn

⁴²⁶ References to the age of the early codices have been taken from the list of manuscripts in the UBS/NA.

1,39; 3,26; 4,27. Codex Alexandrinus has no ἡλθαν at all. Codex Bezae reads it in Mk 3,8; Lk 1,59; 23,33; Jn 12,9; 21,8. These three codices disagree in *every* textual location mentioned. Similarly, **Σ** and **B** contradict each other over εἶδαν in Mk 9,14; Lk 9,32; Jn 1,39; and over εἶπαν in Mk 10,37; Lk 1,61; 5,33; 11,5; 18,26; 22,35; Jn 1,22.25.38; 2,18; 2,20; 3,26; 7,52; 8,41.52.57; 9,22.26.28.40; 11,12.37.46; 16,17; 19,24. They agree on εἶδαν only in Lk 10,24; Mk 6,50; and on εἶπαν just 46 times (61%). Clearly, there is no consensus on the readings.

The following diagram shows the percentage of Koine forms per witness (columns) per century (rows). Only the more extensive papyri are listed.

	P ⁴⁵	P ⁴⁶	P ⁶⁶	P ⁷⁴	P ⁷⁵	Σ	A	B	C	D	E	W
2 nd		12%	37%		32%							
3 rd	19%											
4 th						24%		27%				
5 th							16%		18%	28%		19%
6 th												
7 th				28%								
8 th											18%	

The diagram shows that equally old witnesses diverge from each other as to their Koine usage. P⁷⁴ contains a high percentage of Koine forms, even though it is a seventh-century witness. The biggest gap in percentage terms is found between P⁴⁶ and P⁶⁶, both from the second century. The next biggest gap is between P⁴⁶ and P⁷⁵. This comparison is not entirely illustrative of the problem in Koine/Attic variation, because these papyri contain a different part of the NT. However, when P⁴⁶ is compared to **B**, which contains the same text as P⁴⁶, a similar kind of gap is found, though to a lesser degree. A comparison between P⁴⁵, P⁶⁶ and P⁷⁵, on the other hand, indicates a broad gap within the same parts of the NT. This indicates that the Koine/Attic variation derives from the second-century scribal tendencies, at least partially. With the exception of P⁷⁴, which Kurt Aland lists as a category I witness,⁴²⁷ the later witnesses contain a smaller percentage of Koine forms.

4.4.3. Atticistic Tendencies

There is some evidence that the scribes copying the NT text probably did occasionally act like Atticist correctors. I will list a number of examples where it is likely or possible that this has taken place in the NT textual tradition.⁴²⁸ Most

⁴²⁷ Aland and Aland 1989: 101.

⁴²⁸ J.K. Elliott (1972b, 1976) has listed several other possible cases of Atticistic corrections. E.g. βελόνη for ἄραψ in Mk 10,25; Lk 18,25; εἰδωλόθυτος for ἱερόθυτος in 1 Cor 10,28; ἔδειτο for ἔδεετο in Lk 8,38; οὐδέεις for οὐθείεις in all relevant textual locations; πηγῶν for πηγῶν in Jn 21,8; Rev 21,17.

of the words in the NT generally appear either as Koine or Attic throughout the NT without variation,⁴²⁹ but certain words have both forms as *variae lectiones* in the NT textual tradition.

(1) Atticist grammarians rejected the Koine ὀρθρινός in favour of the Attic ὄρθριος. Phrynichus was inflexible about it, for he wrote ὀρθρινός οὐκ ἄλλ' ὄρθριος χωρὶς τοῦ ν (“no ὀρθρινός but ὄρθριος without the nu”).⁴³⁰ The adjectives ὀρθριναί and ὄρθριαι are found as *variae lectiones* in Lk 24,22, which is the only occurrence of this word in the NT. Several witnesses read the Koine form (P⁷⁵ ⳑ A B D L W pc), which should be accepted as initial (so the UBS/NA). Nonetheless, most of the NT textual tradition goes with the Attic one. Majuscule K and minuscule 1582 reveal a corrector activity, in which the change from the Koine to Attic form takes place.

(2) The Koine ὄπιθεν was rejected by Phrynichus.⁴³¹ It is found as *varia lectio* in the original hand of Codex Sinaiticus at Mk 5,27. It was corrected to the Attic ὄπισθεν by another scribe (ⳑ¹). As Mark was written in vernacular, perhaps ὄπιθεν should be accepted as the initial reading despite being a singular reading, and ὄπισθεν as an Atticistic improvement.⁴³² The ὄπισθεν appears unchallenged elsewhere except in Rev 4,6. There ὄπιθεν appears as *varia lectio* in two later minuscules (mss. 93 1626), possibly revealing that Rev 4,6 may also have read ὄπιθεν, originally due to the vernacular style of Revelation as a whole, though Rev 5,1 reads ὄπισθεν unchallenged. Thus, Rev 4,6 is another possible case of Atticistic correction.

(3) Phrynichus rejected the Koine ποταπός as spurious diction.⁴³³ It is the form used almost exclusively in the NT textual tradition. Its Attic equivalent ποδαπός appears in Codex Bezae at Mk 13,1 (twice); Lk 1,29: 7,39; and in 1 Jn 3,1 (ms. 1842). This shows that even later scribes occasionally acted as Atticistic correctors. The Koine form is found uniformly in Mt 8,27; 2 Pet 3,11. It is not entirely confined to the vernacular as Josephus has the Koine form in two of his literary works.⁴³⁴ The Attic form is to be rejected as an Atticistic correction.

⁴²⁹ Caragounis 2006: 124-40. The discussion takes up words from his list.

⁴³⁰ J.K. Elliott 1972b: 134.

⁴³¹ Caragounis 2006: 125.

⁴³² The problem is that in the non-literary papyri the Attic form is earlier. It is found in SB 11384.4 (AD 113-120) while the earliest entry for the Koine form in the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri is P.Oxy. 4394.16 (AD 494-500). Nevertheless, the fact that Atticists commented on it in the second century means that the Koine form is early and may be the initial reading.

⁴³³ Caragounis 2006: 126.

⁴³⁴ Flavius Josephus, *De bello Judaica libri vii*, book 1, section 390; *Antiquitates Judaicae*, book 17, section 239.

(4) The Attic ἐγρηγορήσαι appears in place of the Koine γρηγορήσαι in Mt 26,40 in the singular witness P³⁷ (III/IV AD), which also has ἐγρηγορεῖτε in place of γρηγορεῖτε in the next verse. In both cases P³⁷ goes against the rest of the NT textual tradition. This is an early scribal testimony for an Atticistic tendency in the transmission of the NT text. The original hand of Codex Sinaiticus attests the Attic ἐγρηγορῶν in Rev 3,2 against the rest of the tradition.

(5) The Attic χερσί appears in place of the Koine χερσίν in Mk 7,5 in ms. 124. This is another late case of Atticistic tendency. In 1 Cor 4,12 the textual tradition is divided between supporting Koine χερσίν with most of the early and important witnesses⁴³⁵ and Attic χερσί with the rest of the tradition. The Koine form appears uniformly elsewhere. It is noteworthy that B* reads the Koine form throughout, but the second corrector (B²) has changed the reading to its Attic equivalent in Mt 15,20; Mk 7,2; Lk 6,1; 1 Cor 4,12; Eph 4,28. He seems to have missed Mk 7,5; Jn 20,25; 1 Thess 4,11. The Koine χερσίν appears in the non-literary papyri already before the NT era, e.g. in *P.Petr.* 9.4 (ca 240 BC), 17.60 (229-228 BC); *BGU* 1760.20 (51/50 BC), and in the contemporary sources, e.g. in *BGU* 844.9-10 (AD 83), 1201.18-19 (AD 2), so it was an established usage and with little if any doubt the initial reading in the NT.

(6) The Hellenistic νεομηνίας is replaced by the Attic νομηνίας in Col 2.16 by the majority of witnesses (⊕ A C D P Byz Eus Or). The Hellenistic form is read by a group of witnesses (B F G 81 330 *pc* Ambrst Dam Mcion Tert). The Old Latin witnesses are also divided between *neomeniae* and *nominiae* (or alike). P⁴⁶ has a *lacuna* here, so it is impossible to know its reading. Only ν...νίας is visible. The Koine νεομηνίας appears quite often in the non-literary papyri, e.g. in *P.Mil.Vogl.* 27.62 (AD 128/129); *P.Oxy.* 188.30 (AD 127), 1647.14 (II AD). The Attic form is rarer but it is found in contemporary sources, e.g. in *P.Iand.* 26.35 (AD 98).⁴³⁶ The Koine form was opposed by Phrynichus.⁴³⁷ The biblical author could have used either form. However, the nature of the text as conversational, Origen as an Atticistic author, the opposition by Phrynichus, and the general usage favouring the Koine form makes it the more likely initial reading. Hence, the Attic νομηνίας is an Atticistic correction, despite the fact that Modern Greek follows the Attic form.⁴³⁸ This is a case where the more

⁴³⁵ P⁴⁶ ⊕ B C D F G L P 1 33 69 88 326 910 1175 1241^s 1243 1270 1424 1506 1646 1735 1836 1837 1874 2464.

⁴³⁶ Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri has 139 entries for νεομηνίας and 23 entries for νομηνίας. Thus, the Koine form dominates the Greek usage in non-literary texts. The appearance of the Attic would give a scribe an incentive to alter the reading.

⁴³⁷ Caragounis 2006: 128.

⁴³⁸ I take this position against Caragounis (2006: 480 n. 39), who argues that the Attic form should be accepted as *original* because of the modern usage. He is correct that the Attic form was not a passing second century reading, but fails to take into account that the Atticised reading in Col 2,16 may

likely initial reading νεομηνίας managed to survive scribal and historical exigencies only in a handful of witnesses. The Atticistic correction became very pervasive in the NT textual tradition, perhaps partially because the Attic form survives into the Neo-Hellenic⁴³⁹ and the Koine form dies out.

(7) The Koine ἐρρέθη (ℵ A P 2329 2351 Byz^{mss}) is changed to the Attic ἐρρήθη (046 1854 1862 2028⁺²⁰²⁹⁺²⁰⁴⁴⁺²⁰⁵⁴⁺²⁰⁸³ Byz) in Rev 9,4. There are no serious doubts to ἐρρέθη being the initial reading, which is also found regularly in the LXX.⁴⁴⁰ It has a strong external support in two somewhat different genealogical branches of the early text, presented by ℵ and A.

(8) Although the Attic εἶτα is the form used by the biblical authors almost exclusively, the Koine εἶτεν appears as *varia lectio* in Mk 4,28 twice. The Attic form is also found in the non-literary papyri, e.g. in *P.Oxy.* 3053.9,10 (1 AD); *PSI* 463. (AD 157/160); *P.Mich.* 204.9 (AD 127). Though the Koine form is not found in the non-literary works of antiquity at present, it was used since Phrynichus opposed it.⁴⁴¹ The first εἶτεν is read by B* Δ and the second by ℵ B* L, both against the rest of the tradition. Codices ℵ L Δ are contradictory in themselves within the same verse. This indicates that at least some scribes did not consistently rewrite the text. The second corrector of B has rewritten the text with εἶτα in both cases. The Attic form appears uniformly elsewhere. The εἶτεν should probably be accepted as the initial reading in Mk 4,28 (twice) with εἶτα as an Atticistic correction,⁴⁴² as such a change is more likely in the hands of educated scribes than the reverse. Mark has εἶτα in Mk 4,17; 8,25. This would give a scribe a reason to harmonise the usage within the context of Mk 4.

(9) The Koine σαλπιστῶν (A C pc Byz) is changed to the Attic σαλπιγκτῶν in Rev 18, 22 by two witnesses (2053 Hipp).⁴⁴³ Since σαλπιστῶν/σαλπιγκτῶν is a *hapax legomenon* in the NT, the decision rests on the external evidence and the transcriptional probabilities. Intrinsic probabilities are of little help. The external evidence quite indisputably favours the Koine form. Transcriptionally either Hippolytus himself is responsible for this change or it predates him, in

only indicate adaptation to the Greek usage. The survival of the Attic form does not make it a more likely initial reading, because the general usage in the *non-literary* second-century papyri follows the Koine form instead.

⁴³⁹ Caragounis 2006: 128.

⁴⁴⁰ Aune (1998a: 486 n. 4.b-b.) notes this. Andreas' commentary (*Comm. in Apoc.* on Rev 22,18) explicitly identifies the Attic form as being a result of scribal activity (J. Schmid 1955: I, 262).

⁴⁴¹ Caragounis 2006: 127.

⁴⁴² J.K. Elliott 1972b: 133-38.

⁴⁴³ Several witnesses (ℵ 172⁺²⁰¹⁸ 1611 1678⁺¹⁷⁷⁸ 1854 2080 2329 Byz^{mss} syr^h [bo]) alter the sentence to read σαλπιγγῶν. This is a secondary variant reading as it emphasises a trumpet-call rather than a trumpeter.

which case an early scribe had Atticistic tendencies. The Attic σαλπικτής is found in *Pap.Agon.* 7.1 (AD 264-268),⁴⁴⁴ indicating that the form was still in use in the third century in the *non-literary* papyri. This would provide an early scribe an adequate reason for the change. The Neo-Hellenic follows the Koine, which Phrynichus rejects,⁴⁴⁵ so the Attic variant is likely an Atticism.

(10) The Koine (Doric) σάκκος is changed to the Attic σάκος in Rev 6,12 by a number of later witnesses (mss. 18* 175 325⁺⁴⁵⁶⁺⁵¹⁷ 459⁺⁶²⁸⁺⁶⁸⁰ 627⁺²⁰⁴⁸ 935 1094⁽⁺²⁰⁷⁷⁾ 1957 2033 2061 2138 2256). The Koine form is common in the non-literary papyri, e.g. in *P.Dion.* 10.20, 22 (109 BC); *P.Dryton* 38.6 (153-141 BC); *P.Oxy.* 2424.37 (II-III AD); *SB* 14178.13 (II AD); *Stud.Pal.* 59.12 (II/III AD); *BGU* 2359.5 (III AD). The Attic form is found e.g. in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59753.26 (III AD) and survives to the Neo-Hellenic.⁴⁴⁶ Phrynichus complained that the Koine form originated with Doric, which he rejected and argued in favour of σάκος. This would provide a later scribe an adequate reason for the change. It is possible that this is not a pure Atticism, but a change due to the development of Greek instead. However, the outcome is the same, as the development of Greek may have been influenced by the Atticist movement.

(11) The Koine πανδοχεῖον in Lk 10,34 (P⁷⁵ A B D Byz) has been changed to Attic πανδοκεῖον (P⁴⁵ ⚭ Θ), which Phrynichus recommends.⁴⁴⁷ Similarly, the Koine πανδοχεῖ (P⁷⁵ A B Byz) in Lk 10,35 has been changed to the Attic πανδοκεῖ (P⁴⁵ ⚭ D). BDAG notes that the older Attic form is found e.g. in Plutarch, who is heavily Atticistic in his Greek.⁴⁴⁸ The differences in external evidence in verses 34 and 35 points to the inconsistency in the changes as D* supports the Koine in the first instance, but the Attic in the latter, which a corrector has restored to the Koine form.

(12) Roman and Byzantine papyri show a striking preference for reading thematic conjugations for -μι verbs, and replacing them with their thematic synonyms.⁴⁴⁹ Thus, Lk 12,28 reads the Koine ἀμφιέζει (P^{45,75} D L) with the Doric ἀμφιάζει (B) and the Attic ἀμφιέννυσιν (⚭ A W al Byz Cl) as *variae lectiones*. There is little doubt that the Koine form is the initial reading, and

⁴⁴⁴ This is the only entry in the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri. This form has not been found in Attic inscriptions. They read σαλπικτής (without the gamma). Such a form is found e.g. in *SIG* 153.68 (IV BC); *P.Oxy.* 519.16 (II AD). See also the LSJ entry for σαλπικτής.

⁴⁴⁵ Caragounis 2006: 129.

⁴⁴⁶ Caragounis 2006: 131.

⁴⁴⁷ Birdsall 1976: 40.

⁴⁴⁸ BDAG, πανδοκεῖον – “inn”.

⁴⁴⁹ Mandilaras 1973: 72.

ἀμφιέννυσιν an Atticistic correction. Vaticanus probably exhibits an early corruption by a Doric-influenced scribe.⁴⁵⁰

4.4.4. Corrector Activities

Scribal correctors did occasionally rewrite the Koine forms to their Attic equivalents. I note changes in the following early witnesses: **Σ**, B, C, D, and W. Some other manuscript exhibits similar kinds of changes, but they are rarer. The **Σ**¹ corrector refers to a scribe, who is (perhaps) a near contemporary with the original scribe of **Σ**, or no more than two centuries removed. If the latter is true, his Greek would already be that of the post-Roman period. The corrector W¹ is to be identified as a contemporary διορθωτής to the scribe of W. Their Greek idiom is that of the early post-Roman period. The correctors **Σ**² and B² lived in the seventh century, and C³ and D² in the ninth century.⁴⁵¹ Together they represent the later period of transmission, when the Greek language had left its Roman period behind.

There are 37 cases where the corrector has changed the Koine word to its Attic equivalent (appendix, table 1). Matthew has 5 hits, Mark 2 hits, Luke-Acts 11 hits, John 16 hits, and the Pauline corpus 3 hits. The vernacular nature of John's Greek has had the most changes, while the opposite is true for another vernacular, Mark. The reason for this is probably found in the popularity of John in comparison to Mark. The next most altered text is that of Luke-Acts despite its literary Koine. Excluding the Catholic Letters, Luke-Acts and John are those works that exhibit the greatest Koine/Attic variation in percentage terms. The corrector activity correlates with this phenomenon, when moving from Koine to Attic.

The opposite is also true. The *same scribes* altered the Attic words to their Koine equivalents elsewhere. There are 27 such cases (appendix table 2). Matthew has 2 hits, Mark 1 hit, Luke-Acts 3 hits, John 8 hits, Pauline corpus 6 hits, and Johannine letters 7 hits. Here the situation is different. The Johannine writings exhibit most of the changes (15 hits). The Pauline corpus provides the next largest group. The rest are relatively untouched. These kinds of changes do not correspond to the Koine/Attic variation phenomenon in the textual tradition except in John.

⁴⁵⁰ Browning (1983: 126-29) and Horrocks (1997: 40) note that Doric speakers are found well into the Christian era, particularly in Rhodes and the less accessible parts of the Peloponnese (authors such as Strabo, Dio Chrysostom, Pausanias). Doric-like Koine was spoken in Peloponnese still in the sixth century AD. Alexandria saw an influx of Doric speakers in the third century BC, which affected the local dialect of Greek.

⁴⁵¹ NA 48*.

The changes are not very evenly divided in the manuscripts. Codex **Σ** has 10 changes, B has 37, C has 6, D has 10, and W has 2. The second corrector of B is therefore of special note. He has changed the Koine word to its Attic equivalent 18 times while doing the opposite 20 times. The changes are related to certain words, and are done rather consistently. The $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\rho\alpha\kappa^*/\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\kappa^*$ variation has 16 hits (42%), and $(\pi\rho\omicron\sigma-)\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta^*$ variation 9 hits (24%). The rest are sparse. The $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\delta^*$ and $(\alpha\nu-)\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\upsilon}\rho^*$ has 3 each, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\theta^*$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\beta^*$, and $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\pi^*$ 1 each, and $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota(\varsigma)$ 4 hits. There is only one inconsistency. B² has once changed $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu$ to $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu$ in Jn 1,18. Elsewhere the change is the reverse.

4.5. A Look at the Koine/Attic Variations

The following rather meticulous discussion goes through the selected words by first giving the information about the forms of the word in the NT textual tradition. Then I present extra-biblical evidence to establish grounds for analysing scribal tendencies. After that I discuss the likeliest initial readings and finally observe scribal tendencies behind the NT textual tradition. This is repeated *in order* for each verb. The treatments of $\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$ and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$ are a little different due to the fact that both are prepositions. The titles follow the Koine diction.

I note the following methodological issues before going into the detailed discussion. As noted, the Septuagint does not provide much useful information about the Greek usage, because most of its witnesses come from the later centuries. Many early ones are the same codices as for the NT (**Σ**, A, B, C, W), which make them liable to the same scribal tendencies as the NT part. Therefore, the bulk of the evidence for the Greek usage comes from the non-literary papyri (including ostraca), which can be dated relatively accurately. They offer a window onto the usage of Greek that pertains mostly to its vernacular and conversational style, forming possible parallels to NT usage. The literary works offer secondary information that pertains mostly to Luke-Acts as a work of literary Koine. Since the literary works may suffer from scribal tendencies of their own (and probably do), especially if the text is based on editions built on top of medieval manuscripts (as many are), they are not as reliable sources for the Greek usage as the dated non-literary papyri, unless the supporting witnesses are early.

There are two limitations in this study. The first pertains to the textual evidence presented for the biblical words. I have collected the evidence from various sources,⁴⁵² which do not give the total picture of the whole textual

⁴⁵² The following sources have been used: NA²⁷; UBS⁴; ECM IV.1; ECM IV.3; ECM IV.4; W.J. Elliott and Parker 1995, 2007; Hoskier 1929; Swanson 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1998, 1999, 2001,

tradition. Until the ECM is completed for the entire NT, textual information is incomplete, mainly limited to minuscules. This means that some singular and sub-singular readings may turn out to be anything but singular/sub-singular. Some textual locations with no variation may in fact contain some variation for the same reason. This is not necessarily a major problem as the NT textual tradition gives only a partial picture of the textual history. Nevertheless, better textual support for a singular/sub-singular reading offers a more convincing case for its authenticity if it is so deemed in the first place. The singular and sub-singular readings need to be taken tentatively as part of the initial text if they fit the first-century usage and the author's probable usage and style. This position is debatable but it seems plausible in light of the results of this research (see below). Since the textual tradition is only a partial window onto the NT witnesses, readings that are now singular/sub-singular may have enjoyed a widespread support in the past. Hence, this dissertation takes the position that singular/sub-singular readings may be authentic and were almost lost due to historical and scribal exigencies.

Secondly, the evidence for the Greek usage is based on the information found in the *Thesaurus Lingua Graecae* and *Perseus Database* (including the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri). As these two major works are constantly evolving, this study is valid in so far as the extra-biblical usage stands as of March 2008. New findings and/or new information added to the databases regarding first-century Greek usage may alter some conclusions, especially if forms currently not known from the first-century sources will be found. Methodologically I assume that if there is no first-century evidence for a given Koine form, such a form in the NT textual tradition is more likely to be a later alteration on the basis of the development of Greek usage.

Thirdly, arguments about author's style are problematic because of the partial nature of the evidence. In the Gospels authorial usage of Greek dialects may shift from pericope to pericope. The Pauline corpus may exhibit similar shifts in the Greek usage due to the possible use of different literary assistants. Unless a clear majority of textual locations testify decisively for Koine or Attic forms, authorial usage cannot be decided conclusively. Lost textual witnesses impact on how the current NT textual tradition carries the perceived authorial usage. Textual locations with no variation may not constitute a good argument against the usage in places where variation occurs, unless other evidence points to the same conclusion. Nevertheless, the intrinsic probabilities cannot be ignored. They are important arguments in orthographical considerations, but there may be a limit to their usefulness.

What follows is a detailed discussion of the Koine/Attic variation in the NT textual tradition, which includes variant tables for each word studied. In these tables synoptic parallel passages are marked with ‘»’. Itacism, movable nu and haplography are ignored. Koine variants in the UBS/NA are marked with underlined references. Papyrus references marked with *videtur* are certain to support the given form, despite some lacunae. For statistical purposes, I have included the papyri and majuscules **Σ**, A, B, C, D/05, E/08 and W (with W^{sup}) for every textual location for which they are extant. I have also occasionally noted genealogical relationships by grouping related witnesses into families using plus signs and superscripts (e.g. 13⁺⁶⁹⁺⁷⁸⁸, which are all members of the *f*³ family). This is important in establishing whether the genealogical combination of witnesses is a singular or sub-singular reading. *Hk* marks the Harklean Group, and *rell* the rest of the NT textual tradition. In a few cases there are other Attic variants than those listed, but they are inconsequential for this study and not found in witnesses studied (orthographic alterations within Attic forms). Literary styles are marked as (v)ernacular, (c)onversational, and (l)iterary.

4.5.1. ΑΠΕΘΑΝΑ*

The indicative aorist forms of ἀποθνήσκω⁴⁵³ appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition, though the preponderant usage is Attic. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style		Koine readings	Attic readings
Mt 8,32	c	ἀπέθαναν Σ ¹	ἀπέθανον Σ ¹ B W <i>rell</i> ἀπέθανεν C
Lk 20,31	l	ἀπέθαναν B [*]	ἀπέθανον Σ A B ² D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,49	v	ἀπέθαναν 2	ἀπέθανον P ^{66,75} Σ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,58	v	N/A	ἀπέθανον P ^{66,75} Σ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 8,53	v	ἀπέθαναν D [*]	ἀπέθανον P ^{66,75} Σ A B C D ^c W <i>rell</i>
Rom 5,15	c	N/A	ἀπέθανον Σ A B C <i>rell</i>
Rom 7,10	c	N/A	ἀπέθανον Σ A B C <i>rell</i>
Gal 2,19	c	N/A	ἀπέθανον P ⁴⁶ Σ A B C <i>rell</i> Cl
Col 2,20	c	N/A	ἀπεθάνετε A B C <i>rell</i> ἀποθάνετε Σ
Col 3,3	c	ἀπεθάνετε P ^{46c}	ἀπεθάνετε P ^{46*} Σ A B C <i>rell</i>
Heb 11,13	l	N/A	ἀπέθανον P ⁴⁶ Σ A <i>rell</i>
Heb 11,37	l	N/A	ἀπέθανον P ⁴⁶ Σ A <i>rell</i>
Rev 8,11	v	N/A	ἀπέθανον Σ A <i>rell</i>

The occurrences of Attic ἀπεθάνετε and ἀπέθανον are unchallenged in Mt 8,32, Jn 6,58; Rom 5,15; 7,10; Gal 2,19; Heb 11,13.37; Col 2,20; Rev 8,11 by their Koine equivalents. The Koine forms all appear as *variae lectiones*:

⁴⁵³ BDAG, ἀποθνήσκω – “to die”, does not note the Koine form.

ἀπεθάνατε in Col 3,3 (P^{46c}); ἀπέθαναν in Mt 8,32 (N¹); Lk 20,31 (B*); Jn 6,49 (ms. 2); Jn 8,53 (D*). Each time the Koine readings are limited to a single witness. They appear across the vernacular (2/4 hits, 50%), conversational (2/6 hits, 33%), and literary (1/3 hits, 33%) texts. Since the number of occurrences is small, literary styles reveal little of the Greek usage other than both the Koine and the Attic forms appear irrespective of the styles used. The LXX has ἀπέθαναν in 2 Sam 11,24; 13,33; Tob 3,9; by contrast, the Attic ἀπέθανον has 17 hits in the LXX.

There are no occurrences of this word in the Ptolemaic papyri except ἀπέθανε in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59312.9, 17 etc (250 BC), and the infinitive ἀποθανεῖν in *P.Par.* 47.11 (ca 152 BC). Both forms look alike in Koine and Attic, so they do not represent valuable information for this study. The Koine forms, however, are preponderant in the Byzantine period, if not before.⁴⁵⁴ In the non-literary works ἀπέθανα in found in *SB* 13588.8 (IV AD), and ἀπέθαναν in *CPR* 54.10 (II AD). The earliest reference in literary works is from the fifth century.⁴⁵⁵ Therefore, the Koine forms appear to be a second-century phenomenon.

Since the Koine variant readings are all singular, the external evidence stands against them. They do not appear to be inherited readings. Since the Koine forms have not been found in the first-century evidence, it is likely that all the Koine readings are secondary developments. The first corrector of N in Mt 8,32 is one of those working in the scriptorium in the fourth century. The original text is not crossed out, but a small alpha has been added on top of the omicron. This, however, is probably not the same corrector, who did most of the changes in Matthew.⁴⁵⁶ It is not possible to know whether the corrector himself is responsible for the Koine form or some earlier scribe, whose work the corrector retained, but the alpha form cannot be traced further back than the second century, even if the corrector restored an earlier reading. It is unlikely part of the initial text.⁴⁵⁷ The Codex Vaticanus reading in Lk 20,31 probably has second-century roots. The Codex Bezae reading in Jn 8,53 may be a second-century reading or its scribe may be responsible for it, seeing that Codex Bezae has so many Koine forms relative to other contemporary witnesses. The ἀπέθαναν in ms. 2 at Jn 6,49 is likely a later change.

⁴⁵⁴ Mandilaras 1973: 151-52.

⁴⁵⁵ Chorographie Anonymae, *Chronica Byzantina breviora*, chronicle 34.1 section 21A line 37ff.

⁴⁵⁶ Private communication (Jan 31, 2008) with Dirk Jongkind (Tyndale House / Cambridge), who has done extensive work on the correctors of N. See also Jongkind 2007.

⁴⁵⁷ Hort and Westcott (1881: II, 246-47) note that singular readings are common in Sinaiticus, especially in the Apocalypse, and scarcely ever commend themselves on internal grounds.

The earliest Koine form is found in P⁴⁶, made by a professional scribe using *στίχοι*, perhaps an employee of a scriptorium.⁴⁵⁸ Since the alpha form is found as a correction, it needs to be asked who made the correction in Col 3,3 and why? It is not a change made by a later corrector (P^{46c2}, late third century), who used a distinctive cursive handwriting style. Was it the original scribe,⁴⁵⁹ a contemporary paginator acting as διορθωτής (P^{46c1}), or someone else (P^{46c3})? Judging from the fact that the change is orthographic in nature,⁴⁶⁰ it is likely that it was made either by the original scribe, who was fond of such alterations, or the contemporary paginator. Royse has recently argued for the latter.⁴⁶¹ The original scribe of P⁴⁶ had a tendency to alter wilfully what he read.⁴⁶² Both the original scribe and the paginator made many blunders *while* correcting the text, especially in orthography, leaving many texts uncorrected and making flawed corrections.⁴⁶³ For that reason ἀπεθάνατε in Col 3,3 is an early secondary corruption, which coincides with the development of Greek usage in the second century.

Hence, all of the alpha forms are secondary corruptions due to the development of Greek, which started to affect the orthography of ἀπεθαν* during the second century.⁴⁶⁴ None is original to the authors themselves (so the UBS/NA). Intrinsic probabilities concur with these outcomes in the Pauline corpus, though elsewhere the rarity of aorist forms of ἀποθνήσκω means that not much can be said of the author's usage of ἀπεθαν*. In any case, the external evidence and general Greek usage are decisively against the Koine forms. These reasons indicate a scribal habit, intentional or unintentional, to modernise the spelling of ἀπεθαν*.

4.5.2. ΑΠΗΛΘΑ*

The indicative aorist forms of ἀπέρχομαι⁴⁶⁵ appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. The general usage is Attic but there are numerous Koine variants. The following table summarises the findings.

⁴⁵⁸ ENTGM 207.

⁴⁵⁹ Royse (1981: 235-38) has noted that the original scribe made most of the 160 corrections. Most of the corrections shift the textual character of P⁴⁶ from a D-text lookalike to a B-text.

⁴⁶⁰ Royse 1981: 236.

⁴⁶¹ Royse 2008: 853. However, the NT transcript prototype does not identify the corrector. Comfort (ENTGM 330) notes this change, but makes no guess as to who did the correction.

⁴⁶² Royse 1981: 269.

⁴⁶³ Royse 1981: 236; Zuntz 1953: 253-54.

⁴⁶⁴ This implies that the three entries in the LXX are also secondary developments based on scribal tendencies.

⁴⁶⁵ BDAG, ἀπέρχομαι – “to go away, to leave”, does not note the Koine form.

<i>Reference, Style</i>		<i>Koine readings</i>	<i>Attic readings</i>
Mt 8,32	c	ἀπῆλθαν B	ἀπῆλθον Σ C W <i>rell</i>
Mt 20,5	c	N/A	ἀπῆλθον Σ B C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 22,22</u>	c	ἀπῆλθαν B D W*	ἀπῆλθον Σ C W ¹ <i>rell</i>
Mk 1,20	v	N/A	ἀπῆλθον Σ A B C <i>rell</i> ἦλθον Θ ἠκολούθησαν D W 1424
Mk 3,13	v	N/A	ἀπῆλθον Σ A B C W <i>rell</i> ἦλθον D
Mk 6,32	v	N/A	ἀπῆλθον Σ A B C W <i>rell</i> ἀπῆλθεν f ¹³ 157 Byz ἀναβάντες D
Mk 11,4	v	N/A	ἀπῆλθον Σ A B C W <i>rell</i> ἀπελθόντες D Θ 565 700
Mk 12,12	v	ἀπῆλθαν D	ἀπῆλθον Σ A B C <i>rell</i> omit sentence W
Lk 2,15	l	N/A	ἀπῆλθον Σ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 10,30	l	ἀπῆλθαν P ⁷⁵	ἀπῆλθον P ^{45vid} Σ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 24,24	l	ἀπῆλθαν L	ἀπῆλθον P ⁷⁵ Σ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,22	v	N/A	ἀπῆλθον P ⁷⁵ Σ A B D W <i>rell</i> εἰσῆλθον Θ
Jn 6,66	v	N/A	ἀπῆλθον P ⁶⁶ Σ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 11,46	v	ἀπῆλθαν P ⁶⁶ D	ἀπῆλθον Σ A B C W <i>rell</i>
Jn 18,6	v	ἀπῆλθαν Σ B D W Did	ἀπῆλθον A C <i>rell</i>
Jn 20,10	v	N/A	ἀπῆλθον Σ A B W <i>rell</i>
Gal 1,17a	c	N/A	ἀνῆλθον Σ A <i>rell</i> ἀπῆλθον P ⁵¹ B D F G 88* 1836 2344 2464 ἦλθον P ^{46vid}
Gal 1,17b	c	ἀπῆλθα P ⁴⁶	ἀπῆλθον P ⁵¹ Σ A B <i>rell</i>
<u>Rev 10,9</u>	v	ἀπῆλθα P ^{47,85vid} A 2329 2351 Byz ^{pt}	ἀπῆλθον Σ C Byz ^{pt}
<u>Rev 21,1</u>	v	ἀπῆλθαν Σ A 2329 Byz ^A	ἀπῆλθον <i>rell</i> παρῆλθον/παρῆλθεν 051 1 104* 181 Byz ^{mss}
<u>Rev 21,4</u>	v	ἀπῆλθαν A	ἀπῆλθεν Σ 1854 ⁺²⁰⁵⁰⁺²³²⁹ <i>rell</i> Oec ⁺²⁰⁵³⁺²⁰⁶² παρῆλθον/παρῆλθεν 664 1611

This distribution of Koine/Attic variations is mixed. ἀπῆλθα is found in Gal 1,17b (P⁴⁶); Rev 10,9 (P^{47,85vid} A *al*), but not in Gal 1,17a. ἀπῆλθαν is found in Mt 8,32 (B); Mt 22,22 (B D W*); Mk 12,12 (D); Lk 10,30 (P⁷⁵); 24,24 (L); Jn 11,46 (P⁶⁶ D); 18,6 (**Σ** B D W Did); Rev 21,1 (**Σ** A 2329 Byz^A); 21,4 (A); but not in Mk 1,20; 3,13; 6,32; 11,4; Lk 2,15; Jn 6,22.66; 20,10. Based on the witnesses, both the singular ἀπῆλθα and the plural ἀπῆλθαν have second-century roots. The UBS/NA accepts the Koine forms in Mt 22,22; Rev 10,9; 21,1.4; but rejects ἀπῆλθαν in Jn 18,6, even though it has the strong external support of **Σ** B D W Did. The Koine forms are found in vernacular (5/13; 38%), conversational (3/5; 60%), and literary (2/3; 66%) parts of the NT. ἀπῆλθαν is found in the LXX in Jdg 18,21 and as *varia lectio* in Codex A in Jdg 2,6; 18,24. The LXX predominantly supports the Attic form.

Entries before the second century are rare but they exist. Only ἀπῆλθα in *P.Bad.* 100.6-7 (1 AD), and ἀπῆλθαν in *SB* 6011.9 (1 AD) are found. These are

the forms found in the NT textual tradition. In literary works Hermas (I AD)⁴⁶⁶ and *Protevangelium Jacobi* (II AD, section 18, line 16) both have ἀπῆλθαν once. The second- and third-century evidence for ἀπῆλθα* is more prominent in the non-literary papyri and ostraca. ἀπῆλθα is found in *P.Bingen* 74.11 (II AD); *P.Oxy.* 3988.5-6 (II AD), ἀπῆλθαμεν in *BGU* 1676.3 (II AD); *P.Lond.* 988.11 (III AD), and ἀπῆλθαν in ostraca *O.Claud.* 261.6 (II AD).⁴⁶⁷ ἀπῆλθαμεν is also found in *Evangelium Petri* (II AD, section 60, line 2). Thus, the alpha forms are contemporary to the biblical authors, but they become more prevalent in the second and third centuries.

Matthean references present a problem. Mt 8,32; 22,22 has the variation but Mt 20,5 reads uniformly in the Attic form. The UBS/NA accepts the Koine form only in Mt 22,22. If Mt 20,5 is any indication of the authorial style, Mt 8,32; 22,22 may present early corruptions. On the other hand, the Koine form may have been lost in Mt 20,5. His conversational style could go either way. This makes the authorial usage inconclusive and creates a dilemma. In light of the contemporary Greek usage, transcriptionally and intrinsically the Koine/Attic variation may go both ways. The ἀπῆλθαν is singular in Mt 8,32 (B), but could be accepted as initial in light of ἀπῆλθαν in Mt 22,22 (B D W*). Any decision is tentative at present, but perhaps preference should be given to the Koine in light of the author's conversational style and first-century Greek usage in non-literary works. Hence, tentatively, I read ἀπῆλθαν in Mt 8,32; 22,22.

All Markan references except one testify uniformly to the Attic form, which most likely is the authorial usage despite his vernacular style. Mk 12,12 is the only one that reads ἀπῆλθαν. It is a singular reading based on Codex Bezae. In light of the high degree of Koine forms in D, it is likely that Mk 12,12 presents a corruption, an attempt to modernise the spelling.

Lucan references present a similar kind of problem to Matthean references, but it is easier to solve. Lk 2,15 uniformly attests to ἀπῆλθον, but Lk 10,30 (P⁷⁵); 24,24 (L) have ἀπῆλθαν as *varia lectio*. Both are singular readings. Royse believes that P⁷⁵ has a substitution for the initial Attic form in Lk 10,30 on the basis of scribal habits.⁴⁶⁸ This is supported by the generally literary style of Luke. Codex Regius (VIII AD) is a badly written copy with many scribal blunders.⁴⁶⁹ Hence, Lk 10,30; 24,24 most likely present early corruptions to modernise the spelling.

⁴⁶⁶ Hermas, *Pastor*, chapter 4 section 3 line 3.

⁴⁶⁷ Gignac 1981: 341; DDDP lookup, Feb 10, 2008.

⁴⁶⁸ Royse 1981: 551; 2008: 840. The three entries in the LXX are likely secondary developments based on scribal tendencies. Codex Alexandrinus probably suffers from some sort of anti-Atticistic tendency in Judges.

⁴⁶⁹ Metzger 1992b: 54.

Johannine references are similarly divided. The Attic ἀπῆλθον is found uncontested in Jn 6,22.66; 20,10. ἀπῆλθαν is found as *varia lectio* in Jn 11,46 (P⁶⁶ D); 18,6 (N B D W Did). Since John is vernacular, ἀπῆλθαν may be the initial reading in both textual locations. This would create a shifting authorial style, but the external evidence in Jn 18,6 seems too strong to be ignored. It is possible that the Koine forms have been lost in Jn 6,22.66; 20,10. As in Matthew, the decisions are tentative at best, but the vernacular style of John, first-century Greek usage, and external evidence favour the Koine form in Jn 18,6 and maybe in Jn 11,46.

Though a singular reading, ἀπῆλθα in Gal 1,17b could be the initial reading. Royse takes it as a substitution for the original Attic form.⁴⁷⁰ Intrinsic probabilities in the Pauline corpus offer no help because ἀπῆλθα / ἀπῆλθον appear only in Gal 1,17. Royse's argument has a problem. Why would the scribe of P⁴⁶ change the Attic to its Koine equivalent in the second occurrence but leave the first untouched? Several witnesses (P⁵¹ B D F G 88* 1836 2344 2464) change ἀνῆλθον to ἀπῆλθον in Gal 1,17a, and these same witnesses read ἀπῆλθον against ἀπῆλθα in Gal 1,17b. This harmonises the usage within the same verse, indicating the secondary nature of ἀπῆλθον in at least Gal 1,17a. P⁴⁶ is highly Atticistic in nature, so the appearance of a Koine form here may well be the initial reading. This is likely if Paul originally wrote ἀνῆλθον – ἀπῆλθα (P⁴⁶ has ἦλθον – ἀπῆλθα), both of which then changed to ἀπῆλθον by scribal activity. Therefore, Gal 1,17b should read ἀπῆλθα and the rival reading should be seen as an Atticistic alteration (contra Royse, the UBS/NA). It seems unlikely that the scribe would create this reading, when elsewhere he is generally following Attic diction.⁴⁷¹

There is little doubt that ἀπῆλθα is the initial reading in Rev 10,9 (P^{47,85vid} A 2329 2351 Byz^{pl}, so also the UBS/NA) because of its strong external evidence.⁴⁷² Since every textual location in Revelation vacillates between Attic and Koine forms (Rev 10,9; 21,1.4) and the literary style is vernacular, Rev 10,9 probably indicates authorial usage and each textual location should read the Koine form (so the UBS/NA).⁴⁷³ The Attic forms are probably Atticistic alterations in Revelation.

⁴⁷⁰ Royse 2008: 804.

⁴⁷¹ Royse (1981: 270) argues that the singular reading is a creation of the scribe of P⁴⁶, but the overall usage in P⁴⁶ suggests that this early scribe has retained a reading that goes back to the first century and which was almost lost from the NT textual tradition. Royse's argument has validity, because the scribe of P⁴⁶ has a lot of singular readings, but in this instance the general literary tendency of P⁴⁶ should take preference over the argument on singular readings in general.

⁴⁷² Aune 1998a: 552 n. 9.a.

⁴⁷³ Aune 1998b: 1110 n. 1.a-a, 1111 n. 4.f-f.

4.5.3. ΑΧΡΙΣ

The Attic ἄχρι appears 46 times in the NT, 32 times with the Koine ἄχρις⁴⁷⁴ as *varia lectio*, that is, in 70% of all the textual locations. The ἄχρι is found uncontested 11 times (Mk 16,8; Lk 4,13; Acts 1,2; 2,29; 3,21; Rom 5,13; 8,22; Heb 6,11; Rev 2,26; 14,20; 17,17). Thrice there are variants other than ἄχρις involved. Acts 1,22; 13,11 has ἄχρι vs. ἕως, and 1 Cor 4,11 has ἄχρι vs. μέχρι vs. ἕως. ἄχρις appears in the vernacular (4/8, 50%), the conversational (12/15, 80%), and the literary (16/23, 70%) parts of the NT. The following table summarises the findings. The Koine form is noted with bold face if it is followed by a word starting with a vowel (for reasons, see below).

Reference, Style		Koine Reading	Attic Reading
Mt 24,38	c	ἄχρις ἡμέρας J ¹³	ἄχρι ἕως ἡμέρας N B D W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 17,27	l	ἄχρις ἡμέρας Θ	ἄχρι ἕως ἡμέρας P ⁷⁵ N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 16,8	v	N/A	ἄχρι N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 1,20	l	ἄχρις ἡμέρας W Θ 461 ἄχρις ἕως ἡμέρας D K Ψ	ἄχρι ἕως ἡμέρας N A B C <i>rell</i>
Lk 4,13	l	N/A	ἄχρι N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 21,24	l	ἄχρις οὗ C D 157 892 1241	ἄχρι οὗ N A B W <i>rell</i>
Acts 1,2	l	N/A	ἄχρι ἕως ἡμέρας N A B D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 1,22	l	N/A	ἄχρι N A 81 104 1175 (+ἕως) 323 945 1739 ἕως B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 2,29	l	N/A	ἄχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 3,21	l	N/A	ἄχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 7,18	l	ἄχρις οὗ N A B ² E <i>rell</i>	ἄχρι οὗ P ⁷⁴ B [*] C D Byz ^{mss} Thphyl
Acts 11,5	l	ἄχρις P ^{45vid} B ² E <i>rell</i>	ἄχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B [*] 104 1891 Byz ^{mss} ἕως D 241
Acts 13,6	l	ἄχρις 049	ἄχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 13,11	l	N/A	ἄχρι P ^{45,74} N A B C E <i>rell</i> ἕως D
Acts 20,6	l	ἄχρις 440 917 927 1245 1646 1837 1854 1874 1989 Hk Byz ^{mss}	ἄχρι A B D <i>rell</i> ἀπό P ⁷⁴ N E 33
Acts 20,11	l	ἄχρις C D <i>rell</i> μέχρις 1243	ἄχρι P ^{41,74} N A B E 33 945 1739 1891 Byz ^{mss}
Acts 22,4	l	ἄχρις 1611	ἄχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B E <i>rell</i> μέχρι D 61 104 326 1175 1522 1646 1837 2147 ἕως Ψ 88 102 927 Chr
Acts 22,22	l	ἄχρις Ψ 1611	ἄχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 23,1	l	ἄχρις Ψ	ἄχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B C E <i>rell</i>
Acts 26,22	l	ἄχρις Ψ	ἄχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B E <i>rell</i> δυνατῆς 330 (change of sentence)
Acts 27,33	l	ἄχρις Ψ 1646 Hk	ἄχρι N A B C <i>rell</i>
Acts 28,15	l	ἄχρις <i>rell</i> [ἄχρημ N [*]]	ἄχρι N ^c A B 33 81 945 1739 2344 ἕως P ^{74vid}
Rom 1,13	c	ἄχρις l	ἄχρι N A B C <i>rell</i>

⁴⁷⁴ BDAG, ἄχρι – “until, as long as”, notes the Koine form.

Rom 5,13	c	N/A	ἄχρη Σ A B C <i>rell</i>
Rom 8,22	c	N/A	ἄχρη P ⁴⁶ Σ A B C <i>rell</i>
Rom 11,25	c	ἄχρη οὐ Σ A B ² C <i>rell</i>	ἄχρη οὐ P ⁴⁶ B* 1505 2495 Byz ^{mss}
1 Cor 4,11	c	N/A	ἄχρη Σ A B C <i>rell</i> μέχρη Hk ἔως F G
1 Cor 11,26	c	ἄχρη οὐ Σ ² A B ² C <i>rell</i>	ἄχρη οὐ P ⁴⁶ Σ * B* 326 1739 1837 Byz ^{mss}
1 Cor 15,25	c	ἄχρη οὐ Σ ² B ² <i>rell</i>	ἄχρη οὐ P ⁴⁶ Σ * A B* P 048 0243 33 1739 Byz ^{mss}
2 Cor 3,14	c	ἄχρη Ψ Hk	ἄχρη P ⁴⁶ Σ A B C <i>rell</i> Cl
2 Cor 10,13	c	ἄχρη Ψ 0209 6 326 1837 Hk	ἄχρη P ^{34,46} Σ B <i>rell</i>
2 Cor 10,14	c	ἄχρη Ψ Hk	ἄχρη P ^{34,46} Σ B <i>rell</i> μέχρη 1827
<u>Gal 3,19</u>	c	ἄχρη ἄν B 33 2464 Cl ἄχρη οὐ P ⁴⁶ Σ A C <i>rell</i>	ἄχρη 1243
Gal 4,2	c	ἄχρη L	ἄχρη P ⁴⁶ Σ A B C <i>rell</i> Cl
Phil 1,5	c	ἄχρη 0142	ἄχρη P ⁴⁶ Σ A B <i>rell</i>
Phil 1,6	c	ἄχρη ἡμέρας D F G P Ψ 075 0150 0278 Byz ^{mss} Chr Dam Thdrt	ἄχρη ἡμέρας P ⁴⁶ Σ A B <i>rell</i>
<u>Heb 3,13</u>	l	ἄχρη Σ A B C <i>rell</i>	ἄχρη P ¹³ 0243 1518
Heb 4,12	l	ἄχρη D	ἄχρη P ^{13,46} Σ A B C <i>rell</i>
Heb 6,11	l	N/A	ἄχρη P ⁴⁶ Σ A B C <i>rell</i> μέχρη 436 441 442
<u>Rev 2,25</u>	v	ἄχρη οὐ <i>rell</i>	ἄχρη οὐ Σ C 1611 ⁺²³²⁹ Byz ^{mss} Oec ⁺²⁰⁵³ ἔως οὐ A Byz ^{mss}
Rev 2,26	v	N/A	ἄχρη Σ A C <i>rell</i>
Rev 7,3	v	ἄχρη Σ 2031 ἄχρη ἄν Byz ^{mss} ἄχρη οὐ Byz ^{mss}	ἄχρη A C P 1006 1841 2053 Byz ^{pt} Or
Rev 14,20	v	N/A	ἄχρη P ¹¹⁵ Σ A C <i>rell</i> μέχρη P ⁴⁷
Rev 15,8	v	ἄχρη C 1611	ἄχρη Σ A <i>rell</i>
Rev 17,17	v	N/A	ἄχρη Σ A <i>rell</i>
Rev 20,3	v	ἄχρη 2050 2051 ⁺²⁰⁵⁵⁺²⁰⁶⁴⁺²⁰⁶⁷	ἄχρη Σ A <i>rell</i>
Rev 20,5	v	ἄχρη Byz ^{mss}	ἄχρη A 046 <i>rell</i>

The Atticists denounced ἄχρη as a spurious diction (ἄδόκιμον).⁴⁷⁵ Moeris wrote ἄχρη ἄνευ τοῦ σ Ἀττικῶς, ἄχρη Ἑλληνικῶς (“ἄχρη without the σ in Attic, ἄχρη in Hellenic Greek”). Similarly, the Philetaios attributed to Herodian reads ἄχρη καὶ μέχρη ἄνευ τοῦ σ, τὸ δὲ σὺν τῷ σ Ἰωνικόν (“ἄχρη and μέχρη without the σ, but with σ Ionic”).⁴⁷⁶ It is, however, found in pre-Classical poetry interchangeably with ἄχρη to suit the metre. The pre-Classical tendency was to write ἄχρη before consonants, and ἄχρη before vowels, though this tendency was not consistent. Attic never used ἄχρη, which is why Atticists

⁴⁷⁵ Caragounis 2006: 125.

⁴⁷⁶ J.K. Elliott 1976: 149.

rejected it.⁴⁷⁷ During the Hellenistic period, however, ἄχρῖς again gained momentum, especially in the non-literary use of the language. The Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri has 114 entries for ἄχρῖς. Several of them are of interest, e.g. *P.Bas.* 18.4 (30 BC – AD 100); *BGU* 830.13 (I AD); *BGU* 896.3 (AD 138-61); *BGU* 1576.5 (AD 133-135); *P.Mich.* 789.27 (AD 190); *P.Oxy.* 1346.1 (II AD); *P.Russ.Georg.* 2.26.16 (AD 160), 2.27.9 (AD 161/2); *P.Ryl.* 2.116.18 (AD 194); *PSI* 233.8 (II AD); *P.Thmouis* 1.94.10, 1.95.17, 1.106.7 etc (AD 170/171). The later non-literary papyri have ἄχρῖς with *consonants*, e.g. *Chrest.Wilck.* 281.17 (AD 368/369); *P.Mil.* 41.12 (V AD); *P.Petra* 11.10 (AD 569); *PSI Congr. XVII* 27.9 (IV AD); *P.Ryl.* 2.116.18 (AD 194). The Koine form is found in some literary work as well, e.g. those of Theocritus (IV/III BC), Apollonius of Rhodes (III BC), Bion (II BC), Tryphon (I BC), Philo (I BC/I AD), Josephus (I AD), Plutarch (I/II AD), Galen (II AD), and Oppian of Corycus (II AD) *before vowels*.⁴⁷⁸ Thus, the Koine usage in the first-century texts appears to have been to write ἄχρῖς before vowels and ἄχρῖ before consonants. Later development of Greek saw the intrusion of ἄχρῖς before consonants.

Despite these developments in Greek usage, some scholars claim that the Attic preposition ἄχρῖ is used almost exclusively in the NT.⁴⁷⁹ Its Hellenistic counterpart ἄχρῖς is claimed to be limited to two instances, one in Gal 3,19 and the other in Heb 3,13, although some critical editors like von Soden, UBS⁴ and Westcott-Hort accept ἄχρῖς in other places as well.⁴⁸⁰ This is one of the very rare differences between the NA²⁷ and the UBS⁴. The NA²⁷ reads ἄχρῖς only in Gal 3,19; Heb 3,13; and in brackets at Rev 2,25. The Robinson-Pierpont edition of the Byzantine Majority text of the NT has no occurrences of ἄχρῖς anywhere. It follows Attic diction throughout. By contrast, Elliott has challenged this modern tendency to avoid ἄχρῖς.⁴⁸¹ He notes that ἄχρῖς is common in the NT textual tradition and argues for its originality in several textual locations.

I will reassess the question of authenticity of ἄχρῖς in the NT textual tradition. First, some textual locations exhibit multiple variants (Acts 11,5; 20,6.11; 22,4; 28,15; 2 Cor 10,14).⁴⁸² The variant reading ἕως marks a continuous extent of time,⁴⁸³ like ἄχρῖς(ς) and μέχρῖς(ς), in Acts 11,5 (D 241);

⁴⁷⁷ LSJ, ἄχρῖ.

⁴⁷⁸ Oppian of Corycus is not to be confused with the later Oppian of Apamea (III AD).

⁴⁷⁹ BDAG, ἄχρῖ; BDF §21; Caragounis 2006: 125. The LXX has ἄχρῖ οὐ in Job 32,11; and ἄχρῖ twice in 2 Macc 14,10.15.

⁴⁸⁰ *Westcott-Hort*: Lk 21,24; Acts 7,18; 11,5; 20,6.11; 28,15; Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; Gal 3,19; Phil 1,6; Heb 3,13; Rev 2,25. *Von Soden*: Acts 28,15; Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; Gal 3,19; Heb 3,3; Rev 2,25. *UBS⁴*: Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; Gal 3,19; Heb 3,13; Rev 2,25.

⁴⁸¹ J.K. Elliott 1972b, 1976.

⁴⁸² Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2004b) do not list the Koine ἄχρῖς at all.

⁴⁸³ Louw-Nida 67:119.

22,4 (Ψ 88 102 927 Chr); 28,15 (P^{74vid}). Its appearance is explicable as a scribal embellishment. It avoids (1) the choice between ἄχρῳ and μέχρῳ, and (2) the choice concerning the movable σ. Codex Bezae often rejects both ἄχρῳ(ς) and μέχρῳ(ς) in favour of ἕως against most witnesses (Mt 13,30; 28,15; Mk 13,30; Lk 16,16; Acts 1,22; 11,5; 13,11; Phil 2,30). Furthermore, ἕως is Attic,⁴⁸⁴ and a favourite form in the LXX (1564 hits). Atticistic tendencies or Septuagintalisms are the probable reasons why ἕως has been substituted for ἄχρῳ(ς)/μέχρῳ(ς). Thus, ἕως is to be rejected.

Secondly, μέχρῳ(ς) exists as a *varia lectio* for ἄχρῳ(ς). The μέχρῳς in Acts 20,11 is read only by ms. 1243, so it is to be rejected, though it could perhaps be seen as a secondary witness for reading ἄχρῳς. In the same way, μέχρῳ is likely an alteration of ἄχρῳ in Acts 22,4; 2 Cor 2,14. This change may have been inspired by the LXX, where it appears 69 times, overpowering the mere four occurrences of ἄχρῳ(ς). Thirdly, the use of ἀπό in place of ἄχρῳ(ς) in Acts 20,6 (P⁷⁴ ⚭ E 33) is likely another scribal embellishment. The substitution of ἕως/μέχρῳ(ς)/ἀπό for ἄχρῳ(ς) reveals scribal tendencies to “modernise” the text, perhaps to a local usage of Greek. Codex Bezae appears to suffer from this kind of textual corruption.⁴⁸⁵ This leaves only ἄχρῳς to contend with ἄχρῳ as the initial form.

The NT textual tradition attests to ἄχρῳς before *consonants* in Acts 13,6; 22,4,22; 23,1; 26,22; 27,33; Rom 1,13; 2 Cor 3,14; 10,13,14; Gal 4,2; Phil 1,5; Heb 4,12; Rev 7,3; 15,8; 20,3,5. Most of these references have Codex Athous Laurae (Ψ) as the principal witness to such a grammatical feature. The earliest are Codex Sinaiticus (Rev 7,3), Codex Bezae (Lk 1,20), and Codex Claromontanus (Heb 4,12). The rest are found in much later witnesses. Many of the references are singular and sub-singular readings. It is likely that ἄχρῳς before consonants represents a secondary corruption. However, some (or many) witnesses support ἄχρῳς before a *vowel* in Mt 24,38; Lk 1,20; 17,27; 21,24; Acts 7,18; 11,5; 20,6,11; 28,15; Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; Gal 3,19; Phil 1,6; Heb 3,13; Rev 2,25. These cases need to be studied more closely, as they may concur with contemporary Koine usage.

Elliott argued that ἄχρῳ ἦς appears without a variant ἄχρῳς ἦς and that this is probably due to euphony in the NT.⁴⁸⁶ This is incorrect. The ἄχρῳ ἦς has ἄχρῳς ἦς as a *varia lectio* in Mt 24,38 (f¹³)/Lk 17,27 (Θ), and in Lk 1,20. Luke-Acts has ἄχρῳς as a *varia lectio* in every textual location followed by a vowel. Hence,

⁴⁸⁴ Palmer 1980: 274.

⁴⁸⁵ Amphoux (1999: 12-13) has argued that Codex Bezae is a redactional work done in Smyrna around 120 AD. If so, an Asiatic style of Greek that in many ways resembles Atticistic tendencies could be a contributing factor to the discussion on scribal tendencies.

⁴⁸⁶ J.K. Elliott 1972b: 135; 1976: 149.

it is likely that Luke-Acts also follows the Koine usage: ἄχρη with consonants, ἄχρης with vowels. One might dispute this by arguing that Luke-Acts as a literary work might follow Attic throughout and Koine forms are later corruptions. This is difficult to maintain, because so many important textual witnesses support Koine forms in diverse places, followed by a vowel (P⁴⁵ ⚭ A B C D E W Θ Ψ J¹³ 157 440 1241 *Hk Byz*^{mss}). Hence, it is preferable to see Luke-Acts as following general Greek usage.

It is possible that Mt 24,38 and Lk 17,27 assimilated to each other due to related textual witnesses (J¹³ ↔ Θ), so they do not carry entirely independent testimony. Nevertheless, they follow the practice of reading ἄχρης with a vowel. They should be accepted as initial. Lk 21,24 should read ἄχρης οὐ with C D 157 892 1241. Likewise, Acts 7,18; 11,5; 20,6.11; 28,15 should all read ἄχρης as they are followed by a vowel. In detail, idiomatic ἄχρης οὐ is read by both Lk 21,24; Acts 7,18. This hints at authorial usage. Lk 1,20 has ἄχρης (W Θ 461), ἄχρης ἦς (D K Ψ), and ἄχρη ἦς (*rell*) as variant readings. The ἄχρης ἦς would be aberrant for Atticistic grammarians and sound inelegant. It is unlikely that a scribe would create such a reading. It could easily be rewritten both as ἄχρης and ἄχρη ἦς by two different scribes copying the text independently. One with Atticistic tendencies would drop the final sigma (→ ἄχρη ἦς ἡμέρας), the other one would probably drop ἦς because of a confusion of similar sounds between IC and HC coupled with the desire for euphony (→ ἄχρης ἡμέρας), or due to haplography (ἦς ἡμέρας). One might accept that ἄχρη ἦς turned into ἄχρης ἦς due to later developments in Greek, but it is difficult to explain why ἄχρη ἦς would be changed to ἄχρης, because the rough breathing sound makes it hard for I and H to assimilate to create ἄχρης. Therefore, Lk 1,20 should read ἄχρης ἦς despite its slim external support. This makes the authorial usage in Matthew and Luke-Acts follow the general Koine practice.

The Pauline corpus, including Hebrews, has ἄχρη with no *varia lectio*, and followed by a consonant in Rom 5,13; 8,22; 1 Cor 4,11; Heb 6,11. On the other hand, Gal 3,19 has ἄχρης with ἄχρη as a *varia lectio* in just one witness (ms. 1243). Heb 3,13 has almost the same situation: ἄχρη is read only by P¹³ 0243 1518, while ἄχρης is found in the rest of the tradition, including P⁴⁶. Both textual locations most likely read ἄχρης. Both times the next word begins with a vowel (so the UBS/NA). A reformed documentary hand in P¹³ reveals that it is a work of a professional scribe, who probably dropped the final ς due to Atticistic tendencies.⁴⁸⁷ These textual locations likely set the authorial style to ἄχρη before consonants, and ἄχρης before vowels. This requires that Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; Phil 1,6 should read ἄχρης.

⁴⁸⁷ ENTGM 83-84.

Revelation has only one case of ἄχρις with a vowel, in Rev 2,25, unless one is prepared to read ἄχρις ἄν or ἄχρις οὐ with some *Byz*^{mss} in Rev 7,3. This latter case is not likely.⁴⁸⁸ Manuscripts A *Byz*^{mss} read ἕως in Rev 2,25, which avoids the dilemma over the dialect altogether and appears to be an Atticism. There are two textual locations that are Attic only (Rev 2,26; 17,17), so the basic scheme of ἄχρῃ with consonants, ἄχρις with vowels should be followed in Revelation as well. Rev 2,25 should read ἄχρῃς.⁴⁸⁹ The final sigma should be retained and the brackets removed from the UBS/NA. Elsewhere in Revelation ἄχρις is a later corruption.

To summarise, ἄχρις has probably been Atticised to ἄχρῃ in some witnesses at Mt 24,38; Lk 1,20; 17,27; 21,24; Acts 7,18; 11,5; 20,6.11; 28,15; Gal 3,19; Heb 3,13; Rev 2,25.⁴⁹⁰ This seems to have taken place especially in Luke-Acts. Metzger argues that in Acts 11,15 it is difficult to know whether Atticism was operative,⁴⁹¹ but I suggest on the basis of general Greek usage that it did. Scribes might even have had apologetical reasons to do so, though this is only a hypothesis.⁴⁹² By contrast, the initial Attic reading has turned into its Koine equivalent in Acts 13,6; 22,4.22; 23,1; 26,22; 27,33; Rom 1,13; 2 Cor 3,14; 10,13.14; Gal 4,2; Phil 1,5; Heb 4,12; Rev 7,3; 15,8; 20,3. Hence, different scribes have felt different needs to “improve” the text. Some worked with Atticistic tendencies. Others have modified the text towards later Greek usage, writing ἄχρις even with consonants following. ἄχρις should be read in Mt 24,38; Lk 1,20; 17,27; 21,24; Acts 7,18; 11,5; 20,6.11; 28,15; Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; Gal 3,19; Phil 1,6; Heb 3,13; Rev 2,25. Elsewhere the initial reading is ἄχρῃ. These results are similar to those of the Westcott-Hort edition but depart from the UBS/NA.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁸ Aune (1998a: 427 n. 3.d.) notes that secondary nature of ἄχρις in Rev 7,3.

⁴⁸⁹ J.K. Elliott 1972b, 1976:149; Aune 1997: 199 n. 25.b.

⁴⁹⁰ These textual variants are generally not discussed by commentators, presumably because they do not affect the meaning of the text. E.g. Barrett (1994, 1998) accepts ἄχρῃ in Acts 7,18; 11,5; 20,6 without discussing the alternatives.

⁴⁹¹ TCGNT 339.

⁴⁹² Luke-Acts was written with non-Jews in mind. This would perhaps render it more likely open for pagan opposition to Christianity than other canonical Gospels for its non-Attic Greek. Kannaday (2004: 25-26) has noted that pagan opponents of Christianity generally portrayed Christians as ignorant and superstitious people. This could have caused some scribes to improve the literary level of the text they copied in order to impress their opponents with the literary sophistication of the Christian writings, i.e. “we are not as ignorant as you claim and the use of Attic is a proof of that”.

⁴⁹³ J.K. Elliott (1972b: 135; 1976: 149) has ἄχρις in Lk 21,24; Acts 11,5; 20,6.11; 28,15; Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; Gal 3,19; Phil 1,6; Heb 3,13; Rev 2,25. This is essentially the same list, except for Mt 24,38; Lk 1,20; 17,27q. He does not deal with Acts 7,18.

4.5.4. EBAAAN

The indicative third person plural aorist form of βάλλω⁴⁹⁴ appears generally in Attic and occasionally in Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. The ἔβαλαν was originally a Doric form that survived well into the fifth century.⁴⁹⁵ The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 13,48	c	ἔβαλαν D 700	ἔβαλον \aleph B C W <i>rell</i>
Mk 12,44	v	N/A	ἔβαλον \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 21,4	l	N/A	ἔβαλον \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 23,34	l	N/A	ἔβαλον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Jn 19,24	v	N/A	ἔβαλον \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 21,6	v	N/A	ἔβαλον \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Acts 16,23	l	N/A	ἔβαλον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B C D E <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 16,37</u>	l	ἔβαλαν B D	ἔβαλον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A E <i>rell</i>
Rev 18,19	v	ἔβαλαν C 1828 Hipp	ἔβαλον \aleph A <i>rell</i>
Note: at times there is also ἔβαλλον as a variant reading. They have not been listed.			

The Attic ἔβαλαν appears nine times, in Mt 13,48; Mk 12,44; Lk 21,4; 23,34; Jn 19,24; 21,6; Acts 16,23.37; Rev 18,19. In two instances two pericopes are parallel, which means that there are seven independent pericopes containing ἔβαλαν. Mk 12,44//Lk 21,4 and Lk 23,34//Jn 19,24 form two pairs. Both pairs consistently read the Attic form. Thrice the Koine (Doric) ἔβαλαν is found as a *varia lectio*. It is a sub-singular reading in Mt 13,48 (D 700); Acts 16,37 (B D). Rev 18,19 has the support of three witnesses (C 1828 Hipp). These three occurrences cover vernacular once, conversational style once, and literary style once. This means little due to the sparse nature of the occurrences. The UBS/NA accepts ἔβαλαν in Acts 16,37 (B D). The LXX reads ἔβαλαν in 1 Kgs 6,1 (but LXX Codex L has ἐνέβαλαν).⁴⁹⁶

The earliest references in the non-literary papyri are ἔβαλα in *P.Oxy.* 2729.18 (IV AD), and ἔβαλαν in *P.Apoll.* 63.12 (AD 703-715). Since the Koine forms generally appear in the second century,⁴⁹⁷ it is not surprising that related compound forms συνέβαλα in *P.Ross.Georg.* iii, 4.14 (III AD), ἐπέβαλαν in

⁴⁹⁴ BDAG, βάλλω – "to throw, put, cast", notes the Koine form.

⁴⁹⁵ LSJ, βάλλω. Browning (1983: 126-29) and Horrocks (1997: 40) note that Doric speakers are found well into the Christian era, particularly in Rhodes and the less accessible parts of the Peloponnese (authors such as Strabo, Dio Chrysostom, Pausanias). Doric-like Koine was still spoken in the Peloponnese in the sixth century AD. Alexandria saw an influx of Doric speakers in the third century BC, which affected the local dialect of Greek.

⁴⁹⁶ The LXX Codex L (*Purpureus Vindobonensis*, v/vi AD) is not the NT Codex L (*Regius*, viii AD).

⁴⁹⁷ Mandilaras 1973: 149.

P.Rein. 47.10 (II AD), and ἐξέβαλαν in *BGU* 1673.9 (II AD, written defectively as ἐξαίβαλαν) are the earliest known forms of ἔβαλα*. Nevertheless, the alpha forms have not been found before the second century. In literary works Hippolytus is the earliest reference.⁴⁹⁸ He may even be responsible for the Koine reading in Rev 18,19 if his reading spread to the NT textual tradition. The alpha forms replace most of the omicron forms by the third century.

Therefore, all three textual locations (Mt 13,48; Acts 16,37; Rev 18,19) are likely to suffer from secondary corruptions to modernise the spelling, perhaps to a local idiom.⁴⁹⁹ In this instance that idiom might have been a local Doric-like dialect that had survived the Hellenisation process. The changes might go back to the second century. In any case, this observation requires a change in Acts 16,37 to ἔβαλον (contra BDF §81, the UBS/NA), supported by P⁷⁴ ⚭ A E *rell*.

4.5.5. ΕΙΔΑ*

The indicative aorist forms of ὁράω⁵⁰⁰ (εἶδ*) appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. The general usage is Attic, but there are a number of Koine variant readings. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
<i>SINGULAR</i>			
Jn 1,48	c	N/A	εἶδον P ^{66,75} ⚭ A B W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 1,50	c	N/A	εἶδον P ^{66,75} ⚭ A B W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 18,26	c	N/A	εἶδον ⚭ A B C W <i>rell</i>
Acts 7,34	l	N/A	εἶδον P ⁷⁴ ⚭ A B C D E <i>rell</i> (cite LXX)
Acts 11,5	l	N/A	εἶδον P ⁷⁴ ⚭ A B D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 26,13	l	N/A	εἶδον ⚭ A B C E <i>rell</i>
Gal 1,19	c	N/A	εἶδον P ^{46,51} ⚭ A B <i>rell</i>
Gal 2,14	c	N/A	εἶδον P ⁴⁶ ⚭ A B C <i>rell</i>
Note: Rev 1,12.17; 4,1; 5,1.6.11; 6,1.5.8.12; 7,1.9; 8,2.13; 9,1.17; 10,1.5; 13,1.2.11; 14,1.6.14; 15,1.2.5; 16,13; 18,1; 19,11.17.19; 20,1.4.11; 21,1.22 do not have εἶδα (P ⁴⁷ 10 hits, ⚭ 37 hits, A 37 hits, C 18 hits).			
Rev 17,3	v	εἶδα A Hipp	εἶδον ⚭ <i>rell</i>
Rev 17,6	v	εἶδα ⚭ A 2329	εἶδον <i>rell</i>
<i>PLURAL</i>			
Mt 2,2	c	N/A	εἶδομεν ⚭ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 2,9	c	N/A	εἶδον ⚭ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 2,11	c	N/A	εἶδον ⚭ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 13,17	c	εἶδαν ⚭ B N 33	εἶδον C W <i>rell</i> εἶδειν D
»Lk 10,24	l	εἶδαν P ⁷⁵ ⚭ B C L N 33 1071	εἶδον A D W <i>rell</i>

⁴⁹⁸ Hippolytus, *De antichristo*, section 41 line 31.

⁴⁹⁹ Aune (1998b: 971 n. 19.a.) notes the variants. He reads ἔβαλον. The LXX 1 Kgs 6,1 probably suffers from a textual corruption.

⁵⁰⁰ BDAG, ὁράω – "to catch sight of, see, perceive, witness", does not note the Koine form.

Mt 17,8	c	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 9,8	v	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 25,37	c	εἶδαμεν B*	εἶδομεν ℵ A B ² D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 25,38	c	N/A	εἶδομεν ℵ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 25,39	c	N/A	εἶδομεν ℵ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 25,44	c	N/A	εἶδομεν P ⁴⁵ ℵ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 2,12	v	εἶδαμεν C D	εἶδομεν ℵ ² A B <i>rell</i> εἶδον W ἐφάνη ℵ *
»Lk 5,26	l	εἶδαμεν C 13 ⁺⁶⁹⁺⁷⁸⁸	εἶδομεν ℵ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 2,16	v	εἶδαν D	ιδόντες ℵ A B C W <i>rell</i>
Mk 6,33	v	εἶδαν D	εἶδον ℵ A B W <i>rell</i>
Mk 6,50	v	εἶδαν ℵ B	εἶδον A W <i>rell</i> omit D Θ 565 700
Mk 9,9	v	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B C W <i>rell</i> εἶδοσαν D
Mk 9,14	v	εἶδαν B*	εἶδον ℵ B ² L W Δ Ψ εἶδεν A C D <i>rell</i>
Mk 9,38	v	εἶδαμεν D N Ψ 346	εἶδομεν ℵ A B C W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 9,49	l	εἶδαμεν L	εἶδομεν P ⁷⁵ ℵ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 11,20	v	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 16,5	v	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B C D <i>rell</i> θεώρουσιν W
Lk 2,20	l	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 2,30	l	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 7,22	l	εἶδατε A 13 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸	εἶδετε ℵ B W <i>rell</i> εἶδον D
Lk 9,32	l	εἶδαν ℵ L	εἶδον P ^{45,75} A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 19,37	l	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 24,24	l	N/A	εἶδον P ⁷⁵ ℵ A B C W <i>rell</i> εἶδομεν D
<u>Jn 1,39</u>	v	εἶδαν P ⁶⁶ P ⁷⁵ B* C W ^{sup}	εἶδον ℵ A B ² <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,22	v	N/A	εἶδον P ⁷⁵ A B W <i>rell</i> εἶδεν P ^{28vid} ℵ D
Jn 6,26	v	εἶδατε D	εἶδετε P ⁷⁵ ℵ A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 19,6	v	N/A	εἶδον ℵ A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 19,33	v	N/A	εἶδον ℵ ² A B W <i>rell</i> εὔρον ℵ *
<u>Acts 4,20</u>	l	εἶδαμεν P ⁷⁴ ℵ A B* D Ψ 104	εἶδομεν B ² C <i>rell</i>
Acts 6,15	l	εἶδαν A	εἶδον ℵ B C D E <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 9,35</u>	l	εἶδαν A B C	εἶδον P ⁷⁴ ℵ D E ^c <i>rell</i> εἶδεν E*
<u>Acts 12,16</u>	l	εἶδαν A B	εἶδον P ⁷⁴ ℵ C E <i>rell</i> ιδόντες D
Acts 28,4	l	εἶδαν B	εἶδον P ⁷⁴ ℵ A C <i>rell</i>
Phil 1,30	c	N/A	εἶδετε P ⁴⁶ ℵ A B <i>rell</i>
Phil 4,9	c	N/A	εἶδετε P ⁴⁶ ℵ A B <i>rell</i>
Heb 3,9	l	N/A	εἶδον P ^{13,46} ℵ A B C <i>rell</i>
Heb 11,23	l	N/A	εἶδον P ⁴⁶ ℵ A B <i>rell</i>
Jas 5,11	l	εἶδατε 876	εἶδετε ℵ A B <i>rell</i>

The Attic first person singular εἶδον appears 47 times in the NT textual tradition. Twice its Koine equivalent εἶδα appears as a *varia lectio* (Rev 17,3 with A Hipp; 17,6 with **ℵ** A 2329). The Attic plural εἶδομεν, εἶδετε, and εἶδον are found 43 times with their Koine equivalents εἶδαμεν, εἶδατε, and εἶδαν 21 times as *variae lectiones*. The Koine forms cover the vernacular (10/56, 18%), the conversational (2/13, 15%) and the literary (11/21, 48%) parts of the NT.

They are unevenly distributed. Matthew has 2/9 (22%), Mark 6/10 (60%), Luke-Acts 10/17 (59%), John 2/7 (29%), James 1/1 (100%), and Revelation 2/39 hits (5%). The LXX has εἶδαν in Jdg 6,28; 16,24; 18,7; 1 Sam 6,19; 10,14; 19,20; 2 Sam 10,6.14.19; Jdt 6,12; Ps 34,21; the Attic εἶδον predominates in the LXX usage (120 hits). The UBS/NA reads εἶδαμεν in Acts 4,20 and εἶδαν in Mt 13,17//Lk 10,24; Jn 1,39; Acts 9,35; 12,16. The last one is a sub-singular reading, so one wonders why the UBS/NA editors rejected εἶδαν in Mk 6,50 (⌘ B); Lk 9,32 (⌘ L). This is probably due to some inconsistency of choice.

The εἶδας in *BGU* 1143.19 (18 BC) is the only Koine form found in the non-literary papyri before the second century. Its Attic rival εἶδες is found e.g. in *UPZ* 70.5 (152/151 BC); *BGU* 923.11 (I-II AD⁵⁰¹); *PSI* 1033.10 (AD 166); *SB* 7368.28 (II-III AD). Other Koine forms are found from the second and third centuries. The εἶδα is found in *P.Diog.* 46.18 (AD 141/142), εἶδαμεν in *P.Mich.* 157.18; *SB* 4435.14; 4436.15-16 etc; *P.Meyer.* 16.13; 17.15; *P.Ryl.* 112A.10, 112B.15 (all ca. AD 250), and εἶδαν in *P.Sakaon* 44rpdupl (IV AD).⁵⁰² The εἶδατε appears to be absent in the non-literary papyri currently known. Several Koine authors use the alpha forms in their literary works, but significantly only Polycarp is roughly contemporary with the NT authors. The Philippian Letter of Polycarp has εἶδατε in Phil 9,1 (I/II AD),⁵⁰³ although the work leans more towards the early second century (most would date it to AD 110-140).⁵⁰⁴ The rest are no earlier than the second century AD (e.g. Herodianus, *Epitaphium Abercii*, *Protevangeliium Jacobi*).⁵⁰⁵ Thus, some Koine forms might have existed in the first century, but they are found no earlier than the second century except εἶδας. The implication is that the alpha forms *might* be initial readings in some textual locations in the NT, but doubt exists for forms other than εἶδας, which does not appear in the NT.⁵⁰⁶ The UBS/NA editors accept the Koine readings in Mt 13,17//Lk 10,24; Jn 1,39; Acts 4,20; 9,35; 12,16.⁵⁰⁷ The following is a detailed analyses of the Koine forms in the NT textual tradition.

Koine *variae lectiones* appear twice in Matthew, in Mt 13,27; 25,37. The Attic is uncontested in Mt 2,2.9.11; 17,8; 25,38.39.44. This appears to set the

⁵⁰¹ The editor of *editio princeps* has written εἶδας into his text, and noted the original, misspelled form οἶδες in the footnote. I disagree with the editor with his decision to read εἶδας, as οἶδες implies more likely εἶδες due to itacism than εἶδας.

⁵⁰² Gignac 1981: 343; Mandilaras 1973: 152.

⁵⁰³ This is the only occurrence of any alpha form in the Apostolic Fathers.

⁵⁰⁴ See, e.g., [<http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/polycarp.html>].

⁵⁰⁵ E.g. Herodianus, *Περὶ πλᾶτων*, volume 3 part 2, page 356 line 11; *Epitaphium Abercii*, *Epitaphium*, line 10; *Protevangeliium Jacobi*, section 47 line 12.

⁵⁰⁶ The NT attests εἶδες in Acts 26,16; Rev 1,19.20; 17,8.12.15.16.18.

⁵⁰⁷ Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2005) note the variants, but they make no decisions about which one is the most likely initial reading.

authorial style to Attic, as it is unlikely that eight different textual locations have all lost the initial Koine readings completely. This casts doubt on the Koine readings in Mt 13,27; 25,37. The latter is a singular reading (εἶδαμεν in B*), which may be rejected as a secondary corruption. The εἶδαν in Mt 13,27 has a relatively strong external combination (⌘ B N 33), but it is explicable either as a scribal harmonisation to its Synoptic parallel in Lk 10,24 or as an early gloss. Hence, Matthean references should all read the Attic form. This requires a change to εἶδον in Mt 13,27 in the UBS/NA, despite its external support and author's conversational style.

Koine *variae lectiones* appear six times in Mark, in Mk 2,12.16; 6,33.50; 9,14.38. The Attic is uncontested four times, in Mk 9,8.9; 11,20; 16,5. Twice there is a Lucan parallel account: Mk 2,12 with Lk 5,26 and Mk 9,38 with Lk 9,49. It is difficult to decide the authorial usage conclusively. All except one of the Koine references are singular or sub-singular: Mk 2,12 (εἶδαμεν C D); 2,16 (εἶδαν D); 6,33 (εἶδαν D); 6,50 (εἶδαν ⌘ B); 9,14 (εἶδαν B*). Only Mk 9,38 has a stronger external support for εἶδαμεν in genealogically independent witnesses (A-text: N Ψ; B-text: L; C-text: ms. 346; D-text: D). Therefore, the decisions are tentative only. There are no papyri containing those portions of Mark that relate to EΙΔΑ*. P⁴⁵ is Atticistic in nature elsewhere. Little if anything can be inferred from it as a secondary, indirect testimonial to the possible Markan usage of EΙΔΑ*. Two reasons favour the Koine forms: (1) the vernacular style of Mark, and (2) the higher amount of Koine *variae lectiones* in comparison to Attic-only textual locations. By contrast, two reasons argue against them. (1) The combination of all vernacular references in the NT for EΙΔΑ* shows only a few textual locations where the Koine *variae lectiones* appear. Most references are Attic only. (2) The Koine forms have slim external evidence at best. Thus, it seems best to disregard all Koine *variae lectiones* as secondary corruptions at the present time.

Koine *variae lectiones* appear ten times in Luke-Acts, in Lk 5,26; 7,22; 9,32.49; 10,24; Acts 4,20; 6,15; 9,35; 12,16; 28,4. The Attic forms appear uncontested in Lk 2,20.30; 19,37; 24,24; Acts 7,34; 11,5; 26,13. However, Acts 7,34; 11,5; 26,13 all read εἶδον as the first person singular. They may be disregarded, because they do not necessarily impact on the author's usage of the plural forms. This reduces the list of Attic-only plural form references to Lk 2,20.30; 19,37; 24,24. In detail, εἶδαμεν and εἶδατε appear as *variae lectiones* in every textual variation location in Luke-Acts. εἶδαν is found in six out of ten textual locations as a *varia lectio*. This tips the balance of intrinsic probability slightly in favour of the *plural* Koine forms. Yet the slim external support and the literary style of Luke-Acts cast some doubts on the Koine readings. Lk 5,26; 7,22; 9,32.49; Acts 6,15; 12,16; 28,4 are all singular or sub-singular readings.

Only Lk 10,24 and Acts 4,20 have a stronger external support. There are two likely harmonisations to the corrupted textual tradition in the parallel texts: εἶδαμεν in Lk 5,26 (C 13⁺⁶⁰⁺⁷⁸⁸) harmonises with Mk 2,12 (C D), and Lk 9,49 (L) with Mk 9,38 (D N Ψ 346). This leaves Lk 7,22; 9,32; 10,24; Acts 4,20; 6,15; 9,35; 12,16; 28,4. Tentatively they might read the Koine forms. The critical text could read εἶδαμεν in Acts 4,20; εἶδατε in Lk 7,22; and εἶδαν in Lk 9,32; Acts 6,15; 9,35; 12,16; 28,4.

Koine *variae lectiones* appear twice in John. Jn 1,39 reads εἶδαν (P⁶⁶ P⁷⁵ B* C W^{sup}); Jn 6,26 has εἶδατε (D). The Attic is uncontested in Jn 1,48.50; 6,22; 18,26; 19,6.33. Three textual locations (Jn 1,48.50; 18,26) contain εἶδον as the first person singular. As in the case of Luke-Acts, these may be disregarded, because they do not necessarily impact on the author's usage of the plural forms. Even so, the authorial usage seems to favour Attic forms, despite the use of vernacular style. Jn 1,39 has a strong external support, so it cannot be easily rejected. Perhaps the author's usage shifted from Koine to Attic somewhere between Jn 1,39 and Jn 6,22. It is possible that Jn 1,39 testifies to an early second-century corruption but any decision to classify it as such would be tentative at best. The εἶδατε in Jn 6,26 in Codex Bezae is likely a secondary corruption to the later Greek usage.

The Pauline corpus has no Koine *variae lectiones* anywhere. All references are uniformly in Attic. The only reference in the Catholic Letters (Jas 5,11) likely contains a later corruption as it is a singular reading found in ms. 876.⁵⁰⁸ Revelation contains 39 times the first person singular εἶδον, twice with Koine εἶδα as a *varia lectio*, in Rev 17,3 (A Hipp); 17,6 (N A 2329). The preponderant authorial usage is decisively against εἶδα. Although it appears in such a good witness for Revelation as Codex Alexandrinus, it is likely a second-century corruption.

4.5.6. EIIIA*

The indicative aorist forms of λέγω⁵⁰⁹ appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. Most of the textual locations with singular forms attest Attic only, but there are a number of Koine variant readings. In total, εἶπα and εἶπας appear in 12/39 (31%) textual locations. By contrast, the Koine/Attic variation occurs in almost every textual location with plural forms: εἶπατε and

⁵⁰⁸ J.D. Miller (2003: 241) accepts the Attic εἶδετε without any discussion of the rival reading. It is not mentioned, so perhaps he was not aware of its existence, or chose to ignore such a singular reading altogether.

⁵⁰⁹ BDAG, λέγω – "to say", does not note the Koine form.

εἶπαν appear in 132/138 (96%) textual locations. The following table summarises the findings.⁵¹⁰

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
<i>SINGULAR</i>			
Mt 16,11	c	N/A	εἶπον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 26,25</u>	c	εἶπας P ³⁷ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
<u>Mt 26,64</u>	c	εἶπας N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
Mt 28,7	c	εἶπα N *	εἶπον N ² A B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mk 9,18</u>	v	εἶπα N B F L W Ψ <i>f</i> ¹ 28 ⁺⁵⁶⁵	εἶπον A C D <i>rell</i>
Mk 12,32	v	εἶπας N ² A B W <i>rell</i>	εἶπες N * D L Byz ^{mss}
<u>Lk 20,39</u>	l	εἶπας N A B D W <i>rell</i>	λέγεις <i>f</i> ¹
Jn 1,15	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B C* D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 1,30	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B C W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 1,50	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 3,7	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 3,12	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 3,28	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 4,17</u>	v	εἶπας P ^{66,75} A B ² C D W <i>rell</i>	εἶπες N B*
Jn 6,36	v	N/A	εἶπον P ⁶⁶ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 8,24	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 9,27	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 10,25	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B W <i>rell</i> λάλω D Θ
<u>Jn 10,34</u>	v	εἶπα P ^{45,66,75} N B W <i>rell</i> (cite the LXX)	εἶπον A D Δ Θ 0211 <i>f</i> ^{1,3} 33 579 Byz ^{mss}
Jn 10,36	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{45,75} N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 11,40	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66,75} N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 11,42	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{59,66} N A B C D W <i>rell</i> ποιῶ Θ
Jn 13,33	v	N/A	εἶπον P ⁶⁶ N A B C D <i>rell</i> εἶρηκα W
Jn 14,2	v	N/A	εἶπον P ⁶⁶ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 14,26	v	N/A	εἶπον P ⁶⁶ N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 14,28	v	N/A	εἶπον P ⁶⁶ N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 15,20	v	N/A	εἶπον P ⁶⁶ A B D W <i>rell</i> ἐλάλησαι N
Jn 16,4	v	N/A	εἶπον N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 16,15	v	N/A	εἶπον N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 16,19	v	N/A	εἶπον P ^{66vid} N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 18,8	v	N/A	εἶπον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 18,21	v	N/A	εἶπον P ⁶⁶ N A B C W <i>rell</i>

⁵¹⁰ Mealand (1996) discusses Luke's Greek and covers the Koine forms of ΕΙΠ*. Unfortunately, his view of the matter is based on the occurrences of the alpha forms in the UBS/NA text instead of textual variants. Thus, Mealand's treatment of the Greek of Luke-Acts should be augmented by noting that Luke-Acts has more Koine forms than listed in the UBS/NA (see the discussion in the text). Mealand gives the following statistics for Luke-Acts with compounds: *εἶπα 1 hit, *εἶπας 1 hit, *εἶπαμεν no hits, *εἶπατε 3 hits, and *εἶπαν 44 (46) hits. Yet the manuscript tradition has the following statistics when *excluding* the compound forms: εἶπα 3 hits, εἶπας 1 hit, εἶπαμεν no hits, εἶπατε 5 hits, and εἶπαν 48 hits. So, even *without* the compounds the figures are higher.

Acts 11,8	l	εἶπα D	εἶπον P ⁷⁴ N A B E <i>rell</i>
Acts 22,10	l	εἶπα P ⁷⁴ D	εἶπον N A B E <i>rell</i>
Acts 22,19	l	N/A	εἶπον P ⁷⁴ N A B E <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 26,15</u>	l	εἶπα P ⁷⁴ A B C E H ⁺⁰⁴⁹⁺⁰⁵⁶⁺¹²⁴¹ 33 81 88 104 330 927 1175 1243 1739 ⁺⁹⁴⁵ 1854 2344	εἶπον N <i>rell</i>
Gal 2,14	c	N/A	εἶπον P ⁴⁶ <i>rell</i>
Heb 3,10	l	εἶπα A D ^c 33 441 442 Byz ^{mss} Chr Cyr Euthal (D* has a misspelling εἶπαν)	εἶπον P ⁴⁶ N B C <i>rell</i>
Heb 10,7	l	N/A	εἶπον P ⁴⁶ N A C <i>rell</i>
<i>PLURAL</i>			
<u>Mt 2,5</u>	c	εἶπαν N B	εἶπον C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 9,3</u>	c	εἶπαν B	εἶπον N C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 10,27</u>	c	εἶπατε N B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
»Lk 12,3	l	εἶπατε P ⁷⁵ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	εἶπητε P ⁴⁵
<u>Mt 12,2</u>	c	εἶπαν N B C Θ 33	εἶπον D W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 6,2	l	εἶπαν W X	εἶπον N A B C <i>rell</i> ἔλεγον D 579
Mt 12,24	c	N/A	εἶπον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 11,15	l	εἶπαν B R	εἶπον P ⁷⁵ N A C D W <i>rell</i> ἐλάλησαν λέγοντες P ⁴⁵
<u>Mt 13,10</u>	c	εἶπαν N B L Θ 33 124 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸	εἶπον D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 13,27	c	εἶπαν Θ ^f 13	εἶπον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 15,12	c	εἶπαν N	εἶπον C W <i>rell</i> λέγουσιν B D Θ ^f 13 33 579 700
<u>Mt 15,34</u>	c	εἶπαν N ^f 13	εἶπον B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 8,5	v	εἶπαν N B N W Δ 565 579	εἶπον A C D <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 16,14</u>	c	εἶπαν B Π 33	εἶπον N C D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 8,28	v	εἶπαν N B C L Δ 579	ἀπεκρίθησαν A D W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 9,19	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁵ B N D 700	εἶπον A C W <i>rell</i>
Mt 17,19	c	εἶπαν N 579	εἶπον B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 17,24</u>	c	εἶπαν N ² B D	εἶπον N * C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 21,5</u>	c	εἶπατε N B C D W <i>rell</i> (cite the LXX)	N/A
<u>Mt 21,16</u>	c	εἶπαν N B D L Θ 124	εἶπον P ⁴⁵ C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 21,27</u>	c	εἶπαν N D Θ 124	εἶπον B C W <i>rell</i>
Mt 21,38	c	N/A	εἶπον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 12,7	v	εἶπαν N B C D L W Δ Ψ 28 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 209	εἶπον A <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 22,4</u>	c	εἶπατε N B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
<u>Mt 25,8</u>	c	εἶπαν B C L Θ 33	εἶπον N A D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 26,18</u>	c	εἶπατε N A B D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
»Mk 14,14	v	εἶπατε N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
<u>Mt 26,35</u>	c	εἶπαν Θ 33 69 ⁺⁷⁸⁸	εἶπον P ³⁷ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 26,61</u>	c	εἶπαν N Θ 124	εἶπον A B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 26,66</u>	c	εἶπαν N * 33	εἶπον N ² A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 26,73	c	εἶπαν 124	εἶπον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Jn 18,25	v	εἶπαν P ⁶⁶	εἶπον N A B C W <i>rell</i> εἶπεν Δ

<u>Mt 27,4</u>	c	είπαν L f ³ 33 Eus Chr	είπον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 27,6</u>	c	είπαν B L 33 Eus	είπον N A C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 27,21</u>	c	είπαν D L Θ 33	είπον N A B C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 27,49</u>	c	είπαν B 124 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸	είπον D έλεγον N A C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 28,7</u>	c	είπατε N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
<u>Mt 28,13</u>	c	είπατε N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
<u>Mk 10,4</u>	v	είπαν N B C D W 28 579	είπον A <i>rell</i>
<u>Mk 10,37</u>	v	είπαν B C [*] D L Δ Ψ	είπον N ² A C ³ W <i>rell</i> omit sentence N
<u>Mk 10,39</u>	v	είπαν N B D L W Δ Θ 1424 f ²⁸	είπον A C <i>rell</i>
<u>Mk 11,3</u>	v	είπατε N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
<u>Mk 11,6</u>	v	είπαν A L Δ Π Ψ 72	είπον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>»Lk 19,34</u>	l	είπαν N B L Or	είπον A W <i>rell</i> αποκρίθησαν D
<u>Mk 12,16</u>	v	είπαν N B C D L W Δ Ψ 28 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 33	είπον P ⁴⁵ <i>rell</i> λέγουσιν A 579
<u>»Lk 20,24</u>	l	είπαν N B C L Ψ 33 579	είπον A D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mk 16,7</u>	v	είπατε N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
<u>Mk 16,8</u>	v	είπαν D	είπον N A B C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 1,61</u>	l	είπαν N D L W Δ f ³ 579 700 Chr	είπον A B C <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 3,12</u>	l	είπαν C D W Ψ	είπον N A B <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 5,33</u>	l	είπαν B C D L N R V W Θ 13 [*] 33 700	είπον N A <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 7,20</u>	l	είπαν N B D L Θ 700 1071	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 7,22</u>	l	είπατε D W 579	άπαγγείλατε P ⁷⁵ N A B <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 9,12</u>	l	είπαν L Θ	είπον P ⁷⁵ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 9,13</u>	l	είπαν N B C D L Θ 33 124	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 9,54</u>	l	είπαν P ^{45,75} N B C L Θ 579	είπον A D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 10,10</u>	l	είπατε P ^{45,75} N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	λέγεται 579
<u>Lk 13,32</u>	l	είπατε P ^{45,75} N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	άπαγγείλατε 124
<u>Lk 17,5</u>	l	είπαν N B D L X 118 209 1582	είπον A W <i>rell</i> είπεν E [*]
<u>Lk 18,26</u>	l	είπαν N R 124	είπον A B D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 19,25</u>	l	είπαν N B L 1071	είπον A <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 19,33</u>	l	είπαν N B L 33 ^c Or	είπον A D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 19,39</u>	l	είπαν N A B D L Or	είπον W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 20,2</u>	l	είπαν N B L R 69 346 ⁺⁷⁸⁸	είπον A C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 20,3</u>	l	είπατε N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	N/A
<u>Lk 20,16</u>	l	είπαν N B D G L R Q Ψ 33	είπον A C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 20,39</u>	l	είπαν N B D L Q	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 22,9</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B N C D L 124 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 22,35</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B D L T Ψ 124	είπον N A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 22,38</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B N D L T Q 579	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 22,49</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B N D L T X Ψ	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 22,70</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B N L T	είπον A D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 22,71</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B N D L Q T X 1071	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 24,5</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B N C D L Mcion	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 24,19</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B N I 33	είπον A W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 24,24</u>	l	N/A	είπον P ⁷⁵ N A B D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 24,32</u>	l	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B N L 33	είπον A W <i>rell</i>

<u>Jn 1,22</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} B C* W ^{sup} Δ 063	είπον \aleph A C ³ <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 1,25</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} B C* L W ^{sup} X 33 Or	είπον \aleph A C ³ <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 1,38</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} B C* W ^{sup}	είπον \aleph A C ³ <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 2,18</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} B L N W ^{sup} 0162 33 Or	είπον \aleph A <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 2,20</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} B N W ^{sup} 0162 579 Or	είπον \aleph A <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 3,26</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} B N W ^{sup}	είπον \aleph A <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 4,52</u>	v	είπαν D	είπον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B C W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,25	v	είπαν W	είπον \aleph A B D <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,28	v	N/A	είπον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,30	v	N/A	είπον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B W <i>rell</i> είπεν D
Jn 6,34	v	είπαν Θ	είπον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 6,60</u>	v	είπαν D	είπον P ⁶⁶ \aleph A B C W <i>rell</i>
Jn 7,3	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶	είπον P ⁷⁵ \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 7,35	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶	είπον P ⁷⁵ \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 7,45	v	είπαν Θ	είπον P ⁷⁵ B D W <i>rell</i> λέγουσιν P ⁶⁶ \aleph
<u>Jn 7,52</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} B D K N T W Θ 33	είπον \aleph <i>rell</i>
Jn 8,13	v	είπαν Θ	είπον P ^{66,75} \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 8,39</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} \aleph B C D N Θ 33 or	είπον W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 8,41</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ \aleph D W Θ	είπον P ⁷⁵ B C <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 8,48</u>	v	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B \aleph C D W Θ 33 579 Or	είπον P ⁶⁶ <i>rell</i>
Jn 8,52	v	είπαν \aleph D Θ	είπον P ^{66,75} B C W <i>rell</i>
Jn 8,57	v	είπαν \aleph D Θ	είπον P ^{66,75} A B C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 9,12</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ \aleph B D W	είπον P ⁷⁵ A <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 9,20</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} \aleph B L W 33	είπον A D <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 9,22</u>	v	είπαν \aleph	είπον P ^{66,75} A B D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 9,23</u>	v	είπαν P ⁷⁵ B \aleph D W ¹	είπον P ⁶⁶ A W* <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 9,24</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} \aleph B D N W Θ	είπον A <i>rell</i>
Jn 9,26	v	είπαν \aleph *	είπον P ^{66,75} A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 9,28	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ \aleph D W 579	είπον P ⁷⁵ A B <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 9,34</u>	v	είπαν P ^{66,75} \aleph B D W Θ 579	είπον A <i>rell</i>
Jn 9,40	v	είπαν \aleph D W	είπον P ^{66,75} A B <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 11,12</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ \aleph Θ	είπον P ⁷⁵ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 11,37</u>	v	είπαν \aleph	είπον P ^{66,75} B C D W <i>rell</i> έλεγον A K Π
<u>Jn 11,46</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ \aleph D	είπον P ⁴⁵ A B C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 12,19</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ \aleph B	είπον A D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 16,17</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ B W 33	είπον \aleph A D <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 18,7</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ D X Or	είπον \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 18,25	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶	είπον \aleph A B C W <i>rell</i> είπεν Δ
<u>Jn 18,30</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ \aleph B C N	είπον A W <i>rell</i> είπεν D ^{sup}
Jn 18,31	v	N/A	είπον P ⁶⁰ \aleph A B C W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 19,24</u>	v	είπαν P ⁶⁶ \aleph L W X Eus PsAth	είπον A B W <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 1,11</u>	l	είπαν \aleph A B C* D Ψ 81	είπον E C ³ <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 1,24</u>	l	είπαν \aleph A B C* D 81 88 1175 Eus	είπον E C ^c <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 2,37</u>	l	είπαν D*	είπον A B C <i>rell</i> είποντες \aleph D ^c 049 614 ⁺¹⁶¹¹⁺²⁴⁹⁵ 1246

Acts 4,19	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ B 1175	εἶπον Σ A D <i>rell</i>
Acts 4,23	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ B D Ψ 1175	εἶπον A E <i>rell</i>
Acts 4,24	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ A B D P 1 181 1175 1646	εἶπον E <i>rell</i>
Acts 5,29	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ A B E 1175 1646	εἶπον <i>rell</i> εἶπεν D
Acts 6,2	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ A B C 1175	εἶπον Σ E <i>rell</i>
Acts 10,22	l	εἶπαν Σ A B C E 81	εἶπον P ⁷⁴ D <i>rell</i>
Acts 12,15	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ A B 81 1175	εἶπον P ⁴⁵ E <i>rell</i> ἔλεγον D ^{*vid}
Acts 13,46	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ A B D Ψ 81 88 1175	εἶπον C E <i>rell</i>
Acts 16,20	l	εἶπαν Σ A B E 81	εἶπον C D <i>rell</i>
Acts 16,31	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ A B D E 81 88 2344	εἶπον <i>rell</i>
Acts 17,32	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ B E 88 2344	εἶπον A D <i>rell</i>
Acts 19,2	l	εἶπαν P ⁺⁰⁴⁹⁺¹²⁴¹ 1 88 1245 1854	εἶπον <i>rell</i> omit P ^{41,74} Σ A B D E Ψ 33 1739 Hk
Acts 19,3	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ A B E I 88	εἶπον P ⁴¹ <i>rell</i> ἔλεγον D
Acts 21,20	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ E 88 307 2344	εἶπον A B <i>rell</i> εἶποντες C D P 1 69 104 323 1175 1243 1891 Hk Byz ^{ms}
Acts 23,4	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ B 33 88 1245 1646 2344	εἶπον A C E <i>rell</i>
Acts 23,14	l	εἶπαν P ^{48,74} Σ A B C E P 81 88 307 309 1646 1828 2344	εἶπον <i>rell</i>
Acts 28,21	l	εἶπαν P ⁷⁴ Σ A B 049 81 88 462 1646 1854 f ⁵⁹	εἶπον <i>rell</i>
Col 4,17	c	εἶπατε Σ A B C <i>rell</i>	N/A

Literary styles appear to have little bearing on the Greek usage, as most authors covered in the table above have Koine/Attic variation. The LXX abounds with the Koine forms (545 hits) in comparison with the Attic equivalents (222 hits). The UBS/NA reads the Koine forms in most cases where they appear in the NT textual tradition, except in Mt 13,27; 15,12; 17,19; 26,73: 27,49; 28,7; Mk 12,32; Lk 11,15; Jn 6,25.34; 7,3.35.45; 8,13.52.57; 9,26.28.40; 18,25; Acts 2,37; 4,19; 11,8; 19,2; 21,20; 22,10; Heb 3,10. The external evidence for each alpha form varies greatly. This has led to a number of inconsistencies in the UBS/NA. The editors have accepted εἶπαν as a singular reading in Mt 9,3 (B); Mk 16,8 (D); Jn 4,52 (D); Jn 6,60 (D); Jn 9,22 (**Σ**); Jn 11,37 (**Σ**), but rejected it in Mt 15,12 (**Σ**); Mt 26,73 (ms. 124)//Jn 18,25 (P⁶⁶); Jn 6,25 (W); Jn 6,34 (Θ); Jn 7,3 (P⁶⁶); Jn 7,35 (P⁶⁶); Jn 7,45 (Θ); Jn 8,13 (Θ); Jn 9,26 (**Σ**^{*}); Acts 2,37 (D^{*}). Similar inconsistency appears with sub-singular readings. They have been accepted in Mt 2,5 (**Σ** B); Mt 26,66 (**Σ**^{*} 33); Lk 6,2 (W X, parallel to Mt 12,2); Lk 9,12 (L Ξ), but rejected in Lk 11,5 (B R, parallel to Mt 12,24); Mt 13,27 (Θ f¹³); Mt 17,19 (**Σ** 579). Likewise, this inconsistency appears in other textual locations. The εἶπαν is read in Mt 15,34 (**Σ** f^{1,13}); Mt 16,14 (B Π 33); Mt 17,24 (**Σ**² B D); Mt 26,61 (**Σ** Θ 124); Lk 18,26 (**Σ** R 124); Jn 11,12 (P⁶⁶ **Σ** Θ); Jn

11,46 (P⁶⁶ **N** D); Jn 12,19 (P⁶⁶ **N** B), but rejected in Jn 8,52 (**N** D Θ); Jn 8,57 (**N** D Θ); Jn 9,40 (**N** D W); Acts 4,19 (P⁷⁴ B 1175). Summarising, the UBS/NA reads εἶπαν 95 times and rejects it 22 times. The εἶπαν was used in Attic, but εἶπον predominated until the Koine period.⁵¹¹ Consistency would have required that all cases of εἶπαν had been accepted due to the editors' acceptance of so many singular and sub-singular readings. The caveat is that this may be an oversimplification due to interchangeability of εἶπαν/εἶπον in the first-century Greek usage.

There is plenty of pre-second century textual evidence available for the Koine forms in the non-literary papyri. εἶπα appears in *BGU* 1141.50 (13 BC), 2604.17 (7 BC), 1847.12 (I AD); *PSI* 391.23 (242/241 BC); *P.Quseir* 13.3 (I-II AD); *UPZ* 62.15 (163 BC), εἶπας in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59300.8 (250 BC); *P.Lond.* 2007.10 (207 BC), 2012.2 (243 BC); *P.Yale* 34.4 (250 BC); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 38.2 (253 BC); *UPZ* 52.5, 53.6, 62.21 (161 BC), and εἶπαμεν in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59354.8-9 (243 BC); *PSI* 512.18 (253/252 BC); *P.Tor.Choach.* 11bis.68 (119 BC), 12.296 (117 BC); *UPZ* 185.22 (152-146/141-132 BC). The second-century evidence is too large to be included here, but all forms of ΕΙΠΑ* are found. This phenomenon is partially explicable by the fact that Attic already used εἶπας.⁵¹² By the time the LXX was translated, the alpha forms were already in common use.

Matthew has 31 textual locations with Koine *variae lectiones*. Only three textual locations are Attic only (Mt 16,11; 12,24; 21,38). Several locations are Synoptic parallels: Mt 10,27//Lk 12,3; Mt 12,2//Lk 6,2; Mt 12,24//Lk 11,15; Mt 15,34//Mk 8,5; Mt 16,14//Mk 8,28//Lk 9,19; Mt 21,38//Mk 12,7; Mt 26,18//Mk 14,14; Mt 26,73//Jn 18,25. Six times all parallel accounts read the same Koine *variae lectiones*. By contrast, Mt 12,24; 21,38 are Attic only, when their Lucan and Markan parallels have the Koine variants. There are some singular and sub-singular readings: εἶπα appears in Mt 28,7 (**N***); εἶπαν in Mt 2,5 (**N** B); 9,3 (B); 13,27 (Θ *f*¹³); 15,12 (**N**); 17,19 (**N** 579); 26,66 (**N*** 33); 26,73 (ms. 124); 27,49 (B 124⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸). The author of Matthew very likely wrote using Koine forms, because there are eight textual locations with *no* Attic *variae lectiones* at all (Mt 10,27; 21,5; 22,4; 26,18.25.64; 28,7.13). These outweigh the three Attic-only locations. Hence, there is little doubt that most of the Koine forms are authentic on the basis of their supportive external evidence, but I suggest on the basis of the Greek usage in the non-literary papyri that (1) they are all authentic, (2) the three textual locations (Mt 16,11; 12,24; 21,38) have suffered an early corruption with such consequences that their initial Koine form has been completely lost from the tradition, and (3) the singular and sub-singular readings are all that is

⁵¹¹ Gignac 1981: 336.

⁵¹² Gignac 1981: 336-337. LSJ, εἶπον, notes that the form is Attic, Epic, and Ionic.

left of the initial text in their respective textual locations. Suggestions 2 and 3 are perhaps conjectural deductions, but they seem reasonable enough. Hence, the UBS/NA needs an adjustment in Mt 13,27; 15,12; 17,19; 26,73; 28,7. Concurrently, the text of Matthew has suffered a lot of Atticistic changes.

Mark has 14 textual locations with Koine *variae lectiones*. None are Attic only. Additional Synoptic parallels to those listed above include Mk 11,6//Lk 19,34 and Mk 12,16//Lk 20,24. Every reference has a Koine *varia lectio*. There is only one singular reading, Mk 16,8 (D). Three times there are no Attic readings at all (Mk 11,3; 14,14; 16,7). Thus, the authorial usage is very likely Koine in Mark. Its text has been Atticised, like Matthew. This requires a change to the UBS/NA in Mk 12,32. It wrongly reads εἶπες with $\aleph^* D L Byz^{mss}$. Instead, Mk 12,32 should read εἶπας. Elsewhere the UBS/NA correctly reads the Koine form.

Luke-Acts has 56 textual locations with Koine *variae lectiones*. Two locations are Attic only (Lk 24,24; Acts 22,19). By contrast, Lk 20,3 uniformly reads Koine εἶπατε. There are six singular and sub-singular readings: Lk 6,2 (W X); 9,2 (L Θ); 11,5 (B R); Acts 2,37 (D*); 11,8 (D); 22,10 (P⁷⁴ D).⁵¹³ Again, the authorial usage is likely to be Koine, and the text has been Atticised. This requires changes to the UBS/NA in Lk 7,22; 11,15 (against the parallel Mt 12,24); Acts 2,37; 4,19; 11,8; 19,2; 21,20; 22,10.

John presents a different picture. It has 40 textual locations with Koine *variae lectiones*, and 26 textual locations that are Attic only. However, 23 of these Attic-only textual locations read the first person singular εἶπον, with no Koine εἶπα as a *varia lectio*. In other words, they are limited to one particular form. Only one exception is found. Jn 10,34 reads εἶπα with P^{45,66,75} $\aleph B W Byz$. This location contains a citation from Ps 81,6 LXX, reading ἐγὼ εἶπα θεοῦ ἐστε, so the Koine form should be retained here (so the UBS/NA). Three times John has no Koine variants (Jn 6,28.30; 18,31). There are eleven singular readings: Jn 4,52 (D); 6,25 (W); 6,34 (Θ); 7,3 (P⁶⁶); 7,35 (P⁶⁶); 7,45 (Θ); 8,13 (Θ); 9,22 (\aleph); 9,26 (\aleph^*); 11,37 (\aleph); 18,25 (P⁶⁶). Thus, it appears that the Johannine usage was Koine in the plural, and probably in the second person singular, but Attic for the first person singular. Royse takes the singular εἶπαν in P⁶⁶ at Jn 7,3.35; 18,25 as a substitution for the Attic form,⁵¹⁴ but such a contention is probably wrong in light of the general Koine usage in John. It is probable that the initial Koine εἶπαν has been lost in Jn 6,28.30; 18,31. John should be read with Koine forms

⁵¹³ Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2004b) note that D reads εἶπα, but instead of discussing its merits, they only note that it is rare in Attic Greek and found also in Acts 26,15.

⁵¹⁴ Royse 2008: 823, 824, 828.

throughout. This requires changes to the UBS/NA in Jn 6,25.34; 7,3.35.45; 8,13.52.57; 9,26.28.40; 18,25.

This leaves the Pauline corpus. Gal 2,14 reads uniformly Attic singular εἶπον. By contrast, Col 4,17 reads uniformly Koine εἶπατε. They need not be considered further. Heb 3,10 attests to Koine εἶπα as a *varia lectio* with A D^c 33 441 442 Byz^{mss} Chr Cyr Euthal. Heb 10,7 reads uniformly Attic εἶπον, which probably points to Heb 3,10 being a later corruption, since Hebrews is a literary work. There is no need to change the UBS/NA usage in the Pauline corpus.

4.5.7. ΕΙΣΗΛΘΑ*

The indicative aorist forms of εισέρχομαι⁵¹⁵ appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. The usage is Attic, except for a few textual locations where the Koine/Attic variation is found. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style	Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 25,10	c N/A	εισηλθον \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 27,53	c N/A	εισηλθον A B C W <i>rell</i> ἦλθον D
Mk 5,13	v εισηλθαν W	εισηλθον \aleph A C D <i>rell</i> εισηλθεν B Θ
»Lk 8,33	l N/A	εισηλθον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B C <i>rell</i> εισηλθεν S U W Ω J ¹ 565 700 ὤρμησαν D
Lk 7,45	l N/A	εισηλθον \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 9,52	l N/A	εισηλθον P ⁴⁵ \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i> εισηλθεν p ⁷⁵
<u>Lk 11,52</u>	l εισήλθατε P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B C ^c D E* H L M W Γ Δ J ¹³ 33 565 579 1071	εισήλθετε <i>rell</i>
Jn 18,28	v N/A	εισηλθον \aleph A B C W <i>rell</i>
Acts 1,13	l N/A	εισηλθον \aleph A B C E <i>rell</i> εισηλθεν D
Acts 5,21	l N/A	εισηλθον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 16,40	l N/A	εισηλθον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B E <i>rell</i> ἦλθον D 1175
Acts 28,16	l εισήλθαμεν A	εισήλθομεν \aleph B <i>rell</i> ἦλθομεν L Ψ 056 <i>pc Hk Byz^{mss}</i>
Heb 4,6	l N/A	εισηλθον P ^{13,46} \aleph A B C <i>rell</i>

The plural forms of εισήλθ* appear 13 times in the NT. The Koine forms appear as *variae lectiones* as follows. Acts 28,16 reads εισήλθαμεν as a singular reading in Codex A. Lk 11,52 has εισήλθατε with P⁷⁵ \aleph B A C^c D W *pc*, accepted in the UBS/NA. Mk 5,13 has εισηλθαν as a singular reading in Codex W. The LXX has εισήλθαμεν as *v.l.* in Jdg 18,9 (A); εισήλθατε in Jos 24,6;

⁵¹⁵ BDAG, εισέρχομαι – "to enter", notes the Koine form.

Amos 4,4; Jer 2,7; 51,8; and εἰσηλθαν in 2 Sam 10,14; 17,18; 2 Chr 29,17f. Again, the usage is predominantly Attic.

The earliest non-literary papyri supporting the Koine forms are as follows: εἰσηλθα in *BGU* 846.8 (II AD); *P.Mich.* 221.5 (ca. AD 296), εἰσηλθαμεν in *P.Oxy.* 1670.17 (III/IV AD), and εἰσηλθαν in *P.Gen.2* 3.17 (AD 178); SB 15452.3 (II AD); *P.Oxy.* 123.14 (III/IV AD). Nothing is earlier than the second century, and the occurrences increase in the later centuries. The Koine forms do not appear in the literary works.

Matthew, John, and Hebrews have no Koine variant readings. In light of the Greek usage in the non-literary works, there is little doubt that εἰσηλθαν in Mk 5,13 (W) is a secondary reading, attesting to a scribal habit to modernise the spelling.

Luke-Acts has two Koine readings, both likely secondary corruptions. The εἰσηλθαμεν in Acts 28,16 (A) is singular, and can be rejected, because the external evidence, the Greek usage, and the authorial usage are all against it. Lk 11,52 reads εἰσηλθατε with an impressive list of witnesses (P⁷⁵ ⚭ A B C^c D E* H L M W Γ Δ f¹³ 33 565 579 1071), but suffers from an early corruption to modernise the spelling. The change from Attic to Koine must have happened very early on to appear in such a wide variety of witnesses. This demonstrates that the external evidence can be deceiving at times. Normally a variant reading supported by P⁷⁵ ⚭ A B D W f¹³ would be considered quite certainly the initial reading in Luke, but not here. Contrary to the UBS/NA, Lk 11,52 should read εἰσηλθετε. This decision hinges on the findings in the contemporary non-literary and literary works. However, unless new evidence is found that places the Koine forms in the first century, it seems relatively safe to regard the Koine forms as later developments of Greek.

4.5.8. EIXA*

The indicative imperfect forms of ἔχω⁵¹⁶ appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. The general usage is Attic, but there are a number of Koine variant readings. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 14,5	c	N/A	εἶχον ⚭ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 21,46	c	N/A	εἶχον ⚭ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 27,16	c	N/A	εἶχον ⚭ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 3,10	v	N/A	εἶχον ⚭ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 8,7	v	εἶχαν ⚭ B D W Δ 1424	εἶχον A C <i>rell</i> omit 565

⁵¹⁶ BDAG, ἔχω – “to have, own”, notes the Koine form.

Mk 8,14	v	N/A	εἶχον ⊗ A B C D <i>rell</i> ἔχοντες P ⁴⁵ W Θ f ¹ f ¹³ 565 700
Mk 11,32	v	N/A	εἶχον ⊗ A B C <i>rell</i> ἠδειςαν D W Q 565
Lk 4,40	l	εἶχαν D	εἶχον ⊗ A B C W <i>rell</i>
Jn 15,22	v	εἶχαν D*	εἶχον A D ² <i>rell</i> εἶχοσαν P ⁶⁶ ⊗ B L N 1 33
Jn 15,24	v	εἶχαν D*	εἶχον A D ² <i>rell</i> εἶχοσαν P ⁶⁶ ⊗ B L Θ * 1 33 565
Acts 2,44	l	N/A	εἶχον P ⁷⁴ ⊗ A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 4,14	l	N/A	εἶχον P ⁷⁴ ⊗ A B D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 13,5	l	N/A	εἶχον P ⁷⁴ ⊗ A B C D <i>rell</i> εἶχοντες E
Acts 16,19	l	εἶχαν δι' αὐτῆς D	<i>none</i> (addition in D only)
Acts 19,14	l	εἶχαν τοὺς ... D	<i>none</i> (addition in D only)
Acts 25,19	l	N/A	εἶχον P ⁷⁴ ⊗ A B C E <i>rell</i>
Heb 11,15	l	εἶχαν P ⁴⁶	εἶχον ⊗ A <i>rell</i>
Heb 12,9	l	εἶχαμεν P ⁴⁶	εἶχομεν P ¹³ ⊗ A <i>rell</i>
2 Jn 5	v	εἶχαμεν ⊗ A	εἶχομεν B <i>rell</i>
Rev 6,9	v	N/A	εἶχον ⊗ A C <i>rell</i>
Rev 9,8	v	εἶχαν ⊗ A 792	εἶχον <i>rell</i> εἶχοντες Byz ^{mss} Prim
Rev 9,9	v	N/A	εἶχον P ¹¹⁵ ⊗ A <i>rell</i>

The Attic εἶχομεν appears twice (Heb 12,9; 2 Jn 5), both times with its Koine equivalent εἶχαμεν as a *varia lectio*: as a singular reading in Heb 12,9 (P⁴⁶), and as a sub-singular reading in 2 Jn 5 (**⊗** A). Roysse takes the former as a substitution for the Attic form.⁵¹⁷ The Attic εἶχον appears 18 times in the NT, six times with the Koine εἶχαν as a *varia lectio*. Four of them are singular readings: Lk 4,40 (D); Jn 15,22 (D); Jn 15,24 (D); Heb 11,15 (P⁴⁶). Twice it is better supported, in Mk 8,7 (**⊗** B D W Δ 1424) and Rev 9,8 (**⊗** A 792). Codex Bezae attests two more cases of εἶχαν in Acts 16,19; 19,14 with sentences that do not appear in other witness. There are no entries in the LXX. The UBS/NA rejects all Koine forms as secondary readings, which appear in the vernacular (5/10, 50%), and the literary (3/7, 43%) parts of the NT, but *not* in the conversational text of Matthew with its three textual locations.

The Koine forms are found as follows in the non-literary papyri: εἶχα in *P.Cair.Isid.* 65.5 (AD 298/299), εἶχαμεν in *UPZ* 18.26 (163 BC); *P.Oxy.* 2873.9 (AD 62); *SB* 9386.42 (II AD), εἶχατε in *P.Oxy.* (II-III AD), and εἶχαν in *P.Oxy.* 1585.2 (II/III AD); *P.Par.* 23.26 (AD 163); *P.Ryl.* 238.11 (AD 262). The εἶχαν appears also in some Attic inscriptions of the Roman period, but the form is nowhere unanimously attested.⁵¹⁸ The Koine forms are attested from the third century onwards in literary works.⁵¹⁹ The related compound verb προεἶχαν is

⁵¹⁷ Roysse 2008: 815.

⁵¹⁸ Gignac 1981: 332.

⁵¹⁹ *Testamentum Salomonis*, section 117 lines 9 and 33; section 18 lines 2 and 9 (III AD); Didymus Caecus, *Commentarii in Psalmos* 22-26.10, section 108 line 15 (iv AD); Chrysostom, *Laudatio Pauli*

found in *P.Grenf.* II, 41 (AD 46). Hence, the Koine forms are contemporary with the NT.

There is one textual location with εἶχαν as a *varia lectio* in Mark, against three Attic-only locations. This probably sets the authorial usage as Attic, although the external support for εἶχαν in Mk 8,7 is quite strong (⌚ B D W Δ 1424). Although Mark is vernacular, it seems best to take εἶχαν as a widespread, second-century corruption of the text to modernise its spelling.

Luke-Acts offers a window onto an early scribal tendency to modernise the spelling. Lk 4,40 in Codex Bezae is the only textual location with Koine εἶχαν appearing as a *varia lectio*, if two so-called “Western interpolations” in Acts 16,19; 19,14 are disregarded. The authorial style in Luke-Acts is decisively Attic, which appears uncontested in Acts 2,44; 4,14; 13,5; 25,19 and every other textual witness for Lk 4,40. The interpolations read εἶχαν. This probably means that Codex Bezae suffers from the scribal tendency to rewrite the text in order to reflect later Koine, away from Attic, because εἶχαν contradicts the original author’s usage. This leads to the conclusion that Lk 4,40 suffers from a secondary corruption. This conclusion is true also of John, where both textual locations (Jn 15,22.24) read εἶχαν with Codex Bezae only.

There are two textual locations in Hebrews, both with Koine *variae lectiones* in a single witness P⁴⁶: Heb 11,5 (εἶχαν); 12,9 (εἶχαμεν). This earliest witness to the text of Hebrews is characteristically Atticistic, so these two Koine variant readings may be authentic, despite the author’s use of the literary Koine. The decision is tentative only, but I accept these Koine readings. This would require changes to the UBS/NA in these two textual locations. 2 Jn 5 has εἶχαμεν as a *varia lectio* in its only occurrence of the imperfect of ἔχω. It is a sub-singular reading (⌚ A). Since this form is found in the first century and 2 John is vernacular, the Koine variant reading should be accepted as initial. This requires a change to the UBS/NA. Revelation reads εἶχαν once, in Rev 9,8 with ⌚ A 792. Two other textual locations in Revelation attest the Attic-only case, which perhaps sets the authorial usage as Attic, despite Revelation’s vernacular nature. This is somewhat difficult to determine, because the textual history of Revelation differs so markedly from the rest of the NT. Nevertheless, it seems best to take εἶχαν in Rev 9,8 as a secondary corruption.

4.5.9. ΕΛΑΒΑ*

The indicative aorist forms of λαμβάνω⁵²⁰ appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. The preponderant usage is Attic, but there are a few Koine variant readings. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 10,8	c	N/A	ἐλάβετε N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 12,14	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 16,7	c	N/A	ἐλάβομεν N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 16,9	c	N/A	ἐλάβετε N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 16,10	c	N/A	ἐλάβετε N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 20,9	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 20,10	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 22,15	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 25,3	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 25,4	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 27,1	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N A B C W <i>rell</i> ἐποίησαν D
Mt 27,9	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N A B C W <i>rell</i> (cite LXX)
Mt 27,30	c	N/A	ἔλαβον N A B D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 14,65	v	N/A	ἔλαβον N A B C <i>rell</i> ἐλάμβανον D G W <i>pc</i> ἔβαλ(λ)ον <i>pc</i> κατέβαλον 579
Mk 11,24	v	N/A	ἐλάβετε N B C L W Δ Ψ λή(μ)ψεσθε D Θ <i>f</i> ¹ 565 700 λαμβάνετε A <i>rell</i>
Lk 5,5	l	ἐλάβομεν A	ἐλάβομεν P ⁷⁵ N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 1,12	v	ἔλαβαν B*	ἔλαβον P ^{66,75} N A B ² C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 1,16	v	N/A	ἐλάβομεν P ^{66,75} N A B C D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 12,13	v	ἔλαβαν P ⁶⁶	ἔλαβον N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 17,8	v	N/A	ἔλαβον P ⁶⁰ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 19,23	v	N/A	ἔλαβον N A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 19,40	v	N/A	ἔλαβον N A B W <i>rell</i>
Acts 7,53	l	N/A	ἐλάβετε P ⁷⁴ N A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 19,2	l	N/A	ἐλάβετε P ⁷⁴ N A B D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 10,47	l	N/A	ἔλαβον P ⁷⁴ N A B D E <i>rell</i>
Rom 1,5	c	N/A	ἐλάβομεν N A B C <i>rell</i>
Rom 5,11	c	N/A	ἐλάβομεν N A B C <i>rell</i>
Rom 8,15a	c	N/A	ἐλάβετε N A B C <i>rell</i>
Rom 8,15b	c	N/A	ἐλάβετε P ^{46vid} N A B C <i>rell</i>
1 Cor 2,12	c	N/A	ἐλάβομεν P ⁴⁶ N A B C <i>rell</i>
2 Cor 11,4	c	N/A	ἐλάβετε P ^{34,46} N A B <i>rell</i>
Gal 3,2	c	N/A	ἐλάβετε P ⁴⁶ N A B C <i>rell</i>
Col 4,10	c	N/A	ἐλάβετε P ⁴⁶ N A B C <i>rell</i>
Heb 11,35	l	N/A	ἔλαβον P ¹³ N A <i>rell</i>
Heb 11,36	l	N/A	ἔλαβον P ⁴⁶ N A <i>rell</i>

⁵²⁰ BDAG, λαμβάνω – "to take, grasp", does not note the Koine form.

1 Jn 2,27	v	ἐλάβατε B	ἐλάβετε ⚭ A C <i>rell</i>
2 Jn 4	v	N/A	ἐλάβομεν A <i>rell</i> παρελάβομεν 1729 ἔλαβον ⚭ B 2344
Rev 17,12	v	ἔλαβαν 2049* 2196	ἔλαβον ⚭ A <i>rell</i>
Rev 20,4	v	N/A	ἔλαβον ⚭ A <i>rell</i>

The Attic forms ἐλάβομεν, ἐλάβετε, and ἔλαβον appear 39 times in the NT. Their Koine equivalents are sparse: ἐλάβομεν is found in Lk 5,5 (A), ἐλάβετε in 1 Jn 2,27 (B), and ἔλαβαν in Jn 1,12 (B*); 12,13 (P⁶⁶); Rev 17,12 (mss. 2049* 2196). The UBS/NA rejects all of these Koine forms. The LXX has ἔλαβαν 2 Sam 23,16 and as *v.l.* in Jdg 1,24 (A).

The Koine forms are found in the non-literary works as follows: ἔλαβα in *P.Athen.* 61.11 (I AD); *P.Thomas* 8.4 (I AD); *O.Berenike* 101.1 (AD 32-70),⁵²¹ ἔλαβας in *SB* 5218.7 (AD 156), ἐλάβομεν in *P.Hamb.* 39.14 (AD 179); *P.Louvre I* 33.2 (AD 200), ἐλάβετε in *P.PalauRib.* 28.7 (I AD), and ἔλαβαν in *P.Oxy.* 3988.7-8 (II AD); *SB* 15380.9 (II AD). In the literary works, ἐλάβομεν is found once in Heraclides.⁵²² The Attic forms are also found in the first/second-century non-literary works. The ἔλαβεσ e.g. in *O.Bodl.* 972.3 (I AD), ἐλάβομεν e.g. in *P.IFAO* 8.8 (I AD), ἐλάβετε e.g. in *SB* 9050.51 (I-II AD), and ἔλαβον e.g. in *P.Oxy.* 15708.62 (AD 100).

Matthew, Mark, and the Pauline corpus, including Hebrews, attest uniformly Attic usage in every textual location. Luke-Acts has one location, Lk 5,5, with Koine ἐλάβομεν as a singular reading in Codex Alexandrinus. All three references in Acts (7,53; 19,2; 10,47) read Attic without Koine variants. This sets the authorial usage to Attic, and marks ἐλάβομεν in Lk 5,5 (A) as a secondary corruption. John has two textual locations with Koine ἔλαβαν as singular readings, but the majority of textual locations read Attic, which sets the authorial style. Hence, both Jn 1,12 and 12,13 are likely secondary corruptions.

Johannine Letters and Revelation have two textual locations each with one containing the Koine *variae lectiones*. The authorial style in these vernacular works can be either Attic or Koine. In light of the first-century usage in the non-literary works, I suggest that tentatively 1 Jn 2,27 could read ἐλάβετε, and Rev 17,12 ἔλαβαν, in spite of the fact that they are singular and sub-singular readings. This would require changes in the UBS/NA.

⁵²¹ Second-century witnesses abound with ἔλαβα: *O.Claud.* 153.6 (AD 100-120), 155.4-5 (II AD), 166.8 (AD 100-120), 167.4 (AD 107), 220.8 (AD 137-145), 234.6 (II AD), 236.2-3,6 (II AD), 438.7 (AD 137/138), 441.7 (AD 137), 511.9-10 (AD 145), 546.8 (AD 145), 629.3 (AD 188/189); *Chrest.Wilck.* 480.9 (II AD); *P.Heid.* 399.21 (AD 149); *P.Münch.* 120.19-20 (II AD).

⁵²² Heraclides, *Fragmenta*, fragment 50, lines 15 and 18 (I/II AD).

4.5.10. ΕΛΕΓΑΝ

λέγω⁵²³ has a first aorist ending in the third person plural indicative imperfect. It appears in both Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition, though Attic predominates almost exclusively. The Koine form is rare. The summary is found below.

Mt 9,11.34; 12,23; 21,11; 26,5; 27,41.47.49; Mk 2,16.24; 3,21.30; 4,41; 5,31; 6,14.15.35; 11,5.28; 14,2.31.70; 15,31.35; 16,3 has no ἔλεγον (\aleph 25 hits, A 20 hits, B 25 hits, C 23 hits, D 25 hits, W 23 hits)			
Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Lk 4,22	l	N/A	ἔλεγον \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 9,31	l	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{45,75} \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 22,65	l	N/A	ἔλεγον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 24,10	l	ἔλεγον D	ἔλεγον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 4,33	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B C D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 4,42	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B C D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 5,10	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B C D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,14	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 6,42	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 7,11	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 7,25	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 7,31	v	ἔλεγον D	ἔλεγον P ⁶⁶ \aleph B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 7,40	v	ἔλεγον D ^c	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph B D [*] W <i>rell</i>
Jn 8,19	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 8,22	v	ἔλεγον D [*]	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph B D ^c W <i>rell</i>
Jn 8,25	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 9,8	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 9,10	v	ἔλεγον \aleph [*] εἶπαν P ⁶⁶	ἔλεγον P ⁷⁵ \aleph ² A B C W <i>rell</i> εἶπον D
Jn 9,16	v	ἔλεγον \aleph [*]	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph ² A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 10,20	v	ἔλεγον \aleph [*]	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75vid} \aleph ² A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 10,24	v	ἔλεγον D	ἔλεγον P ^{45vid,66,75vid} \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 10,41	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{45,66,75} \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 11,36	v	ἔλεγον \aleph [*]	ἔλεγον P ^{45,66} \aleph ² A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 11,47	v	ἔλεγον \aleph	ἔλεγον P ⁶⁶ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 11,56	v	ἔλεγον \aleph D	ἔλεγον P ^{45,66} A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 12,29	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 16,18	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{5,66} \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 19,3	v	N/A	ἔλεγον P ⁶⁶ \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 19,21	v	N/A	ἔλεγον \aleph ¹ A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 20,25	v	N/A	ἔλεγον \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Acts 2,13	l	N/A	ἔλεγον \aleph A B D ^c E <i>rell</i> λέγοντες D
Acts 9,21	l	N/A	ἔλεγον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B C W <i>rell</i>

⁵²³ BDAG, λέγω – "to say", notes the Koine form.

Acts 12,15	l	N/A	ἔλεγον P ^{45,74} ⚭ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Acts 17,18	l	N/A	ἔλεγον ⚭ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Acts 21,4	l	ἔλεγον B	ἔλεγον P ⁷⁴ ⚭ A C E <i>rell</i>
Acts 28,4	l	N/A	ἔλεγον ⚭ A B <i>rell</i>
Acts 28,6	l	ἔλεγον B	ἔλεγον P ⁷⁴ ⚭ A <i>rell</i>
Jude 18	l	N/A	ἔλεγον P ⁷² ⚭ A B C <i>rell</i> ἔλεγεν K 456 656 2473 f ⁴²²
Rev 5,14	v	N/A	ἔλεγον ⚭ A <i>rell</i>

Attic ἔλεγον is found in 61 textual locations in the NT. Thirteen of these contain Koine ἔλεγον as a *varia lectio*: Lk 24,10 (D); Jn 7,31 (D); 7,40 (D^c); 8,22 (D); 9,10 (⚭); 9,16 (⚭); 10,20 (⚭); 10,24 (D); 11,36 (⚭); 11,47 (⚭); 11,56 (⚭ D); Acts 21,4 (B); 28,6 (B). There are no parallel texts in any of these cases. Each time the early papyri read against ἔλεγον with the rest of the textual tradition. Fee has demonstrated that Sinaiticus is a representative of the D-text in John 1-8, genealogically related to Codex Bezae. Six occasions of ἔλεγον in Codex Sinaiticus might show this kind of influence elsewhere in John to a limited degree. There are no entries in the LXX.

The Koine is found twice in the non-literary papyri: ἔλεγας in *BGU* 595.9 (AD 79-80), and ἔλεγον in *P.Flor.* 132 (AD 257). The Greek literary does not have the alpha forms before the fifth century.⁵²⁴ The Greek usage may imply that the Koine form was in use in the first century. However, though BDF notes that fathers and Apocrypha have some occurrences of imperfects with first aorist endings (§82), no ἔλεγον is found.⁵²⁵ Also, it is too rare in the NT textual tradition. Luke-Acts has only 3/11 hits, and John 10/26 hits. All but one are singular and mostly either in Codex Bezae or in Codex Sinaiticus. Therefore, it is unlikely to be the authorial usage. For these reasons it is unlikely that ἔλεγον is authentic. Rather, it is quite decisively a later corruption.

4.5.11. ΕΜΑΘΑ*

The second person plural indicative aorist form of μανθάνω⁵²⁶ appears in both Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition, although Attic predominates. The summary is found below.

Reference, Style	Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Rom 16,17	c	N/A
Eph 4,20	c	N/A
Phil 4,9	c	N/A

⁵²⁴ Chorographie Anonymae, *Chronica Byzantina breviora*, chronicle 34,1 section 21A line 33ff.

⁵²⁵ This was ratified by a search on the Perseus Greek and Roman materials on Feb 7, 2008.

⁵²⁶ BDAG, μανθάνω – "to teach", does not note the Koine form.

Col 1,7	c	ἐμάθατε Σ	ἐμάθετε P ⁴⁶ A B C <i>rell</i>
Phil 4,11	c	N/A	ἐμαθον P ⁴⁶ Σ A B <i>rell</i>

The Attic ἐμάθετε appears four times in the Pauline corpus (Rom 16,17; Eph 4,20; Phil 4,9; Col 1,17). The Attic ἔμαθον is found once, in Phil 4,11. Each text was written in conversational style. There is one Koine variant reading ἐμάθατε, in Col 1,17. It is a singular reading in Codex Sinaiticus. There are no entries in the LXX. The Koine usage is found in some non-literary works as follows: ἔμαθα in *P.Abinn.* 8.20 (AD 342-351), ἐμάθαμεν in *P.Oxy.* 1032.25 (AD 162), and ἐμάθατε in *P.Fouad.* 25.93 (II AD). There are no hits for the literary texts. The scribe of **Σ** only occasionally employs the alpha forms, other than εἶπαν (40/405 hits). Thus, ἐμάθατε in Col 1,17 goes against the predominant usage in Codex Sinaiticus and could be the initial reading. However, the lack of first-century evidence for Koine forms of the aorist of μανθάνω, and the external evidence for the Attic form in Col 1,17 make it very likely that Sinaiticus suffers from a later scribal alteration.

4.5.12. ΕΞΕΒΑΛΛΑ*

The indicative aorist forms of ἐκβάλλω⁵²⁷ appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. Half of their textual locations have the variation, summarised below.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 7,22	c	N/A	ἐξεβάλομεν B C W <i>rell</i> ἐξεβάλλομεν Σ *
Mt 21,39	c	ἐξεβαλαν D	ἐξεβαλον B C W <i>rell</i> ἔβαλον Σ
»Mk 12,8	v	N/A	ἐξεβαλον Σ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 20,12	l	N/A	ἐξεβαλον Σ A B C W <i>rell</i> ἐξεβαλλον 118 ἐξαπέστειλαν D ἐξέπεμψαν 69
Lk 4,29	l	N/A	ἐξεβαλον Σ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 9,34	v	ἐξεβαλαν P ⁶⁶ W	ἐξεβαλον P ⁷⁵ Σ A B D <i>rell</i>
Jn 9,35	v	ἐξεβαλαν P ⁶⁶	ἐξεβαλον P ⁷⁵ Σ A B D W <i>rell</i> ἐξεβαλλον Θ ^c
Acts 13,50	l	ἐξεβαλαν 226	ἐξεβαλον P ^{45,74} Σ A B C D E <i>rell</i>

The Attic ἐξεβάλομεν and ἐξεβαλον appear uncontested in Mt 7,22; Mk 12,8; Lk 4,29; 20,12. The Koine ἐξεβαλαν is found in four references as singular and sub-singular readings; Mt 21,39 (D); Jn 9,34.35 (P⁶⁶ W, P⁶⁶); Acts 13,50 (ms. 226). There is one case of Synoptic parallels (Mt 21,39 // Mk 12,8 // Lk 20,12), in which the evidence divides between reading Koine ἐξεβαλαν (*v.l.* Mt

⁵²⁷ BDAG, ἐκβάλλω – "expel, send out, remove, disregard", does not note the Koine form.

21,39) and Attic ἐξέβαλον (Mk 12,8; Lk 20,12). There are no entries in the LXX. The UBS/NA rejects all Koine forms.

The Koine forms are not found in any known extra-biblical non-literary papyri. Two hits in P⁶⁶ are the earliest known cases. Royse takes both of them as scribal substitutions.⁵²⁸ This may be the case, but the authorial usage could have been Koine as well. It is quite certain that Matthew, Mark, and Luke-Acts were written in Attic. Koine ἐξέβαλαν in Mt 21,39 (D) is an early corruption typical of Codex Bezae, but the two Johannine references are open to debate for the following reasons. (1) Codex Washingtonensis shows that either Jn 9,34 or Jn 9,35 suffered a corruption at some point in textual transmission, if both verses initially read Koine or Attic uniformly, which is likely. (2) The scribe of P⁶⁶ was a practiced one, writing in calligraphic hand.⁵²⁹ He made many mistakes and corrected himself often, but did not touch these two textual locations. The later correctors did not touch them either. Hence, it is possible that the readings go back to the original author. However, it is probably best to retain the Attic reading even in John, because readings in P⁶⁶ alone, or nearly alone, are not indisputable, as there are no extra-biblical references to support the Koine usage.

4.5.13. ΕΞΗΛΘΑ*

The indicative aorist forms of ἐξέρχομαι⁵³⁰ appear both as Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. The general usage varies. Often the majority of witnesses are the Koine forms. The opposite is true at other times. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 11,7	c	ἐξήλατε N B C D G L N P W Θ ⁺⁷⁰⁰ Ω 28 33 157 Cyr ἐξεληλύθατε F Δ	ἐξήλθετε <i>rell</i>
»Lk 7,24	l	ἐξήλατε P ⁷⁵ B N A D L W <i>f</i> ³ 157 ^c 565 579 1424 Cyr ἐξεληλύθατε <i>rell</i>	ἐξήλθετε K Π <i>f</i> ¹ 157 [*]
Mt 11,8	c	ἐξήλατε N B C D L N P W Δ Θ 28 33 157 788 [*] ἐξεληλύθατε F	ἐξήλθετε <i>rell</i>
»Lk 7,25	l	ἐξήλατε P ^{75vid} B N A D L W 13 ⁺⁶⁹⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸ 33 118 ^{vid} 157 565 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 579 1071 1424 ἐξεληλύθατε <i>rell</i>	ἐξήλθετε K M Π <i>f</i> ¹ 124
Mt 11,9	c	ἐξήλατε N B C D L N P Θ 28 33 157	ἐξήλθετε <i>rell</i>

⁵²⁸ Royse 2008: 824.

⁵²⁹ ENTGM 381.

⁵³⁰ BDAG, ἐξέρχομαι – "to go out, to go away", notes the Koine form.

		ἐξεληλύθατε F W	
»Lk 7,26	l	ἐξήλθατε P ⁷⁵ B N D L 13 ⁺⁶⁹⁺¹²⁴⁺⁷⁸⁸ 157 565 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 579 1071 1424 ἐξεληλύθατε A W <i>rell</i>	ἐξήλθετε f ^d 346
Mt 26,55	c	ἐξήλθατε N A B C E F G L W Δ Θ* f ³ 28 33 1424 ἦλθατε D	ἐξήλθετε <i>rell</i>
»Mk 14,48	v	ἐξήλθατε N A B C D E G H L N W Δ Θ ⁺⁵⁶⁵⁺⁷⁰⁰ f ³ 2 579 1071 1424	ἐξήλθετε <i>rell</i>
»Lk 22,52	l	ἐξήλθατε P ⁷⁵ B N D L T Θ f ³ 28 157 579 Or ἐξεληλύθατε A W <i>rell</i>	ἐξήλθετε K M Π Ψ 0171 f ^d 1424
Mt 25,1	c	ἐξήλθαν Θ	ἐξήλθον N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 26,30	c	N/A	ἐξήλθον P ^{37vid,45vid,53vid} N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 14,26	v	N/A	ἐξήλθον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 3,21	v	N/A	ἐξήλθον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 8,11	v	ἐξήλθαν 472	ἐξήλθον P ⁴⁵ N A B C W <i>rell</i> ἐξήλθοσαν D
Mk 14,16	v	N/A	ἐξήλθον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 8,35	l	N/A	ἐξήλθον P ⁷⁵ N A B C D W <i>rell</i> παραγενομένων D
Jn 4,30	v	N/A	ἐξήλθον P ^{66,75} N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 12,13	v	N/A	ἐξήλθον P ^{66,75} N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 21,3	v	ἐξήλθαν D	ἐξήλθον N A B C W <i>rell</i>
Acts 16,40	l	ἐξήλθαν N D	ἐξήλθον P ⁷⁴ A B E <i>rell</i>
1 Jn 2,19	v	ἐξήλθαν A B C C I Cyr CyrH Did Eph MarcEr PsOec	ἐξήλθον N <i>rell</i>
2 Jn 7	v	ἐξήλθαν A	ἐξήλθον P ⁷⁴ N B <i>al</i> AnastS εἰσήλθον <i>rell</i> PsOec
3 Jn 7	v	ἐξήλθαν N B	ἐξήλθον A C <i>rell</i>
Rev 9,3	v	ἐξήλθαν 2021	ἐξήλθον N A <i>rell</i>
Rev 15,6	v	ἐξήλθαν C	ἐξήλθον P ^{47,115} N <i>rell</i> ἐξήλθεν A

ἐξήλθα* has several hits in the NT textual tradition. ἐξήλθατε appears in parallel accounts of Mt 11,7//Lk 7,24; Mk 11,8//Lk 7,25; Mt 11,9//Lk 7,26; and Mt 26,55//Mk 14,48//Lk 22,52. Each of these four accounts supports ἐξήλθατε in each Synoptic textual location with strong external evidence. Each location has the Attic ἐξήλθετε as a variant reading. The UBS/NA accepts ἐξήλθατε in every textual location. The ἐξήλθαν is more sporadic and rare. It is found in Mt 25,1 (Θ); Mk 8,11 (ms. 472); Jn 21,3 (D); Acts 16,40 (N D); 1 Jn 2,19 (A B C C I Cyr CyrH Did Eph MarcEr PsOec); 2 Jn 7 (A); 3 Jn 7 (N B); Rev 9,3 (ms. 2021); 15,6 (C); but not in Mt 26,30//Mk 14,26; Mk 3,21; 14,16; Lk 8,35; Jn 4,30; 12,13. Hence, it is a singular or sub-singular reading in each case, except in 1 Jn 2,19. The UBS/NA reads ἐξήλθαν in Acts 16,40; 1 Jn 2,19. ἐξήλθα* appears as a *varia lectio* in the vernacular (8/13, 62%), the conversational (5/6,

83%), and the literary (5/6, 83%) parts of the NT. The LXX has ἐξήλθατε in Exo 13,3; ἐξήλθαν in 1 Sam 7,11; 2 Sam 10,8; 11,23; 20,7; 2 Kgs 7,12; Tob 5,17. Attic forms predominate in the LXX.

ΕΞΗΛΘΑ* is not found before the second century in non-literary papyri. ἐξήλθα is found in *P.Oslo* 155.1 (II AD), ἐξήλθας in *P.Tebt.* 575.1 (II AD), ἐξήλθαμεν in *P.Gen.* 144.10 (II AD), ἐξήλθατε in *P.Tebt.* 420.5 (III AD), and ἐξήλθαν in *P.Mich.* 492.7 (II AD). ἐξήλθαν is found in two literary works, in *Liber Enoch* (II-I BC)⁵³¹ and in *Protevangelium Jacobi* (II AD).⁵³² The former work predates the NT, which implies that the biblical authors could have used Koine forms, although the bulk of the extra-biblical evidence comes from the second century AD.

Five out of six textual locations in Matthew have the Koine/Attic variation (Mt 11,7.8.9; 25,1; 26,55). Only one location is Attic-only (Mt 26,30). Hence, Matthew's authorial usage was probably Koine, which seems to be beyond reasonable doubt in Mt 11,7.8.9; 26,55 because of the strong external evidence supporting the Koine readings. This is not absolutely certain, because Matthean usage may have been harmonised to parallel accounts in Mark and Luke, but in light of the first-century usage, it is better to accept the Koine forms as authentic. Hence, Mt 25,1 could read ἐξήλθαν, though supported only by Θ. Alternatively, Mt 11,7.8.9; 26,55 may inherit the Koine readings from Markan and Lucan parallels, which leaves it open as to whether Mt 25,1 should read ἐξήλθαν or not. The decision is somewhat tentative, but I accept the singular reading here, since Mt 26,30 may inherit its Attic reading from the Markan parallel (Mk 14,26), and does not necessarily imply the authorial usage in Mt 25,1. This would require a change in the UBS/NA at Mt 25,1.

Two out of five textual locations in Mark have the Koine variant readings (Mk 8,11; 14,48). The latter reference parallels Mt 26,55. Elsewhere Mark attests to Attic only. The Attic ἐξήλθον in Mk 14,26 parallels the same in Mt 26,30. This leaves only Mk 3,11; 14,16 as independent references against Mk 8,11. It is difficult to decide on the authorial usage. Scribes may have harmonised parallel accounts and there is no certain way to know which way these possible harmonisations went. Tentatively, the usage is more likely to have been Attic, unless the initial readings have been completely lost. Furthermore, Mk 8,11 is a singular reading (ἐξήλθαν in ms. 472), so it seems better to regard it as a textual corruption, even though Mark is vernacular.

Five out six textual locations in Luke-Acts attest to Koine *variae lectiones*. Lk 7,24.25.26; 22,52 are parallels to Mt 11,7.8.9; 26,55//Mk 14,48. They do not

⁵³¹ *Liber Enoch, Apocalypsis Enochi*, chapter 18 section 5 line 3.

⁵³² *Protevangelium Jacobi*, section 18, line 9.

offer an independent testimony of the authorial usage, which is seen in either Lk 8,35 (Attic only) or in Acts 16,40 (the Koine/Attic variation). The literary style of Luke-Acts may tip the balance in favour of Attic usage. The fact that, at present, Acts 16,40 is sub-singular (§ D) lends support to this contention. However, the author of Luke-Acts may have followed a source with an Attic reading in Lk 8,35. This leaves only Acts 16,40 on which to base the authorial usage, which means that it is inconclusive. The least unsatisfactory choice appears to be to leave the textual choices in the UBS/NA as they are in the hope that future findings will shed more light on these textual locations.

One out of three textual locations in John attests to a Koine *varia lectio*. It is a singular reading in Jn 21,3 (D). In light of the general characteristic of Codex Bezae coupled with two Attic-only references (Jn 4,30; 12,13), it seems best to regard ἐξῆλθον in Jn 21,3 as a secondary corruption, despite the fact that John is vernacular.

The Johannine Letters and Revelation, on the other hand, have a Koine *varia lectio* (ἐξῆλθον) in every textual location (1 Jn 2,19; 2 Jn 7; 3 Jn 7; Rev 9,3; 15,6). This likely guarantees the authorial usage as Koine in these works, even though two of the occurrences are singular and two others sub-singular. This is tentative, not certain, except in 1 Jn 2,19 where a number of fathers support the Koine reading found in A B C. Hence, the UBS/NA requires a tentative change in 2 Jn 7; 3 Jn 7; Rev 9,3; 15,6.

4.5.14. ΕΠΕΒΑΑΑΝ

The third person plural indicative aorist of ἐπιβάλλω⁵³³ appears in the NT textual tradition as follows.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 26, 50	c	N/A	ἐπέβαλον P ³⁷ § A B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 14,46	v	ἐπέβαλαν § B	ἐπέβαλον A C D W <i>rell</i>
Acts 4,3	l	N/A	ἐπέβαλον P ⁷⁴ § A B C E <i>rell</i> ἐπεβάλοντες D
Acts 5,18	l	N/A	ἐπέβαλον P ^{45vid} § B D E <i>rell</i> ἐπέβαλλον A
Acts 21,27	l	ἐπέβαλαν A	ἐπέβαλον § B C E <i>rell</i> ἐπέβαλλουσιν D

The Koine (Doric) ἐπέβαλαν is found as a *varia lectio* in Mk 14,46 (§ B), and Acts 21,27 (A). Neither one is accepted in the UBS/NA. Elsewhere the Attic form is uncontested (Mt 26,50; Acts 4,3; 5,18). Mt 26,50 and Mk 14,46 are parallel accounts that do not agree on the reading. The only known occurrences

⁵³³ BDAG, ἐπιβάλλω – “throw over, lay on, beat upon, fall to etc”, notes both Koine forms as *variae lectiones*; LSJ, ἐπιβάλλω, lists the alpha form as Doric. For an argument that Doric was used in certain areas during the first century, see Browning 1983: 126-29.

83%), and the literary (5/6, 83%) parts of the NT. The LXX has ἐξήλθατε in Exo 13,3; ἐξήλθαν in 1 Sam 7,11; 2 Sam 10,8; 11,23; 20,7; 2 Kgs 7,12; Tob 5,17. Attic forms predominate in the LXX.

ΕΞΗΛΘΑ* is not found before the second century in non-literary papyri. ἐξήλθα is found in *P.Oslo* 155.1 (II AD), ἐξήλθας in *P.Tebt.* 575.1 (II AD), ἐξήλθαμεν in *P.Gen.* 144.10 (II AD), ἐξήλθατε in *P.Tebt.* 420.5 (III AD), and ἐξήλθαν in *P.Mich.* 492.7 (II AD). ἐξήλθαν is found in two literary works, in *Liber Enoch* (II-I BC)⁵³¹ and in *Protevangelium Jacobi* (II AD).⁵³² The former work predates the NT, which implies that the biblical authors could have used Koine forms, although the bulk of the extra-biblical evidence comes from the second century AD.

Five out of six textual locations in Matthew have the Koine/Attic variation (Mt 11,7.8.9; 25,1; 26,55). Only one location is Attic-only (Mt 26,30). Hence, Matthew's authorial usage was probably Koine, which seems to be beyond reasonable doubt in Mt 11,7.8.9; 26,55 because of the strong external evidence supporting the Koine readings. This is not absolutely certain, because Matthean usage may have been harmonised to parallel accounts in Mark and Luke, but in light of the first-century usage, it is better to accept the Koine forms as authentic. Hence, Mt 25,1 could read ἐξήλθαν, though supported only by Θ. Alternatively, Mt 11,7.8.9; 26,55 may inherit the Koine readings from Markan and Lucan parallels, which leaves it open as to whether Mt 25,1 should read ἐξήλθαν or not. The decision is somewhat tentative, but I accept the singular reading here, since Mt 26,30 may inherit its Attic reading from the Markan parallel (Mk 14,26), and does not necessarily imply the authorial usage in Mt 25,1. This would require a change in the UBS/NA at Mt 25,1.

Two out of five textual locations in Mark have the Koine variant readings (Mk 8,11; 14,48). The latter reference parallels Mt 26,55. Elsewhere Mark attests to Attic only. The Attic ἐξήλθον in Mk 14,26 parallels the same in Mt 26,30. This leaves only Mk 3,11; 14,16 as independent references against Mk 8,11. It is difficult to decide on the authorial usage. Scribes may have harmonised parallel accounts and there is no certain way to know which way these possible harmonisations went. Tentatively, the usage is more likely to have been Attic, unless the initial readings have been completely lost. Furthermore, Mk 8,11 is a singular reading (ἐξήλθαν in ms. 472), so it seems better to regard it as a textual corruption, even though Mark is vernacular.

Five out six textual locations in Luke-Acts attest to Koine *variae lectiones*. Lk 7,24.25.26; 22,52 are parallels to Mt 11,7.8.9; 26,55//Mk 14,48. They do not

⁵³¹ *Liber Enoch, Apocalypsis Enochi*, chapter 18 section 5 line 3.

⁵³² *Protevangelium Jacobi*, section 18, line 9.

offer an independent testimony of the authorial usage, which is seen in either Lk 8,35 (Attic only) or in Acts 16,40 (the Koine/Attic variation). The literary style of Luke-Acts may tip the balance in favour of Attic usage. The fact that, at present, Acts 16,40 is sub-singular (⌘ D) lends support to this contention. However, the author of Luke-Acts may have followed a source with an Attic reading in Lk 8,35. This leaves only Acts 16,40 on which to base the authorial usage, which means that it is inconclusive. The least unsatisfactory choice appears to be to leave the textual choices in the UBS/NA as they are in the hope that future findings will shed more light on these textual locations.

One out of three textual locations in John attests to a Koine *varia lectio*. It is a singular reading in Jn 21,3 (D). In light of the general characteristic of Codex Bezae coupled with two Attic-only references (Jn 4,30; 12,13), it seems best to regard ἐξῆλθαν in Jn 21,3 as a secondary corruption, despite the fact that John is vernacular.

The Johannine Letters and Revelation, on the other hand, have a Koine *varia lectio* (ἐξῆλθαν) in every textual location (1 Jn 2,19; 2 Jn 7; 3 Jn 7; Rev 9,3; 15,6). This likely guarantees the authorial usage as Koine in these works, even though two of the occurrences are singular and two others sub-singular. This is tentative, not certain, except in 1 Jn 2,19 where a number of fathers support the Koine reading found in A B C. Hence, the UBS/NA requires a tentative change in 2 Jn 7; 3 Jn 7; Rev 9,3; 15,6.

4.5.14. ΕΠΕΒΑΑΑΝ

The third person plural indicative aorist of ἐπιβάλλω⁵³³ appears in the NT textual tradition as follows.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 26, 50	c	N/A	ἐπέβαλον P ³⁷ ⌘ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 14,46	v	ἐπέβαλαν ⌘ B	ἐπέβαλον A C D W <i>rell</i>
Acts 4,3	l	N/A	ἐπέβαλον P ⁷⁴ ⌘ A B C E <i>rell</i> ἐπεβάλοντες D
Acts 5,18	l	N/A	ἐπέβαλον P ^{45vid} ⌘ B D E <i>rell</i> ἐπέβαλλον A
Acts 21,27	l	ἐπέβαλαν A	ἐπέβαλον ⌘ B C E <i>rell</i> ἐπέβαλλουσιν D

The Koine (Doric) ἐπέβαλαν is found as a *varia lectio* in Mk 14,46 (⌘ B), and Acts 21,27 (A). Neither one is accepted in the UBS/NA. Elsewhere the Attic form is uncontested (Mt 26,50; Acts 4,3; 5,18). Mt 26,50 and Mk 14,46 are parallel accounts that do not agree on the reading. The only known occurrences

⁵³³ BDAG, ἐπιβάλλω – “throw over, lay on, beat upon, fall to etc”, notes both Koine forms as *variae lectiones*; LSJ, ἐπιβάλλω, lists the alpha form as Doric. For an argument that Doric was used in certain areas during the first century, see Browning 1983: 126-29.

of the Koine forms are ἐπέβαλα in *P.Herm.Rees.* 67.11 (VI AD), and ἐπέβαλαν in *P.Rein.* 47.10 (II AD).⁵³⁴ No literary work reads these Koine forms, and there are no LXX entries.

Theoretically, assuming Markan priority, Matthew could have rewritten Mark's vernacular Koine with his conversational style (ἐπέβαλαν → ἐπέβαλον). However, this is unlikely in view of the absence of ἐπέβαλα* in the first-century evidence. The ἐπέβαλαν in Mk 14,46 (⚡ B), and Acts 21,27 (A) are likely secondary corruptions.

4.5.15. ΕΠΗΛΘΑΝ

The third person plural indicative aorist of ἐπέρχομαι⁵³⁵ appears once in the NT, in Acts 14,19. It has the Koine/Attic variation as follows.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Acts 14,19	1	ἐπῆλθαν ⚡ A B	ἐπῆλθον P ⁴⁵ C D E <i>rell</i>

The UBS/NA accepts the Koine form with ⚡ A B, as opposed to its Attic rival ἐπῆλθον with P⁴⁵ C D E *rell*. There are no LXX entries. Additionally, the UBS/NA reads ἐπῆλθαν in Jn 4,27 with ⚡* alone in a textual variation location, which otherwise contains ἦλθαν/ῆλθον variation. This latter case is hardly the initial reading. Two matters argue against it: (1) the external evidence against it is too strong, and (2) the sentence has ἐπί, which suggests that ἐπῆλθαν is a stylistic improvement. Therefore, the latter case can be disregarded from the discussion except to note a need for a change in the UBS/NA at Jn 4,27.

ἐπῆλθαν is found in *BGU* 72.5-6 (AD 191), 454.8-9 (AD 193), 2461.6 (ca AD 174); *P.Fay.* 108.10 (ca AD 171); *P.Lond.* 342.10 (AD 185); *P.Oxy.* 3561.8 (ca AD 165); *PSI* 1526.7 (AD 160); *SB* 9238.7-8 (AD 198-211), 11904.4-5 (ca AD 184), 12199.12 (AD 155); *BGU* 146.5 (II/III AD); *Pap.Choix.* 25.10 (III AD); *P.Gen.2* 16.23 (AD 207).⁵³⁶ Nothing is earlier than the second century. The earliest literary work to use it is by Nicon (XI-XII AD).⁵³⁷ Therefore, ἐπῆλθαν in Acts 14,19 (and in Jn 4,27) presents a secondary corruption.⁵³⁸ The UBS/NA requires a change to ἐπῆλθον.

⁵³⁴ Gignac 1981: 342.

⁵³⁵ BDAG, ἐπέρχομαι – “arrive, come upon, happen, attack”, notes the Koine form as a *varia lectio* for Acts 14,19.

⁵³⁶ Gignac 1981: 341.

⁵³⁷ Nicon, *Canonarium vel Typicon*, chapter 4 page 105 line 10.

⁵³⁸ TCGNT 374-75, only notes that the D-text (Western) tries to smooth out the abruptness of the text.

4.5.16. EYPA*

The indicative aorist forms of εὐρίσκω⁵³⁹ appear both in Attic and Koine forms in the NT textual tradition. The general usage is Attic, but there are a number of Koine variant readings. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style	Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 22,10	c εὔρα D	εὔρον N A B W <i>rell</i>
Mt 26,60a	c N/A	εὔρον N A B C D W <i>rell</i> εὐρίσκον Θ 124
Mt 26,60b	c εὔρα N ^c	εὔρον A C ^c D W <i>rell</i> <i>omit</i> N B C [*] N [*]
Mt 27,32	c N/A	εὔρον N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 1,37	v N/A	εὔρον N B D L εὐρόντες A C <i>rell</i> λέγοντες W
Mk 11,4	v N/A	εὔρον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 19,32	l εὔρα W	εὔρον N A B D <i>rell</i>
Mk 14,16	v N/A	εὔρον N A B C W <i>rell</i> ἐποίησαν D
»Lk 22,13	l N/A	εὔρον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 2,16</u>	l ἀνεῦρα B [*] εὔρα N ² L	ἀνεῦρον N [*] A B ² <i>rell</i> εὔρον D W f ¹ f ¹³ 565 579
Lk 2,46	l N/A	εὔρον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 7,10	l N/A	εὔρον N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 8,35	l εὔρα P ⁷⁵ B [*]	εὔρον N A B ² C W <i>rell</i> θεωρησάντων D
<u>Lk 23,2</u>	l εὔραμεν B [*] L T Ψ 1 ⁺¹⁵⁸² 1071	εὔρομεν P ⁷⁵ N A B ² D ^c W <i>rell</i> εὔρον D [*]
Lk 24,2	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁵ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 24,3	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁵ N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 24,24	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁵ N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 24,33	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁵ N A B D W <i>rell</i>
Acts 5,10	l εὔρα A E	εὔρον N B D <i>rell</i>
Acts 5,22	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁴ N A B D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 5,23a	l εὔραμεν E	εὔρομεν N A B D <i>rell</i>
Acts 5,23b	l εὔραμεν P ⁷⁴ E	εὔρομεν N A B D <i>rell</i>
Acts 13,6	l εὔρα A	εὔρον P ⁷⁴ N B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 19,19	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁴ N A B D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 24,12	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁴ N A B W <i>rell</i>
Acts 24,18	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁴ N A B C W <i>rell</i>
Acts 24,20	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁴ N A B C W <i>rell</i>
Acts 27,28a	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁴ N A B C <i>rell</i>
Acts 27,28b	l N/A	εὔρον P ⁷⁴ N A B <i>rell</i> εὔρομεν C

The Attic εὔρομεν and εὔρον are found 29 times in the NT. Nine textual locations testify to the Koine forms as *variae lectiones*. The εὔραμεν appears three times, in Lk 23,2 (B^{*} L T Ψ 1⁺¹⁵⁸² 1071); Acts 5,23a (E); 23b (P⁷⁴ E).⁵⁴⁰ Lk

⁵³⁹ BDAG, εὐρίσκω – “find, discover”, notes the Koine form as a *varia lectio* for Lk 23,2; LSJ, εὐρίσκω, notes that the alpha forms are late (i.e. Hellenistic) with roots in Homer and Ionic.

⁵⁴⁰ Rius-Camps (1999) does not note or discuss this variation at all.

23,2 is externally not as impressive as it may look at first, because codices B, L, and T are genealogically closely related.⁵⁴¹ Still, it was accepted by the UBS/NA. P⁷⁴ contradicts itself within one verse in Acts 5,23 by first reading εὔρομεν and right after that εὔραμεν in the second position. A scribe responsible for this disparity apparently did not feel a need to be consistent with his use of Greek (unless this phenomenon goes back to the original author). The εὔραν is found in Mt 22,10 (D); 26,60b (N^c); Lk 2,16 (S² L); 8,35 (P⁷⁵ B*); 19,32 (W); Acts 5,10 (A E); 13,6 (A). Lk 2,16 also has ἀνεῦραν (B*), read by the UBS/NA. The corrector of N testifies to another case of inconsistency in Mt 26,60. Both forms appear within the same verse. Mark has no Koine forms in its three textual locations. The conversational text of Matthew has two Koine forms in four textual locations (50%). The literary text of Luke-Acts has eight Koine forms in 22 textual locations (36%). The LXX has εὔραμεν in Ezr 4,19; εὔραν in 2 Sam 17,20. The Attic is read elsewhere.

The non-literary papyri have εὔρα in *P.Yale* 66.15 (I AD); *P.Lond.* 254v.53 (II AD), εὔρας in *UPZ* 78.10 (159 BC); BGU 1898.353 (AD 172), εὔραμεν in *P.Alex.* 26.16-17 (II/III AD); *P.Mich.* 226.27 (AD 37), 512.2 (III AD); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 74.10 (AD 138); *P.Oxy.* 2274.10 (III AD); *P.Princ.* 67.3 (I/II AD); *P.Ryl.* 131.16 (AD 31); *PSI* 1080.4 (III AD); *SB* 6222.12;14,34 (III AD), 10918.4 (III AD), and εὔραν in *SB* 9203.11 (AD 222-35). εὔραμεν is also found in some literary works: in *Apocalypsis Esdrae* (II BC)⁵⁴² and in works of Eratosthenes (III-II BC),⁵⁴³ Heron (I AD),⁵⁴⁴ and Vettius Valens (II AD).⁵⁴⁵ No literary work has εὔραν. Ostraca *O.Edfou.* 466.5 (I AD) might read εὔραν, but this is uncertain, as the beginning of the word is lost, though ΕΥΡΑΝ is visible. There is uncertainty whether the visible part of the text is the ending of another word or not. The Koine (Ionic) ἀνεύρατο appears in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (III BC),⁵⁴⁶ a poetic work, which so far is the only reference to ἀνεύρα* outside the NT. Hence, the Koine forms could have been used by the biblical authors.

εὔραν appears twice in Matthew as a singular reading, in Mt 22,10 (D); 26,60b(N^c). Two references, Mt 26,60; 27,32, have Attic only. Although the first-century Greek usage allows the Koine forms, it is quite likely that both singular readings are secondary corruptions to the later Greek usage. Codex Bezae often stands alone in support of the alpha forms, and the reading in N is a

⁵⁴¹ Metzger 1992b: 54-56.

⁵⁴² *Apocalypsis Esdrae*, page 30 line 3.

⁵⁴³ Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, chapter 1 section 28 line 10.

⁵⁴⁴ Heron, *Dioptra*, section 10, line 25; *De mensuris*, chapter 24, section 1, line 6, chapter 45 section 1 line 11.

⁵⁴⁵ Vettius Valens, *Anthologiarum libri ix*, Kroll's edition, page 82 line 7.

⁵⁴⁶ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, book 4 line 1128.

correction. The external evidence is too slim in my estimation to overthrow the Attic forms, and the authorial usage could as easily be Attic as Koine.

The majority of textual locations in Luke-Acts support the Attic forms only. This likely affirms the authorial usage in view of the author's literary style. Koine variant readings appear as singular or sub-singular readings only, with the exception of Lk 23,2. Even there the external support is slim, especially if B, L and T are taken to have a common hyperarchetype, whence their reading derives. These observations point towards textual corruptions in those locations, and it is better to disregard εὔρομεν and εὔροαν as secondary variant readings. This requires a change to εὔρομεν in the UBS/NA of Lk 23,2, notwithstanding its external evidence, which likely attests a widespread second-century corruption. If this is not permitted, the other option would be to take the majority of Lucan references as cases where the initial form has been completely lost. On the other hand, the UBS/NA in Lk 2,16 probably correctly reads ἀνεὔροαν, since (1) εὔροαν/εὔροαν has a less impressive external support than ἀνεὔροαν/ἀνεὔροαν, (2) the Koine form is likely contemporary with the NT, and (3) it is a text-critical *hapax legomenon*. ἀνευρ* appears nowhere else. It does not need to comply with the Lucan usage of εὔροαν.

4.5.17. ΕΦΥΓΑΝ

The third person plural indicative aorist of φεύγω⁵⁴⁷ appears with Koine/Attic variation in the NT textual tradition as follows.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 8,33	c	N/A	ἔφυγον \aleph B C W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 5,14	v	N/A	ἔφυγον \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Lk 8,34	l	ἔφυγαν D W Δ	ἔφυγον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B C <i>rell</i>
Mt 26,56	c	N/A	ἔφυγον \aleph A B C W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 14,50	v	N/A	ἔφυγον \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 16,8	v	N/A	ἔφυγον \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Heb 11,34	l	N/A	ἔφυγον P ^{13,46} \aleph A B <i>rell</i>

There are two Synoptic parallels: Mt 8,33//Mk 5,14//Lk 8,34 which has the Koine ἔφυγαν in the Lucan text with D W Δ , and Mt 26,56//Mk 14,50 which uniformly attests Attic. Hence, Matthew, Mark and Hebrews read Attic ἔφυγον in Mt 8,33; 26,56; Mk 5,14; 14,50; 16,8; Heb 11,34. The LXX has ἔφυγαν in Jdg 7,21; 2 Sam 10,13,14; 13,29. The UBS/NA does not accept ἔφυγαν in Lk 8,34.

⁵⁴⁷ BDAG, φεύγω – “flee, escape, avoid”, does not note the Koine form.

The Koine form appears in the non-literary papyri in *P.Apoll.* 9.7 (AD 704-705); 18.4 (AD 705-706), but the compound *προσεφύγαμεν* is found in the *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15.72 (AD 114), and *προσέφυγαν* in *P.Köln* 317.32 (VI AD). Hence, Lk 8,34 contains a secondary corruption.

4.5.18. ΕΩΡΑΚ*

The Koine period witnessed a blurring in orthographic alternations, such as ε ↔ η (μεθενεί for μηδενί) and ο ↔ ω (πρόσοπον for πρόσωπον). This is detectable already in the third century BC. It became a common element in Greek during the second century AD,⁵⁴⁸ because some second-century authors were uncertain of older phonetic quantities, and in their hands the long vowels generally shortened. This is an important development of Greek during the second century, because it affects the evaluation of the έώρακ* vs. έορακ* variation.⁵⁴⁹ In Attic έορακ* forms prevailed, but Koine had έώρακ* forms.⁵⁵⁰ The LXX predominantly reads έώρακ* with 76 hits. The έορακ* has 20 hits. The following table summarises the NT textual tradition for this Koine/Attic variation.

Reference, Style	Koine Readings	Attic Readings
<u>Lk 1,22</u>	l έώρακεν N A B ² C D W <i>rell</i>	έορακεν B* E G H Δ 33
<u>Lk 9,36</u>	l έώρακαν B 700 έωράκασιν N A <i>rell</i>	έορακεν P ^{45*} έορακαν P ^{45c,75} C ² L έοράκασιν C* E H W Θ 33 788 έοράκεισιν G έθέασαν D* έθεάσαντο D ^c
<u>Jn 1,18</u>	v έώρακεν P ⁶⁶ N A B* C W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>	έορακεν P ⁷⁵ B ² Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 1,34</u>	v έώρακα P ⁶⁶ N A B C <i>rell</i>	έορακα P ^{75,106} G* W ^{sup} Θ 0233 33 124 Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 3,11</u>	v έωράκαμεν P ⁶⁶ N A B <i>rell</i>	έοράκαμεν P ⁷⁵ W ^{sup} Δ Π* 083 33 565 788 Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 3,32</u>	v έώρακεν P ⁶⁶ N A B D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>	έορακεν L Δ 083 Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 5,37</u>	v έωράκατε P ⁶⁶ N A B D W <i>rell</i>	έοράκατε P ⁷⁵ L W ^{sup} Δ Θ Π 33 565 Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 6,36</u>	v έωράκατε N A B C D W <i>rell</i>	έορακεν L T Δ Π* Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 6,46a</u>	v έώρακεν P ⁶⁶ N A B ² C D <i>rell</i>	έορακεν B* L W Δ Θ 565 788 Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 6,46b</u>	v έώρακεν P ⁶⁶ N A B ² C D <i>rell</i>	έορακεν B* L W Δ Π* 0233 13 33 69 124 346 565 Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 8,38a</u>	v έώρακα P ⁶⁶ N B C D W <i>rell</i>	έοράκα P ⁷⁵ L Θ 565 Byz ^{Pt}
<u>Jn 8,38b</u>	v έωράκατε P ⁶⁶ N * D N S U Λ Ψ Ω 2 118 124 157 700 1071 1424	έοράκατε <i>rell</i> ήκούσατε P ⁷⁵ N ² B C K L Y W Θ ^f ^f ¹³ 33 565

⁵⁴⁸ Palmer 1980: 177.

⁵⁴⁹ BDAG, όράω – “catch sight of, visit, perceive, experience”, notes the variation.

⁵⁵⁰ BDAG, όράω; BDF §68. TLG search reveals that Aesopos (VI BC) used έώρακ* forms (unless they are scribal corruptions in themselves). LSJ, όράω, notes that the alpha forms are late (i.e. Hellenistic) with roots in Homer and Ionic.

<u>Jn 8,57</u>	v	ἑώρακας \aleph^2 A B ² C D f ¹ f ¹³ 579 700 Byz ^{mss} ἑώρακες W ἑώρακεν \aleph^*	ἑώρακας P ⁶⁶ <i>rell</i> ἑώρακες B [*] Θ ἑώρακεν P ⁷⁵ 070
<u>Jn 9,37</u>	v	ἑώρακας \aleph A B ² D f ¹ f ¹³ 2 157 579 700 1071 1424 Byz ^{mss}	ἑώρακας P ^{66,75} B [*] W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 14,7</u>	v	ἑωράκατε P ⁶⁶ \aleph A B C D f ¹ f ¹³ 2 157 579 700 1071 1424 Byz ^{mss}	ἑωράκατε <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 14,9</u>	v	ἑώρακεν P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>	ἑώρακεν P ⁶⁶ E H K L Δ Θ 2 28 565 788
<u>Jn 15,24</u>	v	ἑωράκασιν \aleph A B D <i>rell</i>	ἑωράκασιν P ⁶⁶ E G H K L M Γ Δ Θ 2 [*] 33 565
<u>Jn 20,18</u>	v	ἑώρακα \aleph B L W 1071 ἑώρακεν A D <i>rell</i> ἑωράκαμεν S 33	ἑώρακα P ⁶⁶ N ἑώρακεν G K M Δ Θ Π [*] 078 565
<u>Jn 20,25</u>	v	ἑωράκαμεν \aleph A B ² <i>rell</i>	ἑωράκαμεν B [*] E G K L M W Δ Θ 2 [*] 565
<u>Jn 20,29</u>	v	ἑώρακας \aleph A B C D f ¹ f ¹³ 2 157 579 700 1071 1424 Byz ^{mss}	ἑώρακας W <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 7,44</u>	l	ἑωράκει P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B C <i>rell</i> ἑώρακεν E Ψ ⁻⁰⁴⁹ 104 330 1175 1646 1739 ⁺⁹⁴⁵⁺¹⁸⁹¹ 2492 2495	ἑώρακει P ἑώρακεν D H
<u>Acts 22,15</u>	l	ἑώρακας P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B E <i>rell</i>	ἑώρακας L 1175 2344
1 Cor 9,1	c	ἑώρακα P ⁴⁶ A B ² <i>rell</i>	ἑώρακα \aleph B [*] D ² F G K P 33 1175 1646 1735 2464
Col 2,1	c	ἑώρακαν A B D [*] F G 0150 ἑωράκασιν D ¹ Ψ 075 Byz	ἑώρακαν P ⁴⁶ \aleph^* C P 048 ^{vid} 0208 ἑωράκασιν \aleph^2 D ² H 0278 Byz ^{mss}
Col 2,18	c	ἑώρακεν P ⁴⁶ A B ² <i>rell</i>	ἑώρακεν \aleph B [*] C D I P
1 Jn 1,1	v	ἑωράκαμεν \aleph A B ² C <i>rell</i>	ἑωράκαμεν B [*] 467 [*] 1175 1845 2464 f ⁶⁰
1 Jn 1,2	v	ἑωράκαμεν \aleph B ² <i>rell</i>	ἑωράκαμεν A B [*] 1175 1845 2464
1 Jn 1,3	v	ἑωράκαμεν \aleph A B ² C <i>rell</i>	ἑωράκαμεν B [*] 252 [*] 1175 1845 2464
1 Jn 3,6	v	ἑώρακεν \aleph A B ² C <i>rell</i>	ἑώρακεν B [*] 2464
1 Jn 4,20a	v	ἑώρακεν \aleph A B ² <i>rell</i>	ἑώρακεν B [*] 252 [*] 1846
1 Jn 4,20b	v	ἑώρακεν \aleph A B ² <i>rell</i>	ἑώρακεν B [*] 252 [*] 459
3 Jn 11	v	ἑώρακεν \aleph A B ² C <i>rell</i> Did PsOec	ἑώρακεν B [*] 252 1846 2818 Pall

The Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri has only one entry for ἑώρακα in the first century (SB 14132.27) and none for the other forms before the fourth century. Nothing is found for ἑώρακ* before the sixth century. In the second century, however, the shortening of ω to ο would give a double reason for scribes to change omega forms to omicron forms. Such a change would not only be Atticistic in nature but would also follow the natural development of Greek during the second century. This gives grounds for taking the Koine ω-forms as initial readings, even though the Attic forms disappear from the later NT textual tradition.

ἑώρακ* appears across the vernacular (22/22, 100%), the conversational (3/3, 100%), and the literary (4/4, 100%) parts of the NT. Every occurrence of the

Koine ἐώρακ* has the equivalent Attic ἐόρακ* as a variant reading. It is, then, not a surprise that 29 out of 32 occurrences of ἐώρακ* forms have been accepted in the UBS/NA. They are all found in Luke-Acts and the Johannine writings, where the authorial usage most likely follows the ἐώρακ* forms. In Pauline references (1 Cor 9,1; Col 2,1.18) the UBS/NA reads the Attic forms against the Koine *varia lectio*, which seems an inconsistent departure from the normal practice of its editors.

The early papyri are mixed in their testimony. Papyrus P⁶⁶ reads the Koine ἐώρακ* in Jn 1,18.34; 5,37; 6,36; 6,46; 8,38; 14,7; but the Attic ἐόρακ* in Jn 14,9; 15,24; 20,18. Papyrus P⁷⁵ reads the Koine ἐώρακ* in Jn 6,36; 14,9 but the Attic in Jn 1,18.34; 5,37; 8,38. The Attic is supported by P⁴⁵ in Lk 9,36 and by P¹⁰⁶ in Jn 1,34. Papyrus P⁷⁴ has Koine forms in Acts 7,44; 22,15. These mixtures probably testify to the second-century confusion over the length of vowels. The ἐώρακ* forms should be read in every textual location. The external evidence, transcriptional probabilities ($\omega \rightarrow \omicron$), and the probable authorial usages strongly support them. In light of this, the three Pauline references require a closer look.

The UBS/NA reads ἐόρακα in 1 Cor 9,1 (⌚ B* D² F G P 33 *pc*) against ἐώρακα (P⁴⁶ B² A D* Ψ 1739 *pc Hk Byz*). Corrector activities contradict each other. Codex Vaticanus moves from Attic to Koine, while Codex Bezae goes from Koine to Attic. Both readings have second-century roots. Both readings are found across a wide geographical area (Egypt, Rome, Syria), though the Koine form is more prevalent in the NT textual tradition. The external evidence is thus divided and the decision rests on internal evidence, although P⁴⁶ may give a slight edge for the Koine, as it usually supports the Attic form. The Koine form does not fit the scribal proclivities in P⁴⁶. Transcriptionally, the Attic ἐόρακα is easily explained as an Atticism. The author's style cannot be verified without any doubts, because each Pauline reference has the variation. Nevertheless, the external evidence and the development of Greek in the second century favour reading ἐώρακα (contra the UBS/NA).

The situation in Col 2,1 is more problematic due to multiple textual variants. The choice is between ἐόρακαν (P⁴⁶ ⌚* C P 048^{vid} 0208), ἐοράκασιν (⌚² D² H 0278 *Byz^{mss}*), ἐώρακαν (A B D* F G 0150), and ἐωράκασιν (D¹ Ψ 075 *Byz*). The corrector activity in Codex Bezae attests to a scribal habit of moving the text from the Koine ἐώρακαν to the Attic ἐοράκασιν via the Koine ἐωράκασιν. The longer word is probably a later spelling, so the question is whether ἐώρακαν or ἐόρακαν is the initial reading. Externally, the decision is essentially a choice between the ABD* trio vs. The P⁴⁶⌚C trio. Since they are relatively evenly matched, the choice needs to be made on internal grounds. The related Col 2,18 needs to be noted. It has a less problematic situation. The

decision there is essentially a choice between reading $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu$ with the P⁴⁶AB² trio vs. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu$ with the \aleph BCD quartet. Only \aleph and A are consistent in their readings within Colossians. The external evidence for $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu$ is strong, but could still be a result of Atticism. It is not very likely that the scribe of P⁴⁶ would change Attic to Koine. Hence, Col 2,1 should read $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\nu$ and Col 2,18 $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu$ (contra the UBS/NA).

When these three Pauline references (1 Cor 9,1; Col 2,1.18) are changed, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\kappa^*$ is then attested everywhere in the NT in conjunction with the contemporary Koine,⁵⁵¹ and the Attic forms are the result of Atticistic tendencies.

4.5.19. ΗΛΘΑ*

The indicative aorist forms of $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ⁵⁵² appear quite extensively in the NT textual tradition, often as Koine/Attic *variae lectiones*. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 2,2	c	N/A	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 7,25	c	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ B	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph C W <i>rell</i>
Mt 7,27	c	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ \aleph	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ B C W <i>rell</i>
Mt 14,34	c	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ 084	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
»Mk 6,53	v	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ W	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph A B D <i>rell</i>
Mt 21,1	c	N/A	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph^2 B C* D <i>rell</i> $\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ \aleph^* C ³ E S U W 28
<u>Mt 25,36</u>	c	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\tau\epsilon$ \aleph A B D L W Δ Θ f^{13} 2 33 157 1424	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ <i>rell</i>
Mt 25,39	c	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ D 1424	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Mk 1,29	v	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ L	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph A C <i>rell</i> $\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ B D W Θ f^1 69 124 565 579 700 788 1424 $\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omega\nu$ E*
Mk 3,8	v	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ D	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph A B C <i>rell</i> $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\lambda\upsilon\theta\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\nu$ D omit W (change of sentence)
»Lk 6,18	l	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ L	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph A B W <i>rell</i> $\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ D
Mk 5,1	v	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ W	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph A B D <i>rell</i> $\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ C E G L M Δ Θ f^{13} 28 579 700
Mk 5,14	v	N/A	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph^2 A B L 33 118 579 Byz ^{mss} $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph^* C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 6,29	v	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ B L Θ 33 1424	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph A C D W <i>rell</i> $\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ 346
Mk 9,33	v	N/A	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph B W f^1 565 1424 $\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\sigma\alpha\nu$ D $\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ A C <i>rell</i>
Mk 14,16	v	N/A	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 1,59	l	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\alpha\nu$ D*	$\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ \aleph A B C D ² W <i>rell</i>

⁵⁵¹ See also Kilpatrick 1977: 110.

⁵⁵² BDAG, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ – “go, come”, notes the Koine forms.

<u>Lk 2,16</u>	l	ἤλθαν B* L ⊕ 579	ἤλθον \aleph A B ² D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 2,44	l	N/A	ἤλθον \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 3,12	l	N/A	ἤλθον \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 4,42	l	N/A	ἤλθον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B C D ^c W <i>rell</i>
Lk 5,7	l	ἤλθαν \aleph L W 435	ἤλθον P ⁷⁵ A B <i>rell</i> ἐλθόντες D
Lk 8,35	l	ἤλθαν P ⁷⁵ B*	ἤλθον \aleph A B ² C W <i>rell</i>
Lk 23,33	l	ἤλθαν D	ἤλθον P ⁷⁵ \aleph B C L Q ⊕ Ψ 69 124 157 1071 ἀπῆλθον <i>rell</i>
Lk 24,1	l	ἤλθαν P ⁷⁵ B*	ἤλθον \aleph A B ² C W <i>rell</i> ἤρχοντο D
Lk 24,23	l	ἤλθαν P ⁷⁵ B*	ἤλθον \aleph A B ² D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 1,39</u>	v	ἤλθαν P ^{5,66,75} B* C W ^{sup}	ἤλθον \aleph A B ² <i>rell</i>
Jn 3,26	v	ἤλθαν P ⁷⁵ B* W ^{sup}	ἤλθον P ⁶⁶ \aleph A B ² <i>rell</i>
<u>Jn 4,27</u>	v	ἤλθαν B* ἐπῆλθαν \aleph *	ἤλθον P ^{66,75} \aleph B ² A C D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i>
Jn 4,40	v	N/A	ἤλθον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B ² C D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i> συνῆλθον B*
Jn 4,45	v	N/A	ἤλθον P ^{66,75} A B C D W ^{sup} <i>rell</i> ἐληλύθισαν \aleph
Jn 6,24	v	N/A	ἤλθον P ⁷⁵ \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 7,45	v	ἤλθαν P ⁶⁶	ἤλθον P ⁷⁵ \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 10,8	v	ἤλθαν 0211	ἤλθον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 10,41	v	N/A	ἤλθον P ^{45,66,75} \aleph A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Jn 12,9	v	ἤλθαν D	ἤλθον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 19,32	v	ἤλθαν P ⁶⁶	ἤλθον \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Jn 21,8	v	ἤλθαν D	ἤλθον P ⁶⁶ \aleph A B C W <i>rell</i>
Acts 4,23	l	N/A	ἤλθον \aleph A B E <i>rell</i>
Acts 8,36	l	N/A	ἤλθον \aleph A C B E <i>rell</i>
Acts 11,12	l	N/A	ἤλθον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B E <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 12,10</u>	l	ἤλθαν \aleph A B 33 προσῆλθαν D	ἤλθον P ⁷⁴ D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 13,13	l	N/A	ἤλθον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A C B E <i>rell</i>
Acts 13,51	l	N/A	ἤλθον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A C B E <i>rell</i> κατήντησαν D
Acts 14,24	l	ἤλθαν D	ἤλθον \aleph A B C <i>rell</i>
Acts 17,1	l	N/A	ἤλθον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B E <i>rell</i>
Acts 17,13	l	ἤλθαν P ⁴⁵	ἤλθον P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B C D <i>rell</i>
Acts 20,6	l	N/A	ἤλθομεν P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 20,14	l	N/A	ἤλθομεν P ⁷⁴ \aleph A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 21,1	l	ἤλθαμεν P ⁷⁴ 1646	ἤλθομεν \aleph A B C E <i>rell</i> ἤκομεν D
Acts 21,8	l	ἤλθαμεν B	ἤλθομεν P ^{74vid} \aleph A C E <i>rell</i> ἤλθον H L P 049 1 69 88 226 330 547 618 1241 1243 1646 1828 1854 2492
Acts 27,8	l	N/A	ἤλθομεν \aleph A B <i>rell</i>
Acts 28,13	l	N/A	ἤλθομεν \aleph A B <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 28,14</u>	l	ἤλθαμεν \aleph A B	ἤλθομεν <i>rell</i>
<u>Acts 28,15</u>	l	ἤλθαν \aleph B	ἤλθον A 81 194 330 1270 2344 ἐξῆλθον <i>rell</i>
Acts 28,23	l	ἤλθαν P ⁷⁴ A	ἤλθον \aleph B <i>rell</i> ἤκον H ⁶ L P Ψ 049 1 69 <i>al</i>

Gal 2,12	c	N/A	ἤλθον A C <i>rell</i> ἤλθεν P ⁴⁶ Σ B D F G 33 330
Rev 7,13	v	ἤλθαν 2329	ἤλθον Σ A C <i>rell</i> ἤλθεν 2051 2064 2067

The Koine ἤλαμεν, ἤλατε, and ἤλαν are found quite often in the NT textual tradition as *variae lectiones* for their corresponding Attic equivalents, but singular ἤλα and ἤλας do not appear.⁵⁵³ The UBS/NA editors accepted ἤλαν in Lk 2,16 (B* L Ξ 579); Jn 1,39 (P^{5,66,75} B* C W^{sup}); Jn 4,27 (B*); Acts 12,10 (**Σ** A B 33)⁵⁵⁴; 28,15 (**Σ** B). This is not a very consistent pattern, because Mk 6,29 (B L Θ 33 1424); Lk 5,7 (**Σ** L W 435) were rejected, and there is one singular and one sub-singular reading. Koine variant readings occur in the vernacular (14/20, 70%), the conversational (5/8, 63%), and the literary (16/29, 55%) parts of the NT.

The non-literary works attest to this verb being approximately contemporary to NT authors in two references. ἤλας is found in *BGU* 530.11 (I AD), and ἤλαμεν in *P.Oxy.* 743.9-10 (2 BC). The rest of the occurrences in the non-literary papyri are from the second century onwards.⁵⁵⁵ ἤλα is found in *BGU* 814.12 (III AD), ἤλας in *SB* 4630.10 (II AD); *P.Oxy.* 1483.3 (II/III AD), ἤλαμεν in *P.Oxy.* 2342.17 (AD 102); *SB* 10772.7-8 (II/III AD), and ἤλαν in *P.Lund* 1.41 (AD 198); *PSI* 822.10 (II AD); *P.Yale* 81.4 (II AD). Early literary works have ἤλας in *Evangelium Petri* (I AD),⁵⁵⁶ ἤλαμεν in Clement (I AD),⁵⁵⁷ and ἤλαν in Hermas (II AD)⁵⁵⁸ and Hippolytus (II AD).⁵⁵⁹ While the Attic usage predominates, the LXX has ἤλα in 1 Macc 6,11; ἤλαμεν in Num 13,27; 2 Chr 14,10; ἤλατε in Gen 26,27; 42,12; Dt 1,20; Jdg 11,7; Tob 7,1 (*v.l.* in Codex **Σ**); and ἤλαν in Jdg 18,13 (*v.l.* in Codex A); 2 Sam 13,36; 17,20; 19,16; 24,7; 2 Chr 25,18; 1 Macc 7,11. Hence, the Koine forms may be authentic in the

⁵⁵³ Mealand (1996) discusses ΗΛΘ* with compounds in Luke-Acts, but his figures rely on the UBS/NA text instead of the NT textual tradition. Mealand claims that Luke-Acts exhibits the Koine forms 13 times. He then notes that textual variation of ΗΛΘ* with compounds makes it unwise to attempt counting with precision. But why not deal with the textual variation, determine the author's usage text-critically, and only then count the figures? Counting compounds, the manuscript tradition has 29 Koine forms, a much higher figure than Mealand's, even when some of the occurrences are unlikely to be what the author of Luke-Acts initially wrote. The outcome is that Luke-Acts is probably not as close to Dionysios linguistically as Mealand claims.

⁵⁵⁴ Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2005: 155) do not note this textual variation location.

⁵⁵⁵ Gignac 1981: 341; DDDP lookup, Feb 10, 2008.

⁵⁵⁶ *Evangelium Petri*, section 56 line 1.

⁵⁵⁷ Clemens Romanus, *Homiliae*, homily 13 chapter 1 section 3 line 1.

⁵⁵⁸ Hermas, *Pastor*, chapter 4 section 1 line 1.

⁵⁵⁹ Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielelem*, book 2 chapter 1 section 1 line 6.

NT.⁵⁶⁰ They are common in the NT textual tradition, and most probably have second-century roots (20 out of 25).⁵⁶¹

All but one Koine references are singular or sub-singular in Matthew: Mt 7,25 (B); 7,27 (⊗); Mt 14,34 (084, paralleled with Mk 6,53 [W]); Mt 25,39 (D 1424). The textual location in Mt 25,36 has strong external evidence supporting the Koine form (⊗ A B D L W Δ Θ f^3 2 33 157 1424). Twice the Matthean textual tradition has the Attic form only (Mt 2,2; 21,1). Text-critical choices are problematic. On the one hand, the external evidence supports reading the Attic throughout, except in Mt 25,36 perhaps. On the other hand, the Attic-only references are in the minority and therefore the authorial style *may* have been Koine, seeing that the Greek style is conversational. Also, if oral sources are permitted, Mt 25,36.39 may present a pericope with Koine variants as authentic. The same might apply to Mt 7,25.27. If Matthew used Mark as a source, Mk 14,34 might read the Koine form attested by W in Mk 6,53 (assuming its authenticity). The rest of Matthew could conform to Attic usage. Any decision is tentative only, but because the non-literary and literary works used Koine forms in the first century, I suggest that *all* Koine readings are authentic, and managed to survive only in a handful of witnesses. If so, the Attic equivalents are Atticistic corruptions. This would require changes in the UBS/NA at Mt 7,25.27; 14,34; 25,39.

Five out of eight references have Koine *variae lectiones* in Mark, yet all but one are singular readings, in Mk 1,29 (L); 3,8 (D); 5,1 (W); 6,53 (W).⁵⁶² Only Mk 6,29 has a stronger external support (B L Θ 33 1424). Mk 9,33 shows a variant where the second aorist has the same ending as in imperfect (-σάν). This was another development in the movement of Koine Greek away from Attic.⁵⁶³ Its appearance in Codex Bezae seems to betray a scribal habit towards the later Greek usage. There is no ἤλαθάν in Mk 5,14; 9,33; 14,16. As in Matthew, Markan usage is difficult to determine. On the one hand, the external evidence supports reading the Attic throughout, except in Mk 6,29 perhaps. On the other hand, the Attic-only references are in the minority and therefore the authorial style *may* have been Koine, as Mark is vernacular. Any decision is again tentative only, but because of the extra-biblical Koine usage, I suggest that *all* Koine readings are authentic, and managed to survive only in a handful of witnesses. If so, the Attic equivalents are Atticistic corruptions. This case is not

⁵⁶⁰ Royse (2008: 824, 829) takes the singular ἤλαθάν in Jn 7,45 and 19,32 as scribal substitutions.

⁵⁶¹ Mt 7,25 (B); 7,27 (⊗); Mk 1,29 (L); 3,8 (D)/Lk 6,18 (L); Lk 1,59 (D*); 8,35 (P⁷⁵ B*); 23,33 (D); 24,1 (P⁷⁵ B*); 24,23 (P⁷⁵ B*); Jn 3,26 (P⁷⁵ B* W^{sup}); 4,27 (B*); 7,45 (P⁶⁶); 12,9 (D); 19,32 (P⁶⁶); 21,8 (D); 14,24 (D); 17,13 (P⁴⁵); 28,15 (⊗ B); 28,23 (P⁷⁴ A).

⁵⁶² Metzger (TCGNT 64) makes no mention of ἤλαθάν in his discussion on Mk 1,29.

⁵⁶³ Gignac 1981: 345.

as strong as in Matthew, because the best supported example (Mk 6,29) is not as favourable to the Koine forms as is Mt 25,36 for Matthean usage. The acceptance of the Koine forms would require changes in the UBS/NA at Mk 1,29; 3,8; 5,1; 6,29.53.

The Koine forms are found 16 out of 29 times as *variae lectiones* in Luke-Acts. The majority of them are singular or sub-singular readings: Lk 1,59 (D*); 6,18 (L); 8,35 (P⁷⁵ B*); 23,33 (D); 24,1 (P⁷⁵ B*); 24,23 (P⁷⁵ B*); Acts 14,24 (D); 17,13 (P⁴⁵); 21,1 (P⁷⁴ 1646); 21,8 (B); 28,15 (⊗ B); 28,23 (P⁷⁴ A). Only four have stronger support: Lk 2,16 (B* L ⊖ 579); 5,7 (⊗ L W 435); Acts 12,10 (⊗ A B 33); 28,14 (⊗ A B). Several textual locations have no Koine variant readings: Lk 2,44; 3,12; 4,42; Acts 4,23; 8,36; 11,12; 13,13.51; 17,1; 20,6.14; 27,8; 28,13. Similar problems such as in Matthew and Mark plague the text-critical decisions. Should the Koine readings be accepted or not? Is a singular or a sub-singular external evidence in favour of the Koine form sufficient in such a literary work as Luke-Acts? The literary style of Luke-Acts is not an argument for or against the Koine forms because of the contemporary extra-biblical Greek usage in literary works. The partial nature of the textual tradition makes it impossible to be dogmatic. Once again the decision is purely tentative, so I suggest that the Koine readings be considered authentic. If so, the Attic variants are Atticistic corruptions and the UBS/NA text should be changed in Lk 1,59; 5,7; 6,18; 8,35; 23,33; 24,1.23; Acts 14,24; 17,13; 21,1; 21,8; 28,23.

The Koine forms are found eight out of twelve times (66%) in John. Six are singular readings, each time ἤλθαν: Jn 4,27 (B*); 7,45 (P⁶⁶); 10,8 (ms. 0211); 12,9 (D); 19,32 (P⁶⁶); 21,8 (D); although Jn 4,27 has secondary support in Codex Sinaiticus that has a related verb in its Koine form (ἐπῆλθαν). ἤλθαν has better external support only twice: Jn 1,39 (P^{5,66,75} B* C W^{sup}); 3,26 (P⁷⁵ B* W^{sup}). Two reasons give a slight edge for seeing the Koine forms as authentic: (1) the frequency with which they appear, and (2) the vernacular style of the author. Again, as in other Gospels, the choice can be tentative only, but I suggest that John should be read with Koine forms. This would require changes to the UBS/NA in Jn 3,26; 7,45; 10,8; 12,9; 19,32; 21,8.

There are no Koine variant readings in the Pauline corpus (Gal 2,12). On the other hand, Revelation has one textual location relevant for this study. Rev 7,13 has ἤλθαν as a *varia lectio* in ms. 2329 (a singular reading). It is an important second order witness to the text of Revelation.⁵⁶⁴ Nevertheless, its late origin (tenth century) casts some doubts on its textual character in terms of the Koine/Attic variation, so it is better to retain the Attic reading, despite Revelation being a vernacular text.

⁵⁶⁴ NA²⁷ 63*.

4.5.20. ΚΑΤΗΛΘΑ*

There is a very rare compound of ἦλθα* in the NT corpus, κατήλθαμεν⁵⁶⁵, found in Acts 27,5. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style	Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Acts 21,3	l N/A	κατήλθομεν P ^{74vid} N A B E <i>rell</i> κατήχθημεν C L 88 1243 1646 1739 <i>Hk Byz^{miss}</i>
Acts 27,5	l κατήλθαμεν P ⁷⁴ N A	κατήλθομεν B <i>rell</i>
Acts 11,27	l N/A	κατήλθον P ^{45,74} N A B D E
Acts 13,4	l N/A	κατήλθον N B C E ἀπῆλθον P ⁷⁴ A καταβάντες D
Acts 15,30	l N/A	κατήλθον P ⁷⁴ N A B C D Ψ 33 ^{vid} 81 88 323 945 1175 1270 1739 1837 1891 2344 ἦλθον E <i>rell</i>
Acts 18,5	l N/A	κατήλθον P ⁷⁴ N A B E <i>rell</i> παρεγένοντο D

The Koine form has a relatively good combination of witnesses (P⁷⁴ N A) in its support. They are not genealogically closely related. The Attic forms κατήλθομεν and κατήλθον (or another variants) are found elsewhere, in Acts 11,27; 13,4; 15,30; 18,5; 21,3. There are no LXX entries, and the UBS/NA rejects the Koine form.

The κατήλθα appears in *SB* 11957.17 (v AD), κατήλθαμεν in *P.Sakaon* 32.24 (III AD), and κατήλθαν in *P.Cair.Isid.* 66.20 (AD 299). Nothing is earlier than the third century. The earliest literary work to use it comes from the sixth century.⁵⁶⁶ It need not be considered further. The κατήλθαμεν in Acts 27,5 is likely a corruption to modernise the spelling.

4.5.21. ΜΕΧΡΙΣ

Both the Attic μέχρη and the Koine μέχρισ appear in the NT textual tradition. The following table summarises the findings. The Koine form is noted with bold face if it is followed by a word starting with a vowel (for reasons, see below).

Reference, Style	Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Mt 11,23	c N/A	μέχρη N B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 13,30	c μέχρισ W	μέχρη N ¹ C <i>rell</i> ἕως B D 1424 ἄχρη N ^{*2} L
Mt 28,15	c μέχρισ W	μέχρη N ² A B <i>rell</i> Chr Or ἕως N [*] D 1424 Or
<u>Mk 13,30</u>	v μέχρισ οὗ A B C <i>rell</i> Vict	μέχρη οὗ N Ψ ἕως οὗ D W Θ 28 209 299 565 <i>f</i> ¹ <i>f</i> ¹³
Lk 16,16	l μέχρισ <i>f</i> ¹ 892 1241 2193	μέχρη P ⁷⁵ N B L <i>f</i> ¹³ 579 Cl Or ^{pt}

⁵⁶⁵ BDAG, κατέρχομαι – “go down, come down”, notes the Koine form for Acts 27,5.

⁵⁶⁶ Romanus Melodus (VI AD), *Cantina*, Hymn 42 section 9 line 2. The Koine form appears also in *Chronicon Paschale* (VII AD), page 608 line 6.

			ἕως A D W <i>rell</i> Epiph Or ^{pt}
Acts 10,30	l	μέχρις Ψ	μέχρι P ^{50,74} N A B C D E <i>rell</i> ἄχρι 547 945 1739
Acts 20,7	l	μέχρις P Ψ Hk	μέχρι P ⁷⁴ N A B D E <i>rell</i> ἄχρι 3 103 226* 242 429 945 1739 1891
Rom 5,14	c	μέχρις 205	μέχρι N A B C <i>rell</i> Cl
Rom 15,19	c	N/A	μέχρι N A B C <i>rell</i>
Gal 4,19	c	μέχρις οὐ N * B 69 326 330 1175 2400 ἄχρις οὐ N ² A C <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt} Bas Cl Cyr	μέχρι οὐ 1739 ἄχρι οὐ 2495 <i>Byz</i> ^{pt}
Eph 4,13	c	N/A	μέχρι P ⁴⁶ N A B C <i>rell</i>
Phil 2,8	c	N/A	μέχρι P ⁴⁶ N A B C <i>rell</i> Cyr Eus Or ἄχρι D* F G
Phil 2,30	c	N/A	μέχρι P ⁴⁶ N A B C <i>rell</i> ἕως D E F G
1 Tim 6,14	l	N/A	μέχρι N A <i>rell</i>
2 Tim 2,9	l	N/A	μέχρι N A C <i>rell</i>
Heb 3,14	l	N/A	μέχρι P ^{13,46} N A B C <i>rell</i>
Heb 9,10	l	μέχρις D ²	μέχρι P ⁴⁶ N A B <i>rell</i>
Heb 12,4	l	μέχρις N A <i>rell</i>	μέχρι P ^{13,46} D*

As in the case of ἄχρις, the Atticist grammarians rejected μέχρις as a spurious diction.⁵⁶⁷ It is not as common in the NT as ἄχρις, and appears most often in the Pauline corpus. The μέχρις is found *before vowels* in Koine literary works of e.g. Clement (I AD),⁵⁶⁸ Dioscorides (I AD),⁵⁶⁹ Josephus (I AD),⁵⁷⁰ Memnon (I BC – I AD),⁵⁷¹ Onasander (I AD),⁵⁷² Philo (I BC – I AD),⁵⁷³ Philoxenus (I BC),⁵⁷⁴ Plutarch (I-II AD),⁵⁷⁵ and Strabo (I BC – I AD).⁵⁷⁶ The Greek papyri occasionally have μέχρις even before a consonant.⁵⁷⁷ The μέχρις appears across the vernacular (1/1, 100%), the conversational (4/11, 36%), and

⁵⁶⁷ Caragounis 2006: 125. BDAG, μέχρις – “as far as, until, to the point of”, argues that the Attic form is used even with vowels following, but notes the Koine form in Mk 13,30; Gal 4,19; Heb 12,4.

⁵⁶⁸ Multiple entries in *Epistula Clementis ad Jacobum; Homiliae*.

⁵⁶⁹ Multiple entries in *De materia medica; Euporista vel De simplicibus medicinis*.

⁵⁷⁰ Numerous entries in *Antiquitates Judaicae; Josephi vita; De bello Judaico libri vii*.

⁵⁷¹ Memnon, *Fragmenta*, fragment 2 line 33, fragment 9 line 16, fragment 23 line 3, fragment 24 line 10.

⁵⁷² Onasander, *Strategicus*, chapter 10 section 12 line 5.

⁵⁷³ Numerous entries in *Legum allegoriarum libri i-iii*, books 2 and 3; *De cherubim; Quod deterius potiori insidiari solet; De posteritate Caini; Quod dues sit immutabilis; De agricultura; De ebrietate; De confusione linguarum* etc.

⁵⁷⁴ Philoxenus, *Fragmenta*, fragment 504, lines 2, 4.

⁵⁷⁵ Numerous entries in *Lycurgus; Themistocles; Aemilius Paullus; Agesilous; Apophthegmata Laconica; De fortuna Romanorum; De garrulitate* etc.

⁵⁷⁶ Strabo, *Geographica*, book 1 chapter 2 section 20 line 67 and section 23 line 8, chapter 4 section 3 line 12.

⁵⁷⁷ BDAG, μέχρις.

the literary (5/5, 100%) part of the NT. The LXX has μέχρις in Est 5,1; Jdt 5,10; Tob 11,1; Attic elsewhere (65 hits).

μέχρι appears without variant readings in Mt 11,23; Rom 15,19; Eph 4,13; 1 Tim 6,14; 2 Tim 2,9; Heb 3,14. Each time the following word begins with a consonant. These textual locations are certain and express the general authorial style with consonantal words. All except Mt 11,23 are in the Pauline corpus. Two additional references are found in Phil 2,8.30, where μέχρι before a consonant varies with ἄχρι and ἕως, respectively. These variant readings are tied to a handful of D-text witnesses, and pose no serious “threat” to μέχρι, which should be taken as the initial reading in each case.

μέχρις appears as a singular variant reading in Mt 13,30 (W); Mt 28,15 (W); Acts 10,30 (Ψ)⁵⁷⁸; Rom 5,14 (ms. 205); Heb 9,10 (D²); each time followed by a *consonant*. Since some non-literary Greek papyri have the sigma followed by a consonant, it is likely that these textual locations suffer from scribal corruptions with μέχρις. This appears to be an almost consistent habit of the scribe of Codex Ψ, who has twelve occurrence of ἄχρις and μέχρις, irrespective of whether the following words begin with a vowel or with a consonant. This leaves five textual locations: Mk 13,30; Lk 16,16; Acts 20,7; Gal 4,19; Heb 12,4.

Mk 13,30, does not pose a serious problem. The UBS/NA reading μέχρις οὗ is quite certainly the initial reading with the majority of witnesses in its support, coupled with Mark’s vernacular style. Two variant readings, μέχρι οὗ (Σ Ψ)⁵⁷⁹ and ἕως οὗ (D W Θ pc f^{1,13}) are both early corrections, one conforming the spelling to the Attic diction, and the other probably to a Septuagintal idiom. The D-text reads ἕως instead of ἄχρις/μέχρις quite often (9 hits). It is possible that Latin *donec* as a translation of μέχρις has spilled over to Greek witnesses as ἕως via Greek-Latin diglots (μέχρις → *donec* → ἕως), replacing the original μέχρις, because *donec* is the equivalent of ἕως in Latin translations of both the Septuagint and the NT.⁵⁸⁰

Lk 16,16 has three variant readings – μέχρις (f¹ 892 1241 2193), μέχρι (P⁷⁵ Σ B L f¹³ 579 Cl Or^{pl}), and ἕως (A D W *rell* Epiph Or^{pl}) – followed by Ἰωάννου. The last one, ἕως, is another case of scribal shift to a Septuagintal idiom, a particular feature in Codex Bezae. Here μέχρις can be explained as an unintentional error, because the following word begins with a vowel acting as a

⁵⁷⁸ Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2004b: 68) do not discuss this variant reading at all. They read μέχρι.

⁵⁷⁹ J.K. Elliott (1972b: 135) missed this variant reading.

⁵⁸⁰ Parker 1997: 32, has argued that Codex Bezae was copied in Berytus (Beirut). It was an important centre of Latin studies in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. If Parker’s scenario is true, the Old Latin witnesses may have influenced the scribe of D to conform the text of his Greek exemplars to the Latin text.

consonant (I for Aramaic י in יןןן). A scribe probably missed this accidentally and “corrected” the text.⁵⁸¹

Acts 20,7 reads μέχρως with P Ψ Hk, followed by a consonant, which is probably a corruption for the following reasons. (1) The Lucan style in Lk 16,16 favours reading the Attic μέχρσι with a consonant, and (2) Codex Ψ often adds the final sigma to Attic ἄχρσι and μέχρσι.

Gal 4,19 contains four textual variants. Two of them are likely Atticistic corrections. The first is a singular reading, μέχρσι οὐ (ms. 1739), and the second one is ἄχρσι οὐ (2495 Byz^{pt}).⁵⁸² Both readings are to be rejected. The choice is between μέχρως οὐ (S* B pc) and ἄχρως οὐ (S² A C al Byz^{pt} Bas Cl Cyr). Ionic literary authors preferred μέχρσι to ἄχρσι,⁵⁸³ which favours reading μέχρως οὐ, because Koine usage was mostly influenced by the Ionic dialect. Additionally, in some cases it is relatively certain that later scribes changed μέχρσι to ἄχρσι. This takes place in Acts 10,30 (mss. 547 945 1739); Acts 20,7 (mss. 3 103 226* 242 429 945 1739 1891); and Gal 4,19 (S²).

Heb 12,4 presents a relatively easy choice. The text should read μέχρως with the vast majority of all witnesses, as it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel.⁵⁸⁴ This accords with the general usage in the Koine literary works. Only three witnesses support reading μέχρσι (P^{13,46} D*),⁵⁸⁵ though the fact that two of them are early papyri gives some reasons to doubt the authenticity of μέχρως. This is, however, unlikely. Both papyri are Atticistic, so it would be quite natural for the scribes responsible for P¹³ and P⁴⁶ to drop out the final sigma.

Hence, there is no need to change anything in the UBS/NA. The editors’ decisions on μέχρως and μέχρσι appear to be solid.

4.5.22. ΠΑΡΕΙΧΑΝ

Acts 28,2 reads the Koine παρείχαν with P⁷⁴ S A B against the rest of the tradition, which testifies to the Attic rival παρείχων.⁵⁸⁶ The following table is a summary.

Reference, Style	Koine Readings	Attic Readings
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⁵⁸¹ J.K. Elliott (1972b: 135) argued the opposite. He reads μέχρως on the basis of Kilpatrick’s “rule of thumb”.

⁵⁸² J.K. Elliott (1972b: 135) missed these two variant readings.

⁵⁸³ LSJ, μέχρσι.

⁵⁸⁴ J.K. Elliott (1972b: 135), who has not noticed some witnesses supporting the rival reading, because he claims that μέχρσι is read only by D.

⁵⁸⁵ J.K. Elliott (1972b: 135) has not noticed these two papyri.

⁵⁸⁶ BDAG, παρέχω – “give up, offer, grant, cause”, notes the Koine form for Acts 28,2.

Acts 28,2	1	παρεῖχαν P ⁷⁴ ⚭ A B	παρεῖχον C <i>rell</i>
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This is a text-critical *hapax legomenon*, the only occurrence of παρεῖχ* in the NT. It was not accepted as authentic in the UBS/NA. There are no entries in the LXX or in the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri for παρεῖχ*, but the related verb εἶχαμεν in UPZ 18.26 (163 BC) is pre-NT. The Koine form has a relatively strong external evidence in its support; P⁷⁴, ⚭, A, and B are genealogically unrelated. Tentatively, Acts 28,2 could read παρεῖχαν (contra the UBS/NA), but the lack of evidence for παρεῖχαν in the contemporary non-literary and literary sources casts doubts on it. The choice of παρεῖχαν would mean that the rival reading is probably an Atticistic alteration.

4.5.23. ΠΡΟΣΕΙΧΑΝ

προσέχω⁵⁸⁷ has a first aorist ending in the third person plural indicative imperfect. The verb appears thrice in the NT textual tradition. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style		Koine Readings	Attic Readings
Acts 8,6	1	N/A	προσεῖχον P ⁷⁴ ⚭ A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 8,10	1	προσεῖχαν ⚭	προσεῖχον P ⁷⁴ A B C D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 8,11	1	N/A	προσεῖχον P ⁷⁴ ⚭ A B C D E <i>rell</i>

The only occurrence of προσεῖχαν as a *varia lectio* is in Acts 8,10 in Codex Sinaiticus.⁵⁸⁸ There are no entries for προσεῖχαν in the LXX or in the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri. As in the case of παρεῖχαν, the related verb εἶχαμεν in UPZ 18.26 (163 BC) gives some support for it. However, all three occurrences are found in the same pericope. The external evidence against it is too strong. For these reasons the singular προσεῖχαν in the second location of the pericope is quite certainly a later corruption.

4.5.24. ΠΡΟΣΗΛΘΑΝ

The indicative third person plural aorist form of προσέρχομαι⁵⁸⁹ appears seventeen times in the NT textual tradition, nine with the Koine προσήλθαν as a *varia lectio*. The following table summarises the findings.

Reference, Style	Koine Readings	Attic Readings
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⁵⁸⁷ BDAG, προσέχω – “be concerned about, give heed to, devote oneself to”, does not note the Koine form.

⁵⁸⁸ Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2002) do not discuss this textual variation location at all.

⁵⁸⁹ BDAG, προσέρχομαι – “approach, come to, turn to”, does not note the Koine form.

Mt 4,11	c	N/A	προσήλθον \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Mt 5,1</u>	c	προσήλθαν $\aleph^* B^*$	προσήλθον $\aleph^1 B^2 C D W$ <i>rell</i>
Mt 13,36	c	προσήλθαν B 33	προσήλθον \aleph C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 14,15	c	προσήλθαν B 33	προσήλθον \aleph C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 15,30	c	N/A	προσήλθον \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 17,24	c	προσήλθαν Θ	προσήλθον \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i> προσελθόντες 346
Mt 18,1	c	N/A	προσήλθον \aleph B D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 19,3	c	προσήλθαν 33	προσήλθον \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 21,14	c	N/A	προσήλθον $\aleph^1 B C D W$ <i>rell</i> προσέλθοντες \aleph^*
Mt 21,23	c	προσήλθαν 33	προσήλθον \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 22,23	c	N/A	προσήλθον \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 24,1	c	N/A	προσήλθον \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 24,3	c	N/A	προσήλθον \aleph B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 26,17	c	N/A	προσήλθον \aleph A B D W <i>rell</i>
<u>Lk 13,31</u>	l	προσήλθαν P ⁷⁵ B* D L	προσήλθον \aleph A B ² C W <i>rell</i>
Jn 12,21	v	προσήλθαν D	προσήλθον P ^{66,75} \aleph A B W <i>rell</i>
Acts 12,10	l	προσήλθαν D	προσήλθον P ^{74vid} \aleph A B E <i>rell</i> προσήλθον L 104 209 618 διήλθον 2344

With only one exception all occurrences of προσήλθαν are singular or sub-singular readings. P⁷⁵, B and L are genealogically related to each other, so their testimony in Lk 13,31 *may* indicate a common hyperarchetype. As a consequence, the weight of the external evidence is lessened. The UBS/NA accepts προσήλθαν in Mt 5,1; Lk 13,31. The occurrences of προσήλθαν cover vernacular (1/1, 100%), conversational (6/15, 40%), and literary (2/2, 100%) parts of the NT, but these figures are slightly deceptive as the word appears mostly in the Matthean textual tradition. The LXX has προσήλθατε in Deut 1,22 only.

Text-critically, Acts 12,10 presents an interesting twist with multiple readings: (i) προήλθον (P^{74vid} \aleph A B E *rell*), (ii) προσήλθαν (D),⁵⁹⁰ (iii) προσήλθον (L 104 209 618), and (iv) διήλθον (ms. 2344). The first reading means “to carry on”, “to go further”, and the fourth means “to move through”. The second and third readings mean “to approach”. This leaves out the object: what or whom is approached. Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger argue that with the second/third reading the story in Codex Bezae develops into an argument of Peter’s journey out of a spiritual prison typified by Jerusalem to freedom typified by Mary’s house in the later text.⁵⁹¹ As a consequence,

⁵⁹⁰ Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2005: 155) thinks that the variant reading in Codex Bezae is more difficult (and apparently more likely), than the reading in Codex Vaticanus. They do not note the singular variant reading διήλθον.

⁵⁹¹ Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger 2005: 155.

προση̄λθαν/προση̄λθον is probably a theological alteration and need not be considered further. The initial reading is likely προ̄η̄λθον, as in the UBS/NA.

The non-literary works show the following usage. The προση̄λθα is found in *BGU* 826.19 (II/III AD), προση̄λθαμεν in *BGU* 435.7 (II-III AD); *P.Cair.Isid.* 64.9 (AD 298); *P.Fay.* 128.5 (III AD), and προση̄λθαν in *P.Flor.* 275.8-9 (III AD); *P.Oxy.* 3064.4 (III AD). Thus, the Koine forms appear to be late second / early third-century phenomena, no earlier. The earliest literary works to use προση̄λθαν are by Hesychius and Leontius, both from the fifth century.⁵⁹² Hence, all the occurrences in the NT are likely corruptions to modernise the spelling. They need not be considered further. This corruption has its roots in the late second century, seeing that προση̄λθαν is found in Lk 13,31 in P⁷⁵. These observations require changes in the UBS/NA. Both Mt 5,1 and Lk 13,31 should read προ̄η̄λθον.

4.5.25. ΣΥΝΗΛΘΑΝ

The indicative third person plural aorist form of συνέροχομαι⁵⁹³ appears thrice in the NT textual tradition (Acts 10,25.45; 21,16), twice with the Koine συν̄η̄λθαν as a *varia lectio*. The following table summarises the findings.

<i>Reference, Style</i>	<i>Koine Readings</i>	<i>Attic Readings</i>
Acts 10,23	1 συν̄η̄λθαν D	συν̄η̄λθον P ⁷⁴ ✠ A B C E <i>rell</i>
Acts 10,45	1 συν̄η̄λθαν ✠ B	συν̄η̄λθον P ⁷⁴ A D E <i>rell</i>
Acts 21,16	1 N/A	συν̄η̄λθον P ⁷⁴ ✠ A B C E <i>rell</i>

The UBS/NA accepts συν̄η̄λθαν in Acts 10,45. The Attic form is undisputed in Acts 21,16. There are no entries in the LXX. The non-literary papyri have only one entry: συν̄η̄λθατε in *SB* 7655.3 (VI AD). It appears to be a rare form, and probably late. There are no literary works supporting συν̄η̄λθαν. It may have second-century roots via ΗΛΘ*, but it is most likely not the initial form but a later corruption to modernise the spelling. This requires a change in the UBS/NA to συν̄η̄λθον in Acts 10,45.

4.6. Singular Koine Readings in the NT Textual Tradition

The NT textual tradition, as currently known, reveals several Koine forms that are singular readings. The following table is a summary of the words studied in this research. The summary lists the word forms that are found as singular

⁵⁹² Hesychius, *Commentarii in Odas*, Ode 5 section 17 line 4; Leontius, *In ramos palmarum* (homilia 3), line 150.

⁵⁹³ BDAG, συνέροχομαι – “gather, travel together with”, does not note the Koine form.

readings in the NT textual tradition, whether such a form exists in the contemporary first-century non-literary or literary works, and whether it is found in the Septuagint. If the form is found in the non-literary and/or literary works of the first century, the singular reading is a potential candidate for authenticity. The LXX usage is listed in comparison, though it may suffer from the same textual corruption as the NT. If the form does not appear in the contemporary Greek texts, but it is found in the LXX, it may be an indication of harmonisation to the LXX usage, whether or not the actual LXX usage is a secondary textual corruption.

	<i>AD I non-literary works?</i>	<i>AD I literary works?</i>	<i>LXX usage?</i>	<i>Singular witnesses. Numbers in parenthesis indicate how many times the same witness attests a singular reading.</i>
ἀνεύραν	no	no	no	B
ἀπεθάνατε	no	no	no	P ^{46c}
ἀπέθαναν	no	no	yes	ℵ, B, D, 2
ἀπῆλθα	yes	no	no	P ⁴⁶
ἀπῆλθαν	yes	no	yes	P ⁷⁵ , A, B, L, D
ἄχρις	yes	yes	yes	D, L, Θ, Ψ (2), 049, 0142, f ¹³ , 1, 1611
εἶδαμεν	no	no	yes	B, L
εἶδατε	no	yes	no	D, 876
εἶδαν	no	no	yes	A, B (2), D (2)
εἶπα	yes	yes	yes	D
εἶπαν	no	yes	yes	P ⁶⁶ (4), ℵ (4), B, D (3), W, Θ (3), 124
εἰσήλθαμεν	no	yes	yes	A
εἰσήλθαν	no	yes	yes	W
εἶχαμεν	yes	no	no	P ⁴⁶
εἶχαν	no	no	no	P ⁴⁶ , D (5)
ἐλάβαμεν	no	no	no	A
ἐλάβατε	yes	no	no	B
ἔλαβαν	no	no	yes	P ⁶⁶ , B
ἔλεγαν	no	no	no	ℵ (5), B (2), D (5)
ἐμάθατε	no	no	no	ℵ
ἐξεβαλαν	no	no	no	P ⁶⁶ , D, 226
ἐξεηλύθητε	no	no	no	F
ἐξῆλθαν	no	yes	yes	A, C, D, Θ, 472, 2021
ἐπέβαλαν	no	no	no	A
ἐπῆλθαν	no	no	no	ℵ
εὔραμεν	yes	yes	yes	E
εὔραν	no	no	yes	A, D, N, W
εὔρακεν	yes	yes	yes	ℵ
εὔρακες	yes	no	no	W
ἦλθαμεν	yes	yes	yes	B
ἦλθατε	no	no	yes	D
ἦλθαν	no	no	yes	P ⁴⁵ , P ⁶⁶ (2), ℵ, B (2), D (6), L (2), W (2), 084, 0211,

				2329
μέχρις	yes	yes	yes	D, W (2), Ψ, 205, 1243
προσεΐχαν	no	no	no	⌚
προσῆλθαν	no	no	no	D (2), Θ, 33 (2)
συνῆλθαν	no	no	no	D

The following forms do not appear anywhere in the first-century non-literary or literary works found in the *Perseus* and *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* databases, although some are found in the LXX: ἀνεῦραν, ἀπεθάνατε, ἀπέθαναν, εἶδαμεν, εἶδαν, εἶχαν, ἐλάβαμεν, ἔλαβαν, ἔλεγαν, ἐμάθατε, ἐξέβαλαν, ἐξεληλύθατε, ἐπέβαλαν, ἐπῆλθαν, εὔραν, ἦλθατε, ἦλθαν, προσεΐχαν, προσῆλθαν, and συνῆλθαν. These Koine words are found in the following textual witnesses: P^{45,46,66,75}, ⌚, A, B, D, F, L, N, W, Θ, 084, 0211, 2, 33, 226, and 2329. Most of these witnesses have but a few singular readings, but ⌚ and B have 10, and D has 25. This probably implies that Codex Bezae suffers from intentional corruptions that conform Attic forms to their Koine equivalents. Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus also have quite a number of singular readings, which *may* suggest that at least some have reasonable claim to authenticity.

On the other hand, the following forms are found in the contemporary non-literary and/or literary works, and in some cases in the LXX: ἀπῆλθα, ἀπῆλθαν, ἄχρις, εἶδατε, εἶπα, εἶπαν, εἰσῆλθαμεν, εἰσῆλθαν, εἶχαμεν, ἐλάβατε, ἐξῆλθαν, εὔραμεν, ἐώρακεν, ἐώρακες, ἦλθαμεν, and μέχρις. They are found in such witnesses as P^{46,66,75}, ⌚, A, B, C, D, E, L, W, Θ, Ψ, 049, 0142, f¹³, 1, 124, 205, 472, 876, 1243, 1611, and 2021. These are potential candidates to be the initial readings, though that decision hangs on other evidence. Again, most of these witnesses have but a few hits, though ⌚, W and Θ have five, B has six, and D has eight. This indicates, at least in some cases, that the NT textual tradition suffered early corruptions, and the initial readings were almost totally lost, leaving traces only in some witnesses here and there. Yet there is a complicating issue. The same verb with two forms gives contradictory information. For example, εἶδατε and εἶχαμεν are found in contemporary sources, but εἶδαμεν and εἶχαν are not. This kind of discrepancy is best explained in considering that the Greek sources available in the *Perseus* and *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* databases present only a partial picture of the Greek usage in the first century. This takes some force away from the argument that Codex Bezae suffers from intentional alterations, because it is involved 13 times in such discrepancies. Only twelve occurrences of singular Koine readings in Bezae are quite certainly corrupt. In fact, if one allows that εἶδαμεν, εἶχαν, ἐλάβαμεν, ἔλαβαν, ἦλθατε and ἦλθαν are contemporary with the NT, Codex Bezae may alone contain a significant amount of early readings lost to the rest of the NT tradition due to

scribal tendencies, despite the fact that in some other words it presents corruption to Koine usage. This might indicate that some Alexandrian scribes conformed their texts towards Attic diction and in some cases the initial readings escaped this corruption only outside the sphere of Alexandrian influence. Hence, there can be no clear-cut acceptance or rejection of the singular readings. Each case needs to be studied independently, because the early witnesses contain textual corruptions that look paradoxical by nature and difficult to ascertain.

4.7. Sub-Singular Koine Readings in the NT Textual Tradition

As in the case of singular readings, the NT textual tradition, as currently known, reveals several Koine forms that are sub-singular readings, though they are not as numerous as singular readings. The following table is a summary of sub-singular Koine forms studied. The witness-section always lists *both* sources for a single hit in the tradition. I.e. ἀπῆλθαν is found once as a sub-singular reading in the NT, in the P⁶⁶ D pair. Both witnesses have been included separately.

	<i>AD I non-literary works?</i>	<i>AD I literary works?</i>	<i>LXX usage?</i>	<i>Sub-singular witnesses. Numbers in parenthesis indicate how many times the same witness attests a sub-singular reading.</i>
ἀπῆλθαν	yes	no	yes	P ⁶⁶ , D
ἄχρισ	yes	yes	yes	ℵ, C, Ψ (3), 1611 (2), Hk (2), 2031, 2050, 2051 ⁺²⁰⁵⁵⁺²⁰⁶⁴⁺²⁰⁶⁷
ἔβαλαν	no	no	yes	B, D (2), 700
εἶδα	no	no	no	A, Hipp
εἶδαμεν	no	no	yes	C (2), D, 13 ⁺⁶⁹⁺⁷⁸⁸
εἶδατε	no	yes	no	A 13 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸
εἶδαν	no	no	yes	ℵ (2), A, B (2), L
εἶπα	yes	yes	yes	P ⁷⁴ , D
εἶπαν	no	yes	yes	ℵ (3), B (2), D, L, R, X, W (2), Θ (2), J ⁴³ , 33, 579
εἶχαμεν	yes	no	no	ℵ, A
ἔλαβαν	no	no	yes	2049, 2196
ἔλεγαν	no	no	no	ℵ, D
ἔξεβαλαν	no	no	no	P ⁶⁶ , W
ἔξεληλύθατε	no	no	no	F (2), W, Δ
ἔξηλθαν	no	yes	yes	ℵ (2), B, D
ἐπέβαλαν	no	no	no	ℵ, B
εὔραμεν	yes	yes	yes	P ⁷⁴ , E
εὔραν	no	no	yes	P ⁷⁵ , ℵ, B, A, E, L
ἑωράκαμεν	no	no	yes	S 33
ἑώρακαν	no	no	yes	B 700
ἦλθαμεν	yes	yes	yes	P ⁷⁴ , D, 1424, 1646

ἦλθαν	no	no	yes	P ⁷⁴ , P ⁷⁵ (3), Σ , A, B (4)
προσηλθαν	no	no	no	Σ , B (3), 33 (2)
συνηλθαν	no	no	no	Σ , B

The following forms do not appear anywhere in the first-century non-literary or literary works as found in the *Perseus* and *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* databases, but some are found in the LXX: ἔβαλαν, εἶδα, εἶδαμεν, εἶδαν, ἔλαβαν, ἔλεγαν, ἐπέβαλαν, εὗραν, ἐξέβαλαν, ἐξεληλύθατε, ἐωράκαμεν, ἐώρακαν, ἦλθαν, προσήλθαν, and συνήλθαν. This list of words is remarkably similar to that of singular Koine forms. Several words – εἶδαμεν, εἶδαν, ἔλαβαν, ἔλεγαν, ἐπέβαλαν, εὗραν, ἐξέβαλαν, ἐξεληλύθατε, ἦλθαν, προσήλθαν, and συνήλθαν – are also found in the list of the singular readings. There are only four forms not attested as singular readings (ἔβαλαν, εἶδα, ἐωράκαμεν, ἐώρακαν). These sub-singular words are found in P^{66,74}, **Σ**, A, B, C, D, E, F, L, S, W, Δ, 13^{+mss}, 33, 700, 2049 2196, and Hipp. This list is different from its singular words counterpart, but the following witnesses are found in both lists: P⁶⁶, **Σ**, A, B, D, F, L, W, and 33. Most of these witnesses have only a few sub-singular readings, but A and D have four, **Σ** eight, and B ten such readings. Now the famous Alexandrian codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus suffer from corruptions to modernise readings to Koine.

By contrast, the following forms are found in contemporary non-literary and/or literary works, and in some cases as the LXX usage as well: ἀπῆλθαν, ἄχρισ, εἶδατε, εἶπα, εἶπαν, εἶχαμεν, εὗραμεν, ἐξῆλθαν, and ἦλθαμεν. They are found in P^{66,74}, **Σ**, A, B, C, D, E, L, R, X, W, Θ Ψ, *Hk*, 33, 579, 1424, 1611, 2031, 2050, 2051^{+mss}. Again, most of the witnesses have only a few hits, but D has five and **Σ** has seven. This makes Codex Bezae paradoxical. In singular readings it attests a lot of corruption, but in sub-singular readings its reliability is higher. The number of minuscules containing Koine variants points towards the preservation of a second-century textual tradition well into the Middle Ages. The dividing of *f*¹³ and 13^{+mss} is a curiosity. The family 13 sometimes uniformly reads the Koine forms. At other times only the base witness 13 with some of its genealogical relatives does so. The same occurs in the Harklean Group (*Hk*) and one of its members (1611). This is likely an indicator of an early scribal corruption of the C-text after it had evolved as a separate textual stream in the tradition.

Some general observations arise from these findings, dependent on the validity of external evidence. First, a number of witnesses are found habitually to contain singular and sub-singular variant readings. Some of them concur with the known first-century non-literary and/or literary usage, some do not. Such

witnesses are P⁶⁶, \aleph , A, B, D, L, and W. Except for L, all of these witnesses are early, and contain a large number of Koine readings in general. Codex Regius (L) is genealogically tied to Codex Vaticanus, often agreeing with it⁵⁹⁴, so its testimony is not totally independent. P⁶⁶ and A are witnesses with the highest and the fewest number of Koine variant readings overall (37% and 16%, respectively), but neither has as great amount of singular or sub-singular readings as \aleph , B, and D. This probably indicates that some Koine forms were Atticised and some Attic forms “modernised” to Koine.

Secondly, the similarities with the lists of singular and sub-singular Koine readings seem to be indicative of the early scribal tendencies. Although the list of witnesses is not an exact match, the same Greek forms appear in both categories in a similar way. This perhaps indicates the development of the Greek usage that altered the NT text in a systematic way during its early transmission, though individual witnesses were perhaps not systematically altered. It seems too much of a coincidence that the same Greek words affect the NT textual tradition the same way, using mostly the same witnesses.

4.8. Conclusions and Implications

This chapter has revealed that the NT textual tradition appears to be more problematic than previously noted in terms of the Koine/Attic variation. The general Greek usage in the first and second centuries attests that the older Attic forms were being replaced by their Koine equivalents. This development in Greek usage seems to have affected the transmission of the NT to some degree, because early scribes did not work in a historical or literary vacuum. Doric-like Greek survived the Hellenisation process locally into the Christian era, especially in Asia Minor. Koine Greek developed more and more alpha forms to replace the older omicron forms used in Attic. Atticistic tendencies attempted to return the diction to Attic. Thus, it is possible that the (un)intentional vacillation of the A/O-forms are at times a result of the use of a scribe’s own Greek dialect (subconscious or otherwise),⁵⁹⁵ at other times a sign of the development of Greek usage in general. This took place irrespective of what actually was in a scribe’s

⁵⁹⁴ Metzger 1992b: 54.

⁵⁹⁵ Some scholars argue that scribes read their texts aloud, and only after that copied them from memory. This “personal diction” model could possibly explain phonetic corruptions coupled with regional orthographic variation found in many NT witnesses. This may offer an insight into why some initially Attic forms turned into their Koine equivalents (Dain 1949: 20-22; Parker 1982; Roberts 1970). Some scholars deny the value of this theory while admitting that some random confusion may have taken place (Gignac 1976: 191-93; Skeat 1957; Wayment 2006). On the basis of this study, I regard the “personal diction” model a possibility for some confusion attested in the Koine/Attic variation.

exemplar. As a consequence, some alpha forms are likely the initial readings that have survived only rarely in the NT textual tradition. Some other alpha forms provide sparse testimony to the scribal tendencies to “improve” their texts towards later Greek usage (or their own). There are no easy rules of thumb. One cannot assume on an *a priori* basis that Koine or Attic forms are always initial ones. That depends on the Greek word, its development in Koine, on the scribal tendencies, and at times on the biblical authors’ literary style.

Assuming that my textual decisions are correct, including the tentative ones, the following table presents how many times a textual witness correctly or incorrectly reads the Koine/Attic variant readings in the NT textual tradition for the studied words. Variant readings that cannot be counted either as Koine or Attic have been excluded. Codex W includes its supplement.

	KOINE		ATTIC		TOTAL	
	correct	incorrect	correct	incorrect	correct	incorrect
P ⁴⁵	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	12 (75%)	4 (25%)
P ⁴⁶	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	10 (63%)	6 (37%)	16 (73%)	6 (27%)
P ⁶⁶	41 (91%)	4 (9%)	13 (41%)	19 (59%)	54 (70%)	23 (30%)
P ⁷⁵	44 (94%)	3 (6%)	18 (34%)	35 (66%)	62 (62%)	38 (38%)
Σ	158 (90%)	17 (10%)	82 (43%)	107 (57%)	240 (66%)	124 (34%)
A	89 (89%)	11 (11%)	76 (36%)	138 (64%)	165 (53%)	149 (47%)
B	154 (89%)	19 (11%)	72 (40%)	106 (60%)	226 (64%)	125 (36%)
C	70 (96%)	3 (4%)	52 (40%)	79 (60%)	122 (60%)	82 (40%)
D ^{ea}	97 (79%)	26 (21%)	39 (33%)	81 (67%)	136 (56%)	107 (44%)
E ^a	13 (81%)	3 (19%)	17 (47%)	19 (53%)	30 (58%)	22 (42%)
W	75 (91%)	7 (9%)	47 (30%)	108 (70%)	132 (53%)	115 (47%)

The table details are revealing. Most of the witnesses have a high degree of correct support for Koine forms. Yet Codices Bezae (D^{ea}) and Laudianus (E^a) have a substantial amount of *incorrect* Koine readings, indicating that their texts suffer from the scribal tendencies to rewrite the text to a more modern outlook, probably because of the development of Greek during the second and third centuries. This appears to be true also of Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, and Vaticanus to a lesser degree. In the early papyri, P⁷⁵ is slightly better than P⁶⁶ in properly retaining the Koine forms. P⁴⁵ and P⁴⁶ have too few test cases for statistically valid comparisons, but it is telling that they *always* correctly read the Koine. Not once is there an incorrect Koine form. Somewhat surprisingly, Codex Ephraemi is the most reliable early majuscule in Koine readings, but in Attic readings its quality drops.

With Attic matters change. All witnesses suffer from a substantial amount of incorrect Attic readings, revealing a general tendency to Atticise the text. Again, P⁴⁵ and P⁴⁶ are the most reliable witnesses, having the least percentage of incorrect Attic readings. W^(+sup), D^{ea}, and P⁷⁵ are the worst offenders in this

respect. They have the highest percentage of incorrect Attic readings. This is a little surprising, because Codex Alexandrinus is the oldest witness to the early A-text, which is quite heavily Atticistic in comparison to the early B-text witnesses. One would have expected W^(+sup), D^{ca}, and P⁷⁵ to do better in comparison to A. In Attic readings P⁶⁶ clearly outweighs P⁷⁵. Similarly, Sinaiticus is more reliable than Vaticanus, though the difference is small. Laudianus, the second worst offender in Koine readings, beats both Sinaiticus and Vaticanus in Attic readings, being a more reliable witness in this respect.

The following table lists the witnesses arranged in descending level of reliability. Codex W includes its supplement.

TOTAL			KOINE			ATTIC		
	<i>correct</i>	<i>incorrect</i>		<i>correct</i>	<i>incorrect</i>		<i>correct</i>	<i>incorrect</i>
P ⁴⁵	12 (75%)	4 (25%)	P ⁴⁵	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	P ⁴⁶	10 (63%)	6 (37%)
P ⁴⁶	16 (73%)	6 (27%)	P ⁴⁶	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	P ⁴⁵	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
P ⁶⁶	54 (70%)	23 (30%)	C	70 (96%)	3 (4%)	E ^a	17 (47%)	19 (53%)
ℵ	240 (66%)	124 (34%)	P ⁷⁵	44 (94%)	3 (6%)	ℵ	82 (43%)	107 (57%)
B	226 (64%)	125 (36%)	W	75 (91%)	7 (9%)	P ⁶⁶	13 (41%)	19 (59%)
P ⁷⁵	62 (62%)	38 (38%)	P ⁶⁶	41 (91%)	4 (9%)	B	72 (40%)	106 (60%)
C	122 (60%)	82 (40%)	ℵ	158 (90%)	17 (10%)	C	52 (40%)	79 (60%)
E ^a	30 (58%)	22 (42%)	A	89 (89%)	11 (11%)	A	76 (36%)	138 (64%)
D ^{ca}	136 (56%)	107 (44%)	B	154 (89%)	19 (11%)	P ⁷⁵	18 (34%)	35 (66%)
A	165 (53%)	149 (47%)	E ^a	13 (81%)	3 (19%)	D ^{ca}	39 (33%)	81 (67%)
W	132 (53%)	115 (47%)	D ^{ca}	97 (79%)	26 (21%)	W	47 (30%)	108 (70%)

Codex Bezae ranks as the worst in Koine corruptions, and as the second worst in Attic corruptions. Its text has occasionally been harmonised to Latin equivalents as well, seen in its changing ἄχου(ς)/μέχου(ς) to ἕως. These two features present detectable scribal tendencies, which add to discussions on Codex Bezae and its text. Codex Vaticanus turns out to be only “a middle class” manuscript that suffers from both Koine and Attic corruptions. Sinaiticus fares better. In total reliability Sinaiticus and Vaticanus appear rather good, outclassed only by P^{45,46,66}. This reveals that the general quality of the manuscript is *not a reliable* indicator of its special features. This discontinuity, perhaps overlooked, may have been the cause of inconsistencies in the UBS/NA.

For these reasons a closer look at Greek usage is needed, based on contemporary non-literary and literary sources. NT textual criticism needs to be grounded on solid information about the general Greek usage in the first two centuries, if the second-century text is ever to be recovered, much more so for any hypothetical reconstructions of the first-century text. Such a study is beyond the scope of this chapter, but enough headway has been made. Hopefully this study reignites the debate over Atticism. It seems doubtful that previous discussions have adequately dealt with the information available in the NT

textual tradition, though in all fairness some evidence has come to light just recently. The information found in the non-literary and literary sources should be used in conjunction with known scribal tendencies and the NT textual witnesses in order to determine the probabilities for a word's authenticity as the initial reading for each Koine and Attic variant. An internal criterion that favours the Koine over the Attic, other things being equal, is too simplistic, unless the "other things being equal" includes the information from Greek usage of the first two centuries. This requires a perennial restudy of Greek usage, when more evidence becomes available.

This chapter has also shown that there are a number of debatable textual decisions in the UBS/NA. When the singular and the sub-singular readings are excluded, there are several instances of inconsistencies in the UBS/NA that need to be sorted out. At least the following alterations should or could be made (probable/tentative):

<i>Reading</i>	<i>Dialect</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Probability</i>
ἀπῆλθα	Koine	Gal 1,17b	probable
ἀπῆλθαν	Koine	Mt 8,32; Jn 11,46; 18,6	tentative
ἄχρις	Koine	Mt 24,38; Lk 1,20; 17,27; 21,24; Acts 7,18; 11,5; 20,6.11; 28,15; Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; Phil 1,6	probable
ἔβαλον	Attic	Acts 16,37	probable
εἶδατε	Koine	Lk 7,22	tentative
εἶδον	Attic	Mt 13,17	probable
εἶδαν	Koine	Lk 9,32; Acts 6,15; 28,4	tentative
εἶπα	Koine	Mt 28,7; Acts 11,8; 22,10	probable
εἶπας	Koine	Mk 12,32	probable
εἶπαν	Koine	Mt 13,27; 15,12; 17,19; 26,73; Jn 6,25.34; 7,3.35.45; 8,13.52.57; 9,26.28.40; 18,25; Acts 2,37; 4,19; 19,2; 21,20	probable
εἶχαμεν	Koine	Heb 12,9; 2 Jn 5	tentative
εἶχαν	Koine	Heb 11,15	tentative
ἐλάβατε	Koine	1 Jn 2,27	tentative
ἔλαβαν	Koine	Rev 17,12	tentative
ἐξῆλθαν	Koine	Mt 25,1; 2 Jn 7; 3 Jn 7; Rev 9,3; 15,6	tentative
ἐπῆλθον	Attic	Acts 14,19	probable
εὖρομεν	Attic	Lk 23,2	probable
ἔώρακα	Koine	1 Cor 9,1	probable
ἔώρακεν	Koine	Col 2,18	probable
ἔώρακαν	Koine	Col 2,1	probable
ἦλθαμεν	Koine	Mt 25,39; Acts 21,1.8	tentative
ἦλθαν	Koine	Mt 7,25.27; 14,34; Mk 1,29; 3,8; 5,1; 6,29.53; Lk 1,59; 5,7; 6,18; 8,35; 23,33; 24,1.23; Jn 3,26; 7,45; 10,8; 12,9; 19,32; 21,8; Acts 14,24; 17,13; 28,23	tentative
παρεῖχαν	Koine	Acts 28,2	tentative
προσηλθον	Attic	Mt 5,1; Lk 13,31	probable
συνῆλθον	Attic	Acts 10,45	probable

Many of my other textual suggestions are tentative, because (1) the NT textual tradition has not yet been fully listed anywhere, and (2) the textual information has a large number of singular and sub-singular readings, concerning which the decision is at times very difficult. A better investigation of the textual tradition is possible only when the tradition is more fully known. This still awaits the completion of the ECM series. Only after this series is completed, will it be possible to know how many of the singular and sub-singular readings actually qualify as initial. Their total number appears to be quite high at present, mostly because of the lack of attestations published concerning the minuscules. A lot of the singular and sub-singular readings are likely secondary corruptions, but there are some Koine variants with slim external evidence that emerge as initial readings. They disappeared almost completely from the NT textual tradition because later scribal tendencies modified them to their Attic equivalents.

I conclude that the NT textual tradition testifies to different scribal tendencies of which two have been elaborated in this study. (1) Atticism, which quite certainly has affected some portions of the text. (2) Textual conformity with later Greek usage or with a scribe's own, and perhaps regionally distributed, whether intentional or unintentional. These results seem quite firm despite many questions on individual textual locations, and for which the textual choices are tentative at best. Ultimately, seeing the NT text as a "living text" in the hands of scribes, which is modernised by scribal activity *without changing its meaning*, may explain a lot of variation in the NT textual tradition.

Further research is needed to test my thesis by going through *every* word with Koine/Attic attestation in the NT textual tradition. This includes not only orthographic differences (A/O) but also the development of Koine to replace the perfect with aorist, the change of substantives etc. Such an endeavour should be conducted not only for the whole NT text, but also for the individual manuscripts to see if the changes are unintentional or intentional. I offer one example of a change of substantives to show how the conclusions of this study can help to determine the textual probabilities. It is the case of ῥαφίδος/βελόνης in Synoptic parallels Mt 19,24 // Mk 10,25 // Lk 18,25. Matthew reads the Koine ῥαφίδος with no *varia lectio*, but Clement cites the Matthean text with the Attic βελόνης instead (Cl S II 22,3), though knows also ῥαφίδος (Cl Q 2,2). Mark has βελόνης as a *varia lectio* in f^3 , but reads ῥαφίδος with *rell.* Luke varies between βελόνης (⊗ B D L $f^{1,13}$ 157 579) and ῥαφίδος (A W Δ Ψ 2 118 565 1071 1424 Byz), while Θ combines the two and curiously reads βελόνης μαλιᾶς ῥαφίδος. Though the Lucan ῥαφίδος may be a Synoptic harmonisation, Elliott has argued that it is the initial reading even in Luke, because Phrynichus rejects

the Koine ῥαφίς in favour of the Attic βελόνη.⁵⁹⁶ This is supported by the findings of this study. Codices A and W usually support the Attic forms, especially when they share a reading. When they support the Koine readings, they have a very high reliability rate for such readings (A 89%, W 91%), whereas **N**, B, and D get the Attic forms right less than half the time (**N** 43%, B 40%, D 33%). Hence, ῥαφίς may not be a Synoptic harmonisation in LK 18,25, but the initial reading that was Atticised.

Appendix: Corrector Activities

Table 1. This is a list of corrector activity from Koine to Attic. The “original reading” refers to the reading of the manuscript by the first hand scribe.

<i>reference</i>	<i>original reading in Koine</i>	<i>corrected reading in Attic</i>
Mt 5,1	προσῆλθαν N * B*	προσῆλθον N ¹ B ²
Mt 22,22	ἀπῆλθαν W*	ἀπῆλθον W ¹
Mt 26,66	εἶπαν N *	εἶπον N ²
Mt 25,37	εἶδαμεν B*	εἶδομεν B ²
Mt 28,7	εἶπα N *	εἶπον N ²
Mk 9,14	εἶδαν B*	εἶδον B ²
Mk 10,37	εἶπαν C*	εἶπον C ³
Lk 1,59	ἦλθαν D*	ἦλθον D ²
Lk 2,16	1. ἦλθαν B*	1. ἦλθον B ²
	2. ἀνεῦραν B*	2. ἀνεῦρον B ²
Lk 5,7	ἦλθαν B*	ἦλθον B ²
Lk 8,35	εὔραν B*	εὔραν B ²
Lk 13,31	προσῆλθαν B*	προσῆλθον B ²
Lk 20,31	ἀπέθαναν B*	ἀπέθανον B ²
Lk 23,2	εὔραμεν B*	εὔρομεν B ²
Lk 24,1	ἦλθαν B*	ἦλθον B ²
Lk 24,23	ἦλθαν B*	ἦλθον B ²
Jn 1,12	ἔλαβαν B*	ἔλαβον B ²
Jn 1,18	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²
Jn 1,22	εἶπαν C*	εἶπον C ³
Jn 1,25	εἶπαν C*	εἶπον C ³
Jn 1,38	εἶπαν C*	εἶπον C ³
Jn 1,39	1. ἦλθαν B*	1. ἦλθον B ²
	2. εἶδαν B*	2. εἶδον B ²
Jn 3,26	ἦλθαν B*	ἦλθον B ²
Jn 4,27	ἦλθαν B*	ἦλθον B ²
Jn 8,22	ἔλεγαν D*	ἔλεγον D ^c
Jn 8,53	ἀπέθαναν D*	ἀπέθανον D ^c
Jn 9,10	ἔλεγαν N *	ἔλεγον N ²
Jn 9,16	ἔλεγαν N *	ἔλεγον N ²
Jn 10,20	ἔλεγαν N *	ἔλεγον N ²
Jn 11,36	ἔλεγαν N *	ἔλεγον N ²
Jn 15,22	εἶχαν D*	εἶχον D ²
Jn 15,24	εἶχαν D*	εἶχον D ²
Acts 1,11	εἶπαν C*	εἶπον C ³

⁵⁹⁶ J.K. Elliott 1972b: 133.

Acts 1,24	εἶπαν C*	εἶπον C ^c
1 Cor 9,1	έώρακα D*	έώρακα D ²
Col 2,1	έώρακαν D*	έώρακασιν D ^c
Heb 12,4	μέχρις D*	μέχρι D ²

Table 2. This is a list of corrector activity from Attic to Koine. The “original reading” refers to the reading of the manuscript by the first hand scribe.

<i>reference</i>	<i>original reading in Attic</i>	<i>rewritten reading in Koine</i>
Mt 8,32	ἀπέθανον N*	ἀπέθαναν N ¹
Mt 17,24	εἶπον N*	εἶπαν N ²
Mk 12,32	εἶπες N*	εἶπας N ²
Lk 1,22	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²
Lk 2,16	άνευθρον N*	εύραν N ²
Jn 4,17	εἶπες B*	εἶπας B ²
Jn 7,40	έλεγον D*	έλεγαν D ^c
Jn 6,46a	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²
Jn 6,46b	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²
Jn 8,57	έώρακες B*	έώρακας B ²
Jn 9,23	εἶπον W*	εἶπαν W ¹
Jn 9,37	έώρακας B*	έώρακας B ²
Jn 20,25	έοράκαμεν B*	έωράκαμεν B ²
Acts 7,18	ἄχρι οὗ B*	ἄχρις οὗ B ²
Acts 11,15	ἄχρι B*	ἄχρις B ²
Rom 11,25	ἄχρι οὗ B*	ἄχρις οὗ B ²
1 Cor 9,1	έώρακα B*	έώρακα B ²
1 Cor 11,26	ἄχρι οὗ N* B*	ἄχρις οὗ N ² B ²
1 Cor 15,25	ἄχρι οὗ N* B*	ἄχρις οὗ N ² B ²
Col 2,18	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²
Heb 9,10	μέχρι D*	μέχρις D ²
1 Jn 1,1	έοράκαμεν B*	έωράκαμεν B ²
1 Jn 1,2	έοράκαμεν B*	έωράκαμεν B ²
1 Jn 1,3	έοράκαμεν B*	έωράκαμεν B ²
1 Jn 3,6	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²
1 Jn 4,20a	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²
1 Jn 4,20b	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²
3 Jn 11	έώρακεν B*	έώρακεν B ²

5. Conclusions

5.1. Summary and Conclusions

The famous Oxford Debate on NT textual criticism held at New College on May 6, 1897 was an important milestone in the history of NT textual criticism. The debate put an end to the *Textus Receptus* as the generally accepted original text. It was a significant historical event for all practical purposes. After the debate most NT scholars were no longer happy with its text that was based on a few late witnesses, or with the methodology which had produced such text. Textual scholars moved into the genealogical approaches taken from the Classics and to the use of older textual witnesses. This work continued during the twentieth-century. It culminated in the production of the latest UBS/NA edition, which some scholars considered to be the new standard text. This new text has been reached using an eclectic method that is essentially two centuries old with roots in Antiquity. More recently its defenders have spoken of a “working text”, softening their stance. Most current NT research is based on this text, often to a total or nearly total lack of treatment of rival variant readings and their impact on the NT text.

However, not everyone is satisfied with the UBS/NA text or with the methodology behind it. Numerous books and articles have suggested various changes to it. A growing group of textual scholars dispute the methodological approaches that lie behind the UBS/NA text. Some offer alternative ways to resolve textual problems. Others argue for textual solutions abandoned by the UBS/NA editors. These rival approaches include different forms of reasoned eclecticism, thoroughgoing eclecticism, and the Byzantine Priority position. As a result, NT textual criticism has fragmented into three distinct schools of thought with no consensus in sight for the issues still unsolved or disputed, textual or methodological. The crucial difference between the schools is their view of the early period of transmission of the NT text: how and why did early scribal tendencies affect the NT text. This has had serious repercussions. Attempts to reach the second-century text, arguably a way beyond the text offered by the UBS/NA, are hampered by the lack of consensus on many vital issues relating to scribal tendencies.

This research dealt with three textual areas that pertain to the search for the second-century text; Jn 1,34 that is particularly difficult; Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18

that are disputed in recent works; and 373 textual locations with the Koine/Attic variation. These areas of research, or test cases, include the early scribal tendencies. They are seen by many as a key (or the key) for furthering the quest to reach the earliest achievable text of the NT. With this in mind, I offered my solutions for such textual problems.

John 1,34

The first case study dealt with the textual problem found in Jn 1,34. The text has suffered an early corruption that has produced a contaminated textual tradition with several variant readings for the textual unit in question. Previous proposals have not yielded generally accepted results. Opinions have been polarised between reading ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ or ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, depending on the scholar making the decision. Rodgers's approach conjectured an emendation ὁ μονογενῆς ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, but his solution is more problematic than the choice between ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

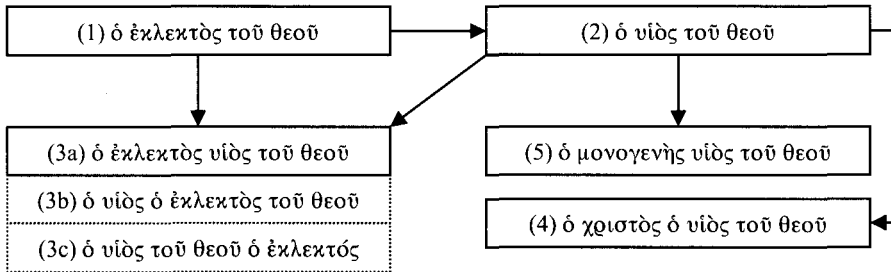
Assumptions regarding the reading found in papyrus witness P^{5vid} have affected the evaluation of this textual location. I showed that the reading in P⁵ is too debatable to be used, but the witness probable supports reading ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ with the *nomina sacra*, contrary to most scholars reconstructing the *videtur* reading. Though earlier the INTF, Münster, reported that P^{75*} reads ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐκλεκτός, this conjecture has now been abandoned. They now list P^{75*} as reading a blank, because it is too disputed that it might have contained before the correction ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. I showed that P¹¹⁶ contains a B-text lookalike closest to that of P⁶⁶ with the implication that ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is not limited to the D-text witnesses, though P¹¹⁶ seems to have some D-text flavour. P¹²⁰ offers a new singular reading ὁ υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ.

These new findings help to establish scribal tendencies to evaluate what probably took place in the early history of the transmission of the text of John. The best option seems to be to choose ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ as the initial text, because it can explain the rival readings by various scribal tendencies to harmonise the text to the immediate context, Synoptic parallels, different OT backgrounds, or to diffuse the possible heterodox use of the reading in an anti-adoptionistic environment.

The selection of ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ fits the context well by allowing seven unique honorific titles for Jesus: (1) ὁ ἄμνός τοῦ θεοῦ, (2) ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, (3) ῥαββί, (4) ὁ μεσσίας, (5) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, (6) ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, and (7) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. It satisfies the chiasmic structure suggested by Ellis, balancing ὁ ἐκλεκτός with ὁ υἱός. This combines *two* OT backgrounds: the sonship motif from Ps 2,7 with the servant motif in Isa 42,1. It

also contains a reference to the “chosen one” motif in Ex 4,22; 19,5-6; Dt 7,7-8. The latter passage is especially interesting, because Israel is likened to God’s beloved, which motif recurs in the baptism of Jesus.

I proposed the following hypothesis to explain the transmission of the text.



ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is the initial reading that was changed to ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. These were conflated to ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. The variant readings ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ arose independently from ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ because of scribal attempts to harmonise the text to Synoptic parallels.

Methodologically this study demonstrated that rare readings should not be discarded in disputed textual locations, especially if they are found in the early papyri. The NT textual tradition may have suffered an early corruption, and the initial reading may have survived only in a handful of witnesses, even as a singular or a sub-singular reading, despite the apparent tenacity of the tradition. Hence, the merits of rare readings should be considered in textually disputed places. Jn 1,34 appears to be one such case.

Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18

The second case study dealt with the textual problems found in Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18. I concluded that the text of Jude should read ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς (Jude 5), ἀπαφρίζοντα (Jude 13), πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς (Jude 15), ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι (Jude 18a), and ἐπ’ ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου (Jude 18b). These conclusions are the same as found in the work of Wasserman, except in Jude 5. Variations in Jude 18 are minor issues, but Jude 5, 13, and 15 have important issues in one way or another. The reading πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς brings the text of Jude 15 into harmony with the Ethiopian tradition of 1 Enoch, a possible source for the author of Jude, with the later A-text.

The *crux interpretum* is Jude 5, for which I suggest that the reading ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς found in A 81 33^c 2344 L:V Ä Cyr is the initial reading. This reading best explains the rise of rival readings by scribal tendencies. The

solution found in the ECM differs from mine only by adding the second ὑμᾶς. This study supports the perceived high Christology in Jude, which implies that its author was one of those, who very early on argued for the pre-existence of Jesus of Nazareth.

I note that one of the main difficulties for selecting ἀπαφρῖζοντα in Jude 13, namely, the lack of any first-century evidence for this rare word, is no longer an issue. I have found it in one first-century author, Pedanius Dioscorides (ca. AD 60), whose treatise on medical herbs contains ἀπαφρῖζω (*De Materia Medica* 5.23). Its selection implicitly argues, in the context of Jude, that the ungodliness of the opponents of Jude was spilling over onto the recipients of his letter, or at least there was a perceived danger of this possibility. This perhaps explains the urgency the author felt in writing his letter.

In general, it seems that the ECM editors have not given enough weight to the external evidence proposed by the CBGM method. This applies to Jude 15 and 18a and to a lesser degree to Jude 13 and 18b. There are important internal arguments in support of variant readings other than those chosen by the ECM editors. Wasserman appears to have a more balanced treatment of the external and internal evidence, but I disagree with him on Jude 5. I suggest that the critical text of Jude should still be reconsidered.

The Koine/Attic Variation

The third case study, the largest in this research, dealt with Atticism. I studied 712 textual locations containing 25 different Greek words with both Koine and Attic forms in the NT textual tradition. The total of 373 textual locations contain the orthographic Koine/Attic variation. Greek usage in the first and second centuries was studied using the evidence available in the non-literary and literary works. The information deduced from this was used as a comparative measuring rod to test the likelihood of the authenticity of Koine/Attic forms in the NT textual tradition.

I advanced the position that the NT manuscript tradition on the whole shows some signs of Atticism in terms of its scribal tendencies. This validates Atticism as a criterion for discussions on transcriptional probabilities, but there is a clear limitation not discussed adequately in previous studies. A comparison between the general Greek usage in the first and second centuries and the NT textual tradition attest that the older Attic forms were also being replaced by their Koine equivalents, though this happened less often than Atticistic tendencies. Some scribes seem to have modernised their text to then current Greek idiom without changing its meaning. Early scribes did not work in a historical or literary vacuum. Doric-like Greek survived the Hellenisation process locally even into the Christian era, especially in Asia Minor. Koine developed more and more

alpha forms. Atticistic tendencies attempted to return the diction to Attic. It is thus possible that the (un)intentional vacillation of the A/O-forms are at times a result of the use of a scribe's own Greek dialect (subconscious or otherwise), at other times a sign of the development of Greek usage in general. This took place irrespective of what actually was in a scribe's exemplar. The initial Koine forms have survived in the NT textual tradition differently; some are well supported externally, others only sparsely. Other Koine forms provide a rare testimony to scribal tendencies to "improve" their texts towards either the general Greek usage or their own.

I concluded that these two tendencies have not been consistently handled by the UBS/NA editors. Hence, the following textual changes should be or could be made to the UBS/NA text.

<i>Reading</i>	<i>Dialect</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Probability</i>
ἀπῆλθα	Koine	Jn 1,17b	probable
ἀπῆλθαν	Koine	Mt 8,32; Jn 11,46; 18,6	tentative
ἄχρισ	Koine	Mt 24,38; Lk 1,20; 17,27; 21,24; Acts 7,18; 11,5; 20,6.11; 28,15; Rom 11,25; 1 Cor 11,26; 15,25; Phil 1,6	probable
ἔβαλον	Attic	Acts 16,37	probable
εἶδον	Attic	Mt 13,17	probable
εἶδατε	Koine	Lk 7,22	tentative
εἶδαν	Koine	Lk 9,32; Acts 6,15; 28,4	tentative
εἶπα	Koine	Mt 28,7; Acts 11,8; 22,10	probable
εἶπας	Koine	Mk 12,32	probable
εἶδατε	Koine	Lk 7,22	probable
εἶπαν	Koine	Mt 13,27; 15,12; 17,19; 26,73; Jn 6,25.34; 7,3.35.45; 8,13.52.57; 9,26.28.40; 18,25; Acts 2,37; 4,19; 19,2; 21,20	probable
εἶχαμεν	Koine	Heb 12,9; 2 Jn 5	tentative
εἶχαν	Koine	Heb 11,15	tentative
ἐλάβατε	Koine	1 Jn 2,27	tentative
ἔλαβαν	Koine	Rev 17,12	tentative
ἐξῆλθαν	Koine	Mt 25,1; 2 Jn 7; 3 Jn 7; Rev 9,3; 15,6	tentative
ἐπήλθον	Attic	Acts 14,19	probable
εὗρομεν	Attic	Lk 23,2	probable
ἑώρακα	Koine	1 Cor 9,1	probable
ἑώρακεν	Koine	Col 2,18	probable
ἑώρακαν	Koine	Col 2,1	probable
ἦλθαμεν	Koine	Mt 25,39; Acts 21,1.8	tentative
ἦλθαν	Koine	Mt 7,25.27; 14,34; Mk 1,29; 3,8; 5,1; 6,29.53; Lk 1,59; 5,7; 6,18; 8,35; 23,33; 24,1.23; Jn 3,26; 7,45; 10,8; 12,9; 19,32; 21,8; Acts 14,24; 17,13; 28,23	tentative
παρεῖχαν	Koine	Acts 28,2	tentative
προσῆλθον	Attic	Mt 5,1; Lk 13,31	probable
συνῆλθον	Attic	Acts 10,45	probable

This means that a mechanical rule that favours Koine over Attic is to be rejected. Textual criticism needs to be grounded on solid information about general Greek usage in the first two centuries, if the second-century text is ever

to be recovered, to say nothing of the first-century text. Such a study is beyond the scope of this research. Enough headway has been made to suggest that it is debatable whether the earlier discussions on Atticism have adequately dealt with the information available in the NT textual tradition itself and in the extra-biblical sources. Although Atticism is a valid principle for textual discussions, it requires controlling limitations as set by Greek usage in the first and second centuries. The problem is to solve when it applies to a given Koine/Attic variation. This study suggests that Atticism is a possible cause for textual corruption only when the Koine equivalent demonstrably existed at least in the second century, preferably in the first. Elsewhere the principle of Atticism may lead one astray, if used mechanically.

5.2. Back to the Future

This study has demonstrated that there is still at least some work needed to reach the second-century text of the NT. No consensus exists on some more problematic textual variation units, and known witnesses still seem to contain surprising secrets (like P^{75*}). Our knowledge of early scribal tendencies has increased in recent years, but its full impact has not yet been felt on reconstructions of the NT text. This should be one *desideratum* in the near future for NT textual criticism.

My research has revealed the lack of a comprehensive treatment on Atticism. A thorough investigation into Greek usage in non-literary and literary works of the first century is an urgent *desideratum* to establish parameters needed to have a “measuring rod” for the Koine/Attic variations in the NT. Such an endeavour should be conducted for *every* Koine/Attic variation, including all those words that are not included in my study. Put succinctly, my research is only the tip of the iceberg. It has laid the groundwork for studies on Koine/Attic variation by establishing two scribal tendencies that “plagued” the early period of transmission of the NT text. One altered Koine forms to their Attic equivalents (Atticism), and the other did the reverse (modernising the spelling). On this issue, the NT textual tradition is probably more complex than previously understood due to these scribal tendencies. It should be dealt with, perhaps with some urgency, as one way forward in reaching the second-century NT text.

The Oxford Debate turned the tide of NT textual criticism against the use of the *Textus Receptus* as the generally accepted critical text. The debate compelled scholars to take a good look at the then available evidence and formulate new ways forward. Maybe there is a need for a new Oxford Debate that compels much of the same as a way forward in the hope of reconstructing the earliest achievable text of the NT. If the second-century text of the NT is ever to be reconstructed with sufficient proficiency, then barring some new manuscript

findings, in my opinion the transcriptional probabilities need to play an increasing role in determining the likelihood of different variant readings being part of the initial text.

The *Editio Critica Maior* is a way forward beyond the UBS/NA, but not the only one, and perhaps not the best. All of the available information – witnesses as photographs and transcriptions, every single variant reading, scribal tendencies etc – should be put on the internet as public domain documents for everyone to see. Perhaps some form of Wikipedia project on all the issues of NT textual criticism is in order. Some websites do exist,⁵⁹⁷ but none is exhaustive. That is hopefully yet to come, once all the variation in the NT textual tradition, and the NT scribal tendencies are better known, along with a better understanding of the development of Greek in the first two centuries.

In line with this concept, the entire *Novum Testamentum* should be put on the internet in Wikipedia format for everyone to contribute improvements to it with proper supervision. This WikiNovum (to coin a term) should include not just the reconstructed initial text but also a full critical apparatus. It should also contain a commentary on why variants were chosen while others were relegated to the apparatus. Both the text and the apparatus should be accessible and changeable. Such an enterprise should be a bold *desideratum* in the near future for NT textual scholarship, as everything in NT scholarship in general depends on the reconstructed NT text, in one way or another.

⁵⁹⁷ E.g. Sinaiticus at [<http://www.codex-sinaiticus.net>], John at [<http://www.iohannes.com/>], the digital NA prototype at [<http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de/AnaServer?NTtranscripts+0+start.anv>].

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- P.Louvre I* *Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiu Nesos*
- P.Lund* *Aus der Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund*
- P.Mert.* *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton*
- P.Meyer.* *Griechische Texte aus Aegypten.*
- P.Mich.* *Michigan Papyri*
- P.Mil.Vogl.* *Papiri della R. Università di Milano*
- P.Oslo* *Papyri Osloenses*
- P.Oxy.* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
- P.PalauRib.* *Papiri documentari greci del fondo Palau-Ribes*
- P.Par.* *Notices et textes des papyrus du Musée du Louvre et de la Bibliothèque Impériale. ed. A. J. Letronne and W. Brunet de Presle*
- P.Petr.* *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*
- P.Princ.* *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*
- P.Quseir* *Papyri and Ostraka from Quseir al-Qadim*
- P.Rein.* *Papyrus grecs et démotiques recueillis en Égypte*
- P.Ross.Georg.* *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*
- P.Ryl.* *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*
- P.Sakaon* *The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon: Papers of an Egyptian Farmer in the last Century of Theadelphia*
- PSI* *Papiri greci e latini*
- P.Tebt.* *The Tebtunis Papyri*
- P.Thomas* *Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas*
- P.Tor.Choach.* *Il Processo di Hermias e altri documenti dell'archivio dei choachiti*
- P.Yale* *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*
- P.Zen.Pestm.* *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive*
- SB* *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*
- Stud.Pal.* *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*
- UPZ* *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)*

Appendix – The Koine Forms Studied

Matthew, 56 hits

Mt 2,5	εἶπαν	ℵ B
Mt 5,1	προσῆλθαν	ℵ* B*
Mt 7,25	ἦλθαν	B
Mt 7,27	ἦλθαν	ℵ
Mt 8,32	ἀπέθαναν	ℵ ¹
	ἀπῆλθαν	B
Mt 9,3	εἶπαν	B
Mt 10,27	εἶπατε	ℵ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 11,7	ἐξῆλθατε <i>or</i> ἐξεληλύθατε	ℵ B C D G L N P W Θ ⁺⁷⁰⁰ Ω 28 33 157 Cyr F Δ
Mt 11,8	ἐξῆλθατε <i>or</i> ἐξεληλύθατε	ℵ B C D L N P W Δ Θ 28 33 157 788* F
Mt 11,9	ἐξῆλθατε <i>or</i> ἐξεληλύθατε	ℵ B C D L N P Θ 28 33 157 F W
Mt 12,2	εἶπαν	ℵ B C Θ 33
Mt 13,10	εἶπαν	ℵ B L Θ 33 124 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸
Mt 13,17	εἶδαν	ℵ B N 33
Mt 13,27	εἶπαν	Θ <i>f</i> ³
Mt 13,30	μέχρις	W
Mt 13,36	προσῆλθαν	B 33
Mt 13,48	ἔβαλαν	D 700
Mt 14,15	προσῆλθαν	B 33
Mt 14,34	ἦλθαν	084
Mt 15,12	εἶπαν	ℵ
Mt 15,34	εἶπαν	ℵ <i>f</i> ¹ <i>f</i> ³
Mt 16,14	εἶπαν	B Π 33
Mt 17,19	εἶπαν	ℵ 579
Mt 17,24	εἶπαν	ℵ ² B D
	προσῆλθαν	Θ
Mt 19,3	προσῆλθαν	33
Mt 21,5	εἶπατε	ℵ B C D W <i>rell</i> (cite the LXX)
Mt 21,16	εἶπαν	ℵ B D L Θ 124
Mt 21,23	προσῆλθαν	33
Mt 21,27	εἶπαν	ℵ D Θ 124
Mt 21,39	ἐξέβαλαν	D
Mt 22,4	εἶπατε	ℵ B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 22,10	εὗραν	D
Mt 22,22	ἀπῆλθαν	B D W*
Mt 24,38	ἄχρις	<i>f</i> ³
Mt 25,1	ἐξῆλθαν	Θ

Mt 25,8	εἶπαν	B C L Θ 33
Mt 25,36	ἦλθατε	⊗ A B D L W Δ Θ f^{13} 2 33 157 1424
Mt 25,37	εἶδαμεν	B*
Mt 25,39	ἦλθαμεν	D 1424
Mt 26,18	εἶπατε	⊗ A B D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 26,25	εἶπας	P ³⁷ ⊗ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 26,35	εἶπαν	Θ 33 69 ⁺⁷⁸⁸
Mt 26,55	ἐξῆλθατε <i>or</i> ἦλθατε	⊗ A B C E F G L W Δ Θ* f^{13} 28 33 1424 D
Mt 26,60	εὗραν	N ^c
Mt 26,61	εἶπαν	⊗ Θ 124
Mt 26,64	εἶπας	⊗ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 26,66	εἶπαν	⊗* 33
Mt 26,73	εἶπαν	124
Mt 27,4	εἶπαν	L f^{13} 33 Eus Chr
Mt 27,6	εἶπαν	B L 33 Eus
Mt 27,21	εἶπαν	D L Θ 33
Mt 27,49	εἶπαν	B 124 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸
Mt 28,13	εἶπατε	⊗ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mt 28,15	μέχρις	W

Mark, 32 hits

Mk 1,29	ἦλθαν	L
Mk 2,12	εἶδαμεν	C D
Mk 2,16	εἶδαν	D
Mk 3,8	ἦλθαν	D
Mk 5,1	ἦλθαν	W
Mk 5,13	εἰσηλθαν	W
Mk 6,29	ἦλθαν	B L Θ 33 1424
Mk 6,33	εἶδαν	D
Mk 6,50	εἶδαν	⊗ B
Mk 6,53	ἦλθαν	W
Mk 8,5	εἶπαν	⊗ B N W Δ 565 579
Mk 8,7	εἶχαν	⊗ B D W Δ 1424
Mk 8,11	ἐξῆλθαν	472
Mk 8,28	εἶπαν	⊗ B C L Δ 579
Mk 9,14	εἶδαν	B*
Mk 9,18	εἶπα	⊗ B F L W Ψ f^1 28 ⁺⁵⁶⁵
Mk 9,38	εἶδαμεν	D N Ψ 346
Mk 10,4	εἶπαν 28 579	⊗ B C D W
Mk 10,37	εἶπαν	B C* D L Δ Ψ
Mk 10,39	εἶπαν	⊗ B D L W Δ Θ 1424 f^{28}
Mk 11,3	εἶπατε	⊗ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 11,6	εἶπαν	A L Δ Π Ψ 72
Mk 12,7	εἶπαν	⊗ B C D L W Δ Ψ 28 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 209

Mk 12,12	ἀπήλθαν	D
Mk 12,16	εἶπαν	⊕ B C D L W Δ Ψ 28 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 33
Mk 12,32	εἶπας	⊕ ² A B W <i>f</i> ^{1,13} 28 ⁺⁵⁶⁵⁺⁷⁰⁰ 33 157 579 1071 1424 1582 ^c Byz ^{mss}
Mk 13,30	μέχρις οὗ	A B C L Δ 157 579 700 1071 1424 Byz ^{pt} Vict
Mk 14,14	εἶπατε	⊕ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 14,46	ἐπέβαλαν	⊕ B
Mk 14,48	ἐξήλθατε	⊕ A B C D E G H L N W Δ Θ ⁺⁵⁶⁵⁺⁷⁰⁰ <i>f</i> ¹³ <i>pc</i>
Mk 16,7	εἶπατε	⊕ A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Mk 16,8	εἶπαν	D

Luke, 71 hits

Lk 1,20	ἄχρις (ἧς)	D K W Θ Ψ 461
Lk 1,22	ἐώρακεν	⊕ A B ² C D W Θ <i>f</i> ^{1,13} 157 565 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 579 1071 Byz
Lk 1,59	ἦλθαν	D [*]
Lk 1,61	εἶπαν	⊕ D L W Δ <i>f</i> ¹³ 579 700 Chr
Lk 2,16	ἀνεύραν <i>or</i> εὗραν ἦλθαν	B [*] ⊕ ² L B [*] L Θ 579
Lk 3,12	εἶπαν	C D W Ψ
Lk 4,40	εἶχαν	D
Lk 5,5	ἐλάβαμεν	A
Lk 5,7	ἦλθαν	⊕ L W 435
Lk 5,26	εἶδαμεν	C 13 ⁺⁶⁹⁺⁷⁸⁸
Lk 5,33	εἶπαν	B C D L N R V W Θ 13 [*] 33 700
Lk 6,2	εἶπαν	W X
Lk 6,18	ἦλθαν	L
Lk 7,20	εἶπαν	⊕ B D L Θ 700 1071
Lk 7,22	εἶδατε	A 13 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸
	εἶπατε	D W 579
Lk 7,24	ἐξήλθατε <i>or</i> ἐξεληλύθατε	P ⁷⁵ ⊕ A B D L W <i>f</i> ¹³ 157 ^c 565 579 1424 Cyr <i>rell</i>
Lk 7,25	ἐξήλθατε <i>or</i> ἐξεληλύθατε	P ^{75vid} ⊕ A B D L W <i>f</i> ¹³ 33 118 ^{vid} 157 565 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 579 1071 1424 <i>rell</i>
Lk 7,26	ἐξήλθατε <i>or</i> ἐξεληλύθατε	P ⁷⁵ ⊕ B D L <i>f</i> ¹³ 157 565 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 579 1071 1424 A W <i>rell</i>
Lk 8,34	ἔφυγαν	D W Δ
Lk 8,35	εὗραν	P ⁷⁵ B [*]
	ἦλθαν	P ⁷⁵ B [*]
Lk 9,12	εἶπαν	L Θ
Lk 9,13	εἶπαν	⊕ B C D L Θ 33 124
Lk 9,19	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ ⊕ B D 700
Lk 9,32	εἶδαν	⊕ L

Lk 9,36	ἑώρακαν <i>or</i> ἑωράκασιν	B 700 N A f ¹ 69 ⁺¹²⁴⁺³⁴⁶ 157 565 579 1071 <i>Byz</i>
Lk 9,49	εἶδαμεν	L
Lk 9,54	εἶπαν	P ^{45,75} N B C L Θ 579
Lk 10,10	εἶπατε	P ^{45,75} N A B C D W <i>rell</i> (except 579)
Lk 10,24	εἶδαν	P ⁷⁵ N B C L N 33 1071
Lk 10,30	ἀπῆλθαν	P ⁷⁵
Lk 11,15	εἶπαν	B R
Lk 11,52	εἰσήλθατε	P ⁷⁵ N A B C ^c D E* H L M W Γ Δ f ¹³ 33 565 579 1071
Lk 12,3	εἶπατε	P ⁷⁵ N A B C D W <i>rell</i> (except P ⁴⁵)
Lk 13,31	προσῆλθαν	P ⁷⁵ B* D L
Lk 13,32	εἶπατε	P ^{45,75} N A B C D W <i>rell</i> (except 124)
Lk 16,16	μέχρις	f ¹ 892 1241 2193
Lk 17,5	εἶπαν	N B D L X 118 209 1582
Lk 17,27	ἄχρις	Θ
Lk 18,26	εἶπαν	N R 124
Lk 19,25	εἶπαν	N B L 1071
Lk 19,32	εὔραν	W
Lk 19,33	εἶπαν	N B L 33 ^c Or
Lk 19,34	εἶπαν	N B L Or
Lk 19,39	εἶπαν	N A B D L Or
Lk 20,2	εἶπαν	N B L R 69 346 ⁺⁷⁸⁸
Lk 20,3	εἶπατε	N A B C D W <i>rell</i>
Lk 20,16	εἶπαν	N B D G L R Q Ψ 33
Lk 20,24	εἶπαν	N B C L Ψ 33 579
Lk 20,31	ἀπέθαναν	B*
Lk 20,39	εἶπαν	N B D L Q
	εἶπας	N A B D W <i>rell</i> (except f ¹)
Lk 21,24	ἄχρις οὗ	C D 157 892 1241
Lk 22,9	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B C D L 124 ⁺³⁴⁶⁺⁷⁸⁸
Lk 22,35	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ B D L T Ψ 124
Lk 22,38	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B D L T Q 579
Lk 22,49	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B D L T X Ψ
Lk 22,52	ἐξῆλθατε <i>or</i> ἐξεληλύθατε	P ⁷⁵ N B D L T Θ f ¹³ 28 157 579 Or A W <i>al Byz</i> ^{P1}
Lk 22,70	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B L T
Lk 22,71	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B D L Q T X 1071
Lk 23,2	εὔραμεν	B* L T Ψ I ⁺¹⁵⁸² 1071
Lk 23,33	ἦλθαν	D
Lk 24,1	ἦλθαν	P ⁷⁵ B*
Lk 24,5	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B C D L Mcion
Lk 24,10	ἔλεγαν	D
Lk 24,19	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B I 33

Lk 24,23	ἦλθαν	P ⁷⁵ B*
Lk 24,24	ἀπῆλθαν	L
Lk 24,32	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ ⑈ B L 33

John, 90 hits

Jn 1,12	ἔλαβαν	B*
Jn 1,18	ἑώρακεν	P ⁶⁶ ⑈ A B* C L W ^{sup} <i>f</i> ^{1,13} 157 565 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 579 1071 <i>Byz</i> ^{mss}
Jn 1,22	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} B C* W ^{sup} Δ 063
Jn 1,25	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} B C* L W ^{sup} X 33 Or
Jn 1,34	ἑώρακα	P ⁶⁶ ⑈ A B C L Θ <i>f</i> ^{1,13} 157 565 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 579 1071 <i>Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 1,38	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} B C* W ^{sup}
Jn 1,39	εἶδαν	P ⁶⁶ P ⁷⁵ B* C W ^{sup}
	ἦλθαν	P ^{5,66,75} B* C W ^{sup}
Jn 2,18	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} B L N W ^{sup} 0162 33 Or
Jn 2,20	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} B N W ^{sup} 0162 579 Or
Jn 3,11	ἑωράκαμεν	P ⁶⁶ ⑈ A B <i>f</i> ^{1,13} 157 565 ⁺⁷⁰⁰ 579 1071 <i>Byz</i> ^{mss}
Jn 3,26	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} B N W ^{sup}
	ἦλθαν	P ⁷⁵ B* W ^{sup}
Jn 3,32	ἑώρακεν	P ⁶⁶ ⑈ A B D W ^{sup} <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 4,17	εἶπας	P ^{66,75} A B ² C D W <i>rell</i> (except ⑈ B*)
Jn 4,27	ἦλθαν <i>or</i> ἐπῆλθαν	B* ⑈*
Jn 4,52	εἶπαν	D
Jn 5,37	ἑωράκατε	P ⁶⁶ ⑈ A B D W <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 6,25	εἶπαν	W
Jn 6,26	εἶδατε	D
Jn 6,34	εἶπαν	Θ
Jn 6,36	ἑωράκατε	⑈ A B C D W <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 6,46a	ἑώρακεν	P ⁶⁶ ⑈ A B ² C D <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 6,46b	ἑώρακεν	P ⁶⁶ ⑈ A B ² C D <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 6,49	ἀπέθαναν	2
Jn 6,60	εἶπαν	D
Jn 7,3	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶
Jn 7,31	ἔλεγαν	D
Jn 7,35	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶
Jn 7,40	ἔλεγαν	D ^c
Jn 7,45	εἶπαν	Θ
	ἦλθαν	P ⁶⁶
Jn 7,52	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} B D K N T W Θ 33
Jn 8,13	εἶπαν	Θ
Jn 8,22	ἔλεγαν	D*
Jn 8,38a	ἑώρακα	P ⁶⁶ ⑈ B C D W <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 8,38b	ἑωράκατε	P ⁶⁶ ⑈* D N S U Λ Ψ Ω 2 118 124 157 700 1071

		1424
Jn 8,39	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} N B C D N Θ 33 or
Jn 8,41	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ N D W Θ
Jn 8,48	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B C D W Θ 33 579 Or
Jn 8,52	εἶπαν	N D Θ
Jn 8,53	ἀπέθαναν	D [*]
Jn 8,57	εἶπαν	N D Θ
	ἑώρακας <i>or</i> ἑώρακες <i>or</i> ἑώρακεν	N ² A B ² C D f ¹ f ¹³ 579 700 Byz ^{mss} W N [*]
Jn 9,10	ἔλεγαν <i>or</i> εἶπαν	N [*] P ⁶⁶
Jn 9,12	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ N B D W
Jn 9,16	ἔλεγαν	N [*]
Jn 9,20	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} N B L W 33
Jn 9,22	εἶπαν	N
Jn 9,23	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁵ N B D W ¹
Jn 9,24	εἶπαν	P ^{66,75} N B D N W Θ
Jn 9,26	εἶπαν	N [*]
Jn 9,28	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ N D W 579
Jn 9,34	εἶπαν ἐξέβαλαν	P ^{66,75} N B D W Θ 579 P ⁶⁶ W
Jn 9,35	ἐξέβαλαν	P ⁶⁶
Jn 9,37	ἑώρακας	N A B ² D f ¹ f ¹³ 2 157 579 700 1071 1424 Byz ^{mss}
Jn 9,40	εἶπαν	N D W
Jn 10,8	ἦλθαν	0211
Jn 10,20	ἔλεγαν	N [*]
Jn 10,24	ἔλεγαν	D
Jn 10,34	εἶπα	P ^{45,66,75} N B W <i>al</i> Byz ^{pt} (cite the LXX)
Jn 11,12	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ N Θ
Jn 11,36	ἔλεγαν	N [*]
Jn 11,37	εἶπαν	N
Jn 11,46	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ N D
	ἀπῆλθαν	P ⁶⁶ D
Jn 11,47	ἔλεγαν	N
Jn 11,56	ἔλεγαν	N D
Jn 12,9	ἦλθαν	D
Jn 12,13	ἔλαβαν	P ⁶⁶
Jn 12,19	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ N B
Jn 12,21	προσῆλθαν	D
Jn 14,7	ἑωράκατε	P ⁶⁶ N A B C D f ¹ f ¹³ 2 157 579 700 1071 1424 Byz ^{mss}
Jn 14,9	ἑώρακεν	P ⁷⁵ N A B D W <i>al</i> Byz ^{pt}

Jn 15,22	εἶχαν	D*
Jn 15,24	εἶχαν	D*
	ἑωράκασιν	ℵ A B D <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 16,17	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ B W 33
Jn 18,6	ἀπῆλθαν	ℵ B D W Did
Jn 18,7	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ D X Or
Jn 18,25	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶
Jn 18,30	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ ℵ B C N
Jn 19,24	εἶπαν	P ⁶⁶ ℵ L W X Eus PsAth
Jn 19,32	ἦλθαν	P ⁶⁶
Jn 20,18	ἑώρακα <i>or</i>	ℵ B L W 1071
	ἑώρακεν <i>or</i>	A D <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
	ἑωράκαμεν	S 33
Jn 20,25	ἑωράκαμεν	ℵ A B ² <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Jn 20,29	ἑώρακας	ℵ A B C D f ¹ f ¹³ 2 157 579 700 1071 1424 <i>Byz</i> ^{mss}
Jn 21,3	ἔξηλθαν	D
Jn 21,8	ἦλθαν	D

Acts, 68 hits

Acts 1,11	εἶπαν	ℵ A B C* D Ψ 81
Acts 1,24	εἶπαν	ℵ A B C* D 81 88 1175 Eus
Acts 2,37	εἶπαν	D*
Acts 4,19	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ B 1175
Acts 4,20	εἶδαμεν	P ⁷⁴ ℵ A B* D Ψ 104
Acts 4,23	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ ℵ B D Ψ 1175
Acts 4,24	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ ℵ A B D P 1 181 1175 1646
Acts 5,10	εὔραν	A E
Acts 5,23	εὔραμεν	E
	εὔραμεν	P ⁷⁴ E
Acts 5,29	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ ℵ A B E 1175 1646
Acts 6,2	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ A B C 1175
Acts 6,15	εἶδαν	A
Acts 7,18	ἄχρις οὗ	ℵ A B ² E <i>rell</i>
Acts 7,44	ἑωράκει <i>or</i>	P ⁷⁴ ℵ A B C <i>al Byz</i>
	ἑώρακεν	E Ψ ⁺⁰⁴⁹ 104 330 1175 1646 1739 ⁺⁹⁴⁵⁺¹⁸⁹¹ 2492 2495
Acts 8,10	προσεῖχαν	ℵ
Acts 9,35	εἶδαν	A B C
Acts 10,22	εἶπαν	ℵ A B C E 81
Acts 10,23	συνῆλθαν	D
Acts 10,30	μέχρις	Ψ
Acts 10,45	συνῆλθαν	ℵ B
Acts 11,5	ἄχρις	P ^{45vid} E <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
Acts 11,8	εἶπα	D
Acts 12,10	ἦλθαν <i>or</i>	ℵ A B 33

	προσήλθαν	D
Acts 12,15	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ N A B 81 1175
Acts 12,16	εἶδαν	A B
Acts 13,6	ἄχρῖς εὗραν	049 A
Acts 13,46	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ N A B D Ψ 81 88 1175
Acts 13,50	ἐξέβαλαν	226
Acts 14,19	ἐπήλθαν	N A B
Acts 14,24	ἦλθαν	D
Acts 16,19	εἶχαν δι' αὐτῆς	D (western addition)
Acts 16,20	εἶπαν	N A B E 81
Acts 16,31	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ N A B D E 81 88 2344
Acts 16,37	ἔβαλαν	B D
Acts 16,40	ἐξήλθαν	N D
Acts 17,13	ἦλθαν	P ⁴⁵
Acts 17,32	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ N B E 88 2344
Acts 19,2	εἶπαν	P ⁺⁰⁴⁹⁺¹²⁴¹ 1 88 1245 1854
Acts 19,3	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ N A B E 1 88
Acts 19,14	εἶχαν τοὺς ...	D (western text)
Acts 20,6	ἄχρῖς	440 917 927 1245 1646 1837 1854 1874 1989 <i>Hk</i> <i>Byz</i> ^{mss}
Acts 20,7	μέχρῖς	P Ψ <i>Hk</i>
Acts 20,11	ἄχρῖς <i>or</i> μέχρῖς	C D <i>pc Byz</i> ^{pt} 1243
Acts 21,1	ἦλθαμεν	P ⁷⁴ 1646
Acts 21,4	ἔλεγαν	B
Acts 21,8	ἦλθαμεν	B
Acts 21,20	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ N E 88 307 2344
Acts 21,27	ἐπέβαλαν	A
Acts 22,4	ἄχρῖς	1611
Acts 22,10	εἶπα	P ⁷⁴ D
Acts 22,15	ἐώρακας	P ⁷⁴ N A B E <i>rell</i>
Acts 22,22	ἄχρῖς	Ψ 1611
Acts 23,1	ἄχρῖς	Ψ
Acts 23,4	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ N B 33 88 1245 1646 2344
Acts 23,14	εἶπαν	P ^{48,74} N A B C E P 81 88 307 309 1646 1828 2344
Acts 26,15	εἶπα	P ⁷⁴ A B C E H ⁺⁰⁴⁹⁺⁰⁵⁶⁺¹²⁴¹ 33 81 88 104 330 927 1175 1243 1739 ⁺⁹⁴⁵ 1854 2344
Acts 26,22	ἄχρῖς	Ψ
Acts 27,5	κατήλθαμεν	P ⁷⁴ N A
Acts 27,33	ἄχρῖς	Ψ 1646 <i>Hk</i>
Acts 28,2	παρεῖχαν	P ⁷⁴ N A B
Acts 28,4	εἶδαν	B
Acts 28,6	ἔλεγαν	B
Acts 28,14	ἦλθαμεν	N A B
Acts 28,15	ἄχρῖς	<i>rell</i>

	ἦλθαν	⊗ B
Acts 28,16	εἰσηλθαμεν	A
Acts 28,21	εἶπαν	P ⁷⁴ ⊗ A B 049 81 88 462 1646 1854 I ⁵⁹
Acts 28,23	ἦλθαν	P ⁷⁴ A

Romans, 3 hits

Rom 1,13	ἄχοις	1
Rom 5,14	μέχοις	205
Rom 11,25	ἄχοις οὐ	⊗ A B ² C <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}

1 Corinthians, 3 hits

1 Cor 9,1	ἑώρακα	P ⁴⁶ A B ² <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
1 Cor 11,26	ἄχοις οὐ	⊗ ² A B ² C <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}
1 Cor 15,25	ἄχοις οὐ	⊗ ² B ² <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt}

2 Corinthians, 3 hits

2 Cor 3,14	ἄχοις	Ψ <i>Hk</i>
2 Cor 10,13	ἄχοις	Ψ 0209 6 326 1837 <i>Hk</i>
2 Cor 10,14	ἄχοις	Ψ <i>Hk</i>

Galatians, 4 hits

Gal 1,17b	ἀπῆλθα	P ⁴⁶
Gal 3,19	ἄχοις ἄν <i>or</i> ἄχοις οὐ	B 33 2464 C1 P ⁴⁶ ⊗ A C <i>rell</i> (except 1243)
Gal 4,2	ἄχοις	L
Gal 4,19	μέχοις οὐ <i>or</i> ἄχοις οὐ	⊗ [*] B 69 326 330 1175 2400 ⊗ ² A C <i>al Byz</i> ^{pt} Bas C1 Cyr

Colossians, 5 hits

Col 1,7	ἐμάθατε	⊗
Col 2,1	ἑώρακαν <i>or</i> ἑωράκασιν	A B D [*] F G 0150 D ¹ Ψ 075 <i>Byz</i>
Col 2,18	ἑώρακεν	P ⁴⁶ A B ² <i>rell</i> (except ⊗ B [*] C D I P)
Col 3,3	ἀπεθάνατε	P ^{46c}
Col 4,17	εἶπατε	⊗ A B C <i>rell</i>

Philippians, 2 hits

Phil 1,5	ἄχοις	0142
Phil 1,6	ἄχοις	D F G P Ψ 075 0150 0278 <i>Byz</i> ^{mss} Chr Dam Thdrt

Hebrews, 7 hits

Heb 3,10	εἶπα	A D 33 441 442 Byz ^{mss} Chr Cyr Euthal
Heb 3,13	ἄχρισ	⚭ A B C <i>rell</i> (except P ¹³ 0243 1518)
Heb 4,12	ἄχρισ	D
Heb 9,10	μέχρισ	D ²
Heb 11,15	εἶχαν	P ⁴⁶
Heb 12,4	μέχρισ	⚭ A <i>rell</i> (except P ^{13,46} D*)
Heb 12,9	εἶχαμεν	P ⁴⁶

James, 1 hit

Jam 5,11	εἶδατε	876
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1 John, 8 hits

1 Jn 1,1	ἑωράκαμεν	⚭ A B ² C <i>rell</i> (except B* 467* 1175 1845 2464 P ⁶⁰)
1 Jn 1,2	ἑωράκαμεν	⚭ B ² <i>rell</i> (except A B* 1175 1845 2464)
1 Jn 1,3	ἑωράκαμεν	⚭ A B ² C <i>rell</i> (except B* 252* 1175 1845 2464)
1 Jn 2,19	ἐξηλθαν	A B C Cl Cyr CyrH Did Epiph MarcEr PsOec
1 Jn 2,27	ἐλάβατε	B
1 Jn 3,6	ἑώρακεν	⚭ A B ² C <i>rell</i> (except B* 2464)
1 Jn 4,20a	ἑώρακεν	⚭ A B ² <i>rell</i> (except B* 252* 1846)
1 Jn 4,20b	ἑώρακεν	⚭ A B ² <i>rell</i> (except B* 252* 459)

2 John, 2 hits

2 Jn 5	εἶχαμεν	⚭ A
2 Jn 7	ἐξηλθαν	A

3 John, 2 hits

3 Jn 7	ἐξηλθαν	⚭ B
3 Jn 11	ἑώρακεν	⚭ A B ² C <i>rell</i> Did PsOec (except B* 252 1846 2818 Pall)

Revelation, 15 hits

Rev 2,25	ἄχρισ οὗ	Byz ^{pt}
Rev 7,3	ἄχρισ <i>or</i> ἄχρισ ἄν <i>or</i> ἄχρισ οὗ	⚭ 2031 Byz ^{mss} Byz ^{mss}
Rev 7,13	ἦλθαν	2329
Rev 9,3	ἐξηλθαν	2021
Rev 9,8	εἶχαν	⚭ A 792
Rev 10,9	ἀπηλθα	P ^{47,85vid} A 2329 2351 Byz ^{pt}

Rev 15,6	ἐξήλθαν	C
Rev 15,8	ἄχρισ	C 1611
Rev 17,3	εἶδα	A Hipp
Rev 17,6	εἶδα	⌘ A 2329
Rev 17,12	ἔλαβαν	2049* 2196
Rev 18,19	ἔβαλαν	C 1828 Hipp
Rev 20,3	ἄχρισ	2050 2051 ⁺²⁰⁵⁵⁺²⁰⁶⁴⁺²⁰⁶⁷
Rev 21,1	ἀπῆλθαν	⌘ A 2329 Byz ^A
Rev 21,4	ἀπῆλθαν	A

The Distribution of Koine Singular Readings

	P ⁴⁵	P ¹⁶	P ⁶⁶	P ⁷⁵	⌘	A	B	C	D ^{ea}	L	E	W	Θ	Ψ	33	rell
hits	1	4	8	1	14	7	14	1	31	5	1	7	6	3	2	19
%	0.8	3.2	6.5	0.8	11.3	5.7	11.3	0.8	25.0	4.0	0.8	5.7	4.8	2.4	1.6	15.3

rell means a single hit each for F N 049 084 0142 0211 *f*¹³ 1 2 124 205 226 472 876 1243 1611 2021 2329.

The Distribution of Koine Sub-Singular Readings

	P ⁶⁶	P ⁷⁵	P ⁷⁴	⌘	A	B	C	D ^{ea}	F	L	E	W	Θ	<i>f</i> ^{13pt}	33
hits	2	4	4	14	6	18	2	8	2	2	2	3	2	3	3
%	2.2	4.3	4.3	15.2	6.5	19.6	2.2	8.7	2.2	2.2	2.2	3.2	2.2	3.2	3.2
	700	1611	<i>rell</i>												
hits	2	2	13												
%	2.2	2.2	14.1												

rell means a single hit each for R X Δ Ψ 579 1424 1646 2031 2049 2050 2051⁺²⁰⁵⁵⁺²⁰⁶⁴⁺²⁰⁶⁷ 2196 Hipp.

Note: ⌘, B, and D^{ea} take up almost half of all hits: 47.6% for the singular, and 43.5% for the sub-singular readings.

TEXTUAL DILEMMA

Studies in the Second-Century Text of the New Testament

The Greek text of the most recent Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* has established itself as the standard text for general NT scholarship. Despite this, several text-critical works have suggested numerous changes to it. Textual scholars have discussed almost every aspect of NT text-critical methodology and still disagree on how best to arrive at the second-century text of the NT. There is no consensus in sight, as the reconstructions of the NT text are textually disputed, and there are disagreements on what would constitute valid criteria for text-critical work.

This present research deals with hundreds of individual textual problems, furthering the discussions on the second-century text of the NT. First, there is the text-critical problem in Jn 1,34 that is yet to achieve consensus. Present author argues that John the Baptist declared of Jesus that he is *ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ* on the basis that such a reading best explains the rival readings. Secondly, the text of Jude should read *ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι Ἰησοῦς, ἀπαφρίζοντα, πάντας τοὺς ἁσθεῖς*, and *ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τοῦ χρόνου* in Jude 5, 13, 15, and 18, respectively.

The bulk of the research is devoted to the orthographic Koine/Attic variations in the NT textual tradition. The book contains a study of 712 textual locations of which 373 textual locations attest two morphologically rival forms of the same word, Koine and Attic. Based on the Greek usage in the extra-biblical non-literary and literary sources of the first two centuries, the present author concludes that sometimes scribes Atticised the original Koine readings to their Attic equivalents, and at other times they modernised the spelling of the older Attic forms to their later Koine equivalents on the basis of the development of the Greek language. Based on these findings, the author presents 94 textual changes, some probable, some tentative, to the critical text of the NT.

These case studies call for a reassessment of the text found in our current critical edition of the NT.



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