

EXAMINING THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER IN DUKE MS. GK. 1  
USING CONTEMPORARY TEXT-CRITICAL METHODOLOGY

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by  
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## ABSTRACT

Current text-critical methodology requires thorough knowledge of manuscript documents. An application of this principle shows Duke MS. GK. 1 to be a Greek minuscule MS containing the entire NT with catenae for most books. Done by a skilled scribe, the palaeography of this parchment codex suggests its origin at ca. 1100 AD.

1 Peter of Duke MS. GK. 1 contains several common scribal variations and errors. Variants resulting from moveable nu, itacisms, and manuscript traditions are common. These were determined by comparison of Duke MS. GK. 1 with the critical apparatuses of the following editions of the Greek NT: Nestle/Aland 26, UBS<sup>2</sup>, UBS<sup>3</sup>, Tischendorf's eighth edition, and von Soden's three volume set.

Several variants appear to be unique readings of Duke MS. GK. 1. Errors of expansions of the text, one possible intentional change, haplographies, and errors of the eye and mental fatigue are present and at times result in nonsense readings. Three errors in this letter have been corrected, possibly by the scribe himself.

1 Peter of Duke MS. GK. 1 is part of the Byzantine text tradition. Collation of Duke MS. GK. 1, P<sup>72</sup>, P<sup>74</sup>, N, and B against the Textus Receptus shows Duke MS. GK. 1 to be Byzantine in nature. In places of variation, its text exhibits 85.5 percent agreement with that of the Textus Receptus.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT . . . . .	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	iv
LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	viii
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	x
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Chapter	
I. THE INCEPTION AND GROWTH OF NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM . . . . .	5
A. Introduction . . . . .	5
B. Textual Criticism from the Second Century to the Fifth Centuries . . . . .	7
C. Textual Criticism from the Fifth through the Eighteenth Centuries . . . . .	16
1. The Decline and Revival of Scholarly Interest in Greek Manuscripts . . . . .	16
2. The Publication of Editions of the Greek New Testament . . . . .	19
3. The Collection of Manuscript Materials . . . . .	22
4. Summary . . . . .	26
D. Textual Criticism in the Nineteenth Century . . . . .	28
1. Introduction . . . . .	28
2. Textual Criticism from Lachmann to Weiss . . . . .	28
3. Summary . . . . .	41
E. Textual Criticism in the Twentieth Century . . . . .	42
1. Introduction . . . . .	42
2. Production of Greek New Testaments with Extensive Apparatuses . . . . .	43



3. Locating a Manuscript . . . . .	50
a. Introduction . . . . .	50
b. The Method of Quantitative Readings . . . . .	51
c. The Claremont Profile Method . . . . .	54
d. The Comprehensive Profile Method . . . . .	56
e. The One Thousand Readings Method . . . . .	57
4. Locating the Original Reading . . . . .	62
a. Eclecticism: Introduction . . . . .	62
b. Rigorous Eclecticism . . . . .	64
c. Reasoned Eclecticism . . . . .	67
d. The Majority Text Method . . . . .	69
e. Summary . . . . .	74
F. Conclusion . . . . .	75
II. CODICOLOGICAL AND PALEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION	
OF DUKE MS. GK. 1 . . . . .	80
A. Introduction . . . . .	80
B. Manuscript History and Present Identification . . . . .	81
C. Binding Description . . . . .	82
D. Paleographical Description . . . . .	86
1. General Description of Duke MS. GK. 1 . . . . .	86
2. Specific Description of FF. 181 <sup>r</sup> - 184 <sup>r</sup> . . . . .	91
3. Dating Duke MS. GK. 1 . . . . .	97
E. Conclusion . . . . .	101
III. COLLATING THE EPISTLE OF 1 PETER IN DUKE MS. GK. 1	
A. Introduction . . . . .	103
B. Methodology . . . . .	104

C. Variants and Scribal Errors . . . . .	107
1. Variants Resulting from Manuscript Tradition . . . . .	107
2. Variants Resulting from the Use of <u>Nu</u> Moveable . . . . .	108
3. Variants That are Itacisms . . . . .	108
4. Variants Unique to Duke MS. GK. 1 . . . . .	110
a. Errors of Expansion of the Text . . . . .	111
b. An Error Which Appears to Result from Intentional Change . . . . .	112
c. Errors of Haplography . . . . .	114
d. Errors of Eye or Mental Fatigue . . . . .	115
e. Errors Which have been Corrected . . . . .	118
D. Determining the Text-Type of Duke MS. GK. 1 . . . . .	120
E. Conclusion . . . . .	123
CONCLUSION . . . . .	125
APPENDIX I: COLLATION OF DUKE MS. GK. 1, P <sup>72</sup> , P <sup>74</sup> , <del>N</del> , and B . . . . .	129
APPENDIX II: COMPARISON BETWEEN VON SODEN AND GREGORY . . . . .	178
APPENDIX III: COMPARISON BETWEEN TISCHENDORF AND GREGORY . . . . .	180
APPENDIX IV: DUKE MS. GK. 1 AS DESCRIBED IN THE DUKE CATALOGUE OF GREEK MANUSCRIPTS . . . . .	182
APPENDIX V: DUKE MS. GK. 1 COMPARED TO ALEXANDRIAN AND BYZANTINE TYPE TEXTS . . . . .	183
APPENDIX VI: DUKE MS. GK. 1 COMPARED TO ALEXANDRIAN AND BYZANTINE TEXT-TYPES USING RICHARDS'S TABLE . . . . .	187
APPENDIX VII: MANUSCRIPT FOLIOS FROM DUKE MS. GK. 1 . . . . .	192
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	202

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: PAGE LAYOUT OF DUKE MS. GK. 1 . . . . .	88
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## LIST OF TABLES

### Table

1. <u>Nomina Sacra</u> . . . . .	95
2. Abbreviations . . . . .	96
3. Letter Forms of Duke MS. GK. 1 . . . . .	98

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### Church Fathers

<u>Hist. eccl.</u>	Eusebius <u>Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>Refut.</u>	Hippolytus <u>Refutations</u>

### Journals

<u>AJT</u>	<u>American Journal of Theology</u>
<u>ArtBul</u>	<u>The Art Bulletin</u>
<u>AUSS</u>	<u>Andrews University Seminary Studies</u>
<u>BA</u>	<u>Biblical Archeologist</u>
<u>Bapt Q</u>	<u>The Baptist Quarterly</u>
<u>BASP</u>	<u>Bulletin of American Papyrologists</u>
<u>BETS</u>	<u>Bulletin of Evangelical Theological Society</u>
<u>Bib</u>	<u>Biblica</u>
<u>BSac</u>	<u>Bibliotheca Sacra</u>
<u>BT</u>	<u>The Biblical Translator</u>
<u>BTB</u>	<u>Biblical Theology Bulletin</u>
<u>CBQ</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
<u>EvQ</u>	<u>Evangelical Quarterly</u>
<u>ExpTim</u>	<u>Expository Times</u>
<u>GTJ</u>	<u>Grace Theological Journal</u>
<u>HTR</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
<u>IBS</u>	<u>Irish Biblical Studies</u>

<u>Int</u>	<u>Interpretation</u>
<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JBR</u>	<u>Journal of Bible and Religion</u>
<u>JETS</u>	<u>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</u>
<u>JSNT</u>	<u>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</u>
<u>JTS</u>	<u>Journal of Theological Studies</u>
<u>Neot</u>	<u>Neotestamentica</u>
<u>NovT</u>	<u>Novum Testamentum</u>
<u>NovTSup</u>	<u>Novum Testamentum, Supplements</u>
<u>NTS</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
<u>Princ S B</u>	<u>Princeton Seminary Bulletin</u>
<u>ResQ</u>	<u>Restoration Quarterly</u>
<u>RevThPh</u>	<u>Review of Theology and Philosophy</u>
<u>Sec Cent</u>	<u>Second Century</u>
<u>SD</u>	<u>Studies and Documents</u>
<u>Sixteen Cent J</u>	<u>Sixteenth Century Journal</u>
<u>S W J Th</u>	<u>Southwestern Journal of Theology</u>
<u>Th</u>	<u>Theology</u>
<u>Trinity J</u>	<u>Trinity Journal</u>
<u>TS</u>	<u>Theological Studies</u>
<u>WTJ</u>	<u>Westminster Theological Journal</u>
<u>ZNW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>

## Bible

NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
Matt	Matthew
Rom	Romans
1-2 Cor	1-2 Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
Col	Colossians
1-2 Thess	1-2 Thessalonians
1-2 Tim	1-2 Timothy
Phlm	Philemon

## General

A	Codex Alexandrinus
א	Aleph, Codex Sinaiticus
α	Alpha, Westcott and Hort's neutral text
<u>ANTF</u>	<u>Arbeiten Zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung</u>
B	Codex Vaticanus
β	Beta, Westcott and Hort's Syrian text
Ca.	<u>Circa</u> , about, approximately
CPM	Claremont Profile Method
D	Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis
δ	Delta, Westcott and Hort's Western text

Duke 1	Duke Manuscript Greek 1
ed.	Edited by, edition
eds.	Editors
e.g.	<u>Exempli gratia</u> , for example
etc.	<u>et cetera</u>
f.	Folio
ff.	Folios
γ	Gamma, Westcott and Hort's Alexandrian text
ibid.	<u>Ibidem</u> , in the same place
I.G.N.T.	International Greek New Testament Project
<u>ISBE</u>	<u>The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</u>
KJV	<u>The King James Version</u> translated in 1611
κ.τ.λ.	κατὰ τὰ λοιπά
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
MS1	Duke Manuscript Greek 1
N/A, N/A 26	<u>Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament</u> (26th ed.)
OM	omit
superscript r	recto
superscript v	verso
ς	Final sigma, <u>Textus Receptus</u>
T-8	Tischendorf, <u>Novum Testamentum</u> , eighth edition
TR	<u>Textus Receptus</u>



UBS <sup>2</sup>	<u>The Greek New Testament</u> (2d ed.; United Bible Societies)
UBS <sup>3</sup>	<u>The Greek New Testament</u> (3d ed.; United Bible Societies)
viz.	<u>Videlicet</u> , namely
V-S	von Soden, <u>Neuen Testaments</u>

## INTRODUCTION

Three fundamental issues face the New Testament scholar in the study of the textual problems in the Greek New Testament: (1) none of the autographs is extant; (2) no two extant documents totally agree; and (3) important MSS of the NT remain unpublished.<sup>1</sup> These three issues require the application of textual criticism to the available MSS of the NT. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the text of 1 Peter of an unpublished manuscript, Duke MS. GK. 1, in light of contemporary text-critical methodology and to show what this manuscript can contribute to current text-critical studies.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Twenty-seven manuscripts of Greek NT portions are presently at Duke University, Durham, N.C., none of which has been published (John L. Sharpe, III, "The Kenneth Willis Clark Collection of Greek Manuscripts," Library Notes 51, 52 [1985] 51-67). See also Charlesworth's comments concerning ten almost complete and over fifty incomplete codices discovered on May 26, 1975 in St. Catherine's Monastery (James H. Charlesworth, "The Manuscripts of St. Catherine's Monastery," BA [1980] 27-28). No catalogue of MSS in the United States has been done since Kenneth W. Clark, A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937). For a list of manuscripts available on microfilm, see John L. Sharpe, III, "A Checklist of Collections of Biblical and Related Manuscripts on Microfilm in the United States and Canada," Scriptorium 25 (1971) 97-110.

<sup>2</sup>Duke MS. GK. 1 is currently located at Duke University, Durham, N.C. The following work has been done on portions of Duke MS. GK. 1: Norman Ara Huffman, "The Text of Mark in the Duke New Testament," M.A. thesis, Duke University, 1932; John Lemacks Stokes II, "The Text of Acts in the Duke New Testament," B.D. thesis, Duke University, 1932; Ferrell Pledger, "The Text of the Apocalypse in the Duke New Testament," B.D. thesis, Duke University, 1937; and Louis F. Gough, "The Text of the Earlier Pauline Epistles in the Duke New Testament," B.D. thesis, Duke University, 1949. Collations of small portions of Duke MS. GK. 1 were provided by Kenneth Clark and used in Silva Lake,

Chapter One surveys the beginning and growth of NT textual criticism by dividing its history into four periods. The final period receives the greatest attention in order to set forth contemporary text-critical understanding. Four modern methodologies for locating an individual manuscript's relationship to other NT MSS are presented. Also, three different approaches for deciding originality of variant readings are discussed: rigorous eclecticism, reasoned eclecticism, and the Majority Text method. Reasoned eclecticism is the method presumed in this thesis.

Chapter Two focuses on Duke MS. GK. 1, a Byzantine minuscule manuscript. Discussion of its history and of its codicological characteristics is followed by a thorough paleographical description. Using modern text-critical methodology, ff. 62<sup>f</sup>,

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Family II and the Codex Alexandrinus SD V (London, 1937). In addition, Duke MS. GK. 1 is listed in the following works: Hermann Freiherr von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte (1.1, Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1902) 74, 113; Caspar René Gregory, Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1908) 102, 345; and idem, Textkritik Des Neuen Testaments III (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909) 1180, 1475. Portions of Duke MS. GK. 1 on microfilm have also been examined by Frederick Wisse (The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982]); and Kurt Aland (Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments 1: Die Katholischen Briefe Band 1: Das Material [Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1987] 65-95, 407). Short descriptions of this manuscript may be seen in: Bennett Harvie Branscomb, "A Rare Document is Acquired in Germany by Duke University," Duke Register 17/5 (1931) 147; William Kenneth Boyd, Duke University Library Bulletin 5 (1931) 13; Kenneth Willis Clark, "Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in American Libraries," Duke Register 19/2 (1933) 39-41; and idem, A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America 51-53. Duke MS. GK. 1 is also mentioned in the catalogue of MSS by Seymour De Ricci and William J. Wilson, Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (New York: H. W. Wilson, 3 vols. 1935-1940) II, 1910.

88<sup>r</sup>, 101<sup>r</sup>, and 182<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>r</sup> were examined. Paleographical studies and study of art forms present in the manuscript were done by comparison with other medieval manuscripts. Codicological characteristics, signature and page numbering sequence, collation, scribal corrections and scribal errors were determined from the study of the manuscript itself. Codicologically, Duke MS. GK. 1 is an unexceptional Byzantine codex. Paleographically, this manuscript is a carefully written Greek minuscule MS whose letter characteristics suggest the latter part of the eleventh century as the time of its production.

Chapter Three completes the discussion of this manuscript by presenting in summary fashion the differences between 1 Peter of Duke MS. GK. 1 and its collating standards. The collation of ff. 182<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>r</sup> (1 Peter) against the TR, P<sup>72</sup>, P<sup>74</sup>, N and B reveals that this is a Byzantine manuscript, and it has normal scribal errors. Scribal errors of expansion of the text, intentional change, haplography, and errors caused by fatigue are identified in the text of 1 Peter. Also, errors that have been corrected in the manuscript apparently by the original scribe are also found. The chapter demonstrates that there is value in the study of all NT Greek MSS regardless of their text-type.

Appendices are included as an important part of this thesis. They include collations from which are drawn the conclusions of the final two chapters along with a chart which presents the basis for the conclusions concerning the text-type found in this manuscript. Photocopies of the folios mentioned in this thesis

are also included in the Appendices.

This thesis advances the text-critical study of the Greek NT in the following ways: (1) It presents in summary form the development of textual studies from the second century to the present; (2) it summarizes the four major approaches followed today for locating a single manuscript's relationship to other manuscripts; (3) it shows the strengths and weaknesses of rigorous eclecticism, rational eclecticism, and the Majority Text method, three methods used today for determining which variant is probably the original; (4) it provides a codicological description of Duke MS. GK. 1, an unpublished manuscript, which reveals how some Byzantine NT codices were produced; (5) in describing the paleographical features of this manuscript, this study reveals the state of Greek minuscule script and writing in the eleventh century; (6) it reveals that in Duke MS. GK. 1 Luke, John, and 1 Peter were all written by the same hand; (7) it provides a full collation of 1 Peter of Duke MS. GK. 1 with the TR, P<sup>72</sup>, P<sup>74</sup>, N, and B, which reveals several scribal weaknesses prominent in manuscripts; (8) it reveals that Duke MS. GK. 1 is a Byzantine manuscript in 1 Peter; and (9) it demonstrates that individual Byzantine manuscripts can include strains of early manuscript tradition; and (10) it provides an extensive bibliography of resources available to the modern text-critic.

## CHAPTER I

### THE INCEPTION AND GROWTH OF NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

#### Introduction

Because textual criticism is an art as well as a science, a thorough knowledge of the forces that shaped textual criticism is indispensable. What determines which MS, if any, is the "best"? Why is geographical distribution important? When dealing with genealogical relationships, how is the value of a MS decided? These questions concern what textual critics call external evidence. The answers in part come from an understanding of the development of textual criticism.

Internal evidence is no different. Why look for the harder reading? Are there historical developments in New Testament MS transmission that affect how the scribe would have copied a passage? Concerning the authors, did each writer have his own writing style and vocabulary?

These questions illustrate the need for an understanding of the historical development of textual criticism, part of a subfield of New Testament studies also called lower criticism.<sup>1</sup> This chapter summarizes and gives examples of the major forces

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<sup>1</sup>For a recent discussion of this lack of interest in the history of NT textual criticism, see Eldon Jay Epp, "New Testament Textual Criticism Past, Present, and Future: Reflections on the Aland's Text of the New Testament," HTR 82/2 (1989) 213-229.

that contribute to the present status of New Testament textual criticism.

Five of the early Church Fathers illustrate the growing awareness of textual problems from the second to the fifth centuries. Their critical canons and conclusions show that they not only become more aware of textual variants, but were better able to deal with these textual problems.

Textual criticism from the fifth through the fourteenth centuries declined because of language changes and the changing constituency of the early church. These two changes resulted in a decreased need for Greek MSS and thus a decline in textual criticism during the early Middle Ages. It was not until the Renaissance and the invention of printing with moveable type (ca. 1450) that Greek MSS began again to be an item of scholarly concern.

From the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, text-critical studies developed in two stages: the publication of editions of Greek New Testaments, and the collection of MS materials. During this period, critical theory began to advance, and scholars increasingly recognized the existence of differing text-types as well as the differences in the value of MSS.

The nineteenth century saw such advancement that it is treated separately from other centuries. New MS discoveries and collations made it possible for scholars to do extensive study of MS relationships and to develop canons of criticism that textual critics still accept today.

Refinement of nineteenth-century conclusions characterized the twentieth century. Scholarly attention concentrated primarily in two areas: the history of MS transmission and the relationship of external to internal evidence. Methodologies have now been developed that aid in finding an individual manuscript's place in the total MS transmission history. Most modern textual critics consider this use of external evidence to be an important factor in deciding the originality of a reading. Thus, in the current state of textual criticism, most textual critics rely on both external and internal canons of criticism to aid in their search for authentic readings.

This historical overview of the development of textual criticism will aid the researcher in understanding current text-critical methodology. Also, knowledge of this history will make the textual critic more skilled in the artful application of this twentieth-century methodology to current MS problems.

#### Textual Criticism from the Second to the Fifth Centuries

While textual critics recognize that MS differences existed early in the second century, how these differences were a problem to the early church needs to be examined to understand the development of the science of textual criticism. The writings of early church fathers give evidence that differences between MSS were recognized and analyzed. A discussion of five of these church fathers will show their growing awareness of textual differences and the critical canons used to decide which reading is most probably the original.



The earliest report of critical work on the text of the New Testament is recorded by Eusebius (Hist. eccl. 5.28.13-19). Quoting a contemporary source of his day, Eusebius writes about some who dared to challenge Scripture<sup>2</sup> whom Pope Victor (AD 190-202) excommunicated as heretics because they were denying the divinity of Jesus (Hist. eccl. 5.28.6).<sup>3</sup> A cobbler (σκητέυς) named Theodotus and his followers were given to the use of logic in their study of Scripture, and the text that resulted from their efforts was unlike any of their originals. Though certainty is not possible from Eusebius's account, emendation seems to have been included in Theodotus's methodology of editing a biblical text.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Eusebius writes: "For this cause they did not fear to lay hands on the divine scriptures, saying that they had corrected them. For they cannot even deny that this crime is theirs, seeing that the copies were written in their own hand, and they did not receive the scriptures in this condition from their teachers, nor can they show originals from which they made their copies. Some of them have not thought it necessary even to emend the text, but simply deny the Law and the Prophets, and thus on the pretence of their wicked and godless teaching have fallen to the lowest destruction of perdition (Hist. eccl. 5.28.13-19).

<sup>3</sup>For more information concerning the excommunication of Theodotus of Byzantium, see Karl Baus, From the Apostolic Community to Constantine (New York: Seabury, 1980) 209, 229, 255, 358. Concerning Theodotus Baus writes, "He and his followers tried to prove from scripture, by means of philological textual criticism, their fundamental thesis that Jesus, until his baptism in Jordan, led the life of a simple but very upright man on whom the Spirit of Christ then descended" (255). For a description of Theodotus's heresy written during that same time period, see Hippolytus Refut. 7.23; 10,19.

<sup>4</sup>Metzger believes that this included critical work on the text. He writes: "In an attempt to introduce improvements in the methodology of scriptural interpretation, Theodotus and his followers seem to have undertaken a critical recension of the Biblical text" (Bruce M. Metzger, The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration [3d ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992] 150).

Writings of some Church Fathers who were contemporaries of Theodotus and writings of Fathers who followed him suggest an increased awareness of textual variants. Four of the Fathers, Origen, Tertullian, Jerome and Augustine, mention variants and at times reveal their choices between the variants. The different locations and times of these men, their extant writings, and their scholarly care make them the best representatives of early text-critical work.<sup>5</sup>

Sincere efforts to deal with textual differences are especially evident in the works of Origen of Alexandria and Caesarea (ca. AD 185-254) as he began work on the Hexapla (Eusebius Hist. eccl. 6.16.1-4).<sup>6</sup> However, this study concerned only the text of the Old Testament, and he evidently did not edit a New Testament text as such.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, his writings

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<sup>5</sup>Aland calls Origen "the most significant and widely influential Greek theologian of the early Church" and Augustine "the most important of the Western Church Fathers" (Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism [Trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids and Leiden: Eerdmans and Brill, 1987] 177, 211). Metzger says, "Among the more scholarly patristic writers Origen and Jerome take first place in the Eastern and Western Churches respectively" (Bruce M. Metzger, "St Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament," Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979] 179). According to Quasten, Tertullian is, "except for Augustine, the . . . most important and original ecclesiastical author in Latin" (Johannes Quasten, Patrology 2: The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus [Utrecht, Holland: Spectrum, 1950; reprinted, Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, 1984] 247).

<sup>6</sup>Much attention has been directed toward Origen's life and labors. For a bibliographic essay of the most important works done on Origen from 1970-1988, see Henri Cronzel, "The Literature on Origen 1970-1988," TS 49 (1988) 499-516.

<sup>7</sup>To those who claim that Origen edited a NT text which resulted in a specific text-type, Fee replies with confidence that Origen was not responsible for any "creation or revision of the text of Egypt" (Gordon D.

illustrate his interest in New Testament textual matters. For example, in his discussion of Matt 27:16-17 he wrestles with the variants "Jesus Barabbas" and "Barabbas." Origen chooses "Barabbas" because he thinks "Jesus" would never be applied to an evil-doer.<sup>8</sup>

Origen's criteria for choosing between variants will not meet contemporary text-critical principles, but his comments are still valuable for several reasons. His identification of variants present in the biblical texts used in the late second and early third centuries helps scholars today identify local texts and more accurately learn the evolution of alternate readings. Also, his comments illustrate his own perspicacity in choosing among variation units and reveal the attitude of some scholars during this time toward the significance of MS

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Fee, "Origen's Text of the New Testament and the Text of Egypt," NTS 28 [1982] 358). In another article, Fee demonstrates that the Alexandrian text-type is in fact not the product of a recension, nor was it created by Origen as frequently claimed, but rather it is a carefully preserved tradition, a tradition maintained by careful copying (idem, "P<sup>75</sup>, P<sup>66</sup>, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria," New Dimensions in New Testament Study [eds. Richard N. Longenecker and Merrill C. Tenney; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974] 28). Metzger agrees with Fee and bases his position partly on a statement by Origen himself that he did not labor on the NT as he had the text of the OT (Bruce M. Metzger, "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts," Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey [eds. J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thompson; Freiberg im Breisgau: Herder, 1963] 80).

<sup>8</sup>Metzger acknowledges Origen's observations concerning "textual phenomena," but he notes that Origen "was quite uncritical in his evaluation of their significance." Metzger continues: "In the majority of cases he was content merely to make the observation that certain other copies present a different reading, without indicating his preference for one or the other variants." Metzger has located twenty-two specific references by Origen to textual variants (ibid. 78-95).

differences.<sup>9</sup>

Tertullian (ca. 155-240), a contemporary of Origen, was second only to Augustine in his Latin writings as church theologian.<sup>10</sup> His argument that Christ became flesh totally of his own desire shows his awareness of textual variants. Using John 1:13 to support his thesis, he argues that the subject of this verse was originally singular until some tampered with it, wanting to apply it to themselves (Tertullian On the Flesh of Christ 19). Tertullian does not suggest the number, age, or language of those MSS that have the singular reading. Though the situation may have been different in the second century than it is today, and though several witnesses, mainly Latin, have the singular subject, no currently extant Greek MSS have the reading preferred by Tertullian.<sup>11</sup>

Jerome (ca. 347-420) had a better understanding of textual

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<sup>9</sup>In one instance, Origen laments the large number of variants present in his day. He writes: "And now the differences in the copies have clearly become numerous, whether from the unconcern of some scribes, or through the audacity of others, or lack of skill for correction of what they are copying, or even from their own considerations as they make additions or deletions while editing" (νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορὰ, εἴτε ἀπὸ ραθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων. Commentary on Matthew 15.14).

<sup>10</sup>Quasten, Patrology 247.

<sup>11</sup>Bruce M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (Third Edition) (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971) 196-197.

problems than Origen and Tertullian.<sup>12</sup> He says that he had done work in the original languages of both the Old and New Testaments, and he concludes that that is the only way one can ascertain the true text (Jerome Letters 71.5).<sup>13</sup>

Like Origen, Jerome complained about careless scribes. He felt that copies of his own works had suffered at their hands and in at least one instance felt compelled to distance himself from any error found by the reader.<sup>14</sup>

Metzger found twenty-seven times where Jerome mentioned textual variants in copies of Scripture current in his day.<sup>15</sup> Jerome's discussions of variants in both testaments prove his awareness of errors which can arise when transcribing MSS: errors of homoeoteleuton, confusion over abbreviations, dittography,

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<sup>12</sup>Metzger gives several examples of variants discussed by Jerome which illustrate Jerome's prudence as a textual critic (Metzger, "St Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings" 179-190).

<sup>13</sup>Concerning his work on the New Testament, Jerome writes: "The New Testament I have restored to the authoritative form of the Greek original" (Jerome Letters 71.5). A study of the life and work of Jerome may be seen in J. N. D. Kelly, Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies (New York: Harper & Row, 1975).

<sup>14</sup>Jerome writes: "As for my poor works which, from no merits of theirs but simply from your own kindness, you say that you desire to have; I have given them to your servants to transcribe, I have seen the paper-copies made by them, and I have repeatedly ordered them to correct them by a diligent comparison with the originals. . . . If then you find errors or omissions which interfere with the sense, these you must impute not to me but to your own servants; they are due to the ignorance or carelessness of the copyists, who write down not what they find but what they take to be the meaning, and do but expose their own mistakes when they try to correct those of others" (Letters 71.5).

<sup>15</sup>Bruce M. Metzger, "St Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings" 180-187. Hulley sets forth many of these same conclusions concerning Jerome (Karl Kelchner Hulley, "Principles of Textual Criticism Known to St. Jerome," Harvard Studies of Classical Philology 55 [1944] 89-109.

haplography, metathesis, assimilation, transpositions, and deliberate emendations by copyists. Jerome's arguments for what he believes to be the correct readings are variously based, some on intrinsic concerns, others on transcriptional probabilities, the age of a MS, or the superiority of a Greek text over a Latin text.<sup>16</sup> He rarely suggested which MS he considered

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<sup>16</sup>Jerome discusses copyists' errors in his commentary on Psalm 77 (78). He is considering Matt 13:34,35 when he says,

Consequently, Matthew says: "All these things were done in fulfillment of what was spoken through the prophet Asaph." This is the reading found in all the ancient scrolls, but men in their ignorance changed it. As a result, to this day many versions of the Gospel read: "In fulfillment of what was spoken through the prophet Isaiah, 'I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter mysteries from of old.'" This is not the utterance of Isaiah, but of Asaph.

Indeed, Porphyry, that unbeliever, exploits this very point in his attack upon us and says: "Your evangelist, Matthew, was so ignorant that he said: 'What is written in Isaiah the prophet: I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter mysteries from of old.'" Let us answer frankly: There is a similar problem in Matthew [27:45] and in John [19:14] where it is written that our Lord was crucified at the sixth hour, whereas in Mark [15:25] it is written that he was crucified the third hour. There seems to be a discrepancy here, but really there is none. The error was on the part of the scribes, for originally in Mark the sixth hour, likewise, was written, but many thought there was a gamma instead of an ἐπίσημο, the Greek number sign. Now, just as this was the scribe's error, it was, likewise, their error to write Isaiah instead of Asaph. Hence, when the inexperienced (because the early church was a congregation of ignorant peoples) were reading in the Gospel: "In fulfillment of what was written in Asaph the prophet," the one who first transcribed the Gospel began to ask: Who is this Asaph the prophet? He was not known to the people. And what did the scribe do? While amending an error, he made an error.

Jerome sided with Greek MSS against the Latin when he chose "serving the Lord" instead of "serving the time" for Rom 12:11 (Letters 27.3). According to the old copies, Jerome says, Luke 14:27 includes the words "cannot be my disciple" (Letters 127.6). He also mentions that many of the MSS, both Greek and Latin, contain the pericope de adultera (Against the Pelagians 2.17). For other examples, see Metzger, "St Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings" 180-187; and Dennis Brown, "Saint Jerome as a Biblical Exegete," IBS 5 (1983) 142.

authoritative. This silence causes some disagreement concerning which text-type he relied on most.<sup>17</sup> His revision of the Latin text was not accepted for several years because he relied on Greek texts and abandoned Old Latin readings in many places.<sup>18</sup>

Augustine (354-430), best known for his theological pursuits,<sup>19</sup> is considered "the most important of the Western Church Fathers for his extensive writings and numerous works on biblical exegesis."<sup>20</sup> Augustine occasionally gave evidence of understanding sound text-critical principles. His preference for the harder reading and the reading which best gives rise to others is seen, for example, in his explanation of Matt 27:9 where Zechariah's prophecy is credited to Jeremiah in some MSS (The Harmony of the Gospels 3.7.29). Augustine states that this ascription to Jeremiah is not included in all the Gospel MSS, and that some simply say that it was spoken "by the prophet." He wants to follow those without the name of Jeremiah but is troubled because Jeremiah's name is in most codices.

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<sup>17</sup>Kenyon believes Jerome's work ends with an Alexandrian flavor which suggests a reliance on texts from Egypt (Frederick G. Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible [3d ed. revised and augmented by A. W. Adams; London: Duckworth, 1975] 159). Aland, however, says, ". . . the consensus today favors the view that Jerome used a contemporary manuscript of the early Koine type" in his Vulgate edition (Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 188). The Koine text-type (Hort's Syrian text) is that text-type found in the majority of extant Greek manuscripts. These terms will be defined more fully in the later portion of the present chapter.

<sup>18</sup>Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible 158-159.

<sup>19</sup>For a good summary of the life and influence of this Latin theologian, see Edwin A. Blum, "Augustine: The Bishop and Theologian," BSac 138 (1981) 57-67.

<sup>20</sup>Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 211.

Furthermore, he learned from talking to others who spent much time in the Greek MSS that the name of Jeremiah was present in the more ancient exemplars.<sup>21</sup> He knows of no reason why this addition should have been made to the original text, but clearly understands why it would have been removed when the scribe realized that the words were not those of the writings of Jeremiah. Augustine's preference for Jeremiah in the text shows his preference for the principle of the harder reading.

Theodotus, Origen, Tertullian, Jerome, and Augustine illustrate an increasing awareness of textual variants in New Testament MSS during the second to fifth centuries. Theodotus was mentioned because he is credited with the earliest recension of the New Testament text. Origen, Tertullian, Jerome, and Augustine, because of their extant writings and their scholarly accomplishments, serve as the best representatives of the attitudes of their times concerning textual criticism. Though little of Theodotus's work is extant, enough of the writings of Origen, Tertullian, Jerome and Augustine remain to tell of their increased recognition of differences between New Testament MSS. Also, the critical skills of Jerome and Augustine are demonstrably different from the other men mentioned and more nearly match the principles of textual criticism accepted today.

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<sup>21</sup>Although Augustine does not mention who these others were, this reference does show that Augustine was not alone in his study of Greek manuscripts.



## Textual Criticism from the Fifth through the Eighteenth Centuries

### The Decline and Revival of Scholarly Interest in Greek

#### Manuscripts

The demand for Greek MSS gradually diminished after AD 200 due to the constituency of the Church.<sup>22</sup> Christianity was increasingly comprised mainly of common people who could not understand Greek. This limitation necessitated the use of regional languages as the medium for preaching the gospel and eventually required that the Scriptures be translated into those languages.<sup>23</sup> These early versions in languages other than Greek dominated from the third and fourth centuries in most of the Church.

As seen above, Augustine mentions that some of his contemporaries studied the more ancient Greek exemplars. Metzger concludes that as many as nine correctors from the fourth through the twelfth centuries contributed to the 14,800 alterations in codex Sinaiticus (a fourth-century Greek uncial MS), which illustrates that work continued on individual MSS at least on a

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<sup>22</sup>Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 52-53, 68; Philip W. Comfort, "Texts and Manuscripts of the New Testament," The Origin of the Bible (ed. Philip W. Comfort; Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale, 1992) 188; Roger Omanson, "A Perspective on the Study of the New Testament Text," BT 34/1 (1983) 107.

<sup>23</sup>For an excellent discussion of the evidence, see Bruce M. Metzger, The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977). For a more recent summary, see the first two articles of a four part series in idem, "Important Early Translations of the Bible," BSac 150/597 (1993) 35-49; and idem, "Theories of the Translation Process," BSac 150/598 (1993) 140-150.

limited basis.<sup>24</sup> However, along with the dominance of regional languages the importance of Greek MSS declined because of the versions of the NT produced in these regional languages. By the middle of the third century the Church in the West predominantly spoke Latin as the call for Jerome's Vulgate illustrates.<sup>25</sup> Exceptions are found in a few Greek-speaking enclaves such as those in Southern Italy whose work is recognized today in families 1 and 13, MS groups that form a part of the "Caesarean" text-type.<sup>26</sup> The church in the East was also reading its

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<sup>24</sup>Metzger writes concerning this codex, "In light of such carelessness in transcription, it is not surprising that a good many correctors (apparently as many as nine) have been at work on the manuscript, some contemporary (or identical) with the original scribes . . . , and others as late as the twelfth century. Tischendorf's edition of the manuscript enumerates some 14,800 places where some alteration has been made to the text. By far the most extensive of the corrections are those made by a group of scholars in the seventh century. . . ." (Bruce M. Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981] 77).

<sup>25</sup>"A popular form of Greek was currently spoken in the trading quarters of western cities, and for the first two centuries it was the language of the scriptures and liturgy of the Western Church. Meanwhile, tutors from Greek lands had long been engaged in imparting Hellenic culture to the youth of the Roman upper class, some of whom completed their studies at the university of Athens. These were, however, a small minority. Roman education down to its last days remained bilingual, but a first-hand acquaintance with Greek thought became rare, and use was increasingly made of translations and epitomes. The causes of this cultural decline are obscure, but it seems to have been accelerated by the disturbed conditions of the third century" (H. St L. B. Moss, "The Formation of the East Roman Empire: 330-717," The Cambridge Medieval History Vol IV: The Byzantine Empire Part I: Byzantium and Its Neighbours (ed. J. M. Hussey; Cambridge: University Press, 1966) 23).

<sup>26</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 214, 215. Recent studies have shown the impropriety of labeling any group Caesarean (ibid. 290, 291). Aland labels these MSS as Byzantine; he finds no Caesarean text-type incontestably verified (Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 51, 66-68). For a thorough treatment of Greek Monasteries in Southern Italy during the Middle Ages, see the four part series by Lake (Kirsopp Lake, "The Greek Monasteries in South Italy: I," JTS 4 [1902-3] 345-368, 517-543; 5 [1902-3] 22-41, 189-202).

scripture in regional languages such as Syriac and Coptic.<sup>27</sup> However, according to Aland, "the main tradition of the Greek text was preserved in the Greek-speaking East, of which Egypt was an integral part . . . where the official Church remained essentially Greek into the fifth century and later."<sup>28</sup>

Text-critical work done on Greek MSS declined from this period until the Renaissance. Also, if extant MSS give an approximate picture, copying of Greek MSS decreased from the third century through the eighth century. The only exception was the sixth century which showed a significant increase over the fifth century. However, the seventh century again shows a drastic decline in Greek MS production. Greek MS production appears much greater in the ninth century<sup>29</sup> and continues at that level until the fourteenth century when decline is evident

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<sup>27</sup>In the third-century Roman Empire, "Latin [was] the common tongue of the Western Empire. . . ."

"It is not however to be supposed that Latin was imposed even in its vulgarised forms on the entire population of the Empire. It is needless to remind the reader of the fact that in the whole eastern half Greek was the language of the educated classes. But both in the East and in the West there were many backward regions in which vernacular speech held its own stubbornly against Greek and Latin. The Copts, Arabs, Syrians, Armenians never gave up their native languages, and the oriental undercurrents continued to play an important part in the social life of Asia and Egypt. There are many vestiges of a similar persistency of barbarian custom and speech in the West" (Paul Vinogradoff, "Social and Economic Conditions of the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century," The Cambridge Medieval History I: The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms [eds. H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney; Cambridge: University Press, 1911] 544-545). See also C. W. Previte-Orton, The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History Vol I: The Later Roman Empire to the Twelfth Century (Cambridge: University Press, 1952) 24-25.

<sup>28</sup>Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 68.

<sup>29</sup>This was about the time the Greek minuscule hand was modified so that the Greek script could be written more rapidly and compactly (Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible 25).

again.<sup>30</sup>

The Renaissance beginning in the fourteenth century with its renewed study of Greek led to the scholarly examination of Greek MSS again. In particular, the invention of printing (ca. 1450) contributed to a resumed study of Greek MSS in two ways: the publication of editions of Greek New Testaments, and the collection of MS materials.<sup>31</sup> Scholarly concern toward finding the original text of the New Testament revived after several published editions of a Greek text that was supposed to corroborate a new Vulgate translation. When some of these editions began to include a critical apparatus compiled from several different MSS, scholars became more serious about MS collection and collation, about understanding of text-types, and about developing text-critical principles. These advancements offered a direct challenge to the text-type published with minor changes from 1516 to 1775.

#### The Publication of Editions of the Greek New Testament

The first printed edition of the Greek New Testament available to the public was edited by Erasmus.<sup>32</sup> He published

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<sup>30</sup>For a list of extant manuscripts by century, see Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 156-159.

<sup>31</sup>Gordon D. Fee, "The Textual Criticism of the New Testament," The Expositor's Bible Commentary 1: Introductory Articles (ed. Frank E. Gaebelein; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979) 426.

<sup>32</sup>Though the first printed Greek NT was the Complutensian Polyglot printed in 1514, it was not released to the public until 1522, six years after Erasmus's first edition was made available. In fact, Erasmus's third edition was released in 1522, the same year as the Polyglot. Though the Complutensian Polyglot was an important work, time has shown that the influence of Erasmus's

his Latin and Greek diglot in Basel in 1516. While the printer Johann Froben of Basel was interested in the financial rewards of this endeavor,<sup>33</sup> Erasmus was mainly interested in publishing a Latin text to replace the Vulgate.<sup>34</sup> The accompanying Greek text, according to Erasmus, would substantiate the Latin translation on which he had been working periodically for ten years. His goal, therefore, was not to edit a Greek text as such, but using existing Greek MSS, he sought to edit and improve the Vulgate, the Latin text in use in his day.<sup>35</sup>

When Froben hired Erasmus to produce an edition of the Greek New Testament, Erasmus went to Basel intending to use Greek MSS there to print alongside his own Latin translation. Because the only MSS at Basel required correcting, Erasmus did hasty text-critical work as he prepared the Greek text for this edition. He had been doing textual work in the classics for several years, so text-critical work was not new to him.<sup>36</sup> In his textual work, Erasmus utilized certain principles accepted by modern textual

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editions far exceeded that of the Polyglot. And even though Erasmus made use of the Complutensian Polyglot for his fourth edition (1527) and introduced several changes into his text, it was Erasmus's text that later generations copied, not that of the Polyglot.

<sup>33</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 98.

<sup>34</sup>Henk Jan De Jonge, "Novum Testamentum a Nobis Versum: The Essence of Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament," JTS 35/2 (1984) 394-413.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid. 395-397. This is contra Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 98-101, and Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 3.

<sup>36</sup>Erasmus had published his edition of Cicero's De officiis in 1501. For further study on Erasmus and his textual methodology, see John F. D'Amica, Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism: Beatus Rhenamus between Conjecture and History (Berkley: University of California, 1988) 30-38.

critics (such as the principle of the harder reading),<sup>37</sup> but his work was limited because he did not have today's tools and criteria.<sup>38</sup> However, the Greek text he produced did serve as corroboration of his Latin translation, which as mentioned above, was his main intent.<sup>39</sup> Erasmus published five editions of his diglot, and the third and fourth editions (1522 and 1527) became the primary bases of major printed editions of the Greek New Testament for the next three hundred years.

Though Erasmus gave primary emphasis to his Latin translation, others were not so inclined. The Greek text almost immediately became the primary object of interest. Those who followed Erasmus's edition and exerted the greatest influence were Stephanus, Beza, and the Elzevir brothers.

Robert Estienne (1503-1559), better known by his Latin name Stephanus, published four Greek NT editions (1546, 1549, 1550, 1551).<sup>40</sup> The 1550 edition, the first edition printed with a critical apparatus, relied heavily on Erasmus's text, and became part of the traditional Greek text printed with very few changes down to the nineteenth century. It included variant readings from fifteen MSS, one of which was codex Bezae, a fifth-century

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<sup>37</sup>Bruce Ellis Benson, "Erasmus and the Correspondence with Johann Eck: A Sixteenth-Century Debate over Scriptural Authority," Trinity J 6/2 (1985) 159.

<sup>38</sup>Jerry Bentley, "Biblical Philology and Christian Humanism: Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus as Scholars of the Gospels," Sixteen Cent J 8 (1977) 16.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid. 22; Jonge, "Novum Testamentum a Nobis Versum" 400.

<sup>40</sup>Kirsopp Lake, The Text of the New Testament (6th ed. revised Silva New; London: Rivingtons, 1928) 63.

Greek-Latin diglot.<sup>41</sup>

Theodore de Beza (1519-1605) published nine editions of the Greek New Testament, which, because of their similarity to Stephanus's work, served to popularize that text-type. The translation of the 1611 King James Version relied heavily on Beza's 1588-89 and 1598 editions. In 1624, the Elzevir brothers, Bonaventure and Abraham, published a Greek NT taken primarily from Beza's smaller 1565 edition. Their 1633 edition contains in its preface the words "You have therefore the text which is now received by all, in which we give nothing altered or corrupt."<sup>42</sup> From this statement the term, "Textus Receptus" came into use, which, because of the similarity of text in these two editions, when used today, refers to both the 1550 edition of Stephanus and the 1633 Elzevir edition. All major Protestant translations in the languages of Europe before 1881 were made from this text.<sup>43</sup>

#### The Collection of Manuscript Materials

From 1550 on, collection of MS materials began to increase. Stephanus had printed textual variants from at least fifteen MSS. However, more extensive collection of MS materials and

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<sup>41</sup>Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible 174; Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 104.

<sup>42</sup>Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum; in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus (C. F. Sitterly and J. H. Greenlee, "Text and MSS of the NT," ISBE [ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988] 820). The Textus Receptus is shown today by either TR or ϣ (final sigma) for the initial of Stephanus (Jack Finegan, Encountering New Testament Manuscripts [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974] 58).

<sup>43</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 106.

appreciation for the value of ancient MSS came when codex Alexandrinus (a fifth-century Greek uncial codex, also designated with the letter A) reached England in 1627.<sup>44</sup> Brian Walton, using Stephanus's third edition (1550) as his text, printed readings from Alexandrinus in the lower margins of his eight volume polyglot (1655-57). In a supplement he also listed collations from fifteen other MSS besides those given earlier by Stephanus.<sup>45</sup> With this publication of the first organized compilation of variant readings, Walton introduced the system of cataloging uncial MSS by capital Latin letters and minuscules by Arabic numbers.<sup>46</sup>

In 1675 John Fell printed the Elzevir text of 1633 with an apparatus he claimed was drawn from over one hundred MSS. John Mill's edition of 1707 was, however, of more importance than Fell's. Beginning with Stephanus's text and MS sources, Mill produced an apparatus drawn from seventy-eight additional MSS

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<sup>44</sup>Eldon Jay Epp, "Textual Criticism," The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters (eds. Eldon Jay Epp and George W. MacRae; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 77. Codex Alexandrinus was evidently brought from Alexandria to Constantinople by Cyril Lucar in 1621. A note at the front of the MS states that it had been a gift to the Patriarchal cell in Alexandria. Cyril Lucar offered it to James I of England as a gift, but James died before receiving the gift and so it was actually received by Charles I in 1627. Kenyon says this manuscript went from Constantinople to Alexandria in the fourteenth century and back to Constantinople in the seventeenth century. For further information on the history and description of this uncial, see Frederick G. Kenyon, Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament (London: MacMillan, 1912) 72-77; and idem., Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1895; reprinted New York: Harper & Row, 1958) 198-202.

<sup>45</sup>Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible 85, 174, 175.

<sup>46</sup>Finegan, Encountering New Testament Manuscripts 49.



including Greek, Old Latin, Vulgate, and Peshitta versions, and whatever patristic sources he could secure which included evidence on more than twenty-one thousand variation units. Mill marks the beginning of the modern discipline of textual criticism.<sup>47</sup>

Classification of MSS according to text-type began with J. A. Bengel of Tübingen (1687-1752). He divided the textual witnesses into families and tried to corroborate their correlation and textual characteristics.<sup>48</sup> He discovered two major families of MSS which he called African and Asiatic, the latter being less valuable though largest in number. Bengel then subdivided his African family of MSS into two subgroups which he found represented in Alexandrinus and the Old Latin.<sup>49</sup> Thus, Bengel introduced for the first time the text-critical principle of dividing MSS according to age and quality, of weighing authorities instead of merely numbering them. Bengel printed the TR as his text in his 1734 edition of the Greek New Testament, but he placed his views concerning variant readings in the margins.

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<sup>47</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 107-108; Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible 175; Epp, "Textual Criticism" 78. For a biographical study of John Mill and an overview of his Greek NT work, see Adam Fox, John Mill and Richard Bentley: A Study of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament: 1675-1729 (Oxford: Basil Black, 1954). For a good overview of contributions made to the study of textual criticism during the 1700's, see Lyle O. Bristol, "New Testament Textual Criticism in the Eighteenth Century," JBL 69 (1950) 101-112.

<sup>48</sup>Kenyon, The Text of Greek Bible 176-177; J. Harold Greenlee, Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 73.

<sup>49</sup>Finegan, Encountering New Testament Manuscripts 61.

Johann Salomo Semler (1725-91), went farther than Bengel by suggesting three groups of MSS.<sup>50</sup> What Semler called his Alexandrian text is that text that comes from Origen and his disciples. This text-type is also preserved in the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Bohairic. The text represented in the MSS of the churches in Antioch and Constantinople (which he credited to a recension prepared by Lucian of Antioch in the early fourth century) Semler designated as his Eastern text. What he called his Western text with its beginning in Origen was that found in the Latin Fathers and versions. Semler considered the mass of later witnesses to be mixed texts and of little significance. Semler did not publish an edition of the Greek NT.

Semler's student, J. J. Griesbach published his edition of the Greek Testament in 1775-77. Following the same groupings as his teacher, he agreed with Bengel and Semler that the mass of late MSS was of inferior value. The Western text, though early, was full of copyists' errors. The Alexandrian text was an effort to edit the Western.<sup>51</sup> Following carefully stated canons of criticism, which in essence had already been formulated by Bengel,<sup>52</sup> Griesbach was the first scholar to produce an edition of the Greek New Testament that did not follow the TR, but was

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<sup>50</sup>Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible 177.

<sup>51</sup>Finegan, Encountering New Testament Manuscripts 62.

<sup>52</sup>Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 11. For a complete listing of Griesbach's canons, see Henry Alford, The Greek Testament with a Critically Revised Text, a Digest of Various Readings, Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage, Prolegomena, and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary I: The Four Gospels (rev. Everett F. Harrison; Chicago: Moody, 1958) 81-85.

based on the published conclusions of his own studies.<sup>53</sup> The impact of Griesbach's work was great in that other editors began following his example of abandoning the TR in their printed editions.<sup>54</sup>

### Summary

Textual studies declined during the Middle Ages. With the Renaissance and its revival of study in the classics, and with the invention of printing and its ability to produce multiple

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<sup>53</sup>Though Griesbach was the first German Scholar to produce an edition of the Greek NT which did not follow the TR, some scholars in England had in actuality led the way. One example is William Bowyer, Jr. from London who published a critical edition of the Greek NT in 1763. Bowyer introduced some readings into his text which he believed had better MS support than the TR and other passages which he doubted as original he simply bracketed. Bowyer's work is not discussed in detail in this study because even though his work was important, its impact was limited due to the overpowering influence of the TR and his failure to develop, as Griesbach later did, "a well-rounded theory of textual criticism based on a study of families of texts." Further information on Bowyer may be found in Bruce M. Metzger, "William Bowyer's Contribution to New Testament Textual Criticism," Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism (Leiden: Brill, 1963) 155-160.

<sup>54</sup>Metzger says, "The importance of Griesbach for New Testament textual criticism can scarcely be overestimated. For the first time in Germany a scholar ventured to abandon the Textus Receptus at many places and to print the text of the New Testament in the form to which his investigations had led him" (Bruce M. Metzger, "History of Editing the Greek New Testament," Princ S B 8/3 [1987] 42). Westcott and Hort agree with Metzger's assessment saying that they venerate his name above that of every other textual critic of the NT. However, they point out that even though Griesbach made great advances for text-critical studies, he still was unable to break from the TR totally. They state, "Yet even Griesbach was content to start from the traditional or revised Erasmian basis, rather than from the MSS in which he himself reposed most confidence" (B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek: With Notes on Selected Readings (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882; reprint, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1988) 13, 185. Aland also offered reserved credit to Griesbach for his textual work (Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 9-11). For a good presentation and discussion of Griesbach's text-critical canons, see Eldon Jay Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Symptom?" HTR 69/3-4 (1976) 225-229.

copies of the Greek NT, scholarly interest was again directed at Greek MSS of the New Testament. Erasmus's printed Latin and Greek diglot for the first time had made a Greek text readily available. The continued publication of this text by Stephanus, Beza, and the Elzevir brothers illustrates its continued popularity. With the assistance of the nomenclature "Textus Receptus," this Greek text became imbedded in the minds of the day as the authoritative Greek text.

From the early sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries textual studies became a scholarly concern. Clear advancements were made in the number of MSS collated, in the understanding of MS text-types, and in an understanding of text-critical principles. These advancements laid the foundation for a departure from the TR. This collection of older MSS of different text-types served as the basis for beginning to challenge the TR. Walton's printing of Stephanus's text with variant readings from Alexandrinus opened the door to more questions concerning the TR. Fell's apparatus compiled from over one hundred MSS and Mill's, from ninety-three Greek MSS in addition to readings from other early versions and patristic writings, continued the movement away from the TR. With Bengel and Semler came classification of MSS according to age and type of text, but it was Griesbach who became the first scholar to depart publicly from the TR and to print an edition of the Greek New Testament based on his own published conclusions. With these advancements, the TR encountered serious evidence that suggested it was not the text

closest to the original.

### Textual Criticism in the Nineteenth Century

#### Introduction

The advancements of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries became the foundation of nineteenth-century text-critical studies. Several more MSS were discovered and collated with other extant MSS. Also, text-critical theory reached its zenith in the nineteenth century. Because of the advancements, text-critical work done in the nineteenth century has required the attention of all subsequent scholarship concerned with lower criticism. Therefore, special attention will be given to text-critical theory developed during this period.

When the nineteenth century began, the TR, though questioned, was still the dominant text. Griesbach's willingness, however, to depart from the TR in his printed text and his willingness to publish his canons of criticism was a harbinger of the end of the TR's dominance.

#### From Lachmann to Weiss

Karl Lachmann's revised text of 1831 proved that the work from Mill to Griesbach could be taken seriously.<sup>55</sup> Lachmann, a recognized classical scholar, wished to apply the same principles used in the texts of classical writers to the NT. He ignored

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<sup>55</sup>Kenyon, The Text of Greek Bible 177. Though Lachmann's text was published in 1831, it was not until his second edition in 1842-1850 that he included a full statement of his principles (Greenlee, Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism 75).

by no other single scholar.<sup>60</sup> He discovered eighteen unknown uncials and six unknown minuscules, edited twenty-five uncials for the first time, made new editions of eleven others, transcribed four more and collated thirteen.<sup>61</sup> His most important work was his eighth edition of the Greek New Testament.<sup>62</sup> Many of his text-critical principles are still followed today, with the major exception being his strict loyalty to codex Sinaiticus, a fourth-century uncial MS now designated with the Hebrew Aleph (א).<sup>63</sup>

Tischendorf's discovery of א and his edition of codex Vaticanus--so called because it is in the Vatican Library at

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<sup>60</sup>Metzger says "the total number of his books and articles, most of them relating to biblical criticism, exceeds 150 (Metzger, History of Editing the Greek New Testament 40).

<sup>61</sup>Finegan, Encountering New Testament Manuscripts 63; Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible 179. By way of comparison, Aland tells us Tischendorf used sixty-four uncials where today there are two hundred and fifty-seven. He used one papyrus manuscript fragment where today there are ninety-three papyrus manuscripts. And, he knew of only a few of the two thousand seven hundred and ninety-five minuscule manuscripts now known to exist (Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 13; and, idem, "The Greek New Testament: Its Present and Future Editions," JBL 87/2 (1968) 182).

<sup>62</sup>Constantinus Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum Graece: Ad Antiquissimos Testes Denuo Recensuit Apparatum Criticum Omni Studio Perfectum Apposuit Commentationem Isagogicam Praetexuit (Editio Octava Critica Maior, 2 Vols.; Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869-1872).

<sup>63</sup>For a list and explanation of Tischendorf's critical canons, see the introduction to his seventh edition of the Greek New Testament (Constantine Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum Graece: Ad Antiquos Testes Denuo Recensuit Apparatum Criticum Omni Studio Perfectum Apposuit Commentationem Isagogicam Praetexuit [Editio septima; Lipsiae: Sumptibus Adolphi Winter, 1859] xxxii-xlv).

Rome--caused new excitement.<sup>64</sup> Vaticanus, which is now designated by the letter "B", is also a fourth-century uncial codex MS. These two texts were obviously older than the MSS supporting the TR, and they agreed with each other against the TR. This gave impetus to the need for a new revised Greek text and a new revision of the Authorized Version, the 1611 English translation of the Textus Receptus. Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901) and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828-1892) addressed both needs. In 1881, the Revised Version, of which they were part of the team of scholars assigned to the task, was published.<sup>65</sup> The result was a translation with an estimated 5,788 readings which differed from the 1611 Authorized Version of King James (KJV).

In that same year Westcott and Hort published in two volumes The New Testament in the Original Greek on which they had both been working for twenty-eight years. The motivation of Westcott and Hort to begin this work came from perplexities encountered when reading the untrustworthy "Received" texts.<sup>66</sup> Finding no real satisfaction in the editions of either Lachmann or Tischendorf to present "an approximation to the apostolic words

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<sup>64</sup>The origin of this MS is unknown. Though believed by many to be from Egypt, Aland says there is no proof of that and gives several reasons supporting his position. For a summary discussion of the origin of the New Testament in Egypt, see Kurt Aland, "The Text of the Church?" Trinity J 8/2 (1987) 138.

<sup>65</sup>Hort wrote in 1858 of his desire that his text-critical work would be incorporated into a new translation of the NT (Graham A Patrick, "F. J. A. Hort, 1828-1898: A Neglected Theologian," ExpTim 90/3 (1978) 79.

<sup>66</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction to "The New Testament in the Original Greek" 16.

as [they] could accept with reasonable satisfaction," Westcott and Hort began working to produce their own text.

The first volume of the two volume work contained the Greek text, but not a critical apparatus.<sup>67</sup> The second volume, written by Hort, contained an extensive explanation of their methodology and text-critical principles.<sup>68</sup> Their clear and full discussions demanded that all subsequent text-critical work take their stated conclusions into account.<sup>69</sup> Four major canons are set forth for finding the original text: (1) The Internal Evidence of Readings, (2) The Internal Evidence of Documents,

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<sup>67</sup>See Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, The New Testament in the Original Greek (New York: MacMillan, 1946). Aland points out that neither Westcott nor Hort "ever collated a single manuscript but worked completely from published material, i.e. critical editions (viz., Tischendorf)" (Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 22). Aland also remarks that this title seems somewhat presumptuous on their part since they had no direct witness to the NT text earlier than the fourth century (ibid. 14). However, Aland is currently being criticized for feeling a bit overconfident about his own work as well. See Ian A. Moir, "Can We Risk Another Textus Receptus?" JBL 100/4 (1981) 614-618.

<sup>68</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction to "The New Testament in the Original Greek" 1.

<sup>69</sup>This idea is expressed by Ernest C. Colwell in "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text" The Bible in Modern Scholarship: Papers Read at the 100th Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature December 28-30, 1964 (ed. J. Philip Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965) 370. Though many textual critics have stated this same idea, Aland believes few have actually read their Introduction. He says, "Indeed we all have grounds to be indebted to the work of Westcott and Hort, not least through our work with Nestle's edition of the Greek NT. But the number of NT scholars who possess a copy of the Westcott-Hort NT edition of 1881--to say nothing of their use of it--could be regarded as insignificant, and few of us will presumably have read their Introduction to that edition, in spite of its primary importance. I do not believe that the situation will be much different on the European Continent" (Kurt Aland, "The Significance of Papyri for Progress in New Testament Research" The Bible in Modern Scholarship: Papers Read at the 100th Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature December 28-30, 1964 [ed. J. Philip Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965] 325.



(3) The Genealogical Evidence, and (4) The Internal Evidence of Groups.

In the first canon of criticism, Westcott and Hort tried to decide what the author probably wrote (Intrinsic Probability) by considering which reading makes the best sense grammatically and contextually.<sup>70</sup> Second, Westcott and Hort tried to decide what later copyists made it seem the author wrote (Transcriptional Probability).<sup>71</sup> These two determinations are both studied as internal evidence of the text.

When Intrinsic Probability and Transcriptional Probability failed to satisfy the question of originality between variants, Westcott and Hort next looked to "The Internal Evidence of Documents," their second critical canon. Hort wrote that "knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings."<sup>72</sup> He reasoned that the textual critic should study not only individual readings in MSS, but he should also become familiar with the MS document as a whole by continuous study of the whole or considerable parts. The document that consistently gives the better reading should be considered more probable to have the correct reading in places where "Internal Evidence of

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<sup>70</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction to the New Testament 22.

<sup>71</sup>Hort writes, "Internal Evidence of Readings is of two kinds, which cannot be too sharply distinguished from each other; appealing respectively to Intrinsic Probability, having reference to the author, and what may be called Transcriptional Probability, having reference to the copyists. In appealing to the first, we ask what an author is likely to have written: in appealing to the second, we ask what copyists are likely to have made him seem to write" (ibid. 19-20).

<sup>72</sup>Ibid. 30-33.

Readings" do not clearly decide.

Determination of genealogical evidence is the third major step in ascertaining the original reading. When good documents contain different readings, the history of the individual texts must be learned. Hort wanted to group MSS according to their genealogy. He felt that the more precisely one can discern each manuscript's attributes and position on a genealogical tree, the more secure the textual critic will be in locating the original text from its consecutive corrupt texts.<sup>73</sup> No stemma done by Westcott or Hort, however, has ever been located.

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<sup>73</sup> Hort writes: "It may be laid down then emphatically, as a second principle, that ALL TRUSTWORTHY RESTORATION OF CORRUPTED TEXTS IS FOUNDED ON THE STUDY OF THEIR HISTORY, that is, of the relations of descent or affinity which connect the several documents." He suggests as an example ten MSS where nine agree against one, but the nine have a common ancestor. In reality, the critic is only dealing with two MSS (ibid. 39-41). Though this was the stated method in theory, it was not their practice. Westcott and Hort did not follow their own genealogical method. Once they were rid of the TR, they relied almost exclusively on the priority of the neutral text-type as seen in Vaticanus. Colwell offers as proof of this statement the following questions: "Where are the charts which start with the majority of late manuscripts and climb back through diminishing generations of ancestors to the neutral and Western texts? The answer is that they are nowhere." All of Westcott and Hort's work in charts was hypothetical. For a good critique of Westcott and Hort's genealogical method, see Ernest C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its Limitations," New Testament Tools and Studies IX: Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament (ed. Bruce Metzger; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 63-70. This chapter may also be seen in its original publication as idem, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and its Limitations," JBL 66 (1947) 109-133.

Epp has further shown that once Westcott and Hort used the genealogical method to separate the Syrian text from the pre-Syrian lines, they then abandoned it for internal evidence. Their reason for abandoning genealogical evidence at this point was to prove the superiority of Vaticanus (representing their Neutral text) over the Western text (found in D) which they admitted was probably older than B (Westcott and Hort, Introduction to the New Testament 120). In short, when the genealogical evidence stood in stark contrast to internal evidence, the genealogical evidence was thrown out. For an excellent presentation of this weakness in Westcott and Hort, and its implications for New Testament textual criticism today, see Eldon Jay Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism" 232-242.

The fourth step followed in this text-critical process is what Westcott and Hort called "Internal Evidence of Groups."<sup>74</sup> Being a mediating position between "Internal Evidence of Documents" and "Genealogical Evidence," this methodological resource applies the method of the former to groups of MSS. Textual critics should know not only the general characteristics of a single document, but also the characteristics of groups of documents.

Working on the assumption that "community of text implied on genealogical grounds a community of parentage," Westcott and Hort detected and discussed chronologically four text-types: the Western text (designated  $\delta$ ), the Neutral text (designated  $\alpha$ ), the Alexandrian text (designated  $\gamma$ ), and the Syrian text (designated  $\beta$ ).<sup>75</sup>

Interlaced with examples, Westcott and Hort describe the late second-century Western text as characterized by paraphrase and embellishment. Scribal corruptions prevail: the tendency to smooth out the text by insertion of objects, genitive pronouns, and the insertion or expunging of conjunctions. The taste for assimilation is also obvious in this textual family.<sup>76</sup> This

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<sup>74</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction to the New Testament 60.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid. 92.

<sup>76</sup>Hort says, "The chief and most constant characteristic of the Western readings is a love of paraphrase. Words, clauses, and even whole sentences were changed, omitted, and inserted with astonishing freedom, wherever it seemed that the meaning could be brought out with greater force and definiteness. They often exhibit a certain rapid vigour and fluency which . . . is apt to ignore pregnancy and balance of sense, and especially those

text is seen mostly though not exclusively in codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (a fifth-century Greek-Latin diglot now designated with the letter "D"),<sup>77</sup> the Old Latin version, and the Latin fathers.

The neutral ( $\alpha$ ) text for Westcott and Hort was another of the Pre-Syrian texts.<sup>78</sup> This text was the one most free from Western corruptions and evident in both Alexandria and other areas distant from Alexandria. Due to its preservation in various regions separate from Alexandria, these men termed this text neutral instead of Alexandrian. The neutral text was not another local text. It was a text that theoretically could be found in many local texts.

By historical chance, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus are the best representatives of this group and usually should be followed. Westcott and Hort believed that an agreement between these two MSS should be viewed as the true reading until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary.<sup>79</sup> Also, no  $\aleph$  B readings can

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meanings which are conveyed by exceptional choice or collocation of words. . . . Another equally important characteristic is a disposition to enrich the text at the cost of its purity by alterations or additions taken from traditional and perhaps from apocryphal or other nonbiblical sources" (ibid. 120-124).

<sup>77</sup>Though Westcott and Hort considered D "often invaluable for the secure recovery of the true text" because of its ancient roots, they do not ascribe to it the position of the text with "the highest quality" as stated by Aland (Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 18; Westcott and Hort, Introduction to the New Testament in Original Greek 149).

<sup>78</sup>Ibid. 127-130.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid. 225. Most modern textual critics no longer hold to the neutral text idea. However, continued study has proven that Westcott and Hort were correct in viewing MS B as containing a very pure tradition of a very old

be totally rejected though sometimes it would be proper to consider them as only another alternative reading, especially where they receive no support from Versions or Fathers.

The third group of readings, according to Westcott and Hort, deserves the designation Alexandrian.<sup>80</sup> These readings stem from the other "Non-Western Pre-Syrian" readings and are found mainly in Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, periodically in other Alexandrian Fathers, and the Sahidic and Bohairic versions. When taken together, these facts show that the readings under discussion "belong to a partially degenerate form of the Non-Western Pre-Syrian text, apparently limited in its early range, and apparently originating in Alexandria."<sup>81</sup> It is characterized by an almost entire absence of Western-type corruptions. The changes that are evident were apparently done to correct perceived grammatical errors. These editors were so skillful that the corrections at first appear original.

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form. The neutral and Alexandrian texts are today classified under the name Alexandrian. For a summary of recent studies that support this conclusion, see Omanson, "A Perspective on the Study of the New Testament Text," 115.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid. 130-133.

<sup>81</sup>Martini uses Hort's belief that the Alexandrian text-type originated in Egypt while the neutral text did not, to argue that Hort would object to the division of "proto- and later Alexandrian, where by proto-Alexandrian the 'Neutral' text is meant" (Carlo M. Martini, "Is there a Late Alexandrian Text of the Gospels?" *NTS* 24/3 [1978] 285-296). According to Martini, readings thought today to be late Alexandrian are really Hort's Alexandrian readings, slightly revised readings which existed alongside not-revised readings, the later being Hort's neutral text. Though he does not want to return to the designation neutral, Martini does believe that Hort's understanding of the history of the text in Alexandria where a revised text existed alongside an unrevised text still explains current evidence better than proto-Alexandrian and late Alexandrian designations (ibid. 295-296).

The fourth and chronologically final text-type described by Westcott and Hort is the Syrian text.<sup>82</sup> The three texts already mentioned were for the most part exclusively divergent. However, the scene changes drastically in the fourth century as the three lines of text were brought together to form a new text. Throughout the fourth century, mixture prevails everywhere and the ancient texts disappear almost entirely. Westcott and Hort see this mixture to be the result of an authoritative Syriac revision, which took place in or near Antioch of Syria.<sup>83</sup> This fourth century conflated text became the official text of Constantinople and being widely disseminated throughout the Byzantine Empire became the standard New Testament of the East.<sup>84</sup> Westcott and Hort's Syrian text is today called the Byzantine or Majority text-type, or following the later designation by von Soden (a twentieth-century textual critic), the Koine text.<sup>85</sup>

These conclusions usually led Westcott and Hort to accept the neutral text. The only exceptions were those instances when

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<sup>82</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction to the New Testament 132-143.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid. 134-136. For Westcott and Hort's well known description of the Syrian text-type, see *ibid.* Westcott and Hort cautiously suggested that Lucianus may have contributed to this Syrian revision (*ibid.*). For a thorough treatment of the Lucianic recension, see Bruce M. Metzger, "The Lucianic Recension of the Greek Bible," New Testament Tools and Studies IV: Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism (ed. Bruce M. Metzger; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 1-41.

<sup>84</sup>Westcott and Hort, Introduction to the New Testament 143.

<sup>85</sup>Hermann Freiherr von Soden (1852-1914) did much work on Byzantine minuscule MSS. His work is discussed more fully on pages 43-45 of this thesis.

they felt the neutral scribes had indeed interpolated longer portions into the text, while Western text scribes who would normally have done the same had resisted the temptation.<sup>86</sup> These instances they called "Western non-interpolations," evidently because they did not want to speak of the neutral text as including interpolations. The only passages listed as clearly in this category are Matthew 27:49 and portions of the last three chapters of Luke. Eighteen other places drawn from all four gospels are given as possible instances of omission of expected interpolations.<sup>87</sup>

With these published explanations of their critical methodology, Westcott and Hort completed what had begun in the eighteenth century. For many in the scholarly world, the TR no longer held its place of authority. However, for others, such solid rejection of the Syrian text and thus the TR was denounced. Different scholars rose to challenge Westcott and Hort's critical conclusions, but none was as adamant as John W. Burgon (1813-

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid. 172-177. This almost total rejection of the Western text by Westcott and Hort is not followed by most modern textual critics. Most modern textual critics believe that all pre-Koine text-types deserve scholarly attention for "any one of them may preserve original readings which have been lost to other text-types" (Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 214).

<sup>87</sup>Some textual critics since Hort have disagreed with him at this point. Clark considered all of these "Western non-interpolations" as in the original text. He says Hort was "misled by his principle that where B and D differed and the later omitted the reading the omission represents the true text" (Kenneth W. Clark, "The Theological Relevance of Textual Variation in Current Criticism of the Greek New Testament," JBL 85/1 (1966) 10).

1888) who championed the MS tradition behind the TR.<sup>88</sup> He argued that if God dictated Scripture, then surely God would providentially keep the texts from being seriously corrupted during their transmission.<sup>89</sup> Burgon was unable to stop the movement of scholars as they changed alliance from the TR to the text of Westcott and Hort.

Following Westcott and Hort's publication of their Greek New Testament, Bernhard Weiss (1827-1918) published the fruit of his lifelong endeavor, a Greek New Testament in three volumes (1894-1900), with a second edition in 1902-1905.<sup>90</sup> Weiss approached his study differently than Westcott and Hort in that he relied solely on internal evidence. Using a critical apparatus to identify variation units, he sought to learn from the context which reading was most likely the original. After completing his study, he categorized the different types of variant errors he encountered: (a) harmonizations among the Gospels, (b) the interchange of words, (c) omissions and additions, (d)

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<sup>88</sup>Burgon had been an ardent defender of Scripture for several years before the 1881 Revised Version. For a recent recounting of one such instance, see N. M. de S. Cameron, "Dean Burgon and the Bible: An Eminent Victorian and the Problem of Inspiration," Themelios 7/2 (1982) 16-20.

<sup>89</sup>There are still a few who follow Burgon's arguments. For an excellent article which addresses the inspiration of Scripture and its relationship to the providential care of Scripture texts, see Daniel B. Wallace, "Inspiration, Preservation, and New Testament Textual Criticism," Essays in Honor of Homer Kent (ed. Gary Meadors; Winona Lake: BMH, 1991 [69-102]; reprinted in GTJ 12/1 [1991] 21-50).

<sup>90</sup>D. Bernhard Weiss, Die Vier Evangelien im berichtigen Text mit kurzer Erläuterung zum Handgebrauch bei der Schriftlektüre (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902).



alterations of word order, and, (e) orthographical variation.<sup>91</sup> Weiss then ranked the major MSS according to their comparative freedom from such faults. He decided that Vaticanus was the best of the MSS. The importance of this conclusion is that it is the same as that reached by Westcott and Hort, but it was arrived at from an entirely different procedure.

#### Summary

Nineteenth-century text-critical studies were ushered in by Karl Lachmann, a classical scholar. Lachmann wanted to locate the text used by the church during the fourth century. His work was followed by the indefatigable textual critic, Constantin von Tischendorf who collected and collated more MSS than any other person. Tischendorf's collation along with those done by others in the previous era such as Fell and Mill, served as a solid foundation for the work of the two men who forever changed the study of textual criticism, Westcott and Hort. While Tischendorf and Tregelles worked independently of each other and collated many MSS, Westcott and Hort spent their lifetimes working together to develop further text-critical theory. Their desire to prove that the MS tradition behind the Textus Receptus was corrupt and that Vaticanus represented the purest text-type was successful for most of the scholarly world. Some opposition arose with men like Burgon, but the resistance was not successful in withstanding the conclusions of these two men. Bernard Weiss

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<sup>91</sup>Finegan, Encountering New Testament Manuscripts 66.

closed the nineteenth century by showing that Westcott and Hort's assessment of codex Vaticanus was accurate. Using only internal criteria, he arrived at essentially the same text as Westcott and Hort.

### Textual Criticism in the Twentieth Century

#### Introduction

Building on the conclusions formulated in the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, twentieth-century textual critics further advanced and refined the conclusions of their predecessors. The century began with the production of Greek New Testaments with extensive critical apparatuses. Though Tischendorf's eighth edition was monumental and is still a necessary tool for modern textual critics, Greek New Testament editions of the twentieth century went beyond his work by including abundant testimony from the Church Fathers, extensive evidence from Byzantine MSS, and toward the middle of the century, evidence from the texts of newly discovered NT papyri.

Twentieth-century studies also have sought to develop a method of discovering MS history. While Westcott and Hort formulated the genealogical method, modern scholarship recognizes some inadequacies in that method and is seeking to provide other alternatives.

The criteria for locating the original readings from among variant readings have also been critiqued by this century's scholars. Though there are three approaches promoted today, rigorous eclecticism, reasoned eclecticism, and the Majority Text

method, most textual critics rely on a methodology not much different from that developed by Westcott and Hort.

#### Production of Greek New Testaments with Extensive Apparatuses

The twentieth century began with the compiling of more MS evidence. Alexander Souter advanced the study of textual criticism with his 1910 critical apparatus which included numerous testimonies quoted from Church Fathers.<sup>92</sup> Concerning textual theory, Souter felt that Westcott and Hort had made such a major contribution that their work would be foundational to all future studies in textual criticism.<sup>93</sup>

However, all did not agree with Souter's evaluation of Westcott and Hort. One who disagreed with Westcott and Hort especially in their treatment of the Syrian text was Hermann Freiherr von Soden (1852-1914). Von Soden edited the most massive Greek New Testament to be published in the twentieth century (1902-1913).<sup>94</sup> He did extensive pioneer work with Greek

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<sup>92</sup>For a discussion of the value and appropriate use of patristic evidence in textual criticism, see Bruce M. Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," NTS 18 (1972) 379-400.

<sup>93</sup>Souter was so impressed with the work of Westcott and Hort that he wrote: "It appears to the present writer that a great advance upon the text of Westcott and Hort in the direction of the original autographs is highly improbable, at least in our generation. If they have not said the last word, they have at least laid the foundations which make it comparatively simple to fit later discoveries into their scheme. The discovery of further materials will no doubt sometimes incline the balance towards the reading which on deliberate inspection of the evidence available to them, Westcott and Hort rejected, or put into the margin" (Alexander Souter, The Text and Canon of the New Testament [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917] 138).

<sup>94</sup>Hermann Freiherr von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte (1.1, Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1902; 1.2, Berlin: Verlag von

minuscule MSS and like Westcott and Hort, did extensive study on the history of the Greek text. Also, he was dissatisfied with the nomenclature used to designate uncial and minuscule MSS and designed a new method of designation intended to indicate the age, content, and type of each MS. His system was so complicated that it was never accepted into use by the scholarly community.<sup>95</sup> Many of his conclusions concerning MS history and families also are fraught with difficulties and have not gained

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Arthur Glaue, 1907; 1.3, Berlin: Verlag von Arthur Glaue, 1910; 2.1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913).

<sup>95</sup>Kenyon viewed von Soden's edition as "a serious obstacle to occasional reference" (Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible 65). For a good summary of von Soden's new nomenclature and a description of the main groups of MSS discernable among extant MSS according to von Soden, see Kirsopp Lake, "Professor H. von Soden's Treatment of the Text of the Gospels," RevThPh 4 (1908-1909) 201-217. A second article by Lake provides a good review of von Soden's view of MS history behind his I, H, and K families. Lake disagrees with von Soden's use of the evidence and his conclusions (Kirsopp Lake, "Professor H. von Soden's Treatment of the Text of the Gospels," RevThPh 4 [1908-1909] 277-295). Another helpful summary of von Soden's system can be found in Greenlee whose remarks concerning von Soden's work are shared by many scholars. He calls it "perhaps the greatest disappointment in modern textual criticism" (Greenlee, Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism 83, 109). A more recent work also denounces von Soden's edition (along with Tischendorf's and Augustinus Merk's) as being so inaccurate that "all the collating will have to be done again" (W. J. Elliott, "The Need for an Accurate and Comprehensive Collation of All Known Greek NT Manuscripts with Their Individual Variants Noted In Pleno," Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday NovTSup 44 (ed. James Keith Elliott; Leiden: Brill, 1976) 137-143. Royse has shown, however, that the problem is not with von Soden as much as with Elliott's inability to understand von Soden's apparatus. There are inaccuracies in von Soden, but nothing of the magnitude suggested by Elliott. For a limited discussion of von Soden's accuracy and usefulness for modern textual critics, see James R. Royse, "Von Soden's Accuracy," JTS 30/1 (1979) 166-171. For a more detailed sample of von Soden's inaccuracies, see Sanders who found 1443 errors in von Soden's collation of MS 22 alone in the Gospels (Henry A. Sanders, "A New Collation of MS 22 of the Gospels," JBL 33 (1914) 92).

acceptance by most scholars.<sup>96</sup> This does not mean that he wielded no influence in his field of study, for Aland proves that von Soden's work exerted a controlling influence over Vogels, Merk, and Bover, three Roman Catholic scholars who edited separate editions of the Greek NT.<sup>97</sup> Von Soden's work continues to influence text-critical work today, for his method of classifying MSS gave impetus to the Claremont Profile Method developed by Wisse and McReynolds.<sup>98</sup>

In order to keep von Soden's system from being accepted,

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<sup>96</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 139-143. Metzger lists several of von Soden's textual principles and the negative responses of various scholars to this work. Von Soden's work is noted by textual historians due to the momentous amount of work done by him. However, because of its limited impact on the text-critical studies, detail is omitted from this study. Again, this must not be understood to infer that he has no worth to contemporary textual work. Aland, who says "von Soden's edition was distinctly a failure", also says it is a "necessary tool for textual critics." Much information available in von Soden, especially Part I of the four volume work, is available nowhere else (Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 23). Also, as the collation in Appendix I of this study illustrates, von Soden's apparatus contains information found in no other apparatus. Colwell likewise strongly contends that von Soden deserves a hearing because further study "has substantiated a number of his classifications" set forth in his pioneer work in minuscule manuscripts (Ernest C. Colwell, The Four Gospels of Karahissar I: History and Text [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936] xi).

<sup>97</sup>Aland says the motivation for these three editions was the popularity of the Nestle edition even among the Roman Catholics. To study the impact von Soden exercised over Vogels, Merk, and Bover, see the chart and accompanying discussion in Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 26-27. Also, Metzger discusses José M. Bover's edition of the Greek NT in Bruce M. Metzger, "Recent Spanish Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism (Leiden: Brill, 1963) 135-141.

<sup>98</sup>The Claremont Profile Method utilizes some of von Soden's manuscript categories of Byzantine text-types. This will be discussed later in the present chapter. For a complete discussion, see Frederik Wisse, The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence as Applied to the Continuous Text of the Gospel of Luke (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 7-32.

Caspar René Gregory, the author of the "Prolegomena" to the eighth edition of Tischendorf's Greek NT, conferred with textual critics in Europe and America and constructed the modified form of Wettstein's system of MS nomenclature still in use today.<sup>99</sup> Papyri are designated by a gothic letter "P" followed by a superscript number. Thick (bold, Clarendon) numbers preceded by a zero signify uncial MSS with the first forty-five retaining their Latin or Greek capital letter denotation and Sinaiticus retaining the only Hebrew designation (Ⲛ). Eight letters have double designations: D, E, F, G, H, K, L, P with the duplicates being distinguished as D<sup>2</sup> or D<sup>Paul</sup>, etc. Minuscules are represented by successive Arabic numbers. Using Gregory's system, Kurt Aland is currently listing the new MSS and reports that there are now 5,366 MSS on the official registry of the Institute for New Testament Textual Research.<sup>100</sup> However, because of wars and natural disasters, many MSS were lost in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Aland estimates 5,000 MSS are probably in actual existence today.

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<sup>99</sup>This nomenclature was set forth in the third volume of Gregory's three volume work (Caspar René Gregory, Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes [Leipzig: Hinrichs, I, 1900; II, 1902; III, 1909]).

<sup>100</sup>Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 74-75. Because many of the editors of Greek New Testaments used their own nomenclature for individual manuscripts, it is difficult if not impossible for the textual critic to find quickly comments on the individual MSS in each of these works. Aland has satisfied a great need by supplying a reference tool to do this. To compare and match MS symbols used by Gregory and von Soden, see Kurt Aland, Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testamentes, 1: Gesamtübersicht (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1963) 334-371. Gregory and Tischendorf's eighth edition of the Greek NT can also be consulted in the same manner (ibid. 321-333).

A desire to make the conclusions of nineteenth-century scholarship available "instead of the still widespread cheap editions of the so-called Textus Receptus, which goes back to Erasmus"<sup>101</sup> led to the publication of what became the most popular pocket edition of the Greek New Testament. Prepared by Eberhard Nestle (1851-1913), the Nestle text was first published in Stuttgart (1898) for the Württemberg Bible Society. Today the Novum Testamentum Graece is in its twenty-sixth edition.<sup>102</sup> To produce the type of text he wanted, Nestle took the editions of Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and R. F. Weymouth (1886 edition) and constructed a resultant text.<sup>103</sup> When there were disagreements, the reading supported by two was put in the text and the reading of the third was placed in footnotes. When all three differed, Nestle would place "the mean reading" into the

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<sup>101</sup>D. Eberhard Nestle and D. Erwin Nestle, eds., Novum Testamentum Graece: Cum Apparatu Critico Curavit (15th ed.; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1932) 38-39; Epp, "Textual Criticism" 85.

<sup>102</sup>Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, eds. Novum Testamentum Graece (post Eberhard Nestle et Erwin Nestle, communiter ediderunt Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, Allen Wikgren; 26th ed., 4th rev; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1981). This Nestle-Aland text will be designated N/A 26 for the remainder of this paper.

<sup>103</sup>Weymouth had studied the critical texts of the most important printed editions of Greek New Testaments since Lachmann. He wanted his Resultant Greek Testament to "exhibit in a compact and intelligible form the latest results of textual criticism." Weymouth's text is the text agreed on by the majority of those sources consulted. The sources are presented in the full title of his work which was published in three editions (1886, 1892, 1905), the last being published posthumously (R. F. Weymouth, The Resultant Greek Testament Exhibiting the Text in which the Majority of Modern Editors are Agreed, and Containing the Reading of Stephens [1550], Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Alford, Weiss, The Bale Edition [1880], Westcott and Hort and the Revision Committee [3d ed.; London: James Clarke, 1905] ix-xxv).

text.<sup>104</sup> After the third edition of Nestle's text (1901), Bernhard Weiss, who was a noted exegete rather than a paleographer or textual critic, replaced Weymouth.<sup>105</sup> For the most part, this overcame the partiality of Tischendorf toward  $\aleph$  and Westcott and Hort toward B.<sup>106</sup>

Eberhard's son, Erwin Nestle, though limiting his research totally to the critical apparatuses of other editions, continually expanded the apparatus so independent judgment could be made on the text. He produced the thirteenth edition (1927) which included in its critical apparatus the readings of Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Weiss, and von Soden. The

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<sup>104</sup>An example of this is Matt 6:8 where Tischendorf omits  $\delta \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , Westcott and Hort have it in their text in brackets, and Weiss has it in his text without brackets. Nestle put  $\delta \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  in the text in brackets because this is the "mean" reading between Tischendorf and Weiss (D. Eberhard Nestle, Novum Testamentum Graece: cum Apparatu Critico Curavit, [15th ed.] 41).

<sup>105</sup>For a good discussion of Weiss's life and work, see Caspar René Gregory, "Bernhard Weiss and the New Testament," AJT 1 (1896) 16-37. For a critique of Weiss's textual work, see Kirsopp Lake, "Dr. Weiss's Text of the Gospel's: The Thoughts of a Textual Critic on the Text of an Exegete," AJT 7 (1903) 249-258.

<sup>106</sup>Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 18-20. The immediate impact of Nestle's edition is debatable. Aland says that the result of Nestle's work was clear. Where Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort had convinced the scholarly world to abandon the TR, Nestle convinced the church to do the same (*ibid.*). Epp, however, is not convinced that Nestle's impact is accurately assessed by Aland since Nestle's edition of the Greek New Testament presented the conclusions of nineteenth-century scholarship. Furthermore, Nestle offered no canons of criticism, no theory of textual transmission, and paid little attention to MSS as Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort had done. For an excellent critique of Aland's narrow view of the history of textual criticism, see Eldon Jay Epp, "New Testament Textual Criticism Past Present, and Future" 216-223. For a less in-depth but helpful critique, see *idem*, "An Indispensable but Flawed Tool: (Book Review) The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism by Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland (translated by Erroll F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987)," Int 44/1 (1990) 71-75.



outcome of this extensive printed evidence was that scholarly consensus at times disagreed with the resultant text followed by Nestle and sometimes replaced it.<sup>107</sup> The sixteenth edition, however, still says that its text "has remained as a whole unchanged, particularly since the research of recent years has not yet led to the establishment of a generally acknowledged N.T. text."<sup>108</sup> It was in the seventeenth edition that Erwin Nestle began to take readings into the text against the Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf, and Weiss majority.<sup>109</sup>

Where Erwin Nestle had limited his study to the apparatus of earlier editions, in 1952 Kurt Aland became associated with the work for the twenty-first edition and began immediately to collate the evidence in the apparatus against original sources and to include readings from recently discovered papyri. Aland's work has continued up through the twenty-sixth edition of this Nestle text, or as it is now called, the Nestle-Aland Twenty-Six (N/A 26).<sup>110</sup> The apparatus of this edition of the Greek NT contains evidence from all available papyri, major uncials, and important minuscules. Early versions are also cited where

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<sup>107</sup>N/A 26, 40.

<sup>108</sup>Eberhard Nestle, ed., Greek New Testament (16th ed. revised by Erwin Nestle; New York: American Bible Society, 1936) 41.

<sup>109</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 144.

<sup>110</sup>N/A 26, 40, 48-62. Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 20-22. For a thorough review of the N/A 26, see James Keith Elliott, "An Examination of the Twenty-sixth Edition of Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece," JTS 32/1 (1981) 19-49. A list of Aland's canons of criticism may be seen in Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 275-276.

relevant, followed by the witness of the Church Fathers.

### Locating a Manuscript

#### Introduction

While Nestle and Aland were collecting MS evidence and continually updating their editions of the Greek New Testament, others were concentrating on better ways to study the history of the Greek text. Von Soden's work, mentioned above as unsatisfactory for many, was regarded by Colwell as accurate in the location of certain text-types.<sup>111</sup>

Reconstructing the history of the text of the Bible is of major importance because an accurate reconstruction of the text at different times in history gives a picture of when and how corruptions entered the text.<sup>112</sup> Careful study of each MS must be done to detect not only why each MS is the way it is, but also to discover what its ancestors were like.<sup>113</sup> Four approaches have been developed in the twentieth century to determine MS history.

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<sup>111</sup>This was mentioned in footnote 94.

<sup>112</sup>David C. Parker, "Scripture is Tradition," Th 94 (1991) 11-17. For an excellent discussion concerning the necessity of MS history in text-critical studies, see Ernest C. Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," JBL 66 (1947) 109-133, reprinted in New Testament Tools and Studies IX: Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament (ed. Bruce M. Metzger; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 148-171; Eldon Jay Epp, "A Continuing Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," HTR 73/1-3 (1980) 138-151; and, idem, "The Twentieth Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism," JBL 93 (1974) 390-401.

<sup>113</sup>An excellent overview of the historical development of the study of external evidence may be seen in Bart D. Ehrman, "Methodological Developments in the Analysis and Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," NovT 29/1 (1987) 22-45.

### The Method of Quantitative Readings

Colwell was at first opposed to Westcott and Hort's genealogical methodology as a way to locate a given reading in the history of the text.<sup>114</sup> He stated with frankness and frustration in 1947 that he had no alternative.<sup>115</sup> However, in 1959, after working for several years on the International Greek New Testament Project (I.G.N.T.),<sup>116</sup> Colwell and M. M. Parvis set forth what was first labeled the "method of Multiple Readings"<sup>117</sup> and later the "method of Quantitative Readings."<sup>118</sup> Their goal was to be able to find quickly the relationship of

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<sup>114</sup>E. C. Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Limitations" 63-83.

<sup>115</sup>"Our dilemma seems to be that we know too much to believe the old, we do not yet know enough to create the new" (ibid. 83).

<sup>116</sup>The International Greek New Testament Project is the continuation of the work begun by S. C. E. Legg at Oxford. Legg wanted to reproduce Westcott and Hort's text with an enlarged apparatus. After Legg's death, concern was raised about who would complete his work. Legg had finished Mark (published 1935) and Matthew (published 1940) and had begun on Luke. In 1949 the International Greek Project was founded to continue Legg's work (David Parker, "Textual Criticism since B. H. Streeter," NTS 24/1 [1977] 158).

<sup>117</sup>Kim remarks that Colwell was teaching the "Multiple Method" in 1945. Kim used it to help erode the concept of a Caesarean text and to demonstrate that Origen's NT text was not a Neutral text (K. W. Kim, "The Matthean Text of Origen in His Commentary on Matthew" JBL 68 [1949] 129, 134-139).

<sup>118</sup>Metzger refers to Colwell's method by the designation of the "method of Multiple Readings" (Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 180). Colwell writes, "I have never intentionally called the method of locating a newly-found manuscript 'the method of Multiple Readings'" (E. C. Colwell, "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript," New Testament Tools and Studies IX: Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament (ed. Bruce M. Metzger; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 28; originally published in TUGAL 73 (1959) 757-777). In the appendix to his third, enlarged edition, Metzger labels Colwell's approach as the "Quantitative Method" of textual analysis which is a more accurate title since the quantity of readings determines text-types for Colwell (Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 288).

MSS.

Colwell's methodology included three steps, the last one being the most important. First, he used multiple readings to find related groups. A multiple reading was defined as

one in which the minimum support for each of at least three variants forms of the text is either one of the major strands of traditions, or the support of a previously established group (such as Family I, Family II, the Ferrar Group,  $K^1$ ,  $K^i$ ,  $K^r$ ), or the support of some one of the ancient versions (such as af, it,  $sy^s$ ,  $sy^c$ , bo, or sa) or the support of some single manuscript of an admittedly distinctive character (such as D).<sup>119</sup>

Second, he developed a list of distinctive readings to show relationship with known MS types noting that "a group is not a group unless it has unique readings." These unique, or singular group readings as he calls them, are readings unique to a group of MSS, not readings unique to a single MS. Singular readings of individual MSS have no genealogical significance for Colwell. These unique group readings reveal relationship.<sup>120</sup>

Third, Colwell wanted to corroborate the relationship found in step one and demonstrated in step two. He did this by counting the instances of agreement, looking for a high percentage of agreement (approximately 70 percent) in "the total quantity of readings derived from a representative sample of all

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<sup>119</sup>Colwell, "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript" 28-31. For further explanation and application of Colwell's method, see Ernest C. Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, "The Quantitative Relationships between MS Text-Types," Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey (eds. J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomson; New York: Herder, 1963) 25-32.

<sup>120</sup>E. C. Colwell and E. W. Tune, "Variant Readings: Classification and Use," JBL 83/3 (1964) 260-261; and Colwell, "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text" 387.

text groups in a specific block of text."<sup>121</sup> The quality of readings is of no concern at this point in the study. Colwell tested his method on Mark 1, John 1:1-4:40, and John 7:18-8:12.

Colwell argued that MS types cannot be learned by noting only variants from an external standard such as the TR.<sup>122</sup> Agreements between several witnesses, whatever their relationship to the TR or to any other standard, determine if a real group exists. There must be a high level of agreement<sup>123</sup> which can be tabulated and then converted to percentages before relationships can be decided.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup>Ernest C. Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program" 163; idem, "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript" 31.

<sup>122</sup>Colwell was not alone in this rejection of the TR for the purpose of determining text-type. Metzger pointed out in 1945 that the discovery of P<sup>45</sup> showed not only that the Caesarean text had to be divided into two subgroups, but also that there was a methodological problem in textual studies. He said that textual critics should have been able to see this division without the papyrus. He challenged the use of the TR to reconstruct ancient texts pointing out that the later Byzantine MSS are many times conflated and if the TR is used to point out non-Byzantine readings, what of those readings already in the Byzantine text? How will they be discovered? Metzger called for a new method of locating text-types which would "determine exactly what proportion of the total number of variants of each type of text (and/or of each manuscript) is present in the manuscript to be analyzed" (Bruce M. Metzger, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospels," reprinted in New Testament Tools and Studies 4: Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism [Leiden: Brill, 1963] 70-72).

<sup>123</sup>Colwell and Tune conclude that "the quantitative definition of a text-type is a group of MSS that agree more than 70% of the time and is separated by a gap of about 10% from its nearest neighbors" (Colwell and Tune, "The Quantitative Relationships between MS Text-Types" 29).

<sup>124</sup>Colwell rejects such ambiguous descriptions as "midway between D and B" noting that most MSS could fit in such a category. He says such descriptions are "weasel words, too slippery, too vague and ambiguous to be used for the location of manuscripts. . . . The midway phrase has earned its right to oblivion" (Colwell, "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript" 37).

Colwell's procedure enjoyed scholarly acceptance<sup>125</sup> but was reversed by researchers in later studies. Because the first two steps could not determine how close one document represents the other in its group tradition, textual critics began with quantitative analysis (Colwell's third step) and then followed up with steps one and two to confirm their findings.<sup>126</sup>

### The Claremont Profile Method

A second method of locating a text-type was developed from Colwell's Quantitative Method. Called the Claremont Profile Method (CPM), its goal is to classify MSS into groups only after the total number of variants is considered in any specified

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<sup>125</sup>Fee, using this method, shows that Codex Sinaiticus has a strong Western ancestry (Gordon D. Fee, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships," *NTS* 15/1 [1968] 23-44); that Origen's text was demonstrably Egyptian (idem, "Origen's Text of the New Testament and the Text of Egypt" 348-364); and that there was no recension of the NT text in Alexandria in either the second or fourth centuries (idem, "P<sup>75</sup>, P<sup>66</sup> and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria" 19-45). Also, Hurtado used this method to discredit the idea of a pre-Caesarean text in Mark (Larry W. Hurtado, Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981]). This acceptance was in spite of the warning issued earlier by Zuntz and followed by Parker that "supposing that some day, such a collection [of all variants] should be made available, the first step in using it would still have to be in discarding the overwhelming proportions of chaff which it must unavoidably contain. Criticism begins with selection. Therewith it is implied that the textual criticism of the New Testament cannot be carried out by statistical methods. . . . None but commensurable entities can be reduced to figures, and no two variants are strictly commensurable" (G. Zuntz, The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum [London: Oxford University Press, 1953] 58). See also David Parker, "The Development of Textual Criticism Since B. H. Streeter" 157.

<sup>126</sup>This criticism is further explained in Bart C. Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *JBL* 106/3 (1987) 467.

portion of text.<sup>127</sup> Colwell had called for MS grouping to be done based on unique group readings. The CPM advances Colwell's proposal by using the total amount of variation, including both unique group readings and readings shared by other MS groups. Charts were made to record the presence or absence of readings as each MS was checked. Patterns of agreement and disagreement (profiles) emerged from which a group profile was established. A group needs to share two-thirds of all readings in question to be considered a legitimate group.<sup>128</sup> Once each group's profile is complete, individual MSS need only to be collated and checked against the group profile in readings where membership in one group or another is shown, to find the relationship of the individual MS to a known group. Complete collation is unnecessary and is a major advantage of this method.<sup>129</sup>

While CPM is widely accepted as a generally accurate means of quickly learning a manuscript's text-type, textual critics continue to call for further refinement in its application not only to individual MSS, but to MS groups as well.<sup>130</sup> It has at least three weaknesses. First, its call for limited collation

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<sup>127</sup>For a complete explanation of the beginnings and method of the Claremont Profile Method by one its developers, see Frederick Wisse, The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid. 37,40.

<sup>129</sup>Wisse claims that "after some experience, it should be possible to classify a Lucan MS within half an hour" (ibid. vii).

<sup>130</sup>Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles" 469-471; W. L. Richards, "An Examination of the Claremont Profile Method in the Gospel of Luke: A Study in Text-Critical Methodology," NTS 27/1 (1980) 52-63.



can severely limit detection of block mixture of text-types. Textual critics can overcome this by applying the CPM to the entire MS.<sup>131</sup> Second, the CPM is limited by its restriction of considering only those readings preserved in two-thirds of known groups' members. Continued studies have shown that more extensive variant data changes some of the CPM's original classifications.<sup>132</sup> Third, Ehrman and Richards have both shown that Wisse's failure to do a thoroughgoing quantitative analysis led to some erroneous conclusions, such as placing B and D in the same group.<sup>133</sup> Colwell's quantitative analysis, if done first, would show tentative groups which the CPM could more accurately profile.

#### The Comprehensive Profile Method

To overcome the shortcomings of the Claremont Profile Method, Ehrman has developed what he termed the "Comprehensive Profile Method."<sup>134</sup> His method for locating a MS in textual transmission has three steps. It calls for full MS collation,

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<sup>131</sup>Richards did this in his study of 1 John where he noted some of the weaknesses of the CPM (W. L. Richards, "A Critique of a New Testament Text-Critical Methodology--The Claremont Profile Method," JBL 96/4 (1977) 555-566.

<sup>132</sup>Richards showed this to be the case when he reexamined passages used in the original CPM studies (Richards, "An Examination of the Claremont Profile Method in the Gospel of Luke" 52-63; idem, "Manuscript Grouping in Luke 10 by Quantitative Analysis," JBL 98/3 [1979] 379-391). The 1979 article is a sequel to the 1980 article and explains the procedure followed to reach the conclusions of the 1980 article.

<sup>133</sup>Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles" 469-470; Richards, "A Critique of a New Testament Text-Critical Method" 555-566.

<sup>134</sup>Bart D. Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles" 471.



not sample passages (like CPM), a complete quantitative analysis (Colwell's third step), and a set of group profiles that includes both (1) "readings found extensively within a known textual group," and (2) "readings found only with any given group." This final step of analyzing characteristics inside the group itself further identifies subgroups more accurately than CPM alone and better locates the manuscript's place in textual transmission.<sup>135</sup> Ehrman's method has added a significant amount of time required for locating a new MS over the quantitative method and the CPM. However, what is lost in time is gained in accuracy of investigation.

In summary, Colwell classified a new MS according to an agreement of its unique readings with a known MS group's unique readings. The CPM classifies MSS according to all readings, unique or shared, when there is at least two-thirds agreement between group members. The Comprehensive Profile Method does both plus seeks to classify readings which are characteristic of a group, both extensive readings present in a group which may also be shared with other groups, and readings that are only in the group being studied.

#### The One Thousand Readings Method

The final method currently being used to locate a MS in its transmission history was developed by Kurt Aland and presented in

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<sup>135</sup>For a complete explanation and demonstration of the "Comprehensive Profile Method," see *ibid.* 465-486. An example of this method applied with slight variation may be seen in T. R. Ralston, "The 'Majority Text' and Byzantine Origins," *NTS* 38/1 (1992) 122-137.

1965.<sup>136</sup> Believing that only two "text-types . . . may be regarded as certain," Aland selected one thousand passages where the Alexandrian text-type and the Byzantine text-type clearly disagree. Aland selected test passages from the following NT books:

Gospel of Mark -	199
Gospel of John -	338
Acts of the Apostles -	105
Catholic Epistles -	103
Epistles of Paul -	<u>255</u>
	1000

His test passages were intended only to identify and eliminate those MSS with the Byzantine text so he could concentrate on the remaining MSS. He was content to allow someone else to study these discarded MSS to find their histories and relationships.<sup>137</sup>

Aland now finds three text-types which are "incontestably verified," the Alexandrian, the Koine text, and the D text.<sup>138</sup> Aland's D text is that text-type found in the uncial MS codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D), a fifth-century Greek-Latin diglot. Most modern textual critics view D as an example of the Western text-type, a name Aland refuses to attach to it because it did

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<sup>136</sup>Kurt Aland, "The Significance of Papyri for New Testament Research" 336, 343.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid. 344.

<sup>138</sup>Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 51, 66-67.

not come from the West. Also, Aland does not acknowledge the existence of a Caesarean text-type saying its existence is purely theoretical with no solid foundation. Some modern textual critics disagree with Aland and believe that while it is no longer acceptable to use the label "Caesarean," it is accurate to say Pre-Caesarean.<sup>139</sup>

Aland is still working with test passages, and although he makes no explicit statement concerning a change, the numbers evidently have changed and test passages from all New Testament books are now included.<sup>140</sup> This number change is seen in his recent study of the Catholic epistles where he used ninety-eight test examples.<sup>141</sup> In this study of the Catholic epistles, Aland and his associates collated approximately five hundred and seventy MSS and displayed through MS lists, statistical charts, and profiles of non-Byzantine MSS, relationships between these MSS.

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<sup>139</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 214-215. For a historical survey of the development of the concept of a Caesarean text-type, see idem, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospels" 42-72. A recent study done to disprove the belief of a pre-Caesarean text in Mark may be seen in Larry W. Hurtado, Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text. For a study which illustrates the difficulty of labelling any text-type as purely Western or Caesarean, see A. F. J. Klijn, "A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts: (1949-1959)," NovT 3/1-2 (1959) 1-27.

<sup>140</sup>Aland promises to describe this system of determining MS relationship, but so far he has failed to do so (Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 95).

<sup>141</sup>Kurt Aland, Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments I: Die Katholischen Briefe. Band I: Das Material; Band 2: Die Auswertung; Band 3: Die Einzelhandschriften (Herausgegeben von Kurt Aland in Verbindung mit Annette Benduhn-Mertz und Gerd Mink; Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1987).

There are similarities between Aland's methodology and that of the CPM mentioned above. Percentages of agreement, actual number of variations, and a profile section portray MS relationships. The major difference between the two approaches is that the CPM charts portray relationships based on actual readings and actual percentages of agreement between MSS. Aland portrays relationships as they relate to what he has already decided to be the original reading.<sup>142</sup> Aland is doing a profile, but it is a profile based on his postulated (original) text, not a profile based entirely on MS agreements as in the CPM. This is a clear weakness of his approach.<sup>143</sup>

Another difference between Aland and the CPM is the type of MSS profiled. The CPM was developed to deal with Byzantine MSS. Aland, however, only collates Byzantine MSS to learn if they are clearly Byzantine. Once that is decided, these MSS are excluded from further study which shows that though the number of test passages has changed, Aland's basic methodology and goal are the same as when he first described it in 1964. Aland's main

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<sup>142</sup>Tobin writes, "The procedure has a certain circular character to it. That circular character is probably inevitable, but it does call for appropriate caution when one tries to draw conclusions about the history of the New Testament text" (Thomas H. Tobin, "Book Review: Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments I: Die Katholischen Briefe. Band I: Das Material; Band 2: Die Auswertung; Band 3: Die Einzelhandschriften (Herausgegeben von Kurt Aland in Verbindung mit Annette Benduhn-Mertz und Gerd Mink; Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1987)," BASP 25 (1988) 179-180).

<sup>143</sup>For a good critique of Aland's methodology and its implications for textual studies, see Bart D. Ehrman, "A Problem of Textual Circularity: The Alands on the Classification of New Testament Manuscripts," Bib 70/3 (1989) 377-388. Colwell charges Aland with wanting to count early witnesses instead of developing a history which will show their relationships (Colwell, "Hort Redivivus" 156-158).

interest lies in the text-types found in the pre-fourth century papyri.

The total dismissal of Byzantine MSS is unfortunate because, as Zuntz has shown in his study of P<sup>46</sup> in 1 Corinthians and Hebrews, some readings once thought to be part of only the late Byzantine tradition are clearly and demonstrably part of the early (second century) text tradition. Note carefully Zuntz's statement:

A number of Byzantine readings, most of them genuine, which previously were discarded as 'late', are anticipated by P<sup>46</sup>. Our inquiry has confirmed what was anyhow probable enough: the Byzantines did not hit upon these readings by conjecture or independent error. They reproduced an older tradition. The existence of this tradition was in several cases borne out by some versions or patristic quotations; but where such evidence is not forthcoming, the inference proved no less certain. How then--so one is tempted to go on asking--where no Chester Beatty papyrus happens to vouch for the early existence of a Byzantine reading? Are all Byzantine readings ancient? In the cognate case of the Homeric tradition G. Pasquali answers the same question in the affirmative; and, indeed, it seems to me unlikely that the Byzantine editors ever altered the text without manuscript evidence. They left so many hopelessly difficult places unassailed! Their method, I submit, was selection rather than conjecture. The essential question, however, remains from what evidence they made their selection.

We are not going to resume the hopeless fight of Dean Burgon. The Byzantine is the latest text and it is both natural and evident that it contains the largest proportion of corruptions. Most of the specially Byzantine readings rule themselves out of court without ado. The chance that, even so, they are far older than the manuscripts which attest them is none the less great. Between, say, A.D. 200 and 800 much new corruption could, and did, infect the tradition upon which the Byzantine editors relied. They evidently tended to adopt the smoothest among competing readings and that, as a rule, meant the spurious ones. Even so, we are now warned not to discard the Byzantine evidence

en bloc.<sup>144</sup>

This is not an argument that the Byzantine text-type is second century, but that Byzantine readings with Western support (geographical) have a high claim to originality.

#### Locating the Original Reading

#### Eclecticism: Introduction

Following Westcott and Hort, an understanding that the original text was not preserved in any particular MS or group of MSS began to prevail.<sup>145</sup> This conclusion coupled with a general dissatisfaction with the text and methodology of Westcott and Hort helped produce current methods of textual criticism.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup>Zuntz, The Text of the Epistle 55-56. According to Ehrman, Zuntz's arguments have never been refuted (Ehrman, "A Problem of Textual Circularity" 385). A recent development which may strengthen Zuntz's argument concerning the date of these early Byzantine readings is the recently suggested redating of P<sup>46</sup> from the second century back to the first century (Young Kyu Kim, "Palaeographical Dating of P<sup>46</sup> to the Later First Century," Bib 69/2 [1988] 248-257). Other corroborating evidence for early Byzantine readings may be found in Metzger, "The Lucianic Recension of the Greek Bible" 35-39; Hurtado, Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text; Harry A. Sturz, The Byzantine Text-Type and New Testament Textual Criticism (Nashville: Nelson, 1984); and, J. N. Birdsall, The Bodmer Papyrus of the Gospel of John, (London: Tyndale, 1960).

<sup>145</sup>A statement by Elliott illustrates the problem: "The recent printed editions of the Greek New Testament give a text which never existed as a manuscript of the New Testament. They are all reconstructions based on their editors' choice of readings from the manuscripts they had at their disposal, or which they elected to concentrate on. All these printed editions have a conflate text drawn from various manuscripts. But although each in its own way, using its own methods, attempts to be a reconstruction of the original words of the New Testament authors, none is entirely satisfactory (James Keith Elliott, "Can We Recover The Original New Testament?" Th 77 [1974] 341).

<sup>146</sup>Graham Patrick, "1881-1981: The Centenary of the Westcott and Hort Text," ExpTim 92 (1981) 361; and Frank Pack, "One Hundred Years Since Westcott and Hort: 1881-1981," ResQ 26/2 (1983) 76.

When scholars realized that the Westcott-Hort methodology did not answer all questions and that their internal and external evidence failed to point to a single conclusion, it became obvious that either internal evidence or external evidence must serve to decide originality.<sup>147</sup> This dichotomy of the evidence encouraged the rise of eclecticism, the text-critical procedure followed by most scholars today. As defined by Epp, eclecticism can be broadly described as the method of NT textual criticism used to locate the original reading that (1) treats each variation-unit individually, (2) selects from accepted canons of criticism those canons that are the most appropriate to the variation-unit being studied, and (3) applies these selected canons in such a way as to choose a reading from those provided by the various MSS.<sup>148</sup>

There are different shades of eclecticism which manifest themselves in the eclectic's dependence upon or use of external evidence. One common denominator between all advocates of this approach is their desire to seek the original text without being tied to any particular MS or group of MSS, as Westcott and Hort were to B and the neutral text and Tischendorf was to  $\aleph$ . Agreement is not complete, however, for reasoned eclectics like Fee still believe in the existence of reliable MSS which assist

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<sup>147</sup>For a thorough presentation of the development of eclecticism in New Testament textual criticism, see Eldon Jay Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism" 211-257.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid. 212. Lists of currently accepted canons of criticism may be found in: *ibid.* 243; Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 209-210; *idem*, Textual Commentary xxv-xxviii.



internal criteria.<sup>149</sup> Thoroughgoing eclectics, on the other hand, totally reject even the idea of a reliable MS and trust totally in their own abilities using exclusively internal criteria to find the original.<sup>150</sup> This approach to textual criticism is seen almost exclusively in the writings of Kilpatrick and Elliott.<sup>151</sup> Reasoned eclecticism, which favors reliable MSS, is seen in the works of most other NT textual critics today of which Fee, Epp, and Metzger are representative.<sup>152</sup>

#### Rigorous Eclecticism

Elliott explains this methodology in his written defense of thoroughgoing eclecticism or what Fee has called rigorous

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<sup>149</sup>Gordon Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism--Which?" Studies in NT Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday NovTSup 44 (ed. James K. Elliott; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976) 180-181.

<sup>150</sup>Elliott says, "There is no such thing as a 'good' text, only manuscripts with some 'good' readings" (Elliott, "Can We Recover the Original New Testament?" 344).

<sup>151</sup>For a good summary of this position, see James Keith Elliott, "In Defense of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism," ResQ 21 (1978) 95-115. Other articles which promote thoroughgoing eclecticism are: idem, "Can we Recover the Original New Testament?" 338-353; idem, "Textual Criticism, Assimilation and the Synoptic Gospels," NTS 26/2 (1980) 231-242; George D. Kilpatrick, "Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament," New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger (eds. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) 349-360; and J. M. Ross, "Some Unnoticed Points in the Text of the New Testament," NovT 25/1 (1983) 59-72.

<sup>152</sup>Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism" 197; also, Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism" 215.



eclecticism.<sup>153</sup> Internal evidence is considered to the total exclusion of external evidence. The age and number of MSS that support a reading and the MS itself or the text-type it contains are not considered when trying to find the original text. The original reading is assumed to be in existence in a known MS, therefore, conjectural emendation is unnecessary.<sup>154</sup> An original reading can be in either only one extant MS or in many, in an early MS, or a late one.<sup>155</sup> Consequently, thoroughgoing eclectics want complete collations of all MSS.<sup>156</sup>

Questions concerning which variant best accounts for the rise of the other variants, which readings most likely were changed by the copyists, and which reading seems most like the

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<sup>153</sup>Elliott, "In Defence of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism" 95-115. It should be noted that Elliott's internal criteria are the same as Westcott and Hort's "Internal Evidence of Readings" mentioned above.

<sup>154</sup>Kilpatrick says this "rule of thumb" that the original reading does exist somewhere is, for thoroughgoing eclectics, given as a conclusion which is "probable and as one which cannot be proved from the knowledge we have" (Kilpatrick, "Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament" 349). Arguments favoring the use of conjectural emendation in NT textual criticism may be found in John Strugnell, "A Plea for Conjectural Emendation in the New Testament, With a Coda on 1 Cor 4:6," *CBO* 36/4 (1974) 543-558. For a review of contemporary use of conjectural emendation, see Erroll F. Rhodes, "Conjectural Emendation in Modern Translations," *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* (eds. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) 361-374.

<sup>155</sup>Elliott, "In Defense of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism" 98-103.

<sup>156</sup>Elliott, "Can We Recover the Original New Testament?" 347-348, 352. Osburn says this is currently being done for the book of Acts (Carroll D. Osburn, "The Search for the Original Text of Acts--The International Project on the Text of Acts," *JSNT* 44 (1991) 39-55.

author's general style<sup>157</sup> (all internal criteria) are asked of every variation to the exclusion of questions of "weight, provenance, and alleged authoritativeness of the MSS supporting each variant. . . ."<sup>158</sup> In short, Elliott rejects what he calls the cult of the best MSS for internal criteria.<sup>159</sup> He wants to present decisive internal evidence so that the external evidence is subservient to it. Each variant is treated individually, separately from external considerations.

The major weaknesses of thoroughgoing eclecticism are two. First, its denial of any good MS is an unrealistic view of textual witnesses. Contemporary text-critical methodology proves that some MSS are better than others.<sup>160</sup> The second major weakness of thoroughgoing eclecticism is its subjectivity. Without external MS considerations, there is no objective control.<sup>161</sup> When internal considerations do not satisfy the textual critic and he cannot turn to external evidence for

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<sup>157</sup>For a thorough critique of author's style as a criterion for textual criticism, see J. H. Petzer, "Author's Style and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," Neot 24/2 (1990) 185-197.

<sup>158</sup>Elliott, "In Defense of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism" 96.

<sup>159</sup>Elliott, "Can We Recover the Original New Testament?" 349. This phrase may be seen in idem, "The United Bible Societies Greek New Testament: An Evaluation," NovT 15/4 (1973) 281, 292.

<sup>160</sup>Proof of this may be seen in Zuntz, The Text of the Epistles, and Fee, "P<sup>75</sup>, P<sup>66</sup>, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria."

<sup>161</sup>For the best and most complete analysis of the problems of this position, see Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism--Which?" 174-197. Elliott's article "In Defence of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism" was written in response to this article by Fee and others who have written against Elliott's method of textual criticism.

assistance, the decision must be made according to personal preference, not objectively verifiable data.

Reasoned Eclecticism. For the reasoned eclectic (also called rational eclectics), every area of text-critical studies plays an important role in learning which variation-unit is most likely original.<sup>162</sup> Intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities and the date and nature of external evidence all contribute to support a particular reading. As mentioned above, the major division between thoroughgoing eclecticism and reasoned eclecticism is the weight given to external evidence in textual decisions.<sup>163</sup> Rational eclectics like Fee begin with internal considerations which include intrinsic (what the author probably wrote following his style and vocabulary) and transcriptional (scribal patterns and mistakes, interpolations, conflation) possibilities.<sup>164</sup> When answers to these questions are indecisive, appeals are then made to the relative value of the MSS (external evidence). MSS that are the earliest and consistently have the original readings are considered the best. When these MSS have the reading which best accounts for the rise

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<sup>162</sup>This discussion of reasoned eclecticism is a summary of Epp, Fee, and Metzger. Epp calls the reasoned eclectic an eclectic generalist (Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism" 245-248). Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism--Which?" 174-197; and Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 209-219.

<sup>163</sup>For a good treatment of the need for external evidence in textual criticism, see Ernest C. Colwell, "External Evidence and New Testament Textual Criticism," Studies and Documents XXIX: Studies in the History and Text of the New Testament in Honor of Kenneth Willis Clark (eds. Boyd L. Daniels and M. Jack Suggs; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1967) 1-12.

<sup>164</sup>Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism--Which?" 197.

of the others, this reading is viewed as most likely the original over readings that internally are also possible but which are found in either late or normally not trustworthy MSS.

Reasoned eclectics like Metzger begin with external evidence, follow with transcriptional probabilities and finally, intrinsic probabilities. When there is no apparent resolution of the problem and the two types of evidence do not agree, then, the weight of external evidence is generally trusted.<sup>165</sup>

The weakness of rational eclecticism is that the inclusion of external evidence does not always satisfy textual questions either. Sometimes external evidence contradicts internal considerations. If this happens, the textual critic must decide which is going to be determinative, and according to Epp, this is not immediately clear to modern textual critics.<sup>166</sup> Epp calls this the "crisis of criteria" and points out that in reality textual critics have reached no consensus on the criteria for originality of readings.<sup>167</sup> Metzger's Textual Commentary with its record of decisions bears this out.<sup>168</sup> There is no single criterion or list of criteria that will satisfy many textual problems facing the NT scholar today.

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<sup>165</sup> Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 209-219. An example of this approach may be seen in Juan B. Cortes, "The Greek Text of Luke 18:14a: A Contribution to the Method of Reasoned Eclecticism," CBO 46/2 (1984) 255-273.

<sup>166</sup> Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism" 242.

<sup>167</sup> Epp, "Textual Criticism" 101-103.

<sup>168</sup> Metzger expresses this same idea (Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 218-219).

Even with its problems, rational eclecticism is the most commonly held method of textual criticism. Proponents believe it is right because it considers both internal and external factors.<sup>169</sup> While some of its adherents, like Epp, are looking for a new method,<sup>170</sup> and others, like Fee, simply want implementation and refinement of rational eclecticism,<sup>171</sup> it is the one method that considers all the evidence available to the textual critic. Therefore, it is the method that holds the most possibility for locating the original text of the New Testament.

#### The Majority Text Method

The third approach for locating the original reading is advocated mainly by Hodges and is seen in The Greek New Testament

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<sup>169</sup> Metzger writes that "textual criticism . . . demands that each set of variants be evaluated in the light of the fullest consideration of both external and internal probabilities" (Metzger, A Textual Commentary of the Greek New Testament xxxi). Examples of other rational eclecticists are: John Cristopher Thomas, "A Note on the Text of John 13:10," NovT 29/1 (1987) 46-52; Juan B. Cortes, "The Greek Text of Luke 18:14a: A Contribution to the Method of Reasoned Eclecticism," 255-273; Pierson Parker, "Three Variant Readings in Luke-Acts," JBL 83/2 (1964) 165-170; Bart D. Ehrman and Mark A. Plunkett, "The Angel and the Agony: The Textual Problem of Luke 22:43-44" CBQ 45/3 (1983) 401-416; Michael W. Holmes, "The Text of Matthew 5.11," NTS 32/2 (1986) 283-286; David Alan Black, "Jesus on Anger: The Text of Matthew 5:22a Revisited," NovT 30/1 (1988) 1-8; and W. A. Strange, "The Sons of Sceva and the Text of Acts 19:14," JTS 38/1 (1987) 97-106.

<sup>170</sup> For a good critique of this method, see Epp, "The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism" 256-257. Petzer mentions many of the same weaknesses of reasoned eclecticism as Epp (J. H. Petzer, "A Survey of the Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament since UBS<sup>3</sup>," Neot 24/1 (1990) 85-86. Clark also offers a good critique of the eclectic method (Kenneth Willis Clark, "The Effect of Recent Textual Criticism," Kenneth Willis Clark: The Gentile Bias and Other Essays [ed. John L. Sharpe III; Leiden: Brill, 1980] 75-76; and idem, "The Critical Text of the New Testament," Kenneth Willis Clark: The Gentile Bias and Other Essays [Leiden: Brill, 1980] 129).

<sup>171</sup> Fee, "Rigorous or Reasoned?" 197.

According to the Majority Text edited by himself and Farstad.<sup>172</sup>

These writers believe the original is preserved in the majority of MSS by normal transmission of text, not by divine providence.<sup>173</sup> Hodges has worked hard to give his position an identity separate from those who hold to divine preservation of the original text.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup>Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad, The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982).

<sup>173</sup>There is a group of Majority Text advocates which believes that the original text is preserved in the majority of manuscripts by divine providence. For adherents of this view, see Wilbur Norman Pickering, "Contribution of John William Burgon to New Testament Criticism," Th.M. thesis (Dallas Theological Seminary, 1968) reprinted in David Otis Fuller, True or False: The Westcott-Hort Textual Theory Examined (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids International Publications, 1978) 216-305; Donald L. Brake, "The Preservation of the Scriptures," Th.M. thesis (Dallas Theological Seminary: May, 1970) reprinted in edited form in David Otis Fuller, Counterfeit or Genuine? Mark 16? John 8? (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids International Publications, 1978) 177-217; Wilbur N. Pickering, The Identity of the New Testament Text (revised edition; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1980); James A. Borland, "Re-Examining New Testament Textual-Critical Principles and Practices Used to Negate Inerrancy," JETS 25/4 (1982) 499-506; and Arthur L. Farstad, The New Kings James Version in the Great Tradition (Nashville: Nelson, 1989). The fallacies of this position are conclusively answered by Daniel B. Wallace, "Inspiration, Preservation, and New Testament Textual Criticism" 69-102. Also, for the logical inconsistencies of this position, see D. A. Carson, The King James Version Debate: A Plea for Realism (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 55-56. Kilpatrick, a thoroughgoing eclectic, also rejects the notion that some special providence watched over the text to guarantee that certain MSS contain the original wording and asks, "If this were the case, we might wonder why this providence has not exerted itself a little further to ensure that at each point of variation the original reading would be manifest and immediately demonstrable?" (Kilpatrick, "Conjectural Emendation" 350).

<sup>174</sup>There has been considerable confusion at this point, and rightly so for Hodges said in 1971 that the Scripture documents "cannot have had a history wholly like that of secular writings. As they cannot have avoided the attack of supernatural principalities and powers of evil, so they cannot have lacked the superintending providence of the God who authored them" (Zane C. Hodges, "Rationalism and Contemporary New Testament Textual Criticism," BSac 128/509 [1971] 30). Because of statements like this, some writers have understood Hodges to be part of the movement which says God providentially preserved the original in the majority of MSS. Fee mentions Hodges as being in the same camp as the TR advocates (Gordon D. Fee, "Modern Textual Criticism and the



Using human multiplication probabilities, Hodges believes that the presence of many children strongly suggests the presence of many parents. The reason the Byzantine text-type is preserved in the majority of MSS is because the text-type found in the Byzantine MSS has always been in the majority of texts. He finds it mathematically improbable that eighty-percent of extant MSS came from a single fourth-century MS recension as suggested by Westcott and Hort and their followers. Many MSS require many ancestors.<sup>175</sup>

One weakness of this theory of MS multiplication is the absence of early extant MS support. Hodges explains this lack of MSS by appealing to the findings of Lake, Blake, and New. After doing extensive study of MSS in several libraries, they concluded that exemplars were intentionally destroyed after they were copied.<sup>176</sup> Hodges accepts this as a major factor for the

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Revival of the Textus Receptus," JETS 21/1 [1978] 23). Even after Hodges wrote his "Response" article and denied this association, Fee continued to link him with those who believe in supernatural multiplication of the original (Zane C. Hodges, "Modern Textual Criticism and the Majority Text: A Response," JETS 21/2 [1978] 143-145); and Gordon, D. Fee, "Modern Textual Criticism and the Revival of the Textus Receptus: A Rejoinder," JETS 21/2 [1978] 160). In his final answer, Hodges reaffirmed his position as distinct from those with a theological agenda saying he personally believes in a normal transmission of texts (Zane C. Hodges, "Modern Textual Criticism and the Majority Text: A Surrejoinder," JETS 21/2 [1978] 161-164).

<sup>175</sup>Hodges writes, ". . . a majority of extant documents presupposes a majority of ancestral documents at every stage of transmission reaching back. Another way of putting this is that the majority text is a majority text in the surviving documents precisely because it has always been the majority text since the autographs themselves began to be copied" (Hodges, "A Response" 147, 152).

<sup>176</sup>Lake, Blake, and New write: "This collation covers three of the great ancient collections of MSS; and these are not modern conglomerations, brought together from all directions. Many of the MSS, now at Sinai, Patmos, and

absence of extant Byzantine text-type MSS dating before the fourth century.<sup>177</sup> Other factors include the lack of favorable climate to preserve the Byzantine MSS as the Egyptian text-types had in Egypt, and normal use and wear of MSS. Hodges feels the Byzantine texts wore out the earliest because they were used more.

Hodges's methodology for deciding which variant is most likely original has two basic premises. First, those readings with the most MS attestation are considered more probably original. Second, development of a variation unit is followed through a reconstructed history of MSS. He says, "Final decisions about readings ought to be made on the basis of a

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Jerusalem, must be copies written in the scriptoria of these monasteries. We expected to find that a collation covering all the MSS in each library would show many cases of direct copying. But there are practically no cases. What does this mean?

Before answering the question, it may be well to put another. Why are there only a few fragments (even in the two oldest of the monastic collection, Sinai and St. Saba) which come from a date earlier than the 10th century?

There must have been in existence many thousands of manuscripts of the gospels in the great days of Byzantine prosperity, between the fourth and the tenth centuries. There is now extant a pitifully small number. Moreover, the amount of direct genealogy which has been detected in extant codices is almost negligible. Nor are many known MSS sister codices. The Ferrar group and family I are the only reported cases of the repeated copying of a single archetype, and even for the Ferrar group there were probably two archetypes rather than one. . . . There are cognate groups--families of distant cousins--but the manuscripts which we have are almost all orphan children without brothers or sisters.

Taking this fact into consideration along with the negative result of our collation of MSS at Sinai, Patmos, and Jerusalem, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the scribes usually destroyed their exemplars when they had copied the sacred books" (K. Lake, R. P. Blake, and Silva New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," *HTR* 21 [1928] 348-349).

<sup>177</sup>Hodges, "A Response" 154-155.



reconstruction of their history in the MS tradition."<sup>178</sup> This was, of course, Hort's third step.

Though much has been written concerning this modern revival of the majority text, most textual critics reject it for several reasons. Wallace has shown that Hodges violates both of his stated premises in The Greek New Testament according to the Majority Text.<sup>179</sup> The readings placed in the text by Hodges are supported by a minority of MSS in fifteen of thirty instances of variant readings in the pericope adulterae (John 7:53-8:11) alone. In Revelation, one hundred and fifty-two minority text readings are adopted based on the evidence of his proposed stemma. This violates his first premise.

The second premise is violated when the genealogical tree is built on readings viewed as superior.<sup>180</sup> When internal criteria alone are used to decide which readings are best, subjectivity reigns.

Hodges, then, has invalidated both premises and constructed a critical text instead of the text present in most extant MSS as the title suggests. For these and other reasons, most modern textual critics reject the Majority Text method for locating the

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<sup>178</sup>Hodges-Farstad, The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text xi-xii.

<sup>179</sup>Daniel B. Wallace, "Some Second Thoughts on the Majority Text," BSac 146/583 (1989) 270-290.

<sup>180</sup>When describing how to build a stemma, Hodges writes that "there ought to be some readings treated as original which are noticeably superior to their rivals" (Hodges and Farstad, The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text xxv).

original text in favor of reasoned eclecticism.<sup>181</sup>

### Summary

Contemporary textual criticism is the result of continuing advancement and refinement of nineteenth-century methodologies for studying both external and internal evidence of MSS. Souter's extensive evidence from the Church Fathers and Gregory's reactionary development of MS nomenclature against von Soden's system set the stage early in the twentieth century for continued advancement and refinement of nineteenth-century conclusions. Greek New Testaments such as Weymouth's and Nestle's were edited not to set forth the editor's own text, but to make the conclusions of nineteenth-century scholarship available. Scholarly acceptance of this approach is seen in the Nestle text, now in its twenty-sixth edition, that has become the most popular hand-held Greek New Testament of all printed editions available today.

Reconstructing the history of the text of the Bible also claimed the attention of twentieth-century textual critics from von Soden's monumental work to the current Comprehensive Profile Method. Aland's One Thousand Readings Method has been influential mainly because of his input into the Nestle-Aland

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<sup>181</sup>Other articles which critique this approach are: Daniel B. Wallace, "The Majority Text and the Original Text: Are They Identical?" BSac 148/590 (1991) 151-169; Kurt Aland, "The Text of the Church" 131-144; Carroll D. Osburn, "The Text of the Pauline Epistles in Hippolytus of Rome," SecCent 2/2 (1982) 97-124 (Osburn demonstrates that Hippolytus's text is not the Byzantine text-type as claimed by some Majority Text advocates such as Pickering in The Identity of the New Testament Text 64-75); and Marchant A. King, "Should Conservatives Abandon Textual Criticism?" BSac 130/517 (1973) 35-40.

edition of the Greek New Testament. However, most scholarship discounts his approach as highly subjective because it is founded on circular reasoning. Most contemporary studies concerning MS histories and MS relationships are being done using some form of the Claremont Profile Method or Ehrman's later development of that method, the Comprehensive Profile Method.

Finally, textual critics continue to critique the canons of criticism developed over the previous centuries. A total dependance on internal criteria as suggested by thoroughgoing eclectics and an over-dependance on the evidence of extant MSS as seen in the Majority Text Method is rejected by most textual critics today in favor of rational eclecticism which seeks to balance internal and external criteria. Rational eclectics consider both evidence essential for deciding which variant is the original reading.

### Conclusion

The science of studying New Testament Greek MSS has a long and fruitful history. From the first recorded text-critical efforts found in second- and third-century writers such as Theodotus, Origen, and Tertullian, MS variants are shown not only to exist but also to attract the attention of NT scholarship of that early era. Evidence of continued interest is seen in the writings of Augustine and Jerome.

The language change in the church from Greek to the vernacular languages of the people groups converted to Christianity insured that work on Greek MSS was largely limited

to Greek-speaking enclaves such as those in Southern Italy. An apparent decline in Greek MS production is evident from the fifth to the eighth centuries when the Greek minuscule script was developed to facilitate faster writing. Limited interest in maintaining a pure text continued and is evident in the work done on codex Sinaiticus in the early Middle Ages.

With the invention of printing (ca. 1450), mass production of a Greek text was made possible. The desire for monetary gain by a Basel publisher led to the published edition of the Greek NT which became accepted in the church as equivalent to the original text. Erasmus, Stephanus, Beza, and the Elzevir brothers along with the translation of the KJV of 1611 all contributed to the popularizing of this text which became the text received by all, the TR.

The discovery and collation of older and better MSS prompted scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to begin questioning and challenging the TR. Expanded collations and formation of critical apparatuses by men like Walton, Fell, and Mill, the discovery of text-types by men like Bengel, Semler, and the development and printing of canons of criticism by men like Griesbach laid the foundation for continued scholarly challenge to the priority of the TR.

The nineteenth century saw the demolition of the TR if not in reality, at least in theory. Lachmann proved that the text used by the church in the fourth century was not the text-type of the TR. Tischendorf, with his amazing discoveries and

collations, produced a text much like Lachmann's and provided much of the necessary MS material essential to the theoretical advances of Westcott and Hort. Using collations done by others, Westcott and Hort developed a theory of text transmission, their genealogical method, which they felt proved the TR represented a text-type which resulted from a deliberate Syriac revision. They also decided that the neutral text-type was the purest of the four known text-types, being the one most free from interpolation. Westcott and Hort also developed and articulated an extensive methodology for locating original readings using both internal and external evidence. Both evidences were necessary in Westcott and Hort's procedure, the external evidence serving as a guide for and a protector against the subjectivity of internal evidence. The impact of their work was so extensive that all subsequent textual criticism has to interact continually with their conclusions.

Twentieth-century textual criticism built on the conclusions of nineteenth-century scholarship. Several editions of the Greek NT were published, but the most popular was the one that encapsulated the conclusions of nineteenth-century scholarship. This illustrates the continuing impact of Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort.

One area of concern for twentieth-century textual criticism has been the history of MS transmission. This is seen in von Soden's work on minuscule MSS and on Colwell's work to develop his Method of Multiple Readings. This interest in MS

relationships and the historical development of text-types also led to a further development of Colwell's Method of Multiple Readings into the Claremont Profile Method. Because of the CPM's limited text base, it was further developed by its critics into the Comprehensive Profile Method. Use of these methods allows the textual critic to obtain more closely an accurate and objective determination and demonstration of MS relationships.

The proper use of external and internal criteria in locating the original reading is another area of concern for twentieth-century textual criticism. Strong disagreements have surfaced concerning the importance of external evidence. Thoroughgoing eclectics say it is not needed at all. Majority text advocates rely heavily on external evidence, essentially counting MSS to bolster their claims of originality for the Byzantine text-type (Hort's Syrian text, von Soden's Koine text). Rational eclectics, who believe that external evidence should be used with internal evidence, differ among themselves by not agreeing on where to consider external evidence in their actual practice of textual criticism. Fee and Metzger illustrate this. Even with its problems, however, most textual critics today are rational eclectics.

In brief, this historical overview has shown that modern textual criticism is the result of nearly nineteen centuries of textual work. As a science it has developed from the infantile interest of the second century to the high level of scholarly concern today. Thorough understanding of the contemporary issues

of this science requires familiarity with the issues of the past and the answers produced by former textual critics. Through continued refinement of past and present textual critical methodology, a more accurate assessment of the original text of the NT can be obtained.

As seen in this chapter, according to Westcott and Hort and many rational eclectics today, foundational to the study of individual variants is the study of individual MSS. It has been generally accepted since Westcott and Hort that knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings. In keeping with this, the remainder of this study will concentrate on identifying the characteristics and text-type of an unpublished yet important manuscript.

CHAPTER II  
CODICOLOGICAL AND PALEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION  
OF DUKE MS. GK. 1

Introduction

In the previous chapter a survey of the history of textual criticism was presented. At the heart of the development of this field of study was the discovery of MSS older and different from those which formed the TR. Each new discovery of another MS required specific investigation to learn how the new MS would contribute to the present understanding of the NT text.

In this chapter Duke MS. GK. 1 is introduced and a portion of it examined. Though this MS includes all twenty-seven books of the NT, only representative folios are examined. A general description of the codex is followed by a paleographical study of these folios. Folios 182<sup>r</sup> to 184<sup>r</sup> contain 1 Peter, the collation of which is the topic of the next chapter. Folio 62<sup>r</sup> is the beginning of Luke's Gospel, f. 88<sup>r</sup> is the beginning of John's Gospel, and f. 101<sup>r</sup> contains John 14:31-15:24. These folios serve as the objects of this study to determine the general codicological and paleographical characteristics of this manuscript. The chapter concludes with a suggested date for this



manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

### Manuscript History and Present Identification

On February 19, 1931, B. Harvie Branscomb, a professor in Duke Divinity School, purchased a manuscript of the entire NT from the shop of Täuber and Weil in Munich, Germany. After its purchase, it became known as Duke MS. GK. 1.<sup>2</sup> Kenneth Willis Clark came to teach at Duke Divinity School and began to study this manuscript the same year. He discovered that the manuscript had been seen by Kirsopp Lake as early as 1902 in the Monastery of the Twenty Palms at Kosinitza in Northern Greece where it was manuscript 60 in that library.<sup>3</sup>

Duke 1 is number 1780 in the Gregory-Aland catalogue and 8412 in von Soden's system of manuscript denotation.<sup>4</sup> It is one

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<sup>1</sup>Copies of the folios examined in this thesis are included in Appendix VI.

<sup>2</sup>Durham, N.C. Duke. MS. GK. 1. Hereafter Duke 1. The description of this MS as described in the Duke Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts is included in Appendix III of this thesis.

<sup>3</sup>John L. Sharpe III, "The Kenneth Willis Clark Collection of Greek Manuscripts," Library Notes 51, 52 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Library, 1985) 51. Nothing more is known of the background of Duke 1. John L. Sharpe III, Academic Librarian for Research Affairs at Duke University, suggests that based on paleography and ornamentation it originated in one of the monasteries of Southern Italy. The plausibility of this suggestion is evident from the manuscript activity known to characterize this area. See the four article series by Lake dealing with monasteries in south Italy and the manuscripts they produced (Kirsopp Lake, "The Greek Monasteries in South Italy: I," JTS 4 [1902-3] 345-368, 517-543; 5 [1902-3] 22-41, 189-202). The presence of interlace, a form of Byzantine artwork found in this manuscript, also points to a possible origin in Southern Italy. For a more complete discussion, see the excellent study by M. Alison Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament: A Study in Chronology," ArtBul 16/1 (1934) 51.

<sup>4</sup>Kurt Aland, Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments 1: Gesamtübersicht (ANTF 1; Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1963).

of only fifty-eight known manuscripts of the entire Greek New Testament (all twenty-seven books) and is in remarkably good condition.<sup>5</sup>

### Binding Description<sup>6</sup>

The description of the upper cover is as follows: at the fore edge the board measures 301 mm. from head to tail and is 13 mm. thick; the length of the gutter edge including the endband measures 318 mm.; at the tail it measures 215 mm. from the spine to the fore edge. X-rays of the board reveal six holes along the gutter edge drilled toward the fore edge. Each hole enters the

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<sup>5</sup>In 1981, Metzger counted thirty-four minuscules and Duke 1 is not included in his list of MSS counted (Bruce M. Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography [New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981] 54-55). In 1992 he reports fifty-eight minuscule MSS which contain the entire NT, but gives no list of the MSS he counted (idem, The Text of the New Testament (3d enlarged ed.; Oxford: University Press, 1992) 263. It is uncertain whether Metzger was aware of Duke 1.

<sup>6</sup>Current codicological methodology may be seen in the journal Codicologica beginning 1976 to the present. Other sources are: John L. Sharpe III, "The Dakhleh Tablets and Some Codicological Considerations," Bibliologia 12 (1992) 127-148; Hans Quecke, Das Lukasevangelium sa'idisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv. Nr. 181 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569 (Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1977); and Hans Martin Schenke, Das Matthaeus-Evangelium in mittel ägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Scheide), "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," 127 (Berlin, 1981) 2-3. Though presented in a different order, chapters Two and Three of this study follow the descriptive method set forth in Bentley Layton, Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906 (London: The British Library, 1987). According to Layton's work, "each catalogue entry has thirteen parts: I. Short Title Entry; II. Physical Description of the MS; III. Related Fragments; IV. Analysis of Contents; V. Colophons; VI. Corrections, Marginal Apparatus, Ancient Annotations; VII. Structure of the MS (Collation); VIII. Writing Materials; IX. Layout of Text; X. Script; XI. Decoration; XII. Present Binding (if in boards); XIII. Modern History of the MS (ibid. LIV). Each of these subjects is discussed in the present study with the exception of numbers III and V.

board at the center of the board edge at the gutter and is angled to emerge on the inside surface of the board at approximately 25.5 mm. from the gutter. At the point where the tunnel emerges on the inside of the board, another hole is drilled through the board (i.e., the board of the cover) from the inside to the outside of the cover. These holes are spaced at intervals (measuring from the head) of 23 mm., 52 mm., 117 mm., 188 mm., 255 mm., and 279 mm. respectively along the gutter edge.

To prepare the board for the attachment of the signatures, each board is "bridled" (i.e., threads are laced through holes in the boards providing a place of attachment for the thread). One half of the total number of signatures will be sown by linkstitch to one cover and the remaining half to the other cover. The board attachment thread follows a path from the gutter edge of the board to the point where it emerges on the inside of the board. At this point it is passed to the outside of the board (through the hole drilled 25.5 mm. from the gutter). The thread runs along the outside of the board through a shallow channel to the point at the gutter where it entered the board and is looped a few times (running from the gutter to the hole through the thickness of the cover) before being routed from the hole through the thickness of the board to the next board attachment station (at the gutter) to begin the next loop.<sup>7</sup> These somewhat loose loops of threads together form a loop at the gutter edge of the

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<sup>7</sup>The number of loops is unknown because the cover obscures the board attachments.

board which serves as the anchor point for the threads used to attach the first and subsequent signatures to the cover.

The lower board has the same hole pattern as the upper board. The only major difference is that on the fore edge of the lower board two triple braided tie clasps have been attached. Though the clasps themselves are missing, the tie clasp anchorages for each tie clasp are preserved on the inside of the board.

When the book was put together, the binder attached the first half of the signatures to the upper board and the last half to the lower board, and then both halves were sewn together at the spine.<sup>8</sup> There are twenty-five signatures in this manuscript each with eight leaves. All two hundred original folios are present. The manuscript is not made of fine parchment: it is thick and sometimes stiff and the edges of the leaves somewhat irregular.

After the signatures were sewn and the two halves joined, a linen cloth was then pasted over the spine, extending over the outer surface of the boards as revealed by X-rays. Next the primary and secondary endbands were attached.

After the spine liner was placed over the spine and onto the upper and lower board, the binder worked the primary endband at both the head and tail, beginning on the edge of the board, continuing across the top of the head and tail and finishing off on the other cover. After the

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<sup>8</sup>Again, since the cover is still intact, this part of the process must be assumed. However this was the usual way Byzantine books were assembled (John L. Sharpe III, interview by author, 12 December 1991). In keeping with what can be seen in this manuscript, there is no reason to assume anything different was done in assembling Duke 1.

primary endband was attached to the covers and the signatures of the text block, the secondary endband was then created by wrapping a warp around the primary endband and then weaving (in a variety of patterns) a design through the warp threads to create a kind of chevron effect using several colors of silk threads. Simply put, the secondary endband is woven over a warp which is wrapped around the primary endband. Then the colored silk threads are drawn through and over the supplementary warp that has been applied to the primary endband.

Fore edge clasps were then attached by being laced through the fore edge of the lower cover and clasping onto pins which were inserted into the fore edge of the upper cover. These are present but have been pushed into the fore edge of the board. The leather cover was then stretched over and pasted to the boards. The decorative tooling of the leather cover was the final step.

The first twenty-five folios contain among other entries, the Synaxarion (ff. 2<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>), the Menologion (ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>), the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus (ff. 5<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>), and the Eusebian canon tables (ff. 6<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>).<sup>10</sup> The order of the books for Duke 1 is Matthew through Acts, James, the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, 1 and

<sup>9</sup>John L. Sharpe III, personal correspondence with the author, 10 January 1992.

<sup>10</sup>The Synaxarion (moveable feasts) is a lectionary of readings for the year which began at Easter and included readings for Saturdays and Sundays. In some instances, schedules were even given for every day of the week. The Menologion readings (the fixed celebrations) start on the first day of September, the beginning of the year, with set readings for feast days, saints' days, etc. (Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 31). One example of a reading marker is at f. 183<sup>r</sup>, line 30 which reads:

ΤΗ Γ ΤΗC ΑΓ ΕΥ. καὶ ἡ ἐπιστ πε ΤΣ'. This marks the reading for the third day (Γ) of the thirty-third week (ΑΓ). For a good overview of the historical development of lectionaries, see John Reumann, "A History of Lectionaries: From the Synagogue at Nazareth to Post-Vatican II," Int 31/2 (1977) 116-130.

2 Peter, 1, 2, 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. Each book was marked with a fore edge marker which was a piece of sewing thread looped through the fore edge of the leaf and tied off with a length of thread left hanging to identify the place. The holes for these fore edge markers are visible though fragments of some remain. The scribe has numbered the signatures in Greek; a modern hand has provided foliation in Arabic numbers.

### Paleographical Description

#### General Description of Duke MS. GK. 1

The collation and paleographical study for this work was done with folios 62<sup>r</sup>, 88<sup>r</sup>, 101<sup>r</sup>, and 182<sup>r</sup> to 184<sup>r</sup>, the latter two being the beginning and ending of 1 Peter.<sup>11</sup> Measurements were taken from f. 185. Writing is on both sides of the parchment, the arrangement being Hair-Hair, Flesh-Flesh. The recto of the first folio of the signature is flesh.<sup>12</sup> Artful ornamentation is present on ff. 62<sup>r</sup> and 88<sup>r</sup> where the scribe used brown (two shades, one darker than the other), red and blue ink colors. Ornamental penwork above the book titles and enlarged uncial letters for the titles themselves and for the first letter of the

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<sup>11</sup>For a general description of eight other minuscule codices, see Kenneth W. Clark, Eight American Praxapostoloi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941) 6-38.

<sup>12</sup>This arrangement of Duke 1 is not unusual, for "A quire in a Greek manuscript of respectable family consists . . . of four double leaves or eight single leaves. . . . The eight leaves must begin with a flesh side and end with a flesh side, and there must be two flesh sides in the middle of the quire, and every two pages that open out together must both be flesh sides or both be hair sides." The hair side is darker, rougher, and absorbs ink more thoroughly than the flesh (Casper René Gregory, Canon and Text of the New Testament [New York: Scribner's, 1912] 323-324).



books are present throughout.<sup>13</sup> The rubrics are in red semi-uncials. The brown ink is strong and very legible in the text and the catenae.<sup>14</sup>

Overall, f. 185 measures 30 cm. (H) (at the gutter edge) and 22 cm. (W) (at the tail).<sup>15</sup> Ruling for the equipment was included when the page was laid out; the measurements are as

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<sup>13</sup>The opening letter for both Luke and John is an epsilon. The top line of this epsilon in Luke is a blue floral ornament; the middle line (parchment color) is a hand; the bottom line is a blue bird; the left vertical line is curved with the bottom resting on a heart-shaped finial. This vertical line is red and the finial is red and blue.

The opening epsilon in John's Gospel is a snake. The top line is a human hand turned down, the middle line is a serpent's head, and the bottom line is another serpent's head turned up. The left side of the epsilon is a snake body. At a point on the bottom line of the epsilon close to the back line, the top of another snake head facing out toward the reader is pictured biting the lower line snake. The snake is colored red and blue.

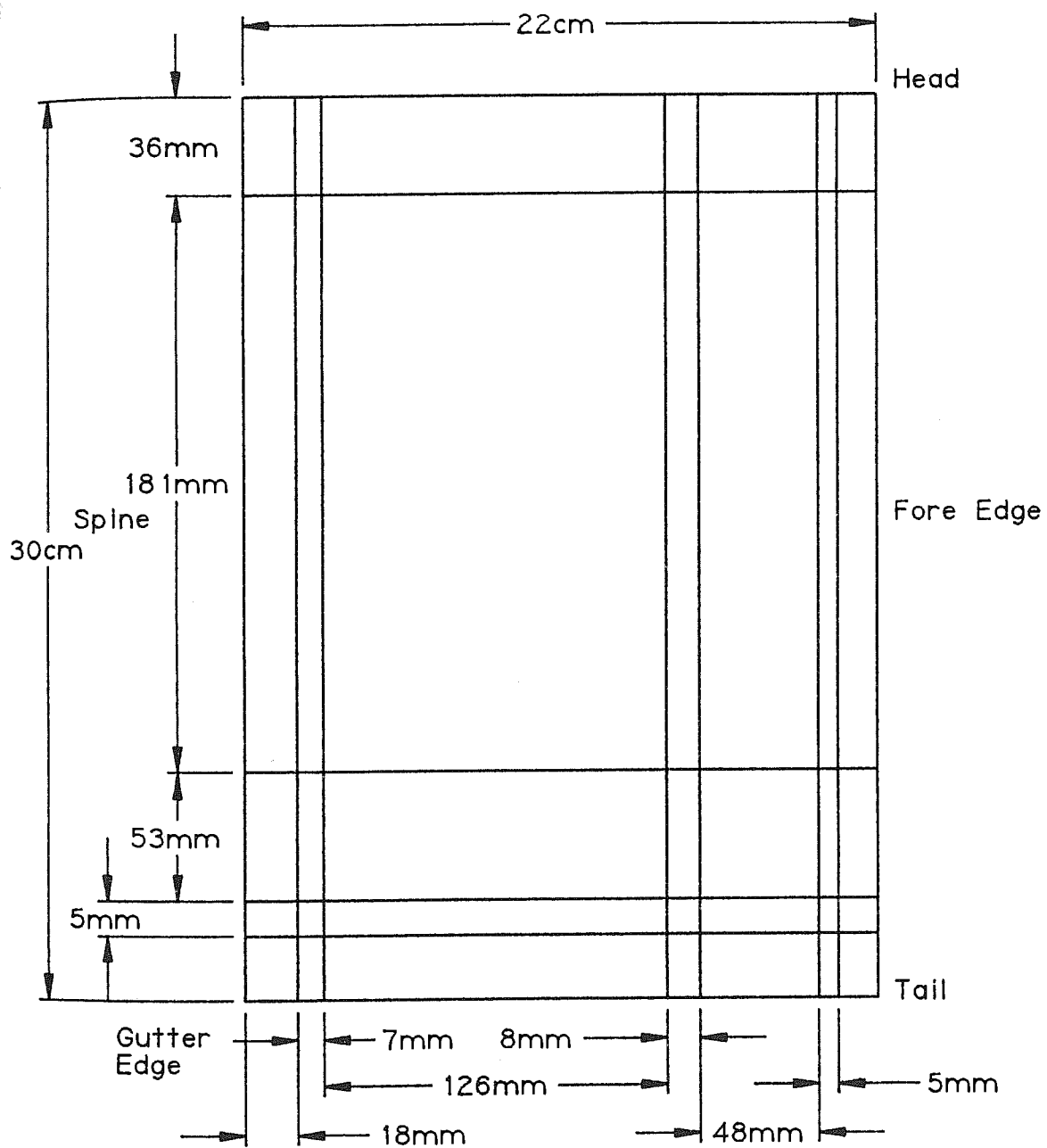
For an excellent study of the artwork in Byzantine manuscripts including twenty-five plates of examples, see Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament" 43-101. Frantz says drawings of animals and birds are uncommon and date around the twelfth century (ibid. 61).

<sup>14</sup>For further study of early writing materials, scribal habits, and book making, the following sources may be consulted with profit. Pliny's Natural History: An Account by a Roman of What Romans Knew and Did and Valued (ed. Loyd Haberly; New York: Frederick Ungar, 1957) 78-84; Kenneth W. Clark, "The Posture of the Ancient Scribe," BA 26/2 (1963) 63-72; J. Harold Greenlee, Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 18-26; idem, Scribes, Scrolls, and Scripture: A Student's Guide to New Testament Textual Criticism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985); Frederic G. Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible (3d edition revised and augmented by A. W. Adams; London: Duckworth, 1975) 6-11; Vincent Taylor, The Text of the New Testament: A Short Introduction (2d edition; New York: St Martin's, 1963) 8-23; Gregory, Canon and Text of the New Testament 301-324; Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, The Birth of the Codex (London: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 1987); C. C. McCown, "The Earliest Christian Books," BA 6/2 (1943) 21-31; Colin H. Roberts, "Books in the Graeco-Roman World and in the New Testament," The Cambridge History of the Bible I (eds. P. Q. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; Cambridge: University Press, 1970) 48-66; Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 260-261; and T. C. Skeat, "'Especially the Parchments': A Note on 2 Timothy iv.13," JTS 30/1 (1979) 173-177. For a complete discussion of the papyrus plant and its uses, see Naphtali Lewis, Papyrus in Classical Antiquity (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974).

<sup>15</sup>For a drawing of this folio layout see Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

F. 185





follows: measuring across the leaf from the gutter margin to the first vertical rule is 18 mm. (W). Measuring from this ruling line at 18 mm. from the gutter, the scribe has provided an additional width of 7 mm. (or 25 mm. from the gutter edge) for capital letters. The writing area begins at this second ruled line and is 126 mm. (W), followed by an 8 mm. space which marks the borders for the verso capitals, a 48 mm. space for commentary, a 5 mm. open space, and a space of 8 mm. to the fore edge. The 5 mm. space provided marginal space for rubrics and canon table numbers. Where the 5 mm. horizontal space and the 8 mm. vertical space intersect at the tail section, f. 186<sup>r</sup> has the signature number ια (eleven) in carmine color.<sup>16</sup>

From the top to the bottom of the leaf, the measurements are as follows: From the edge of the leaf at the head to the first ruled line is 35 mm.; from the first ruled line to the bottom of the text space is 191 mm.; from the bottom of the text to the next ruled line is 53 mm.; and 5 mm. below this line is the final ruled line after which is a 16 mm. space to the tail edge of the page.<sup>17</sup> There are forty-four ruled lines in the text section.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>This manuscript has a double numbering sequence. The scribe's first sequence goes through ten, i.e. the first ten signatures number is from α (alpha) through ι (iota). The scribe's second sequence also begins with α at the Prologue to the Acts of the Apostles at f. 106<sup>r</sup>. The first folio of signature ια (eleven) contains the ending of 2 Peter and the hypothesis (ὑπόθεσις) for 1 John.

<sup>17</sup>This ruling form area is similar to Lake I, 51a in Kirsopp and Silva Lake, Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200 A.D. (Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera, First Series, Parts I-X; Boston, 1934-1939); Index Volume (ed. Silva Lake; Boston, 1945) xxxv + 185pp.

The hair side of the parchment has a yellowish tone and the flesh side has a cream tone. Folio thickness measures approximately .19 mm.<sup>19</sup> The folio has been ruled with a dry stylus on the hair side.<sup>20</sup>

The margins have catenae<sup>21</sup> on three sides of the single column of text, with a varying number of lines.<sup>22</sup> The writing of the catenae is in a smaller hand than that of the scripture

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<sup>18</sup>While this folio has forty-four lines of text, several others within the vicinity of this folio have forty-three lines of text.

<sup>19</sup>The thickness of parchment depends upon the age of the animal. The younger the skin, the thinner it is. The scrapers of the workmen can only go so deep. If they go too deep, the skin is spoiled. So age, not workmanship, determines the thickness of parchment (Gregory, Canon and Text of the New Testament 325).

<sup>20</sup>Ruling is almost always done on the harder surface of the skin which is the hair side. The groove, then, is on the hair side and the ridge is on the flesh side (Edward Maunde Thompson, An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography [Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912] 54, 55).

<sup>21</sup>These catenae were written by Theophylact (born around the middle of 11th century; date of death uncertain [Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church 4: Mediaeval Christianity: From Gregory I to Gregory VII, A.D. 590-1073 {Charles Scribner's, 1910, reprint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985} 644]). Theophylact's commentary on 1 Peter may be seen in J. P. Migne, Patrologia Cursus Completus (Vienna: Tomus Tertius, 1864), vol. 125, beginning with column 1189; and in John Anthony Cramer, ed., Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum 8: Catena in Epistolas Catholicas, Accesserunt Oecumenii et Arethae Commentarii in Apocalypsin (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967) 41-83. Cramer's work contains much material not included in Duke 1.

<sup>22</sup>Folio 101<sup>r</sup> (John 14:31ff) has commentary written in a cruciform shape. On the fore edge side, the commentary ceases after thirteen lines. The fourteenth line has one word (κοιλόγον) centered, and is 15 mm. wide. Lines fifteen through eighteen are 43 mm. wide, the normal width of the scholia on this folio, followed by seven lines of 15 mm. width. The next four lines are again 43 mm. wide, followed by three 15 mm. wide, followed by four more lines 43 mm. wide, followed by six lines 15 mm. wide, followed by six lines 43 mm. wide, followed by ten lines each one of which successively tapers in until the last line is 5 mm. wide.

text, though both entries are the work of one hand.<sup>23</sup> Reference marks from the text to the commentary are included. A Greek letter in red ink in the margin beside the text and an identical letter next to the scholia guide the reader to the appropriate comments.

#### Specific Description of ff. 181<sup>v</sup> - 184<sup>r</sup>

1 Peter begins with a short introduction, called the *ὑπόθεσις*,<sup>24</sup> followed by section, or chapter, headings (*κεφάλαια*). According to Metzger, all of the books of the Bible have traditionally been provided with section divisions;<sup>25</sup> however, in this manuscript the Apocalypse of John lacks them. As for 1 Peter these bear the title: *Κεφάλαια πέτρου ἐπιστολῆς α* (f. 181<sup>v</sup>). The scribe used a combination of uncial and minuscule letters to label the section headings. The labels are: α, Β, Γ, Δ (Δ includes five subdivisions), Ε, and a digamma which marks the last section. This last section has three subdivisions.<sup>26</sup>

The scribal hand of the text of the Epistle is a carefully executed minuscule, evidencing a skilled, professional copyist.

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<sup>23</sup>Folios mentioned earlier were considered. Each of these folios appear to be the work of a single hand and have a full text with no lacunae.

<sup>24</sup>This *ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ* can be seen with minor variation in Cramer, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum (vol. 8) 41; also Theophylact, in Migne, vol. 125 column 1189.

<sup>25</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 22-23.

<sup>26</sup>These are the same headings given in Cramer, they are simply labeled differently (Cramer, Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum 41-83). They may also be seen in Migne, vol. 125, columns 1189, 1192.

Letter grouping suggests that letters were copied in groups of three to five, with the norm clearly being four.<sup>27</sup> Several mistakes are noticeable.<sup>28</sup> On f. 181<sup>v</sup>, in the second line of the headings, the letters σωτηρι are left out. The line should read: και περι σωτηριώδους κ.τ.λ. Instead, it reads: και περιώδους. Obviously this haplography was encouraged by homoeoteleuton, where the copyist's eye went from the ρι in περι to the ρι in σωτηριώδους.<sup>29</sup>

On f. 183<sup>r</sup> line 24, a corrector has used an inverted caret to show the insertion of a missing eta.<sup>30</sup> On f. 183<sup>r</sup>, lines 17 and 18, six letters have been erased, and on f. 183<sup>v</sup>, line 22, about half the line has been expunged. On f. 183<sup>r</sup> line 9, a nu has been changed to a sigma by writing the sigma over the nu.

On f. 182<sup>r</sup>, the title written in uncials reads ΠΕΤΡΟΡΕΗΜΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΚΗ· ΩΤΗ. The four letters ΚΘΑΗ are written over the title

<sup>27</sup>This pattern seems to depend somewhat on the familiarity of the passage being copied by the scribe. On f. 88<sup>r</sup>, John 1, for example, there is a change between the first few lines of the text and the last lines of the text. A clearer difference is evident between f. 88<sup>r</sup> and f. 182<sup>r</sup>, 1 Peter 1. The more familiar the scribe was with the text, the more material he copied without taking his eyes off the copied text thus having more letters in each cluster. Errors found in 1 Peter 3:1 and 4:14 support this conjecture. These errors are discussed in Chapter Three of this work, pages 115 and 117.

<sup>28</sup>Errors found in the text of 1 Peter will be discussed more fully in Chapter Three of this thesis.

<sup>29</sup>Variants are also evident between the headings in Duke 1 and those recorded in Migne and Cramer. In Duke 1, Δ's first subsection ends with δοχη with a line over the η. Migne has τῆς διὰ Χριστόν. Cramer omits the article.

<sup>30</sup>Unless otherwise noted, the line number will be from the first line of the text, not from the first line of the commentary which in this manuscript is sometimes above the text.

letters H KH. It is not uncharacteristic for this scribe to omit letters in an ornamental title.

The writing pattern in Duke 1 is generally square in appearance, i.e. it is mostly perpendicular with an occasional slant to the right. Letters are pendant, i.e. they hang from the ruling line with the top of the letter touching this scribed line.<sup>31</sup> The writing is scriptio continua (i.e., words are written continuously, not separated). Words are provided with breathing and accent marks. Both smooth and rough breathing marks are used; for the most part they are round, but occasionally strong square breathing marks are used as seen on f. 183<sup>r</sup>, lines 7, 11, and 23. Acute, grave, and circumflex accent marks are also utilized though sometimes they are found over the consonant instead of over a vowel. At times an accent will give the reader a clue that the last letters are not included as when τετηρημέν is written for τετηρημένην on f. 182<sup>r</sup>, line 8. Diaereses are seen on f. 88<sup>r</sup> lines 27 and 33 (Ἡοῖα). No iota subscripts are found on f. 88<sup>r</sup> or 182<sup>r</sup>. Though there are no occurrences of iota adscript on f. 88<sup>r</sup>, two are found on f. 182<sup>r</sup> (lines 16 and 28). The following punctuation is used: on the line -- . : :- ; and above the line between words the high point . . Space is sometimes left between sentences. Old Testament quotations are

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<sup>31</sup>According to Wilson, this is characteristic of MSS from the tenth century on (Nigel Wilson, Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries: Text [Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1973] 13).

marked with a [ > ] as can be seen on f. 183<sup>r</sup>.<sup>32</sup>

Nomina sacra are used and are listed in Table 1. When the scribe used these abbreviations in the folios examined, he usually placed a horizontal line over the abbreviated word or sacred names to indicate their abbreviated form.

Abbreviations other than the nomina sacra are also common. When a word was longer than space permitted at the end of a line, the copyist either carried the remaining letters to the next line, wrote them in smaller letters above the line, or omitted the letter(s) entirely and showed this with a backward slash (\). Sometimes no mark was used at all. Final sigma and nu are at times omitted with no marking to suggest their absence, while at other times final nu is shown with a horizontal line over the final written letter of the word. Table 2 shows seventeen instances of abbreviation other than nomina sacra that are found in 1 Peter, f. 182<sup>r</sup> - f. 184<sup>r</sup>. In all but two occurrences, these are the final letters of the word. Whereas the two exceptions, δεδοξ μενη and δικ οσωνην in 1:8 and 3:14 respectively, are divided at the end of a line, the other abbreviations are located at several places in the text line. The two exceptions are possible examples of abbreviation by contraction (i.e., "the omission of one or more letters in the central part of the word").<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Wilson calls this mark a diple (ibid. 14. Other markers, such as ϛ (f. 101<sup>r</sup> line 2) are also used, apparently to tie the text to the commentary.

<sup>33</sup>Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible 31.

TABLE 1

Nomina Sacra

1a	2a	3a	1b	2b	3b
ἄνθρωπος	ἄνθρώπου	ἄνθρώπων	αν̄ος	αν̄ου	αν̄ων
θεοῦ	θεῷ		θῡ	θω̄	
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ			ιῡχῡ		
κυρίου			κῡ		
οὐρανοῦ	οὐρανόν		ουν̄ου	όυνον	
πατέρα	πατρός		πᾱ	πρ̄ς	
πνευματικός	πνευματικός	πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ	πνικας	πν̄ς, πν̄ς	πνᾱχῡ
σωτηρίαν			σριάν		
υἱός			ῡις		
Χριστῷ			χω̄		

Note that the lower case letter following the Arabic number in each column is for reference purposes only, e.g., 1a = 1b, 2a = 2b, etc., the "b" columns being the abbreviations found in Duke 1.



TABLE 2

## Abbreviations

	FINAL LETTERS ABBREVIATED	INNER LETTERS OMITTED	HOW ABBREVIATION IS NOTED
f. 182 <sup>r</sup> line 8 1:4 τετηρημέν <sup>7</sup>	ην		mark shaped like an arabic 7 over final letter
f. 182 <sup>r</sup> line 16 1:8 δεδοξ <sup>✓</sup> μένη		ας	mark shaped like a check mark after <u>xi</u> at end of text line
f. 182 <sup>r</sup> line 28 1:15 καλέσαν	τα		<u>tau</u> written above and between final <u>alpha</u> and <u>nu</u>
f. 182 <sup>v</sup> line 4 1:22 ὅμ <sup>˘</sup>	ων		circumflex and two dots above and following the <u>mu</u> .
f. 182 <sup>v</sup> line 24 2:8 προσκόμματ <sup>ο</sup>	ος		superscript <u>omicron</u> for final ος
f. 182 <sup>v</sup> line 30 2:11 ἀπέχεσ <sup>θ</sup>	θαι		raised <u>theta</u> with center extended for θαι
f. 182 <sup>v</sup> line 42 2:18 δεσπότ <sup>ι</sup>	αις		two apostrophes over τ
f. 183 <sup>r</sup> line 6 2:22 ἐποίησ <sup>✓</sup>	εν		checkmark over <u>sigma</u>
f. 183 <sup>r</sup> line 20 3:4 ἐνώπι\	ον		mark like a backslash after <u>iota</u>
f. 183 <sup>r</sup> line 23 3:6 φόβου <sup>μν</sup>	μεναι		<u>mu nu</u> written above βου
f. 183 <sup>r</sup> line 24 3:7 γνωσι <sup>ι</sup>	ν		final <u>nu</u> shown with a line over the <u>iota</u>
f. 183 <sup>r</sup> line 37 3:14 δικ <sup>ο</sup> οσύνην		αι	possible mistake or abbreviation
183 <sup>v</sup> line 6 3:20 κιβω <sup>τ</sup>	του		raised <u>tau</u> followed by a circumflex accent
183 <sup>v</sup> line 14 4:2 χρόν\	ον		mark like a backslash for final ον
183 <sup>v</sup> line 24 4:8 έχον <sup>τ</sup>	τες		enlarged <u>tau</u> over <u>nu</u>
184 <sup>r</sup> line 14 5:8 ἀντίδικ <sup>ο</sup>	ος		superscript <u>omicron</u> for final ος
184 <sup>r</sup> line 16 5:9 τ <sup>˘</sup>	ων		circumflex accent with a dot over the <u>tau</u>



### Dating the Hand of Duke MS. GK. 1

The characteristic letter forms used by the scribe of Duke 1 are shown in Table 3.<sup>34</sup> The letter forms are clearly those of the book hand of the middle ages.<sup>35</sup> However, specific dating of manuscripts from this period is, as Colwell states, a well-known difficulty.<sup>36</sup> Lake has assisted the efforts of paleographers greatly by providing a compilation of dated manuscripts to the year AD 1200.<sup>37</sup> A comparison of Duke 1 with handwriting

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<sup>34</sup>Listing MS letter forms is commonplace in paleographical studies. For an example of this, see Young Kyu Kim, "Palaeographical Dating of P<sup>46</sup> to the Late First Century," Bib 69/2 (1988) 248-257.

<sup>35</sup>Hanson says a dating technique consisting of three steps has developed from the work of several paleographers. There are: "1. Tracing out the letter forms from a given corpus of material, paying heed not only to the shape of each letter but also to relative size and to the angle at which each one is 'hung' from the line. . . . 2. The laying out of similar lines of script from other materials--of known date if possible--from both prior to and after the time of the script concerned in order to see where the script best fits in the evolutionary scheme. 3. Paying most careful attention to letter forms that were obviously in transition at the time of the material concerned in order to calculate as precisely as possible where it is to be placed chronologically (Richard Simon Hanson, "Ancient Scribes and Scripts and the Clues They Leave," BA 48 (1985) 83-84.

<sup>36</sup>Colwell writes: "This may be somewhat strongly stated, but it is not too much to say that it is almost impossible to place a manuscript within narrow limits between 1050 and 1350 A.D.

The conservatism of the Byzantine minuscule was strongest in biblical manuscripts. The use of the uncial script in lectionaries until the end of the tenth century is a well-known example of this biblical conservatism. Here, more than in any other Byzantine area, questions as to date are hard to answer" (Ernest C. Colwell, "Some Criteria for Dating Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts," Appendix in The Four Gospels of Karahissar, Vol I [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936] 225).

Metzger expresses this same sentiment (Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible 50).

<sup>37</sup>Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, Dated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1200 A.D. Also see William Henry Paine Hatch, Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

Table 3  
Letter Forms of Duke 1

α	a a a
β	u
γ	γ γ
δ	Δ δ
ε	Ε Ε ε
ζ	ζ ζ
η	η η η η
θ	θ θ θ
ι	ι
κ	κ κ
λ	λ λ
μ	μ
ν	ν η η
ξ	ξ ξ ξ
ο	ο
π	π ω
ρ	ρ ρ
σ	σ σ
τ	τ τ
υ	υ υ
φ	φ φ φ
χ	χ χ
ψ	ψ ψ
ω	ω ω ω ω

characteristics seen in these dated manuscripts suggests that Duke 1 is possibly a mid eleventh-century to late twelfth-century manuscript. The characteristics of the individual letters α (α), δ (Δ), θ (Θ), κ (κ), ξ (ξ), and φ (φ), and the ligatures ει (ει, εϛ), δεξ (δεξ), ην (ων), κλ (κλ), ρο (ρρ) suggest this as the time of writing.<sup>38</sup> Most if not all of these letter forms were used at other periods. However, the use of each of these simultaneously fits the characteristics of manuscripts known to be from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Two examples of dated manuscripts which evidence this type minuscule script can be seen in Lake's Dated Manuscripts. They are: Mt. Athos: the Ααῖα. 61 (dated AD 1098), and Mt Athos: the Ααῖα. 146 (dated 1084?). Examples of non-dated manuscripts (i.e., those without colophon dates) which also evidence this script can be found in Hatch, Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament.<sup>39</sup> These are:

Budapest. Universitäts-Bibliothek. V. Gr. 1 (olim 8) (dated saec. X); Oxford. Bodleian Library. Cod. Laud. Gr. 33 (dated saec. XI); Oxford. Bodleian Library, MS. Cromwell 16. (dated saec. XI); Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Gr. 756 (dated saec. XI or XII); Oxford, Bodleian

<sup>38</sup> Comparison of individual letters was made with paleographical charts in Victor Gardthausen, Griechische Palaeographie, 2 vols. (2te Aufl.; Leipzig, 1911-1913) tafs. 6-10.

<sup>39</sup> Hatch, Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts 99, 145, 149, 159, 183, 207.

Library. Cod. Roe 1 (dated saec. XII); Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Gr. 50 (dated saec. XI or XII). Examples of non-biblical manuscripts with this same script may be seen in Wilson's Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Plates.<sup>40</sup> These are: MS. Barocci. 50, f. 322<sup>r</sup> (dated 10th ca.); MS. E. D. Clarke 12, f. 66<sup>r</sup> (dated 10th ca.); MS. E. D. Clarke 12, f. 210<sup>r</sup> (dated 10th ca.); and MS. Rawlinson G. 199, f. 1<sup>r</sup> (dated 1141). This last folio mentioned has artwork which bears strong resemblance to that of Duke 1, f. 62<sup>r</sup> (the opening of the Gospel according to Luke).

Other criteria contribute to identifying the date of Duke 1. The xi has already been mentioned as tenth century. Also, there is one instance of a minuscule eta (u ; f. 182<sup>r</sup> line 26) and two uses of the iota adscript (f. 182<sup>r</sup> lines 16 and 28). The complete absence of iota subscript and rare use of iota adscripts are recognizable characteristics of ninth and early tenth century manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> The TR, an edition of the Greek NT compiled from later MSS of the same textual tradition as Duke 1, has fifteen words with iota subscripts on f. 88<sup>r</sup> and thirteen words with iota subscripts on f. 182<sup>r</sup>.

Breathing marks also give some direction for deciding the copy date for a manuscript. Citing work done by Gardthausen,

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<sup>40</sup>Wilson, Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries: Text; and idem, Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries: Plates (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1972).

<sup>41</sup>Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible 28.

Metzger notes that square breathing marks are found in manuscripts dating prior to AD 1000, round breathing markers are after AD 1300, with both round and square breathing marks being found between these years.<sup>42</sup>

In summary, after reviewing all the materials collected for this study, the scribal characteristics of Duke 1 appear to conform mainly to manuscripts dated from ca. AD 1050 to AD 1100.<sup>43</sup>

### Conclusion

In the previous chapter, the importance of studying individual manuscripts to help determine text-type and originality of readings was explained. This chapter has presented the findings of a codicological and paleographical analysis of a Byzantine minuscule manuscript, Duke 1. The scripture text of representative folios has been thoroughly studied and shown to contain characteristics normal for manuscripts of that time. Several helps for readers are also part of this manuscript. Commentary by Theophylact (Catenae), chapter divisions (κεφάλαια), punctuation, artistic adornment, and lectionary equipment are all present in Duke 1. Different colors of ink and the legibility of the writing make the text attractive

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid. 49.

<sup>43</sup>For a brief description and partial collation of another eleventh century minuscule, see Harold S. Murphy, "On the Text of Codices H and 93," *JBL* 78/3 (1959) 228-237. For a thorough description of an early papyrus manuscript, see Sarah Alexander Edwards, "P<sup>75</sup> Under the Magnifying Glass," *NovT* 18/3 (1976) 190-212.

and easy to read.

The carefully executed hand suggests that the scribe was a professional, accomplished in the copying of NT MSS in the Greek minuscule script. The handwriting characteristics and patterns plus the occasional indicators of change (such as square breathing marks and iota adscript) suggest that Duke 1 was possibly copied near the end of the eleventh century.

This chapter has shown the importance of this Byzantine MS for purposes of learning how these Greek NT MSS were made and what they contained. With this information, efforts can now be directed toward identifying the quality of the scribe's copying ability and the type of text which this manuscript contains.

CHAPTER III  
COLLATING THE EPISTLE OF 1 PETER IN DUKE 1

Introduction

The final chapter of this study presents the results of a collation of Duke 1. Having introduced Duke 1 in the previous chapter as a manuscript that deserves the attention of text-critics--a carefully written minuscule manuscript that dates around the end of the eleventh century--attention is now directed to the text of 1 Peter in Duke 1 and to the results of the collation of that epistle in Duke 1. This collation of 1 Peter is exhaustive, but the minor details such as itacisms are presented in summary fashion only. The text itself is examined to learn its value for contemporary textual criticism.<sup>1</sup>

The benefits of studying the texts of minuscule MSS are becoming more recognized in text-critical circles.<sup>2</sup> Aland

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<sup>1</sup>For a summary of textual studies on the Catholic Epistles done prior to 1975, see the three article series by W. L. Richards ("Textual Criticism on the Greek Text of the Catholic Epistles: A Bibliography," AUSS 12/2 (1974) 103-111; "The Present Status of Text Critical Studies in the Catholic Epistles," AUSS 13/2 (1975) 261-272; and "The New Testament Greek Manuscripts of the Catholic Epistles," AUSS 15/2 (1976) 301-311.

<sup>2</sup>Examples of scholars who see the importance of minuscule studies are: Kurt and Barbara Aland, The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism (Translated by Erroll F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids and Leiden: Eerdmans and Brill, 1987) 128; and Muriel M. Carder, "A Caesarean Text in the Catholic Epistles?" NTS 16/3 (1970) 269.



concludes that about 10 percent contain "a valuable early text that can compete with even the best of the uncials." In order to determine the value of its text, all variants between the TR and 1 Peter of Duke 1 are examined. Those variants that suggest scribal error are discussed first, followed by supporting documentation for the type of text contained in 1 Peter of Duke 1.

### Methodology

Duke 1 was collated with the TR, P<sup>72</sup>, P<sup>74</sup>, K, and B. The collation with the TR used the accepted standard of the New International Greek Project, the 1873 Oxford edition of the Textus Receptus.<sup>3</sup> This was a complete collation of 1 Peter including itacisms, nu moveable, and corrections using the TR as the standard. The collation with P<sup>72</sup>, P<sup>74</sup>, K, and B generally

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<sup>3</sup>The text used for the collation is the 1873 reprint of the 1633 Textus Receptus produced by the Oxford University Press especially for the use of scholars collating texts for the International Greek New Testament Project in the 1960s. The copy used was that owned by the late Professor Kenneth W. Clark, one of the founding directors of the IGNT (H KAINH ΔΙΑΣΘΗΚΗ [International Greek New Testament Project, Oxford, 1873; reprint, University of Chicago, n.d.]).

Even though all agree that collations are necessary and useful, all do not acknowledge that agreement in error shows a common ancestry. Colwell rejects this saying that "no one has been able to establish the existence of even a small family of New Testament manuscripts by using agreement in error. Error seems to have had a short life in the manuscript period" (Ernest C. Colwell, "Method of Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," New Testament Tools and Studies IX: Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament [ed. Bruce M. Metzger; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969] 20). Maas, however, explains that if it can be shown that the variant common to two MSS is of such a nature that it is highly improbable that the MSS committed the error independently, then a relationship can be established (Paul Maas, Textual Criticism [trans. Barbara Flower; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958] 43). Lake agrees with Maas (Kirsopp Lake, The Text of the New Testament [6th ed. revised by Silva New; London: Rivingtons, 1928] 6).



ignored itacisms, nu moveable, and corrections. Additional manuscript support was gathered from the apparatuses of the N/A 26, UBS<sup>2</sup>, UBS<sup>3</sup>, Tischendorf's eighth edition, von Soden, and Clark's collation of eight Praxapostoloi.<sup>4</sup> These were consulted

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<sup>4</sup>Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, eds., Nestle-Aland: Novum Testamentum Graece (post Eberhard Nestle et Erwin Nestle communiter ediderunt Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, Allen Wikgren; 26th ed., 4th revision; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1981); Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, eds., The Greek New Testament (2d ed.; New York, London, Edinburgh, Amsterdam, and Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1968); Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, eds., The Greek New Testament (3d ed. New York, London, Edinburgh, Amsterdam, and Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1975); Constantinus Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum Graece: Ad Antiquissimos Testes Denuo Recensuit Apparatum Criticum Omni Studio Perfectum Apposuit Commentationem Isagogicam Praetexuit (Editio Octava Critica Maior. Vol. II. Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1872); Hermann Freiherr von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf grund ihrer Textgeschichte 2.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913); and Kenneth Willis Clark, Eight American Praxapostoloi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941). Clark collated the following eight minuscule Praxapostoloi MSS which date from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries: 223, 876, 1022, 1799, 1960, 2401, 2412, and 2423. Each of these MSS except 1960 still contains 1 Peter (ibid., 5). Evidence from von Soden was included in the collation only when there was little or no manuscript support found in the other sources consulted. Variants whose support was found in von Soden are in 1:12, 1:20, 2:20, 3:4, 3:6, and 5:7. The source for P<sup>72</sup> was Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX; VII: L'Épître de Jude; VIII: Les deux Épîtres de Pierre; IX: Les Psaumes 33 et 44 (Publié par Mickel Testuz; Genève, Switzerland: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959). P<sup>74</sup> was collated using Papyrus Bodmer XVII: Actes des Apôtres, Épîtres de Jacques, Pierre, Jean et Jude (Publié par Rodolphe Kasser; Genève, Switzerland: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961). Sinaiticus was collated using Codex Sinaiticus: Petropolitanus; The New Testament, Reproduced in facsimile from photographs by Helen and Kirsopp Lake with a Description and Introduction to the history of the codex by Kirsopp Lake; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911; reproduced Detroit: Brown & Thomas, 1982. Vaticanus was collated using Biblorum Sacrorum Graecus Codex Vaticanus (Auspice Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo; Collatis studiis Caroli Vercellone Sodalis Barnabite et Iosephi Cozza Monachi Basiliani editus; 1868; reproduced Detroit: Brown & Thomas, 1982). The complete collation is included in Appendix I of this thesis.

A recent publication of The Crosby-Schøyen Codex, a third-century Coptic codex which includes 1 Peter, was not considered in this collation because its text-type has not been conclusively determined. Though its exemplar predates P<sup>72</sup> and though this Coptic 1 Peter shows some similarity to P<sup>72</sup>, according to Willis the Crosby-Schøyen text agrees with only one of the twenty-nine unique readings of P<sup>72</sup> (William H. Willis, The Letter of Peter [1 Peter]: Coptic

to learn which variation units were found only in Duke 1 and which were part of a continuing manuscript tradition.

The results of this collation are treated in two major discussions: all variants and scribal errors are identified, which becomes the basis for the identification the text-type of 1 Peter in Duke 1. The first section discussing variants is divided into four separate discussions: (1) Variants that are clearly the result of a manuscript tradition (i.e., there is extant MS evidence to show that the variation-unit is present in other MSS);<sup>5</sup> (2) Variants that simply reflect contemporary usage of nu moveable;<sup>6</sup> (3) Variants that are itacisms; (4) Variants that may be readings unique to Duke 1 (i.e., those readings that are presently known only from Duke 1). These unique readings are referenced with folio and line number followed by chapter and verse number so printed Greek texts and the collation in Appendix I can be compared as needed. A variant for this study is an individual variant reading which differs from the collating base,

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Text, Translation, Notes and Variant Readings [Extract from The Crosby-Schøyen Codex, ed. J. E. Goehring et al. {CSCO 521 Subsidia 85, Louvain 1990}] 137).

<sup>5</sup>The intent of this study is not to do a textual commentary on 1 Peter nor to determine which reading is original. Rather the intent of this study of 1 Peter of Duke 1 is to identify the type of text present in this MS, to show the variations between Duke 1 and the TR, and to identify scribal errors. Because of this limitation, when the collation demonstrates manuscript tradition as the reason for a reading, study of that particular variant was discontinued. The collation of Duke 1 included in Appendix I of this paper confirms that the variants given above are part of a manuscript tradition.

<sup>6</sup>Although the nu moveable is an insignificant part of textual studies, in order to make the collation complete, the variations in the nu moveable will be noted. For other collations which include nu moveable and itacisms, see Clark, Praxapostoloi 39.

the TR.<sup>7</sup>

### Variants and Scribal Errors

#### Variants Resulting from Manuscript Tradition

Variants that have MS support besides Duke 1 are found in the following verses: 1:4, 1:7 (twice), 1:11, 1:12 (twice), 1:16, 1:20,<sup>8</sup> 1:24, 2:3, 2:4, 2:6, 2:7, 2:12, 2:14, 2:17, 2:20, 2:21, 3:1 (twice), 3:4, 3:5, 3:6 (twice),<sup>9</sup> 3:7, 3:12, 3:16, 3:17, 3:18 (three times), 3:20 (twice), 3:21 (twice) 4:6 (twice), 4:7, 4:8, 4:11 (twice), 4:17, 4:19, 5:7,<sup>10</sup> 5:8 (twice), 5:10 (twice), and 5:11. Evidence gathered from these variants will be used later in this chapter to learn the text-type of Duke 1.

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<sup>7</sup>Further study on the term variant and its meaning in NT textual studies may be found in E. C. Colwell and E. W. Tune, "Variant Readings: Classification and Use," JBL 83/3 (1964) 253-261; and Eldon Jay Epp, "Toward the Clarification of the Term 'Textual Variant,'" Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honor of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifty Birthday (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976) 153-173.

<sup>8</sup>The absence of the prefix appears to be an accidental omission. The TR along with most other MSS consulted reads, ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἀποδοκιμασμένον, παρὰ δὲ θεῷ ἐκλεκτόν ("on the one hand rejected by men, but on the other hand chosen by God"). Duke 1 and 2401 read δεδοκιμασμένον, i.e., the stone was simply "tested" by men. In all other manuscripts the stone was "rejected" (ἀποδοκιμασμένον). This variant illustrates that textual variants can have theological significance. Two good articles which argue that textual variants do have theological significance are Howard Eshbaugh, "Textual Variants and Theology: A Study of the Galatians Text of Papyrus 46," JSNT 3 (1979) 60-72; and Kenneth W. Clark, "The Theological Relevance of Textual Variation in Current Criticism of the Greek New Testament," JBL 85/1 (1966) 1-16.

<sup>9</sup>The TR reads ἐγενήθητε, Duke 1 reads ἐγεννήθητε. This same error of dittography can be seen in John 1:13.

<sup>10</sup>The TR has περί, Duke 1 in agreement with several other MSS has ὑπέρ. Metzger says the substitution of these synonyms was a common scribal error of the mind (Bruce M. Metzger, The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration (3d enlarged ed.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 193.

### Variants Resulting from the Use of Nu Moveable

A second group of variants is caused by the scribe's use of moveable nu. There are at least fifteen examples, where the presence or absence of the nu varies between the TR and Duke 1. These are: 1:24, 2:7, 2:12, 3:7, 3:18, 3:20, 4:5, 4:6 (twice), 4:7, 4:10, 4:11, 4:13, and 5:14. One of these has no other manuscript support (3:7) and one has only P<sup>72</sup> agreeing with Duke 1 (2:12). The presence or absence of the nu at the end of a word has little significance for this study and these fifteen examples are listed only for completeness.<sup>11</sup>

### Variants that are Itacisms

The third group of variants--itacisms--is commonplace in Greek literature.<sup>12</sup> The full collation in Appendix I shows that this is true in all of the MSS consulted for this study including Duke 1. The frequency of itacisms may be illustrated by the epsilon and alpha iota interchange common in several MSS collated

<sup>11</sup>Epp says, "nu-movables . . . are 'insignificant' as here defined; they cannot be utilized in any decisive way for establishing manuscript relationships, and they are not substantive in the search for the original text" (Epp, "The Term 'Textual Variant'" 169).

<sup>12</sup>F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (A translation and revision of the ninth-tenth German edition incorporating supplementary notes of A. Debrunner by Robert W. Funk; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) 13-15; A. T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (4th ed., Nashville: Broadman, 1934) 72, 178-208; B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek: With Notes on Selected Readings (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882; reprint ed., Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1988) 302-310; B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, "Notes on Orthography: With Orthographical Alternative Readings," Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek: With Notes on Selected Readings (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882; reprint ed., Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 1988) 150-155; and Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 190-192.

(see in Appendix I: 1:16, 2:11, 2:13, 3:1, 3:6, 3:7, 3:14, 4:12, 4:14, 4:16, 4:17, 5:1, and 5:10).<sup>13</sup> This epsilon and alpha iota interchange is only one of several classes of itacisms in Duke 1.<sup>14</sup>

Examples of itacisms in 1 Peter of Duke 1 that have little or no other extant MSS support are:<sup>15</sup> alpha iota and epsilon interchange--γένεσθε] γένεσθαι (1:16); ὑποτάγητε] ὑποτάγεται (2:13); and ἄρξασθαι] ἀρχεσθε (4:17);<sup>16</sup> epsilon iota and iota interchange--εὐλογίαν] εὐλογεῖαν (3:9); eta and epsilon iota interchange--ἡπεῖλει] ἡπεῖλη [P<sup>72</sup> has ηηλει] (2:23); κληρονομησῆτε] κληρονομήσετε (3:9); eta and

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<sup>13</sup>Disagreements between the TR and P<sup>72</sup> are plentiful in this particular itacism.

<sup>14</sup>It is important to notice itacisms. According to Lake, " . . . mistakes in spelling, especially if repeated, often give a hint as to the pronunciation, and so nationality, of the scribe" (Lake, The Text of the New Testament 4). However, itacisms are normally not considered important for determining textual relationships. Examples of studies which set itacisms and other textual trivia aside in the first stages of study may be seen in the following: Carder, "A Caesarean Text in the Catholic Epistles?" 252-270; Ernest C. Colwell, "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text," The Bible in Modern Scholarship: Papers Read at the 100th Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, December 28-30, 1964 (ed. J. Philip Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965) 370-389; Epp, "The Term 'Textual Variant'" 169; Thomas C. Geer, "The Two Faces of Codex 33 in Acts," NovT 31/1 (1989) 39-47.

<sup>15</sup>Some of these may be little more than nonsense readings. Classifying them as nonsense readings instead of itacisms will make no difference for the stated purposes of this study, for as Epp writes, "This category, the nonsense reading, is clearly established, and the arguments for excluding such readings are sound; few will argue for their originality or even for their retention in the critical apparatus, though the grounds for this exclusion may be variously formulated" (Epp, "The Term 'Textual Variant'" 158). Colwell defines nonsense readings as "words unknown to grammar or lexicon, words that cannot be construed syntactically, or words that do not make sense in the context" (Colwell, "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri" 375).

<sup>16</sup>Metzger mentions that the diphthong αι and the ε came to be pronounced the same (Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 190).

iota interchange--φιμοῦν] φημοῦν (2:15); νήψατε] νίψατε (4:7); ποικίλης] ποικίλοις (4:10); κλέπτῃς] κλέπτῃς (4:15); omega and omicron interchange--ἀκρογωνιαῖον] ἀκρογωνιαῖον (2:6); λοιδορούμενος] λοιδορούμενος (2:23); νεώτεροι] νεότεροι (5:5); and αὐτῷ] αὐτό (5:11).<sup>17</sup>

#### Variants Unique to Duke MS. Gk. 1

The fourth type of variant is the reading that may be unique to Duke 1. Also called singular readings, these are readings that are present in a single Greek manuscript and therefore have very little value in the determination of text-type.<sup>18</sup> At this point the apparatuses of The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text and von Soden's edition of the Greek NT were also consulted to learn if the Byzantine text tradition supported any of these variation units.<sup>19</sup> The absence of extant manuscript support shows that these readings are probably unique readings and are mainly useful for discovering "scribal patterns, purposes, and characteristics."<sup>20</sup> Sometimes, there are readings

<sup>17</sup>For a contemporary discussion of this problem and how it affects textual studies, see Ian A. Moir, "Orthography and Theology: The Omicron--Omega Interchange in Romans 5:1 and Elsewhere," New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce Metzger (ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981) 179-183.

<sup>18</sup>Huston makes the same observation in his study of P<sup>45</sup> that unique readings are unimportant for the study of textual affinities (Hollis W. Huston, "Mark 6 and 11 in P<sup>45</sup> and in the Caesarean Text," JBL 74/4 (1955) 265.

<sup>19</sup>Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad, eds., The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982).

<sup>20</sup>Epp, "The Term 'Textual Variant'" 161, 170-171. For a thorough discussion of scribal errors present in NT MSS, see Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 16-19, 186-206.

with little extant MS support, a fact that suggests the possibility of scribes committing the same error independent of each other.<sup>21</sup> For this study, however, only manuscripts with no manuscript support will be considered unique readings.

#### Errors of Expansions of the Text<sup>22</sup>

F. 182<sup>r</sup> line 5; 1:2 Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη] + ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρός. This has every appearance of an expansion of the text. Since no Greek text consulted records this variant, this portion of the salutation was possibly accidentally added in keeping with the customary Pauline salutations. See Rom 1:7, 1 Cor 1:3, 2 Cor 1:2, Gal 1:3, Eph 1:2, Phil 1:2, Col 1:2, I Thess 1:1, 2 Thess 1:2, 1 Tim 1:2, 2 Tim 1:2, Titus 1:4, and Phlm 1:3 where the TR includes this phrase. However, in all except Gal 1:3 of the TR, ἡμῶν follows πατρός, which is in line with the MS tradition of Duke

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<sup>21</sup>Concerning singular readings, Colwell writes, "Since corruption was universal, identical singular readings with only minor scattered support elsewhere should be assumed to be coincidental in these agreements--unless other external evidence establishes relationship" (Colwell, "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri" 387). Ehrman also discusses separate scribes making the same mistake. He writes, "In only one circumstance can MSS share a reading that does not derive from a common archetype; that is when individual scribes working independently happened to introduce the same corruption of a text. Such 'accidental agreements in error,' while not altogether uncommon, can be expected only where the change of a text seems logical or natural--as in fact happens in other textual modifications of 1 Joh 4 3" (Ehrman, "1 Joh 4 3 and the Orthodox Corruption of Scripture," ZNW 79/3-4 (1988) 225).

<sup>22</sup>Some of these readings could be the result of several factors present in the copying process. For this study, errors are discussed under the heading thought to be the major contributing factor to the cause of the error.



1.<sup>23</sup>

F. 183<sup>v</sup> line 24; 4:7 Προσευχάς] + ὑμῶν. This text expansion is a common NT variant, especially in the Byzantine family.<sup>24</sup> Προσευχάς ὑμῶν is seen in 3:7. Also, the presence of the personal pronoun with προσευχάς is uncontested in several places in the NT (Acts 10:4, Rom 1:10, Eph 1:16, 1 Thess 1:2, Phlm 4, 22).

#### An Error of Intentional Change

F. 183<sup>r</sup> line 18; 3:3 Κόσμος] κόσμο[;] or [ι]. A supralinear omicron is followed by what appears to be two pen efforts, a dot and a comma, which resembles a question mark (;). A question mark makes no sense in this passage.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Concerning expansion of common phrases in the book of Acts, Elliott writes that "with theological and other terms, such as 'the grace of God', 'the word of God', one may assume that an author's practice would attain a fixity of usage. Textual variants deviating from that norm could then be described as due to scribes' having conformed the original expression to a differing version of the formulae, possibly under the influence of liturgical practice" (J. K. Elliott, "The Text of Acts in Light of Two Recent Studies," *NTS* 34/2 [1988] 252). Other types of expansion are also common. For example of supposed textual expansions, see Ernst Bammel, "The Cambridge Pericope: The Addition to Luke 6.4 in Codex Bezae," *NTS* 32/3 (1986) 404-426; Bart D. Ehrman and Mark A. Plunkett, "The Angel and the Agony: The Textual Problem of Luke 22:43-44," *CBO* 45/3 (1983) 401-416; Peter M. Head, "A Text-Critical Study of Mark 1.1: 'The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ,'" *NTS* 37/4 (1991) 621-629; Mikeal C. Parsons, "The Text of Acts 1:2 Reconsidered," *CBO* 50/1 (1988) 58-71; and Zane Hodges, "The Critical Text and the Alexandrian Family of Revelation," *BSac* 119/474 (1962) 129-138.

<sup>24</sup>Westcott and Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament* 135. Metzger says the tendency of the scribes was to add pronouns (Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (Third Edition)* (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1971) 565.

<sup>25</sup>A punctuation mark here seems rather trivial. However, such is not always the case. One example where punctuation determines the meaning of the passage is in John 1:3, 4. Does ὁ γέγονεν go with the last part of verse 3 or



If the omicron is followed by an iota, the subject number of the relative clause in this verse apparently was made to agree with the γυναῖκες of verse one and the ὁν of verse three. The presence of the plural ὁν makes this change grammatically unnecessary and the singular ἔστω makes it grammatically incorrect. The absence of extant manuscript evidence supporting the plural ending strengthens the conjecture that this change was intended to correct a perceived grammatical error.<sup>26</sup> The meaning would be unaltered: "whose outward adorning is not to be . . ." (TR) as opposed to "whose outward adornings are not to be . . ." (Duke 1).

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the first part of verse 4? Another example is found in Rom 9:5. Is Paul calling ὁ Χριστός God? For a summary review of the evidence for both of these, see Metzger, Textual Commentary 195, 196, 520-523.

<sup>26</sup>For evidence that scribes made intentional changes, see Jerome's comments quoted in chapter one, page 13 of this thesis. Other evidence may be seen in Kenneth W. Clark, "The Theological Relevance of Textual Variation in Current Criticism" 6-7; and Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 195-196. Examples of suggested deliberate changes may be seen in J. H. Petzer, "Contextual Evidence in Favour of ΚΑΥΧΗΣΩΜΑΙ in 1 Corinthians 13.3," NTS 35/2 (1989) 229-253; Alexander Globe, "Some Doctrinal Variants in Matthew 1 and Luke 2, and the Authority of the Neutral Text," CBO 42/1 (1980) 52-72; Mikeal C. Parsons, "A Christological Tendency in P<sup>75</sup>," JBL 105/3 (1986) 463-479; Ehrman, "1 Joh 4 3" 221-243. Ehrman believes that λῶνι was introduced into this text as a defense against certain heretical teachings about Christ.

Concerning the determination of deliberate changes, Hurtado writes, "It is sometimes difficult to determine whether a variant has been created intentionally or unintentionally. . . . As a basic working principle, we may say that when a variant cannot be attributed to the common scribal mistakes in copying, and especially when the variant can be attributed to a reasonable editorial intention, it is very likely that the variant is an intentional change." Hurtado lists one hundred thirty-four instances where he believes there was deliberate change in W (Larry W. Hurtado, Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981] 68, 81).

Errors of Haplography

F. 182<sup>v</sup> line 1; 1:20 Προεγνωσμένου] προεγνωσμένου. The scribe inadvertently omitted the pi. The rho is the first letter of the text on 182<sup>v</sup>. The last line on the previous folio used only one half the space available. Apparently the scribe intended to add an ornamental uncial pi in red ink. This is a clear scribal error.

F. 182<sup>v</sup> line 43; 2:19 Τοῦτο] τοῦ. There is no recognizable abbreviation mark present. Τοῦ is the last word of text on f. 182<sup>v</sup>, and the text line on the next folio begins with γαρ. Τοῦτο is required for grammatical reasons. Τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις ("For this [is] grace, etc.") requires the nominative demonstrative instead of the genitive article. This apparently is another accidental omission.

F. 183<sup>r</sup> line 29; 3:9 omit] Τοῦναντίον δὲ εὐλογοῦντες, εἰδότες ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο ἐκλήθητε. This error apparently resulted from parablepsis. Forty-nine letters are missing from Duke 1, the approximate number of letters included in each line of this manuscript's text, which suggests that this may also be the same number of letters in each line of the exemplar. It appears that the scribe omitted one whole line of text. Λοιδορίας ended the preceding line of text, so when the scribe's eyes went back to the text he picked up the line beginning with ἵνα instead of the one beginning with τοῦναντίον. As copied in this manuscript, the verse would translate, "Not recompensing evil for evil or insult for

insult, that you might receive a blessing."

F. 183<sup>v</sup> line 35; 4:13-14 omit] αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι. Ἐι  
 δειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ μακάριοι ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης. The scribe  
 accidentally omitted these seventy-three letters when he took his  
 eyes off the exemplar. When he looked again at the exemplar he  
 saw the τῆς δόξης in verse 14 instead of the τῆς δόξης in verse 13.  
 This haplography was clearly caused by homoeoteleuton, a very  
 common scribal problem.<sup>27</sup> Though some corrections were made in  
 Duke 1, this omission and the one in 3:9 were not corrected.  
 Perhaps the corrector was fatigued or just careless.<sup>28</sup> Or this  
 might suggest an uncontrolled setting, not a scriptorium where  
 someone other than the scribe himself would have checked his  
 work. Also, the cause of this error strongly suggests that the  
 exemplar of Duke 1 did not have καὶ δυνάμεως following the second  
 τῆς δόξης as in found in many minuscule MSS.<sup>29</sup>

#### Errors of the Eye or Mental Fatigue

F. 183<sup>r</sup> line 14; 3:1 Ὑποτασσόμεναι] ὑπὸ τασσόμεναι. The accents

<sup>27</sup>Clark notes that "the most fertile and most insidious" of all copyists' errors is "omissi ex homoeoteleuto" (A. C. Clark, The Descent of Manuscripts [Oxford: Clarendon, 1918; reprinted, Great Britain: Fletcher and Son, 1969] 1). For an article cautioning against the overuse of homoeoteleuton as a reason to adopt a longer reading, see James R. Royse, "The Treatment of Scribal Leaps in Metzger's Textual Commentary," NTS 29 (1983) 539-551.

<sup>28</sup>Colwell observed that "correctors did their most intensive work in the beginning of a manuscript" (Colwell, "Method of Grouping New Testament Manuscripts" 23).

<sup>29</sup>See the textual evidence in each of the editions of the Greek New Testaments mentioned above.

suggest that the Duke 1 scribe accented *ὕπο* before realizing these three letters were part of one word. This supports the conjecture given in Chapter Two that this scribe was copying in letter groups of three to five.<sup>30</sup>

F. 183<sup>v</sup> line 12; 4:1 Ὀπλίσασθε] ὀπλίσάμενοι. Possibly due to carelessness, the imperative was changed to a participle because of the influence of two aorist participles in both the preceding verse and in this verse. Peter's regular use of the participle would make the presence of this participle unobtrusive.<sup>31</sup>

F. 183<sup>v</sup> line 17; 4:3 Πότοις] τόποις. This is an error of metathesis. The scribe transposed the letters *pi* and *tau*. Τόποις makes no sense in this verse that lists six sins of the Gentiles.<sup>32</sup>

F. 183<sup>v</sup> line 27; 4:10 Ποικίλης] ποικήλοις. The change from the feminine ending to the masculine was possibly caused by carelessness or fatigue. Duke 1 says, "as good administrators with the diversified grace of God" (ὡς κολοὶ οἰκονόνοι ποικίλοις χάριτος

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<sup>30</sup>Though this improper letter division is in this passage insignificant, such is not always the case. An example where letter division affects the understanding of a passage may be seen in Col 4:3 where for two hundred years text-critics have debated between *δίο* and *δι ὁ*. A good discussion of this may be seen in Markus Bochmuhl, "A Note on the Text of Colossians 4:3," *JTS* 39/2 (1988) 489-494.

<sup>31</sup>Nida remarks that "not a few changes in manuscripts result from conscious or unconscious adjustments to the immediate context" (Eugene A. Nida, "The 'Harder Reading' in Textual Criticism: An Application of the Second Law of Thermodynamics," *BT* 32/1 (1981) 104.

<sup>32</sup>Epp contends that such nonsense readings are of little value for text-critical tasks (Epp, "The Term 'Variant Reading'" 159, 168).

θεοῦ). This gender change suggests the scribe unthinkingly carried over the omicron iota from the two previous words. This is a common itacism, which is perhaps another reason the scribe inadvertently made the change.<sup>33</sup> The masculine ending on this adjective is grammatically unsound.

F. 183<sup>v</sup> line 35; 4:14 κατὰ μὲν] Καὶ τα μὲν. Evidently, as the accents suggest, a misreading of the first minuscule alpha in κατὰ caused the scribe initially to understand these letters as two words. The unaccented τα may suggest he realized his error after copying and accenting καί. This would add support to the conjecture mentioned in Chapter Two and above in the discussion of 3:1 that the scribe of Duke 1 copied in letter groups of three to five.

There is no extant manuscript evidence for καὶ τα μὲν other than Duke 1. The alpha [α] form can be identical to the alpha iota pattern [αι]. The TR reads, κατὰ μὲν αὐτοὺς βλασφημεῖται ("on the one hand for their part, he is blasphemed"). The reading of Duke 1 ("and on the one hand, the things blaspheme them") makes no sense.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Metzger writes that "in Koine Greek the vowels η, ι, and υ, the diphthongs ει, οι, and υι all came to be pronounced alike" (Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 191).

<sup>34</sup> This is a variant where there is no variation of letters. An example where meaning is determined by letter division may be found in Mark 10:40. A summary discussion of this variant may be seen in Aland-Aland, The Text of the New Testament 277. Another instance of this was seen on page 116, footnote 30 of this thesis.

Concerning the more important variation-unit in the latter portion of this 1 Peter verse, see Peter R. Rodgers, "The Longer Reading of 1 Peter

Errors that have been Corrected

F. 183<sup>I</sup> lines 17 and 18; 3:3 περιθέσεως] + τρεχῶν καί.

Apparently the scribe misread the ης before τρεχῶν as ως and copied τρεχῶν καί a second time and then erased it. This dittography is evident because the erasure is not clean.

F. 183<sup>I</sup> line 24; 3:6 Πτόησιν] πτόσιν. This error was corrected in the manuscript. An insertion mark and an eta stand above the omicron and sigma.<sup>35</sup>

F. 183<sup>V</sup> line 22; 4:6 Σαρκι\_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ζῶσιν. This is a corrected error of dittography caused by homoioteleuton. Apparently this erasure was by the scribe himself. Portions of his original writing are still legible. After writing σαρ at the end of line 21, the scribe's eyes went back to the first part of the same line. Thinking he had just copied the alpha rho in γάρ, he recopied καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελισθῇ. Though the scribe erased his mistake, the erasure is not clean, which is perhaps why he did not write in this space again.

These variants may be summarized in the following manner.

- 1) Two expansions of the text: 1:2, 4:7.
- 2) One apparent intentional change: 3:3.
- 3) Four examples of haplography: 1:20, 2:19, 3:9, 4:13-14.

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4:14," CBO 43 (1981) 93-95; and Bruce M. Metzger, Textual Commentary 695.

<sup>35</sup>According to Metzger, evidence of a corrector should be noted when a manuscript is collated (Metzger, Manuscripts of the Greek Bible 53). For a discussion of correctors found in various papyri, see Colwell, "Scribal Habits in Early Papyri" 382.

- 4) Five errors of the eye or mental fatigue: 3:1, 4:1, 4:3, 4:10, 4:14.
- 5) Three errors that have been corrected: 3:3, 3:6, 4:6.

Though several types of variants appear in this copy of 1 Peter, three are very common: itacisms, haplographies, and errors caused by fatigue. The frequency of the first is consistent throughout the epistle. The second and third, however, are worse toward the end of the letter. As previously mentioned, these errors suggest that the scribe may have become weary or careless when he copied portions of 1 Peter.

The multiple errors of haplography suggest that the scribe of Duke 1 regularly lost his place. Of the seven instances of this (four instances of haplography, three corrections), in all but two (3:3, 4:6) the scribe's loss of place resulted in loss of text.<sup>36</sup>

In summary, the scribe of Duke 1 apparently strove for a good copy of his exemplar. However, he regularly succumbed to the weaknesses of scribes who had copied for long hours.<sup>37</sup> The substitution of synonyms, the expansions of the text, the nonsense readings, and the regular haplographies point to a sleepy or tired mind that forgets what is to be written in the

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<sup>36</sup>Ross notes that "carelessness would tend to shorten rather than enlarge the text" (Ross, "Some Unnoticed Points in the Text of the New Testament" 60).

<sup>37</sup>The importance of understanding a manuscript's scribe through his writing habits, both good and bad, has long been recognized. For an example of a text critic who views this as important, see Ernest C. Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," New Testament Tools and Studies IX: Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of New Testament Tools and Studies (ed. Bruce M. Metzger; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 161.



short time the eyes travel from the exemplar to the copy.<sup>38</sup>

### Determining the Text-type of Duke 1

The type of text in 1 Peter of Duke 1 was learned by initially examining all units of variation where the TR and accepted Alexandrian witnesses differed.<sup>39</sup> Three MSS were chosen to represent the Alexandrian text-type and fully collated, two fourth-century uncials--Sinaiticus (Ⲱ) and Vaticanus (B)--and a third/fourth-century papyrus--P<sup>72</sup>.<sup>40</sup> Readings were considered where at least two of the three Alexandrian MSS agreed against the TR. There were sixty-nine units of variation between the Alexandrian text-types and the TR in 1 Peter.

Second, Duke 1 was classified based not on how often it disagreed with the TR, but on how often it agreed with the TR in comparison with how often it agreed with the Alexandrian MSS.

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<sup>38</sup>For a summary description of Byzantine scribes, their work, and constant weaknesses, see Ernest C. Colwell, "The Complex Character of the Late Byzantine Text of the Gospels," JBL 54 (1935) 211-221.

<sup>39</sup>Colwell contends that for accurate relationships to be established between manuscripts, all variants must be considered, not just those taken from a prescribed "norm" (Ernest C. Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, "Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts," New Testament Tools and Studies IX: Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament [ed. Bruce M. Metzger; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969] 56). While this is true, it is not the purpose of this study to consider Duke 1 and its relationship to all other MSS. This collation is simply to demonstrate the relationship of Duke 1 to the text-type found in the TR. This can be done without collating against every other manuscript as well.

<sup>40</sup>The full collation of these MSS is part of the collation mentioned above as being in Appendix I of this paper. The collection of these sixty-nine units-of-variations may be seen in Appendix IV of this thesis. For support of the Alexandrian nature of P<sup>72</sup>, see F. W. Beare, "The Text of 1 Peter in Papyrus 72," JBL 80 (1961) 253-260.



Duke 1 agreed with the TR fifty-nine times (85.5 percent) and with the Alexandrian ten times (14.5 percent) showing that the text of 1 Peter in Duke 1 is Byzantine.

This conclusion was checked two ways. The text of 1 Peter was compared with fifty-nine units of variation in 1 Peter where the TR and four MSS proven to be Alexandrian (01, 02, 03, 04) disagreed. These units of variation were gathered by Richards for his study of Gregory 1175.<sup>41</sup> Using Richards's list, comparison was made with the collation of 1 Peter of Duke 1. Omitting the times the Alexandrian witnesses split two and two, fifty-two units-of-variation remain. Duke 1 agrees with the TR forty-four of the fifty-two times (84.62 percent). In all seven instances the Alexandrian witnesses split, Duke 1 also agrees with the TR.<sup>42</sup>

Aland's findings concerning Duke 1 were considered also. He found that in ninety-five test examples from all the Catholic Epistles together that this MS disagreed with the majority text once, and agreed with what he considered the original reading nine times. In 1 Peter alone, all thirteen test examples contain the majority text reading.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>W. Larry Richards, "Gregory 1175: Alexandrian or Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles?" AUSS 21/2 (1983) 153-168.

<sup>42</sup>The table by Richards is included in Appendix V. One column has been added to show the readings of Duke 1 (MS1).

<sup>43</sup>Aland's work is much too expansive to duplicate here. The verse references and portions of the Greek text will alert the reader concerning the location of Aland's thirteen test examples in 1 Peter. These are: 1:22 δια πνευματος; 1:22 καθαρας; 1:23 εις τον αιωνα; 2:21 επαθεν υπερ υμων υμιν; 3:8

Using the collation of Duke 1 and evidence gathered from the apparatuses of the N/A 26, UBS<sup>2</sup>, UBS<sup>3</sup>, and Tischendorf's eighth edition of the Greek NT, other corroboration supporting the Byzantine nature of Duke 1 is also evident. Where Duke 1 diverges from the TR, it agrees with ~~N~~ A B C in about one-half the variants cited. Strongest disagreement is seen between Duke 1 and  $\Psi$ , an eighth/ninth-century codex which according to Metzger is an Alexandrian witness in the Catholic epistles.<sup>44</sup> Strongest agreement is seen between Duke 1 and 049, a ninth-century manuscript with a Byzantine text-type.<sup>45</sup> Eleven of the thirteen times where 049 is cited, there is agreement with Duke 1. Other manuscripts checked for their agreement with Duke 1 were: (The first number is the number of times the manuscript agreed with Duke 1 against the TR. The second number is the number of times this manuscript disagreed with Duke 1.) K (23/11), L (20/16), P (25/9), 33 (10/6), 69 (6/6).<sup>46</sup> Aland

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ταπεινοφρονες; 3:9 ευλογουντες οτι εις τουτο εκληθητε ινα; 3:16 καταλαλεισθε; 4:1 παθοντος σαρκι; 4:3 αρκετος γαρ ημιν ο παρεληλυθως χρονος; 4:14 δοξης και το; 5:2 επισκοπουντες; 5:5 αλληλοις; and 5:11 αυτω το κρατος (Kurt Aland, Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften Des Neuen Testaments 1: Die Katholischen Briefe Band 1: Das Material [Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1987] 65-95, 407).

<sup>44</sup>Metzger, The Text of the New Testament 216.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid. 213.

<sup>46</sup>These numbers must be qualified for two reasons. (1) At times more than two variations occur within a variation unit. To say then, that a certain manuscript disagrees or agrees with Duke 1 does not mean that there are only two variants. At times there are three and four. (2) Since this study relies totally on the apparatuses of others, there is no guarantee of total and consistent citing of manuscript evidence in every instance where a variant is mentioned. In other words, since the combined textual apparatuses

classifies K L P and 69 predominantly Byzantine in the Catholic epistles.<sup>47</sup> Manuscript 33, however, the "Queen of the minuscules," is mainly Alexandrian in the Catholics. 1 Peter of Duke 1 is clearly a Byzantine text.<sup>48</sup>

### Conclusion

The collation of Duke 1 reveals that this is an unexceptional Byzantine codex. Most remarkable are the unique readings that show Duke 1 to be normal in scribal habits, good and bad. Itacisms characteristic of minuscule manuscripts are commonplace. Other types of mistakes are also seen in this text that reveal the writing and copying habits of Byzantine scribes. Errors caused by faulty memory and fatigue are most common, followed by accidental omission of letters and whole words (1:8, 1:20, etc.). At times letters and words have been added (1:2, 2:20, 3:6, 4:7) and endings changed (3:3).

The collation also reveals that Duke 1 is part of the

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of Tischendorf's 8th edition, UBS<sup>2</sup>, UBS<sup>3</sup>, and N/A 26 illustrate that none of these gives a complete collation, or cites the reading of witnessing MSS for every variation unit, it is also clear that all four together do not supply the reader with a complete collation.

<sup>47</sup>Aland, The Text of the New Testament 106-135.

<sup>48</sup>These findings do not cover other portions of this manuscript, for as Kenyon notes, "It cannot be assumed that the text type of any manuscript is uniform throughout, since it may vary not only from book to book, but even within individual books (Frederic G. Kenyon, The Text of the Greek Bible [3d ed. revised and augmented by A. W. Adams; London: Duckworth, 1975] 29). The study cited earlier by Richards showed that 1175 changed text-types in the Catholic Epistles. James and 1-2 Peter are Alexandrian, and 1-3 John and Jude are Byzantine. See Richards, "Gregory 1175" 161. Geer found the same to be true in his study of Codex 33 in Acts (Geer, "The Two Faces of Codex 33" 39-47). Colwell found this to be characteristic of certain MSS he collated as well (Colwell, "The Complex Character of the Late Byzantine Text" 214-216).

Byzantine text tradition. Its high percentage of agreement with the TR and its low percentage of agreement with known Alexandrian manuscripts are evidence of the Byzantine nature of this manuscript. While this study shows that Duke 1 is part of the tradition, it does not show whether the readings of the TR or of the other text-types are closest to the original. Determination of the original text remains to be done and requires the attention of another study. However, in keeping with Westcott and Hort's premise that knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings, it is now clear that Duke 1 is part of the Byzantine tradition of MSS and therefore not a serious contender for originality in most textual variants. This does not mean it has no value, for as was shown above by Zuntz, some Byzantine readings are strong contenders for originality. The value of Duke 1 is mainly in what it can tell about Byzantine codicology and scribal habits, more so than in the type of scripture text it contains.

Finally, study of this manuscript has underscored the need for full collations of all MSS as suggested above.<sup>49</sup> This is essential if MS relationships and accurate MS history are to be learned. The grouping together of all Byzantine MSS into one category as in N/A 26 and UBS<sup>3</sup> does little to help identify relationships between individual MSS. The only way an accurate MS history can be determined is through thorough and accurate collations of all MSS.

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<sup>49</sup>See Chapter One, pages 56, 57, 60, 61, 65.

## CONCLUSION

This study has offered a historical overview of the field of NT textual criticism and has applied the findings of modern text-critical methodology to a small portion of Duke 1. Chapter One surveyed the beginnings and growth of NT textual criticism. From the second to the fifth centuries, early church fathers displayed through their writings an appreciating understanding of textual criticism, noting the presence of variations between NT MSS, and offering solutions. Scholarly interest declined from the fifth century until the Renaissance, the time of the invention of printing and of the printing of Greek New Testaments.

Printed editions of the Greek New Testament and renewed interest in the languages of the classics during the early sixteenth century provided the needed stimuli for a revived study of Greek NT MSS. The next two hundred years produced extensive collations and collection of MS materials. It was especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that modern textual criticism was born, and scholars began to identify and classify MSS according to textual families. Bengel's studies led him to conclude that MSS ought not be merely counted, but instead divided by age and quality. Following Bengel's findings, Griesbach published the conclusions of his own studies and published an edition of the Greek NT that did not follow the TR.

The efforts of men like them laid the groundwork for the dethronement of the TR in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

During the nineteenth century, Tischendorf and Tregelles discovered other MSS, and Westcott and Hort advanced and refined the science of textual criticism. Using the collations of others, Westcott and Hort sought to develop text-critical theory that would prove that the TR was corrupt and that Vaticanus represented the purest text-type. Most of the scholarly world accepted their conclusions, so much so that the twentieth century has served mainly to refine further the conclusions of Westcott and Hort.

The twentieth century began with the production of editions of the Greek New Testament with extensive apparatuses. While the most massive edition was done by von Soden, the most popular was the Nestle's. Today in its twenty-sixth edition, the Nestle-Aland text is still the most popular Greek NT for scholars.

Considerable work has also been done in the twentieth century in the area of manuscript relationships. Four approaches have been discussed: The Quantitative Reading Method, the Claremont Profile Method, the Comprehensive Profile Method, and the One Thousand Readings Method. The Comprehensive Profile Method results from further development of the first two methods and is the most thorough and objective of the four methods discussed. Most modern text-critics use some form of either the Claremont Profile Method or the Comprehensive Profile Method.

In the final section of the first chapter, current methods

for deciding originality of variants were presented. Most contemporary text critics desire balance in the use of internal and external criteria. They reject the overemphasis on internal criteria by thoroughgoing eclectics and the overemphasis on the external by Majority Text advocates. Reasoned eclecticism, an approach that views both internal and external criteria as essential to the discovery of the original reading, is the approach followed by most today.

Chapter Two pursued a subject introduced in the first chapter: the examination of individual MSS to learn their relationships to other extant MSS. Representative folios of Duke 1 were examined codicologically and paleographically. Duke 1 is a Byzantine codex whose carefully written Greek minuscule letter characteristics suggest the latter part of the eleventh century as the time of its production. The excellent condition of this manuscript gives a clear presentation of the way Byzantine codices were made and what they contained in the way of helps for readers.

Chapter Three continued the examination of Duke 1 by a collation of its text of 1 Peter. All variants and scribal errors were given with the scribal errors grouped and discussed according to the type and cause of the error present. Second, a collation against the TR and known Alexandrian texts showed that Duke 1 has a Byzantine type of text.

In summary, according to modern text-critical methodology, the value of Duke 1 lies not in its text-type and the support of

various readings it can provide, but in the information it contains about Byzantine codices. The way codices were produced, helps that were provided for readers; and weaknesses of scribes evident in their errors all make this a very valuable manuscript from the perspective of the information it contains. Continued study of this and other MSS is necessary to an enduring growth in understanding of scribal habits. The study of already known MSS must proceed, while the recent discovery at St. Catherine's Monastery illustrates that work will be necessary on newly discovered MSS, work that each succeeding generation will continue.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>According to Charlesworth, on May 26, 1975 ten almost complete and over fifty incomplete codices were discovered making this the largest collection of uncials in the world" (James H. Charlesworth, "The Manuscripts of St Catherine's Monastery," BA (1980) 27-28.



## APPENDIX I

### COLLATION OF DUKE MS. GK. 1, P<sup>72</sup>, P<sup>74</sup>, M, AND B

#### Introduction: Methodology

Duke MS. GK. 1 (Duke 1) will be shown as MS1. N/A is Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece, twenty-sixth edition. UBS<sup>2</sup> is The Greek New Testament, second edition (1968). UBS<sup>3</sup> is The Greek New Testament, third edition (1983). T-8 is Tischendorf's eighth edition the Greek NT.<sup>1</sup> Clark is Kenneth

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<sup>1</sup>Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, eds., Nestle-Aland: Novum Testamentum Graece (post Eberhard Nestle et Erwin Nestle communiter ediderunt Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, Allen Wikgren; 26th ed., 4th revision; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1981); Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, eds., The Greek New Testament (2d ed. New York, London, Edinburgh, Amsterdam, and Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1968); Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren, eds., The Greek New Testament (3d ed. New York, London, Edinburgh, Amsterdam, and Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1975); Constantinus Tischendorf, Novum Testamentum Graece: Ad Antiquissimos Testes Denuo Recensuit Apparatum Criticum Omne Studio Perfectum Apposuit Commentationem Isagogicam Praetexit (Editio Octava Critica Maior, Vol. II; Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869-1872); Hermann Freiherr von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte (1.1, Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1902; 1.2, Berlin Verlag von Arthur Glaue, 1907; 1.3, Berlin: Verlag von Arthur Glaue, 1910; 2.1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913; Kenneth W. Clark, Eight American Praxapostoloi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941). The source for P<sup>72</sup> was Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX; VII: L'Épître de Jude; VIII: Les deux Épîtres de Pierre; IX: Les Psaumes 33 et 44 (Publié par Michel Testuz; Genève, Switzerland: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959). The source for P<sup>74</sup> was Papyrus Bodmer XVII: Actes des Apôtres, Épîtres de Jacques, Pierre, Jean et Jude (Publié par Rodolphe Kasser; Genève, Switzerland: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961). Sinaiticus (M) was collated from Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: The New Testament (Reproduced in Facsimile from photographs by Helen and Kirsopp Lake with a Description and Introduction to the history of the Codex by Kirsopp Lake; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911; reproduced Detroit: Brown & Thomas, 1982. Vaticanus (B) was collated from Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecus Codex Vaticanus (Auspice Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo,

W. Clark's Eight American Praxapostoli. V-S is von Soden's Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. TR is the 1873 Oxford edition of the Textus Receptus used as the collating standard.

The project was a complete collation of Duke 1 including itacisms, nu moveable, and corrections. P<sup>72</sup>, P<sup>74</sup>, K, B were also collated, but itacisms, nu moveable, and corrections were generally not included. Additional manuscript evidence was obtained from the five Greek NT editions mentioned above and is listed in the collation with its source. Errors and disagreements between the apparatuses of these editions of the Greek New Testament are noted throughout the collation.

Evidence from Clark's collation of eight medieval minuscule Praxapostoloi (originally included Acts plus the Epistles) was used to help identify variants found in Duke 1 that appear to have only medieval MS support. Examples are as follows: ἀπηγγέλη (1:12), δεδοκιμασμένον (2:4), ὑποτάσσεται (2:13), φημοὺν (2:15), γάρ (2:20), etc. Evidence from von Soden was included only when there was little or no MS evidence found in the other sources consulted. Variants whose support was found in von Soden are in: 1:12, 1:20, 2:20, 3:4, 3:6, and 5:7.

This collation was intended to show which Duke 1 variants are part of an obvious manuscript tradition and which variants appear to be scribal errors. Manuscript support for a given variation unit was recorded in the following order: Duke 1, P<sup>72</sup>,

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Collatis studiis Caroli Vercellone Sodalitis Barnabitaе et Iosephi Cozza Monachi Basiliani editus; 1868; reproduced Detroit: Brown & Thomas, 1982.

p<sup>74</sup>,  $\aleph$ , and B. Information found in N/A 26 was then recorded, followed by additional manuscript support found in UBS<sup>2</sup>, UBS<sup>3</sup>, Tischendorf's eighth edition, evidence from Clark's collations of 223, 876, 1022, 1799, 2401, 2412, and 2423<sup>2</sup>, and last, von Soden. The manuscript evidence included in this collation is quoted from the apparatuses mentioned above, i.e., each apparatus is cited according to its own style. For example, von Soden lists MSS by group. So, I<sup>a</sup> equals a type of text. The MSS which follow are witnesses from that group which support the variant. Comparison of Tischendorf's and von Soden's nomenclatures with Gregory's system may be seen in Appendix II. Tischendorf followed the older system of numbering and von Soden developed his own system, which means that references to many MSS must be changed to the Gregory number for present day use.

Though the collations of Duke 1, p<sup>72</sup>, p<sup>74</sup>,  $\aleph$ , and B are complete, evidence from the editions of Greek NT editions was included only when variants appeared between Duke 1 and TR. All collated MSS agree with TR unless otherwise noted. The only exceptions are those frequent itacisms which were found in all the MSS collated. Itacisms found in Duke 1 were included for completeness and as examples for the discussions of Chapters Two and Three of this paper. Most itacisms from the other MSS have been omitted.

Underlined superscript letters followed by an asterisk were

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<sup>2</sup>The eighth manuscript collated by Clark, MS 1960, is now lacking among other portions 1 Peter (Clark, Praxapostoloi, 5).

superscript in the source material (as in 3:7 (cop<sup>bovid\*</sup>). The computer program used for this project was unable to do a double superscript, so underlining followed by an asterisk was used in these few instances where it was required. Normally in text critical nomenclature, a single asterisk indicates the first hand of the MS. In these few instances in this collation it does not. The following verses contain these special asterisks: 2:21, 3:7 (two times), 3:16, 3:18, and 4:14. Also, Clark shows the corrector's hand by asterisks as well. Thus, two asterisks show the reading to be the work of the first corrector, i.e., the second hand of the manuscript.

### Collation

1.1 ἐκλεκτοῖς] +

και

N/A N\* [και is not visible  
in the facsimile of N  
used for this  
collation.]

παρεπιδήμοις]

P<sup>72</sup> παρεπειδημοις

γαλατίας καπαδοκίας Ἀσίας]

P<sup>72</sup> γαλατειας καπαδοκειας Ασειας

N - Ασιας

B - και Βιθυνιας

1.2 χαρις]

P<sup>72</sup> χαιρεις

εἰρήνη] +

MS1 ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατροῦ

1.3

P<sup>72</sup> - τὸ

αὐτοῦ ἔλεος]

P<sup>72</sup> ελεος αυτου

ⲛ B	N/A 048. 33. 69. 323. 614. 630. 1505. 2495 <u>al</u> .
T-8 162	T-8 13. 31. 38. 68. 100. 177. 180. 15 <sup>lect</sup> a <sup>scr</sup> c <sup>scr</sup> h <sup>scr</sup> Cyr <sup>act45</sup>
	Clark 1799
	P <sup>72</sup> - ήμᾶς
ἐλπίδα]	P <sup>72</sup> ἐλπιδαν
1.4 ἀμῖαντον καὶ ἀμάραντον]	ⲛ αμαραντον και αμιαντον
B	
τετηρημένην]	MS1 τετηρημέν
οὐρανοῖς]	ⲛ ουρανω
ήμᾶς]	MS1 ⲛ B ὁμᾶς
P <sup>72</sup>	
N/A <u>pc</u> vg <sup>ms</sup>	
T-8 <u>cum</u> minusc ut vdtr vix mu(ut 5. 38* 42. c <sup>scr</sup> ) harlcop Thphyl	T-8 <u>cum</u> A C K L P al longe plu cat s vg(et. Hier Aug etc) syr <sup>utr</sup> arm
	Clark 223 2412 2423
1.5	P <sup>72</sup> - θεοῦ
πίστεως]	P <sup>72</sup> πειστεως
ἐτοιμην]	P <sup>72</sup> ετυμην
B	ⲛ ετοιμως
καιρῷ]	P <sup>72</sup> κερω
1.6 ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε ὀλίγον]	P <sup>72</sup> αγαλλειασαντες ολιγω
ἐστι]	P <sup>72</sup> εστιν

ⲛ B - εστι

λυπηθέντες]

ⲛ λυπηθεντας

Clark 1799 2412

ποικίλοις]

P<sup>72</sup> πολλοις

1.7 ἵνα]

P<sup>72</sup> εἶνα

δοκίμιον]

P<sup>72</sup> P<sup>74</sup> δοκειμον (N/A txt δοκίμον)

ⲛ B

N/A 429. 1852 pc

UBS<sup>2</sup> A C K P Ψ 048 049  
056 0142 33 81 88 104  
181 326 330 436 451 614  
629 630 945 1241 1505  
1739 1877 2127 2412 2492  
2495 Byz Lect it<sup>ar,c,dem,div,l,p,s</sup>  
vg arm

UBS<sup>2</sup> 429 it<sup>z</sup> vg<sup>ss</sup>

UBS<sup>3</sup> 206 (omits P74)

Clark 2423

ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως]

P<sup>72</sup> τῆς πειστεως υμων

P<sup>74</sup> ⲛ B

N/A 048<sup>vid</sup>. 1241 1 s vg<sup>ss</sup>; Cl  
Beda

χρυσίου]

B χρυσου

πολὺ τιμιώτερον]

MS1 ⲛ πολυτιμιώτερον

T-8 K (L) al plu cat Thphyl  
Oec, item ut editi sunt  
Clem Or

T-8 A B C P al plus<sup>25</sup>

Clark 876

P<sup>72</sup> B πολυτειμοτερον

ἀπολλυνένου] +

P<sup>72</sup> και

P<sup>72</sup> - δε

P<sup>74</sup> ⲛ B

ἐπαινον]

P<sup>72</sup> P<sup>74</sup> ⲛ επενον

B

και τιμην και δόξαν]

MS1 και τιμην και εις δόξαν

N/A 1. 945. 1241. 1739.  
2298. al

N/A P Maj.

T-8 al plu (syr<sup>sch vid</sup>)  
Thphyl OecT-8 sed K L P al<sup>20</sup>

Clark 223 1022

P<sup>72</sup> P<sup>74</sup> Ν Β και δοξαν και τιμνηN/A C Ψ 33. 69. 81. 614.  
630. 2495 al lat sy<sup>h</sup> coT-8 A al<sup>20</sup> cat vg cop syr<sup>p</sup> arm  
Or<sup>1,300</sup>

Clark 1799 2412

1.8 ειδότες]

P<sup>72</sup> P<sup>74</sup> Ν Β ειδοντες (N/A ιδόντες)

N/A A P Ψ Maj bo; Cl (Aug)

N/A C 323. 630. 945. 1739 al  
latt sy sa; Ir<sup>lat</sup>UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 33 81 88  
104 181 326 330<sup>c</sup> 436 614  
629 1241 1505 1877 2127  
2412 2492 2495 Byz Lect  
cop<sup>bo</sup> Clement Euthalius  
Augustine Cyril Ps-Oecumenius  
TheophylactUBS<sup>2</sup> 048<sup>vid?</sup> 330\* 451 945 l<sup>6</sup>  
it<sup>ar,c,dea,div,p,q,s,z</sup> vg syr<sup>p,h</sup>  
cop<sup>sa</sup> arm eth Polycarp  
Irenaeus<sup>lat</sup>T-8 L al longe plu cat  
cop Clem<sup>622</sup> Cyr<sup>nest</sup>  
Euthal<sup>port</sup>T-8 (ιδοντες) 7. 27. 29. 66\*\*  
76. 80\*\* 1<sup>lect</sup> j<sup>scr</sup> o<sup>scr</sup> al pauc s syr<sup>utr</sup>  
arm aeth<sup>utr</sup> Polyc<sup>i</sup> Ir<sup>lat</sup> 238. 301

ὁρῶντες]

P<sup>72</sup> ὁρωστεςP<sup>74</sup> Ν Β

ἀγαλλιᾶσθε]

Ν ἀγαλλιασθαι

Β ἀγαλλιατε

χαρᾶ]	MS1 χαραι
	P <sup>72</sup> χαρα
ἀνεκλαλήτω]	P <sup>72</sup> ανεγλαλητω
ⲛ B	
δεδοξασμένη]	MS1 δεδοξμένη
1.9 ἡμῶν]	P <sup>72</sup> B - ἡμῶν
ⲛ	
N/A A C P Ψ 048 Maj latt sy	N/A 1 <u>pc</u> sa; Cl Hier Aug
T-8 K L al fere omn	T-8 45. Clem <sup>622</sup> Or <sup>int 3,282</sup> Ath <sup>1,522</sup> Cyr <sup>nest 142</sup> Aug
1.10 οἱ]	P <sup>72</sup> υ
1.11 ἐρευνῶντες]	P <sup>72</sup> ⲛ B εραυνωτες
καιρὸν]	P <sup>72</sup> κερων
ⲛ B	
ἐδήλου τό]	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> ⲛ B* ἐδηλοῦτο
	N/A L Ψ 049. 33. 69. 1243. 1852. 2464. <u>al</u> sy <sup>b</sup> ( <u>sine</u> <u>acc.</u> P <sup>72</sup> ⲛ A B* C K P 048)
	B - Χριστου
προμαρτυρόμενον]	P <sup>72</sup> προμαρτυρουμενον
ⲛ B	N/A A P 049. 1 <u>al</u> ; Cyr
	Clark 223 1799
ταῦτα]	P <sup>72</sup> ταυτας
δοξας]	MS1 δοξης



1.12 ἡμῖν]

MS1 ὅμῖν

N/A 945. 1241. al vg<sup>as</sup> (sy<sup>p</sup>);  
Hier

N B

T-8 K al plu syr<sup>sch</sup> cop arm  
Cyr<sup>glaph 164</sup> et<sup>nest 142</sup>  
Thphyl Oec

T-8 A C L P al<sup>50</sup> cat vg  
syr<sup>p</sup> aeth<sup>utr</sup> [Note: N/A shows  
syr<sup>p</sup> for ἡμῖν]

Clark 223 1022 2412 2423\*\*

P<sup>72</sup> ὅμειν

ἡμῶς]

P<sup>72</sup> ὅμειν

ἀνηγγέλη]

MS1 ἀνηγγέλη

N

Clark 1022 2423

V-S I<sup>a3</sup> 8254; I<sup>c2</sup> 8299, 258P<sup>72</sup> B - εν

N/A C P Maj (s?)

N/A A Ψ 33. 623\*. 1852. 2464.  
pc lat

UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 81 88 104  
181 326 330 451 614 629  
630 945 1241 1505 1739 1877  
1881 2127 2412 2492 2495  
Byz Lect Vigilus Ps-Oecumenius  
Theophylact

UBS<sup>2</sup> 436 Didymus CyrilUBS<sup>3</sup> omits 2495T-8 L al pler cat cop Vig<sup>varia 751</sup>

T-8 13. 73. 133. vg Did<sup>tri 2,6,15</sup>  
Cyr<sup>nest 142</sup>

1.14 συσχηματιζόμενοι]

P<sup>72</sup> συσχηματιζόμενοι

N

B συσχηματιζομεναι

ταῖς]

P<sup>72</sup> τες

N

		138	
	κ	P <sup>72</sup> - εν τη	
1.15	καλέσαντα]	MS1 καλέσαν	
1.16	διότι]	κ διο	
	γεγραπται] +	B οτι	
	γένεσθε]	MS1 γένεσθαι	
N/A	K P 049. 1. 322. 323. 945. 1241. 1739. <u>al</u>	P <sup>72</sup> κ <sup>vid</sup> B εσεσθε	
		N/A A C Ψ 33. 81. 614. 630. 1505. 2495 <u>al</u> s vg; Cl Cyr	
T-8	plu	T-8 5. 13. 36. 37. 65. 66**. 69. 133. 137. a <sup>scr</sup> d <sup>scr</sup> cat syr <sup>p</sup> aeth Clem <sup>562</sup>	
		Clark 1799 2412	
	ὅτι]	P <sup>72</sup> διοτι	
	B	N/A κ 81 <u>pc</u> ; Cl	
T-8	A C K L P al pler cat Thphyl Oec	T-8 26. 40. Clem <sup>562</sup>	
		κ B - ειμι	
1.17	ἐπικαλείσθε]	P <sup>72</sup> κακλειτε (N/A shows P <sup>72</sup> with καλειτε)	
	B	κ επικαλεισθαι	
	απροσωπολήπτως]	κ B απροσωπολημπτως	
	φάβφ] +	P <sup>72</sup> ουν	
1.18	φθαρτοῖς]	P <sup>72</sup> θαρτοις	
	B	κ* φθαρτου	
	ματαΐας]	P <sup>72</sup> ματεας	

1.20 προεγνωσμένου]

MS1 προεγνωσμένου

P<sup>72</sup> προεγνωσμένου

πρό]

MS1 άπο

V-S I<sup>a2</sup> 175

εσχάτων τῶν χρόνων]

K\* εσχάτου του χρονου

N/A P Maj latt sy<sup>p</sup>

B εσχάτου των χρονων

[N/A txt εσχάτου τῶν χρόνων K<sup>2</sup> A  
C 33. 81. 323. 614. 945. 1241.  
1739. 2495 al sy<sup>h</sup> co]

Clark 876 2412

P<sup>72</sup> - τῶν

1.21 πιστεύοντας]

B πιστους

καί<sup>2</sup>] +P<sup>72</sup> την

N/A 1243.

1.22

P<sup>72</sup> K B - δια ΠνεύματοςN/A P Maj 1<sup>vid</sup> vg<sup>ms</sup>; Prisc Spec

N/A A C ψ 33. 81. 323. 945.  
1241. 1739. al vg sy co

UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 88 104 181  
326 330 451 614 630 1505  
1877 2127 2412 2495 Byz Lect  
it<sup>1</sup> arm Priscillian Vigilius  
Gildas Ps-Oecumenius Theophylact

UBS<sup>2</sup> 436 629 945 1241 1739  
1881 2492 syr<sup>p,h</sup>  
cop<sup>sa,b0</sup> Clement

UBS<sup>3</sup> adds vid after it<sup>1</sup> (it<sup>1vid</sup>)

B - καθαρος

εκτενῶς] +

P<sup>72</sup> ως

1.23 ἀναγεγεννημένοι]

MS1 ἀναγεγεννημένοι

P<sup>72</sup> - εκ

σποράς]	140
	κ φθοράς
	P <sup>72</sup> κ B - εις τον αιωνα
N/A P Maj 1 vg <sup>cl</sup> sy <sup>p</sup> ; Prisc	N/A A C Ψ 33. 81. 323. 945. 1241. 1505. 1739. 2495. <u>al</u> vg <sup>st</sup> sy <sup>h</sup> co; Hier
1.24 διότι]	P <sup>72</sup> οτι
άνθρώπου]	P <sup>72</sup> κ B αυτης
N/A P ψ Maj; Aug <sup>pt</sup>	N/A A C 33. 81. 614. 945. 1241. 1739. 2495. <u>al</u> lat sy bo
	Clark 1799 2412
	P <sup>72</sup> - χορτου
	P <sup>72</sup> κ B - αυτου
N/A C P Maj 1 <sup>vid</sup> t vg <sup>cl</sup> co	N/A A ψ 33. 81. 1505. 2495. <u>al</u> vg <sup>st</sup> sy
	Clark 876 1799
ἐξέπεσε]	MS1 κ ἐξέπεσεν
	Clark 1022*
1.25 ἐστι]	P <sup>72</sup> κ B εστιν
	Clark 1022
ευαγγελισθέν εις υμας]	P <sup>72</sup> εις υμας ευαγγελεισθεν
P <sup>74</sup> κ B	N/A 1 vg <sup>ss</sup>
2.1 πάντα]	P <sup>72</sup> παν
υποκρισεις]	B υποκρισιν
φθόνους]	B φονους
2.2 αὐξηθῆτε] +	P <sup>72</sup> ει σωτηριαν

Clark 223 876 1799 2401 2412 2423

K B εις στήριαν

N/A Maj

N/A A C K P Ψ 33. 69. 81.  
323. 614. 630. 945. 1241. 1505.  
1739. 2495. al latt sy co; Cl

2.3 εἶπερ]

P<sup>72</sup> K\* ειN/A K<sup>2</sup> C P Ψ Maj 1 vg<sup>W</sup>;  
CyrN/A A C pc t vg<sup>st</sup> co?; ClUBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 (33 εἶπερ)  
81 88 104 181 326 330 436  
451 614 629 630 945 1241  
1505 1739 1877 1881 2127  
2412 2492 2495 Byz Lect  
it<sup>ar,c,den,p,(z)</sup> vg syr<sup>b</sup> Cyril  
Ps-Oecumenius TheophylactUBS<sup>2</sup> B it<sup>div,t</sup> (syr<sup>p</sup> cop<sup>sa?bo?</sup>  
Clement

ἐγεύσασθε]

P<sup>72</sup> ἐγευσασθαι ἐπειστευσάτε

χρηστός]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> Χριστός

K B

N/A A C Ψ Maj sy

N/A K L 049. 33. 69. 614. 1241.  
1243. 1852. 2298. 2464. alT-8 K L al<sup>30</sup> Clem<sup>124</sup>  
[Note: K L are given  
as evidence for both  
readings.]T-8 sed L 13. 31. al<sup>2scr</sup>

2.4 αποδοκιμασμένον]

MS1 δεδοκιμασμένον

Clark 2401

K B

P<sup>72</sup> αποδοκειμασμενον

2.5 οικοδομείσθε]

K εποικοδομεισθαι

πνευματικός] +

P<sup>72</sup> K B εις

N/A P Maj vg; Cl

N/A A C Ψ 33. 81. 323. 945.  
1241. 1739. al 1 s vg<sup>ss</sup> sy<sup>h</sup>; Hil  
Ambr Aug

ἀνενέγκαι]

P<sup>72</sup> ανενεκκαι

ℵ - πνευματικός

P<sup>72</sup> - θυσιας

ℵ\* B - τω

2.6 διὸ καί]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> ℵ B δι ὅτι

T-8 cum minusc ut vdtr pauc  
Oec

T-8 A C K L P h al fere<sup>80</sup> cat  
vg cop syr<sup>p</sup> arm aeth<sup>utr</sup> Thphyl

Clark 223 876 1022 1799 2401 2412  
2423

P<sup>72</sup> ℵ B - τη

N/A P Maj

N/A ℵ A B Ψ 33 pc

ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεξτόν]

MS1 ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτόν

ℵ

P<sup>72</sup> ακρογωνειον εγλεκτον

B εκλεκτον ακρογωνιαιον

αὐτοῦ]

ℵ\* αυτον

Clark 2401 2423

2.7 ἡμιν]

P<sup>72</sup> οι μειν

B

ℵ\* ημιν

ἀπειθοῦσι]

MS1 ἀπειθοῦσιν

N/A A P Maj sy<sup>p</sup>

T-8 K L al pler cat Thphyl Oec

P<sup>72</sup> απειστουσει

P<sup>74</sup> Ν Β απιστουσινN/A C Ψ 81. 630. 945. 1241. 1739.  
2495. al sy<sup>b</sup> coT-8 (απιστουσιν) 68. 69. a<sup>8cr</sup>

Clark 1799 [-v]

λίθον]

P<sup>72</sup> Β λειθος

Ν\*

Clark 876

N/A C<sup>2</sup> P Ψ Maj 1  
vg<sup>vs</sup> saN/A (λίθος) Ν<sup>2</sup> A C\* 630. 1505.  
2495. al lat bo?

2.8 προσκόμματος]

MS1 προσκόμματο

Ν Β

P<sup>72</sup> προσκοματος

πετρα]

Ν πετραν

Β

προσκόπτουσι]

MS1 Β προσκόπτουσιν

ἀπειτούντες]

Β απιστούντες

2.9 εκλεκτον]

P<sup>72</sup> εγλεκτον

Ν Β

λαός]

MS1 λα<sup>el</sup>

ἀρετάς]

Ν αρετα

Β

P<sup>72</sup> - αυτουN/A bo<sup>88</sup>

2.10 παροίκους]

P<sup>72</sup> παρυκουζ

Ν

2.11 ἀπέχεσθαι]

N B

N/A Ψ 049 Maj lat sa

T-8 K plu ut<sup>vid</sup> cat vg Clem<sup>544</sup>  
Dam<sup>2,519</sup> Thphyl Oec2.12 [ὑμῶν] ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν  
ἔχοντες καλήν]

N (υμιν)

T-8 A C 13 al sat mu vg  
Clem<sup>285</sup> Thphy

ἐποπτεύσαντες

δοξάσωσι]

2.13 ὑποτάγεται]

N/A P Maj vg<sup>85</sup> sy<sup>h</sup>

ἀνθρωπίνην]

MS1 ἀπέχεσθ

P<sup>72</sup> ἀπεχεσθεN/A A C L P 33. 81. 623. 1241.  
1243. 1852. 1881. al vg<sup>888</sup> sy<sup>h</sup>?  
bo?; CypT-8 al<sup>25</sup> syr<sup>utr</sup> cop aeth<sup>utr</sup> Did<sup>tri3,1</sup>  
Cyr<sup>glaph</sup> 155 Cyp<sup>12, 308</sup> Zeno Leo

Clark 2401

MS1 [ὑμῶν] ἔχοντες καλήν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν

T-8 K L P al<sup>30</sup> syr<sup>sch</sup> cop Oec

Clark 223 876 1022 2401 2423

P<sup>72</sup> [ὑμῶν] ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καλήν ἔχοντες

B υμων ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καλήν

P<sup>72</sup> N B ἐπεπτευνοντεςMS1 δοξάσωσιν] (P<sup>72</sup> + υμων)N\* δοξασουρ . . . . . ἐπι<sup>vid</sup>

MS1 ὑποτάγεται]

Clark 1799

P<sup>72</sup> N B - ουνN/A A C Ψ 33. 69. 81 pc lat  
sy<sup>p</sup> co

Clark 2401

P<sup>72</sup> ἀνθρωπείν



κ - ανθρωπινη

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> κ B - μέν

2.14

N/A C P 049<sup>c</sup>. 323. 614. 630.  
945. 1241. 1505. 1739.  
2495. al sy<sup>h<sup>34</sup></sup>; or<sup>lat</sup>

T-8 C<sup>vid</sup> al plu<sup>vid</sup> cat syr<sup>p</sup>  
c.\* Dam<sup>2,358</sup> Thphyl Oec

T-8 A K L h al<sup>30</sup> vg m<sup>90</sup> syr<sup>sch</sup>  
et<sup>p</sup> txt cop arm Ant<sup>86</sup>

Clark 1022 2423

ἐκαινον]

P<sup>72</sup> εκενον

κ B

2.15 φημοῦν]

MS1 φημοῦν

Clark 876

κ

P<sup>72</sup> φειμοιν

B φειμουν

ἀγνωσίαν]

P<sup>72</sup> αγνοιαν

κ B

2.16 δοῦλοι θεοῦ]

P<sup>72</sup> κ B θεου δουλοι

N/A A P Maj lat; Cl

N/A C K Ψ 69. 81. 323. 945  
1241. 1739 al vg<sup>ss</sup>

2.17 τιμήσατε]

MS1 τιμίσατε

κ B

ἀγαπήσατε]

MS1 ἀγαπήσατε

κ B

N/A K L 049\*. 69. 2464 Maj

T-8 A C P etc

T-8 K L h 31. 40. 6\*\* al<sup>40</sup>

Clark 1022\*\* 2401 2423

τον] +	P <sup>72</sup> δε
	N/A Spec
2.18 υποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντί φόβῳ]	κ εν παντι φοβω υποτασσομενοι
δεσπότης]	MS1 δεσπότ
δεχπότης] +	κ υμων
B	
	P <sup>72</sup> - και <sup>2</sup>
	N/A 69. 81. 614. 2464 <u>pc</u>
2.19 Τοῦτο]	MS1 τοῦ
συνειδήσιν] +	P <sup>72</sup> αγαθην
κ B	
N/A A <sup>c</sup> P 049 Maj lat co	N/A (A* 33 θεου αγαθην). 81
2.20	P <sup>72</sup> - και <sup>1</sup>
	N/A 1241
κολαφιζόμενοι]	P <sup>72</sup> κολαζομενοι
κ B	
N/A A C Maj vg co	N/A κ <sup>2</sup> P Ψ 322. 323. 630. 945. 1241. 1739. 2138. 2298 <u>al</u> sy <sup>h</sup> (it; Ambr)
	Clark 1799
υπομενεῖτε <sup>1</sup> ]	P <sup>72</sup> υπομενετε
κ B	
N/A A C P 049 Maj lat	N/A κ <sup>2</sup> Ψ 69. 323. 614. 945. 1241. 1505. 1739. 2495. <u>al</u>

Clark 876 1799 2412

ὑπομενεῖτε<sup>2</sup>]P<sup>72</sup> υπομενετε

N B

N/A P<sup>81</sup> A C P 049 Maj  
lat (C illeg., L 323.  
1241 h. t.)

N/A Ψ 69. 945. 1739. 1881. 2298.  
pc

τοῦτο]+

MS1 γάρ

Clark 2412

V-S H<sup>84</sup>, 848, 74; H<sup>80</sup>; I<sup>al</sup> 11, 2, 252f;  
I<sup>a3</sup> 172, 8457; I<sup>c2</sup> 364 470

2.21 γάρ] +

P<sup>72</sup> και

N/A 323. 630. 945. 1241. 1505.  
1739. 2495 al

Clark 2401

ἐπαθεν]

N απεθανεν

P<sup>72</sup> B

ὑπέρ]

P<sup>72</sup> περει

N B

N/A (περι) A

ἡμῶν ἡμῖν]

P<sup>72</sup> N B ὑμων ὑμιν

N/A 614. 1243. 1505. 2495.  
al r sy<sup>p</sup> bo; Aug

N/A A C Ψ 69. 81. 945. 1241.  
1739 al lat sy<sup>h</sup> sa<sup>88</sup>

UBS<sup>2</sup> 629 1505 2412 2495 syr<sup>p</sup>  
cop<sup>bo</sup> Augustine  
John-Damascus

UBS<sup>2</sup> 2127 it<sup>ar,c,den,div,z</sup> vg<sup>vw</sup> syr<sup>h</sup>  
cop<sup>sa</sup> arm eth Ambrose John-  
Damascus Ps-Oecumenius

T-8 2. 4. 18. 45. 47. 69. 93.  
99. 105. 137. d<sup>scr</sup> al aliq  
syr<sup>scr</sup> cop Dam<sup>nest 561</sup> Aug<sup>ioh 21</sup>

T-8 31. c<sup>scr</sup> k<sup>scr</sup> al sat mu<sup>vid</sup> am  
fu<sup>corr</sup> demid tol harl sah syr<sup>p</sup>  
arm aeth<sup>utr</sup> Dam<sup>paris</sup> Oec Amb

MS1 ἡμῶν ὑμῖν

N/A P Maj vg<sup>cl</sup> sa<sup>ss</sup>; TertUBS<sup>3</sup> it<sup>q</sup> [Note: This is a  
from UBS<sup>2</sup>]UBS<sup>2</sup> K P 049 056 0142 33 88 104  
181 326 330 436 451 630  
1881 Byz Lect it<sup>q</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup>  
cop<sup>layrld</sup> Tertullian Cyprian  
TheophylactT-8 K L P 13. al fere<sup>40</sup> cat vg<sup>cle</sup>  
fu\* Tert<sup>most 12</sup> Cyp<sup>250. 259</sup> (al  
ap Sab) Thyphl [Note: T-8  
has these witnesses following  
a second ὑμῶν ὑμιν. This fact  
plus the comparison of  
witnesses with UBS<sup>2</sup> suggests  
an error in T-8, i.e. that  
those witnessses really  
support ἡνὼν ὑνιν instead of  
ὑμῶν ὑμιν.]

Clark 876 1799 2401 2423

ὑπολιμπάνων]

MS1 ἀπολιμπανων

Clark 876

P<sup>72</sup> αποσειμπανων

2.22 ἐποίησεν]

MS1 ἐποίησ

2.23 λοιδορούμενος]

MS1 λοιδορούμενος

κ B

ἡπεῖλει]

MS1 ἡπεῖλη

Clark 2412

B

P<sup>72</sup> ηπηλει

κ ηπιλει

P<sup>72</sup> - δε

N/A 049\*. 614 sa<sup>88</sup> bo<sup>88</sup>

2.24 ήμων]

P<sup>72</sup> B υμωνP<sup>74</sup> NN/A P<sup>81</sup> A C P Ψ 093  
Maj latt sy coN/A pcP<sup>74</sup> - ενP<sup>72</sup> B - αυτου<sup>2</sup>

N\*

P 049 Maj

N/A P<sup>81vid</sup> N<sup>c</sup> A C K Ψ 33. 81.  
323. 614. 630. 1241. 1739. 2495  
lat(t)

Clark 876 1799 2412

2.25

B - ητε γαρ

πλανώμενα]

B πλανώμενοι

N (not -voi as N/A records)

3.1 αι]

P<sup>72</sup> ε

N\* B - αι

N/A N<sup>2</sup> C P Ψ 093  
Maj vg<sup>st</sup>N/A P<sup>81</sup> A 81 pcT-8 K L al omn<sup>vid</sup> cat Thphyl  
Oec

υποτασσόμεναι]

MS1 υπό τασσόμεναι

P<sup>72</sup> υποτασσομενε

MS1 B - και

P<sup>72</sup> N

N/A A P Ψ Maj vg; Cl

N/A 614. 630. al r z vg<sup>ss</sup> sy<sup>h</sup>  
co; Spec

T-8 C K L al al<sup>15</sup> plu cat

T-8 57. 69. 104. arm cop  
Ps-Ath<sup>lat 647</sup> Fulg

Clark 1799 2412

κερδηθήσονται]

MS1 N B κερδηθήσονται

Clark 223 1022\*\* 2401 2412

3.2 ἐποπτεύσαντες]

P<sup>72</sup> N\* εποπτευοντες

B

N/A N<sup>c</sup> A C P Ψ Maj

N/A 945. 1241. 1243. 1739.  
1881. 2298. al

Clark 1799

3.3

P<sup>72</sup> - τριχων

N B

N/A A P Maj 1 r  
vg<sup>ss</sup> sy bo

N/A C Ψ 1852 pc sa; Cl

κόσμος]

MS1 κόσμοι

N B

3.4

N\* - το

ἀφθάρτω]

P<sup>72</sup> φθαρτω

N B

N\* - και

πραεός και ήσυχιου]

B ησυχιου και πραεως

ἐνώπιον]

MS1 ἐνώπι\

MS1 -του<sup>2</sup>

Clark 2423\*

V-S I<sup>a3</sup> 55, 8156, 8180f, 205, 8254f; I<sup>c2</sup> 353; J<sup>1</sup>

3.5 οὕτω]

P<sup>74</sup> N B οὕτως

Clark 876 2412

γυναῖκες αἱ ἐλπίζουσι  
τὸν θεὸν ἐκόσμου]N γυναῖκες ἐκόσμου εαυτὰς αἱ ἐλπίζουσαι  
ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν

B

ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν]

MS1 B - τὸν

N

N/A 2464 pc

N/A P Maj

T-8 69 a<sup>scr</sup> c<sup>scr</sup> al plu cat OecT-8 A C K L al fere<sup>20</sup> Dam<sup>2,406</sup>  
ThpyhlP<sup>72</sup> P<sup>74</sup> B εἰς θεόνN/A A C Ψ 33. 81. 945. 1241.  
1739. 2495. alT-8 13. 15. 27. 36. 69. 104. a<sup>scr</sup>  
c<sup>scr</sup> d<sup>scr</sup> cat Dam<sup>2,406</sup> Thpyhl

Clark 876 1799 2412

3.6 ὑπήκουσε]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> ὑπέκουσεν

ὑπήκουσε τῷ Ἀβραάμ]

P<sup>72</sup> τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὑπεκουσεν

B υπηκουεν τῷ Ἀβραάμ

ἐγενήθητε]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> ἐγεννήθητε

Clark 223 876 1022 1799 2412

V-S H<sup>88</sup>, 74f, I<sup>a1</sup> 264f, I<sup>a2</sup> 853f, 175, 859,  
I<sup>a3</sup> 64, 8156, 170, 8254, 397, 8505;

I<sup>b1</sup> 8602f, 398; I<sup>c1</sup> 116f;  
I<sup>c2</sup> 364, 8299, 470f; J<sup>1</sup>; K<sup>c</sup> 8376

φοβούμεναι]

MS1 φοβού

κ B

P<sup>72</sup> φοβουμενε

πτώσιν]

MS1\* πτώσιν (corrected to πτοησιν)

κ B

N/A πτωσιν P 33 pc

T-8 πτωσιν P 13. 18. 40.

3.7

B - οι

συννοικοῦντες]

κ\* σονομιλουντες

B

κ\* - κατα γυνωσιν

γνώσιν]

MS1 γνώσι

ἀπονέμοντες τιμὴν]

P<sup>72</sup> τιμην απονεμοντες

συγκληρονόμοι]

κ\* συγκληρονομους ποικιλης

P<sup>72</sup> συγκληρονομοις (B\* συν . . . instead of  
συν . . .)

N/A A C P Ψ Maj; Hier

N/A P<sup>81</sup> κ<sup>2</sup> 33. 69. 323. 1241.  
1739. al vg; Aug

UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 81 88 104  
181 326 330 436 451 614  
629 630 945 1505 1877  
2412 2495 Byz Lect syr<sup>b</sup>  
cop<sup>savid</sup> Jerome

UBS<sup>2</sup> B<sup>c</sup> 1881 2492 <sup>it<sup>ar,c,den,div,(u),p,t,z</sup></sup>  
vg syr<sup>p</sup> (cop<sup>bovid</sup>) arm eth  
Ambrose Augustine  
Cassiodorus Ps-Oecumenius  
Theophylact

UBS<sup>3</sup> Ambrose has been placed in  
parenthesis (Ambrose)

συγκληρονομοι ποικιλης

Clark 876 2412



[ωῆς] +

P<sup>72</sup> εωνιου (αιωνιου N/A sy<sup>p</sup>)

ἐκκόπτεσθαι]

MS1 ἐγκόπτισθαι

T-8 C<sup>2</sup> K L al sat mu cat<sup>txt</sup>  
et<sup>con</sup> ThphylP<sup>72</sup> εκκοπτεσθεB<sup>vid</sup> εγκοπτεσθαι

N ενκοπτεσθαι

## 3.8 φιλόφρονες]

P<sup>72</sup> N B ταπεινοφρονες

N/A P 049 Maj

N/A A C Ψ 33. 81. 323. 614.  
630. 1241. 1739. al latt sy co  
(2495 h.t.)

Clark 876 1799 2401 2423\*\*

## 3.9 λοιδορίας]

P<sup>72</sup> λυδοριαςMS1 - τούναντιον δὲ εὐλογοῦντες, εἰδότες  
ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο ἐκλήθητεP<sup>72</sup> N B - εἰδοτεςN/A P Maj sy<sup>h</sup> agN/A P<sup>81</sup> A C K Ψ 33. 81. 323.  
945. 1241. 1505. 1739. 2495. al  
latt sy co

εὐλογίαν κληρονομήσητε]

MS1 εὐλογεῖαν κληρονομήσειτε

P<sup>72</sup> ευλογειαν κληρονομησητε

## 3.10 παυσάτω

P<sup>72</sup> παυσασθαι

N B

την γλῶσσαν]

P<sup>72</sup> τη γλωσαν

N B

P<sup>72</sup> B - αυτου<sup>1</sup>

ⲛ

N/A P Maj lat sy

καὶ χεῖλη]

N/A P Maj lat sy<sup>p</sup>

λαλῆσαι]

3.11 ἐκκλινάτω] +

ⲛ

N/A C<sup>2vid</sup> P Ψ Maj vg<sup>ss</sup>  
sy<sup>p</sup> co

3.12

T-8 C<sup>2</sup> al sat mu cat Oec

3.13 ἐάν]

μιμῆται]

N/A K L P 69 Maj vg<sup>ss</sup>

γένεσθε]

N/A ⲛ<sup>c</sup> A C P Maj lat

N/A P<sup>81</sup> A C Ψ 33. 81. 323. 945.  
1241. 1739. al vg<sup>ss</sup>

ⲛ καιὶ λη

P<sup>72</sup> ⲛ B - αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>

N/A A C K Ψ 33. 81. 323. 614.  
630. 945. 1241. 1505. 1739. 2495  
al vg<sup>ss</sup> sy<sup>h</sup>

Clark 876 1799 2412

P<sup>72</sup> λαλεῖν

P<sup>72</sup> B δε

N/A A C\* 69. 81. 614. 630.  
1505. 2495 al lat sy<sup>h</sup>

Clark 876 1799 2412

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> ⲛ B - οἱ

T-8 A C\* K L P h al  
plus<sup>50</sup> arm Thphyl

Clark 223 876 1799 2401 2412 2423

B εἰ

P<sup>72</sup> ⲛ B ζηλωται

Clark 876 1799 2412

P<sup>72</sup> (ⲛ\*) γενεσθε

N/A pc

- 3.14 δικαιοσύνην]
- μακόριοι] +
- κ
- N/A A C P Ψ Maj lat sy
- 3.15 θεον]
- N/A P Maj
- UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 81 88 104  
181 326<sup>txt</sup> 330 436 451 1241  
1505 1877 2127 2492 2495  
Byz Lect Ps-Oecumenius  
Theophylact
- UBS<sup>3</sup> L
- Clark 1799 2412
- P<sup>72</sup> κ B - δε<sup>2</sup>
- N/A P Ψ Maj; Cl
- Clark 1799 2412
- 3.15, 16 ἐλπίδος] +
- N/A P 049 Maj sy<sup>p</sup>; Spec
- 3.16 πραύτητος]
- B γενοισθε
- MS1 δικοσύνην
- P<sup>72</sup> δικεοσυνην
- κ εσται
- P<sup>72</sup> B - μηδε ταραχθητε
- N/A L; Hier
- P<sup>72</sup> κ B Χριστον
- N/A A C Ψ 33. 614. 630. 945.  
1739. al latt sy co; Cl
- UBS<sup>2</sup> 326<sup>mg</sup> 1881 2412 it<sup>ar,c,den,div,p,t,z</sup>  
vg syr<sup>p,h</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo</sup> arm Clement
- N/A A C 33. 81. 323. 614. 630.  
1241. 1739. 2495 al latt sy<sup>h</sup> co
- Clark 1799 2412
- P<sup>72</sup> κ B αλλα
- N/A A C Ψ 33. 81. 323. 614.  
630. 1241. 1739. 2495. al lat  
sy<sup>h</sup> co
- Clark 876 1799 2412
- MS1 πραύτητο

καταλαλῶσιν]

MS1 N καταλαλοῦσιν

N/A L pmN/A A C P Maj it vg<sup>ss</sup> sy bo;  
BedaUBS<sup>2</sup> 056 0142 88 104 181  
326 436 1877 2127 Byz i<sup>1364</sup>UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 33 81 330 451 629 945  
2492 Lect it<sup>den, div, (u)</sup>T-8 al pler cat tol harl cop  
syr<sup>sch</sup> aeth Thphyl Oec  
Bed<sup>227</sup>T-8 K al<sup>25</sup>

Clark 223

P<sup>72</sup> B καταλαλεισθεN/A Ψ 614. 630. 1241. 1739.  
2495. al (vg) sa; Cl (Spec)UBS<sup>2</sup> 1505 1881 2412 2495 (syr<sup>h</sup>)  
cop<sup>8a</sup>T-8 69. 137. a<sup>scr</sup> c<sup>scr</sup> syr<sup>p</sup> txt et<sup>8g</sup>  
Clement<sup>585</sup>

Clark 876 1799 2412

P<sup>72</sup> B - ἵμων ὡς κακοποιῶν

N

N/A A C P Maj it vg<sup>ss</sup> sy  
bo; BedaN/A Ψ 614. 630. 1241. 1739. 2495.  
al (vg) sa; Cl (Spec)UBS<sup>2</sup> K P 049 33 81 330  
451 629 945 2492 Lect  
it<sup>ar, c, p, z</sup> syr<sup>p, h</sup> 8g co<sup>8g?</sup>  
eth Bede Ps-Oecumenius  
TheophylactUBS<sup>2</sup> 1505 1881 2412 2495 (syr<sup>h</sup>)  
cop<sup>8a</sup> Clement

Clark 876 1799 2412

καταισχυνθῶσιν]

P<sup>72</sup> εσχυνθῶσιν (N/A αισχυνθῶσιν?)

ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ]

P<sup>72</sup> ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγαθὴν

B

N/A  $\aleph^2$  A P  $\Psi$  Maj lat

N/A K L 323. 614. (630). 945.

1241. 1505. 1739. 2495. al vg<sup>ss</sup>

Clark 876 1799 2412 2423

 $\aleph$  αγαθην εις Χριστον

3.17 θέλει]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup>  $\aleph$  B θέλοιT-8 cum minusc vix muT-8 A C K L P h al<sup>70</sup> cat  
Clem<sup>585</sup> Thphyl Oec

Clark 223 1022 1799 2401 2412 2423

3.18 και]

P<sup>72</sup> ό

B

 $\aleph$  - και

περί] +

 $\aleph$  των

ἀμαρτιῶν] +

P<sup>72</sup> υπερ υμων

B

N/A P Maj

N/A A 1241. 2495 alUBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 181 326\*UBS<sup>2</sup> 1505

330 451 1877 2127

Byz Lect vg<sup>78</sup> cop<sup>bo</sup> ss

Cyprian Cyril

Ps-Oecumenius

Theophylact

UBS<sup>3</sup> 206 429 441 1241 1505 2495  
arm [Note: The apparatus for  
this variation unit has  
been thoroughly redone.]

Clark 1799

 $\aleph$  υπερ ημων

Clark 876 2423

ἐπαθε]

MS1 B ἐπαθεν

N/A P Maj 81 pc

UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 104 181 326<sup>txt</sup>  
330 451 1877 2127 2492 Byz  
Lect Augustine Ps-  
Oecumenius Theophylact<sup>comm</sup>

T-8 L al pler cat Aug<sup>pecc ner</sup>  
Thphyl<sup>com</sup> Oec

P<sup>72</sup> K ἀρεθάνεν

N/A A C<sup>2vid</sup> L Ψ 33. 614. 630.  
945. 1241. 1739. (2495) al sy<sup>h</sup>  
bo [Note: T-8 and N/A  
differ concerning "L".]

UBS<sup>2</sup> Ψ 88 326<sup>sq</sup> 436 629 1505 1739  
1181 2412 2495 <sup>16</sup> it<sup>ar,c,den,div,p,z</sup>  
vg syr<sup>p,h</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo</sup> arm eth  
Cyprian Didymus Augustine  
Cyril Severus Theophylact<sup>txt</sup>

T-8 5. 7. 11. 13. 27. 29. 68. 69.  
73. 137. <sup>lect</sup> a<sup>scr</sup> k<sup>scr</sup> vg  
syr<sup>utr</sup> cop arm aeth Did<sup>tri2,6,6</sup>  
et<sup>2,7,2</sup> Cyr<sup>act57</sup> Sev<sup>cat 71</sup>  
Thphyl<sup>txt</sup> Cyp<sup>296</sup> Aug<sup>ep165</sup>

Clark -v 876 1799 2412

ἡμῶς]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> B ὡμῶς

N/A K<sup>2</sup> A C K L 33. 81. 614.  
630. 945. 1739. al vg  
sy<sup>hag</sup>; Cyp Cyr

N/A P Ψ Maj z vg<sup>ass</sup> sy

UBS<sup>2</sup> 056 0142 88 104 436 629  
1881 2127 2412 Byz<sup>pt</sup> Lect  
it<sup>ar,c,den,div,p,t</sup> vg syr<sup>h</sup> <sup>sq</sup>  
cop<sup>sa,bo</sup> Clement Cyprian Peter-  
Alexandria Didymus Cyril  
Ps-Cecumenius Theophylact

UBS<sup>2</sup> 049 181 326 330 451 1241  
1505 1877 2492 2495 Byz<sup>pt</sup> <sup>16</sup>  
it<sup>z</sup> syr<sup>p,h</sup> arm

T-8 al longe plu cat vg cop

T-8 3. 31. 33. 69. 95. <sup>lect</sup> a<sup>scr</sup>

syr<sup>p</sup> <sup>sq</sup> Cyp<sup>296</sup> Petr<sup>4,46</sup>  
 Did<sup>tri2,72</sup> Cyr<sup>act57</sup> Thphyl  
 Oec

al<sup>3scr</sup> syr<sup>sch</sup> et<sup>p</sup> txt arm  
 [Note: N/A also shows 33 with  
 ἡμας.]

℣ - ἡμας

B - τω θεω

P<sup>72</sup> - μεν

℣ B

N/A A<sup>c</sup> C P Maj vg<sup>cl</sup>  
 sy<sup>h</sup> co

N/A A<sup>\*vid</sup> Ψ vg<sup>st</sup>

T-8 Petr Did<sup>tri</sup> Ath<sup>5,167</sup>  
 Cyr<sup>act</sup>

T-8 Epiph<sup>75. 448. 1026</sup> et<sup>2,49. 97</sup>

δε τφ]

MS1 ℣ B - τφ

N/A 81<sup>vid</sup>

T-8 cum minusc vix  
 Epiph<sup>448. 1026</sup>

T-8 A C K L P h al longe plu  
 cat arm Or<sup>4, 135</sup> Petr<sup>4, 135</sup>  
 Did<sup>tri 2,7,2</sup> Ath<sup>5,167</sup> Epiph<sup>75</sup>  
 et<sup>2, 49. 97</sup> Cyr<sup>act 57</sup> et<sup>glaph 357</sup>

Clark 223 876 1799 2401 2423

P<sup>72</sup> δε εν

N/A Or<sup>lat</sup>

3.19 φυλακῇ]

MS1 φυλακί

πνεύμασι]

P<sup>72</sup> πνευματι

B πνευμασιν

Clark 1022

3.20 ἀπειθήσασιν]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> ℣ B ἀπειθήσασιν

ἀπαξ ἐξεδέχετο]

MS1 ἀπαξ ἐδέχετο

N/A K 69<sup>vid</sup> al

T-8 sine cod ut vdtr

T-8 2. 29. 31. 33. 47. 59. al<sup>7</sup> ar<sup>p</sup>P<sup>72</sup> K B ἀπεξεδεχετοT-8 A C L P h al fere<sup>80</sup> cat  
Or<sup>2</sup>, 553. 4, 135 codClark 223 876 1022 1799 2401 2412  
2423

ή]

K την

B

κιβωτού]

MS1 κιβωτ

P<sup>72</sup> κηβωτου

ολίγαι]

P<sup>72</sup> K B ολιγοιN/A C P Ψ Maj vg<sup>88</sup> sh<sup>h</sup>N/A A 049 pc latT-8 K L al pler cat syr<sup>p</sup>  
Cyrilaph<sup>36</sup> Dam<sup>2</sup>, 386  
Thphyl OecT-8 3. 5. 8. 17. 73. 95\* vg Or<sup>2</sup>, 553  
et<sup>int</sup> 1, 88. 3, 922 Cyp<sup>142</sup>, 152  
Aug<sup>ep</sup> 165. 164

τουτεστιν]

P<sup>72</sup> τουτο εστιν

K B

P<sup>72</sup> - οκτω

3.21 φ]

MS1 B δ

N/A 241?. 630 alUBS<sup>2</sup> K<sup>c</sup> A C K P Ψ 049 056

0142 33 81 88 104 181 326 330

451 614 945 1241 1505 1739

1877 1881 2127 2412 2492 2495

Byz Lect it<sup>ar,c,dem,div,p,z</sup> vg(syr<sup>p,h</sup>) arm Cyprian Origen<sup>lat</sup>

Didymus Augustine Cyril

John-Damascus Ps-Oecumenius

Theophylact



UBS<sup>3</sup> 69 206 216 241

T-8 cum minuxc ut<sup>vid</sup> mu  
(ut 104. b<sup>scr</sup> al<sup>4scr</sup>)

T-8 L h al fere<sup>55</sup> cat vg arm  
Did<sup>tri 2,14</sup> Cyr<sup>glaph 36</sup> et<sup>est 18</sup>  
Thphly Oec Or<sup>int 1, 88</sup> Cyp<sup>142. 152</sup>

Clark 876 1022 1799 2401 2423

P<sup>72</sup> N\* - ο

N/A pc sa

UBS<sup>2</sup> 436 eth

UBS<sup>3</sup> 255

T-8 73. aeth

καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον  
νὸν σώζει βάπτισμα]

MS1 ἀντίτυπον νὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς σώζει βάπτισμα

N B

T-8 A C L P al sat mu  
vg syr<sup>p</sup> Or<sup>int 1, 88</sup> Did<sup>tri 2,14</sup>  
Cyr<sup>esa</sup> et<sup>glaph</sup> Dam<sup>2, 386</sup> Cyp<sup>142</sup>  
Aug<sup>ep</sup>

T-8 K al fere<sup>50</sup> cat Oec

Clark 223 1022 2423

P<sup>72</sup> N B υμας

N/A {ἡμᾶς} C L 614. 630.  
1241. 2495\* al vg<sup>ss</sup> Maj

N/A A P Ψ 049. 69. 81. 945.  
1739. 2495<sup>c</sup> al vg sy<sup>h</sup>

3.22 ὅς]

P<sup>72</sup> ου

B

N B - του

4.1 παθόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν]

N\* αποθανοντος υπερ ημων

P<sup>72</sup> B - ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

N/A N<sup>2</sup> A P Maj sy<sup>h</sup> bo;

N/A C Ψ 323. 1739 pc sa?; Nic

Cyr Did Aug<sup>pt</sup>

UBS<sup>2</sup> K 056 0142 33 81 88  
 104 181 326 436 614  
 1241 1877 2127 2412  
 2492 Byz Lect syr<sup>h</sup>  
 arm eth Athanasius  
 Basil Didymus  
 Ps-Athanasius Epiphanius  
 Jerome Augustine Cyril  
 Theodoret

UBS<sup>2</sup> 049\* 330 451 1739 1881  
 it<sup>ar,c,den,div,p,z</sup> vg cop<sup>sa</sup>  
 Athanasius<sup>ss</sup> Ambrose Niceta  
 Augustine Theodoret  
 Fulgentius John-Damascus  
 Ps-Oecumenius<sup>com</sup>

UBS<sup>3</sup> Augustine<sup>pt</sup>

ὁπλίσασθε]

MS1 ὁπλισάμενοι

N B

P<sup>72</sup> N B - ενN/A K P 69 Maj z vg<sup>ss</sup>

Clark 1799 2412 2423

ἁμαρτίας]

B ἁμαρτιας

N\*

N/A N<sup>2</sup>

4.2 ἀνθρώπων]

N\* ἀνθρώπων

θεοῦ]

N ἀνθρώπου

βιώσαι]

P<sup>72</sup> σωσαι

χρόνον]

MS1 χρόν\

4.3 ἡμῖν]

N\* ὑμιν

Clark 223 2412

P<sup>72</sup> B - ἡμιν

N/A C K L P 049. 69. 623<sup>c</sup>  
 2298 pm; Hier

N/A N<sup>c</sup> A Ψ 81. 323. 614. 945.  
 1241. 1505. 1739. 2495 al latt  
 sy sa; Cl (33 illeg.)

UBS<sup>2</sup> 056 0142 181 326 1877UBS<sup>2</sup> 436 629\* 1881 2412 2495

2492 Byz<sup>pt</sup> 1<sup>147</sup> Jerome  
Ps-Oecumenius

it<sup>ar,c,den,div,p,z</sup> vg syr<sup>p,h</sup> cop<sup>sa?</sup>  
arm Clement Augustine

UBS<sup>3</sup> cop<sup>sa</sup>

Clark 876 2412

παρεληλυθός]

P<sup>72</sup> παρεληλυθωνς

χρίνος]

MS1 χρονο

P<sup>72</sup> κ B - του βιου

N/A P 049 Maj

N/A A C Ψ 33. 81. 323. 614.  
630. 1241. 1739. 2495 al lat(t)  
sy co

Clark 1799 2412

θέλημα]

P<sup>72</sup> βουλημα

N/A P Maj

N/A κ A B C Ψ 81. 323. 630. 945.  
1241. 1739 al; Cl

Clark 1799

κατεργάσασθαι]

P<sup>72</sup> B κατειργασθαι

κατειργασθαι

Clark 1799 2412

πεπορευμενους]

κ πορευομενους

B

Clark 876

οινοφλυγίαις]

P<sup>72</sup> οινοφρυκειαις

B οινοφλυγιοις

πότοις]

MS1 τόποις

4.4

κ - ω

ανάχυσιν] +

κ\* και

4.5 αποδώσουσι]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> αποδώσουσιν

Clark 2401\*

P<sup>72</sup> - λογονN/A N<sup>c</sup> A B C P Ψ  
latt sy co

N\* - οι αποδωσουσι λογον

έτοιμως]

P<sup>72</sup> ετοιμοP<sup>72</sup> B - εχοντι

N

N/A A C<sup>2</sup> P MajN/A 945. 1241. 1739. 1881. pc co?

κρίναι]

B κρεινοντι

4.6 κριθῶσι]

MS1 κριθῶσιν

N B

T-8 L

T-8 P

ζῶσι]

MS1 ζῶσιν,

N B

T-8 L

T-8 P

P<sup>72</sup> ζῶσει

4.7 ἡγγικε]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> N B ἡγγικεν

Clark 1022

νήψατε]

MS1 νίψατε

N B

P<sup>72</sup> N B - τας

N/A P 049 Maj

N/A A Ψ 33. 81. 323. 614. 630.

1241. 1739. 2495. al
- T-8 K L P al pler  
cat Thph Oec
- T-8 5. 29. 69. 137. c<sup>scr</sup> al<sup>5 scr</sup>  
Cyr<sup>trih 676</sup>
- Clark 876 1799 2412
- προσευχάς] +
- MS1 ὁμῶν
- κ B
- 4.8
- P<sup>72</sup> κ B - δε
- N/A P Maj t vg<sup>cl</sup> sy<sup>h</sup> sa<sup>ss</sup>  
bo; Spec
- N/A A<sup>vid</sup> ψ 33 pc lat sa<sup>ss</sup>
- ἐαυτούς]
- P<sup>72</sup> αὐτοὺς
- N/A 623. 2464 pc
- ἔχοντες]
- MS1 ἔχον
- MS1 P<sup>72</sup> κ B - ή
- T-8 cum minusc permu Cyr<sup>trih 676</sup>  
Antioch<sup>1180</sup> Thphyl
- T-8 κ A B K L P al plu cat  
Clem<sup>ro 49</sup> Clem<sup>306. 613</sup> item<sup>463</sup>  
Chr<sup>2, 243</sup> et<sup>9, 340</sup> Oec
- καλύψει]
- B καλυπτει
- Clark 876 1799 2401 2412 2423
- 4.9 γογγυσμῶν]
- P<sup>72</sup> γογγυζμου
- κ B γογγυσμου
- N/A P 049 Maj vg<sup>ss</sup>
- N/A A ψ 33. 81. 323. 614. 630.  
1241. 1739. 2495. al lat sy
- Clark 1799 2412 2423
- 4.10 ἔλαβε]
- MS1 P<sup>72</sup> κ B ἔλαβεν
- ποικίλης]
- MS1 ποικήλοις

ⲛ B

P<sup>72</sup> ποικειλης

4.11 ἦς]

MS1 ὡς

ⲛ B

N/A A (Ψ) 33. 323.  
945. 1241. 1739. al lat

N/A P Maj

T-8 plu vg

T-8 K L h al plus<sup>30</sup>

Clark 223 1022

ἵνα]

P<sup>72</sup> ειν

πῶσι]

MS1 B πῶσιν

Clark 1799 2412

δοξάζηται]

ⲛ δοξάζητε

B

ϕ]

P<sup>72</sup> ως

P<sup>72</sup> - ἡ

P<sup>72</sup> - τό

P<sup>72</sup> - τον αιωνον

ⲛ B

N/A 69. 614. 630. 945. 1505. 1739.  
2495 al r vg<sup>w</sup> (sy<sup>p</sup>) sa<sup>ss</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>

Clark 1799 2412

4.12 ξενίζεσθε]

MS1 ξενίζεσθαι

ⲛ B

ξενίζεσθε] +

P<sup>72</sup> εκει

N/A pc

Clark 2423\*

συνβαίνοντος]

MS1 συνβαίνοντο

4.13 παθήμασι]

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> B παθήμασιν

4.13, 14

MS1 - αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι. Εἰ  
ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χαριστοῦ,  
μακάριοι ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης

4.14 ὀνειδίζεσθε]

K ουνδίζεσθατο

K - εν

καί] +

K της δυναμεως αυτου και

ἀναπαύεται]

P<sup>72</sup> επαναπεπαυτε

K\* B

N/A P Maj lat; Tert Cl

N/A K<sup>2</sup>UBS<sup>2</sup> 056 0142 436 629\*<sup>vid</sup> 1739  
it<sup>c,den,div,(gig)</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> syr<sup>p?h?</sup>  
cop<sup>bo</sup> arm eth Tertullian  
Origen

κατὰ μὲν]

MS1 καὶ τα μὲν

P<sup>72</sup> K B - κατὰ μὲν αὐτοὺς βλασφημεῖται, κατὰ  
δὲ ἡμᾶς δοξάζεταιN/A P Ψ Maj r t z vg<sup>w</sup>  
sy<sup>h</sup> sa (bo<sup>ss</sup>); CypN/A A 049. 33. 81. 323. 614.  
630. 945. 1241. 1739. al vg sy<sup>p</sup>  
bo; TertUBS<sup>2</sup> K 104 181 326<sup>txt</sup> 330 451  
629<sup>c</sup> (1877 ἡμᾶς) 2127 Byz 1<sup>1441</sup>  
it<sup>ar,p,q,t,z</sup> vg<sup>w</sup> syr<sup>h</sup> with\*  
cop<sup>sa,(boag\*)</sup> Cyprian Ps-  
Oecumenius TheophylactUBS<sup>2</sup> 056 0142 436 629\*<sup>vid</sup> 1739  
it<sup>c,den,div,(gig)</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> sy<sup>p?h?</sup>  
cop<sup>bo</sup> arm eth Tertullian  
OrigenUBS<sup>3</sup> L

T-8 L al longe plu am harl tol

T-8 3. 4\*. 13. 17. 27. 29. 65. 66\*\*

sah syr<sup>b</sup> c.\* Cyp<sup>90. 267</sup> Thphyl  
Oec

68. 69. 73. 76. 101. 137. a<sup>scr</sup> c<sup>scr</sup>  
d<sup>scr</sup> vg syr<sup>sch</sup> et<sup>p</sup> txt cop arm  
aeth<sup>utr</sup> ar<sup>e</sup> Ephr<sup>319</sup> Tert<sup>gnost 12</sup>

Clark 1799 2412

4.15 η<sup>1</sup>] +

P<sup>72</sup> ως

κ B

N/A A K L P Ψ 33. 81.  
323. 614. 630. 1241.  
1739. 2495. al latt  
syr<sup>h</sup> sa

N/A Maj bo

κλέπτης]

MS1 κλέπτis

κ

η<sup>2</sup>] +

P<sup>72</sup> ως

κ B

N/A A K L P Ψ 33. 81.  
323. 614. 630. 1241.  
1739. 2495. al latt  
syr<sup>h</sup> sa

άλλοτριεπισκοπος]

P<sup>72</sup> αλλοτριοis επεισκοπος

B

κ αλλοτριεπισκοπος

N/A P Maj

4.16

P<sup>72</sup> - ως

Χριστιανός]

κ Χρηστιανος

αισχυνέσθω]

MS1 αισχυναίσθω

κ B

P<sup>72</sup> εσχυνεσθω

μέρει]

P<sup>72</sup> κ B ονοματι

N/A P 049 Maj

N/A A Ψ 33. 81. 323. 614.



1241. 1739. 2495 al latt sy co

Clark 876 2412

4.17

MS1 ~~κ~~ - οP<sup>72</sup> B

N/A P Ψ Maj

N/A A 33. 81. 1852 alT-8 K L al pler Bas<sup>1, 383</sup>  
Antioch<sup>1084</sup>T-8 104. c<sup>scr</sup> c<sup>scr</sup> j<sup>scr</sup>

Clark 2401

ἀρξασθαι]

MS1 ἀρχεσθε

~~κ~~ B

ἀφ]

B απο

ἡμῶν]

~~κ~~\* ὑμῶν

τε] +

~~κ~~ λογα4.18 ο<sup>1</sup>] +P<sup>72</sup> μενN/A h vg<sup>s</sup>ο<sup>2</sup>] +

B δε

Clark 2412

ἀσεβης και ἀμαρτωλός]

P<sup>72</sup> αμαρτωλος και ασεβηςN/A B<sup>2</sup> P Ψ Maj vg sa  
(N/A shows P<sup>72</sup> with both  
readings. P<sup>72</sup> has the reading  
given in this collation.)N/A 945 pc h r t w bo

Clark 1799

και<sup>2</sup>] +~~κ~~ ο

Clark 2423

4.19

παρατιθέσθωσαν τὰς]

ἐαυτῶν]

N/A Ψ. 69. 945. 1241.  
(1852). 1739 al

T-8 cum minusc mu

ἀγαθοποιῖα]

B

5.1 τοῦς]

N/A P Ψ Maj

Χριστοῦ]

ⲛ B

ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι]

ⲛ B

170

P<sup>72</sup> ⲛ B - ως

MS1 παρατιθέσθωσανταί

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> ⲛ αὐτῶν

T-8 A K L P h al fere<sup>50</sup> cat  
Thphyl Oec

Clark 223 876 1022 1799 2401 2412  
2423

B - ἐαυτῶν

P<sup>72</sup> ἀγαθοποιεῖταις

N/A A Ψ 33. 81. 323. 945. 1241.  
1739. al lat

P<sup>72</sup> B οὖν

N/A A 614. 630 pc; Hier

Clark 1799 2412

ⲛ οὖν τοῦς

N/A 623. 2464. pc h vg

Clark 876

P<sup>72</sup> θεοῦ

P<sup>72</sup> - τῆς

P<sup>72</sup> ἀποκαλύπτειτε τῆς

5.2 ὑμῖν ποιμνιον]

℣\* υμνιον

ποιμνιον]

P<sup>72</sup> πυμνιον

℣ B - επισκοπουντες

εκουσίως] +

P<sup>72</sup> ℣ κατα θεον

B

N/A Maj

N/A ℣<sup>2</sup> A P Ψ 33. 69. 81. 945.  
1241. 1739 al lat sy<sup>(p)</sup> bo

UBS<sup>2</sup> syr<sup>p</sup> K 049 056  
0142 88 326<sup>tit</sup> 330 451  
629 1877 2127 2492 Byz  
Lect [N/A lists syr<sup>(p)</sup>  
as supporting the inclu-  
sion of κατα θεον. The  
parenthesis signals a small  
variation. However, UBS<sup>2</sup>  
and UBS<sup>3</sup> show syr<sup>p</sup> omits  
κατα θεον.]

UBS<sup>2</sup> 104 181 326<sup>sq</sup> 436 614 630  
1505 1881 2412 2495  
it<sup>(ar),c,dem,div,h,(m),p,q,t,z,</sup> vg  
syr<sup>h</sup> cop<sup>bo,sa</sup> arm eth  
Antiochus (John-Damascus)  
Theophylact

Clark 1799

5.3

B omits entire verse

τύποι]

P<sup>72</sup> τοιποι

℣ τουποι

5.5 ὁμοίως] +

℣ δε

νεώτεροι]

MS1 νεώτεροι

δέ] +

P<sup>72</sup> ενN/A pc vg<sup>ms</sup>P<sup>72</sup> ℣ B - υποτασσομενοι

N/A P Maj

N/A A 33. 81. 323. 945. 1241.  
1739. al lat sy<sup>p</sup> coP<sup>72</sup> B - ο

N

N/A A P Ψ Maj

ὑπερφάνοις] +

5.7 ἐπιρρίψαντες]

περι]

N/A 33 pcP<sup>72</sup> αντιP<sup>72</sup> απορριψαντες

MS1 ὑπερ

Clark 223 1799 2412

V-S H<sup>848</sup>; I<sup>a1</sup> 7f, 40; I<sup>a2</sup> 8459;  
 I<sup>a3</sup> 8203-8300, 8254; I<sup>b1</sup> 62, 365; I<sup>c1</sup> 116f;  
 I<sup>c2</sup> 364, 8299, 258.

ἡμῶν]

N\* ἡμῶν

B

5.8

MS1 N\* B - ὅτι

N/A N<sup>2</sup> L Ψ 049<sup>c</sup>. 33. 69.  
 323. 614. 630. 945.  
 1241. 1505. 1739. 2495.  
al latt sy co

N/A A P 049\* Maj

T-8 13. 31. a<sup>scr</sup> c<sup>scr</sup> al permu  
 vg syr<sup>utr</sup> cop arm aeth  
 Antioch<sup>1027</sup> Dam<sup>2,450</sup> Oec  
 Or<sup>int 2,164. 195</sup> Cyp<sup>256</sup> Cass<sup>118</sup>

T-8 K h al fere<sup>60</sup> Thphyl

Clark 876 1022 2401 2423

ἀντίδικος]

MS1 αντιδικο

ἡμῶν] +

P<sup>72</sup> δ

N B

N/A 33

B - τινα

καταπίη]

MS1 B καταπιεῖν

N/A A (33). 614. 630. 945.  
 2298 pm

UBS<sup>2</sup> 056 436 2412 2492 Byz  
<sup>1680m, 1441m, 1590m</sup> it<sup>ar, c, den, div, h, p, q, t, z</sup>  
 vg syr<sup>p, h</sup> arm eth Origen<sup>gr, lat</sup>  
 Eusebius Lucifer Ephraem  
 Cyril-Jerusalem Chrysostom  
 Cyril Theodoret John-Damascus

UBS<sup>2</sup> κ<sup>c</sup> (P 1<sup>1365m</sup> τίνα) (K 049 τίνα)  
 81 88 181 326 629  
 1241 1505 1739 1881 2127  
 2495 cop<sup>bo</sup> Origen Cyprian  
 Hilary John-Damascus

UBS<sup>3</sup> (1739 τίνα) Byz<sup>pt</sup>

T-8 al sat mu cat Or<sup>3, 162</sup> et<sup>315</sup>  
 Eus<sup>ps 35</sup> Ephr<sup>284</sup> Cyr<sup>hr 12. 310</sup>  
 Chr<sup>1, 740</sup> et<sup>5, 64. 510</sup> Cyr<sup>malach 832</sup>  
 Thdrt<sup>2, 317</sup> Dam<sup>2, 450</sup>

T-8 L 3. 5. 6. 8. 10. 14\*\* 15.  
 19. 22. 23. 26. 27. 29. 31.  
 33\*. 40. 42. 44. 45. 47. 56.  
 57\* 59. 63. 64. 66. 67\* 73.  
 76. 78. 95\* 96. 97. 98. 101.  
 113. 142. 177. c<sup>scr</sup> h<sup>scr</sup> al pauc  
 cop Or<sup>3, 162</sup> cod Dam<sup>paris</sup>  
 (ante <sup>450</sup> ed) Cyp Hil<sup>502</sup>

Clark 2423

κ\* κατακιν

5.9

P<sup>72</sup> - φ

στερεοί]

P<sup>72</sup> εδρεοι

N/A (P<sup>72</sup> εδραιοι)

εἰδότες] +

P<sup>72</sup> οτι

N/A 614. 630. 1505. 2495. pc

Clark 876 1799 2412

εν] +

P<sup>72</sup> B το

N/A κ<sup>2</sup> A P Ψ 0206 Maj

N/A κ\* pc

ἐπιτελεισθαι]

P<sup>72</sup> επειτελειται

N/A B<sup>2</sup> P Ψ Maj latt sy

N/A pc

κ B\* επιτελεισθε

Clark 1799 2412

5.10 ἡμᾶς]

N/A 0206. 1881. al t vg  
sy<sup>p</sup> bo<sup>ss</sup>T-8 K al plu vg syr<sup>sch</sup>  
Did<sup>tri3,23</sup> Oec auct<sup>voc gent</sup>

ἐν] +

καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς, στηρίξαι  
σθενώσαι, θεμελιώσαι]N/A (-ῆμας) 614. 630. 1505.  
2495 alUBS<sup>2</sup> [σθενώσαι, θεμελιώσαι]  
2412 Ps-Oecumenius  
Theophylact

5.11 αὐτῷ]

ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος]

ⲙ

MS1 P<sup>72</sup> ⲙ B ὑμᾶς<sup>1</sup>T-8 A L P al<sup>50</sup> cat demid cop  
syp<sup>p</sup> arm aeth Thphyl

Clark 223 876 1022 2412 2423

B το

ⲙ B - Ἰησου

Clark 1799 2412

MS1 καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς στηρίξαι  
σθενώσαι θεμελιώσαι

N/A (στηριζει) P Maj

UBS<sup>2</sup> [σθενώσαι, θεμελιώσαι] ⲙ K 049  
056 0142 88 104 181 326 330  
436 451 629 945 1241 1739  
1877 1881 2127 2492 Byz Lect<sup>n</sup>  
syr<sup>(p),h</sup> cop<sup>ss,bo</sup> arm

T-8 L P al cat

P<sup>72</sup> καταρτισει στηριζει θεμελιωση  
(Note: - ὑμας & σθενωσαι)N/A 81 r t vg<sup>ss</sup> (sy<sup>p</sup>)ⲙ καταρτισει στηριζει σθενωσι θεμελιωσει  
(Note: UBS<sup>2</sup> is not entirely accurate  
concerning ⲙ)

B καταρτισει στηριζει σθενωσει

MS1 αυτο

MS1 ἡ δόξα κράτος

N/A M P Maj vg<sup>cl</sup> (sy<sup>p</sup>) sa

N/A K 049 al

UBS<sup>2</sup> 88 104 181 326 1877  
 2492 Byz it<sup>c,den,div,p,z</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup>  
 cop<sup>sa</sup> eth<sup>pp</sup> (Ps-Oecumenius  
 omit τό) Theophylact

UBS<sup>2</sup> 056 0142 330 (436 omit η)  
 451 2127 Lect<sup>a</sup>

T-8 L al plu cat vg<sup>cle</sup> demid  
 harl toi aeth<sup>pp</sup> Thphyl

T-8 al<sup>25</sup> Oec (Oec adds και)

Clark 1022 2423

P<sup>72</sup> B (+το) - η δοξα και τοN/A (+ το) A Ψ pc vg<sup>st</sup>UBS<sup>2</sup> it<sup>ar</sup> vg<sup>sv</sup> eth<sup>ro</sup>T-8 23. am fu aeth<sup>ro</sup>

αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων]

P<sup>72</sup> εἰς

M

B αἰῶνας

N/A A P Ψ 0206<sup>vid</sup> Maj  
 latt sy sa bo<sup>ms</sup>

N/A [αἰῶνας] pc bo

UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 33 81 88  
 104 181 326 330 436 451  
 614 629 630 945 1241 1505  
 1739 1877 1881 2127 2412  
 2492 2495 Byz Lect<sup>a</sup>  
 it<sup>ar,c,den,div,h,p,q,t,z</sup> vg syr<sup>p,h</sup>  
 cop<sup>sa,bois</sup> eth Ps-Oecumenius  
 Theophylact

UBS<sup>2</sup> 1<sup>1365a</sup> cop<sup>bo</sup> arm

5.12 Σιλουανού]

B Σιλβανου

ολίγων]

P<sup>72</sup> βραχέων

M B

ἐπιμαρτυρῶν] +

M και

P<sup>72</sup> - του

N/A Ψ 0206<sup>vid</sup>. 33. 81. 323. 945.  
1241. 1739. al

ἐστήκατε]

P<sup>72</sup> B στήτε

N/A P Maj h r vg<sup>cl</sup>

N/A A 33. 81. 323. 945. 1241.  
1739. al vg<sup>st</sup>

5.13

P<sup>72</sup> - ἀσπάζεται

B

B ασπαζετε

βαβυλῶναι] +

B εκκλησια

B

5.14 πᾶσι]

MS1 B πᾶσιν

B

P<sup>72</sup> - εἰρηνὴ ὑμῖν πασι τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ

B

N/A P Maj h vg<sup>cl</sup> sy<sup>h</sup>  
sa<sup>ss</sup> bo

UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 81 88  
104 181 326 330 436 451  
614 630 945 1241 1505  
1739 1877 1881 2127 2412  
2492 2495 Byz Lect<sup>a</sup>  
it<sup>div,h,p</sup> vg<sup>cl</sup> syr<sup>h</sup> cop<sup>bo</sup>  
arm Ps-Oecumenius  
Theophylact

UBS<sup>3</sup> cop<sup>sa ss</sup>

B - Ἰησοῦ

P<sup>72</sup> B - ἀμην

B

N/A P Maj h vg<sup>W</sup> sy bo<sup>ss</sup>

N/A A Ψ 33<sup>vid</sup>. 81<sup>vid</sup>. 323. 945.  
1241 pc vg<sup>st</sup> co



UBS<sup>2</sup> K 049 056 0142 88 104  
 181 326 330 436 451 614  
 630 1505 1739 1877 2127  
 2412 2492 2495 Byz Lect<sup>a</sup>  
 it<sup>c,den,div,h,p,q</sup> vg syr<sup>p,h</sup> cop<sup>bo</sup> ms  
 arm Ps-Oecumenius  
 Theophylact

UBS<sup>2</sup> 629 1881 it<sup>ar,(gig),z</sup> cop<sup>sa,bo</sup>  
 eth

APPENDIX II  
COMPARISON BETWEEN VON SODEN AND GREGORY

This material was gathered from Kurt Aland, Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments 1: Gesamtübersicht (ANTF 1; Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1963) 350-371.

von Soden	MS #	Gregory #	von Soden	MS#	Gregory #
	δ4	02		δ258	122
	δ48	33		δ259	330
	δ156	226		δ260	440
	δ180f	1319		δ261	1315
	δ203	808		δ262	1359
	δ206	242		δ264	536
	δ250	2191		δ265	1390
	δ251	927		δ266	1673
	δ252	1595		δ267	1646
	δ253	3		δ268	431
	δ254f	1 <sup>cap</sup>		δ269	1251
	δ255	57		δ270	1127
	δ256	1448		δ298	76
	δ257	105		δ299	2147

von Soden	MS#	Gregory #	von Soden MS #	Gregory#
	δ300	218		397
	δ376	483		460
	δ453f	5		398
	δ457	209		429
	δ459	489		470f
	δ505	69		913
	δ602f	522		πp11
	2	049		307
	7f	1874		453
	55	920		
	62	1891		
	64	1845		
	74f	1175		
	116f	2138		
	170	1311		
	172	436		
	175	1838		
	205	337		
	252	1873		
	264	917		
	258	378		
	353	383		
	364	614		
	365	206		

### APPENDIX III

#### COMPARISON BETWEEN TISCHENDORF AND GREGORY

This material was taken from Aland, Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments 321-333. Note: These manuscript numbers are for the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles only.

Tischendorf	Gregory	Tischendorf	Gregory
1 <sup>lect</sup>	<u>1</u> 6	19	38
2	2	22	312
3	3	23	314
4	4	26	321
5	5	27	322
6	6	29	323
7	2298	31	69
8	--	33	326
10	82	36	36
11	302	37	327
13	33	38	328
14	35	40	181
15	307	42	42
15 <sup>lect</sup>	<u>1</u> 1311	44	--
17	93	45	336
18	94	47	90

Tischendorf Gregory

56 378

57 234

59 384

63 404

64 421

65 218

66 424

67 425

68 441

69 429

73 436

76 142

78 450

80 452

93 205

95 209

96 460

97 97

98 101

99 102

100 103

101 462

104 241

105 242

113 18

Tischendorf Gregory

133 611

137 614

142 618

162 629

177 122

180 431

N 01

A 02

B 03

C 04

K 018

L 020

P 025

## APPENDIX IV

### DUKE MS. GK. 1. AS DESCRIBED IN THE DUKE CATALOGUE OF GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript Description: Duke MS. Greek 1. The complete New Testament. Order of books: Gospels, Acts, James, Pauline Epistles, General Epistles except for James, Apocalypse. Commentary on all books except the Apocalypse. Parchment; ca. A.D. 1200. 198ff.; 1 col. (251 x 186 mm.), 41-52 lines. 306 x 227 mm. Gregory-Aland 1780. Formerly manuscript no. 60 in the Monastery of Eikosiphoinesis in Drama in northern Greece.

Contents: f. 1r-v: unidentified (free endsheet); ff. 2v-4r: Synaxarion; ff. 4r-5r: Menologion.; ff. 5r-v: The Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus; ff. 6r-8r: Eusebian Canon Tables; ff. 9r-25v: Unidentified commentary on Matthew; ff. 26r-46v: Matthew with chapter list, prologue, verses, and full commentary; ff. 47r-61r: Mark with chapter list, prologue, verses, and full commentary; ff. 61r-87r: Luke with chapter list, prologue, verses, and full commentary; ff. 87r-105v: John with chapter list, prologue, verses, and full commentary; ff. 106r-124v: Acts of the Apostles, with chapter list and prologue of Euthalius, and commentary on selected verses; ff. 124v-127r, 181v-190v: Catholic Epistles, with Euthalian prologue to the corpus, prologues for each epistle, chapter lists and marginal commentary which varies with each epistle; (ff. 125v-127r: James. At the end of the epistle the scribe commences the materials associated with the Pauline corpus; see the note below on the end of Hebrews at f. 181v.); ff. 127v-181v: The Pauline Epistles, with Euthalian prologue to the corpus, prologues for each epistle, chapter lists, and marginal commentary. The Euthalian prologue includes the Vita, the Peregrinatio, the De Epistulis, and the Chronotaxis. (ff. 174r-181v: Hebrews with prologue, chapter list, and full marginal commentary. At the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews on f. 181v, the scribe has inserted a note between the subscription to Hebrews and the prologue to the Epistle of Peter which instructs the reader where to find the Epistle of James.); ff. 191r-192r: De Sanctis 7 Synodis; ff. 192r-200v: The Apocalypse of John, with prologue.

# APPENDIX V

## DUKE MS. GK. 1 COMPARED TO ALEXANDRIAN AND BYZANTINE TYPE TEXTS

The following table shows a list of sixty-nine variants where the TR, representing the Byzantine text-type, and accepted representatives of the Alexandrian text-type--P<sup>72</sup>, N, and B--disagree. Parentheses indicate the presence of minor differences. As in the collation found in Appendix I of this paper upon which this table is based, Duke MS. GK. 1 (Duke 1) is shown as MS1. Readings were considered where at least two of the three Alexandrian MSS agreed against the TR.

The variant readings are in the center column with the support for each given on each side. The TR reading is given first, followed by the reference, and last by the reading found in the Alexandrian MSS. Duke 1 agreed with the TR fifty-nine times (85.5 percent) and with the Alexandrian ten times (14.5 percent) demonstrating that the text of 1 Peter in Duke 1 is Byzantine.

Byzantine	1 Peter - Units of Variation	Alexandrian
TR MS1	τιμήν καὶ δόξαν 1.7 δόξαν καὶ τιμήν	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1	εἰδότες 1.8 εἰδόντες (ιδόντες)	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1 N	1.9 - ὅμων	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR	ἡμῶν 1.12 ὅμων	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1 N	1.12 - εν	P <sup>72</sup> B

Byzantine	1 Peter - Units of Variation	Alexandrian
TR MS1	γένεσθε 1.16 ἔσεσθε	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1 B	ὅτι <sup>2</sup> 1.16 διότι	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1 P <sup>72</sup>	ἐσχάτων 1.20 ἐσχάτου	B
TR MS1	1.22 - διὰ Πνεύματος	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	1.23 - εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	ἀνθρώπου 1.24 αὐτῆς (B* αὐτου)	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	αὐξηθήτε 2.2 + εἰς σωτηρίαν	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	εἶπερ 2.3 εἰ	P <sup>72</sup> B*
TR MS1	πνευματικός 2.5 + εἰς	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR	διὸ καὶ 2.6 διὸ ὅτι (διότι B)	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	2.6 - τη	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	ἀπειθοῦσιν 2.7 ἀπειστοῦσαι (σιν)	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1 B	λίθον 2.7 λίθος	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	2.13 - ουν	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR	2.14 - μέν	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	δοῦλοι θεοῦ 2.16 θεοῦ δοῦλοι	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1 B	ἡμῶν 2.24 ὑμῶν	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1 B*	2.24 - αὐτοῦ <sup>2</sup>	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	3.1 - αἱ (P <sup>72</sup> ε)	B*
TR MS1 B	ἐποπτεύσαντες 3.2 ἐποπτεύοντες	P <sup>72</sup> B*
TR (B) MS1	ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν 3.5 εἰς θεόν - τόν	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	συγκληρονόμοι 3.7 συγκληρονόμοις	P <sup>72</sup> (B)
TR MS1	φιλόφρονες 3.8 ταπεινόφρονες	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	3.9 - εἰδότες	P <sup>72</sup> B



Byzantine	1 Peter - Units of Variation	Alexandrian
TR MS1 $\aleph$	3.10 - αὐτοῦ <sup>1</sup>	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	3.10 - αὐτοῦ <sup>2</sup>	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1 $\aleph$	ἐκκλινάτω 3.11 + δέ	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR	3.12 - οἱ	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1	μιμηταί 3.13 ζηλωταί	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1 $\aleph$	3.14 - μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	θεόν 3.15 Χριστόν	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1	3.15 - δέ	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1	ἐλπίδος 3.15,16 + ἀλλά	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
(TR)MS1 $\aleph$	3.16 - ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR	θέλει 3.17 θέλοι	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1 B	ἁμαρτιῶν 3.18 + ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν	P <sup>72</sup> ( $\aleph$ )
TR MS1 B	ἐπαθε[v] 3.18 ἀπέθανεν	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$
TR	ἡμᾶς 3.18 ὑμᾶς	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> B
TR	3.18 - τῷ <sup>2</sup>	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1	ὀλίγοι 3.20 ὀλίγοι	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1	ἡμᾶς 3.21 ὑμᾶς	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1 $\aleph$	4.1 - ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	4.1 - ἐν	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1	4.3 - ἡμῖν	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	4.3 - τοῦ βίου	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1	θέλημα 4.3 βούλημα	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$ B
TR MS1 B	4.5 - λόγον	P <sup>72</sup> $\aleph$
TR MS1 $\aleph$	4.5 - ἔχοντι	P <sup>72</sup> B

Byzantine	1 Peter - Units of Variation	Alexandrian
TR MS1	4.7 - τας	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1	4.8 - δε	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1	γογγυσμῶν 4.9 γογγυσμοῦ (P <sup>72</sup> γογοῦ(μου))	N B
TR(MS1)	4.14 - κατὰ μὲν αὐτοὺς βλασφημεῖται, κατὰ δὲ ὑμᾶς δοξάζεται	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1	μέρει 4.16 ὀνόματι	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1	4.19 - ὥς	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR	ἐαυτῶν 4.19 αὐτῶν	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> N
TR MS1	τοῦς 5.1 οὖν	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1 B	ἐκουσίως 5.2 + κατὰ θεόν	P <sup>72</sup> N <sup>*</sup>
TR MS1	5.5 - ὑποτασσόμενοι	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1 N	5.5 - ὁ	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR P <sup>72</sup>	5.8 - ὅτι	MS1 N <sup>*</sup> B
TR MS1	ἐν 5.9 + τῷ	P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR	ἡμᾶς 5.10 ὑμᾶς	MS1 P <sup>72</sup> N B
TR MS1 N	αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων 5.11 εἷς [αἰῶνας]	P <sup>72</sup> B
TR MS1	ἐστήκατε 5.12 στήτε	P <sup>72</sup> N B

# APPENDIX VI

## DUKE MS. GK. 1 COMPARED TO ALEXANDRIAN AND BYZANTINE TYPE TEXTS

### USING RICHARDS'S TABLE<sup>1</sup>

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	MS1	1175	01	02	03	04
1. 1:7	τιμην και δοξαν δοξαν και τιμην	X	(X)	X	X	X	X	X
2. 1:8	ειδοτες ιδοντες	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. 1:12	εν OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. 1:16	γενεσθε εσεσθε	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
5. 1:22	δια πνευματος OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. 1:22	Καθαρως OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

<sup>1</sup>With the exception of the column showing the readings of Duke MS. GK. 1 (MS1), this table is taken in its entirety from W. L. Richards, "Gregory 1175: Alexandrian or Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles?" *AUSS* 21/2 (1983) 163-165. Richards compared manuscript 1175 to four key MSS known to be Alexandrian: MS 01 (Sinaiticus), MS 02 (Alexandrinus), MS 03 (Vaticanus), and MS 04 (Ephraemi). Wherever two of these agreed against the TR, the reading was considered. Of the fifty-two times the Alexandrian witness did not split two and two over a reading, 1175 agreed with the Alexandrian witnesses thirty-five times (67 percent agreement). Out of the seven times the Alexandrian witnesses split, 1175 agrees with the TR five times, which, however, did not change Richard's classification of 1175 as Alexandrian in 1 Peter (ibid. 158, 163-165). ("OM" in Richards's table means "omit.")

Duke 1 agrees with the TR forty-four of the fifty-two times (84.62 percent) the Alexandrian witnesses do not split two and two over a reading. In all seven instances where the Alexandrian witnesses split, Duke 1 agrees with the TR. Duke 1 is clearly a Byzantine MS.

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	MS1	1175	01	02	03	04
7.	1:23 σπορας φθορας	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
8.	1:23 εις τον αιωνα OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
9.	2:2 αυξηθητε + εις σωτηριαν	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
10.	2:3 ειπερ ει	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
11.	2:5 λιθοι ζωντες λιθον ζοντα	X	X	X	(X)	X	X	X
12.	2:5 οικοδομεισθε εποικοδομεισθε	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
13.	2:6 διο και διοτι	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14.	2:6 ακρογωνιαιον εκλεκτον εκλεκτον ακρογωνιαιων	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
15.	2:12 εποπτευσαντες εποπτευοντες	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
16.	2:13 ουν OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
17.	2:14 μεν OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
18.	2:16 δουλοι θεου θεου δουλοι	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
19.	2:24 αυτου OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
20.	2:25 πλανωμενα πλανωμενοι	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
21.	3:1 αι OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
22.	3:5 επι τον θεον εις θεον	X	(X)	X	X	X	X	X
23.	3:7 συγκληρονομοι + ποικιλης	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	MS1	1175	01	02	03	04
24. 3:7	εκκοπτεσθαι εγκοπτεσθαι	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
25. 3:8	φιλοφρονες ταπεινοφρονες	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
26. 3:9	ειδοτες OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
27. 3:10	αυτου (1) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
28. 3:10	αυτου (2) OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
29. 3:11	εκκλινατω + δε	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
30. 3:12	οι OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
31. 3:13	μιμηται ζηλωται	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
32. 3:15	δε OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
33. 3:15	θεον χριστον	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
34. 3:17	θελει θελοι	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
35. 3:18	επαθε υπερ ημων απεθανεν	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
36. 3:20	απαξ εξεδεχετο απεξεδεχετο	X	(X)	(X)	X	X	X	X
37. 3:20	ολιγαι ολιγοι	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
38. 4:1	υπερ ημων OM	X	X	(X)	X	X	X	X
39. 4:1	εν OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
40. 4:3	του βιου το θελημα το βουλημα	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	MS1	1175	01	02	03	04
41.	4:4 βλασφηημουντες και βλασφημουσιν	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
42.	4:7 τας OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	
43.	4:8 δε OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	
44.	4:8 ή OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	
45.	4:8 καλυψει καλυπται	X	X	X	X	X	X	
46.	4:9 γογγυσμων γογγυσμου	X	X	X	X	X	X	
47.	4:14 δοξης + και δυναμεως	X	X	(X)	(X)	X	X	
48.	4:14 κατα μεν αυτους βλασφημεται κατα δε υμας δοξαζεται OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	
49.	4:16 μερει ονοματι	X	X	X	X	X	X	
50.	4:17 ο OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	
51.	4:19 ως OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	
52.	5:1 πρεσβυτερος + ουν	X	X	X	X	X	X	
53.	5:1 τους OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	
54.	5:2 εκουσιως + κατα θεον	X	X	X	X	X	X	
55.	5:5 υποτασσομενοι OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	
56.	5:8 ότι OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	

Ref.	Unit of Variation	TR	MS1	1175	01	02	03	04
57. 5:11	ἡ δοξα και OM	X	(X)	(X)	X	X	X	
58. 5:12	ἐστηκατε στητε	X	X	X	X	X	X	
59. 5:14	αμην OM	X	X	X	X	X	X	

Note: From 4:5 to the end of 1 Peter, textual evidence in MS 04 is lacking.

**APPENDIX VII**

**MANUSCRIPT FOLIOS FROM DUKE MS. GK. 1.**

















[illegible][illegible]











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